

Fifteenth- to Eighteenth-Century European Drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection

Central Europe, The Netherlands, France, England

EGBERT HAVERKAMP-BEGEMANN, MARY TAVENER HOLMES,
FRITZ KORENY, DONALD POSNER, DUNCAN ROBINSON



The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Robert Lehman Collection

VII

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NOTE TO THE READER

Within each of the seven sections of the catalogue, the entries are arranged chronologically. The drawings have been measured through the center; height precedes width. The color of the paper is mentioned only when it is not white or off-white. "Inscription" and "inscribed" refer to comments, notes, words, and numbers presumably written by the artist who made the drawing; "annotation" and "annotated" refer to the same when added by another hand.

In the provenance sections, names and locations of dealers are enclosed in brackets. "Lugt" or "Lugt Supp." and a number in parentheses following the name of a collector indicates that the collector's mark, identified and discussed by Frits Lugt in *Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes* (Amsterdam, 1921) or *Supplément* (The Hague, 1956), appears on the drawing. "See Lugt" and a number indicates that the reader is being referred to Lugt's entry on a particular collector. References to books and articles have been abbreviated to the author's name and the date of publication; the key to those abbreviations is found on pages 405-35. References to exhibitions and their catalogues have been abbreviated to city and year; the key to those abbreviations is found on pages 435-47.

Preface

Robert Lehman greatly expanded the scope of the collection of paintings, drawings, and other art objects that he and his father, Philip Lehman, had assembled in the early part of this century. This volume discusses and illustrates all the drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection that were made in Europe from the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, with the exception of those by Italian artists, which were catalogued in Volumes 5 and 6 of this series (published in 1991 and 1987, respectively).

The complete record of this part of his collection demonstrates, even at a glance, that while Robert Lehman acquired a great number of drawings from all schools, he emphasized the earlier periods, and he strove for quality. By emphasizing the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he linked the drawings to early Italian, Netherlandish, and French paintings already in the Collection. He then branched out into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, broadening the Collection further, always trying to obtain as many outstanding works as he could. He acquired the drawings one by one, or occasionally in small groups, and not as a pre-established collection, as he had done when he purchased Paul Wallraf's Tiepolo drawings in 1962 (included in Volume 6) or as J. Pierpont Morgan had done in 1910 when he acquired the entire Charles Fairfax Murray collection, the fifteen hundred European drawings now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

Robert Lehman's interest in early drawings posed great challenges. Drawings from the fifteenth century, particularly, are difficult to find, because fewer of them were made and more of them have fallen victim to the destructive powers of time and neglect. Furthermore, at the time he was collecting, almost all of the outstanding drawings of this period were already in museums and other permanent collections, mainly in Europe. In fact, his acquiring early drawings greatly enhanced their availability to the public on this side of the Atlantic.

The monumentality and suggestive power of the *Virgin and Child with a Kneeling Donor* that opens this volume, a design for a small painting on glass here convincingly identified by Fritz Koreny as having been made in Salzburg about 1430–35, links it to the paintings of the same period in the Robert Lehman Collection. Other fifteenth-century drawings in the Collection represent whole categories of artistic concepts. Some of them were made close to one another in time, yet differ greatly in style and purpose. *Men Shoveling Chairs* (No. 23), drawn with black chalk and pen and brown ink on paper about 1444–50, is the only one of what must have been many drawings made as designs for sculpture in the round to survive from the fifteenth century. *Studies of Saint John the Baptist* (No. 24), executed in a different medium, metalpoint on prepared paper, about the middle of the century in order to record an invention of Rogier van der Weyden, is marked by a jeweler's sense of precision, and it in fact intensifies

the linear detail of the painting. It is much better than the great majority of the large category of similar metalpoint drawings intended to make exceptional motifs available to future generations of artists. The studies of two standing figures that might be prophets by an unusually gifted yet unidentified draftsman (No. 2) exemplify the new style of artists working along the Middle Rhine about 1470–80. Their author must have been well acquainted with the innovative drypoint figures of the artist we know only as the Housebook Master, or Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, which, like the Lehman drawing, fuse monumental dignity with common human traits and combine linear flexibility with strict graphic control. The *Man in a Hat Gazing Upward* by Martin Schongauer (No. 5) represents the next stage, toward the close of the fifteenth century, in artists' mastering the application of life to art.

At the turn of the fifteenth century, Albrecht Dürer absorbed the achievements of the preceding generations of artists, including the Italians, and created a point of departure for the Renaissance in the German-speaking areas of Europe. Dürer is represented in the Robert Lehman Collection by no less than four drawings (Nos. 7–10) that range from the early *Self-portrait* with a drawing of six pillows on the reverse that was made in 1493 to the *Head of a Young Woman* on green prepared paper from the early 1520s. The manner of drawing and the adoption of classical ideas in Hans Baldung's *Man of Sorrows* (No. 11) demonstrates the effect of Dürer's contribution to the Renaissance.

The seven drawings in the Collection by Rembrandt are impressive not only for their sheer number, particularly since in recent decades a better understanding of the distinction between Rembrandt's own work and that of his pupils and imitators has drastically reduced the number of his accepted works, but also, and especially, for their quality and significance. Two of the drawings, *The Last Supper, after Leonardo* (No. 66) and *Cottage near the Entrance to a Wood* (No. 69), are among the largest he ever made, and both are core to the understanding of his interest in rendering people exchanging ideas with each other and in the relationship between nature and man-made structures. Also by Rembrandt are the sharply observed *Old Man Leaning on a Stick* (No. 67), the amusing and intriguing *Satire on Art Criticism* (No. 70), and the moving record of *Elsje Christiaens Hanging on a Gibbet* (No. 72). Each conjures up a world of its own, as does Étienne Delaune's small and refined *Wolf Hunt* (No. 104) from sixteenth-century France.

Robert Lehman also acquired the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century drawings individually, or sometimes in pairs. In a few cases an artist and his entourage are represented by a number of drawings, Jacob Jordaens and Willem van de Velde and their circles each by seven (Nos. 38–44, 89–95), for example, and Claude Lorrain by four (Nos. 107–10). But many of the outstanding drawings from these later centuries are single sheets, among them Rubens's drawing (No. 37) after the antique bust thought at the time to represent the philosopher Seneca, whom Rubens greatly admired; David Vinckboons's large *Triumphal Entry of Frederik Hendrik of Orange into The Hague* (No. 52), a conflation of reality and allegory that was unusual for him; and

Aelbert Cuyp's view of his hometown, Dordrecht, stretching along the banks of the river Maas (No. 60).

The French drawings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are likewise distinguished by individual works of great beauty. Georges Lallemand's *Procuress* (No. 105) represents characteristically French Mannerist concepts. *Seated Woman* by Antoine Watteau (No. 113) and *The Dreamer* by Jean-Honoré Fragonard (No. 120), both delicate in technique and subtle in sentiment, are surely among the most beautiful drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection. Peter Lely, Thomas Gainsborough, and Paul Sandby, all part of a distinguished English tradition, are represented here at their best by *Study of the Forearms and Hands of a Woman* (No. 136), *Wooded Landscape* (No. 137), and *Lady Amelia D'Arcy* (No. 138). The catalogue presents these and all the many other great drawings included here with an appropriate analysis of their historical significance.

The viewers of the drawings and the readers of the catalogue owe Robert Lehman a great debt for having assembled this collection for their pleasure and instruction.

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann

John Langeloth Loeb Professor Emeritus of the History of Art,

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Coordinator of the Robert Lehman Collection Scholarly Catalogue Project

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On behalf of the Robert Lehman Foundation and Laurence B. Kanter, Curator of the Robert Lehman Collection, I want to thank the authors, the Editorial Department at the Metropolitan Museum, and all those in libraries, museums, and other institutions, among them especially the Watson Library at the Metropolitan, the Witt Library in London, and the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, who have assisted in the writing and publication of this volume.

The authors of the Central European, French, and English sections of the catalogue have given generously of their time and knowledge to write entries that will enlighten the general reader and advance scholarship. They, and I, have benefited greatly from assistance provided by our colleagues in New York and elsewhere. Where possible those colleagues are acknowledged in individual entries, but in some cases their help was pervasive and difficult to pinpoint. Fritz Koreny is grateful to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., for providing him with a scholarship; to Peter Ertl and Marianne Feiler at the Graphische

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Sue Potter, editor of the series, carried out her task with by now traditional careful and intelligent, patient and persuasive attention. She herself is grateful for the dedication and skill of Mary Gladue, Jean Wagner, Jeanne Marie Wasilik, Kendra Ho, and Elaine Luthy. Manus Gallagher, Linda Wolk-Simon, Francesca Valerio, and Monique van Dorp of the Robert Lehman Collection were especially helpful. We are indebted as well to Russell Stockman for his astute translation of the entries by Fritz Koreny, to Schecter Lee for his excellent photographs, and to Bruce Campbell for his as always elegant design.

Finally, as in the case of previous volumes in this series, I should like to acknowledge our special debt of gratitude to the Robert Lehman Foundation and its Board, particularly its Secretary, Paul C. Guth, for facilitating the publication of the scholarly catalogue of the Robert Lehman Collection.

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann

CENTRAL EUROPE

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Austria (Salzburg)

ca. 1430–35

**1. Virgin and Child with a Kneeling Donor,
in a Quatrefoil**

1975.I.849

Pen and brush and brownish black ink and grayish brown wash on ribbed paper. Watermark: ox head with a staff and a five-petaled flower.¹ 268 x 195 mm. Annotated on the verso in pencil: *Seligmann Nr. 7* and *Ochsenkopfpapier*.

Several short tears, which have been backed, and small holes, especially in the left half, only some of which have been restored or backed; the axes of the design marked with pencil lines. The borderline partly in deeper black than the drawing.

PROVENANCE: Adalbert von Lanna, Prague (Lugt 2773 on the verso); Lanna sale, H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, 6–11 May 1910, part 2, lot 372 (as Master Wilhelm of Cologne, second half of the fourteenth century); [Richard Ederheimer, New York]; Mortimer L. Schiff; John Mortimer Schiff; Schiff sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 24 June 1938, lot 13 (as Master Wilhelm of Cologne); [Bacri, Paris]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1938.

EXHIBITED: New York 1915, no. 2, ill. (as Master Wilhelm of Cologne, second half of the fourteenth century); New York 1956, no. 154 (as Master Wilhelm, active 1358–ca. 1378); Cincinnati 1959, p. 27, no. 245, ill. (as Cologne, ca. 1420); New York 1968–69, no. 17, ill. (as Austrian, probably Salzburg, ca. 1420); New York 1978–79, no. 16, ill. (as Austrian, probably Salzburg, ca. 1420); New York 1985–86; New York 1988b.

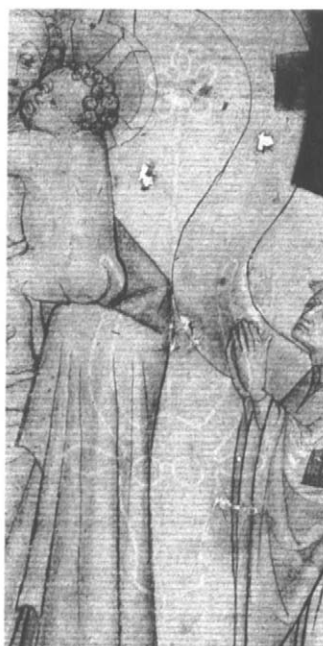
LITERATURE: Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, no. 1254 (as Wilhelm of Cologne[?], ca. 1420); Schmitz 1913, vol. 1, p. 36, fig. 56; Kieslinger [1928], pl. 15, fig. 2 (as Vienna, ca. 1427); Szabo 1975, p. 104, pl. 182; Koreny 1993–94, ill. (as a design for stained glass, Salzburg, ca. 1435).

The Madonna stands on a carved stone base in an elongated Gothic quatrefoil frame. On her bent right arm she supports the infant Christ, who has flung his arms around her neck and presses his face against her cheek. To the side of the monumental Madonna kneels a much smaller donor, his size an indication of his relative importance in the medieval hierarchy. His tonsure and robe, a *superpelliceum* with wide, modish sleeves reaching to the floor, identify him as an ecclesiastic. As he kneels in supplication, a banderole (without script) curves upward from behind his back, supporting him like a protective hand.

While it was in the Lanna collection this drawing was attributed to Wilhelm of Cologne, and Meder included it under the name of the same artist, with a question mark. In 1928 Kieslinger made a not altogether convincing at-

tempt to place it in Vienna, dating it to about 1427.² In the catalogue of the 1968–69 New York exhibition, however, Gómez-Moreno considered the possibility of assigning it to the Salzburg school, pointing out its overall similarity to Austrian and Bohemian sculpture of the early fifteenth century but not elaborating further.

Of the numerous ways of representing the Madonna in the late Middle Ages, this drawing follows the Byzantine *glykophilousa*, in which the infant is depicted hugging and kissing his mother. Although the type does not occur among the countless variations on the theme of the Madonna and Child in the sculpture of the period, it is relatively common in Austrian and south German paintings and drawings from about 1400. In the painted and drawn *glykophilousa* images, however, the Child is usually either dressed or swaddled. The artist appears to have fused the *glykophilousa* with the naked Child of the sculpted Soft Style “Beautiful Madonnas” of the first two decades of the fifteenth century. He is not necessarily to be credited with originating this blending of the two basic types, for if my interpretation is correct, the same



No. 1, watermark



No. 1



Fig. 1.1 *Madonna and Child*. *Speculum humanae salvationis*, fol. 114 (detail). Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS B.19, Vit 25-7

amalgamation appears in a miniature (Fig. 1.1) in a *Speculum humanae salvationis* in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, that is attributed to Vienna and dates to about 1430.³ Surprisingly enough, the illuminator of the Madrid manuscript not only depicted the Child naked, hugging the Madonna around the neck, as in the rather less common variant, but also has Mary supporting him on her right arm, which is covered by her cloak, and gripping his right foot with her left hand, just as in the Lehman drawing.

Early panel painting from Salzburg also provides formal and stylistic parallels for this fusion of iconographies. The drapery and pose of the donor figure in the Lehman drawing are directly analogous to those of the donor on a votive panel in the Priesterseminar, Freising (Fig. 1.2), that was created for Johannes Rauchenberger, a steward to the archbishops of Salzburg who died in 1429.⁴ The artist who painted the votive panel, called the Master of the Rauchenberger Epitaph, reworked the round, curving forms of Madonnas in the Soft Style, reducing the drapery to a more realistic series of vertical folds and further clarifying the Virgin's stance by bringing her free leg slightly forward and framing it with long, straight folds that fall from her hip to the ground.

From the bowl-shaped folds under her arm he developed wedges of folding that stretch to her knee, better articulating the shapes of her limbs. To the best of my knowledge this is the first appearance in the art of Salzburg of the basic solution for the draping of the free leg that only a short time later, in the 1430s, would become one of the most effective stratagems of the Master of the Weildorf Altarpiece, who made especially prominent use of it in the standing Madonna in the painting he is named for, the *Presentation in the Temple* in Sankt Klara in Freising (Fig. 1.3).⁵ We find the same clear organization of drapery, with barely notable changes, even as late as about 1440 in the figure of Saint John in the *Crucifixion* by the Master of the Laufen Altarpiece in the Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Sankt Florian.⁶

Our drawing fits nicely into this series of interpretations of the Madonna, most closely resembling the Weildorf panel in its simpler, more realistic forms. The artist not only adopted the pose – though reversed – in a similarly clear framework, but he also constructed folds that are similar even in the details at the edges of the cloak where they separate at the floor. The drawing borrows other details from the repertoire of the Master of the Rauchenberger Epitaph. One could argue that the similarity between the garment of the Madonna in the drawing and the one Saint Margaret wears in the votive panel (Fig. 1.2), a mantle with a narrow collar held together at the neck with a round clasp, simply reflects contemporary style. But the correlation between the donor figures in the two works goes beyond mere stylistic parallels, and allows us to conclude that one was directly dependent on the other. Not only are the two donors the same size in proportion to the objects of their devotion, but they have identically shaped banderoles curling up over their heads, and their poses, their silhouettes, and even their costumes are identical, with each detail of the drapery repeated in precisely the same spot. In both cases the donor's face and his tonsure are seen from two different angles, so that his head appears somewhat flattened and elongated. It is no surprise to find in a late panel painting by the Master of the Rauchenberger Epitaph, a *Mary Magdalen* in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco that has been dated to 1430–35 (Fig. 1.4),⁷ not only a very similar, almost three-dimensional nimbus shaped like a broad-rimmed plate but also the same relaxation of the drapery forms and inner tightening of the figure that set the drawing apart from the somewhat earlier Rauchenberger Epitaph.

The base the Madonna stands on, made to look like carved stone, also has its parallels in the art of early fif-

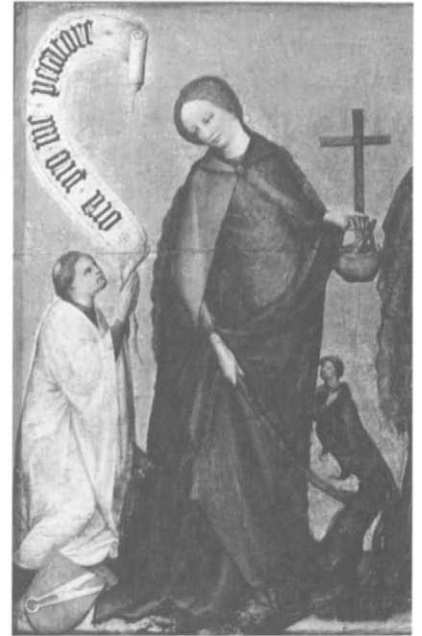


Fig. 1.2 Master of the Rauchenberger Epitaph, Johannes Rauchenberger Epitaph (details). Priesterseminar, Freising



Fig. 1.3 Master of the Weildorf Altarpiece, *The Presentation in the Temple*. Sankt Klara, Freising



Fig. 1.4 Master of the Rauchenberger Epitaph, *Mary Magdalen*. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Museum purchase, 48.5

teenth-century Salzburg. Even in the miniature from the Madrid *Speculum* it is possible to see that the figure is presented like a statue on a polygonal stone base, and this aspect is included in the later depictions as well. The base in the Rauchenberger Epitaph is low, just like the one in the Lehman drawing. The Mary Magdalen of the San Francisco panel stands on a wide platform base, and the saints on the wings of the Laufen Altarpiece stand on pedestals.

All this leads us to the same conclusion, and so definitely that we can firmly assign the Lehman drawing to Salzburg and identify it as having been executed by a follower of the Master of the Rauchenberger Epitaph. Inasmuch as it reflects the same stylistic stage as the Weildorf Altarpiece, it must have been produced in roughly 1430–35.

In 1913 Schmitz recognized this drawing as a design for a small painting on glass, which he pictured in grisaille and silvery yellow on a single pane.⁸ This observation is supported by the economical style of drawing, with strong lines for the contours and finer ones for distinguishing internal details, combined with delicate washes to emphasize light and shade and the architectural, quatrefoil shape much used by skilled craftsmen. This drawing serves as indirect evidence of a major change that occurred in the art of stained glass in the fifteenth century. Before then the practice had been for corporations of donors to commission large stained

glass windows, but in this period there was an increasing tendency toward smaller single panes that even the less well-to-do could afford on their own – yet another indication of the sudden awakening of a new self-consciousness on the part of the middle class. As one of the earliest designs of its kind, the drawing is of crucial significance. Its close connection to the Master of the Rauchenberger Epitaph and his workshop adds to its importance, making it the most securely documented drawing we have from Salzburg from the early 1430s and a point of departure for future attributions.

FK

NOTES:

1. This mark is not included in either Briquet or Piccard. The marks that most resemble it are Piccard's nos. 193 (1432–40), 194 (1429–37), and 195 (1423–26). The distance between the chain lines varies from 39 to 43 millimeters, the height of the marks from 104 to 108 millimeters, paper marks found in Wallerstein, Weinsberg, Sondershausen, Fürstenwalde, and Stettin.
2. Kieslinger ([1928], pl. 15, fig. 2) wrongly identified the drawing as belonging to the Albertina, Vienna.
3. Vavra 1975; Koreny 1993–94, fig. 2.
4. Salzburg 1972, no. 2, pls. 4, 5; Koreny 1993–94, figs. 3, 4. On Salzburg panel painting from the first half of the fifteenth century, see Salzburg 1972, nos. 3–35.
5. Salzburg 1972, no. 4, pls. 14, 15; Koreny 1993–94, fig. 5.
6. Salzburg 1972, no. 26, pl. 16.
7. Stange 1934–61, vol. 10, p. 13, fig. 31; Koreny 1993–94, fig. 6.
8. Schmitz 1913, p. 36.

Middle Rhine

ca. 1470–80

2. Standing Figure (Prophet?) Turned to the Right; Standing Figure (Prophet?) Turned to the Left

1975.I.765

Pen and black ink over a preliminary drawing in thin pen and black ink that is visible in certain areas and a preliminary drawing in black chalk that seems to have been erased, on paper unevenly washed pink, with some spots of more concentrated color; verso on off-white (unprepared) paper. Watermark: part of a tower (similar to Briquet 15.872, 15.873, 15.876 [Klingenberg 1464] and Piccard, vol. 3, II, no. 364 [Esslingen, Ingelstadt, Kaisheim monastery, 1462–65]); chain lines 34 mm apart. 195 x 91 mm.

Trimmed on all four sides; a spot visible near the head on the front and back (foxing?).

PROVENANCE: CPS or CPL (unidentified collector's stamp at the lower left on the verso);[†] J. D. Böhm, Vienna (Lugt 271 on the recto); sale, Posonyi, Vienna, 4 December 1865, lot

1291 (as Hugo van der Goes); Edwin Czeczowiczka, Vienna; Czeczowiczka sale, Paul Graupe and C. G. Boerner, Berlin, 12 May 1930, lot 23, ill. (as Netherlandish, fifteenth century); [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]; Stefan von Licht; [Matthiessen Gallery, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1959.

EXHIBITED: Lawrence, Kansas, 1969, no. 35, pl. 33 (as Burgundian[?], third quarter of the fifteenth century); New York 1978–79, no. 13, ill. (as French or Burgundian, third quarter of the fifteenth century); New York 1985–86 (as French, third quarter of the fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: Schrader 1970, p. 42, fig. 6 (as Burgundy[?], third quarter of the fifteenth century); Boon 1992, p. 505, n. 6.



No. 2, watermark

Although this sheet has been listed in various auction and exhibition catalogues since 1865, it has been discussed at length only by Schrader in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1969. The drawing was attributed to Hugo van der Goes in 1865, and it was later attributed to an anonymous Netherlandish artist.² There are, however, no clearly comparable drawings in the art of the Netherlands. Schrader tentatively proposed that the Lehman drawing is the work of an artist from Burgundy, suggesting that that would explain the style of the costumes, the considerable importance of the drapery in the overall design of the figures, and especially the portraitlike facial features. He noted that until then the only other fifteenth-century drawing convincingly attributed to Burgundy was the *Standing Ecclesiastic with Folded Hands* in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, which has often been ascribed to the Master of the Aix Annunciation.³ Boon, on the other hand, was more inclined to see the two Lehman studies as the work of a German draftsman.⁴

Although the figures were quickly drawn with a fine pen in simple, nervous strokes, the artist was not un-

skilled. The overall effect seems somewhat dry, but closer inspection reveals the hand of a sensitive, discriminating artist who was altogether capable of giving volume to his figures and creating expressive faces. The figures are laid out with assurance in large, clear outlines. Details are rendered for the most part with thin, irregular rows of vertical hatching and further articulated with a loose network of delicate horizontal hooklike strokes.

There is almost nothing to compare with this technique in drawings from the second half of the fifteenth century. A page in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main (Fig. 2.1), with sketches of two mythical animals may be the closest parallel.⁵ That drawing, in which the use of hatching and hooklike strokes evinces



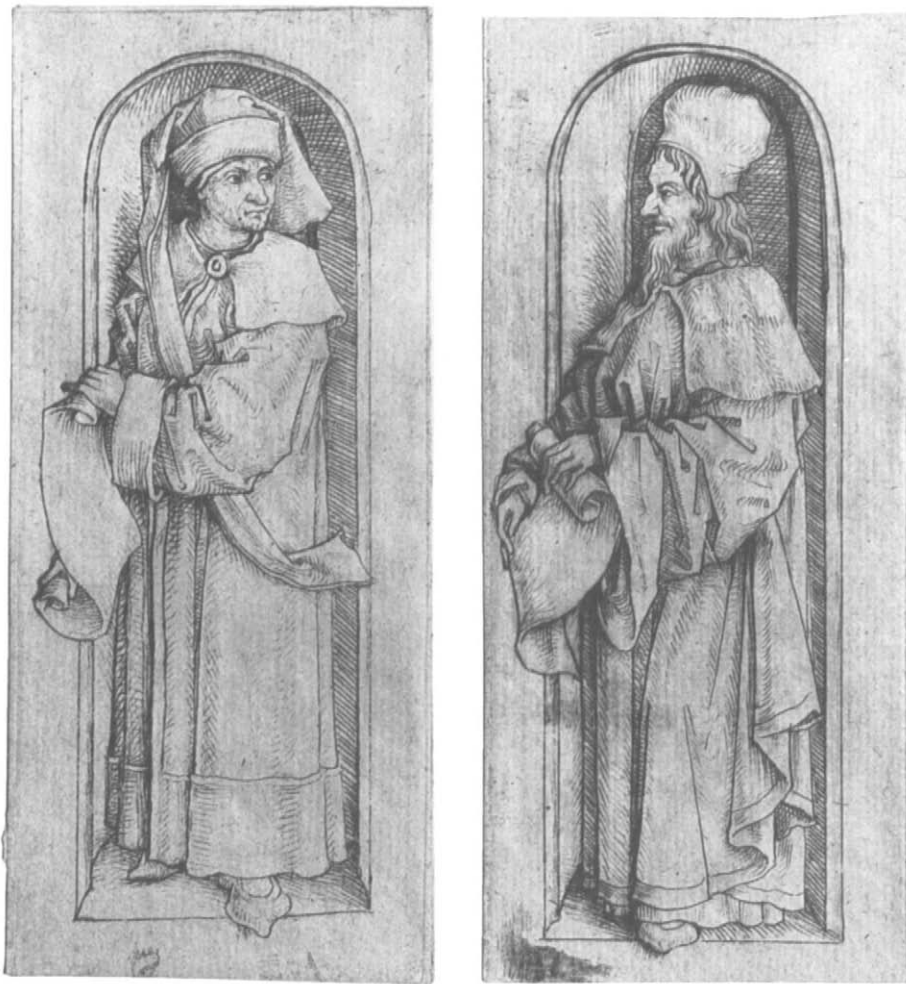
Fig. 2.1 Middle Rhine(?), 1450-1500, *Two Mythical Animals*. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 631. Photograph © Ursula Edelmann



No. 2, recto



No. 2, verso



Figs. 2.2, 2.3 Housebook Master, *Prophets*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

similar formal training, is now thought to be the work of an artist from the Middle Rhine. That the paper is almost certainly of German manufacture and can be dated to the mid-1460s is another indication that these two figure studies, although probably derived from Netherlandish tradition, are the work of a German artist, probably a draftsman active on the Middle Rhine about 1470–80.

The figures that most resemble these in form are the prophets in a series of four drypoint prints (Figs. 2.2, 2.3)⁶ by the artist known as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, or the Housebook Master. All attempts to identify this anonymous master, named after the medieval Housebook in the collection of the counts of Waldburg-Wolfegg, have resulted only in a distribution of the works once attributed to him among various artists and a localization of his activity along the Middle Rhine, in the areas of Speyer and Mainz. Most recently Hess has proposed that the printmaker was a court artist in Heidelberg.⁷

If one recognizes that the technique of drypoint is very similar to that of drawing – the only difference being that in the former, rather than putting pen to paper, the artist draws with a pointed metal stylus on a soft metal plate and can then reproduce his image in a limited number of copies – it seems perfectly appropriate to compare works in the two media. As in the Lehman drawings, the long lines of the folds of the drapery in the prints by the Housebook Master run parallel to the outlines of the figures; the basic structure of the drapery is indicated with thin, sharp lines that thicken at the ends where they turn back on themselves; and the hatching in the shadows is made up of short, thin, relatively irregular lines. This is also true in another print by the Housebook Master, *Christ as the Good Shepherd* (Fig. 2.4).⁸ The two artists drew on the same formal repertoire and had a similar approach to using light and shadow to define form and mass.



Fig. 2.4 Housebook Master, *Christ as the Good Shepherd*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-882

Certain details of the costumes of the Lehman figures recur in those of two of the prophets by the Housebook Master (Figs. 2.2, 2.3): the wide cuffs on the sleeves and the hat with a padded band on one figure and the long cloak with wide, funnel-shaped sleeves on the other. The object the figure on the recto of the Lehman sheet holds in his hand (which Schrader thought was a letter or document) is in my opinion some sort of head covering, probably a *Birett* of the kind worn by one of the prophets by the Housebook Master (see Fig. 2.2). The unusual headgear and the floor-length, full-cut cloaks (called *Schaube* or *Tappert* in German) resemble the accepted costume of medieval scholars and give the figures a distinguished air, an impression that is reinforced by the pose of the figure on the verso of the Lehman sheet, who presses his left index finger against his right thumb in a standard gesture from the pictorial rhetoric of the late Middle Ages that means he is arguing a point.⁹

The Lehman figures are reminiscent of the half-figure prophets that Justus of Ghent produced for the Studiolo of Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino,¹⁰ and the prophet portraits by the Master of the Aix Annunciation of about 1445.¹¹ It is doubtless to this tradition, of which there are isolated examples in the Franco-Burgundian region but which would appear to have originated in the Netherlands (to judge from echoes in engravings, woodcuts, Westphalian panel painting, and the sibyl and prophet cycles by the Tom Ring family of painters),¹² that the two figures in this drawing and the four drypoints by the Housebook Master belong.

FK

NOTES:

1. The interpretation of the mark as Lugt 622 in the catalogue of the Czeczowiczka sale in 1930 seems suspect to me.
2. In 1970 Schrader briefly mentioned Vrancke van der Stockt, only to (correctly) dismiss the relationship.
3. Ring 1949, no. 95, pl. 53; Moskowitz 1962, no. 641.
4. Letter to Haverkamp-Begemann, 28 November 1989.
5. Schilling 1973, no. 191; Frankfurt am Main 1994-95, no. Z11.
6. Lehrs 1908-34, vol. 8, nos. 1-4; Amsterdam-Frankfurt am Main 1985, pp. 94-95, nos. 1-4, ill. (prints in the Albertina, Vienna, 309-11/1928, and the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Van Leyden Collection, port. 20, nos. 49, 52).
7. On the Housebook Master, see Hess 1994 (with comprehensive bibliography) and Washington, D.C.-New York 1998-99. Hess also suggested that the paintings that have been ascribed to the Housebook Master originated in the circle of the Master of the Speyer Altar, who directed a large workshop in Speyer.
8. Lehrs 1908-34, vol. 8, no. 18; Amsterdam-Frankfurt am Main 1985, p. 111, no. 17, ill.
9. See also Gerard David's *Justice of Cambyzes: Arrest of the Corrupt Judge* of 1498 (Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 0.40; Miegroet 1989, no. 19, colorpl. 137). When the Lehman sheet was sold in Berlin in 1930, the writer of the catalogue thought the figures might be Pilate and a Pharisee, perhaps for an *Ecce homo*.
10. Friedländer 1967-76, vol. 3, pls. 106-15.
11. Ring 1949, nos. 92, 94, pls. 49, 51.
12. Münster 1996, vol. 2, nos. 7-37.

Eastern Germany

ca. 1460–70

3. The Flagellation of Christ

1975.1.868

Pen and dark brown ink and red and yellowish brown watercolor. 204 x 122 mm. Illegible letters on the capital of the column and the hem of the left-hand soldier's jacket.

Pasted onto the inside front of a leather book cover. Moisture has slightly blurred the colors between the upper edge of the paper and Christ's halo.

PROVENANCE: Possibly Junius S. Morgan or H. R. Schniewind; sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 18 February 1921, lot 55 (as Master of the Playing Cards); [Richard Ederheimer, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman through Ederheimer in 1926.¹

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 3, ill.; New London, Connecticut, 1936, no. 9; San Francisco 1940, no. 69, ill.; Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942–44; Philadelphia 1950–51, no. 7, ill.; New York 1956, no. 157; Paris 1957, no. 111; Cincinnati 1959, no. 246, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 17, ill. (in all as Master of the Playing Cards).

LITERATURE: Tietze 1947, no. 3 (as Master of the Playing Cards); Szabo 1975, p. 104, pl. 184.

This drawing first appeared in a catalogue of an auction at the Anderson Galleries in New York in 1921, where it was attributed to the Master of the Playing Cards. In support of that attribution, the catalogue assures us that “the penmanship is quite identical with the burin work of the famous early engraver,” and that “this attribution has been confirmed by Dr. Friedländer, of the Berlin Museum, and other authorities.” In 1947 Tietze agreed with Friedländer, pointing out this sheet's similarity to the Master of the Playing Cards' engravings, particularly his *Man of Sorrows*.² At any rate, Tietze wrote, “the sharpness of the silhouettes, the precision of the outlines, the mechanical character of the hatching, all point in [the] direction” of this being “the production of an engraver.”

No doubt Friedländer, Tietze, and the scholars who subsequently published the drawing attributed it as they did only because they approached the problem using the little that was known at the time about the engravings of the Master of the Playing Cards. The first to raise questions about the attribution was Wolff, who in 1981 suspected that it was based only on a very general, superficial similarity between the figural types.³ She suggested that neither the *Man of Sorrows* nor *Saint Sebastian*,⁴ to which the Lehman drawing has also been compared, can be considered the work of the Master of

the Playing Cards (for that matter they are not even necessarily by the same artist). In fact, in her opinion the rather crude execution of the drawing is incompatible with works that have been attributed to the Master of the Playing Cards, and the way the figures appear to float on the surface of the paper would tend to suggest that this is only a copy.

From these quite pertinent observations one begins to see how difficult it is to judge this drawing, for inasmuch as it is presumably a copy we are obliged to distinguish the draftsman from his possible source, and there is little to which his untrained manner of drawing might be compared. Under such circumstances we can hope only to provide approximate guesses regarding its authorship.

In the drawing Christ stands against the column, which floats in space with no suggestion of a floor or a setting, with his hands tied behind his back. He is turned to the left, supporting himself on his left leg and bending his right knee. His left arm forms a sharp angle and his head and trunk bend forward as his body, naked except for a loincloth, tenses under the blows of the soldiers' scourges. His three tormentors are dressed in a manner typical of the early fifteenth century: either loose jerkins or close-fitting short coats that button up the front, with gartered tights and either top-boots or simple crakows. The soldier on the left is hampered by his wide, baggy sleeves, and in order to get a proper swing he has to hold back his right sleeve with his left hand. The soldier on the right, following the custom of ordinary workmen, has tucked his jerkin into his belt so that his legs can move more freely.⁵ A third soldier squats on the ground, his right leg bent beneath him, binding another scourge. The three form a ring around their victim, but rather than standing one behind the other they appear to occupy the same plane. The same draftsman has drawn below the scene, possibly only by way of economizing on paper, a pair of stylized lilies on a stem.⁶

The freestanding pillar, like the one in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem somewhat taller than Christ, is typical of paintings of the Flagellation from the end of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century. One can see it, for example, in narratives of the



No. 3



Fig. 3.1 Hiltoltstein Altarpiece (detail). Parish church of Hiltoltstein. Photograph: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich



Fig. 3.2 Cracow, 1433, *Madonna of Tschentstochau* (detail from engraved silver frame). Photograph courtesy of M. Fritz

Passion in the church of Schotten (Middle Rhine), dating from about 1380;⁷ in a panel in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, from the beginning of the fifteenth century that betrays a definite Bohemian influence;⁸ and in the Hiltoltstein Altarpiece (Fig. 3.1), which dates to 1435–40.⁹ It appears as well in the engraved frame for the miraculous image of the Madonna of Tschentstochau created by a Cracow goldsmith in 1433 (Fig. 3.2).¹⁰ Examples from after the middle of the century, such as the *Flagellation* from the Ulm woodcut Passion of 1480 (Fig. 3.3)¹¹ or the miniature in a Bohemian Hussite codex from roughly 1465 (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen),¹² were most likely based on earlier sources. In the second half of the century late Gothic art was becoming increasingly illusionistic, and as a rule artists preferred to picture the scourging pillar as part of a specific architectural space.

In the earlier depictions of the subject Christ generally stands erect and calm against the pillar, often facing it

with his hands tied in front of him. Showing him as he is here, with his hands tied behind him and his body expressively racked with pain, was customary after about 1480 in paintings from Austria and the so-called Ordensländer, the eastern German territories that were under the control of the Teutonic Knights. Michael Pacher's *Flagellation* (Österreichische Galerie, Vienna) of 1495–98¹³ and a pen and wash drawing (Fig. 3.4) in an album of 1470–80 from Ebrach Monastery (Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg)¹⁴ are clear examples of this type. The bent right leg and the way the loincloth is tied and draped are echoed in a painting formerly in the Stadtmuseum, Königsberg (Fig. 3.5),¹⁵ and one in the cathedral of Frauenburg.¹⁶

Other motifs in the drawing also have a long tradition in the depiction of the Flagellation. The Master of the Hiltoltstein Altarpiece used the narrative detail of the soldier holding back his garment as early as about 1435–40 (see Fig. 3.1) and it appears as well in the Ebrach album that dates to some forty years later and in



Fig. 3.3 *The Flagellation* (from the Ulm woodcut Passion of 1480). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich



Fig. 3.4 *The Flagellation* (from Ebrach Monastery album of 1470-80). Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg, Delin. VII B 35

the Ulm woodcut of 1480 (see Figs. 3.3, 3.4). It should be noted that none of these examples come from the Netherlands or the adjacent regions in Germany. They are all either Austrian, Franconian with visible Bohemian influence, or East Prussian.

Models for the Flagellation scene in pattern books distributed throughout this same region also typically include the right-hand soldier, seen from the back or in profile and swinging his scourge with both hands, and he appears as well in the Nürnberg panel, Pacher's *Flagellation*, the Ebrach album drawing, the painting in Frauenburg, and a painting by Frueauf the Elder in the Österreichische Galerie, Vienna.¹⁷ The man sitting on the ground binding a scourge is also frequently represented. He appears, with his modish haircut, in about 1400 in the Nürnberg panel, and he continued to be used until as late as about 1460, the heyday of Burgundian court painting.¹⁸

This noticeably two-dimensional, more decorative arrangement of the soldier figures around a considerably

larger Christ is common in handicrafts and popular prints of the period. Of the works we have cited, the Hiltpoltstein Altarpiece (Fig. 3.1) comes closest to the pictorial solution of this drawing, both in its composition and in the stylistic treatment of the individual figures. The figures in the altarpiece, albeit fine-limbed, with slender, articulated legs and pointed shoes, are also separated from each other for maximum visibility and placed either above or beside one another on a single plane. The Cracow goldsmith who created the frame for the image of the Madonna of Tschentstochau (Fig. 3.2) arranged the figures in the engraved panels with the same wide space between them, as did the more naive illuminator of the Hussite codex in Göttingen.

Though the artist of the Lehman drawing defined his figures with a rather awkward technique, delineating them with simple contours, he paid surprisingly close attention to the play of light. To indicate the light falling from the left, he drew the left edges of the figures with very thin lines, while those on the right are thick. He

modeled the forms with stiff, irregular hatching and crosshatching, a technique that corresponds most closely to the way shading is indicated in engravings by goldsmiths (see Fig. 3.2) and is seen rarely in drawings from about 1450–60 and only occasionally in the work of engravers. There is, for instance, almost no cross-hatching in the engravings of the Master of the Playing Cards, who instead used his burin to create delicate parallel feltlike strokes. Jagged outlines like those of the loincloth in this drawing first begin to appear in works of the next generation of engravers: the Master of 1446, Master E.S., and the Master of the Banderoles.

All this leads us to conclude that this drawing blends older sources with others of more recent date. The soldiers are based on figural inventions in the supple style of the International Gothic from the beginning of the fif-

teenth century, while the figure of Christ against the column follows a pattern created in the third quarter of the fifteenth century that found wider dissemination only after roughly 1470. One wonders whether this artist can be credited with arriving at such a synthesis on his own, or whether, what is more likely, it was prefigured in his sources. Given the origins of its composition and its various motifs and figural types – not to mention the limited geographical range of the works to which it can be compared – the drawing would seem to have been produced in eastern Germany, in the region bordering Germany, Bohemia, and Poland, along the line that runs from Nürnberg to Breslau to Prague and Cracow. As we have said, these indications are by no means conclusive, but to judge from its stylistic attributes it would also seem to have been created about 1460–70 or even somewhat later.

FK



Fig. 3.5 Eastern Germany, late fifteenth century, *The Flagellation*. Present location unknown. Photograph: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

NOTES:

1. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 1, no. 28.
3. Martha Wolff, letter to Alan Shestack, 20 August 1981. On the Master of the Playing Cards, see also Wolff 1979.
4. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 1, no. 36; Geisberg 1923, fig. 1 (as by the Meister der Weibermacht, or Master of the Power of Woman).
5. See Liebreich 1928.
6. These are clear, simple forms like the ones we see in late Gothic decorative painting, for example on stenciled wood ceilings or appliqué embroidery. There is something of the handicraft pattern about the drawing, though just what is difficult to define.
7. Stange 1934–61, vol. 2, fig. 138.
8. *Ibid.*, fig. 221.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. 9, fig. 35.
10. Fritz 1966, pp. 326, 545, figs. 254, 255.
11. Schreiber 1912, no. 118, ill.; Schreiber 1926, no. 22a.
12. Frankfurt am Main 1975–76, no. 16, fig. 56 (as “Bohemia, circa 1465 after an older source”).
13. Stange 1934–61, vol. 10, fig. 276.
14. Baumeister and Boll 1934, pp. 26–49, fig. 12.
15. Stange 1934–61, vol. 11, fig. 266.
16. *Ibid.*, fig. 267.
17. *Ibid.*, vol. 10, fig. 65.
18. See, for example, Philippe de Mazerolle’s *Flagellation* in the so-called Black Breviary of Galeazzo Maria Sforza of about 1470 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Białostocki 1972, fig. 5).

Upper Rhine (Switzerland)

ca. 1480

4. Saint John the Evangelist

1975.1.851

Pen and blackish brown ink and gray wash over a black chalk underdrawing (still partially visible in the foliate forms of the throne at the upper right), the thin, pale lines of the preliminary ink drawing clearly distinguishable from the thicker, darker ones on top of them, which have dense, felt-like accumulations of tiny strokes in some of the shadows, but are by the same hand; traces of a curved line in black chalk and partly in brush and gray ink in the lower corners and at the upper right. 265 x 168 mm. On the verso, traces of a standing female figure(?) in black chalk.

Water stain on the upper left edge, to the left of the head.

PROVENANCE: Maurice Marignane, Paris (Lugt 1872 on the verso); Z. Rosenthal, Bern; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York].

EXHIBITED: New York 1941; Portland, Oregon, 1946; New York 1978–79, no. 20, ill. (as probably Upper Rhine, end of the fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: Schaeffer 1948, no. 23.

According to the *Golden Legend*, the idolatrous priest Aristodemus challenged John the Evangelist: “I will give you poison to drink. If it does you no harm, it will be clear that your master is the true God.” . . . The apostle took the cup, armed himself with the sign of the cross, drained the drink, and suffered no harm; and all present began to praise God.”¹ The apostle, Christ’s favorite disciple, is seated here in a Gothic chair with a carved back and arms that is placed at a diagonal in the picture space. His upper body is turned to the right, and with his right hand he blesses the cup of poison. The serpent often depicted crawling out of the cup to symbolize the deadly poison is not included.

This drawing has in the past been attributed to Master E.S., the engraver from the Upper Rhine who died about 1467 or shortly thereafter.² Schilling thought it might be the work of the Master of the Drapery Studies, also called the Master of the Coburg Roundels, who was active in Strasbourg between roughly 1475 and 1500.³ Falk also pointed out the similarity in the drawing’s style to that of the Master of the Drapery Studies but thought it was executed between 1460 and 1480.⁴

Though rendered with a solid outline and largely confined to two dimensions, this seated figure is monumental in its effect. The artist has used a figural type dating back to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, to

Jan van Eyck and the Master of Flémalle. The series of apostles in the Albertina in Vienna, some standing, some sitting,⁵ and the powerful seated figures of the prophets and apostles from the vestments of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, are direct precedents.⁶ The contrapposto of the seated pose – the chair turned to face left, the body twisted to the right – is prefigured there, as are the long, straight lines describing the contours and internal forms. In the figure of Thaddeus, for example, a few summary strokes manage to make of the shoulder line, arms, and body a single massive block, and the lines of folds radiating out from the knee are simple and clear. As in the Lehman



Fig. 4.1 Master E.S., *Saint Matthew*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



Fig. 4.2 Style of Master E.S., Upper Rhine, *Seated Woman Holding a Coat of Arms*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2380. Courtesy of the V&A Picture Library



Fig. 4.3 *Seated Woman Holding a Coat of Arms*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett Basel, u.III.71. Photograph: Martin Bühler

drawing, a narrow belt gathers the fabric of the robe at the waist, making it clear that this is merely fabric and helping to emphasize the form of the body underneath.

The engravings of seated apostles by Master E.S. do offer direct stylistic parallels to this drawing.⁷ The same juxtaposition of wide, puffy folds and thin furrows suggested with heavy lines found on the left sleeve of the Saint John in this drawing, for example, was used in the engraving of Saint Matthew (Fig. 4.1), albeit reduced to a more refined graphic form. The single long fold in the cloak where it falls from the shoulder also appears in both the drawing and the engraving. The fold, which looks as though it has been artificially stiffened, creates a shell shape that encloses the bent arm, forming a dark hollow against which the lighter arm stands out. Both engraver and draftsman also emphasized the hem of the garment with delicate double lines, and they both reproduced the light contours of the folds in the shadowed areas with the same sensitivity and precision.

There are, however, differences between the drawing and the engraving that are not simply the result of their having been produced by different techniques. The engraving is the work of an assured, experienced hand, full of calligraphic and ornamental flourishes. The drawing is more tentative, the line more nervous, although the artist was clearly aware of the effects he could produce and understood how to combine delicate crosshatching and concentrations of tiny, dense strokes overlaid with wash to create a vivid and appealing impression. The little knot-like dots in the angles of the shaded areas in the drawing do not appear in the engraving. This characteristic way of placing little dots in the peaks of the shadows on the drapery first occurs in the art of the Upper Rhine in the drawings of Martin Schongauer (see No. 5).⁸ The technique is used with equal effect in a design for a glass painting of a female figure holding a coat of arms in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 4.2).⁹ In that drawing as well, some of the configurations of lines are



No. 4

as rigid and formulaic as those in our *Saint John*. The shape in the right elbow of the figure in the London drawing, for example – a straight line ending in a short downstroke from which a curving line leads back and down to form a shaded hollow with little dots at its apex – recurs near the hem of Saint John's right sleeve.

The sheet in the Victoria and Albert has been ascribed to an artist working in the Upper Rhine region in the manner of Master E.S. A drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Basel (Fig. 4.3),¹⁰ is thought to be a copy of a (presumably lost) companion piece to the London drawing. Despite their very similar outward appearance, the two female figures are drawn in different ways. The artist of the London drawing has built up his figure in a disciplined fashion with line, using outlines, rows of hatching, crosshatching, and dots. Instead of describing his shapes with precise lines, the artist of the Basel drawing aimed for a more painterly effect, making the individual line subordinate to the overall impression and using wash to emphasize the shadows. In the London drawing, for instance, the lower and upper eyelids are clearly outlined, as are the irises, pupils, and eyebrows. The Basel draftsman, by contrast, attempted instead to capture the woman's gaze, concentrating on the upper lid and pupil while only suggesting the brows, and omitting the lower lid altogether. Such details, along with the wash and the style of drawing, especially the short, tangled strokes in the shadows, all relate this stained glass design, which bears the coat of arms of the Basel painters' guild, to the Lehman drawing.

The somewhat doll-like figural type of Saint John, with a large head and broad, round face, is also typical of the painting of the Upper Rhine, beginning with the Master of the Frankfurt Garden of Paradise and continuing through the *Annunciation* in the Reinhart Collection in Winterthur,¹¹ the Staufen panels in the Augustiner Museum in Freiburg im Breisgau,¹² and the *Saint John* by the Housebook Master in the Cleveland Museum of Art.¹³ Certain of the drapery motifs in the Lehman drawing, specifically the long, straight paths of fabric and the angular lines of folds like those on Saint John's right shoulder, recur in a small painting of the Madonna attributed to the painter who used the monogram B.M.¹⁴

They can also be seen in *The Madonna in Her Chamber* in the Kunstmuseum Basel (formerly Tobias Christ collection, Basel), which has been attributed, doubtless incorrectly, to Martin Schongauer.¹⁵

The London and Basel drawings are dated to about 1465–70, which is perhaps a bit too early for our drawing. The graphic system of long, clear, sharp lines and shaded hollows of short hatchings with knotlike thickenings at the corners seems to presuppose a knowledge of Schongauer's work, which was not reflected in painting before 1475–80. The stylistic link to Schongauer's successors suggests the drawing was executed in the region of the Upper Rhine, possibly in Basel, in about 1470–80.

The drawing has been trimmed to form a tall rectangle, but the traces of a curved line in black chalk at the corners suggest that the composition was originally round. Like the London and Basel drawings, it was probably intended as the design for a stained glass roundel.

FK

NOTES:

1. Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1260) 1993, p. 53.
2. Undated, unsigned note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
3. Schilling wrote "Master of the Drapery Studies" on the documentary photograph in the Schaeffer Galleries. I am grateful to Kaethe Schaeffer for allowing me to look through the drawing files.
4. T. Falk, letter to Alan Shestack, 5 April 1983 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
5. Benesch 1928, nos. 1–12. See also No. 22, note 2.
6. Schlosser 1912, pl. 5.
7. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 2, nos. 112–23, especially nos. 112, 113, 116, and 117, and see also prints by the Master of the Playing Cards or the Master of the Saint Dionysus (e.g., *ibid.*, no. 2).
8. Colmar 1991, nos. 229, 230; Koreny 1996.
9. Parker 1928, no. 5.
10. Falk 1979, part 1, no. 19.
11. Stange 1934–61, vol. 4, figs. 87, 88.
12. *Ibid.*, figs. 97, 98.
13. Amsterdam–Frankfurt am Main 1985, no. 119; Hindman et al. 1997, fig. 2.8.
14. Stange 1934–61, vol. 7, fig. 42.
15. *Ibid.*, fig. 23.

Martin Schongauer

Colmar ca. 1450–Breisach 1491

Martin Schongauer was born about 1450, presumably the third of four sons of the goldsmith Caspar Schongauer, who had moved to Colmar from Augsburg and acquired citizenship there in 1445. He is first mentioned in 1465, in the matriculation book at the University of Leipzig. His earliest works date from about 1469–70, based on Albrecht Dürer's inscriptions on some of Schongauer's drawings. Where Schongauer received his earliest training is uncertain, but he appears to have spent at least his journeyman years in the Netherlands, where he obviously received some training in the circle of Rogier van der Weyden. It is supposed that he also traveled to Burgundy (Beaune) and Spain, but this cannot be documented. He painted his masterpiece, the *Madonna in the Rose Garden* for the church of Saint Martin in Colmar, in 1473. The Dominican altarpiece executed for the same church (now in the Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar) is a product of his workshop. In 1489 Schongauer became a citizen of nearby Breisach, so that he could paint the *Last Judgment* frescoes in the cathedral there. He died in Breisach on 2 February 1491, presumably of the plague.

Only a few of Schongauer's paintings survive. In addition to the frescoes and the *Madonna in the Rose Garden*, there are the wings he painted for the Orlier Altar (Musée d'Unterlinden), three small panels depicting the Adoration of Mary and Joseph and the Adoration of the

Shepherds in the museums in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna, and two small Madonna panels in Darmstadt and a private collection. The scarcely more than a dozen of his drawings that remain are extremely important artistically. Among them is the recently discovered color study of peonies in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, which predates Dürer's botanical studies and is at least as fine as they are. Finally, there are 115 engravings, all signed with Schongauer's monogram. Schongauer elevated the medium of engraving, barely thirty years old at the time, to a pinnacle of perfection and in so doing opened up new possibilities for the black-and-white art of printmaking. The power of the lines of his prints would be surpassed only in some of Dürer's engravings.

Even in his lifetime, Schongauer was famous as a painter and engraver. Although he died young, he left his stamp on the art of his region, and through his engravings had an influence beyond the boundaries of the German lands, even as far away as Italy and Spain. A portrait of him is possibly preserved in an early work by Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531) in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. An inscription on the back reads: "Mayster Martin schongawer maler genent Hipsch martin von wegen seiner kunst . . . 1488" (Master Martin Schongauer, painter, called "pretty Martin" on account of his art . . . 1488).

Martin Schongauer

5. Man in a Hat Gazing Upward

1975.I.872

Pen and dark brown ink, with traces of a preliminary drawing in a darker ink, on pinkish prepared paper (with red ocher?). 130 x 97 mm.

Inlaid into paper of a heavier weight.

PROVENANCE: Franz von Sternberg-Manderscheid, Prague; Sternberg-Manderscheid sale, J. G. A. Frenzel, Dresden, 10 November 1845, vol. 5, lot 330 (as Hans Holbein the Elder); Friedrich August II of Saxony (Lugt 971 at lower right on recto; sold 1945); private collection, Switzerland; [E. Verchere, Geneva; A. and R. Ball, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman through Verchere and Ball in December 1952.

EXHIBITED: New York 1956, no. 158; Paris 1957, no. 126; Cincinnati 1959, no. 247; New York 1978–79, no. 21; New York 1985–86; Colmar 1991, no. 210 (in all as Martin Schongauer).

LITERATURE: Frenzel 1831, p. 60 (as Hans Holbein the Elder); Lehrs 1914, pl. 2 (as Martin Schongauer); Rosenberg 1923, pp. 22, 23, fig. 16 (as Schongauer, ca. 1480); Baum 1948, p. 45, fig. 122 (as Schongauer); Flechsig 1951, pp. 332, 334 (as Schongauer); Winzinger 1951, p. 46, fig. 5; Winzinger 1962, no. 14 (as Schongauer); Bernhard 1980, ill. p. 154 (as Schongauer); Koreny 1996, p. 139, fig. 31.



Fig. 5.1 Martin Schongauer, *Head of a Man with a Fur Cap*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, kdz 4917. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

There can be little doubt that this small study is the *Head of an Old Man in a Hat* that Frenzel mentioned in 1831 as part of the Sternberg-Manderscheid collection and as attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder.¹ At the auction of the Sternberg-Manderscheid collection in 1845 the drawing was acquired for the collection of Friedrich August II of Saxony.² It was sold by the family in 1945. Robert Lehman acquired it from a Swiss collector in 1952.

Lehrs was the first, in 1914, to recognize the drawing as the work of Schongauer. “In quality,” he said, “it surpasses almost all other similar studies of heads in the other collections.”³ In 1923 Rosenberg assigned it to the artist’s middle period, about 1480, at the same time as the *Passion* engravings.⁴ In 1962 Winzinger cited Rosenberg without committing himself further, comparing the study to the *Head of a Man with a Fur Cap* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 5.1), which because of its similar style he believed was created at roughly the same time. Baum and Flechsig both simply listed the drawing among Schongauer’s autograph works without further

discussion. In his entry on this sheet in the catalogue of the 1991 Colmar exhibition, Starcky harked back to Rosenberg’s comparison of its style with that of the *Passion* engravings (which in the exhibition were assigned a place among the late works, however). Starcky agreed with Winzinger that the *Head of a Man with a Fur Cap* in Berlin is similar in style to the Lehman drawing, but he dated the Berlin sheet somewhat later. He considers the Lehman drawing an early work, produced immediately after the *Monk with a Wine Jar* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,⁵ and predating the studies of heads in the Louvre, Paris.⁶

The few fine pen lines of Schongauer’s preliminary sketch that are still visible on the hat and shoulders in this drawing show how quickly he worked and provide a glimpse of his original conception. Over the “framework” of the underdrawing he constructed the coat with strong, fluid, richly varied strokes, especially on the left shoulder. He formed the hat in the same way, then suggested the soft hairs of the fur collar and delicately and sensitively modeled the facial features, adding hatching to give them form. The curving strokes to the left of the hat and the extremely fine contour lines leading from the forehead to the tip of the hat suggest that Schongauer originally envisioned a different head covering, and only while finishing the figure settled on a solution combining a hat and a sort of turban.

The bizarre silhouette of the hat and the rich contour line describing the figure along its shaded side have parallels in Schongauer’s late engravings, for example *A Foolish Virgin* (Fig. 5.2), which is generally considered his latest work.⁷ In both the drawing and the print strong lines shape the clothing and fine, closely spaced hatching molds the facial features. In both, an S-shaped curve describes the shape and shadow of the throat. The eyes, too, are similarly formed, with prominent upper lids and clearly accentuated lower ones, and white highlights marking the irises. The lines used to shape the Virgin’s bodice in the engraving correspond with the dynamic strokes that give the man’s hat its strength and form and the parallel lines that shade his chest. The drawing of the cheeks is also very similar, and on the woman’s breast one notes the same diagonal, hooklike lines applied on top of the hatching that enliven the brim of the man’s hat. Much as in the *Foolish Virgin*, and in Schongauer’s engraving of Saint Lawrence (Fig. 5.3) as well,⁸ the man’s mouth is drawn with great detail on the Lehman sheet. In all three works a strong shadow marks the center of the lower lip and short, delicate little hooks describe its outline on the side in the light.



No. 5

The obvious contrast between light and shadow on the shoulders of the Lehman figure, one in the brightest light, the other deeply shaded, is repeated in the *Foolish Virgin*. The nervous outline of the left shoulder in the drawing is echoed in the *Saint Lawrence* engraving, as is the clear separation of the torso from the arms, which is emphasized by hatching at a different angle.

Since Winzinger first noted it in 1962, the stylistic similarity between the Lehman drawing and the *Head of a Man with a Fur Cap* in Berlin (Fig. 5.1) has been often remarked. The modeling of the facial features in the two works, however, is noticeably different. The

Berlin head, with its soft, close-set, sometimes thick and irregular hatching lines and restless contours, is close in style, especially in the formation of the eyes, to the *Madonna with a Pink* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, which dates to Schongauer's middle period.⁹ The calligraphic hatching that closely follows the forms, the efficient penwork around the mouth and eyes, and the light, crescent-shaped lower eyelid on the shaded side in the Lehman drawing give it a far greater resemblance to late engravings like the *Foolish Virgin* and *Saint Lawrence*.

The physiognomy defined in the Lehman drawing appears to be that of a character head rather than a por-



Fig. 5.3 Martin Schongauer, *Saint Lawrence*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Junius Morgan, 1934 34.38.3

trait. The type is difficult to identify. The form of the hat is most unusual, and I can think of no parallels. The fur collar suggests that this is a person of some means. As Winzinger rightly pointed out, something about the realistic rendering of these aging features is reminiscent of figures by the Master of Flémalle. Winzinger noted the similarity between this head and the man gazing upward at the foot of the cross in the fragment of a depiction of the Good Thief by the Master of Flémalle in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.¹⁰ With that observation he correctly suggests the possible uses for such studies.

FK

NOTES

1. J. G. A. Frenzel was director of the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, and advisor to the Saxon king for his private collection from 1814 to 1854. The identification of this drawing with the one he mentions is made more secure by the fact that he also lists the “head of a monk, pen and ink

- drawing by an early German master” that also ended up in the Friedrich August collection and is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Frenzel 1831, p. 61).
2. After the death of Friedrich August II in 1854, the drawings remained in the possession of the royal family, the house of Wettin, until 1918. A few works went to the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett. Others, including this drawing, were allotted to the family in the settlement of 1924. Beginning in 1932, these were stored in the vaults of the Saxon Bank in Dresden, and at the end of the Second World War they were probably housed with the rest of the Wettin collection in Moritzburg Palace, only to be spirited to the West and out of the hands of the advancing Russians by Prince Ernst Heinrich, who sold them in 1945. I am grateful to Christian Dittrich for this information (letter to the author, 13 September 1994).
3. Lehrs 1914, p. 9.
4. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 5, nos. 19–30.
5. Colmar 1991, no. 29.
6. *Ibid.*, nos. 212, 218–20, 222, and others.
7. Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 5, no. 86.
8. *Ibid.*, no. 61.
9. Colmar 1991, no. 29; Koreny 1996, pp. 139–41, fig. 33.
10. Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 2, no. 59, pl. 87.



Fig. 5.2 Martin Schongauer, *A Foolish Virgin*. © 1999 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection, 1958.8.158 (B-22016)

Franconia

ca. 1500

6. Agony in the Garden

1975.I.850

Pen and brush and grayish black ink. 191 x 160 mm.

Backed with cardboard.

PROVENANCE: [Stephen Spector, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Spector in 1962.¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1978–79, no. 19, ill. (as probably Upper Rhine, end of the fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: Roth 1988, pp. 381, 382, no. 175, fig. 175 (following Winkler, as the wider circle of the Master of the Drapery Studies).

This sheet is an interesting and early example of the use of a tracing as an aid to drawing. The draftsman obviously transferred the figures of Christ, the disciples, and the angel by direct tracing, presumably by blackening the back of his model and retracing its outlines, and then carefully went over every detail of the lines with a fine pen before erasing them. He then set about producing the hatching step by step with a thin brush. He

sketched the lines of the ground, the rocks, and the background loosely and freely, without any fussy imitation of his pattern, which may in any case have been only an outline drawing.²

Because the drawing was never finished and much of the composition is sketched in delicate outlines, many of the details are difficult to make out. Christ kneels in prayer in front of a rock, above which hovers an angel holding a cross and the chalice that symbolizes the Passion. Two disciples sleep huddled together in the left foreground, while a third – whose balding head and curly beard identify him as Peter – sits to the right. Another rock overgrown with grass and bushes looms behind Christ, and in the background on the right the armed men who have come to arrest him have entered the walled garden through a gate and advanced across a plank bridge spanning the Kidron.

All four of the Evangelists tell how Christ prayed in the garden of Gethsemane on the Mount of Olives



Fig. 6.1 Jan Polack, *The Agony in the Garden* (Saint Peter altarpiece). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, MA 3370

(Matthew 26:36–46; Mark 14:32–42; Luke 22:39–46; John 18:1–11). Mark identifies the disciples who accompanied Christ as James, John, and Peter. Only Luke writes that Jesus knelt in prayer and that an angel appeared to him and gave him new strength, and only John mentions that the garden lay on the opposite side of the Kidron valley.

Depictions of the scene on the Mount of Olives became quite common in the fifteenth century. They appear with local variations not only in paintings and drawings but also in sculptural groupings. This composition – two of the disciples (here sketched in continuous outlines) huddled together, one slightly behind and above the other, in the lower left corner while Peter sits alone at the lower right – appears more often in the art of Franconia than in that of the Upper Rhine. A similar arrangement is to be seen, for example, in depictions of the Agony in the Garden by Hans Pleydenwurff (Alte Pinakothek, Munich),³ by the Master LCz (Landesmuseum, Darmstadt),⁴ by Jan Polack in his Saint Peter altarpiece now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Fig. 6.1),⁵ and by Albrecht Dürer (Bartsch 6[117]), one of the earliest prints for the Large Passion, executed in 1497–1500), as well as in reliefs by Adam Kraft and Veit Stoss. The seated figure of Saint Peter reappears in a rather similar form not only in the *Agony in the Garden* by the Master LCz, but also (reversed) in the one by Jan Polack. As for the setting of the scene, it is only from the bushy knoll with an angel as Pleydenwurff, Polack (see Fig. 6.1), and Dürer depicted it that we gather what our draftsman had in mind with his sketchy outlines. In all these compositions – even Dürer’s – one is struck by the way the Savior dominates the scene, in accordance with medieval hierarchical perspective. Although set somewhat farther back in the middle distance, apart from his disciples, his large figure commands the center of the picture and the scene as a whole. Because our drawing is unfinished this is especially apparent.

Certain features of this drawing’s style also point to Franconia, specifically to Nürnberg and the woodcuts produced in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519) as illustrations for books printed by Anton Koberger. The same jagged outlines and crude hatching technique appear as early as 1488 in the woodcuts in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, the *Schatzbehalter* from 1491, and Hartmann Schedel’s *Nürnberg Chronicle* from 1493.⁶ In plate 58 of the *Schatzbehalter* (Fig. 6.2), *The Revolt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and Its Effects* (Numbers 16:1–35),⁷ for example, the overall organization of the drapery on the figures of Moses and Aaron is



Fig. 6.2 *The Revolt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and Its Effects*. *Schatzbehalter*, pl. 58. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

very much like that in the Lehman drawing, with the same oval form embedded between tubular folds above the thigh, and the artist used the same repertoire of graphic formulas. The long lines of folds crossed by repeated short strokes along Christ’s hip and thigh recur in virtually identical form in the woodcut. Equally obvious is the way the drawing borrows the angular lines of the folds in Christ’s sleeve from the woodcut, where the same formal shorthand is visible, for instance, in the raised arms of the figure disappearing at the far left.

The pictorial notion of using fading shadows to tie the figure into its immediate surroundings and at the same time suggest its physical mass and free it from the surface is likewise prefigured in the woodcuts. We see this in the *Schatzbehalter*, certainly, but it is even clearer in the slightly later, more advanced illustrations from



No. 6



Fig. 6.3 Hartmann Schedel, *Creation of Eve*. *Nürnberg Chronicle*, fol. 6v. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

Schedel's *Nürnberg Chronicle*, in which true crosshatching makes its appearance in a woodcut. In the *Creation of Eve* (Fig. 6.3),⁸ for instance, strong crosshatching marks the contours of the landscape and the horizon line of the hill, then the shading grows thinner toward the foreground, serving to isolate specific sections like islands within the whole.⁹

The Lehman drawing has heretofore been presumed to have originated in the region of the Upper Rhine.¹⁰ The composition, the close similarities between the figures and Franconian types, and the stylistic parallels between it and woodcuts and drawings from the Wolge-

mut circle all argue strongly against such an attribution and suggest instead that the drawing was executed, about 1500 or shortly before, somewhere in the region influenced by Nürnberg.

FK

NOTES:

1. Spector invoice of 3 January 1962 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. On the widespread practice of tracing in this period, see Meder 1923, pp. 534ff., and also pp. 570–71, fig. 269. Other examples include a *Baptism of Christ* by the Master B.M. in the Musée Grobet-Labadié, Marseilles (Ring 1939, pl. 51), and a *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* in a private collection (Sternberg-Manderscheid sale, Dresden, 10 November 1845, lot 597; London–Washington, D.C.–Nürnberg 1984, no. 26, ill.) that has been attributed to the Augsburg artist Thoman Burgkmair (1444–1525). Several tracings of Dürer's Green Passion have also been preserved, providing us with an idea of how such aids were used and what they looked like (see, for example, Winkler 1936–39, nos. 309, 310; Strauss 1974, nos. 1504/37, 1504/39, 1504/45). On this practice in the work of Dirk Vellert, see also Konowitz 1991.
3. Stange 1934–61, vol. 9, fig. 80.
4. *Ibid.*, fig. 226.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. 10, fig. 127.
6. See the illustrations in Schramm 1934.
7. *Ibid.*, fig. 374.
8. *Ibid.*, fig. 413.
9. This characteristic technique can also be seen in a landscape drawing from the Wolgemut workshop (Munich 1974, no. 39).
10. Winkler thought this drawing was “executed in the manner of the Master of the Drapery Studies, who was active circa 1490 on the Upper Rhine, very probably in Strassburg, but it cannot be attributed to this anonymous artist with certainty” (unsigned, undated note [in German] in the Robert Lehman Collection files in handwriting that both Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann and Alan Shestack have identified as Winkler's; Spector's 1962 invoice [see note 1 above] refers to Winkler's attribution as well). The drawing is not mentioned in Winkler's 1930 article on the artist.

Albrecht Dürer

Nürnberg 1471–Nürnberg 1528

The son of a goldsmith, Albrecht Dürer began his training in his father's workshop in about 1484 and then from 1486 to 1489 was apprenticed to the painter Michael Wolgemut. His travels as a journeyman between 1490 and 1494 took him to southwestern Germany and possibly to the Netherlands as well. In 1492 he was in Colmar and Basel, in 1493 in Strasbourg. In 1494 he returned to Nürnberg, where at his father's behest he married Agnes Frey on 7 July. In the fall of that same year he left for Venice, where he became acquainted with a number of artists, including Gentile Bellini and Jacopo de' Barbari, who was to inspire him to devote himself to the study of human proportions.

Back in Nürnberg, Dürer opened his own workshop in the spring or summer of 1495. Through his patrician friend Willibald Pirckheimer he gained entry to humanist circles in Nürnberg and other European cities. In the years around the turn of the century he produced a large number of woodcuts, engravings, and paintings. He published his Apocalypse woodcuts in book form in 1498, and about the same time he began designing the woodcuts of the Large Passion cycle. Two years later he began work on his Life of the Virgin series of woodcuts. Dürer sojourned once again in Italy between 1505 and 1507. He returned to Venice, and from there he also probably visited Bologna, Florence, and perhaps Rome. The German merchants of Venice commissioned him in 1506 to paint *The Virgin of the Rose Garlands* (now Narodni Galerie, Prague) for the altar of their chapel in the church of San Bartolommeo.

In 1511 Dürer completed three additional series of woodcuts, the Large Passion, the Small Passion, and the Life of the Virgin, and the same year brought out a second edition of the Apocalypse. In 1511–12 he was also

completing the Engraved Passion, as well as many other small engravings, and experimenting with the technique of iron etching. In 1513–14 he produced his three master engravings, the so-called Meisterstiche: *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, *Saint Jerome in His Study*, and *Melencolia I*. Between 1512 and 1515 he worked on the designs for a large *Triumphal Arch* and *Triumphal Procession* to be executed in woodcut for Emperor Maximilian I, and he also provided marginal drawings for the emperor's prayer book. On 6 September 1515 Maximilian instructed the Nürnberg city council to pay Dürer a stipend of 100 guilders a year.

Dürer visited Bamberg in 1517, attended the Diet in Augsburg in 1518, and with Willibald Pirckheimer and Martin Tucher traveled to Switzerland in 1519. Between July 1520 and July 1521 he and his wife toured the Netherlands. He witnessed the coronation of Maximilian's successor, Charles V, in Aachen on 23 October 1520, and the new emperor confirmed his annual pension. Among the prominent personages he met on this trip were Erasmus of Rotterdam, Lucas van Leyden, Jan Provost, and Joachim Patinier, and he was received in Mechelen by Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands. He also saw the works of the great Netherlandish painters, most notably the Ghent Altarpiece by the two Van Eycks. He made sketches of animals in the game park in Ghent and collected numerous exotic curios.

Dürer was a prolific draftsman throughout his career. He also worked in watercolor. From roughly 1500 on he made a systematic study of the laws of human proportions. He devoted his last years primarily to the publication of his theoretical writings. His treatise on fortifications appeared in 1527, and his *Four Books of Human Proportion* was published posthumously in 1528.

Albrecht Dürer

7. Self-portrait, Study of a Hand and a Pillow (recto); Six Pillows (verso)

1975.1.862

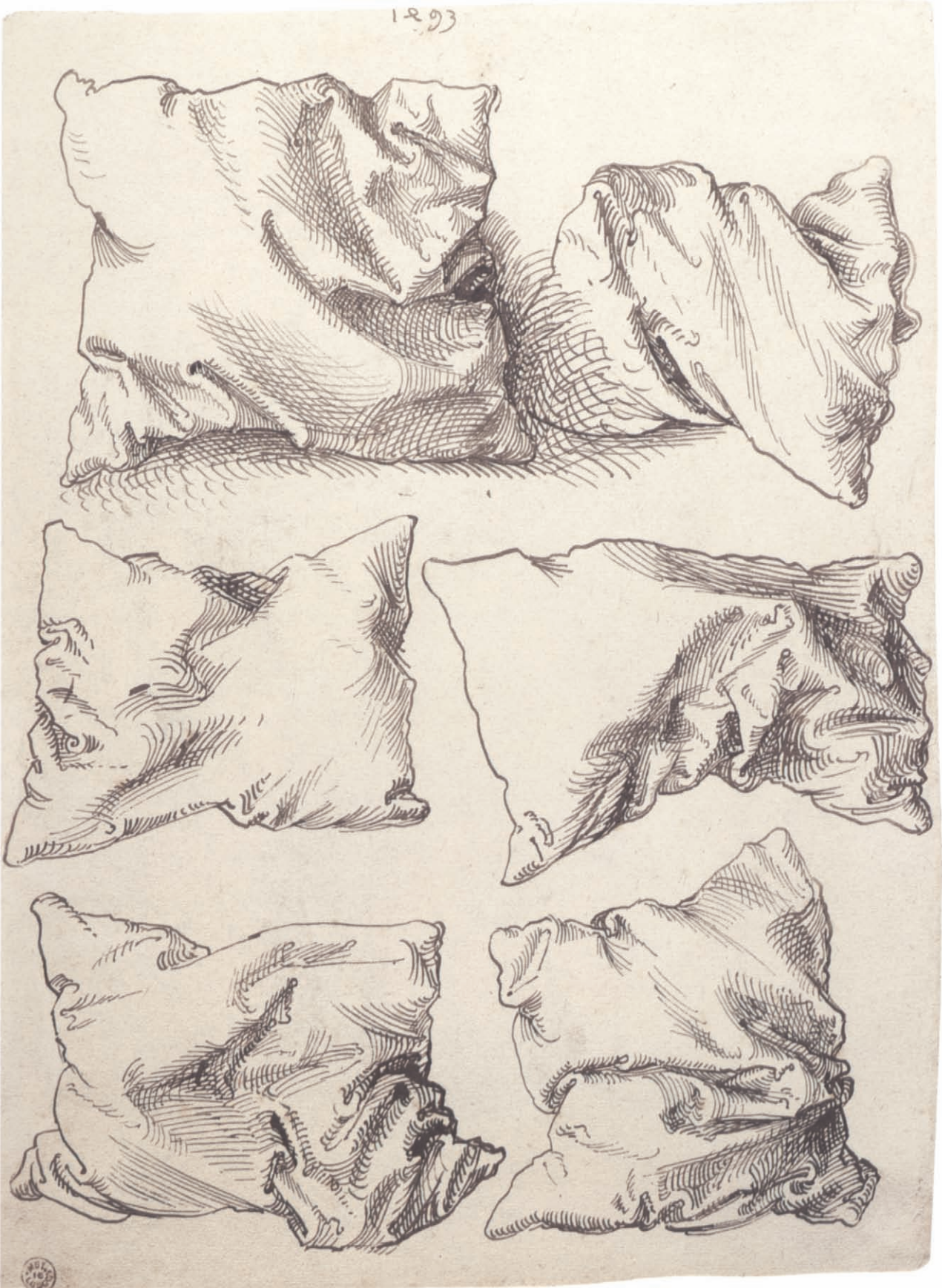
Pen and brown ink, the ink showing through the rather thin paper in the more heavily worked spots. Watermark: three fleurs-de-lis in a shield, with a crown and flower and a suspended letter *t* (similar to Piccard XIII (III), no. 1734 [Sitten 1494] or no. 1735 [Siegen 1494]; chain lines 46–47 mm apart. 278 x 202 mm. On the recto at the center top: the

monogram *Ad* was added by another hand in thicker, more reddish brown ink. Inscribed in brown ink on the verso at the center top: 1493; at the lower left, a collector's stamp about 8 mm in diameter, in reddish brown: ·MUZ·LUBOM· surrounding the letters *IO* (or the number *10?*).¹

Inlaid in stronger mounting paper.



No. 7, recto



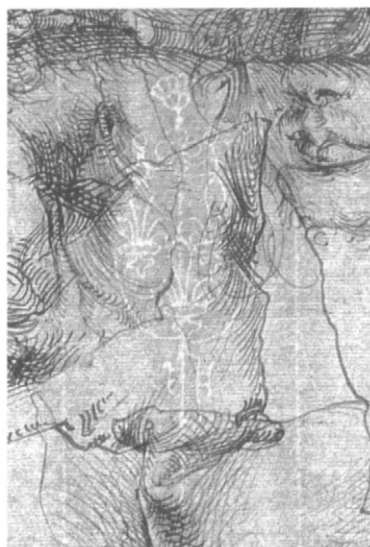
No. 7, verso

EUROPEAN DRAWINGS

PROVENANCE: Prince Heinrich (Henryk) Lubomirski (1777–1850), Przeworsk; moved to the “Lubomirski Muzeum,” Ossolinski Nationalinstitut, Lviv, after 1868; confiscated by the German occupation forces on 2 July 1941 and removed to Germany; United States Army, 1945–48; Prince Georg Lubomirski; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1952.

EXHIBITED: Lviv 1928;² Nürnberg 1928;³ Berlin 1936, no. 303, ill. (detail, *Self-portrait* only); New York 1955, [no. 1]; New York 1956, no. 162; Paris 1957, no. 92, ill.; Cincinnati 1959, no. 250, ill.; Washington, D.C. 1971, no. 1, ill.; New York 1972c, no. 1, ill.; Los Angeles 1976, no. 171, ill.; New York 1978–79, nos. 22, 22a, ill.; New York–Nürnberg 1986, no. 102, ill. (shown in New York only).

LITERATURE: Reitlinger 1927, p. 154, pl. 1; Winkler 1927a, pp. 15–16; Winkler 1927b, pp. 354–55, ill.; Beenken 1928, p. 59; Gebarowicz and Tietze 1929, no. 1 (inv. 8319), pls. 1, 2; Lippmann and Winkler 1929, nos. 613, 614, ill.; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), pp. 27, 29, 69, 352, 397, 545, nos. L.VI, 613, 614; Kehrer 1934, pp. 31–32, pl. 9; Waetzoldt 1935, pp. 33, 170, pl. 6; Winkler 1936–39, nos. 27, 32, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, pp. 8, 149, nos. 32, 33, ill.; Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, pp. 24–25, vol. 2, nos. 998, 1442, pl. 26; Waetzoldt 1950, pp. 18, 20, pl. 4; Heinrich 1954, pp. 224, 225, ill.; Focillon 1955, ill. p. 21; Tietze 1957, p. 59, no. 6, ill.; Winkler 1957, p. 37, pl. 4; Ladendorf 1960, pp. 21–22, pls. 11, 12; Wagenseil 1962, pp. 173, 174; Pope-Hennessy 1966, p. 126, fig. 135; Pächt (1970) 1977, pp. 165–68, figs. 3, 4, cover ill.; Trevor-Roper 1970, p. 102, fig. 45; Hütt 1971, pp. 46, 51, ill.; Oehler 1971, p. 104; White 1971, no. 6, ill.; Timken-Zinkann 1972, p. 96, pl. 41; Strauss 1974, vol. 1, pp. 146–48, nos. 1493/6, 1493/7; Szabo 1979, pp. 1–3, figs. 1, 2; Bernhard 1980, ill. p. 362; Strobl in Washington, D.C.–New York 1984–85, p. 184, under no. 3; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, pp. 94–95, ill.; Koerner 1993, pp. 5–7, 12–14, 27–33, 154, figs. 2, 5; Nicholas 1994, pp. 69, 429–31; Bailey 1995a, ill.; Bailey 1995b; Strieder 1996, p. 441.



No. 7, watermark

According to Gebarowicz, who had access to all the Lubomirski documents, this and other Dürer drawings appeared in the 1834 inventory of the Lubomirski collection at Przeworsk Castle and were again listed in the inventory of the collection drawn up in 1869 when Lubomirski holdings were moved to the Ossolinski Nationalinstitut in Lviv.⁴ There is nothing to indicate where Prince Heinrich Lubomirski acquired the Dürer drawings. Gebarowicz concluded from evidence provided by the mounting of the drawings that they had belonged to various collections. Lubomirski's frequent, sometimes lengthy visits to Vienna in the years after 1810 gave him ample opportunity to indulge his appetite for collecting, in part possibly with the help of François Lefèbvre, curator of the Albertina, and in part through illegal sales by Dominique Vivant Denon, who had been assigned to confiscate works of art for the Musée Napoléon. Scholars had not been aware of the Dürer drawings of the Lubomirski collection until Reitlinger discovered them in 1927. They were exhibited in Lviv in the spring of 1928 and later that same year in Nürnberg. Dürer's *Self-portrait* was shown in the exhibition *Grosse Deutsche in Bildnissen ihrer Zeit*, which was mounted in 1936 in connection with the XI Olympic Games in Berlin.

When the Germans invaded Russia in June 1941 and occupied Lviv, the Dürer drawings were promptly confiscated.⁵ In the last days of the war they were placed by the German authorities in the salt mines at Alt Aussee, near Salzburg, for safekeeping. They were ultimately captured by United States troops and removed to the Munich Collecting Point established by the United States Army and the United States Military Government in Germany. In 1948, when works of art confiscated by the Germans were returned to their owners, the Dürer drawings were restituted to Prince Georg Lubomirski. A short time later, in the early 1950s, they appeared on the



No. 7, collector's stamp on verso



Fig. 7.1 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-portrait*. Graphische Sammlung der Universität, Erlangen, B 155 verso



Fig. 7.2 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-portrait*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 2382. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

market. The great majority of them are now in public collections in the United States, Canada, the Netherlands, and Great Britain.⁶ Robert Lehman acquired three of them in 1952.

Although the date 1493 is in the same ink as the pillow studies and was unquestionably written by Dürer himself, scholars are divided over the authenticity of the monogram above the self-portrait on the other side of the sheet. The monogram was originally thought to be autograph. Flechsig was the first, in 1931, to claim that it was not, noting the presence of an *A* in combination with a small *d* and the date 1508 in an identical hand on six other drawings, all of which had been executed about 1493–95, and concluding that Dürer gave these works away and that the recipient marked them with the artist's monogram and the year he received them.⁷

It is difficult to speak of a recto and verso for this work. The studies of pillows on one side are drawn with just as much care as the self-portrait, the hand, and the single pillow on the other. The side with the pillows was considered the front when the sheet was in the Lubomirski collection;⁸ the self-portrait is now generally considered the recto.

Here, at the beginning of his career, Dürer captured his own mirror image in characteristically swift, sure strokes. The drawing occupies an important place in his series of self-portraits in paintings and drawings. It was created not quite two years after the drawing in the Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen (Winkler 26; Fig. 7.1), and is roughly contemporary with the painting in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 7.2).⁹ It predates by some five years the imposing panel in the Prado in Madrid, which is dated 1498 and in which Dürer portrayed himself as a worldly and successful artist.¹⁰

For both the Lehman drawing and the self-portrait in the Louvre, which is also dated 1493, Dürer chose a three-quarter profile turned to the right, and scholars are almost unanimous in considering the drawing either a preparatory study for the painting or at least closely related to it. Only Flechsig and Winkler think the drawing was produced later.¹¹ They argue that the painting must have been done in July or August, when the eryngo the artist holds in his hand was in bloom, and that because Dürer's beard is longer in the drawing it must have been executed somewhat later. To judge from the dialect of the inscription on the Louvre portrait, Dürer painted it in Strasbourg,¹² and the same is probably true of the drawing.

As one of the earliest works of art of an autobiographical nature, this mirror image of the twenty-two-

year-old Dürer's features has received a great deal of attention, and not only in the literature of art criticism. The considerable foreshortening of the features, especially, has been interpreted in various ways. It has been suggested, for example, that one eye has become smaller from looking so intently, while the other, at rest, appears clearly larger.¹³ Another explanation is that one eye was focused on the mirror, the other on the drawing.¹⁴ Still another has it that the disparity reflects a flaw in Dürer's vision, a presumed congenital squint, or cast, and that the artist is holding up his forefinger in the drawing in order to provide a point of focus for his right eye.¹⁵ Pope-Hennessy explained the distortion by suggesting that the artist was using a convex mirror, as Parmigianino did in his self-portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, where the mouth is similarly foreshortened and the eyes seem to be on two different planes.¹⁶

The raised hand that appears next to the face has also occasioned many different interpretations. Reitlinger thought both the portrait and the hand must have been done with a mirror. Gebarowicz and Tietze also supposed that Dürer sketched his right hand as seen in a mirror. That would mean, however, that he drew with his left hand, and we know that he was right-handed.¹⁷ He must have drawn both the face and the hand with his right hand (and the consistent thickness, direction, and flow of the rows of hatching bear this out), but for the self-portrait he used a mirror and for the hand he drew directly from the model.

Waetzoldt maintained that the hand was simply an arbitrary object of study for Dürer, that he was solely interested in noting how its various parts fit together. To him, this is ultimately just a routine late Gothic study. Kehrer, however, pointed out how expressive the hands are in Dürer's portraits and quoted Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464): "The entire man is reflected in his hand."¹⁸ Pächt also emphasized that Dürer "saw the hands as an integral component of a person's appearance, and tried to include the specific personal features of his own hands in his self-portraits." He claimed that Dürer was just as intent on capturing the unique form of his hand as on subjecting his own facial features to objective, unprejudiced scrutiny. He also noted the formulaic quality of the pose of the hand, which is prefigured in early Netherlandish painting, for example in *The Madonna of Douai* in the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, that is a copy after the Master of Flémalle. "Thus," he said, "Dürer's left hand is a study from nature and it is not; it is at the same time an art study. It incorporates in

fact two models, a form from nature and an artistic structure."¹⁹

That the graceful gesture of the hand in this drawing, with the fingers delicately touching the thumb, is not unlike that of the hand holding the eryngo in Dürer's *Self-portrait* in Paris has been cited as further evidence that the drawing was made in preparation for the painting. It has been suggested that Dürer turned the sheet sideways to draw the hand in the same position it takes in the painting.²⁰ Szabo has claimed that the position of the fingers simply represents a timeless gesture of approval. Both these last two interpretations seem questionable, as does Koerner's notion that the hand mimes "what will always escape self-portraiture: the artist's active right hand wielding a pen between thumb and fingers."²¹

In fact, once the Paris self-portrait is seen for what it is, namely a typical fifteenth-century engagement portrait, all such theories become irrelevant.²² As in numerous other portraits of young men looking to marry, the young suitor is shown from the waist up in three-quarter profile, wearing festive garments and holding flowers in his hand (an early response to the admonition "say it with flowers"). Moreover, the painting was done on parchment so that it could be easily transported.²³ In the larger context of Dürer's surviving works it becomes apparent that the drawing, too, is indebted to that genre. It would appear that Dürer's first inclination was to present himself with one hand raised, as in Jakob Elsner's *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg (Fig. 7.3),²⁴ and in the *Pair of Lovers* in the Schlossmuseum, Gotha, that has been attributed to the Housebook Master and dated to about 1484.²⁵ The pose anticipates the one used in the engagement portrait of Walter von Rottkirchen by the Master of the Glorification of the Virgin, which is preserved only in a copy from 1624 in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (Fig. 7.4).²⁶ In both the Gotha and the Cologne paintings the hands are given a greater emphasis, and to provide them greater freedom of movement the picture space is considerably expanded. Dürer may have toyed with a similar solution in his drawing but then rejected it in favor of the more conventional arrangement in the finished painting.

The pillow centered below the self-portrait has also been the subject of much speculation. If one considers the portrait most important, the other studies are necessarily mere finger exercises, the passage from face to pillow representing the transition from subject to object. Conversely, if one considers this an arbitrary juxtaposi-



Fig. 7.3 Jakob Elsner, *Portrait of a Young Man*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg



Fig. 7.4 Copy after the Master of the Glorification of the Virgin, *Walter von Rottkirchen*. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 134376. Photograph: Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln

tion of images, then the artist's face has become just as much a thing as the hand and the pillow; drawing his own face was essentially no more of a challenge to Dürer than capturing the shape and folds of a pillow. Kehrer considered the arrangement of head, hand, and pillow simply a creative juxtaposition of three separate motifs of equal importance, an objective record of what happened to have caught the artist's eye. Pächt thought Dürer may have found "the lifeless object, the pillow, perhaps indeed more interesting, as it is repeated six more times."²⁷ Ravenel, too, in the catalogue of the exhibition held in Washington, D.C., in 1971, was of the opinion that Dürer "gave each study separate and equal attention and drew each with a different scale from a different view. One can fairly say he treated his own face with as much objectivity as the hand and pillow, or the latter two with as much fascination as his face."

This observation is worth pursuing with respect to the study of the single pillow, for Dürer chose to draw it from a most unusual perspective. To judge from the shadow, the pillow rests on its lower right corner, then

looms upward toward the viewer, unsupported, at an angle that is difficult to explain. None of the pillow studies on the verso confuse the viewer in this way. There is almost an element of Mannerist *trompe l'oeil* about it. Dürer has produced a drawing of incomparable brilliance, achieving a calligraphic precision and expressiveness of line unexcelled in any previous drawing. His penstrokes are unerring. In this seemingly off-hand sketch he has transposed what he saw into a linear construction with the assurance of a conjurer.

The same is true of the pillow studies arranged in pairs in three vertical rows on the verso of the sheet. Dürer has captured the changing forms of a single object, although the pillow at the center right and perhaps the one at the upper right are clearly longer and of different proportions. The pillows reminded Reitlinger of the ones in Dürer's engraving *Saint Jerome in His Study* (Bartsch 60) of 1514. The Tietzes saw the pillow studies as a "demonstration of the obstinacy with which the young Dürer struggled for clarification of form."²⁸ Panofsky commented only on the studies' painstaking,

objective stock-taking, whereas Pächt stressed the “metamorphoses of one and the same household object, . . . capable, with different crumpling, of changing its physiognomy and form so easily.”²⁹

Some of the pillows have forms that are not fully explained by their folds. In the one on the left in the center row, for example, there is a spiral line that clearly forms an eye, and there are many other details that are more or less recognizable as mouths, noses, or eyes. Accordingly, there has been considerable discussion of the faces in the pillows, the earliest hidden faces in Dürer’s art. Szabo rightly pointed out that the common term for a pillow in German is *Kopfkissen*, an expression Dürer appears to have taken literally. Out of the “pillow for the head,” he made a “pillow with heads.”³⁰

Imaginative artists have been giving human features to inanimate objects since the dawn of human history.³¹ For all their individuality, Dürer’s pillow studies have precedents in early Netherlandish painting. Rogier van der Weyden painted such pillows in depictions of the Annunciation (see Fig. 7.5), and one can assume that he made preparatory drawings for them. Doubtless Szabo goes somewhat too far when he points out that in Dürer’s day it was believed that if a bridegroom slept on a pillow filled with magical herbs on Midsummer’s Eve he would be able to see into the future, and that the faces hidden in the pillows might therefore be presentiments of Dürer’s forthcoming marriage.³² It also seems far-fetched to conclude that because Dürer was narcissistic – witness the many self-portraits – and seemed to be obsessed with pillows he was afraid of sexual contact.³³ It may be that the juxtaposition of motifs is truly only arbitrary, that Dürer was engaged in a routine study of the sort he was required to undertake with other forms of drapery as well, and one should not make too much of it.³⁴

One can assume that Dürer drew the top two pillows, with their overlapping shadows, first, and then decided to omit the shadows in the remaining pillows so as to make maximum use of the space. It thus would appear plausible, as it did to Ravenel, that he executed the pillow on the other side, which also has a shadow, only moments before, using the remaining space below the self-portrait and the hand, and then turned the sheet to continue sketching the pillow.

In their discussion of the style of this self-portrait, the Tietzes said that in the earlier work in Erlangen Dürer was seeking to express something of his inner self, whereas here he was concerned solely with capturing forms. To Waetzoldt the artist appeared calm in this likeness, by

no means so tense and brooding as in the earlier self-portrait.³⁵ Panofsky, noting that the two drawings are separated by a brief two years, saw in this later one a tremendous psychological development: “The Dürer of 1493 casts a quiet, scrutinizing glance at the beholder and has the self-assurance of a young master.”³⁶

Koerner, who investigated Dürer’s early self-portraits in great detail, pointed out how much more unified the Erlangen drawing is than the later one, with its separate studies of the face and hand.³⁷ Kehrer and several other scholars after him have said that as the expression of the young draftsman’s awakening sense of himself as an artist, Dürer’s self-portraits mark the beginning of the Renaissance in Germany. Koerner disagrees, but he does believe that “as representational practice, self-portraiture provided a place wherein such a nascent conviction as the self’s sovereignty, or a culture’s epochality, could be reified, celebrated, questioned, or dismissed. . . . In the specular moment of fashioning one’s own likeness, one installs oneself at once as viewing subject and as thing viewed, as representation’s origin as well as end.” And he concludes, “This fiction of autonomy is heightened in a painting in which the represented person is also the work’s creator. For in the self-portrait, the *uomo singulare* has himself given rise to his own likeness *ex se*.”³⁸ Inasmuch as the Dürer self-portrait in the Robert Lehman Collection is the first drawing to give rise to such considerations, it is one of the most important visual documents from the beginning of the modern era.



Fig. 7.5 Rogier van der Weyden, *The Annunciation* (detail). Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 1982. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

In 1939 Winkler called this sheet one of “the freest and best drawings of [Dürer’s] journeyman years, altogether unproblematical in its presentation.”³⁹ Ravenel claimed to see the influence of Martin Schongauer’s engravings in the rhythmic rows of hatching in these pillow studies. This is true, however, only of this single study, the precise dating of which is difficult. Three other Dürer drawings dated 1493 have survived, each in a different style: *The Wise Virgin* and its verso, *Studies of Legs* (Winkler 31, 33), in the British Museum, London, and *Nude Woman* (Winkler 28), in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne. The leg studies are composed of spontaneous, casual, intuitive lines, whereas *Bath Attendant* is drawn in a luminous style, the body forms modeled with deliberate, short strokes that become increasingly dense in the shadows. To a certain extent the clear lines of the Lehman drawing represent a compromise between these two extremes. On the basis of the penstrokes, the Tietzes assumed that the *Wise Virgin* was produced at the same time as the Lehman drawing.⁴⁰ Strauss placed the drawing chronologically between the *Kneeling Youth and Executioner* in the British Museum⁴¹ and the *Studies of Hands* in the Albertina, Vienna (Winkler 47; Fig. 7.6), which seemed to him to be especially close in style.⁴² As Strobl has recently pointed out, the hand on the left on the Albertina sheet is particularly close to the Lehman drawing. In fact, it presents the same hand from the other side, now holding a flower between the fingers. In the Albertina sketches, as in the Lehman drawing, the hands themselves are carefully modeled, whereas the sleeves are only cursorily suggested. For the study with the extended forefinger and the Lehman sketch Dürer held his hand and forearm in a very similar position, and the way the edge of the sleeve rises to the left across the wrist and ends in a curving fold in the Albertina study is very reminiscent of the line of the slightly longer sleeve with its (seemingly unmotivated) curve at the left in our drawing. Was Dürer intending to suggest the same thing in a more abbreviated form? If so, the two studies may have been executed at nearly the same time.

With delicate, hairbreadth strokes Dürer produced wide rows of crosshatching to articulate the folds in the fabric of the sleeve. The same sort of strokes are visible in the face and the pillow studies. Dürer shaped the fabric coverings of the soft down pillows with dynamic, masterfully assured rows of strokes as supple as they are expressive, so that the forms seem alive with energy. With equal skill he succeeded in capturing the image of himself in the mirror with the immediacy of a snapshot. In addition he managed – thanks to his study of Schon-



Fig. 7.6 Albrecht Dürer, *Studies of Hands*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

gauer’s drawings – to vary his lines to indicate changing textures. The cap, hair, lips, and eyes are all executed in a manner appropriate to their substance, and clearly set apart from the extremely delicate hatching with which he modeled the face. This is the first of his drawings to exhibit such draftsmanly precision, with every detail rendered with clear lines and layers of shading. He would soon apply the same precision to his woodcuts, and in the process revolutionize the medium as a means of artistic expression.

FK

NOTES:

1. Not in Lugt 1921 or Lugt 1956. According to Mária van Berge-Gerbaud (letter to E. Haverkamp-Begemann, January 1999), this mark is not among the addenda collected so far to Lugt’s *Marques de collections*. It may have been placed there prior to the 1936 exhibition.
2. Lviv, also transliterated L’viv, has since 1991 been in the Ukraine. Until 1939 it was in Poland or the Austro-Hungarian empire, and called Lwów in Polish and Lemberg in German. From 1939 to 1941 and from 1944 to 1991 it

- was part of the Soviet Union and called Lvov or L'vov, and between 1941 and 1944 it was part of Germany (as Lemberg). In French it is sometimes called Léopol.
3. Gebarowicz and Tietze (1929, p. 5) state that the Dürer drawings were exhibited in Lviv and then Nürnberg in the spring and summer of 1928. No catalogue of the Lviv exhibition is known; in the catalogue of the large commemorative exhibition held in Nürnberg in April–September 1928, *Albrecht Dürer Ausstellung im Germanischen Museum*, the drawings are not mentioned, although the introduction refers to the presence and absence of exhibits that were decided upon too late to be reflected in the catalogue.
 4. The early history of the Lubomirski collection is discussed in detail by Gebarowicz in Gebarowicz and Tietze 1929 and by Blumówna 1957.
 5. It is reported that they were delivered by way of Hermann Göring to Adolf Hitler, and that Hitler liked to have them close at hand at all times, taking them wherever he went.
 6. This paragraph is largely based on Bailey 1995a.
 7. Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2, pp. 68–73.
 8. Reitlinger 1927, p. 154. Gebarowicz and Tietze (1929, no. 1) and Panofsky (1948, vol. 1, p. 24) also called the side with the pillow studies the front.
 9. Panofsky 1948, vol. 2, no. 48, fig. 30.
 10. *Ibid.*, no. 49, fig. 109.
 11. In Flechsig's chronological listing (1928–31, vol. 2, p. 545), the drawing appears as no. 22 and the painting as no. 26.
 12. See Meder 1911–12, p. 194; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2, pp. 337, 338; and Hutchison 1990, p. 39.
 13. Kehrer 1934, p. 32.
 14. Timken-Zinkann 1972, p. 96.
 15. Waetzoldt 1935, p. 33; Trevor-Roper 1970, p. 102. See also Wagenseil 1962, pp. 173–74 (on the epicanthic fold on Dürer's left eyelid).
 16. Pope-Hennessy 1966, p. 126, fig. 136.
 17. Moreover, the tip of Dürer's right thumb was clearly enlarged, with a wide nail and a definite constriction at the knuckle, perhaps as the result of some accident in which it was squashed. Conscientious as always and precise in his observation, he included this detail in both the Louvre *Self-portrait* and the small *Man of Sorrows* panel in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (Borries 1972, p. 9, figs. 4, 26). To the latter, also painted about 1493, Dürer quite obviously lent his own features. On the problem of left-handedness, see Jung 1977, and see also Gerstenberg 1912.
 18. Nicholas of Cusa, *De Ludo Globi*, quoted in Kehrer 1934, p. 32, citing Bertalanffy 1928, p. 62.
 19. Pächt (1970) 1977, pp. 165, 168: "Die Zeichnung, deren Gegenstand wir als Dürers linke Hand agnoszieren, ist eine Naturstudie und ist es wieder nicht, sie ist zugleich eine Kunststudie. Genau genommen, in ihr sind zwei Modelle verarbeitet, eine Naturform und ein Kunstgebilde."
 20. See Ravenel in Washington, D.C. 1971, no. 1; White 1971, p. 50, no. 6; and Boehm in New York–Nürnberg 1986, no. 102.
 21. Koerner 1993, p. 6.
 22. See Buchner 1953, p. 17. The only writer to question this interpretation of the Lehman drawing is Waetzoldt (1935, p. 34).
 23. See Hutchison 1990, p. 39. According to Thausing (1884, vol. 1, p. 132), it was not until the nineteenth century that the painting was transferred to canvas.
 24. Buchner 1953, no. 159, ill.
 25. *Ibid.*, no. 203, ill.; Amsterdam–Frankfurt am Main 1985, no. 133, colorpl. 12; Hess 1994, pp. 144–46, no. 4, colorpl. 111.
 26. Buchner 1953, no. 12, ill.
 27. Pächt (1970) 1977, p. 166.
 28. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 33.
 29. Pächt (1970) 1977, p. 166.
 30. Regarding "hidden faces," see also Leber 1988.
 31. On this subject, see Ladendorf 1960.
 32. See also Koerner 1993, pp. 27–31, who takes up this thought and elaborates on it in a wider context.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
 34. On the other hand, Timken-Zinkann (1972, p. 96) was mistaken when he proposed that the pillow in question was simply one of the tools of the artist's trade, that it probably served as a pad for engraving. The pads engravers use are generally quite different; they are small, firm, round, and made of leather filled with sand.
 35. Waetzoldt 1950, p. 18.
 36. Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, p. 24.
 37. Koerner 1993, pp. 5–6.
 38. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 39. Winkler 1936–39, no. 27: "Eine der freiesten und besten Zeichnungen der Wanderjahre, im Vortrag ganz unproblematisch." To Oehler (1971, p. 104), that unproblematic quality seemed an obvious sign of weakness, and she therefore considered the Lehman drawing a "prosaic translation of the Erlangen drawing, [a] repetition of a Dürer self-portrait by another, less accomplished hand," possibly Sebald Beham. Oehler is, as far as I can determine, the only scholar to deny Dürer's authorship of the drawing.
 40. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, nos. 28, 32, ill.
 41. Strauss 1974, vol. 1, no. 1493/5.
 42. *Ibid.*, no. 1493/8, and see also Strobl in Washington, D.C.–New York 1984–85, p. 184, no. 3.

Albrecht Dürer

8. *Fortuna in a Niche*

1975.I.861

Pen and greenish brown ink, the verticals of the niche wall drawn with a ruler. Watermark: crown with a cross and a suspended triangle (Briquet 4773). 325 x 119 mm. Inscribed at the bottom in the same ink as the drawing: 1498 / AD (monogram).¹

Inlaid into paper of a heavier weight. The drawing has suffered somewhat, though barely noticeably, from attempts to remove the foxing, and the ink has faded slightly in the areas that are most affected. There is a horizontal crease at the top near the balls on the walls of the niche.

PROVENANCE: Prince Heinrich (Henryk) Lubomirski (1777–1850), Przeworsk; moved to the “Lubomirski Muzeum,” Ossolinski Nationalinstitut, Lviv, after 1868; confiscated by the German occupation forces on 2 July 1941 and removed to Germany; United States Army, 1945–48; Prince Georg Lubomirski; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1952.

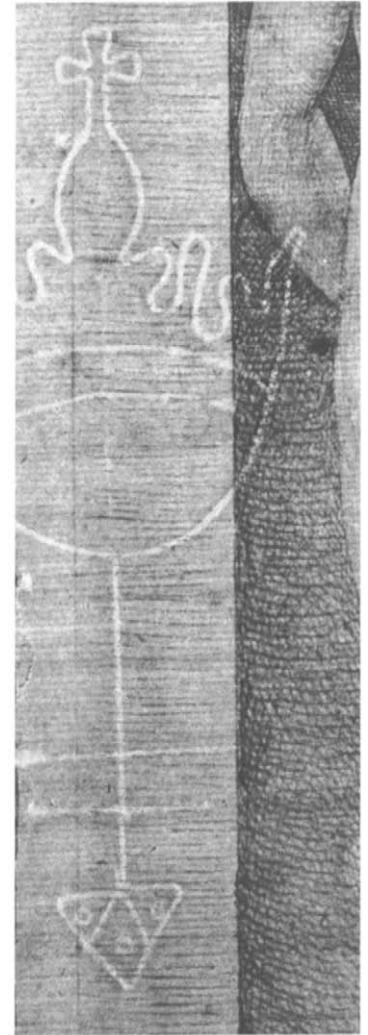
EXHIBITED: Lviv 1928; Nürnberg 1928; New York 1955, p. 9; New York 1956, no. 163; Paris 1957, no. 93, pl. 59; Cincinnati 1959, no. 249, ill.; Washington, D.C. 1971, no. VI, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 23, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York–Nürnberg 1986, no. 110, ill. (shown in New York only).

LITERATURE: Reitlinger 1927, p. 154, pl. 2A; Winkler 1927a, p. 16; Winkler 1927b, p. 354; Gebarowicz and Tietze 1929, no. 4 (inv. 8308), pl. 6; Lippmann and Winkler 1929, no. 669; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), p. 420; Winkler 1936–39, no. 154, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 143, ill. p. 177, p. 403; Panofsky 1948, no. 911; Winkler 1957, p. 95; Hütt 1971, p. 181, ill.; Strauss 1974, no. 1495/7, ill.; Dunand and Lemarchand 1977, p. 76, fig. 166; Grewenig 1987, p. 54, fig. 21; Bailey 1995a; Bailey 1995b.

Supported by the close-fitting niche, the nude young woman in this drawing appears to be in no danger of losing her balance on the sphere beneath her feet. The drawing reminded Reitlinger, who first published it in 1927 along with other Dürer drawings then in Lviv (see Nos. 7, 9), of Dürer’s small engraving *Fortuna* from about 1497 (Bartsch 78, Meder 71). Flechsig, too, thought the drawing doubtless represented an allegory of Fortune.



No. 8, detail of date and monogram



No. 8, watermark

According to Gebarowicz and Tietze, the niche motif may have been inspired by works Dürer had seen in Venice during his first trip there in 1494–95, for instance the sculptures of Adam and Eve by Antonio Rizzo that originally stood on the Scala dei Giganti in the Doge’s Palace.² In the catalogue of the exhibition held in Washington, D.C., in 1971, Levenson noted that such narrow niches are often found in Venetian tomb sculpture of the late quattrocento and that Dürer could well have seen the great sepulchral monuments of the brothers Lombardi. Levenson also mentioned a more obvious parallel for the shallow niche, the throne in Martin Schongauer’s engraving *Christ before Pilate* (Lehrs 24; Fig. 8.1). This suggests that the motif was also widespread in German

art in the late fifteenth century. Noting the balls topping the walls of the niche, Lippmann and Winkler pointed out the similar construction of the throne in Dürer's unfinished engraving *Oriental Ruler Enthroned* of about 1498 (Meder 91).³ Grewenig, discussing the relationship between the figure and the niche, called attention to the forced perspective of the curves at the top and bottom. Such unadorned semicircular niches in extreme perspective appear repeatedly in Dürer's work from the late 1490s. The Virgin stands in a similar smooth, round niche, for example, in a drawing of 1496–97 in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Winkler 150).⁴ Not only did the niche form ensure a monumental effect, but Dürer apparently found it rewarding because of the resulting light effects, which permitted him to articulate the figure and space in graphic terms.

As drawing developed into a medium for registering an artist's spontaneous responses to nature, such studies took on importance as independent artistic and intellectual statements. Life drawings of nudes as studies of the human figure are also among the earliest independent drawings from the fifteenth century.⁵ Dürer's drawing *Nude Woman* of 1493 in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (Winkler 28) – whether she is a bathhouse attendant or a harlot is irrelevant in this context – is one of the first such drawings from north of the Alps. For Dürer himself, that drawing marked the beginning of a lifelong fascination with the human body. It was followed by a series of full-page, carefully executed depictions of nudes that attest to Dürer's unending study of the human form from life. This *Fortuna* could be considered a continuation of that series.

Levenson was intrigued by the way this drawing is “so delicately poised between the real and the ideal.” Although he thought that certain characteristics of the figure (the features, the contours of the body, the strikingly well developed neck muscles) mark it as a study from life, the anatomy and proportions owe a debt to the models that had been developed by Netherlandish artists. When Dürer drew the Bayonne nude in 1493, or the nude with a towel and her hand resting on a staff in the Louvre, Paris (Winkler 85), in 1495, he was as yet unacquainted with Leon Battista Alberti's *Della pittura*, Cennini's *Trattato della pittura*, or other quattrocento theories of proportions, or even with the canon of forms developed by Vitruvius. It was only later in 1495, during his first stay in Venice, that Jacopo de' Barbari introduced him to ideal proportions of beauty.⁶ The Tietzes thought the sculptural depiction of the nude, with its “smooth, solid forms,” revealed Barbari's influence and



Fig. 8.1 Martin Schongauer, *Christ before Pilate*. © 1999 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of W. G. Russell Allen, 1941.1.48 (B-48)

his importance for Dürer before 1500, and they linked this *Fortuna in a Niche* to *Venus with a Mirror* (Winkler 410), another of the drawings from Lviv.⁷

It is entirely possible that in the Lehman *Fortuna* Dürer was attempting to create a perfect female body based on what he had determined to be ideal proportions. It was in those same years that he began to investigate ideal male and female proportions. The early drawings for his *Adam* and *Eve* in the Albertina, Vienna, and the British Museum, London (Winkler 411 [Fig. 8.2], 421, 425), are clearly based on geometric principles. In those drawings the neck muscles, for example, follow the line of a circle that encloses the upper torso, and the line of the neck, particularly in the woman, follows a



No. 8

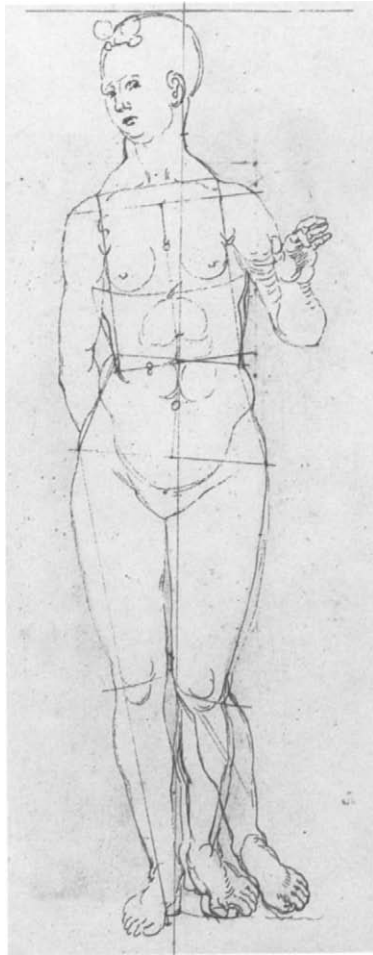


Fig. 8.2 Albrecht Dürer, *Construction of a Nude Woman*. © British Museum, London, SL 5218-184



Fig. 8.3 Albrecht Dürer, *Nude Woman with a Staff*. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 6652

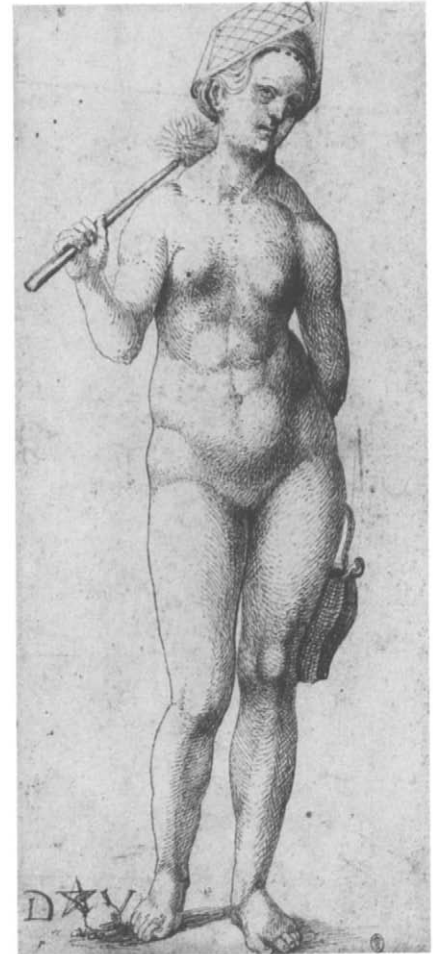


Fig. 8.4 Dirk Vellert, *Bath Attendant*. Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 18804. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

curve rising from the corners of the rectangle of the rib cage.⁸ The absence of any sort of gesture or movement forces us to focus on the torso itself.

Similar considerations may help to explain the odd position of the arms in the Lehman drawing. For a Fortuna figure to hold her hands behind her back would be unusual, but the figures Dürer constructed for his proportion studies often have one of their arms drawn back in this way. In fact, the motif is so predictable in that type of drawing that it serves as a virtual guarantee that the figure was artificially constructed, or “made by measure,” like the London drawing (Fig. 8.2) or *Nude Woman with a Staff* (Winkler 265; Fig. 8.3), a drawing also from Lviv

that is now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.⁹ In a study of a bath attendant by Dirk Vellert (active 1511–44) in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 8.4), the arm is placed behind the back in the same way and the line of the neck is similarly steep, so that one has the suspicion that this, too, is a proportion study – if not a copy after Dürer. Also reminiscent of the Lehman drawing is a painting of a naked figure atop a sphere in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (Fig. 8.5), the work of an Antwerp Mannerist from the early sixteenth century (formerly attributed to Lucas van Leyden) that suggests that in depicting Fortuna nude and without a blindfold Dürer was by no means setting an iconographic precedent.

Because Strauss (incorrectly, in my opinion) questioned the authenticity of the 1498 written at the bottom, he dated the Lehman drawing to about 1495, based on the watermark and the parallel shading on the face, which he deemed similar to that in other drawings Dürer made during his first trip to Italy.¹⁰ Yet as Strauss himself pointed out, the figure's breasts are modeled with concentric circles in a way that conforms to the systematic approach that, as Panofsky has convincingly argued, becomes apparent in Dürer's work only in about 1497–98.¹¹ Winkler compared this study, with its distinctly painterly quality and “dense web of lines,” to the Bayonne drawing dated 1493. The two drawings are in fact stylistically quite different, however. The nude in Bayonne is still formed of countless short, casual strokes. Over the next five years Dürer refined his drawing technique and, apparently as a result of making copies after Mantegna, became more disciplined in his use of line. As Levenson put it, in the *Fortuna* drawing “the modeling lines have become regimented into tight networks of crosshatching.” Fine, closely spaced lines, becoming increasingly dense in the shadows, give form to the breasts, belly, and thighs, and the surface is further modeled by means of dots. None of Dürer's earlier drawings had this degree of finish. By registering the light reflected along the contours of the body, for example on the inside of the figure's right thigh, he also achieved a highly three-dimensional effect, and he was equally adroit at calculating the play of light on the curving wall of the niche and at the same time ensuring that the figure would stand out against the darker shadow behind it. The extremes of light and dark concentrated at specific points, in the area of the figure's right shoulder, for example, contribute to the illusion that one is looking at sculpture rather than a drawing.

Although the Lehman drawing is carefully executed and would appear to be a study for a work in some other medium, Dürer seems never to have made use of it. The only possible reflection of this figure, as Levenson has noted, is in the legs of the Venus in the roughly contemporary engraving *The Dream of the Doctor* (Bartsch 76).

With this drawing Dürer took up a motif that had been familiar since antiquity and was enjoying even greater popularity at the beginning of the Renaissance.¹² In his engraving of 1497 Fortuna shows her years, but here the goddess of fate appears to be a young woman. The sphere, like the wheel of Fortune, suggests that just as Fortune can raise a man up she can as quickly topple

him again. Although the goddess of fortune appears as a rule with her eyes covered and her nakedness obscured at least by a thin veil, this figure presents herself to the viewer totally nude. The proportion study of a young woman is transformed into a stroke of “good fortune,” in that the feminine is exhibited undisguised, and woman becomes Fate personified as an allegory of favor and rejection in the interplay of human yearning and desire. There is perhaps a suggestion here of Occasio, the variant of Fortuna who is the goddess of the favorable moment. Despite the lovely young creature's coquettish self-assurance, there is something about her precarious pose atop the sphere that also brings Vanitas to mind.

FK

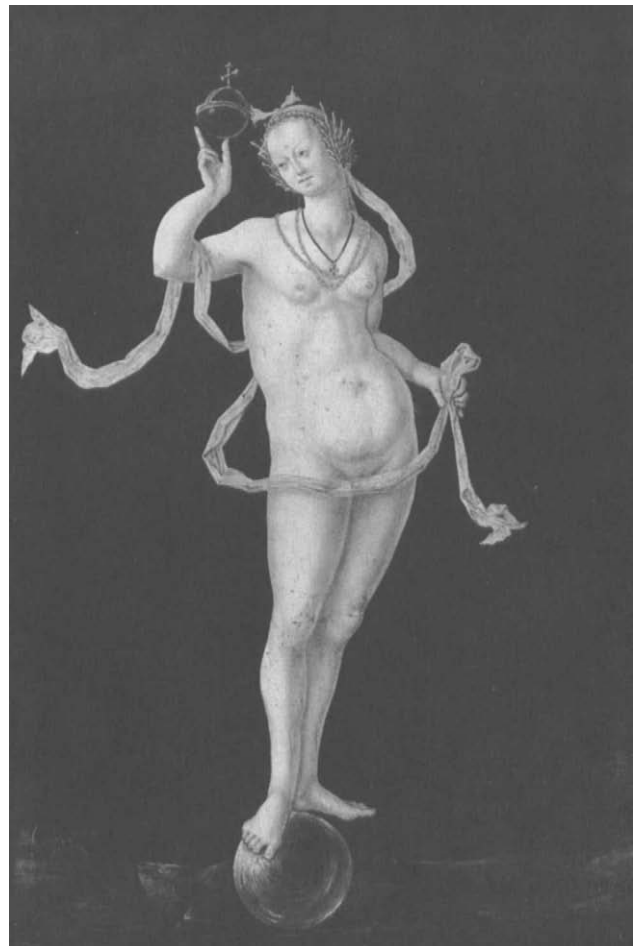


Fig. 8.5 Antwerp Mannerist, early sixteenth century, *Nude Figure atop a Sphere*. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg, 283

NOTES:

1. I am grateful to Marjorie Shelley of the Paper Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum for her assistance in examining the drawing ink. Flechsig (1928–31, vol. 2, pp. 417–18) noted that the form of the numeral 1, with its curve toward the left, is unusual for Dürer and not found on any of the other works he dated. Strauss (1974, no. 1495/7) doubted the authenticity of the date altogether, insisting (incorrectly, in my estimation) that “it is a subsequent addition and in different ink, just as the monogram is not in Dürer’s handwriting.”
2. Pope-Hennessy (1971) 1985, pls. 130, 131.
3. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 143a, ill. p. 173; Panofsky 1948, no. 219, and see also no. 1256.
4. Thausing 1884, vol. 1, p. 83; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. A45, ill. p. 228; Panofsky 1948, no. 474. Thausing identified the drawing as a study by Michael Wolgemut for the *Mater dolorosa* panel of the polyptych Frederick the Wise commissioned for the Schlosskirche in Wittenberg in 1496–97. The panel is now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. 709; Panofsky 1948, no. 3; Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, no. 1).
5. See Deusch 1952, pp. 4ff.
6. See Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1, pp. 101, 102, under no. 45.
7. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, nos. 121, 143, and pp. 402–3.
8. See Giesen 1930, pp. 31ff., 36ff. The high neck muscle with a deep-set throat seems to have constituted Dürer’s ideal for a time, as reflected also in his portrait of Katharina Frey, dated 1497 (which survives only in two copies; see Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 130, ill., and Panofsky 1948, no. 71, fig. 68), and the portrait he painted of Elsbeth Tucher in 1499 (Gemäldegalerie, Kassel; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 160, ill.; Panofsky 1948, no. 74).
9. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 251a, ill. p. 174; Panofsky 1948, no. 1185.
10. See note 1 above.
11. Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, pp. 67–68.
12. Doren 1924.

Albrecht Dürer

9. The Holy Family in a Trellis

1975.I.860

Pen and reddish brown ink. 268 x 198 mm. Inscribed in brown ink at the top on the recto: 1512 / AD (monogram); annotated in pencil on the verso: G. 357 Dürer.

Inlaid into paper of a heavier weight. Attempts to remove the foxing have affected the drawing slightly, and the ink appears to be somewhat faded. On the right below the tabletop, a vertical tear has been patched from the back.

PROVENANCE: Prince Heinrich (Henryk) Lubomirski (1777–1850), Przeworsk; moved to the “Lubomirski Muzeum,” Ossolinski Nationalinstitut, Lviv, after 1868; confiscated by the German occupation forces on 2 July 1941 and removed to Germany; United States Army, 1945–48; Prince Georg Lubomirski; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1952.

EXHIBITED: Lviv 1928; Nürnberg 1928; New York 1955, p. 10; New York 1956, no. 165; Paris 1957, no. 94, pl. 60; Washington, D.C. 1971, no. xvii, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 24, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York–Nürnberg 1986, no. 129, ill. (shown in New York only); New York 1988b.

LITERATURE: Reitlinger 1927, pl. 2E; Gebarowicz and Tietze 1929, no. 17 (inv. 8303), pl. 19; Lippmann and Winkler 1929, vol. 7, no. 787; Schilling 1929, vol. 3, no. 13, pl. 13; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2 (1931), p. 458; Winkler 1936–39, no. 521, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 518, ill.; Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, p. 191, vol. 2, no. 730, fig. 224; Winkler 1957, p. 246; Strauss 1974, no. 1512/5, ill.; Hütt 1971, ill. p. 589; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, p. 97, ill.; Bailey 1995a; Bailey 1995b.

This drawing was first brought to the attention of art historians only in 1927, when Reitlinger published it along with other Dürer drawings he had discovered in Lviv (see Nos. 7, 8).

The arbor suggests the enclosed garden, or *hortus conclusus*, that is a visual metaphor for Mary’s virginity. The drawing is a variation on a popular fifteenth-century theme in which the Madonna is portrayed seated in a rose garden or on a grassy bank.¹ Dürer returned to the



subject of the *hortus conclusus* a number of times. He incorporated his first thoughts in the engraving *Madonna and Child on a Grassy Bench* of 1503 (Bartsch 34). He developed the idea somewhat further when he painted the Richmond Madonna, or *Madonna with the Iris*,² and expanded it still further with the Lehman drawing of 1512, now including the image of Joseph. The trellis motif recurs in his engraving *Madonna and Child by a Tree* of 1513 (Bartsch 35), about the same time it appears in the background of the Schnewlin Altar from Hans Baldung Grien's workshop in Freiburg.³

Originally the *hortus conclusus* comprised only the Mother and Child, but in the fifteenth century Joseph

was included as well, possibly owing to the subject's similarity to the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, where Joseph is seen sleeping next to the Virgin and Child, fetching water, preparing a meal, or tending the fire. The idea of incorporating Joseph as a half-figure, usually sitting to the left reading or gazing up from his book in meditation, seems to have appeared first in Netherlandish art about 1500, as exemplified by Jan Gossaert's *Holy Family with Angels* in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (Fig. 9.1).⁴ As Winkler noted in 1929, Dürer included a very similar half-figure of Joseph in profile with a book in his drawing *The Holy Family with Three Saints* of 1521 in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Winkler 837).⁵ The Tietzes thought the way the figure of Joseph relates to the central grouping here was very likely an Italian borrowing, and they traced the motif of Mary's right hand hanging limp from the wrist to Italian influences as well.

In the Lehman sketch Joseph sits reading behind a grass-covered boulder that is just large enough to conceal his voluminous figure from the waist down and also serves both figures as an armrest. Amplifying the motif with anecdotal detail, Dürer placed the Virgin to the right, on a bench next to a round tabletop resting on stakes driven into the ground. He enclosed the pleasant garden corner in a wide-meshed trellis with climbing vines, giving the scene a feeling of the intimacy of a bourgeois sitting room.

The lightly sketched outlines and areas of parallel hatching in the Lehman *Holy Family in a Trellis* are typical of drawings Dürer made beginning in about 1508 or 1509, after he returned from his second trip to Venice. Among them is a *Holy Family* that was in the Lubomirski Muzeum in Lviv and in the 1970s was in the L. V. Randall collection in Montreal (Winkler 525; Fig. 9.2).⁶ As Gebarowicz and Tietze noted in 1929, these drawings represent a phase in Dürer's style in which he differentiated forms simply as light and shadow, with only minimal outlines and little attempt at three-dimensionality. Panofsky found "the effect produced by the widely spaced, protracted parallels" in the *Holy Family in a Trellis* and other drawings of this period "much the same as that of the 'graphic middle tone' in woodcuts and engravings."⁷

Dürer executed this sketch loosely and with great swiftness. It is filled with graphic elements, like the Virgin's narrow face and the suggestion of folds in the edges of the cloak lying on the ground and draped across the bench, that are familiar from other sketches he made in the second decade of the century.⁸ With its



Fig. 9.1 Jan Gossaert, *Holy Family with Angels*. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. 1479. Photograph: Instituto Português de Museus



Fig. 9.2 Albrecht Dürer, *Holy Family*. Present location unknown. Photograph: *Dürer in America: His Graphic Work* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1971), no. xviii

use of parallel hatching to distinguish between darker and lighter forms, it serves as an impressive example of Dürer's manner of working in this period. Along with mere outline sketches, he used such drawings to explore the possibilities of a specific motif, developing the composition as a whole before working up individual components in greater detail.

The artist's sensitivity and sure intuition are evident even in a simple sketch. The hatching slanting downward in opposite directions from either side of the Madonna's body serves to center the figure, and with minimal effort creates a sense of both three-dimensionality and visual calm.

FK

NOTES:

1. See Talbot in Washington, D.C. 1971, no. xvii, and Boehm in New York–Nürnberg 1986, no. 129.
2. The National Gallery, London, acquired this painting (inv. 5592) from the Herbert Cook collection in Richmond in 1945. Its attribution is disputed. Flechsig considered it a work by Dürer himself; the Tietzes and Panofsky claimed it is only a product of his workshop. Glück and Winkler identified it as an example of the Dürer renaissance at the end of the sixteenth century, and Kenneth Clark called it a complete forgery. Mende would have liked to claim it for the young Baldung, but Von der Osten (1983, no. x130, with full bibliography) rejected this. I have attempted (in Vienna 1985, pp. 176, 177, nos. 35, 66, 78) to show how closely the composition accords with Dürer's development in these years, noting the parallels with Dürer's engraving *Madonna and Child on a Grassy Bench* of 1503 (Bartsch 34), where the folds in Mary's dress from the knees down are organized in essentially the same manner as in the painting, though reversed.
3. See Gross 1991 and Gross 1992.
4. Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 8, pls. 1, 2.
5. Lippmann and Winkler 1929, no. 343; Strauss 1974, no. 1521/81, ill.
6. Gebarowicz and Tietze 1929, no. 17; Washington, D.C. 1971, no. xviii, ill.; Strauss 1974, no. 1511/7, ill. See also the *Madonna and Child on a Grassy Bench* in the Louvre, Paris; *Madonna and Child beneath a Canopy* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg; and *Holy Family in a Bedroom* formerly in the Blasius collection, Brunswick, and now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Winkler 518, 526, 514; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, nos. 463, 468, 520, ill.; Strauss 1974, nos. 1511/10, 1511/12, 1511/8, ill.).
7. Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, p. 191.
8. See, for example, Koreny 1989, figs. 6a, 6b.

Albrecht Dürer

10. Head of a Young Woman

1975.1.859

Black chalk highlighted with white chalk (abraded) on green prepared paper.¹ Watermark: crown with a cross (Piccard: crown watermarks XI/34b). 200 x 151 mm. On the verso, traces of the green preparation used for the recto; annotated in pencil at the lower left: G-229 Dürer.

Inlaid into paper of a heavier weight. Small holes in the surface above the ear, on the forehead, and in the upper left have been restored. A vertical fold roughly 20 mm from the right edge was backed at an early date with a strip of paper about 20 mm wide; the green on the recto over this strip is darker, possibly as a result of the glue soaking through from the backing. On the right edge, at the level of the neck, a missing section roughly 50 mm long and 5 mm wide has been repaired.

PROVENANCE: A. F. Andréossy(?); Sir Thomas Lawrence, London, England(?); W. Coningham (Lugt 476 on the recto); art market, Paris; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Hofer in March 1948.

EXHIBITED: New London, Connecticut, 1936, no. 41; New York 1955, p. 12; New York 1956, no. 171; Paris 1957, no. 95; Cincinnati 1959, no. 248, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 153, ill.; Washington, D.C. 1971, no. 32, ill.; New York 1978-79, no. 25, ill.; New York 1988b.

LITERATURE: Woodburn 1836, no. 46(?); Dodgson 1935, p. 49, ill.; Winkler 1936-39, vol. 4, no. 850; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937-38, no. 855, ill.; Tietze 1947, no. 32, ill.; Panofsky 1948, no. 1166; Strauss 1974, no. 1522/4, ill.

This drawing was discovered on the Paris art market in 1934. It was soon acquired by Philip Hofer. When Dodgson published it in the December 1935 issue of *Old Master Drawings*, he thanked Erwin Rosenthal for identifying it as a work by Dürer. A short time later, Winkler proposed that the newly discovered drawing was the one listed in the 1836 catalogue of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence as “a female head – a most highly finished study from nature. A study of a cap on the same sheet, drawn in metalpoint and heightened with white, on prepared green ground. 8¾ x 8 inches. 220 x 200 mm.” Winkler explained the 70-millimeter difference in width by surmising that the sheet was trimmed along the left side, presumably where the cap was, and that the trimming perhaps necessitated the repair in the upper left corner. Under a microscope, an obliterated form with distinct traces of black chalk is clearly visible in that corner, and the green ground is noticeably thinner. The shape could certainly have been part of a cap.²

In 1935 Dodgson made a convincing case for relating this *Head of a Woman* to a group of drawings – six composition sketches and more than a dozen detail studies (Winkler 836-57) – that Dürer made in 1521-22 for a large painting of the Madonna with many attendant figures, which Panofsky later called a *Sacra conversazione*.³ This head in three-quarter profile appears in none of the compositions, but as Dodgson pointed out, it is closely related in both style and technique to a drawing in the Louvre, Paris (Winkler 857; Fig. 10.1), that is dated 1522 and that Flechsig recognized as a detail study for the figure of Saint Catharine in the vertical versions of the composition (see Fig. 10.2).⁴ The Lehman drawing and the head in Paris are generally considered to be studies from life.⁵ Panofsky was of the opinion that they were unquestionably drawn from the same model. That the two drawings may share the same provenance (the Paris sketch is no. 34 in the 1836 catalogue) strengthens their relationship to each other and to the *Sacra conversazione*.



No. 10, watermark



No. 10



Fig. 10.1 Albrecht Dürer, *Head of a Woman and Study of Hands*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF 1080. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

Seven other drawings in the group (Winkler 840–43, 845, 846, 857) are on the same green prepared paper. Because this technique eliminates the white of the paper and incorporates the color of the ground into the subject as an additional value, and because it makes the shadows appear darker, the highlights whiter, and the image thus more three-dimensional, it comes one step closer to translating the image into color and is therefore ideal for the preparation of paintings. By the second half of the fifteenth century drawing on prepared paper had become common in Italy.⁶ Dürer may have seen examples of it – by Leonardo, Lorenzo di Credi, Carpaccio, and others⁷ – during his first sojourn there, in 1494–95. His first experiments with the technique date to about 1500. While he was in Venice in 1505 he used it for his drawings for the *Virgin of the Rose Garlands* (Narodni Galerie, Prague),⁸ and even after his return to Nürnberg he continued to do so until about 1510–11, notably in his preparations for the Heller Altarpiece and for his painting *All Saints* (the Landauer Altarpiece). His chiaroscuro studies on papers washed with green, blue, gray, or brown and highlighted in

opaque white with his inimitable delicate calligraphic brushstrokes were already much admired by his contemporaries.

After an interruption of nearly ten years, Dürer took up the technique again during his stay in the Netherlands between July 1520 and August 1521. The studies he made of a ninety-three-year-old man (Winkler 788–90; the first two in the Albertina, Vienna, the third in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) show his return to it.⁹ The first of his sketches from this period were still made with the brush, but he then reached for the more painterly medium of black and white chalk for chiaroscuro studies, and his later drawings are less linear and calligraphic, with luminous modeling. His first sustained use of this new drawing technique, apparently inspired in part by things he had seen on his journey through the Netherlands, was in his preparatory works for a large Madonna painting, and it would remain a significant tool for later works.

Although the Madonna painting is not mentioned in any document and for all we know it was never executed, the sketches that survive tell us more about its

development than we know about any of Dürer's other large works. Still full of the honors bestowed on him in the Netherlands, he apparently hoped to surpass with this picture everything he had done before. His preparation was both systematic and intuitive as he recorded his pictorial ideas with rapid pen sketches and worked out details of individual figures in more polished studies. The detail studies for Saints Barbara, Apollonia, Catharine, and Joseph (Winkler 845–48), like the Paris drawing and the Lehman one, show him to have arrived at a new, consummate level of draftsmanship. These figures, viewed from slightly below and all illuminated by a strong light from the right, have an artistic immediacy that at the time was without precedent. The large images fill the page, with monumental effect. Dürer emphasized basic forms with soft shadows and precisely executed details, especially the lips. Although he was quite sparing in his modeling of them, these heads have the three-dimensionality of sculpture, and with them Dürer achieved a new clarity. He was no longer relying on line alone to express what he saw, and accordingly had aligned himself once and for all with the art of the Renaissance.

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NOTES:

1. According to the Lawrence catalogue (Woodburn 1836; cited by Winkler 1936–39, no. 850), Dürer used a metal point, but all the evidence indicates that the medium was black chalk. A microscope shows that some of the strokes are marked by scratches made with a hard substance, but nowhere are entire lines indented like those made by a metal point. I am grateful to Marjorie Shelley of the Paper Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum for her information and help in analyzing this drawing.
2. The hat might have been similar to those in Dürer's drawings of Hans Pfaffrot of Danzig (Louvre, Paris) and Henry Parker, Lord Morley (British Museum, London), which date to 1520 and 1523, respectively (Winkler 748, 912; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, nos. 757, 924, ill.; Panofsky 1948, nos. 1034, 1035).
3. See Lorenz 1904; Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2, pp. 245–54; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, nos. 824, 845–49, 851–54, 856–60, 887, 889–92, 1121 (all illustrated); and Panofsky 1948, vol. 1, pp. 225–29, vol. 2, nos. 734, 760–80, figs. 285–87. See also Washington, D.C. 1971, no. xxxi, ill.



Fig. 10.2 Albrecht Dürer, *Sacra conversazione*. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne. Photograph © Arch. Phot. Paris/CNMHS

- (the *Musical Angels* [Winkler 836] in the Metropolitan Museum that is also one of the studies for the painting).
4. Flechsig 1928–31, vol. 2, p. 251.
 5. Only Flechsig (*ibid.*) has claimed they were free inventions. According to him they were so closely anticipated in the compositional studies that he wondered where Dürer would “have found models so precisely corresponding to the figures in his design drawings, which were purely the products of his imagination.”
 6. See Meder 1923, pp. 48ff.
 7. See Paris 1989–90.
 8. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, no. 317, ill.; Panofsky 1948, no. 38, figs. 148–50.
 9. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1937–38, nos. 804–6, ill.; Panofsky 1948, nos. 817–19.

Hans Baldung, called Grien

Schwäbisch-Gmünd (or Weyersheim, near Strasbourg?)
1484/85–Strasbourg 1545

Hans Baldung's family, highly educated and with a humanistic bent, moved to Strasbourg about 1492, where his father, Johannes Baldung, worked as a procurator in the service of the bishop. Baldung's uncle Hieronymus practiced as a physician in Strasbourg and eventually was named honorary physician to Maximilian I, a cousin was chancellor of the Tirol, and his brother Caspar was a university professor in Freiburg im Breisgau, then municipal advocate of Strasbourg, and finally a judge in the imperial court.

Whether Baldung received his earliest training in Strasbourg, in Alsace, or possibly in Swabia is uncertain. He arrived in Nürnberg about 1503, and there, along with Hans Schäufelein, was apparently one of the leading apprentices in Dürer's studio until about 1507. He probably acquired the nickname Grien during those years, for he began adding the G to his monogram about 1506 or 1507. His first surviving drawings were produced about 1503, his earliest paintings about 1505. In 1509 he acquired Strasbourg citizenship and married. In 1512 he was summoned to Freiburg im Breisgau to paint his masterpiece, the high altarpiece in the cathedral. He returned to Strasbourg in 1517 and worked there until his

death in 1545. From 1533 to 1545 he served as a juror for the guild *zur Steltz* (painters, printers, glaziers, and goldsmiths) in Strasbourg, and in early 1545 he was made a delegate to the city council.

Hans Baldung Grien was a prolific artist. Some 90 paintings, 250 drawings, and more than 500 designs for woodcuts (primarily for books) by him are known. Five or six engravings and, in Nürnberg, stained glass after his designs have also survived. In the beginning he was greatly influenced by Dürer, but later in his career he produced drawings in a highly personal, mannered style and paintings of lustrous color and expressiveness. As early as 1521, Jean Pélerin le Viateur numbered Baldung among the most important painters of his time, along with Dürer, Cranach, and Holbein. The humanist Beatus Rhenanus praised him in similar terms in 1526. With Dürer he enjoyed a long relationship based on mutual respect. In 1520–21, when Dürer traveled to the Netherlands, he took along some woodcuts to sell and give away that Baldung had produced, and preserved in the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna is a lock of Dürer's hair that was found among Baldung's personal effects.

Hans Baldung Grien

11. Man of Sorrows

1975.I.855

Pen and black ink on slightly pink washed paper. Watermark: tall crown with a cross (similar to Briquet 4953 [Friedberg near Augsburg, Bavaria, 1507]).¹ 169 x 240 mm. Four pen trials at the upper left. Signed at the bottom center with the monogram *HBG*, the *G* possibly strengthened later. Annotated along the lower right edge in the same ink as the border: *Giovani Bresanch* and 26.

A square hole at the bottom (to the right of the monogram and roughly the same size) patched; small holes and tears on the right shoulder and elsewhere repaired. Vertical crease to the right of center. Traces of lines in black chalk from the cheek down across the arms, horizontally just above the navel, and elsewhere, suggesting a grid for transfer or enlargement.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Munich; Max Hartmann, Basel; Stella Hartmann, Geneva; [Galerie Les Tourettes,

Basel]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Galerie Les Tourettes in November 1959.²

EXHIBITED: Karlsruhe 1959, no. 112, pl. 39; New York 1978–79, no. 26, ill.; Washington, D.C.–New Haven 1981, no. 14, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York–Nürnberg 1986, no. 176, ill.

LITERATURE: Buchner 1950, ill.; Koch 1953, p. 299; Oettinger and Knappe 1963, pp. 18, 26, 86, 97, 127, no. 37, fig. 87; Borries 1982, pp. 54–55; Grewenig 1987, p. 72, fig. 45; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, p. 102, ill.

When Buchner published this drawing in 1950, he dated it quite definitely on stylistic grounds to the end of Hans Baldung Grien's sojourn in Albrecht Dürer's workshop

in Nürnberg. He found the swirling lines of the foliage, the use of light and line, and the hatching characteristic of the artist's style about 1507. The stylized shading of the ground behind the figure reminded him of the landscape backgrounds in the woodcuts Baldung contributed to the *Speculum passionis* Ulrich Pinder published in Nürnberg in 1507 (Mende 286–97, especially 289). Buchner's dating has never been questioned. In fact, in 1963, in their thorough analysis of Baldung's work, Oettinger and Knappe rated this the most important of the drawings he produced shortly before the spring of 1507, when Dürer returned to Nürnberg from Venice.

The situation is by no means so unambiguous, however. As Buchner himself noted, the "painful expression and characteristic features of the foreshortened sufferer's head" in this drawing return in the heads in Baldung's woodcuts *Salome* and *Ecce homo* (Mende 26, 27), both from 1511.³ The small individual curls of Christ's beard are repeated in those same two woodcuts, as are the striking shadow beneath the lower lip, the full light on the goatee, and the rendering of the eye with a white center. The three works were doubtless created very near to one another in time. The closest parallels for the



No. 11, watermark



Fig. 11.1 Hans Baldung Grien, *Witch*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, kdz 4416. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

loincloth are also found in woodcuts from the years 1510–11, *The Holy Family with Saint Anne* (Mende 18), for example, and *The Holy Family with the Hare* (Mende 17), in which the cloth on Mary's lap is arranged in similar wide parallel folds executed with long, thin lines and small islands of hatching.

The style of the Lehman drawing, especially the cross-hatching and the way the well-lighted form has been reduced to pure, clearly drawn contours, also links it to Baldung's drawings of the early 1510s, for example the *Saint Sebastian* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes; *Eve* in the Hamburger Kunsthalle; and *The Virgin Mary Covering the Christ Child with Her Hair* in the Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden (Koch 24–26). In his *Witch* of 1513 in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Koch 60; Fig. 11.1), one finds the same fine line describing the back, the same herringbone hatching above the breast, the same swirling lines in the grass, and the same loose, slightly curving strokes of hatching ending in little hooks, especially behind the witch's back.⁴ The hatching on the ground in front of both fig-

ures is identical, with long lines running parallel to the lower edge of the picture crossed by hooked lines slanting slightly to the left or right that are short and close together in the shadows but become increasingly looser, longer, and farther apart as they emerge from the depth of the picture into the light. In Baldung's early drawings there is no trace of this manner of depicting shadow and space. It is first evident in the Hamburg *Eve* of 1510 (Koch 25), and it becomes systematized in woodcuts he executed between about 1510 and 1517 (see Mende 17, 35, 36, 40, 43).

The prominent monogram on the Lehman drawing would itself be surprising in a work from 1507. Hans Baldung Grien signed very few of his early works, and before 1510 his monogram appears on only a single drawing, a *Nativity* in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main (Koch 23). No one has ever disputed the authenticity of this monogram (although it has been suggested that the *G* is a later addition). The double lines of the left-hand shaft of the letter *H* are unusual, to be sure, but the joining of the *B* and its slender form are characteristic of Baldung's monogram in the beginning of the 1510s, particularly on the woodcuts from 1511. The swiftly executed monogram on a pen drawing in the Musée Municipal, Saint Germain en Laye (Koch 27), an idealized portrait of a woman that can also be assigned on the basis of its style to about 1511-12, is very similar to this one, with a letter *B* attached to the right shaft of the somewhat taller *H*.

The Lehman sheet thus represents the culmination of the expressive line Baldung developed in the years just

before he left Strasbourg for Freiberg im Breisgau in 1512. The delicacy and assurance of the crosshatching, creating light and shadow and at the same time suggesting muscle, bone, and soft flesh, have in this drawing reached utmost perfection.

As Buchner noted in 1950, this figure lying against an angled tree trunk in front of a slight rise, as though isolated from the events of the Passion, is clearly indebted to no known iconographic tradition. Buchner titled the drawing *Der Leichnam Christi* (The Corpse of Christ). This is not the image of a dead body, however. Christ bears the marks of the crucifixion on his hands and feet (though he has no wound in his side, an incongruity that remains unexplained), and he has surely suffered death on the cross, but the torsion and powerful inner tension of the figure belie it. His arms and legs are in motion, his head is raised, and his torso twists toward the front, as if he is rearing up in pain or in the moment of dying. Though they kept the title, Oettinger and Knappe described the situation more accurately: "*The Corpse of Christ* - is alive!" It is as though, they said, "this were something taking place between the Son and his Father in heaven." As they could explain the figure neither by events related in the Bible, nor by traditional depictions of the Man of Sorrows, nor by any mystical concept they knew of, they credited Baldung with inventing this new religious image himself.⁵

Shestack and Marrow found analogies between this Christ and similarly animated reclining figures, two of which represent Adam, in the woodcuts Baldung designed for *Der beschlossenen gart des Rosenkrantz Marie*,

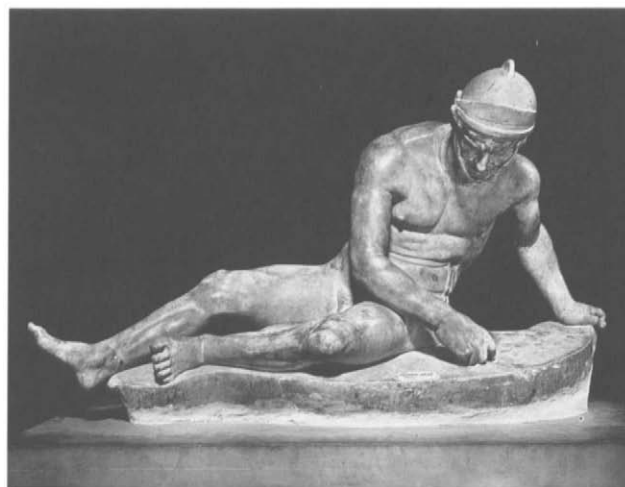


Fig. 11.2 *Wounded Gaul*. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York



Fig. 11.3 *Dying Persian*. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York



No. 11

published in Nürnberg by Pinder in 1505 (Mende 90, 101, 155, and see also 102).⁶ Even if it was more intuited than deliberate, Baldung's reference to the pose of the first man is interesting, as Shestack and Marrow pointed out, in light of the Christian tradition that the Savior suffered to atone for Adam's sin. But that alone does not justify this unusual representation of the Man of Sorrows as a monumental reclining figure alone in the landscape.

In the catalogue of the 1986 exhibition of Gothic and Renaissance art in Nürnberg, Boehm proposed that this figure was meant to be used in a narrative context, a Lamentation, for example, or a Descent from the Cross, "in which the figure's movement would be a logical element in the scene."⁷ She noted the contrast between Christ's active, twisted pose and traditional portrayals,

however, and she questioned Buchner's suggestion that the drawing was derived from Dürer's *Glim Lamentation* of about 1500 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).⁸ There is a striking resemblance between Christ's features and the way he holds his head in Baldung's drawing and Dürer's woodcut of the Lamentation from about 1500 (Bartsch 12).⁹

One finds parallels to this drawing not so much in earlier paintings and sculptures of the Lamentation, however, as in the way dying and suffering are depicted in antique sculpture in general. Certainly ancient sculpture was one of the influences on this voluminous recumbent figure rearing up one last time with a moan before collapsing. The pose echoes that of numerous antique figures – of dying Gauls, dying Persians, fallen warriors, or mortally wounded Niobids (see Figs. 11.2,



Fig. 11.4 Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Creation of Eve*. Detail from the Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace, Vatican City. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York



Fig. 11.5 Aegidius Sadeler after Marten de Vos, *Allegory of Life and Death*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

11.3) – known in Rome at the beginning of the Renaissance or soon brought to light.¹⁰ The figure always lies on his side, either with one shoulder on the floor or bracing himself with one arm while the other falls limply across his body. The hand falling across the upper body in combination with the twisting of the torso at the hips is a classical gesture thought to have been introduced in the time of Lysippus and associated in Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman sculpture with sleep, pain, and death.¹¹

The motif continued to be common in the Middle Ages to represent sleep. It was as familiar to the sculp-

tors of the choir screen at Chartres as to the mosaicists at San Marco or the illuminators of the *Bible moralisée*. Michelangelo's *Creation of Eve* (Fig. 11.4) is a quintessential formulation. In the profane allegory of the memento mori in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a sleeping child in a very similar pose combined with a skull and hourglass became a symbol for death and resurrection (see Fig. 11.5).¹² In Christian symbolism the boy Jesus sleeps on the cross in such a pose, and Death as the Grim Reaper assumes it surrounded by frolicking children (see Fig. 11.6). In all these depictions of sleep and death the *tertium comparationis* doubtless derives from the notion of salvation and its antithesis, dying, or nonexistence. Despite its changed content, the pictorial motif remained true to its ancient precedent.

The late quattrocento was perfectly aware of how the heroes of antiquity did their dying. Piero di Cosimo's panel painting *Death of Procris* in the National Gallery, London,¹³ corresponds to the *Dying Persian* in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (Fig. 11.3), a Roman copy of a lost Pergamene original,¹⁴ and even north of the Alps the carver of *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (Fig. 11.7), a polychrome wood relief in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, chose to express himself in the figural language of antiquity.¹⁵ That these testaments to the pagan past could be integrated even into ecclesiastical subjects is shown by Albertinelli's cassone panel depicting the story of the Creation, in which Adam's unusual pose is an exact copy of that of the *Wounded Gaul*, also a Roman copy (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples; Fig. 11.2) of a



Fig. 11.6 French, sixteenth century, *Mort en dormi*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 26.782.1

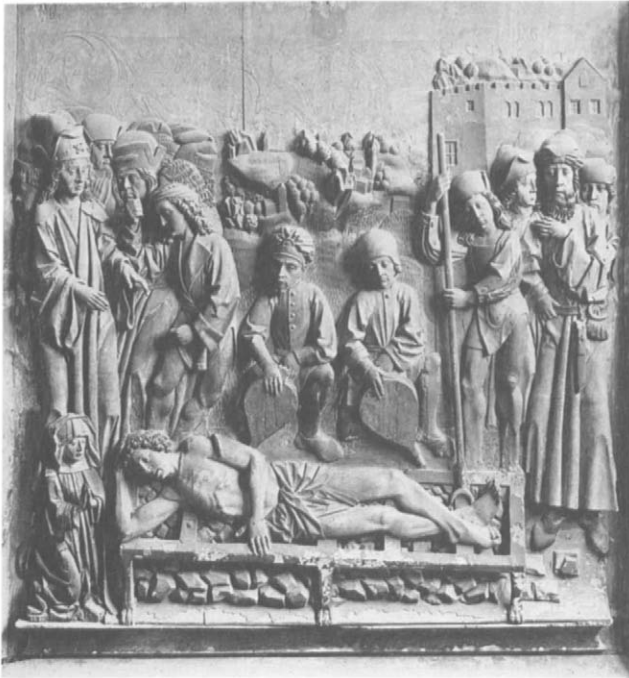


Fig. 11.7 *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, P 1011

Fig. 11.8 Paris Bordone, *The Dead Christ Supported by Two Angels*. Palazzo Ducale, Venice



Pergamene original.¹⁶ Even the image of Christ was affected by these finds from antiquity. Paris Bordone's fresco of the dead Christ with two angels in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice (Fig. 11.8) and Poussin's copy(?) of it are but a reworking of a type of isolated figure that can be traced back to the ancient *Dying Niobid*.¹⁷

Hans Baldung Grien's dying Christ is obviously part of this same tradition, and to properly understand it one must see it against the backdrop of the awakening of interest in antiquity at the beginning of the Renaissance. From our modern vantage point we probably underrate the Renaissance artists' and scholars' interest in and knowledge of Roman antiquity from surviving monuments, excavations, coins, gems, sculptures, and wall paintings.¹⁸ In Germany, Lucas Cranach, Dürer, and Baldung all made use of ancient motifs, often in entirely new contexts. And the originals behind such "inventions" were familiar, at least to cultivated viewers. This monumental, emphatically three-dimensional reclining figure – in its torsion to some extent a precursor of the *figura serpentinata* – is an important testimony to humanists' intellectual revival of our antique heritage. Baldung has integrated an ancient pose into the pictorial world of Christianity, producing what one might call a classical Man of Sorrows. His source for these ideas is unknown, for there is no reliable indication that he himself was ever in Italy. Pictorial formulas often trav-

eled, however, and this drawing sheds new light on the reception of antiquity in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁹ It also underscores the Hans Baldung Grien's role as a highly cultivated representative of the avant-garde in the German Renaissance.

FK

NOTES:

1. Not in Piccard, Heawood, Hausmann, or Meder.
2. Les Tourettes invoice dated 7 November 1959 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
3. Buchner 1950, p. 448: "Der herbe, schmerzliche Ausdruck und die charakteristischen Züge des verkürzten Dulderhauptes kehren auf späteren Holzschnitten Baldungs . . . sehr verwandt wieder."
4. Borries (1982, p. 55) argued for this later date along similar lines.
5. According to Oettinger and Knappe, the figure is reminiscent "in its continuous curve" of the drawing of a nude ascribed to Hans Baldung Grien formerly in the Liechtenstein Collection, which is in turn a variant of a proportion study of a female nude by Dürer (Oettinger and Knappe 1963, figs. 90, 119).
6. Washington, D.C.—New Haven 1981, no. 14. Shestack and Marrow also noted the relationship between this drawing and a sketch of a reclining male in Baldung's Karlsruhe Sketchbook (Staatliche Kunsthalle; Martin 1950, fol. 17).
7. Boehm did not take this line of thinking further, although it has much to recommend it and there actually is such a pictorial type: a terracotta attributed to Giovanni della Robbia in the Skulpturensammlung, Berlin, depicts Christ in a very similar way, with the Madonna wringing her

- hands as she stands looking down at her dead son. In Italy this motif culminated in Sebastiano del Piombo's *Pietà* in the Museo Civico, Viterbo. Baldung also used the type in an engraving (Mende 546).
8. Anzelewsky 1971, no. 70, fig. 69; Goldberg, Heimberg, and Schawe 1998, no. 4.
 9. Strauss 1980, p. 107, ill.
 10. For example, see Bober and Rubinstein 1986, nos. 151, 152, ill. (Figs. 11.2, 11.3).
 11. I thank Professor J. Borchhardt of the Archeological Institute, University of Vienna, whose opinion I am citing.
 12. See Wittkower (1949) 1977.
 13. Bacci 1966, no. 22.
 14. Bober and Rubinstein 1986, no. 152, ill.
 15. Innsbruck 1950, no. 141.
 16. Bober and Rubinstein 1986, no. 149, ill.
 17. Panofsky (1927, pp. 267, 296, n. 5) remarked the connection between Bordone's Christ and Poussin's Narcissus and noted that the depiction was probably not uninfluenced by the *Dying Niobid* in the Glyptotech, Munich, the Roman copy of a figure in a Hellenistic group (Bober and Rubinstein 1986, no. 109, ill.). An unpublished painting (oil on canvas, approximately 100 x 180 cm) in the convent of the Gesù Nuovo, Naples, also appears to have been influenced by Bordone's example; the unknown Neapolitan painter, presumably in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, expanded Bordone's composition into a full Lamentation by adding Mary and a group of grieving women. The number of popular devotional pictures that have survived from the seventeenth century (a hair picture in the monastery of Neustift, near Brixen in the south Tirol, is just one example) is evidence of the wide distribution of this type.
 18. The witch riding backward on a billy goat in Dürer's engraving (Bartsch 67; Strauss 1980, p. 58, ill.) and Baldung's woodcut (Mende 16) also remained a puzzle until Mesenzeva (1983, pp. 187–202) was able to explain it by reference to the antique notion of the *Venus pandemos*.
 19. Albrecht Altdorfer's engraving *Reclining Venus* (Winzinger 161), for example, is hardly imaginable without prior knowledge of some original such as is reflected in the cassone painting by Francesco di Antonio and an engraving by an unknown Florentine artist from roughly 1460–70 (Winzinger 1975, nos. A58, A59).

Circle of Hans Baldung Grien

12. The Lamentation of Christ

1975.1.856

Pen and brush and gray brown ink. 314 x 224 mm. Inscribed at the bottom center: 1513.

Paper worn thin in many places, with many tears; backed with a thin sheet of Japan paper and inlaid into paper of a heavier weight. Smudged, chiefly in the corners; stained, especially along the left and top edges; abraded in the center; damaged at the lower left, where the corner was restored; missing portions along the right edge patched with blank paper.

PROVENANCE: Andre Pröglesreütter, Nürnberg(?).¹

EXHIBITED: Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 252, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 27, ill. (as Hans Baldung Grien); Washington, D.C.–New Haven 1981, no. 47, ill. (as probably after Baldung); New York–Nürnberg 1986, no. 180, ill. (as Baldung).

LITERATURE: Fischer 1939, p. 25, fig. 6; Halm 1960, pp. 128–29 (as probably after Hans Baldung Grien); Hohl 1966, p. 4 (as Baldung); Szabo 1975, p. 104, fig. 7 (as Baldung); Falk in Boerlin et al. 1978, p. 58, under no. 28 (as probably Baldung); Szabo 1979, pp. 3–5, fig. 4 (as Baldung); Eisler 1981, p. 70 (as probably after Baldung); Borries 1982, p. 56 (as after Baldung); Von der Osten 1983, p. 90, fig. 7, under no. 21 (as Baldung).

This *Lamentation of Christ* did not attract general notice until 1959, when it was shown at the Cincinnati Art Museum as a work by Hans Baldung Grien. Although the drawing was not mentioned in the catalogue of the major commemorative Baldung exhibition held in Karlsruhe that same year,² Halm (thanks to a reference from Jan Lauts) introduced it as a topic of scholarly debate in his review of the exhibition.

What sparked the sudden interest was the existence of a virtually identical drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett in Basel (Fig. 12.1)³ that for more than six decades had been presumed to be Baldung's preliminary sketch for his painting *The Lamentation of Christ* in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck (Fig. 12.2).⁴ The Basel drawing, also executed in pen and brush and gray ink, is dated 1513 on a small plaque set at an angle in the right foreground. In front of the date is a device in the shape of a four-leaf clover.⁵ Until 1959, the Basel drawing had seemed to be above suspicion, but with the Lehman drawing's entry on the scene there began to be doubts. When Halm discussed the two side by side, he



No. 12



Fig. 12.1 Circle of Hans Baldung Grien, *The Lamentation of Christ*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett Basel, u.VIII.8. Photograph: Martin Bühler



Fig. 12.2 Hans Baldung Grien, *The Lamentation of Christ*. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, Gem. 899

noted many weaknesses in the Basel drawing, and concluded that it could only be considered a later drawing after the Innsbruck painting. Whether the Lehman *Lamentation* could claim to be the work of the master seemed to him to be equally questionable.

At first glance the two drawings appear to correspond to each other line for line. Yet close comparison reveals that the penwork in the Basel drawing is less imaginative, more decorative. The only slightly differentiated line leaves the forms two-dimensional, no more than a flat network of outlines, and robs them of all tension and expressiveness. The pattern of contours is much more prominent than in the Lehman version, and the hatching, for example on the left side of Christ's chest and his left kneecap (which looks like a growth of some kind), is merely formulaic, serving more to articulate the surface than to give form to the body.⁶

Hohl was the first to argue, in 1966, that the comparatively more delicately executed but less well preserved drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection, with its linearity, made a "more authentic" impression.⁷ In 1978, when he had seen only a photograph of the New York drawing, Falk also felt that although it was badly damaged, it was clearly of superior quality and may well have a claim to authenticity. Later, after he had studied the drawing firsthand, he admitted that he did not find it altogether convincing either.⁸ Szabo published the Lehman sheet in both 1978 and 1979 as a study by Baldung himself for the Innsbruck painting, and Von der Osten accepted that opinion in 1983 in his catalogue raisonné of Baldung's paintings. In the catalogue of the 1981 Baldung exhibition, however, Clark pointed out that the wound on Christ's right hand has been omitted from the Lehman drawing and argued that Baldung was unlikely



Fig. 12.3 Pupil of Hans Baldung Grien, *The Lamentation of Christ*. Present location unknown. Photograph: W. A. Freund sale, C. F. Roos–Dr. A. G. C. de Vries, Amsterdam, 19–21 February 1906, lot 20, courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 12.4 Albrecht Dürer, *The Lamentation of Christ* (from the Green Passion). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

to have overlooked such an important detail in a study for a painting, although it might conceivably have been left out of a copy. That the Lehman and Basel drawings are the same size and that they correspond so closely – for example, in certain passages of modeling, such as the area from Christ’s chin to the center of his chest, the number of individual hatching lines is precisely the same – led him to propose that one was traced from the other and that neither was the work of Baldung himself. Borries, in his 1982 review of the exhibition held in Washington, D.C., and New Haven the previous year, concluded that the drawings neither copied the painting nor were dependent on each other, but were presumably independent copies of a lost drawing of Baldung’s.

In the catalogue of the Nürnberg exhibition in 1986 Boehm kept the Lehman drawing in the oeuvre of Hans Baldung Grien without any qualification. Nevertheless,

its style, surely more delicate than that of the Basel sheet but still quite stiff and lacking in subtlety compared to assured Baldung drawings, supports the theory that it too is only a copy of the Innsbruck painting, presumably a workshop copy. In such pen drawings as the *Head of a Woman* in the Musée Municipal, Saint Germain en Laye (Koch 27), for instance, the loose rows of hatching lines meant to render light and shade vary considerably in thickness, and do actually suggest three-dimensionality. Seemingly comparable areas in the Lehman sketch – on Joseph of Arimathea’s left shoulder, say, or Mary’s hip – are ultimately mere pattern. The supple lines describing the stones lying on the ground, the hatching on the ground itself, and the crinkly lines suggestive of foliage and shrubbery behind the figure in Baldung’s *Eve* in the Hamburger Kunsthalle (Koch 25) may be only shorthand, but they are dynamically expressive. By con-

trast, the quite similar foliage behind the figure of Saint John in the Lehman drawing seems like sterile calligraphy. Eve's hair, flowing loosely and easily about her body, and the thick, doughy hair of the Magdalen provide another telling comparison. *Eve* is dated 1510. Though Baldung's style did no doubt change over the span of three years, the change cannot have been so fundamental as to explain such significant differences.

The situation is further complicated by the existence of a third, quite similar drawing, until now overlooked, that was in the collection of Wilhelm Alexander Freund in the early 1900s and has since disappeared (Fig. 12.3).⁹ That drawing was also produced by an artist close to Baldung, but to judge from the reproduction of it in the catalogue of the Freund sale in 1906, it was left unfinished. Details such as the way Christ's shoulder rises to a sharp point and the curving lines of the rib cage and hip (compare Baldung's own rendering of these shapes in the painting) relate it directly to the Basel drawing. It too can therefore only be a copy and, if for no other reason than that it was left unfinished, cannot have been the pattern for the others.

Close comparison of the three drawings shows that they all agree in precisely those features that differ from the Innsbruck painting: the draping of Saint John's cloak, Christ's hair and Saint John's flowing locks, the rendering of the branches and foliage, the position of the two nails in the thief's feet, the configuration of the castle in the background, and the shapes of the clouds. Mary's eyes are closed in all of the drawings but open in the painting, the crown of thorns is interwoven in the drawings but tied together in the painting, and the stones on the ground, the castle, and the folds of the shroud also fail to match. Even more noticeable is the position of Joseph of Arimathea's head, which is farther to the right and higher in the painting than in the drawings. All this makes it perfectly apparent that none of the drawings is Baldung's original. Assuming that none of the three served as the source for the other two, we can only agree with Borries that an earlier drawing, probably a lost drawing by Hans Baldung Grien, may have served as a model for all three.

Hohl had already wondered in 1966 whether a finished drawing of this sort, with perfectly regular layers of hatching and no corrections or indications of changes, could ever justifiably be considered a preliminary study for a painting. Certainly the sometimes painfully precise attention given to the length, direction, and number of hatchings lends support to the idea that the copyists

were reproducing a *Zeichenkunststück*, or a finished, self-contained drawing, and not a preparatory sketch, and attempting to imitate as closely as possible the specific signature of the original. Such precise copies of drawings were not unusual in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Drawings by masters of the Danube school – especially Albrecht Altdorfer and Wolf Huber – were so highly regarded that they were reproduced in numerous imitations. And there are even a number of workshop drawings virtually identical to Baldung's that were long thought to be originals. That the autograph drawing had become fully accepted as an autonomous work of art is reflected in the demand for exact copies that replicated not only specific compositions but also the most minute networks of lines and even the virtuosic use of drawing implements.¹⁰

Baldung's painting *The Lamentation of Christ* is assumed to have been part of a diptych (or triptych?) that also included his *Holy Family with Angels*, also in Innsbruck.¹¹ But while the *Holy Family* excited little interest,¹² the *Lamentation* was widely admired. Although the subject matter had previously been dealt with only rarely in German painting, the Lamentation having been considered more appropriate for sculpture in the form of the Pietà, by the beginning of the sixteenth century it had become a standard theme.¹³ Baldung's composition owes a great deal to woodcuts and paintings by Albrecht Dürer. The *Lamentation* Dürer painted for Albrecht Glim and the one belonging to the Holzschuher family have been suggested as direct sources,¹⁴ and to these one might add Dürer's Large Passion woodcut of about 1500 (Bartsch 13).¹⁵

Baldung's composition follows the same basic scheme, which is fully in accordance with the Lamentation iconography.¹⁶ Yet it is tighter and simpler than Dürer's. Not only has Baldung reduced the number of figures, but he has given the ones he has kept a new significance within the picture as a whole. In order to lift Christ's torso, Joseph of Arimathea (or Nicodemus) has had to kneel, so that his head appears directly above Christ's. Behind them, again staggered one behind the other, rise the shafts of the two crosses, creating a powerful compositional element that is balanced at the left by the similarly massive, vertical figure of Saint John and the trees looming behind him. In the center the three Marys have sunk to the ground in their grief. Behind this framework of figures the view opens out as through a window onto a mountain landscape with snow-covered peaks. The event pictured in the foreground is thus not only placed



Fig. 12.5 Fra Bartolommeo, *The Lamentation of Christ*. Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photograph: Quattrone, Florence



Fig. 12.6 Albrecht Dürer, *The Crucifixion* (from the Engraved Passion). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

in a specific setting but also to a certain extent frozen in time for us to reflect upon.

That Baldung managed to imbue this traditional scene with added layers of meaning is especially apparent in the motif of the Magdalen. From her kneeling position Mary has bent forward in her anguish to kiss the feet of her Savior, which she has wet with her tears. Thick strands of hair have fallen forward off her shoulders onto Christ's legs, evoking the image of the penitent sinner who with her tears obtained forgiveness in the house of Simon. Clark found precedents for this figure in Dürer's drawing of the Lamentation from the Green Passion (Fig. 12.4) and his woodcut of the subject from the Small Passion (Bartsch 43).¹⁷ But Baldung's blending of the Magdalen motif with that of the Lamentation was something new in German painting. To find anything like it, either in form or in concept, one has to go back to Lukas Moser's Tiefenbronn Altarpiece¹⁸ or such monuments of Rhenish sculpture as a relief in the parish church at Bingen that has been dated to about 1420–30.¹⁹ The motif can be recognized in Italian art, where it can be traced from Fra Angelico's *Descent from the Cross* (Museo di San Marco, Florence) by way of Benozzo Gozzoli directly to Fra Bartolommeo's *Lamentation* in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (Fig. 12.5). The parallels to Dürer's and Baldung's Magdalen figures and their placement in the composition are astonishing.

The pose of the apostle John is another of Baldung's innovations. Like the Magdalen, John has been set off from the rest of the group of mourners to considerable effect. Baldung may have been influenced by the distinctly Mantegnesque figure of Saint John in the *Crucifixion* (Bartsch 24; Fig. 12.6) in Dürer's Engraved Passion, which was executed after his second sojourn in Italy in 1505–7.²⁰ In depicting the Lamentation Hans Leinberger and Ulrich Apt the Elder also clearly followed Dürer's example, treating the apostle in a similar way as a dominant figure separated from the others.²¹ It is only in Baldung's composition, however, that John tears his hair. The simple gesture of mourning, universally comprehensible and highly expressive, serves as another effective accent, and it too was an innovation in German art, although in Italy it had long had a place in depictions of the death of Christ.²² Tearing the hair was a typical gesture of mourning for the ancient Greeks; it is common on tomb lekythoi and painted vases of the fifth century B.C., and especially beautiful three-dimensional examples in clay funerary objects have survived from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (see Fig. 12.7).²³ It is

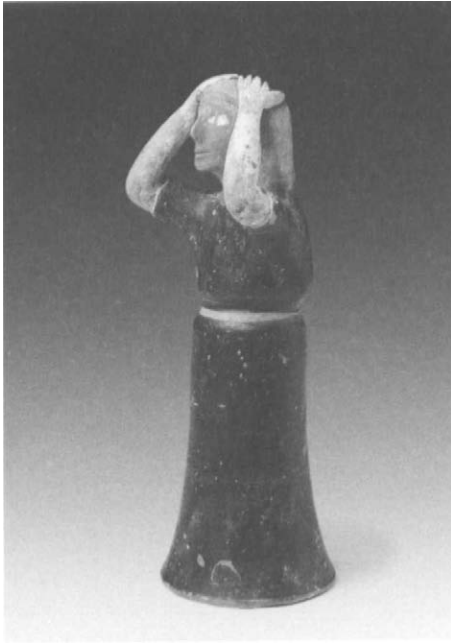


Fig. 12.7 Greece, seventh century B.C., statuette of a mourner from the cemetery of Sellada on Thera. Thera Archeological Museum



Fig. 12.8 Donatello, *The Lamentation of Christ*. Bronze relief for the church of San Lorenzo, Florence. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York

possible that Baldung was consciously quoting ancient sources in response to the awakening of interest in the art of the past fostered by humanism. As the son of well-educated parents and the brother of a university professor in Freiburg im Breisgau, he may well have taken particular delight in adopting and reworking this motif, blending art and scholarship in the sense of the *artes liberales*.

The way the legs of the thieves are cut off by the upper edge of the picture, also heretofore overlooked in discussions of Baldung's *Lamentation*, is another detail worth noting. The cropping lends a distinct note of immediacy to the timeless devotional scene of the Lamentation. Seeing what appears to be only an arbitrary segment of the scene, the viewer becomes an eyewitness, succumbing, as Baldung doubtless intended him to, to what Herzner has called the "aggressive representation of the event."²⁴ Of course this pictorial idea as well, though admired by his contemporaries for its formal audacity and expressiveness, was not original with Baldung, but can also be traced, perhaps by way of Lucas van Leyden, to Italy,²⁵ and specifically to Donatello.²⁶ Donatello employed the same deliberately startling

device in his portrayal of the Lamentation of Christ in his last work, the bronze reliefs for the so-called pulpits for the church of San Lorenzo in Florence (Fig. 12.8), cropping one of the two thieves at knee level, the other at the shoulders. (Like Baldung, he also included a ladder, a crucial accessory that implies that Christ has only just been taken down from the cross.) How Baldung happened to know of Donatello's relief is a mystery. There is no evidence that he was ever in Italy, but his inspiration may have been a *ricordo* one of his apprentices made during his travels. In any case, Baldung's adaptation of this pictorial idea was a distinct success in German art. Hans Burgkmair assimilated the idea as early as about 1515 in a woodcut of the Lamentation (carved by Jost de Negker),²⁷ and the Master of Messkirch quoted it in about 1535–40 in a panel of the same subject but with a totally different figural composition (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).²⁸ Baldung himself produced variations on the theme just a short time later, in a woodcut of 1515–17 (Mende 40) and a painting of 1516–17 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).²⁹

Despite its sparseness, Baldung's *Lamentation* is distinguished by what was at the time an unprecedented

intensity. His presentation of new motifs in a pictorial structure of exemplary clarity and his inclusion of a glimpse of landscape in a prominent spot, catering to the new interest in nature also evident in the works of the Danube school, were doubtless largely responsible for the painting's popularity and its wide dissemination through variants like this drawing and its counterparts.³⁰

FK

NOTES:

1. The drawing has been separated from a (seventeenth-century?) backing, the reverse side of which, according to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, was annotated: "Andre Pröglesreütter beim Nürnberg."
2. See Karlsruhe 1959, nos. 23, 130.
3. Boerlin et al. 1978, no. 28, fig. 34.
4. Van der Osten 1983, no. 21B, ill.
5. See note 6 below.
6. One notes the same stylistic features in the chiaroscuro drawing of Saint Christopher in the Kupferstichkabinett, Karlsruhe (Koch 35; Fig. 13.1), which is also dated 1513 and bears the quatrefoil mark and which Borries (1982, pp. 55, 56) also considers a copy. The quatrefoil device appears on three other drawings: *God the Father* in the Kunstmuseum, Basel (Koch 40); *Christ* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Karlsruhe (Koch A9); and a *Christ on the Cross* of 1515 in Basel (Téry 1894-97, vol. 1, no. 11) that also bears the monogram GK. To these five drawings one should probably add a *Crucifixion* in Karlsruhe that has part of the quatrefoil sign on the shaft of the cross next to the date 1514 (Boerlin et al. 1978, no. 34). Koch (1941, pp. 20, 85) considered the quatrefoil flourish to have been Baldung's mark in those years, but Falk (in Boerlin et al. 1978, p. 61, no. 34) suggested that the monogram be associated with Georg Koch, the son of the Basel painter Caspar Koch. Koch is documented in Augsburg in 1512 as a journeyman painter, and we know that he married in 1514 and settled in Basel, so Falk proposed, quite reasonably, that he may have served as an apprentice in Freiburg in 1513, his last year as a journeyman.
7. Hohl 1966, p. 4: "Bei allem . . . authentischer."
8. Letter from Falk to Shestack, 5 April 1983.
9. Sale, C. F. Roos-Dr. A. G. C. De Vries, Amsterdam, 19-21 February 1906, lot 20. The statement in Lugt 1921 (no. 954) that the auction was held in 1901 was corrected in Lugt 1956 (no. 954). Freund (1833-1917) lived in Breslau, Strasbourg, and, after 1901, in Berlin.
10. A notable example of such precise reproduction is provided by Albrecht Altdorfer's drawing *Samson Slaying the Lion* (Winzinger 34) and the copy of it originally executed on the same sheet (Berlin-Regensburg 1988, pp. 122-25, nos. 55, 56). There can be no better testimony to the high esteem that had come to be accorded to drawings as independent works of art than Dürer's note on *Two Studies of Male Nudes* (Albertina, Vienna, 17.575, R.74), a red chalk drawing that Raphael sent him in 1515: "Raffahell de Urbin . . . hat dyse nackette bild gemacht Und hat sy dem albrecht durer gen norberg geschickt Im sein hand zw weisen" (Raphael of Urbino . . . made this nude study and sent it to Albrecht Dürer to illustrate his hand to him [translation from Washington, D.C.-New York 1984-85, no. 51, ill.]).
11. Von der Osten 1983, pp. 88-91, no. 21A, ill.
12. The only known copy is a somewhat later drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (kdz 2652).
13. The Lamentation first appears as a subject for painting in Byzantine art, and from there found its way into Italian art in the thirteenth century. The scene is not described in the New Testament; the text sources go back to the writings of the Eastern Church, probably by Symeon Metaphrastes, from the second half of the tenth century.
14. Anzelewsky 1971, pp. 159, 175, nos. 55, 70, figs. 57, 69. Vöge (1931, p. 78, pl. 39.1) assumed a connection between Baldung's composition and Niclas Hagnover's sculpture from the predella of the high altar formerly in Strasbourg Cathedral, but his suggestion has been rejected by a number of scholars, most recently Von der Osten (1983, p. 91).
15. Dürer's woodcut also has Christ stretched across the width of the picture in the foreground and a very similar grouping of the kneeling Virgin, Joseph of Arimathea (or Nicodemus) holding the corpse, and between them a grieving Mary with her hand wrapped in a cloth.
16. See *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968-76, vol. 1 (1968), cols. 278-79.
17. Clark in Washington, D.C.-New Haven 1981, p. 193, under nos. 46, 47.
18. Stange 1934-61, vol. 4, figs. 148, 153.
19. Frankfurt am Main 1975-76, p. 120, no. 12, ill.
20. See Andrea Mantegna's painting of the Crucifixion in the Louvre, Paris (Tietze-Conrat 1955, fig. 40), and his engraving of the Entombment of Christ (Hind 1948, vol. 5, p. 10, no. 2).
21. See Leinberger's wood relief of about 1516 in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; the panel by Apt in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid; and also a panel of roughly 1525 in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, that has been attributed to an Augsburg master (Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1957, fig. 61).
22. Simone Martini and Donatello were well aware of antique examples of figures with their arms raised in anguish. As Lavin (1959) has noted, Donatello not only revitalized standard motifs from the trecento but also consciously studied ancient Greek examples like the copies of the Parthenon frieze by Cyriacus d'Ancona. See also Reisch 1889, pp. 217ff.
23. See, for example, the statuettes of mourners from the cemetery of Sellada (see Fig. 12.7) on Thera, now in the Thera Archeological Museum (Washington, D.C., and other cities 1988-89, nos. 23, 24). See also Neumann 1965, pp. 85-89, and Demisch 1984, pp. 261ff.
24. Herzner 1972, p. 131.
25. That Lucas van Leyden also used this compositional device quite effectively in an engraving of the Crucifixion (Bartsch 65) indicates that it too had been transmitted from Italy to

- the Netherlands. Lucas's engraving was produced in 1509, four years earlier than Baldung's painting, but it is further removed from Donatello's original image and so cannot have been a source for Baldung's composition.
26. See Lavin 1959. To the best of my knowledge the only other artist among Donatello's contemporaries to utilize this compositional device was Mantegna, who cut off the soldiers with the bottom edge of the picture in his *Crucifixion* and *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (both in the Louvre, Paris; Herzner 1972, pp. 130, 131, figs. 13, 14).
 27. The only prints are in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden; the Beuth-Schinkel collection, Berlin; and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
 28. Gemäldegalerie, inv. 1841.
 29. Von der Osten 1983, pp. 137-38, no. 40, pl. 104.
 30. There is also a painted copy of Baldung's *Lamentation* to consider. According to Von der Osten (*ibid.*, p. 90, fig. 92A, pl. 187), the painting, which was offered for sale by the Auktionshaus Neumeister in Munich in 1979, probably dates to the nineteenth century.

Follower of Hans Baldung Grien

Upper Rhine, third quarter of the sixteenth century

13. Saint Christopher

1975.I.854

Pen and black ink, brush and blackish brown and blackish gray wash, highlighted with opaque white, on reddish brown prepared paper. 252 x 164 mm.

Vertical and horizontal creases repaired on the recto but still visible on the verso; opaque white flaked off in spots and replaced. Pasted on the verso, for repair, a slip of paper with writing in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York; sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 18 February 1921 (sale 1560), lot 39 (as Hans Baldung Grien; to Ederheimer[?]); [Richard Ederheimer, New York].

EXHIBITED: New London, Connecticut, 1936, no. 44; Poughkeepsie 1942-44; New York 1978-79, no. 28, ill. (as German follower of Hans Baldung Grien, ca. 1540).

The catalogue of the Anderson Galleries sale in 1921 attributed this drawing to Hans Baldung Grien and described it as in "the view of the authorities in American and European museums, . . . one of the finest sixteenth-century chiaroscuro drawings known." Subsequently, however, it was altogether ignored in the literature on Baldung. Térey was not acquainted with it; Koch, Curjel, and Perseke ignored it; and the catalogues of the Bal-

dung exhibitions held in Karlsruhe in 1959, Basel in 1978, and Washington, D.C., and New Haven in 1981 include no mention of it. In 1978 Szabo assigned it to a German follower of Baldung and dated it about 1540.¹

Like a chiaroscuro drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe (Koch 35; Fig. 13.1) that is signed with the quatrefoil flourish and the date 1513, the Lehman *Saint Christopher* displays all the features of a copy.² Shestack and Marrow published the Karlsruhe drawing in 1981 as unquestionably by Baldung himself, but that contention cannot be sustained.³ The virtuoso brush technique notwithstanding, if one compares the Karlsruhe sheet to autograph depictions of Saint Christopher by Baldung, the woodcut of about 1511 (Mende 24; Fig. 13.2),⁴ for example, or the monogrammed chalk drawing dated 1520 in a private collection (Koch 111; Fig. 13.3), one can see that it lacks true artistry. Whereas in Baldung's compositions the saint's fingers really grasp the pole, for instance, and the torso is understood as a volume, a bearing element in the overall structure, in both the Karlsruhe and the Lehman drawings the forms are flatter and less convincing.





Fig. 13.1 Copy after Hans Baldung Grien, *Saint Christopher*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, VIII 1065



Fig. 13.2 Hans Baldung Grien, *Saint Christopher*. © British Museum, London, 1895-1-22-227

Though the Lehman drawing cannot be attributed to Baldung himself, one still has to ask whether it perhaps reflects or paraphrases an original by him. I know of no drawing by Baldung that might have served as a model, however. In fact, this drawing differs in several respects from traditional depictions of Saint Christopher.⁵ The saint is generally shown striding purposefully forward, but here he appears timid and fearful, standing ankle-deep in water with his knees pressed together, grasping his stick with both hands to brace himself, and seeming to bend beneath the burden of the incongruously small child on his shoulder. He is normally portrayed with long, abundant hair, often caught in a cloth tied around his head, but in the Lehman drawing he is nearly bald. The profile view is also unusual. I know of no precedents for it, but there are possible parallels from the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as Albrecht Dürer's sketch

with nine studies of the saint, three of them in profile, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Winkler 800).

The motif of the spreading cloak lifted by the wind, also documented in Dürer's sketches, enjoyed great popularity in the 1520s. The lines of the drapery in this drawing are much rounder than in Baldung's depictions of Saint Christopher, however, forming great billows more in keeping with the art of the middle of the century and beyond. The saint's powerful legs with their overly muscular calves also seem more appropriate to Mannerism, and the Christ Child's costume (Baldung usually portrayed him either naked or wearing only a little shirt) and the arrangement of his hair seem more reminiscent of the figural repertoire of the early Baroque.

The execution of this drawing also points to the second half of the sixteenth century. The gleaming dots of white for the highlights, thin rows of hatching, and



Fig. 13.3 Hans Baldung Grien, *Saint Christopher*. Private collection

large light areas juxtaposed with delicate, dark outlines and strong shadows in deep gray all bring to mind the chiaroscuro drawings of Tobias Stimmer and Hans Bock the Elder, whose early works, dating from 1560–70, have the same overall restlessness.⁶ This copy was very probably also produced in the third quarter of the century, which perhaps helps to explain why it is so different from the many other contemporary copies after Hans Baldung Grien.

FK

NOTES:

1. A note dated 6 April 1977 in the Robert Lehman Collection files reports that Christiane D. Andersson attributed this drawing to "an artist of second quarter of the sixteenth century some of whose drawings are in a South German collection." In a letter of 5 April 1983 (to Alan Shestack), Falk identified it as "possibly seventeenth century."
2. On the quatrefoil flourish, see No. 12, note 6.
3. Washington, D.C.–New Haven 1981, p. 162, no. 33, ill. Borries (1982, pp. 55, 56) also considers the drawing a copy.
4. Washington, D.C.–New Haven 1981, no. 32, ill.
5. See Stahl 1920.
6. Basel 1985, nos. 189, 252c, figs. 203, 218, 219.

Erhard Altdorfer

Schwerin, documented 1512–61

From Albrecht Altdorfer's last testament of 1538 it is clear that Erhard was his brother. Which was the older of the two is uncertain, however, as is whether Erhard received his training under his brother or in some southern German workshop, possibly in Regensburg, Passau, or Vienna. Erhard Altdorfer is first documented in 1512, when as court painter to Duke Heinrich the Peaceable of Mecklenburg he was paid travel expenses so that he could attend the great tourney at Ruppin. The duke commissioned an altar from him in 1516 and in 1537 presented him with a house. The artist remained in the service of the house of Mecklenburg in Schwerin as a draftsman, painter, and architect even after the death of Heinrich the Peaceable in 1552. Altdorfer is last documented in 1561, and he most likely died not long after that.

The documentary evidence is supported by several signed works: the engraving *Lady with a Peacock Shield* (Winzinger 242), which bears the monogram EA and is dated 1506; the three *Tournament* woodcuts, which are

monogrammed and dated 1512 (read by some as 1513); a monogrammed etching, *Mountain Landscape* (Winzinger 244); and eighty-two woodcuts (two of which are monogrammed) in the Lübeck Bible, which was printed in 1531–34. Two engravings – *Superbia* and *Young Man with Two Courtesans* (Winzinger 241, 243), both closely related to the *Lady with a Peacock Shield* – and eight, possibly ten, drawings can be added to that group on the basis of their stylistic affinity with either the early engraving and the *Tournament* woodcuts or the landscapes and woodcut illustrations executed roughly twenty years later. Despite the large gap in time, a consistent stylistic thread runs through all of them, and it is perfectly possible to imagine the evident changes as reflecting the development of a single artistic personality. Attempts to add various other drawings to this unanimously accepted oeuvre have not been successful. We know very little about Erhard Altdorfer's paintings, and a comprehensive critical examination of the works associated with his name has yet to be undertaken.

Circle of Erhard Altdorfer

14. Two Lansquenets

1975.I.852

Pen and black ink highlighted with brush and opaque white on reddish brown prepared paper. 140 x 93 mm. Annotated at the center top in ink, probably by a later hand: 1513.¹

Trimmed and mounted on a backing sheet.² Annotated on the backing: "Hans Leu [erased] / Jos. Camesina / Pomal[?] / 18 []3."

PROVENANCE: Josef Camesina de Pomal, Vienna; Albert Camesina, Vienna (Lugt 88 on the verso); Camesina sale, Wawra, Vienna, 13ff. April 1882, lot 692; Adalbert von Lanna, Prague (Lugt 2773 on the verso); Lanna sale, H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, 6–11 May 1910, lot 34 (as German, sixteenth century, in the manner of Hans Leu); Eugène Rodrigues, Paris; R[odrigues] sale, Frederick Muller, Amsterdam, 12–13 July 1921, lot 4, pl. 3 (as in the manner of Albrecht Altdorfer); Z. Rosenthal, Bern; LeRoy M. Backus, Seattle; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Schaeffer in April 1952.³

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 84 (as Albrecht Altdorfer); Cincinnati 1959, no. 251 (as Albrecht Altdorfer); New Haven–Saint Louis–Philadelphia 1969–70, no. 65, pl. 18 (as probably Erhard Altdorfer); New York 1978–79, no. 30, ill. (as Erhard Altdorfer).

LITERATURE: Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. 10, no. 1140, ill. (as Upper German school, 1513); Moore 1900, p. 48 (as probably [Albrecht] Altdorfer); Bock 1921, p. 56, under no. 96 (as Wolfgang Huber); Weinberger 1930, p. 223 (as Erhard Altdorfer); Becker 1938, pp. 131–32, no. 100 (as Albrecht Altdorfer); Stöver 1946, pp. 63–65, 145, no. 11 (as Erhard Altdorfer); Oettinger 1959, pp. 96–97, 104, 107, fig. 22 (as Erhard Altdorfer[?]); Winzinger 1960, pp. 21–24, fig. 13 (as Erhard Altdorfer); Packpfeiffer (1974) 1978, p. 165, no. 19 (as Erhard Altdorfer); Hale 1990, p. 55, fig. 88 (as Erhard Altdorfer).

Pictures depicting splendidly dressed soldiers filling the frame in artificial poses designed to show off their costumes and up-to-date weaponry became extremely popular in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. In some instances the artist staged a bit of action, but only to better display some unusual finery in rich detail. The genre made much use of the trick of showing one or more figures from behind, ostensibly in order to display the front and back view of a given costume.⁴ The device



No. 14

appeared with increasing frequency in German as well as Italian art toward the end of the fifteenth century and ultimately became quite typical of the compositions of the artists of the Danube school.⁵ Albrecht Altdorfer used it in his woodcuts *The Annunciation to Joachim* and *The Annunciation to Mary* (Winzinger 21, 29) and in his chiaroscuro drawing *Christ on the Cross* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (Winzinger 44), in which the participants turn toward the event almost as if they were spectators standing in front of the viewer. He exploited the concept with particular daring when he depicted Samson wrestling with the lion from the back in a chiaroscuro drawing now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Winzinger 34).⁶

For a short time in the early sixteenth century, depictions of the military, especially of weapons and military clothing with figures seen from the front and back as integral elements of the composition, were all the rage in the art of southern Germany and Switzerland. The costumes in these pictures, and even to some extent the poses and gestures of the figures, tended to become standardized.⁷

Largely as a result of Swiss military successes against Burgundian and Hapsburg forces, Emperor Maximilian I reorganized his army in about 1485, hiring Swiss soldiers and for the first time German ones as well. These Swiss and German mercenaries, or *Lansquenets*, who subsequently competed with each other, were easily dis-



Fig. 14.1 Erhard Altdorfer, *Three Lansquenets*. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 15934. Photograph © Ursula Edelmann



Fig. 14.2 Circle of Erhard Altdorfer, *Three Lansquenets with Halberds*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett Basel, 1823.155. Photograph: Martin Bühler

tinguished by their different uniforms and weapons.⁸ The soldiers in this drawing, standing with spread legs as though at ease in an especially typical stance, can be identified as German by the short broadsword with an S-shaped quillon, the so-called *Katzbalger*, or brawler. The German mercenaries also typically carried other weapons modeled on Swiss prototypes: a halberd, an eighteen- to twenty-foot lance, and a dagger stuck horizontally under the belt, either at the side or, more often, at the back. The protective clothing these figures wear over their colorful slashed uniforms – breast and back pads, knee-length skirts, wide collars, and attack helmets – marks them as members of a corps d’elite who received twice the wages of ordinary mercenaries.

Schönbrunner and Meder attributed this drawing to an unknown Upper German master and dated it 1513. When it was sold at auction in 1921 it was given to Albrecht Altdorfer, but that same year Bock associated it with Wolfgang Huber. Weinberger was the first to attribute the drawing to Erhard Altdorfer. Becker considered the argument for that attribution inadequate, but

Stöver aligned himself with Weinberger, and Oettinger (though he listed it on another page with a question mark next to it) confirmed Erhard’s authorship of the drawing by comparing it with his signed jousting woodcuts of 1512 or 1513. Winzinger also claimed that this is definitely Erhard’s work, noting the similarities in the figural types, poses, proportions, and gestures of these mercenaries and those depicted in the woodcuts Erhard produced for the Lübeck Bible, which was printed in 1531–34, particularly the illustration for Corinthians (Winzinger mistakenly wrote Galatians) and *The Anointing of Saul* (1 Samuel 10:1).⁹ Packpfeiffer agreed with these arguments, as did Manner in her entry for the catalogue of the New Haven exhibition, where she considered the attribution to Erhard Altdorfer “reasonably firm” even though she emphasized that these figures are fuller and more sculptural than those in Erhard’s drawings and engravings of 1506–8.¹⁰

The works cited for comparison in the literature do reveal a series of interesting analogies. But Erhard Altdorfer’s dynamic calligraphic draftsmanship is lacking

in this sheet. These figures are altogether more awkward, stiff, and compressed than Altdorfer's figures, whose gestures are also more clearly articulated, even in details like the fingers, hands, and calves. Erhard Altdorfer's drawing style is well documented.¹¹ If one places his accepted works side by side, one finds that in his early years he employed an especially delicate line, and that through his middle and later years his careful rendering of precise detail never slackened. His work shows a clear, logical development and a consistent style – from the monogrammed engraving *Lady with a Peacock Shield* and the drawing *The Banquet* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Winzinger 242, 145), both from 1506, to the *Three Lansquenets* in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, from a short time later (Fig. 14.1)¹² and the jousting woodcuts of 1512 or 1513,¹³ to the Lübeck Bible woodcuts of about 1530–34,¹⁴ the *Sea Landscape* in the Albertina, Vienna (Winzinger 146), and other landscapes.¹⁵

Doubtless with this Lehman drawing in mind, Winzinger and Elen have also assigned to Erhard Altdorfer *Two Noblewomen on Horseback with a Cavalier*, a drawing from the Koenigs collection, Haarlem, that along with more than 500 other drawings from the collection was moved to Germany by the German occupation forces during World War II (the majority of the collection is now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow).¹⁶ To judge from the surviving photograph, however, that somewhat hesitant drawing appears to be a copy rather than an original. It shares certain characteristics with the Lehman *Lansquenets*. It too depicts rather small figures that stand out against the open sky atop a flat knoll, and the cavalier spreads the fingers of his doll-like hand in a gesture much like that of the soldier in the Lehman drawing. The Koenigs drawing probably does derive from the same circle as this one, although it can hardly be ascribed to the same draftsman. The *Three Lansquenets with Halberds* in the Kupferstichkabinett Basel (Fig. 14.2), a chiaroscuro drawing also dated 1513, is at least as close in style and motif to the Lehman drawing as the Koenigs sheet.¹⁷ Winzinger attributed the Basel drawing to an artist he called the Master of the Basel Lansquenets, whose style he found clearly different from that of the artist of the Lehman drawing and to whom he also assigned a pen drawing of a mercenary in the Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg (Fig. 14.3), and an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi, Florence.¹⁸ The Basel drawing, in brush and black ink heightened with opaque white on gray prepared paper, is more effective overall than the Lehman drawing,



Fig. 14.3 Circle of Erhard Altdorfer, *A Mercenary*. Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg

probably in large part due to its better condition. The two compositions are closely related, and the drawings also agree in details like the foreshortening of the halberds, the restless hatching, the squat figures, and above all the formulaic positioning of the legs. Although they were not necessarily produced by the same draftsman, they are more similar to each other than to the drawings of Erhard Altdorfer. Comparison of these imitations only confirms that they both represent a simplification and coarsening of the master's style and do not achieve his delicate, sure, and subtle modeling.

A Soldier and a Girl Seen from Behind, a small, previously unattributed, apparently unique engraving in the Kunsthalle Bremen (Bartsch 8[146]; Fig. 14.4), lends further significance to the comparison.¹⁹ Despite the formal similarities between it and the Lehman drawing (and also the equestrian group from the Koenigs collection), the expressiveness and delicacy of the line in the Bremen engraving ally it more directly with Erhard Altdorfer's *Three Lansquenets* in Frankfurt, his *Banquet* in Berlin and his *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* in the



Fig. 14.4 Erhard Altdorfer(?), *A Soldier and a Girl Seen from Behind*. Kunsthalle Bremen, Kupferstichkabinett, 8412

Museum der Stadt, Regensburg (Winzinger 143).²⁰ The engraver, who like Albrecht Altdorfer managed to create a new artistic reality by defying tradition and daring to show the girl from the back, as if she has been caught accidentally in the picture frame, might have been Erhard Altdorfer himself.

FK

NOTES:

1. Scholars are by no means in agreement about the date. Manner (in *New Haven–Saint Louis–Philadelphia* 1969–70, no. 65) maintained that the numbers were executed in the ink of the drawing, but Winzinger – correctly, in my opinion – insisted that they were added later by a different hand, possibly in imitation of a genuine date that was lost when the sheet was cut down.
2. The only partially masked light lines on the right edge at roughly the height of the heads and the dark diagonal hatching and thin white horizontal lines that appear to have been cropped at the lower right suggest that the picture once extended farther to the right. To judge from the mercenaries' gaze, it probably included one or more additional figures.
3. Schaeffer invoice dated 16 April 1952 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
4. Compare Dürer's costume study of a Venetian woman from 1495 or his design for a herald's cloak (Winkler 69, 687, 689). Even more typical of this device are the matching studies by Hans Burgkmair in which he portrayed himself as a bridegroom from the front and the back – in two different costumes.
5. See also Koch 1965.
6. Berlin–Regensburg 1988, no. 55, color ill., and see as well no. 56, the copy executed on the same sheet.

7. See Bern 1979, especially pp. 8–16.
8. Franz 1953. For the costumes and weaponry, see Innsbruck 1969, pp. 86ff., and also Bächtiger 1975.
9. Winzinger 1960, p. 22, figs. 12, 14.
10. This drawing is not mentioned in Benesch 1936, Benesch and Auer 1957, or Berlin–Regensburg 1988.
11. See Jürgens 1931.
12. Berlin–Regensburg 1988, p. 280, no. 180, ill.
13. Oettinger 1959, pp. 90–95, ill.
14. Packpfeiffer (1974) 1978, pp. 149–53, figs. 35–82; Berlin–Regensburg 1988, p. 298, no. 190, ills.
15. The *Mountain Landscape with a Bridge* in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, and the *Landscape with a Large Spruce* in the Kobbersticksammlung, Copenhagen (Winzinger 150, 151). Winzinger only muddied our relatively clear sense of Altdorfer's style with his series of additional attributions, especially the chiaroscuro drawings *Saint John on Patmos* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main), *Madonna and Child* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin), and *Saint Sebastian* (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig); see Winzinger 1952, nos. 148, 149; Winzinger in Linz–Sankt Florian 1965, no. 164; and Berlin–Regensburg 1988, nos. 182, 183, 186, color ills. It is impossible to fit any one of these chiaroscuro drawings into his oeuvre. To accept Schilling's (1925, no. 32; 1973, no. 22) attribution of the Frankfurt drawing to Erhard, which he based on the similarity of its composition to that of the woodcut of the same subject from the Lübeck Bible (Berlin–Regensburg 1988, no. 190f, ill.) and the presence of similarly Cranach-esque types in both the Berlin *Madonna and Child* and the *Joshua* woodcut from the Lübeck Bible (ibid., no. 190d, ill., and see also New Haven–Saint Louis–Philadelphia 1969–70, no. 68, pl. 17), is to confuse analogies shared by a number of contemporaries with distinctly individual styles. These attributions are in need of critical review.
16. Winzinger 1960, p. 19, fig. 8; Elen 1989, p. 83, no. 83 (not included in Moscow 1995–96). A pen drawing related to the Koenigs sheet, a *Saint George* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. 9, no. 1038), also appears to be a copy.
17. Winzinger 1960, pp. 25–27, fig. 22.
18. Ibid., figs. 23, 24.
19. Wolff 1985, p. 326, ill. The print measures 68 by 47 millimeters; it has been trimmed at the top and (presumably only slightly) on the sides, but traces of the edge of the plate are still visible at the bottom. My entries for the Lehman drawings were written and translated in 1993–95. It was at my suggestion that Ursula Mielke catalogued the Bremen sheet among the engravings by Erhard Altdorfer in Hollstein 1996–, vol. 2 (1997), p. 191, no. e.4.
20. The close correspondence in the subject matter, form, expression, and execution of these works goes beyond mere details of gesture and costume and includes even such graphic features as the way the grassy border is rendered like tongues of flame.

Upper Rhine (Switzerland?)

Follower of Albrecht Altdorfer, ca. 1514

15. The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John

1975.1.853

Pen and dark brown ink highlighted with brush and opaque white on light brown prepared paper. Watermark in the upper left corner: part of an eight-petaled(?) flower (not in Briquet or Piccard). 215 x 148 mm. Added later (by the artist?) at the upper right in blackish ink: 1514; added still later by another hand above the year in white: AD (Dürer monogram);¹ annotated at the lower right in light brown ink: 129[or /29?].

The opaque white somewhat faded, flaked off, and oxidized in the upper left corner and lower left foreground.

PROVENANCE: John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1507 on the verso [added by Colnaghi in 1912]); [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 10–14 July 1936, lot 352 (as school of Altdorfer; to John Hunt). Acquired by Robert Lehman through Hunt on 14 July 1936.²

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1978–79, no. 29, ill. (as Albrecht Altdorfer); New York 1987, no. 11; Evanston 1988, no. 11, ill. (as follower of Altdorfer).

LITERATURE: Heseltine 1912, no. 1, ill.; Friedländer 1923, p. 68 (as Albrecht Altdorfer[?]); Becker 1938, p. 160, no. 190 (as probably a copy after Altdorfer); Winzinger 1952, pp. 98–99, no. 125, ill. (as Hans Leu[?], after Altdorfer); Halm 1953, p. 75; Oettinger 1959, pp. 111–12, fig. 38 (as Draftsman of the Berlin Lamentation); Oehler 1971, pp. 83, 94, fig. 19 (as circle of Altdorfer); Szabo 1988, cover ill. (as follower of Altdorfer).

In German and Netherlandish art until about 1500 depictions of the Holy Family included only Joseph, Mary, and the infant Jesus. Nowhere in the Gospels is there any mention of a meeting between Elizabeth and her son John and Joseph and Mary and the infant Jesus. This expanded notion of the Visitation possibly derives from Eastern apocryphal literature.³ In about A.D. 379 Ephraim the Syrian wrote of the infant Saint John and his parents, Zachariah and Elizabeth, worshipping the



No. 15, watermark



Fig. 15.1 Luca Signorelli, *The Holy Family with Zachariah, Elizabeth, and John*. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

Christ Child,⁴ and between 385 and 395 the Egyptian bishop Serapion told of Mary and Jesus meeting with Elizabeth and John in the desert.⁵ *The Story of the Birth of John the Precursor and of the Killing of His Father, Zachariah* (8:3), a Slavonic manuscript that has been dated to the ninth century, relates that “[Joseph and his family] fled to Galilee in the city of Nazareth. And it happened that Elizabeth was also there; and Mary and Elizabeth, Jesus and John greeted each other.”⁶ The event made its appearance in the Italian tradition in the late thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century,⁷ with the publication of two texts that drew heavily on the Eastern legends for the details of John’s life: the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of the Pseudo-Bonaventura⁸ and especially the *Vita di San Giovanni Battista*, a vernacular translation of an anonymous Latin text.⁹ Pictorial groupings of the Holy Family incorporating Elizabeth and John began to appear in Italian Renaissance art in the work of Andrea Mantegna, and after 1500 continued to be depicted by Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Bernardino Luini, and others. As a rule, these paintings show Mary and Elizabeth either seated or

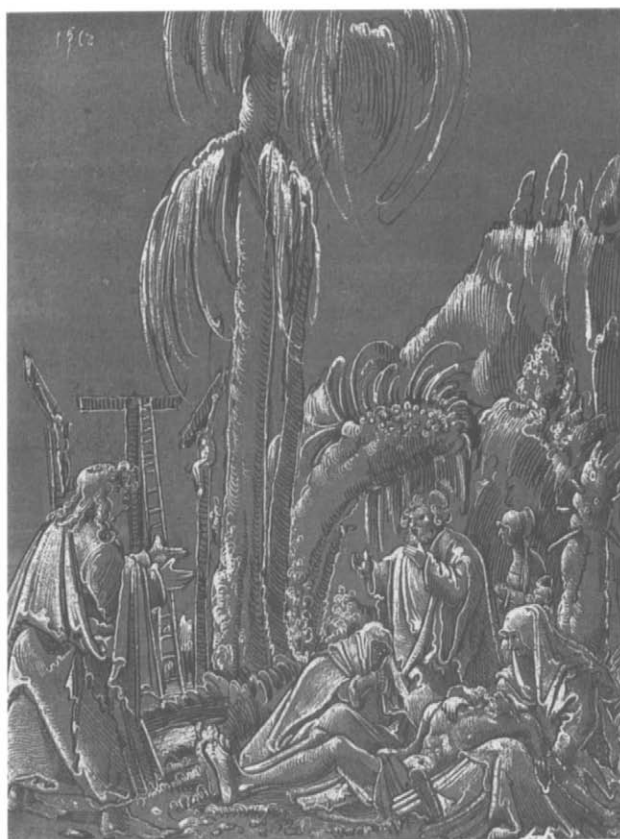


Fig. 15.2 Hans Leu(?), *The Lamentation*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, kdz 4056. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders



Fig. 15.3 Hans Leu, *Saint George and the Dragon*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, kdz 816. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

kneeling, with the children either on their laps or playing together on the ground and Joseph standing in the background. In a tondo by Luca Signorelli (Fig. 15.1) in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, the fathers look after the boys and the two women stand to the side, exchanging greetings in a way that makes the scene a Second Visitation.¹⁰ The Lehman drawing follows this more unusual formulation of the meeting of Mary and her cousin, although here Zachariah is missing, Joseph sits by himself to the left, and the holy children are grouped with their mothers. The scene has been stripped of its Italian ambience, and takes place in a mountain landscape with large solitary trees more in keeping with the Danube school's approach to nature.

This chiaroscuro drawing, executed in white and brown on light brown prepared paper, is part of a tradition. Such drawings began appearing in Germany before the middle of the fifteenth century, singly at first and only in white on black. In the fourth quarter of the century inks of various colors on papers prepared in green and blue as well became more frequent,¹¹ and by

the beginning of the sixteenth century chiaroscuro drawings had become quite fashionable. Albrecht Dürer's Green Passion, his detail studies executed in pen and black ink and brush and opaque white on blue, green, or brown prepared paper, and the white-line woodcuts like those by Urs Graf and the chiaroscuro woodcuts that made their first appearance about 1507 are all evidence of the popularity of the technique, as are the drawings produced in the sphere of the Danube school, for example by Wolf Huber and Albrecht Altdorfer, and on the Upper Rhine by Hans Baldung Grien, especially in the second decade of the century.

In 1923 Friedländer was inclined, with reservations, to attribute this drawing to Albrecht Altdorfer himself. In the catalogue of the Oppenheimer sale of 1936, however, it was listed as merely "school of Altdorfer," and in 1938 Becker called it a copy after Altdorfer, based on an unidentified original in the style of the *Fall* and *Redemption* woodcuts of about 1513, in which one finds a comparable treatment of the cloaks and a very similar positioning of the figures in space.¹² Winzinger was the



No. 15



Fig. 15.4 Albrecht Altdorfer, *Holy Family*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett Basel, 1959.111. Photograph: Martin Bühler



Fig. 15.5 Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, *Girl with a Banner*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett Basel, u.xvi.46. Photograph: Martin Bühler

first, in 1952, to recognize a drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, a *Lamentation* dated 1512 (Fig. 15.2),¹³ as a work by the same hand, which he tentatively identified with the Swiss artist Hans Leu (ca. 1490–1531) based on the stylistic similarity of both works to Leu's *Saint George and the Dragon*, also in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 15.3), which is monogrammed and dated 1513.¹⁴ Winzinger nonetheless agreed with Becker that the Lehman drawing appears to have been patterned after a work by Altdorfer (though he thought it nearer to about 1510), at least in such details as Elizabeth's cloak, which he compared to Mary's garment in the *Crucifixion* painted by Altdorfer about 1515–16 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel).¹⁵ Halm found it difficult to reconcile the relatively simple style of the Lehman drawing with Leu's "much more delicately organized" drawings. Oettinger agreed that the Lehman and Berlin drawings, as well as a *Rest on the Flight into*

Egypt of about 1515–20 at the University of London (Winzinger 176), are by the same artist he named the Draftsman of the Berlin Lamentation. He was also convinced that the Lehman *Holy Family* was based on a work by Altdorfer, even though it is impossible to identify a direct prototype, and he ascribed the Draftsman of the Berlin Lamentation's divergence from Altdorfer's presumed originals to his having been influenced as well by Baldung and Grünewald.

According to Oettinger, the color of the paper of the Lehman sheet is unlike anything known from the Altdorfer school and is more reminiscent of Baldung. He therefore speculated that the artist came from the Upper Rhine but had worked in Altdorfer's workshop for a period around 1512–14. Although his style of drawing comes from Altdorfer, Oettinger said, he cannot be considered a pupil of Altdorfer in the true sense, but was rather "an artist of another stamp [who had come] to

terms with Altdorfer's chiaroscuro drawings in his own individual way. . . . His line and his use of the brush are meant to dazzle, to register only the superficial, to simplify."¹⁶

The immediate precedent for the broad application of opaque white in this drawing is the "glowing script" in Altdorfer's *Holy Family* of 1512 in the Kupferstichkabinett Basel and his *Lamentation* of 1513 in the Uffizi, Florence (Winzinger 35, 45; Fig. 15.4). In Altdorfer's drawings, however, the delicate white lines and hatching contribute to the overall modeling of the forms, whereas here the artist has made do with a few hatchings and has relied instead, with only limited success, on summary, posterlike outlines and illuminated surfaces to create a sense of three-dimensionality. The effect is reminiscent of drawings from the vicinity of the Upper Rhine, especially Switzerland, for example by Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (ca. 1484–1530; see Fig. 15.5).¹⁷ The white-line woodcuts of the Swiss goldsmith, engraver, and designer Urs Graf (ca. 1485–1527/28) were produced with the same artistic ideal in mind.

The paper on which the drawing was executed has traces of a watermark in the upper left corner that is probably an eight-petaled flower. This particular form is listed by neither Briquet nor Piccard. Falk has identified similar watermarks in paper used for goldsmiths' designs in Basel from roughly 1515 to 1520,¹⁸ which would accord with the date 1514 that appears on the drawing, though it was clearly added later. As the comparative examples indicate, the unknown draftsman worked after an original by Altdorfer from about 1513–15. In the Basel *Holy Family* of 1512 Altdorfer used analogous wide patches and ridges of opaque white and formed the towers, walls, and pointed roofs in the background with similarly simple outlines. He also suggested the sky in the same manner, with only a few parallel strokes in white. The figures of this drawing, freely placed in a landscape with a low horizon to monumental effect, recall Altdorfer's panel *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* in the National Gallery, London, and the Kassel *Crucifixion* from 1515–16.¹⁹

As Halm has noted, Winzinger's association of the Lehman sheet with Hans Leu does not hold up under

close examination. Despite the similarly schematic strokes in the branches and foliage in this drawing and Leu's *Saint George* in Berlin (Fig. 15.3), Leu was markedly more subtle in the manipulation of his drawing implements, varying the pressure to produce line widths in many gradations. Light and shadow and the textures of things seem to have flowed automatically from his pen and brush, whereas the draftsman responsible for the Lehman drawing created his pattern with relatively uniform, unmodulated strokes. Winzinger's allusion to Leu is perfectly justified, however, so long as it is understood as a point of departure, for even if this drawing is not the work of Leu himself, it was doubtless produced in the region of the Upper Rhine, perhaps even in Switzerland.

FK

NOTES:

1. According to Oehler (1971, p. 83), the Dürer monogram was added by the draftsman himself.
2. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
3. See Aronberg Lavin 1955 (and the supplement with corrections published in 1961).
4. Ephraim of Syria, second chant on the celebration of the Massacre of the Innocents, vv. 13–14, cited by Innitzer 1908 and Aronberg Lavin 1955, pp. 85–86, n. 6.
5. See Mingana 1927 and Schonfield 1929, p. 21 and appendix, cited in Aronberg Lavin 1955, p. 85, n. 5.
6. Berendts 1895, quoted in Falk 1940, p. 92, and Aronberg Lavin 1955, p. 86.
7. See *Lexikon der Marienkunde* 1967, cols. 1555–58; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968–76, vol. 2, cols. 4–7.
8. Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Opera* (Rome, 1596), vol. 6, p. 358, cited in Aronberg Lavin 1955, pp. 87–88, n. 13.
9. On this manuscript, see Aronberg Lavin 1955, p. 87, nn. 14, 19, and especially Aronberg Lavin 1961, pp. 320–21, n. 12.
10. Masseron 1957, p. 66, fig. 61.
11. See Meder 1923, pp. 162, 163, and also Berlin–Regensburg 1988.
12. Winzinger 1963, nos. 25–64.
13. Winzinger 1952, no. 124.
14. Berlin–Regensburg 1988, p. 306, no. 196, ill.
15. Winzinger 1975, fig. 28.
16. Oettinger 1959, p. 112.
17. See Bern 1979, pp. 316–17, 319–20, nos. 152, 155, figs. 87, 89.
18. Falk 1979, p. 138, no. 543, pl. 11, 5, 6.
19. Winzinger 1975, figs. 26, 28.

Hans Schwarz

Augsburg ca. 1492–Nürnberg(?) after 1521

Hans Schwarz can be called the first German medalist of any importance. Whereas seal carvers and die cutters tended to be goldsmiths, Schwarz was trained as a sculptor, and he developed a unique portrait style appropriate to the new medium. Borrowing from the simple, energetic style of Italian quattrocento medals and possibly also inspired by Hans Burgkmair's woodcut portraits, he created profile portraits of the self-important burghers of the early German Renaissance that are as imposing as the images on antique coins.

Schwarz came from an old and well-to-do Augsburg family, several members of which had served as burgo-master. He is first mentioned in 1506 in the register of the Augsburg guild of painters, goldsmiths, and sculptors as an apprentice to Stephan Schwarz, probably a relative. In 1508, while Hans was still an apprentice, his grandfather Ulrich II Schwarz commissioned Hans Holbein the Elder to paint a votive picture of the family (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). Holbein produced at least two portraits of Hans Schwarz (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) along with the other sketches he made in preparation for the painting. Schwarz completed his training and apprenticeship about 1516. His first medals are por-

traits of local burghers and of courtiers and princes attending the Diet in Augsburg in 1518. In mid-1519 Schwarz arrived in Nürnberg, possibly at the invitation of Melchior Pfinzing, provost of Saint Sebald's. Less than a year later, in early March 1520, he was expelled from the city for having taken part in a brawl. During his stay he produced about fifty medals.

Schwarz is last mentioned in documents in 1520–21, when he journeyed to Heidelberg, Speyer, and the Diet in Worms. It has been speculated that he stayed in Nürnberg in 1523, producing a painting commissioned for the Rathaus; that he journeyed to Poland in 1527; that he visited Denmark; that he traveled to Paris in 1532 and there modeled a portrait medal of Jean Clouet, court painter to King Francis I; that he afterward visited the Netherlands; and that in the mid-1530s he worked in Westphalia. Maué has recently rejected all these largely insupportable suppositions, however.

Hans Schwarz was also a sculptor, woodcarver, and draftsman. Among his surviving works are a few wood reliefs, 175 medals and wooden models for medals, and more than 130 portrait drawings that served as preparatory sketches for medals.

Hans Schwarz

16. Portrait of Simon von Liebenstein

1975.1.873

Black chalk. Watermark: a tall crown with a cross (similar to Piccard XIII/5–7 [documented in Nürnberg, Augsburg, and Innsbruck, 1510–20]). 229 x 183 mm. Annotated on the recto of the backing at the upper right: 1511 (in red ink) / *Maister Arnold* (in black ink), the number faded and now visible only under ultraviolet light.

Slight foxing; silhouetted along the contour lines and pasted onto backing paper.

PROVENANCE: Hans Albrecht von Derschau, Nürnberg(?); Heinrich Wilhelm Campe, Leipzig (Lugt 1391 on the recto of the support); Pauline Campe Brockhaus, Leipzig; M. Brockhaus, Leipzig; Campe sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 25 April 1921, lot 155, ill.; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 14 July 1936, lot 403A (to John Hunt). Acquired by Robert Lehman through Hunt in July 1936.¹

EXHIBITED: Tokyo 1977, no. 13, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 32, ill.; Austin 1983, no. 139, ill.; New York 1985–86.

LITERATURE: Habich 1906, pp. 37, 46, fig. 22; Bock 1921, p. 81; Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, part 1, pp. xxxiv, 27, fig. 36; Bernhart 1934, pp. 88, 95, no. 126, pl. 13.9.

This portrait inscribed *Maister Arnold* is one of a series of drawings that originally numbered at least 168 and of which 135 are known to have survived.² The drawings are said to have been owned by the patrician Pfinzing family of Nürnberg. In the mid-eighteenth century, when the last of the Pfinzing heirs died, the drawings were acquired from the estate by Captain Hans Albrecht von Derschau, a Nürnberg collector. Subsequently,



No. 16

Derschau gave part of the collection to the Dürer scholar Joseph Heller of Bamberg³ and part to the Prussian postmaster and state minister Karl Friedrich Ferdinand von Nagler.⁴ Most of Heller's drawings (61 portraits on 52 sheets) are now in the Staatsbibliothek in Bamberg; of two others of his that were in the Cornill-D'Orville collection in Frankfurt am Main in the nineteenth century one is now in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, and one was on the art market in London in 1970.⁵ Fifty-seven drawings from the set that were in the Nagler collection were acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. From the fifteen sheets that remained in Derschau's estate when he died in 1824 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe selected eleven for the collection of the Schlossmuseum in Weimar. The fate of the other four is uncertain. They may be the drawings Heller mentions as being in the collection of "Councilor von Campe" (Heinrich Wilhelm Campe) in Leipzig in the 1820s.⁶ The three drawings owned by Sophie Hasse of Göttingen, one of Campe's three daughters, passed by inheritance to E. Ehlers of Göttingen and are now missing; the one drawing Campe left to his daughter Pauline Brockhaus was acquired in 1921 by Henry Oppenheimer and in 1936 by Robert Lehman.⁷

In the seventeenth century, it seems, almost all the drawings were cut out along the outlines of the portraits, some more skillfully than others, and pasted onto backing paper, and some of them were also disfigured by being retraced in chalk and red ocher. Written on the new supports are annotations identifying the subjects. The annotations were executed by three different hands.⁸ The oldest, written in a seventeenth-century script, have been shown to accurately transcribe the original inscriptions on the drawings. The second series of annotations, which seem to have been written about 1800, attempt to imitate the older script but use arbitrary names that correspond to people Albrecht Dürer mentioned in his diaries of his journey to the Netherlands in 1520–21. The third series of names, some correct and some false, are written in a newer, elegant chancery script and were apparently added at the time the group acquired by Nagler was restored. Because of the names from Dürer's diary (which some believe to have been deliberate falsifications on the part of Heller),⁹ the drawings were originally thought to be Dürer's work. The debate over whether they were in fact by Dürer or forgeries remained quite heated until Leitschuh discovered on the versos of the drawings in Bamberg not only portions of the original inscriptions but also a clearly legible fragment of the monogram of the Augsburg medalist

Hans Schwarz.¹⁰ In 1884 Erman was able to show that the portraits are related to medals by Schwarz.¹¹ Habich agreed that these "quickly improvised profile sketches from nature, or at least done under the fresh impression of it, some executed in obvious haste and others drawn more carefully," constituted a comprehensive collection of working drawings by this first German medalist.¹² In 1906 and 1929 Habich managed to match 55 drawings with executed medals, and in 1934 Bernhart was able to correlate 38 more.

The corresponding medals, all with inscriptions and for the most part dating from 1518–20, permit us to relate the drawings to Schwarz's early work. Soon after he had completed his apprenticeship in about 1516, the Augsburg Diet of 1518 brought to his hometown the electors and nobles of the empire and their retinues, providing him with a splendid opportunity to sharpen his skills. As a *Konterfetter* (portraitist) he was free of guild regulation, so in mid-1519 he was able to move to Nürnberg, possibly following an invitation from Melchior Pfinzing, the provost of Saint Sebald's, in whose home, according to Neudörfer, he may also have stayed.¹³ In Nürnberg, in less than a year's time, he created more than a hundred medals, among them a self-portrait and a portrait of Dürer.

Like so many Augsburg artists in the early sixteenth century,¹⁴ Schwarz was equipped with a definite gift for portraiture and for capturing each sitter's unique physical features and personality in the sure, clear strokes of a simple profile bust. His drawings are not so much designs in the truest sense as free studies from life that served as a basis for his carved models.

The *Maister Arnold* written on the Lehman drawing is among the annotations added in about 1800. (It suggests the "maister Arnolt" Dürer mentioned in his Netherlands diary in connection with a visit to 's Hertogenbosch in 1520.)¹⁵ Until now the drawing's subject has



Fig. 16.1 Hans Schwarz, *Simon von Liebenstein*. Münzkabinett, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart

remained unidentified, Habich and Bernhart having overlooked its correspondence with Schwarz's medal of Simon von Liebenstein in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart (Fig. 16.1), which they linked with a much less similar portrait inscribed *Wilhelm Hauenbut* that is now in Bamberg.¹⁶ The energetic chin; the narrow mouth; the strong, almost straight nose; the alert, cool gaze under a modish haircut (*Kolbe*); and the obligatory beret are all identical in the drawing and the medal, though the slight lift of the corner of the mouth in the medal makes the sitter seem somewhat friendlier. The only discrepancies – in the collar, the relative straightness of the hair, and the hat, which has been adapted to the circular format – could well have been intentional, dictated by either the artist's taste or perhaps the patron's. Schwarz's drawings often underwent changes in the course of being translated into circular reliefs. The medal bears the circular legend *SIMON·DE·LIEBENSTEIN·CAN·SPIRE* and the date *MDXX*. Its reverse shows a quartered shield surrounded by a wreath of leaves. The sitter, born in Schloss Liebenstein on the Neckar, was the son of Hans von Liebenstein and Notburga von Alfingen. In the winter semester of 1507–8 he was enrolled at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau. In 1507 he was also installed as a canon at the cathedral in Speyer, and in 1513 he served as interim head of the cathedral chapter. In 1525 he became a citizen of the imperial city of Speyer, and in 1531 he was named provost there. When the Diet met in the city in 1544, Emperor Charles V lived in Liebenstein's house. Simon von Liebenstein died on 15 August 1546. He was remembered as “nobilis et senior canonicus ecclesiae Spirensis.”¹⁷

FK

NOTES:

1. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. I deduce this from the obviously consecutive pagination numbers in the upper right corners of the drawings. The highest number, 168, appears on an otherwise uninscribed portrait of a man in Bamberg. The Lehman drawing bears the number 151, now visible only under ultraviolet light.
3. Heller 1827–31, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 21–33, nos. 14–75.
4. Bock 1921, pp. 80–83, nos. 6001–57, pls. 113, 114.
5. Heller 1827–31, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 23, 27, nos. 18 (*Opitius*), 40 (*Jan Goldschmid van Prüsel*); sale, Christie's, London, 7 April 1970, lot 83. According to a note in Heller's own copy of his *Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürers* in the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, the drawings were already missing from the series in 1849. I am grateful to J. Hofmann of the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg for this information.
6. Heller (1827–31, vol. 2, part 1, p. 47) speaks of only two drawings, but we can infer that there were in fact four.
7. Bernhart (1934) lists 136 drawings – along with a concordance of inscriptions, actual subjects, location, literature, and executed medals – and illustrates all but the three from the Ehlers collection. Maué (1988) accepts Bernhart's total of 136, but I make it 135 because I do not agree with Bernhart's adding to the group a portrait of an unknown man in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (KdZ 1080; Bernhart 1934, p. 73, fig. 7, p. 95, no. 136). In my opinion that drawing, executed in colored chalks, cannot be attributed to Schwarz. Another profile portrait offered at the Oppenheimer sale in 1936 along with the Lehman drawing (lot 403B) is also not by Schwarz. Judging from the reproduction that appeared in *Apropos* in 1948 (no. 14), the linear, graphic sharpness of the drawing is more Netherlandish than German.
8. According to Bock 1921, p. 81.
9. See Bernhart 1934, p. 65 (without further references).
10. Leitschuh 1889, p. 143, cited in Habich 1906, pp. 44–45, and see also fig. 19.
11. Erman 1884, pp. 25ff.
12. Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, part 1, pp. XXXIII–XXXIV.
13. See Neudörfer and Lochner 1875, p. 124.
14. One thinks of the countless silverpoint drawings by Hans Holbein the Elder, the drawings and paintings by Ambrosius and especially Hans Holbein the Younger, and the charcoal drawings of the Monogrammist BB, the Master of the Portraits of Augsburg Painters, and Hans Burgkmair.
15. Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 1, p. 161 (entry for 20 February 1520): “Pusch ist ein hübsche statt. . . Do verzehrt ich 10 stüber, wie wohl maister Arnolt das mahl für mich zahlet” (Pusch is a pretty town. . . There I ate 10 stivers' worth, even though maister Arnolt paid for my meal). According to Rupprich (*ibid.*, p. 189, n. 352), “maister Arnolt” could have been the sculptor Arnold van Oerschoot or the painter Arnold van Campen of 's Hertogenbosch, Arnold van Ort of Nimwegen, or Arnold von Seligenstadt.
16. Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, part 1, p. 37, no. 204, pl. 27,8. Bernhart (1934, no. 68, pl. 13,2) identified the subject of the drawing as Bernhard Baumgartner (Habich 1929–34, vol. 1, part 1, p. 30, no. 155, pl. 20,7).
17. See Busch and Glasschröder 1923, pp. 407, 408, and Fouquet 1987, pp. 640–43, especially p. 641, no. 236. I am grateful to Eva Wetzler of the Bistumsarchiv Speyer for her help.

Hans Brosamer

Fulda(?) ca. 1500–Erfurt(?) after 1554

All that is known of Hans Brosamer has been discerned from his signed and dated paintings, engravings, and woodcuts. From the 1520s to at least 1545 he worked in Fulda, in central Germany, first as a portrait painter and then as an engraver. He was more successful as a graphic artist, and by about 1546, when he moved to the town of Erfurt, he seems to have given up painting.

More than thirty of his copper engravings of religious and mythological subjects have survived, and he provided woodcuts for Martin Luther's Bible of 1550 and for Luther's *Catechism*, published the same year. Two designs in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, for the Luther Bible illustrations show Brosamer to have been a draftsman of considerable skill.

Copy after Hans Brosamer(?)

17. Venus and Cupid on a Snail

1975.I.858

Pen and brown ink and gray brown wash over preliminary drawing in black chalk or charcoal. 225 x 365 mm. Inscribed on the tree trunk on the right in a somewhat different shade of brown ink: *HB* (monogram) / 1538.

Inlaid into paper of a heavier weight.

PROVENANCE: [Walter Gernsheim, London]; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

EXHIBITED: London 1937; Boston 1939, no. 145, pl. 69; New York 1978–79, no. 31, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 12; New York 1988b (in all as Hans Brosamer).

LITERATURE: *Burlington Magazine* 70 (1937), pp. 137–38 (as Hans Brosamer).

Since it appeared on the art market in 1937 this drawing, which is monogrammed *HB* and dated 1538 on the tree trunk at the lower right, has been attributed to the little-known painter, engraver, and woodcut designer Hans Brosamer. The initials *HB* are common on German drawings and prints from the first half of the sixteenth century,¹ however, and the composition, narrative approach, and proportions of the figures in this drawing bear little relation either to the signed and dated engravings and woodcuts Brosamer produced in the 1540s and 1550s² or to his few known drawings.³ This sheet lacks the sure rows of hatching of Brosamer's woodcut designs and the strength, fluidity, and expressiveness of his drawing style. Furthermore, although formal analogies such as the tree stump on the left, a motif employed often in Northern art from 1520–30 on,⁴ make it perfectly possible that the drawing was made in 1538, the style of the date and the unequal sizes of the digits, as

well as the extremely slender forms of the letters of the monogram, do not conform to the inscriptions on secure works by Brosamer.

That the sheet has a border in the same ink as the drawing, for that matter that it has a border at all, seems to suggest that this was not a free, spontaneous creation but rather a carefully detailed copy. The modeling with wash may be an indication that the earlier work was a preparatory sketch for a painting. The possibility that the painting was by Hans Brosamer and that the date and monogram were copied as well cannot be excluded, even though the landscape background in this composition betrays Netherlandish influence and there is nothing in Brosamer's prints to compare with it.

Be that as it may, the Lehman drawing is in fact more important for its iconography. Most striking, of course, is the giant snail carrying Venus and Cupid across the surface of a broad expanse of water with a city on the far shore. The snail has long been a symbol not only of slowness but also, no doubt because of the shape of its shell, of female sexuality. Here Venus, scantily clad in a thin veil, grasps the left arm of the boyish god of love, as if to deter him from deploying the arrow he holds in his right hand. The same message, that even in love everything needs time, is conveyed in a print by the Master HL (Bartsch 7-1[38]; Fig. 17.1) in which Cupid is depicted astride a snail, enraged that the broken string in his bow and the bent arrows in his hand have rendered him helpless.⁵

The snail's appearance here in connection with Venus and Cupid would seem to have more to do with its sex-



No. 17

ual connotations than its proverbial lack of speed. In antiquity the snail may have been a symbol for wantonness, and whores were called snails.⁶ In the folklore of the Alpine countries the snail symbolized both the feminine and rebirth.⁷ That in the emblematic thinking of the Renaissance the snail was a familiar symbol of sexuality is documented by a drawing (Fig. 17.2) in the *Schreibbüchlein* of the Swiss painter Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (ca. 1484–1530). The uppermost of the three friezelike compositions in Deutsch's drawing presents a duel between two winged Cupids, each riding on a snail. Given the sexual connotation, it is clearly no coincidence that one of the animals lies limp on the ground, seemingly refusing to rise again despite the gentle tickling and encouragement from its rider, and that the rider of the erect animal is using bird wings as a weapon (in German a *Vogel* is a bird and *vögeln* means to fornicate).⁸ This and other drawings also enable us to see previously overlooked levels of meaning in such Renaissance bronzes as the naked dwarf on a snail in the Louvre,

Paris,⁹ or Giovanni Bologna's equally nude figure of Morgante, the court fool of the Medici, riding on a sea snail (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; Fig. 17.3), or Valerio Cioli's statue of Pietro Barbino astride a tortoise (Bóboli Gardens, Florence).¹⁰ Heretofore, interpretations of such works have seen the snail merely as an indication of the early Renaissance's great interest in nature, at most recognizing it as a symbol of slow-moving time. But surely it is no coincidence that in the transition between the Gothic and the Renaissance the court fool enjoyed special freedoms in sexual matters, as countless examples – among them the engravings of the Master E.S. – unmistakably show.¹¹

Louis Chaduc (1564–1638), *conseiller au présidial* in Riom and a collector of the engraved amulet stones called “gnostic gems,” was convinced that in antiquity the snail was a symbol of the female sex organ.¹² He found the proof of his idea in a gem the scientist and antiquarian N. C. F. de Peiresc showed him before he presented it to Rubens as a gift. From the correspondence



Fig. 17.1 Master HL, *Cupid on a Snail*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris



Fig. 17.2 Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, *Schreibbüchlein*, pl. 5v. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett Basel, 1662.73. Photograph: Martin Bühler

between Peiresc and Rubens in 1623 we know that on the reverse of the gem was the motif of a uterus on an altar with a rooster and a phallus with legs on its front panel and on the obverse was a winged phallus on an altar with the lifelike image of a fig on its front and a rooster and a snail on either side of its base. Chaduc considered this gem the long-sought counterpart to one in his own collection (Fig. 17.4) that portrayed on the obverse a naked man with an extremely long penis and on the reverse a snail on an altar stone under the name and symbol of Venus.¹³

To unearth and recognize such imagery an artist would have to have enjoyed a humanistic education in a cultivated atmosphere. This would suggest that the Lehman drawing, for which I know of no direct precedents, was produced in a community connected with the fine arts, perhaps in a university town like Wittenberg, where we find repeated examples of reworkings of ancient motifs in the spirit of Renaissance humanism, not least in the work of Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553). But this

is pure speculation, for there is not the slightest reason to associate this drawing with the circle of artists attached to the Saxon court.

FK

NOTES:

1. See Nagler 1858–79, vol. 3, pp. 204ff.
2. See Koch 1981, part 4, pp. 9–74; and Hollstein 1954–, vol. 4, pp. 208–77. On Brosamer, see also Höfler 1996.
3. Among them are two designs for the woodcut illustrations for the Luther Bible of 1550 (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; Stuttgart 1979–80, pp. 12, 13, nos. A12, A13).
4. In his drawing *Saint John on Patmos*, for example, Jan Wellens de Cock included a stump that is remarkably similar to this one both in its details – particularly the dry, irregularly torn bark – and its placement in the composition (see Hollstein 1949–, vol. 4, p. 193, no. 2; Amsterdam 1986, p. 154, no. 39).
5. Koch 1980, ill. p. 229. There are many portrayals of the snail in which its lack of speed is the issue, some quite ironic. One popular book illustration that probably dates to the seventeenth century depicts a hare riding atop a plodding snail (Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna, 11331.483, fol. 3).



Fig. 17.3 Giovanni Bologna, *Morgante Riding on a Sea Snail*. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Photograph: Ali-nari/Art Resource, New York

6. See the quotes from ancient authors in Winckelmann 1760, pp. 443–44, no. 237, and Klotz 1765, p. 8, both cited in Barb 1953, p. 218, n. 64.
7. See Hansmann and Kriss-Rettenbeck 1966, p. 106.
8. A design for a silver bowl (British Museum, London, 1850-7-13-12) by Jost Amman (1539–1591), a Swiss artist who was active mostly in Nürnberg, is further evidence that sixteenth-century artists were aware of the connection between the snail and Venus.
9. Planiscig 1944.
10. Chapeaurouge 1969, pp. 174–76, fig. 8.
11. See Moxey 1981. On the significance of the snail and the tortoise in the sixteenth century, see also the emblem book

of Andrea Alciato (Augsburg, 1531; Ackermann 1991). In both meaning and form other sixteenth-century German works parallel the humanist pictorial vocabulary of this Venus on a snail; see, for example, *Vanitas*, a Swiss(?) drawing of about 1550 in the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg that shows the luxuriously dressed beauty, with her mirror and skull, riding on a giant hedgehog (Detroit–Ottawa–Coburg 1981–82, p. 152, no. 48, ill.), and *Curiosity*, a late sixteenth-century clay figure by Christoff Gandtner of a nude woman seated on a hedgehog (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; from Ambras Palace). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries “pricking the hedgehog” was a euphemism for lovemaking (see *ibid.*). For the widespread understanding of the shell as a symbol of the erotic in Netherlandish painting at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see also Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 562, no. 233.

12. See Barb 1953, a thorough and groundbreaking article, especially pp. 194–97, 207–8, pls. 25d, 26a. Chaduc had planned an illustrated catalogue of his collection, but it was never published. The collection was scattered after his death, and many of Chaduc’s illustrations were already missing from the manuscript when the antiquarian Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval found it fifty years later; among the few surviving sketches Baudelot de Dairval reproduced in his book *De l'utilité des voyages* (1693) is the one of this gem (*ibid.*, pl. 26a). Rubens’s gem was also lost, but he sketched a detail of the winged uterus in the margin of one of his letters to Peiresc (see *ibid.*, pl. 25d). For further literature on this subject, see Jaffé 1997.
13. In the more recent literature, to be sure, both these gems, now known only through drawings, have been treated with appropriate caution as possible Renaissance forgeries, but that is irrelevant for our purposes.



Fig. 17.4 Gem from the collection of Louis Chaduc, after Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval, *De l'utilité des voyages* (1693). Photograph: A. A. Barb, “Diva Matrix,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953), pl. 26a

Sebald Beham

Nürnberg 1500–Frankfurt am Main 1550

Sebald Beham was a miniaturist, draftsman, engraver, etcher, and designer of woodcuts and stained glass. In the older literature his name appears as Hans Sebald Beham, but there is no documentary basis for this. (The *H* in his monogram may stand for the *h* in Beham.) He received his training in the circle of Albrecht Dürer, who strongly influenced his early work. In early 1525 Sebald, his younger brother Barthel Beham, and Georg Pencz were charged with making atheistic and anarchistic statements in support of the Peasants War. They were banished from Nürnberg but were permitted to return later that year. In 1528, after the publication of his book on the proportions of the horse, he was accused of plagiarizing Dürer's theoretical papers and was again forced to flee. He then

worked in Ingolstadt and in 1530 in Munich. In 1532 he settled in Frankfurt am Main, where he worked primarily as an illustrator for the publisher Christian Egenolph. He acquired Frankfurt citizenship in 1540.

Because they worked in small format, Beham, his brother, Pencz, and Heinrich Aldegrever have been called the Little Masters. Beham was one of the most prolific graphic artists of his time. In addition to his art textbook, *Das Kunst und Lehrbüchlin Malen und Reisen zu lernen*, which appeared in nine editions between 1546 and 1605, roughly 270 of his engravings, 18 iron etchings, and some 100 preliminary drawings for woodcuts have survived. The critical examination of the drawings of Sebald Beham has barely begun.

Sebald Beham

18. Head of a Man

1975.1.857

Pen and brown ink. 152 x 105 mm. Inscribed at the upper right in the same ink as the drawing: 1549 / HSB.

Backed with thin paper. Trimmed, at least at the top; thin spots, especially near the left edge; creased along the left edge; some foxing.

PROVENANCE: Joseph Grünling, Vienna(?); Hugh Reveley, North Wales(?); Carl Rolas du Rosey, Dresden (Lugt 2237 at the lower right on the recto); Rolas du Rosey sale, part 2, R. Weigel, Leipzig, 5 September 1864, lot 5068; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 14 July 1936, lot 357 (as Sebald Beham; to John Hunt). Acquired by Robert Lehman through Hunt in July 1936.¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1978–79, no. 34, ill.

LITERATURE: Keller 1943.

This sturdy young man, his shoulders facing forward, his head turned as though in a sudden movement, fixes his cruel eye on something off to the right while stick-

ing out his tongue at the viewer – a masterful artistic achievement.

In his entry on Sebald Beham in Thieme and Becker's *Lexikon* in 1909 Pauli referred to a number of studies of heads (though he was not aware of this one).² Three of those drawings – one in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,³ one formerly in the Friedrich August collection, Dresden,⁴ and, especially, one in the Albertina, Vienna (Figs. 18.2–4)⁵ – bear such a distinct resemblance to the Lehman drawing that one can only conclude that they were done at the same time and that they were part of a perhaps much more extensive series. The drawings are the same size (the ex-Friedrich August sheet appears to have been cropped at the top and bottom), and three of them, the Lehman drawing and the ones in Berlin and Vienna, even bear the same date, 1549, above Beham's monogram. All four were executed with the same clear lines and bold crosshatching, and their subjects have



No. 18

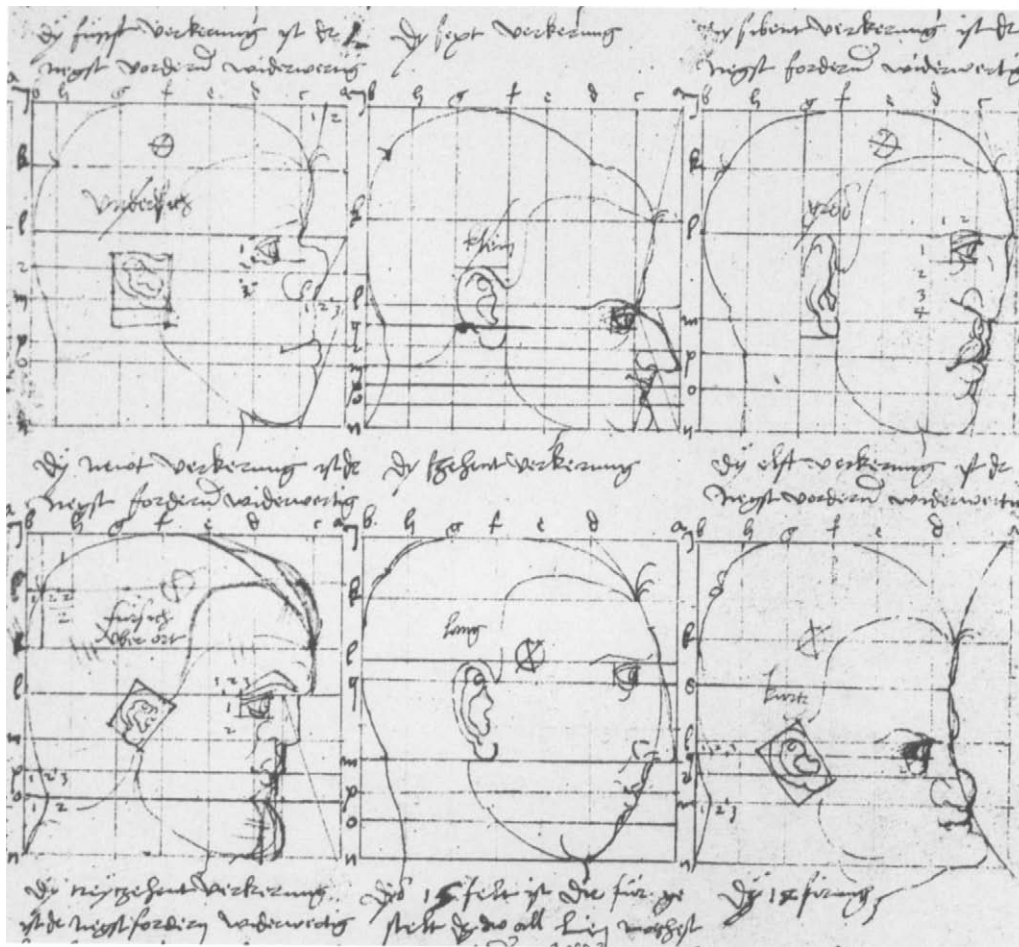


Fig. 18.1 Albrecht Dürer, *Studies of Heads* (detail). Dresden Sketchbook, fol. 94a. Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek

similar blazing eyes and gristly ears. The Berlin drawing depicts a man with the same physiognomy as the Lehman drawing, but he is bareheaded and wearing a different shirt, and the simplified lines, mainly sequences of parallel strokes of the kind found in preliminary drawings for woodcuts,⁶ make his features, and the execution of the drawing, appear coarser. The two drawings were still together in 1864, when they were offered for sale in Leipzig as part of the collection of Carl Rolas du Rosey,⁷ but they were sold separately and the connection between them was subsequently forgotten.

These studies, with their exaggerated, almost caricatural features, represent general types rather than specific individuals. Similar grimacing faces with flashing eyes under unusual caps appear in Beham's *Kunst und Lehrbüchlin*, which was published in Frankfurt in 1546 by Christian Egenolph (see Fig. 18.5).⁸ They were apparently patterned after proportion studies by Leonardo

da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer, and they seem to have been influenced by Dürer's research and measurements correlating the formation of the ear with the facial profile (see Fig. 18.1).⁹

This crude young man has been linked to the grimacing menials that were part of the standard repertoire of late Gothic portrayals of the Crucifixion, the Flagellation, and especially the Mocking of Christ.¹⁰ The drawing is more appropriately seen, however, in the context of sequences of pictures of the sort favored in German and Netherlandish art in the early sixteenth century. As art became increasingly profane and its subject matter more popular in this period, series representing the Virtues and Vices, heathens, Christians, the Nine Worthies, and so on gave way to depictions of bourgeois and peasant life like Dürer's engravings of dancing peasant couples and market farmers, Sebald and Barthel Beham's consecration festivals, rude subjects like *Bolikana* and



Fig. 18.2 Sebald Beham, *Head of a Man*.
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu
Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, kdZ 2022.
Photograph: Jörg P. Anders



Fig. 18.3 Sebald Beham, *Head of a Man*. Present
location unknown. Photograph: H. W. Singer, *Zeich-
nungen aus der Sammlung Friedrich August II. in
Dresden* (Munich, 1921), pl. 6



Fig. 18.4 Sebald Beham, *Head of a Man*.
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



Fig. 18.5 Sebald Beham, *Man in a Hat* (from
Kunst und Lehrbüchlin). Graphische Sammlung
Albertina, Vienna

Markolins by Hans Leonhard Schäufolein, the startling playing-card scenes by Peter Flötner, Sebald Beham, and Erhard Schön, and even the unrefined doggerel of Hans Sachs.¹¹ With this in mind, one could imagine this drawing being a preliminary sketch for a print, a woodcut perhaps, that Beham had not yet executed when he died a year later, in 1550.

In its style and small format – a sheet of standard letter paper (roughly 435 x 320 mm) folded in eighths for economy's sake – Beham's drawing resembles those that Dürer produced on his tour of the Netherlands in 1520–21, just about the time Beham would have studied either with Dürer himself or with one of the artists in his circle. In the portraits from his smaller Netherlands travel sketchbook, for example the bust portrait of Captain Felix Hungersperg (Albertina, Vienna),¹² Dürer had already perfected the clear contours, broad cross-hatching, and parallel hatchings Beham used in his drawing, and the exaggeratedly cartilaginous ear and decorative emphasis on knots and stitches are also pre-figured there. The younger artist turned away from his master, however, moving from the specific to the general, the observant line focused on the individual now giving way to a showier style based on the typical (a development seen in Hans Baldung Grien's silverpoint drawings as well). In this respect, Beham's studies can be considered the precursors of the drawing tours de force of artists like Hendrick Goltzius, Jacob de Gheyn II, and Jacob Matham,¹³ and a link between Dürer and the revival of similar tendencies in Netherlandish Mannerism.

FK

NOTES:

1. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. Several of the drawings he mentions do not concern us here: the one in Nürnberg (Zink 1968, p. 119, no. 97) is a copy of a woodcut from Beham's *Kunst und Lehrbüchlin* (see note 8 below); the ones in Braunschweig and Göttingen portray a different subject. I am grateful to Christian von Heusinger, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, and Gert Unverfart, Graphische Sammlung der Universität, Göttingen, for relevant information. On Sebald Beham, see also Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, p. 6; Rowlands 1993, p. 36; and Stewart 1996.
3. Bock 1921, p. 14, pl. 17.
4. Singer 1921, no. 24, fig. 6.
5. Tietze et al. 1933, p. 29, no. 191, pl. 61.
6. Compare, for example, the *Man in Profile with Cap* and the *Bearded Man* (c iii) in Beham's *Kunst und Lehrbüchlin* (see note 8 below).
7. Rolas de Rosey sale, part 2, R. Weigel, Leipzig, 5 September 1864, lots 5068, 5069.
8. Pauli 1901, nos. 1270–89.
9. See the caricature profile portraits, which he called “distortions,” that Dürer began sketching as early as roughly 1512 for his manual on human proportions (see especially Rupprich 1956–69, vol. 2, pp. 472–76, pl. 72, no. 230 [a detail of which is reproduced as Fig. 18.1]; and the drawing in the Uffizi, Florence, attributed to Dürer (Winkler 658; Strauss 1974, no. 1513/30). The obvious concentration on the type indirectly contradicts Pauli's unsubstantiated assertion in 1909 that the Vienna drawing is a Beham self-portrait.
10. See Szabo in New York 1978–79, no. 34, and Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, p. 7.
11. See Geisberg (1923–29) 1974.
12. Koschatzky and Strobl 1972, no. 121.
13. Geissler in Stuttgart 1979–80, p. 7.

Hanns Lautensack

Bamberg(?) ca. 1520–Vienna 1564/66

Hanns Lautensack was the son of the painter and organist Paul Lautensack, who was from Bamberg and moved to Nürnberg in 1527. Like one of his three brothers, Hanns probably served an apprenticeship as a goldsmith, but very little is known about his early career. Two landscape etchings after motifs by Wolf Huber, both dated 1544 but not signed, are thought to be his earliest surviving works. His earliest signed work is an etching depicting a cavalry battle that is monogrammed and dated 1546, and two signed landscape drawings are dated 1549. A number of his dated and monogrammed works have survived from the last decade and a half of his life, among them seven landscape drawings from 1549–51 (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest) that appear to be from a sketchbook in which he drew on both

sides of each page and two large etchings with panoramas of Nürnberg that he completed in 1552.

In 1553–54 Lautensack produced a series of sixteen landscape etchings some of which were based on his own sketches, including one he made at Steyr on the Enns in upper Austria. In 1554, presumably summoned by Emperor Ferdinand I, he moved to Vienna, where he created a series of engraved and etched portraits for Ferdinand and other bourgeois and noble patrons. Lautensack's print production breaks off in 1561, when he turned to making portrait medals. From the documents we learn that he was commissioned to illustrate Ferdinand's coin collection and that in 1560 he created, along with Francesco Terzio and Donat Hübschmann, depictions of festival events for Hans Francolin's *Turnierbuch*.

Hanns Lautensack

19. Imaginary Landscape

1975.1.864

Pen and dark brown ink and brush and grayish blue watercolor, washed in blue, heightened with brush and opaque white, on greenish blue prepared paper. 144 x 213 mm. Inscribed in white at lower left: 1543.

PROVENANCE: Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz; Adalbert von Lanna, Prague (Lugt 2773 on the verso); Lanna sale, H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, 6–11 May 1910, lot 294 (as Augustin Hirschvogel).

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 254, ill. (as Augustin Hirschvogel); New York 1978–79, no. 33, ill. (as Germany, Nürnberg, 1543); New York 1979; New York 1987; Evans-ton 1988, no. 13, ill. (as Germany, Nürnberg, 1543).

LITERATURE: Halm 1927, suppl., p. 118; Schmitt 1957, p. 111, no. 120, fig. 59.

This is one of nine drawings, all executed in pen and ink heightened with white on blue prepared paper, that Halm grouped together in 1927 and attributed to a follower of Wolf Huber he called the Master of 1544, the date inscribed on seven of the sheets.¹ The Lehman drawing, dated 1543, and three others from the group were in the collection of the princes of Liechtenstein in the nineteenth century.² Two of those four were subse-

quently owned by Lessing J. Rosenwald and are now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (see Fig. 19.2).³ The whereabouts of the fourth, which like the Lehman drawing was owned by Adalbert von Lanna in Prague until it was sold in 1910, are unknown.⁴

The economical yet refined craftsmanship of the artist who created this homogeneous group of drawings is demonstrated by his way of describing foliage with curling strokes and the cloudlike tops of the trees with larger, rounded ones; the rows of short parallel hooks with which he articulated rounded forms and shadows; and his effective method of contrasting darker areas of foliage and the lighter treetops. The decorative quality of the drawings is enhanced by the large, carefully drawn plants in the grassy area near the front edge of the picture (which bring to mind Netherlandish works of the second quarter of the sixteenth century inspired by Joachim Patinier's innovations in painting).

Halm also pointed out the close connection between this group of drawings and a series of thirteen landscape etchings bearing the monogram CR (see Figs. 19.3–5).⁵ The copperplates for twelve of these etchings were gilt,

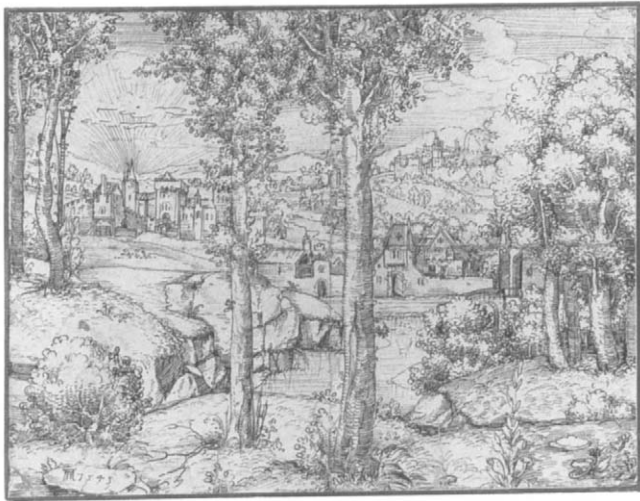


Fig. 19.1 Hanns Lautensack, *Imaginary Landscape*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



Fig. 19.2 Hanns Lautensack, *Imaginary Landscape with Two Men Rowing*. © Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection, 1950.20.4 (B-17725)

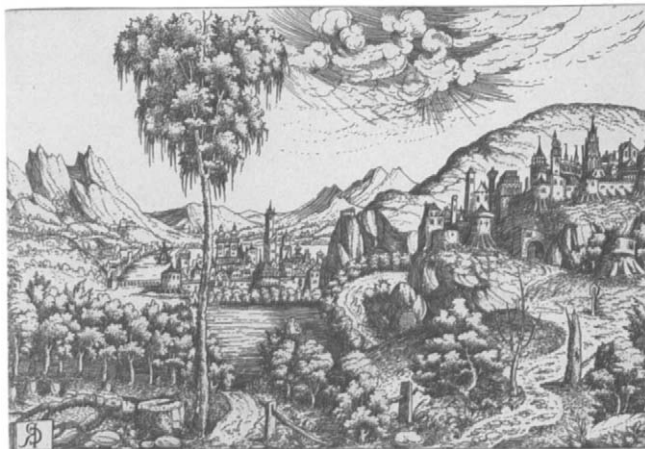


Fig. 19.3 Hanns Lautensack, *Landscape with a Tree and Two Small Cities on a Lake*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

toward the end of the sixteenth century at the latest, to serve as decorations on two chests (one with eight, the other with four plates) once owned by the emperor of Austria and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, that are also adorned with *verre églomisé* panels (see Fig. 19.6).⁶ The plates are not worn, and the only prints known to have been made from them date to the nineteenth century.⁷ The thirteenth etching is known only in a single old print in the Albertina, Vienna.⁸

As is confirmed by the date 1544 on one of the plates, the etchings were executed at the same time as the drawings.⁹ They also exhibit the same lively artistry, and the two series correspond in several details. The slender tree (a birch?) in the foreground of one of the landscape drawings in Washington (Schmitt 121; Fig. 19.2)¹⁰ and the prominent tree in one of the etchings, with two small cities on a lake (Passavant 4; Fig. 19.3), are virtually identical. Both trees even have a single dead branch reaching upward at the center of the crown, and the foliage is rendered in the same graphic shorthand, the outlines captured with repeated double semicircles swelling to an oval shape and tiny round loops extending upward from the very tops of the clusters of leaves. The trunks are also rendered in an identical manner, with interrupted outlines on the illuminated side and hatching on the shaded side (reversed, of course, in the etching plate). In another of the etching plates, with two castles (Passavant 7; Fig. 19.4), a fallen tree trunk like the one in the Washington drawing twists along the lower edge, and in both the etching and the drawing smoke rises from a chimney in a single thin line; the U-shaped dead branches are executed in the same loose, stylized lines; stones and plants have been placed in similar spots; and some of the forms of leaves and bushes are identical. The plant that towers upward on the right in the Lehman drawing, a stylized sort of mullein, reappears in this etching at the base of the tree.

Although both Halm and, thirty years later, Schmitt saw a stylistic resemblance between these two series, they were inclined to consider them the work of two different artists. The astonishingly close correspondences between these groups of works are more than mere workshop resemblances, however, and suggest instead that the Master of 1544 and the Monogrammist CR are in fact the same artist.

As Schmitt pointed out in 1957, certain motifs in the drawings hark back to lower German or Netherlandish sources. The mountain ridges on the far horizon, in particular, are borrowed from the landscape drawings of Joachim Patinier (ca. 1485–1524), Cornelis Massys



No. 19



Fig. 19.4 Hanns Lautensack, *Landscape with Two Castles*.
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



Fig. 19.5 Hanns Lautensack, *Landscape with a Lake and a City*.
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

(1513–1579), and Matthys Cock (ca. 1509–1548). The stylized manner of drawing and the choice of motifs, however, especially those in the foreground, are closer to the tradition of the Danube school. The compositional device of a tree rising from an elevation in the foreground, its top cut off at the upper edge of the picture, that leads the viewer's gaze back across the middle distance to the horizon is reminiscent of Wolf Huber and, even more so, Albrecht Altdorfer.

The Washington drawing (Fig. 19.2) is of particular interest in that the broken tree at the right of the composition, as both Halm and Schmitt remarked, is based on a lost drawing by Wolf Huber known only from a copy in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (Fig. 19.7).¹¹ As it happens, either that copy, or perhaps the original itself, was copied, with only slight changes, by Hanns Lautensack in one of the two etchings that are thought to be his earliest prints, dated 1544 (Bartsch 44, Schmitt 45; Fig. 19.8), when he was still working in Nürnberg. Moreover, in the Albertina in Vienna there is a pen drawing (Fig. 19.1) almost identical to the Lehman landscape that has been attributed to Lautensack, first by Schönbrunner and Meder, then by Halm and the Tietzes.¹² The many minor changes aside, the Vienna variant depicts the same motif in looser strokes. It is executed in black gray ink in a vivid chiaroscuro technique on white paper, and it measures 157 by 208 millimeters but was originally slightly larger and has been cropped a little at the bottom and somewhat more on the right edge. Schmitt, who attributed neither drawing to Lautensack himself, claimed that the Vienna drawing is a copy of the Lehman landscape (and not as close to



Fig. 19.6 Hans Lautensack, *Landscape with a Castle* (gilt copperplate). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Lautensack).¹³ Closer examination of the two drawings tends to refute her contention, however, for in all its stylistic features the Vienna version proves to be not a copy of the Lehman landscape but rather its predecessor. And although the Vienna drawing is more delicate in every respect, the same artistic breath infuses both. They are the work of one and the same hand, the one executed in pen with highlights on greenish blue prepared paper being simply a somewhat less polished version of the Vienna drawing. With great confidence and a free use of the pen, the artist has reproduced the various types of foliage using the same graphic formulas, placed the tree trunks somewhat farther apart, and added rays of sunlight fanning up into the sky from behind the city tower. The greater richness of detail, especially in the middle and far distance, makes for an overall effect that is charming and generally superior to that of the variant on blue prepared paper.

The way the sun is rendered in the Vienna drawing takes on a new importance when it is compared with the old print signed CR in the Albertina (Fig. 19.5). In addition to other identical details, this seascape with a city on the horizon has the same rays of sunlight interrupted by flat, horizontal clouds with pointed ends.

Halm and Schmitt excluded the possibility that either the landscapes on blue prepared paper or the etchings monogrammed CR might have any direct relationship to Hanns Lautensack. Yet there are a number of convincing similarities not only between the two series but also between them and Lautensack's works. The two unsigned etchings, both based on drawings by Wolf Huber, that are believed to be Lautensack's earliest surviving prints are landscapes of the same overall type and executed in the same style as the drawings, and the date 1544 is written on them in ciphers formed very much like those on the drawings. The strong, short, hooklike hatching that describes the outline of the broken tree trunk in one of the etchings (Fig. 19.8), as well as the thin, closely set diagonals that serve as inner shading and the long, thin vertical lines that indicate the bare patch, are very similar to those in the Vienna drawing (Fig. 19.1) that preceded the Lehman one, and reveal an identical artistic approach. The rendering of the foliage in Lautensack's etching, for example in the shrub at the foot of the tree, is the same as that of the shrubbery in the CR etching with two castles (Passavant 7; Fig. 19.4), and the dark feathery fronds that stand out against the water beneath the fallen treetop were executed in much the same way and have the same artistic function as similar plants in another of the CR etchings, the one



Fig. 19.7 Copy after Wolf Huber, *Landscape with a Broken Tree*. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 1961:47



Fig. 19.8 Hanns Lautensack, *Snapped Tree Branch near a River*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 543-1895. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

dated 1544 (Passavant 6, and see also Passavant 2). The leaves on the few branches of willow behind the broken tree echo those on the willows in that etching and, perhaps even more so, on the polled willows with almost anthropomorphic features in the single old print of a cityscape with a lake by the Monogrammist CR (Fig. 19.5). The bridge in the background in Lautensack's etching, leading over to a castle atop a steep rock, has a number of supports, as does the bridge in the Washington drawing; the bridge in Huber's pattern rests on a single pillar.

Although by 1549 Lautensack had developed a more delicate, restless line, certain details from his early works remained unchanged in the atmospheric landscapes he produced during the 1550s. In a 1551 etching of a river landscape with a wooden house (Schmitt 49), the smoke still rises from the chimney in a thin line as it does in the CR etching with two castles (Passavant 7; Fig. 19.4). The willow tree next to a wooded rock in Lautensack's etching from 1553 (Schmitt 61) is exactly like the one in his etching with a broken tree of 1544 (Schmitt 45) and the CR etching dated 1544 (Passavant 6). The large foliage and flowering plants in the foreground typical of the drawing series are still present in his New Testament cycle from 1554–55 (Schmitt 68–73). And all those years he preserved the same characteristic branches with U-shaped forks, as is exemplified in a river landscape with an island fortress that is dated 1553 (Schmitt 58).

The logical conclusion to be drawn is that the drawings on blue prepared paper and the etchings signed CR, formerly judged to be quite different and attributed to two distinct artistic personalities, are in fact all the work

of Hanns Lautensack. We can now consider them a coherent group representing his early work and filling the gap in his biography between 1544 and 1549, when he began dating his drawings and etchings and signing them with the monogram HSL. Heretofore only a single etching, the *Cavalry Battle* dated 1546 (Schmitt 27), was thought to have survived from those years, and no drawings. Were these perhaps his journeyman years, when he was moving about? Can the CR on the etching plates that were obviously executed by him be explained as a workshop mark? Or was CR a cabinetmaker who availed himself of a collaborator capable of drawing landscapes for his fashionable furniture? The twelve plates inlaid in the chests in Vienna are not worn, and it appears that they were never used for printing. One has to wonder whether they were not commissioned in the first place solely as ornaments for furniture.

It has been suggested that the series of drawings represents the months of the year,¹⁴ but the Washington landscape that includes two men rowing (Fig. 19.2) is the only one that might actually fit such a sequence. They belong instead to the tradition of the "imaginary landscapes," with at times bizarre motifs, that became fashionable about the middle of the century, especially in the Netherlands. Pieter Bruegel, Hieronymus Cock (after Matthys Cock), the Master of Small Landscapes, and Hans Bol all produced such series that enjoyed great popularity.¹⁵ The markedly decorative execution of these drawings tends to confirm that like the etching plates they were intended to be displayed in a "studio" context, and that they were part of the growing mania for displaying

art collections in private *Kunstkammern*. The Lehman drawing corresponds in size with the similar landscapes on the etching plates signed CR and is provided with the same perspective borders, suggesting that like such pictures painted on the backs of panes of glass, it too may have been meant to adorn a piece of furniture.¹⁶

FK

NOTES:

1. Halm 1927, suppl.; Schmitt 1957, nos. 97, 98, 103, 116, 119, 120–22. Five other drawings might possibly be added to this group: see Schmitt 1957, nos. 99, 109, 123 (which I have not seen), and Winzinger 1979, nos. 235, 236 (as Master of 1544 [Augustin Hirschvogel?]).
2. See Schmitt 1957, p. 103.
3. New Haven–Saint Louis–Philadelphia 1969–70, nos. 110, 111, pl. 43.
4. Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. 11, no. 1205, ill.; Lanna sale 1910, lot 293.
5. Halm (1927, suppl.) also saw a connection between the drawings and the etchings and three woodcuts signed HWG (two of them also with the monogram VS, perhaps for the Nürnberg painter and engraver Virgil Solis); see Geisberg 1930, nos. 1318, 1319, 1321; New Haven–Saint Louis–Philadelphia 1969–70, pp. 99–100, no. 112, pl. 44.
6. Weixlgärtner 1911, pp. 296–99, fig. 18; Ryser 1991, pp. 83ff.
7. F. von Bartsch 1854, p. 141, nos. 1626–33; Passavant 1860–64, vol. 4, p. 185, nos. 1–8; Weixlgärtner 1911, p. 299, fig. 19. According to Weixlgärtner (p. 298), the prints were pulled from the eight small landscape engraving plates on one of the chests in 1843.
8. This print differs considerably in paper and printing technique from the eight nineteenth-century reprints with which it is stored in the Albertina (vol. HB 49.4, pp. 104–7); it is probably from the seventeenth or eighteenth century.
9. As yet the monogram that appears in several variants on the etching plates has not been deciphered satisfactorily. Nagler (1858–79, vol. 2, pp. 217–18, 224, nos. 572, 589) linked the combination of letters to Caesar Reverdinus, whom Bartsch lists among the Italians as Gaspar Reverdino and whom Thieme-Becker (1907–50, vol. 28, p. 205) lists as Georges Reverdy, engraver, woodblock carver, painter, and sculptor in Lyons. Reverdinus' monogram is clearly different from this CR, however. Of the etchings attributed to him, only *Cimon and Pero* (Bartsch 487; Boorsch and Spike 1986, p. 342, no. 487 [as “doubtful work of Gaspar Reverdino (Georges Reverdy), apparently after Rosso”]) bears the same monogram as the landscape etching plates. Certain aspects of the way the burin was used in the *Cimon and Pero* etching relate it to early Lautensack works such as the *Cavalry Battle* of 1546 (Bartsch 20[214]; Schmitt 27). An old entry in the Albertina portfolio (HB 49.4) associates the monogram with Georg Rieder, painter to the city of Ulm in 1550 and the founder of a family of painters, but the unambiguous form of the C in the monogram argues against this.
10. New Haven–Saint Louis–Philadelphia 1969–70, no. 110, pl. 43.
11. Winzinger 1979, p. 143, no. 180, ill.
12. Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. 8, no. 880; Halm 1927, p. 108; Tietze et al. 1933, p. 30, no. 199, pl. 64.
13. Schmitt 1957, p. 103.
14. Winzinger 1979, p. 159, no. 237.
15. It is possible to find correspondences to the drawings on blue or blue green prepared paper in the prints of the period. For example, an etching on greenish blue paper by Augustin Hirschvogel, whom Winzinger (1979, p. 159, nos. 235–37) proposed as the author of the blue drawings, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (sale, Helmut H. Rumbler, Frankfurt am Main, 1979, cat. 10, lot 65), prefigures the landscapes produced later in the sixteenth century by such artists as Paul Bril.
16. I am indebted to Frieder Ryser (letter to the author, 7 April 1989, and 1991, p. 80, figs. 72, 73) for introducing me to two *verre églomisé* pictures with richly ornamental frames that were executed in gold and silver enamel after motifs by the Swiss engraver Jost Amman (1539–1591). I have since located a third in the Borghi Glass Collection in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. One should think of such plaques as mounted in ensembles like the decoration on the chests in Vienna. On glass painting in general, see Ryser 1991.

Augsburg, sixteenth century

Copy after Étienne Delaune

20. Design for the Breastplate of a Suit of Armor

1975.I.259

Pen and brown ink with light blue and light brown wash. 350 x 260 mm; design 275 x 208 mm. Annotated on the verso in light brown ink in what appears to be an eighteenth-century hand (cut off at the left and difficult to read): “. . . andy M^r rindfromantau N^o 185[?]” and, at the bottom: “P. Mariette, 1660.”

Repaired tear at the right about 76 mm from the top (traces of the yellow stain of the tape used for the original repair still remain); two small ink drops in the lower third of the design, possibly from the pen of the draftsman himself.

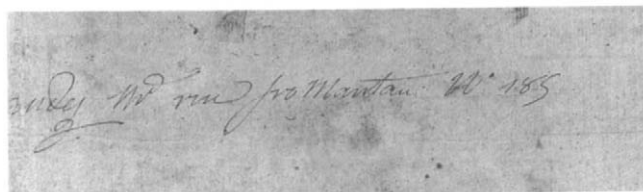
PROVENANCE: Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 91 (as Étienne Delaune); Cincinnati 1959, no. 256, ill. (as Étienne Delaune).

LITERATURE: Grancsay (1940) 1986, p. 248, n. 3.

This drawing is a copy in reverse of a drawing by Étienne Delaune for the right front breastplate of the Emperor Harness, a suit of armor made for King Henry II of France (r. 1547–59) about 1555. Delaune's pen drawing (Fig. 20.1) is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.¹ The armor is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (see Fig. 20.2).² The ornamental arabesques and grotesquerie and elegant elongated figures are typical of Delaune's designs, which were influenced by Primaticcio.

Designs for armor, intended to serve as lifesize models for the armorers and goldsmiths who executed the elaborate harnesses, were developed in a sequence, beginning with a sketchy *première pensée* and ending with a finished cartoon in pen and ink. The preliminary design in chalk for the Emperor Harness breastplate is in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.³



No. 20, inscription on verso

Only relatively recently has Étienne Delaune been recognized as the sophisticated draftsman that he was (see also No. 104).⁴ The Lehman drawing lacks the precision of detail that distinguishes Delaune's model drawings, and the use of blue wash is also not characteristic of him. Nor can this drawing have been intended as the design for the opposite, or left, side of the breastplate. Not only is it smaller (and in fact too small to be actual size) than the Victoria and Albert design (which measures 430 x 308 mm) but both it and the Victoria and Albert pattern delineate the same elements of the non-symmetrical design that lie in the center and on the other side of the center line.



Fig. 20.1 Étienne Delaune, Design for the breastplate of the Emperor Harness. Victoria and Albert Museum, E.5729-1958. Courtesy of the V&A Picture Library



Fig. 20.2 Étienne Delaune, Breastplate of the Emperor Harness. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1939 39.121



Fig. 20.3 Étienne Delaune, Design for the breastplate for a suit of armor. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 14488

The Lehman drawing displays a close affinity to a group of drawings in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, that are designs for the breastplate of a harness made for Rudolf II (king of Hungary from 1572, Holy Roman emperor 1576–1612).⁵ Blue wash was used on the seven Munich drawings, six of which represent single figures intended as alternate designs for the opposite side of the breastplate. The Lehman drawing is especially close to the breastplate design itself (Fig. 20.3), which bears a Hapsburg watermark. Thomas attributed the Munich drawings to a later follower of Delaune who was probably active in Augsburg about 1576. We feel justified in attributing the Lehman drawing to the same Augsburg workshop.⁶

The *P. Mariette* 1660 written on the reverse of the Lehman drawing in what appears to be an eighteenth-century hand may simply represent the wishful thinking of a zealous collector.

EHB/MTH

NOTES:

1. Thomas 1965, p. 64, fig. 70; Grasselli in Washington, D.C. 1995–96, p. 211, fig. 3 under no. 52 (a design by Delaune, now in the Woodner Collection at the National Gallery of Art, for the backplate of a suit of parade armor probably intended for the young Francis II [1543–1560], Henry II's son, that is similar in design and execution to the drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum).
2. Grancsay (1940) 1986, ill.; Thomas 1965, especially pp. 56–58, figs. 43, 73; Thomas 1973, fig. 10.
3. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 14.528; Thomas 1965, fig. 71. The drawing is part of a group of 170 designs for armor, most of them by Delaune.
4. Thomas came to that conclusion in his detailed analysis of the extensive collection of drawings for armor in Munich in a series of four articles that appeared in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* in 1959, 1960, 1962, and 1965.
5. Graphische Sammlung, 14.488, 14.522, 14.690, 14.693, 34.553–55; Thomas 1965, p. 87, figs. 116–22.
6. We would like to thank Stuart Pyhrr of the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum for his invaluable assistance during the preparation of this entry.



No. 20

Monogrammist AM

Germany(?), ca. 1600

21. Imaginary Landscape

1975.1.865

Brush and black ink and gray washes heightened with white gouache on reddish prepared paper. 78 x 143 mm. Inscribed in white at the lower right: ·AM· (monogram).

Water stain(?) at the upper right.

PROVENANCE: Carl Robert Rudolf, London (Lugt suppl. 2811b on the verso); [Swetzoff Gallery, Boston].¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1978–79, no. 35, ill. (as German, second half of the sixteenth century); New York 1979a.

This modest, rather unambitious drawing is reminiscent of Netherlandish landscape drawings belonging to a broad tradition that persisted through the entire sixteenth century, beginning with Joachim Patinier and proceeding on through Cornelis Massys, Matthys Cock, and Pieter Bruegel to Hans Bol and the brothers Brill. Here, however, that tradition has been reduced to a basic formula bordering on folk art.

By about 1600 such drawings were also being produced by German artists. The medium and execution of this landscape are vaguely reminiscent of drawings in the style of the Nürnberg artist Gabriel Weyer (1576–1632). The range of colors and the highlighting of the leaves and grass, the trees, and the lines of the landscape are echoed in Weyer's *Noli me tangere* dated 1598 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg).² But Bock identified a small landscape sketch in the Universitätsbibliothek,

Erlangen, that depicts farmhouses and a church and is also executed with white highlights on reddish prepared paper as Netherlandish, about 1600, possibly Frankenthal school.³

Nagler, following Bartsch, noted a similar monogram AM on the works of a German engraver active about 1562.⁴ The very different style of the four works listed by Bartsch makes it clear, however, that that engraver cannot have been the author of this small gouache, which is also quite unlike the work of the Netherlandish landscape artist Antonie Mirou.

The color effects and the broad black border, clearly intended to be chiefly decorative, suggest that this small landscape may have been created not as an independent drawing but rather to embellish a piece of furniture, possibly a small chest on which several similar pictures protected by panes of glass adorned small doors or drawer fronts (see also No. 19).

FK

NOTES:

1. A Swetzoff Gallery label removed from an old backing on this drawing on 2 May 1989 is now in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hz. 4144, Kapsel 571b; Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1, pp. 210–11, no. E21, ill.
3. Bock 1929, p. 339, no. 1458, pl. 286.
4. Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 9, pp. 496, 497; Nagler 1858–79, vol. 1, pp. 390–91, no. 902.



No. 21

THE NETHERLANDS

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Jan van Eyck

Maaseyck(?) ca. 1390–Brussels 1441

Jan van Eyck was both courtier and painter first to John of Bavaria in The Hague (1422–24) and subsequently to Philip the Good of Burgundy in Bruges (1425–41). As Friedländer noted, Jan appropriated a style of miniature painting, exemplified by the Books of Hours of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, for work on a much larger scale. His paintings display careful observation of the visible

world in all its detail, a sense of light, and a meticulous technique. His adaptation of this style to the medium of panel painting and his transformation of earlier concepts brought about a revolution – the word is not too strong – in the Netherlands that had a fundamental impact on art in Europe. Jan also made drawings, but only one can be attributed to him with a modicum of certainty.

Circle of Jan van Eyck

22. Saint Paul

1975.1.841

Pen and brown ink, point of the brush and brown ink, with purple and gold heightening in the hilt of the sword, on vellum; along the top of the left edge, remains of a purple border with traces of gold similar to that on the hilt and probably added at the same time. 146 x 79 mm. Added by a later hand at the lower right in pen and gray brown ink: AD (monogram of Albrecht Dürer).

The saint's left eye lightly retouched (one dot added); borderline added along the edge in black chalk or pencil, 4 mm from the left, 3 mm from the right, and 2 mm from the top.

PROVENANCE: Paris art market, 1927; Edwin Czeczowiczka, Vienna; Czeczowiczka sale, Paul Graupe and C. G. Boerner, Berlin, 12 May 1930, lot 70, ill. (as Jan van Eyck); [Nebehay, Vienna]; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York], 1941; [Matthiesen Gallery, London], 1955.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1923, no. 78 (as French school, fifteenth century); Paris 1927, no. 14, pl. 1 (as French school, fifteenth century); New York 1941, no. 16 (as attributed to Jan van Eyck); New York 1964; New York 1978–79, no. 1, ill. (as Flemish, second half of the fifteenth century); New York 1989 (as Flemish, second half of the fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: Benesch 1928, p. 3, under no. 2; Detroit 1960, p. 228, under no. 67; Görg 1966, p. 1; Dhanens 1980, p. 373; Tzetschler Lurie 1981, p. 119, n. 78; Stampfle 1991, p. 3, fig. 1, under no. 1; Ainsworth in New York 1998–99, pp. 207, 208, fig. 77.

This *Saint Paul* and a similar *Saint James Minor* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fig. 22.1), are all that remain of a series of the Twelve Apostles.¹ The two drawings are comparable in size, and both are drawn on vellum and are bordered on all sides except the bottom with black chalk a few millimeters from the edges. The



Fig. 22.1 Circle of Jan van Eyck, *Saint James Minor*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1,225



No. 22

Morgan drawing, which is paler than the *Saint Paul*, has been retouched with gold and black chalk by an unsteady later hand.

A set of twelve drawings of the apostles in the Albertina, Vienna, includes virtually identical representations of both Saint Paul and Saint James Minor and must be a complete version of the same series.² The sheets of paper on which the figures are drawn in pen in the series in Vienna are larger than the vellum of the two drawings in New York, but the figures are the same size. The full-length figures, six seated and six standing, are identified by name near the tops of the sheets in Gothic letters by a later hand.

The vellum of the Lehman drawing is so transparent it is conceivable that the straight pen lines defining the contours and folds of the drapery were traced from a model and the hatching filled in afterward with the point of the brush. This *Saint Paul* and its counterpart in Vienna (Fig. 22.2) were probably replicated from the same prototype.³ Because of the lack of space between the figures and the walls behind them, the drawings and their prototypes are most likely related to paintings, particularly grisaille paintings, rather than to sculpture.⁴

Winkler was the first to interpret the Morgan and Vienna sheets, originally attributed to Petrus Christus and Israhel van Meckenem respectively, as copies after



Fig. 22.2 Circle of Jan van Eyck, *Saint Paul*.
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 3.032

Jan van Eyck.⁵ Indeed, the figure of Saint John the Evangelist in Vienna appears to be a variant of the same apostle in Jan's earliest dated work, the Ghent Altarpiece of 1432, and others in the series resemble in a general sense the painted sculptures in the polyptych. The figures in the drawings are somewhat stiffer and less voluminous, which is probably why Friedländer dated the purported models by Jan shortly before 1430, that is, before the completion of the Ghent Altarpiece, and why Dhanens attributed them to Hubert van Eyck.⁶ Although it is likely that the two series of apostles reflect Eyckian works, it could be that the deviations from the Eyckian canon are due not to the model but to the supposed copyist who created the first, lost version. The attribution and dating of the prototypes can therefore not be secured.

Winkler proposed that two drawings in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, executed in metalpoint on paper, one representing one standing apostle, the other two, are remnants of a third set of Eyckian apostles.⁷ Although that may well be, they are so far removed from the

series in Vienna and New York in terms of definition of detail that it is difficult to be certain of their origins.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Fairfax Murray 1905–12, vol. 1, no. 225; Detroit 1960, no. 67, ill.; Stampfle 1991, no. 1, ill. (point of the brush and brown ink, gold, and black chalk, 133 x 86 mm).
2. Benesch 1928, nos. 1–12 (pen and ink, 203 x 138 mm on average; no. 2 corresponds to the Lehman drawing, no. 7 to the Morgan one). According to Ninane (in Detroit 1960, p. 227), the drawing at the Morgan Library "is regarded as being of a higher quality" than the Vienna drawings.
3. It does not seem possible to establish whether the Lehman drawing was based on the one in Vienna or vice versa. The short, vertical, twisted fold under the apostle's left hand in the Lehman drawing would more logically be based on its angular counterpart in the Vienna drawing than the other way around, whereas the rounded, less articulated fingers of the Vienna drawing suggest it was derived from the Lehman version.
4. Baldass's suggestion (1952, p. 284) that the drawings may be designs for a small sculpture, possibly a reliquary (which in any case could apply only to their prototypes) therefore cannot be accepted. Their finish also makes such an hypothesis unlikely. For a comprehensive study on grisaille painting of this period, see Grams-Thieme 1988. As Görg (1966, p. 3) pointed out, the compositions of the drawings of the Vienna series indicate that the images probably were conceived to be arranged six on each side of a central subject, possibly in two rows, one above the other. It is possible, as Tzeuschler Lurie (1981, p. 119, n. 79) has suggested, that series of apostles like these were designs for the decoration of ecclesiastical vestments. A rare case of a drawing used and probably made for a piece of embroidered textile is the as yet unidentified scene in the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek that served as a model for an orphrey, a fragment of which was in the Thyssen collection, Rohoncz, in 1930 (Boon 1949, pp. 27–28). Eisler (1967, pp. 577, 578) considered the Uppsala drawing a copy of the embroidery, which seems unlikely (although it could be a copy of another drawing). According to Stampfle (1991, p. 1), Sara Pearman is preparing a study of similar series of drawings of apostles and their relation to sculpture and prints.
5. Winkler 1916.
6. Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 1, p. 73; Dhanens 1980, p. 373 (the drawing mentioned as with the Matthiesen Gallery, London, is the one now in the Robert Lehman Collection). See also Benesch 1928, pp. 3, 4, and Baldass 1952, p. 284 (as ca. 1430–34).
7. Winkler 1931b, p. 259. I am grateful to Emmanuel Starcky of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (letter to the author, 16 October 1989), for confirming that both drawings are in Bayonne (Musée Bonnat, 1552 [with one apostle], 1553 [with two apostles, as "école de Nuremberg"]); Winkler had placed the drawing with two apostles in the Louvre. Both sheets have line drawings on the reverse which may shed light on the method of tracing employed in this and similar instances.

Rogier van der Weyden

Tournai 1399/1400–Brussels 1464

Rogier van der Weyden probably studied with Robert Campin (ca. 1375/79–1444) in Tournai, his hometown. Rogier became city painter of Brussels by 1436. Unlike Van Eyck, he was never officially named painter to the Burgundian court, although he received many portrait commissions from its members, including Philip the Good. In addition to elegant, iconic portraits, he created larger religious paintings of startling emotional intensity for an international clientele that included guilds and ecclesiastical orders as well as royal and titled individuals. The devotional diptychs that were his specialty com-

bine his particular skills as a painter of religious subjects and as a portraitist.

Rogier probably oversaw a large workshop that employed a number of assistants. Preliminary drawings after nature, small-scale composition designs to be presented to patrons, patterns for the assistants, and under-drawings were all used in the workshop to create paintings. The complexity of his working methods and the scarcity of documentation for his commissions complicate attributing paintings or drawings definitively to Rogier.

Circle of Rogier van der Weyden

23. Men Shoveling Chairs (*Scupstoel*)

1975.1.848

Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk. 300 x 426 mm. Annotated along the left side of the verso in pen and ink in a fifteenth-century hand: “tpatroen van den scupst[]l / ende van spapenkeld onder” (the last five letters unclear).

Horizontal fold 90 mm from the bottom, vertical folds 212 and 243 mm from the left edge, and various other partly visible vertical and horizontal folds; some tears near the irregular edges; the right corners rounder than the left corners; about 50 mm of paper along the right edge of the verso soiled. On the verso, approximately twenty-one irregularly spaced, roughly parallel vertical lines drawn from top to bottom with a ruler, some with pen and brown ink, some with black chalk, all faded.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1948–49, no. 6 (as Flemish, fifteenth century); Philadelphia 1950–51, no. 16, ill. (as Flemish, mid-fifteenth century); Brussels 1953, no. 1; Paris 1957, no. 109, pl. 53 (as Brussels, ca. 1445); Cincinnati 1959, no. 237 (as Flemish, ca. 1445); New York 1959b, no. 19, pl. 18 (as Flemish, mid-fifteenth century); New York 1964, p. 29; New York 1968–69, no. 20, ill. (as Netherlandish, ca. 1445); Lawrence, Kansas, 1969, no. 34; Los Angeles 1976, no. 205, ill. (as attributed to Rogier van der Weyden); New York 1978–79, no. 3, ill. (as Rogier); Brussels 1979, no. 34, ill. p. 173, under no. 37; New York 1985–86 (as attributed to Rogier); New York 1989 (as Flemish, fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: Mongan 1949, pp. 8, 9, pl. 9 (as follower of Rogier, ca. 1460); Comstock 1950, p. 51; Kimball 1950, pp. 24, 25, ill. (as Flemish, school of Rogier, ca. 1460); Adhémar 1952–53; Lebeer 1953, pp. 193–95, ill. (as school of Rogier); Campbell 1957, ill. p. 25 (as Flemish school, mid-fifteenth century); Sterling 1957, pp. 138, 139, no. 3,

fig. 6 (as school of Rogier, ca. 1445); Maesschalck and Viaene 1960, pp. 92–94, 181–88, fig. 4 (as 1444); Haverkamp-Begemann 1962, no. 461, ill. (as Flemish, ca. 1450); Eisler 1963, pp. 2, 12, 40, pl. 8 (as Netherlandish, ca. 1450); Jansen in Tournai 1964; Verniers 1965, p. 91, ill.; Sonkes 1969, pp. 169, 171–74, 270, 272, 282, 283, 287, no. C43, pl. 41 (as school of Rogier, ca. 1445–50); Bruyn 1974, pp. 166, 167, ill. p. 164 (as a “rare original design of the time”); Szabo 1975, p. 104, no. 180, ill.; Campbell 1996, p. 124; Royalton-Kisch in London 1996–97, p. 138, under no. 71.1; Ainsworth in New York 1998–99, pp. 205, 206, fig. 71; Wisse 1999, pp. 140–43, fig. 16.¹

A rare coincidence of documents and related works of art has made it possible to interpret this unusual and significant drawing. The drawing is a study for one of three capitals (Figs. 23.1–23.3) made in 1444–50 for the ground floor arcade of the Town Hall on the Grande Place in Brussels.² The three capitals, now preserved in the Musée Communal in Brussels, adorned columns that alternate with pillars (without capitals) to form an archway supporting the façade of the west wing of the building (Fig. 23.3).³ From east to west the capitals represent men shoveling chairs, monks drinking, and a Moor reclining amidst women and other figures. In the archway behind the capitals were keystones and consoles, most of them also now in the Musée Communal, representing elements relevant to the capitals. The nine keystones near the capital depicting the men shoveling

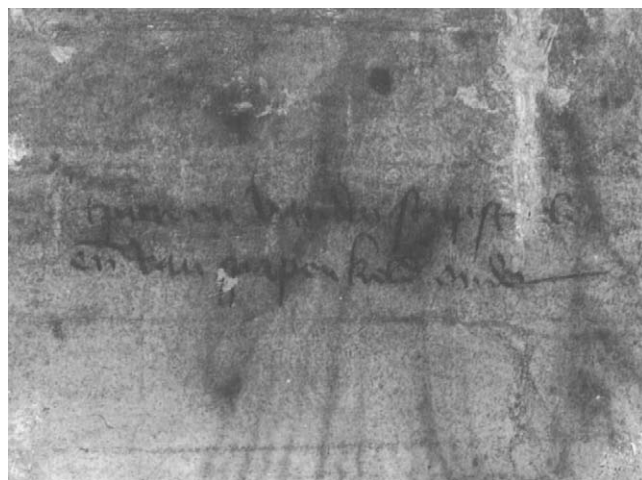


No. 23, detail

chairs are decorated with chairs and shovels, and the two consoles with people and chairs.

The three capitals are visual illustrations of the names of two cellars, De Scupstoel and De Papenkelder, and a house, De Moor, that were among several buildings razed in 1436–40 to make space for the west wing, which was built in 1444–50 (Fig. 23.4).⁴ The term *scupstoel* (in modern Dutch *schopstoel*, literally kick-chair, also shovel-chair) refers to a seesawlike contraption that was used to hurl convicted felons into the air.⁵ According to Bonenfant, a *scupstoel* was still in use near the Town Hall in 1229, and the cellar in all likelihood was named after it. De Moor, or The Morass, was probably named after the condition of the terrain on which the house was built. De Papenkelder, or Monks' Cellar, was named for a priest who lived there in the thirteenth century.⁶

It has been assumed that by 1444 the original meaning of *scupstoel*, which had been discontinued as an instrument of corporal punishment by 1270, was lost.⁷ Whether or not that is so, the sculptor knowingly created



No. 23, ultraviolet photograph of annotation on verso



No. 23

a rebus for the two parts of the word: *scup* (or *schup*, now *schop*), meaning both “to kick” (or a kick) and “to shovel” (or a shovel), and *stoel*, a chair or stool. Similarly, De Moor was given visual form in the capital not as a morass of wet earth but as a Moor with his harem. Visual puns of this type were well understood in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: a seal commissioned by Guy de Munois, who was abbot of Saint-Germain d’Auxerre from 1285 to 1309, shows an ape dressed as an abbot encircled by the inscription “Abbé de Singe air main d’os serre.”⁸ And in the Church of Our Lady in Breda is a misericord dating to 1440–45 in the shape of a creature that is half man and half duck, playing on the Dutch word *end* or *ende*, which means both “duck” and “end,” and giving visual form to the saying “The end bears the burden,” meaning that the real difficulties of an enterprise come at the very end.⁹

The peculiarly shaped drawing is a rolled-out rendering of the three-dimensional capital. But because it deviates from the capital (Figs. 23.1–23.3) in several details, particularly in the massing of stools and chairs at the top, it cannot be a copy after it.¹⁰ Furthermore, although the drawing has an outline that indicates the position of the buttress supporting a strut, its predominantly circular shape contrasts with the octagonal capital. The contemporary annotation on the verso, “tpatroen van den scupstool / ende van spapenkeld onder” (the model for the scupstool and the papenkelder beneath[?]), confirms the relationship between the drawing and the capital. In the fifteenth century *patroen* usually signified a model, or design, for a tapestry,¹¹ but there is documentary evidence of painters’ having supplied models to sculptors as well as of sculptors’ providing *modelli* or contract drawings to their patrons.¹² The annotation

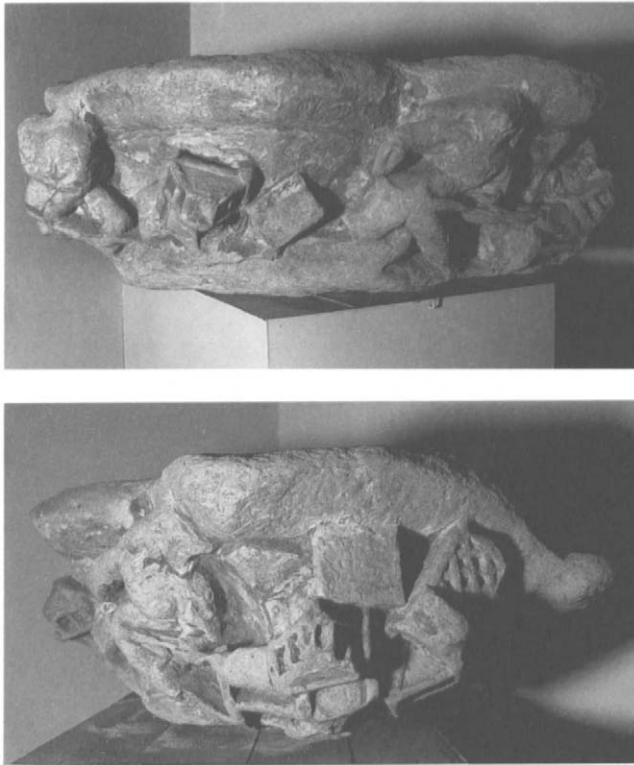


Fig. 23.1 Two views of a capital from the ground floor arcade of the west, or right, wing of the Town Hall on the Grande Place, Brussels. Musée Communal, Brussels

unequivocally implies the existence of a second drawing that would have been the model for the capital representing monks drinking that commemorates the cellar called De Papenkelder.¹³ This second drawing may have been on a separate sheet, perhaps bound with the Lehman drawing. If the last word is indeed “onder” (beneath), the annotation may indicate that the second drawing was under the drawing of the *scupstoel*. It may have been part of the same sheet, in which case the sheet may originally have been as much as twice as large.

The large format of this drawing brings to mind the medieval architectural designs that served not only as preliminary studies for the architect but also as *modelli* for the patron and blueprints for the builders.¹⁴ Those drawings, however, usually are even larger than this and less detailed. The Lehman drawing thus falls somewhere between a preliminary sketch and the final model, probably because of its size and detail closer to the later stage, but precisely how it fulfilled its function in the preparation and execution of the sculpted capital is not clear.¹⁵

In the type of the figures and the careful, linear depiction of the costumes, the drawing bears a general resemblance to works by Rogier van der Weyden and artists in his entourage.¹⁶ *A Religious Procession* in the British Museum, London (Fig. 23.5), for example,¹⁷ which because of its less unusual motifs is even closer to Rogier’s



Fig. 23.2 R.v.d. Sande, *De Scupstoel* (1917), capital from the ground floor arcade of the west, or right, wing of the Town Hall on the Grande Place, Brussels. Photograph: Guillaume Des Marez, *Guide illustré de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1928), fig. 10

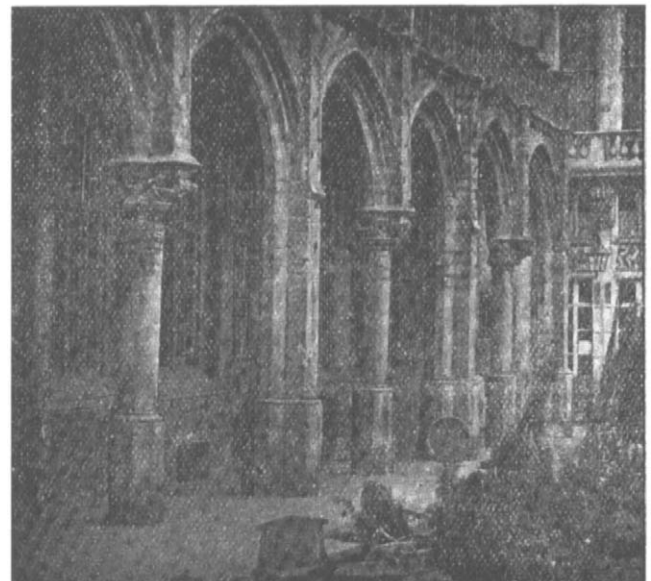


Fig. 23.3 Façade of the west, or right, wing of the Town Hall on the Grande Place, Brussels, before its restoration in 1841. Photograph: Guillaume Des Marez, *Guide illustré de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1928), fig. 20

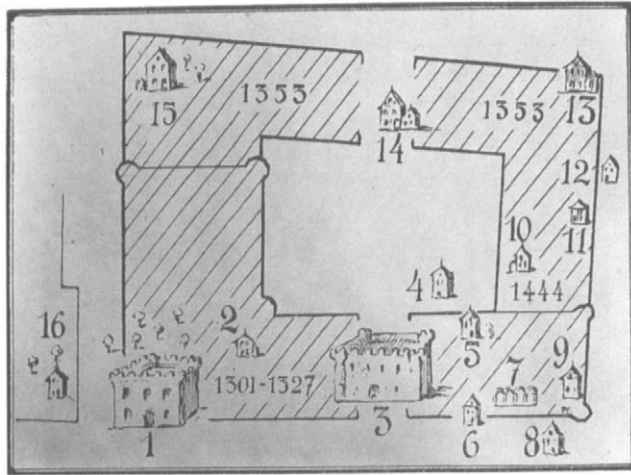


Fig. 23.4 R.v.d. Sande, *Town Hall, Grande Place, Brussels* (1917), showing buildings demolished to make way for the right wing: 4. De Meersman (the Haberdasher), 1436; 5. De Leeuw (the Lion), 1436; 6. Gelre (Gueldre), 1436; 7. two cellars: De Scupstoel (the Strappado or Kickchair), 1436, and De Papenkeldere (the Monks' Cellar), 1443; 8. Rodenborch, 1444; 9. De Moor or De Moer (the Morass), 1444; 10. De Landscrone (the Crown of the Country), 1444; and 11. Den Bogaert (the Orchard), 1444. Photograph: Guillaume Des Marez, *Guide illustré de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1928), fig. 3

way of interpreting figures, is also exceptionally large (292 x 531 mm), and it too was drawn over black chalk, with the same combination of careful continuous contours and precise shading applied with fine pen lines. It confirms the hypothesis that the *Scupstoel* originated in Rogier's circle. The drawing dates to the time when Rogier held the title of town painter of Brussels,¹⁸

but the nature of this function is not clear, and neither do we know to what extent the incumbent had an effect on other artists, whether painters or sculptors, working for the city.¹⁹

Whoever its author and in whatever way it served its purpose, this drawing is fundamental to the study of early designs for sculpture. Among the leaf patterns in model books, particularly the one by Hans Boeblinger of 1435,²⁰ there may be some original decorative designs similar to prints of scrolls and the like by Master E.S. and Martin Schongauer, but no drawing for sculpture representing people in action comparable to the *Scupstoel* has been preserved. It thus may well be the only extant fifteenth-century design for a representational sculpture.

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NOTES:

1. This is a select bibliography of primarily scholarly publications and does not include all the general publications in which the drawing has been illustrated.
2. The relationship of the drawing to the capital was recognized by W. J. Fulton, then of the Norfolk Museum in Virginia (letter of 11 March 1952 to Robert Lehman, in the Robert Lehman Collection files); Adhémar (1952-53); and Lebeer (1953, pp. 193-95).
3. The original column capitals were replaced by copies about 1860, shortly after parts of the arcade and the tower were restored, part of a project initiated in 1841 to restore the Town Hall in its entirety (Des Marez 1928, p. 9). R.v.d. Sande's 1917 pen drawing (Fig. 23.2) is presumably of the capital in its restored form. The capital itself (Fig. 23.1) was exhibited in Brussels 1979, no. 37, ill.



Fig. 23.5 Circle of Rogier van der Weyden, *A Religious Procession*. © British Museum, London, 1895-9-15-1001

4. Des Marez 1928, p. 5, and see also Bonenfant 1935, pp. 151–53. The cellar De Scupstoel is mentioned first in 1257 and again in 1393; in 1444 it is referred to as “De Meersman, formerly called De Scupstoel” (Bonenfant 1935, pp. 148, n. 19, 152, n. 33). Documents refer to De Papenkelder as “papenkeldere” and “s papenkeldere” (ibid., p. 144, n. 10), as it appears in the annotation on the Lehman drawing.
5. Van Dale (1950, p. 1599) and Ter Laan (1951, pp. 222–23) mention the present use of the word in the expression “op een schopstoel zitten” (likely to be kicked out at short notice). Ter Laan also points out that a square in the Dutch town of Zutphen is named Schupstoel, undoubtedly after such an instrument on that site in the Middle Ages.
6. Bonenfant 1935, pp. 152, n. 33, 153.
7. Bonenfant (ibid.), the first to connect the subject of the capital with the name of the house on the site, supposed that the meaning of the word had been lost by 1444. Panofsky (in Mongan 1949, pp. 8, 9) suggested that the subject of men shoveling chairs is a conflation of the popular fifteenth-century proverb “to overturn chairs,” or to inspire revolution, with the saying “the shovel does not make you rich” and interpreted the design as a reference to the efforts of the lower class to overthrow the established social order. Adhémar (1952–53) proposed that the drawing was inspired by Jan van Rysbroeck, architect from 1448 of the Town Hall tower and a participant in the Brussels Revolution of 1421, who may have sought to propagate the ideals of the revolution. In 1962 I associated the Dutch saying “op de schopstoel zitten” (likely to get kicked out) with the capital and interpreted it as a reminder to city officials that they could be relieved from their duties. As Des Marez pointed out in 1928, however, it is unlikely that the capital refers to the expulsion of the *patriciens* by the *démocrates* because the revolution of 1421 occurred more than twenty years before it was made.
8. Champfleury 1875, p. 31, cited in Randall 1966, p. 5. Randall was kind enough to correspond with me on this matter (8 December 1989).
9. Verspaandonk 1983, no. 10, ill.
10. Lebeer (1953, pp. 193–95) questioned whether the Lehman drawing was for the sculpture or after it, and he pointed out how limited our knowledge is about the relationship between painters, or designers, and sculptors in the fifteenth century. If the drawing was the *modello* (or a *modello*), the sculptor adjusted it to the demands of the three-dimensional capital. If it is a copy, the draftsman took the liberty of giving persons and objects more space. The annotation on the verso (not known to Lebeer) and the quality of the drawing (of which Lebeer said he could not be sure without seeing it) indicate that this is more likely a design than a repetition.
11. Van Even 1895, p. 262; De Pauw-de Veen 1969, pp. 106, 107. For a fine synopsis of the stages of preparation for tapestries, from “preliminary study” to *petits patrons*, *patrons*, and *modellii*, particularly in the sixteenth century, see Ainsworth 1982, pp. 66–70.
12. See Lebeer 1953, pp. 193–95, and Sonkes 1969, p. 174. Meder (1919, p. 361, n. 3) mentioned the existence of fifteenth-century Italian contracts requiring sculptors to show their plans to their patrons.
13. The left corners of the Lehman drawing are less rounded than the right, and the drawing has had less wear along the left edge than along the right. This could indicate that the sheet was cut along the left edge, but does not prove it.
14. Egger [1910]; Frey 1937; Vienna 1962 (the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna has by far the largest collection of such drawings, no less than 277, plus a parchment roll, many of them from the fifteenth century); Berlin–Cologne 1979–80, nos. 1, 2.
15. See Meder 1919, pp. 361–73. Keller (1948, with bibliography) discussed early drawings for sculpture, and De Borchgrave d’Altena (1974) discussed Rogier and his relationship to sculptors, both without mentioning the Lehman drawing. The function of the parallel lines on the verso of the Lehman sheet, which are apparently contemporary with the drawing on the recto, remains a puzzle.
16. For drawings hypothetically by Rogier and drawings much closer to his than this one, see Sonkes 1969, group A. See also No. 24.
17. Ibid., pp. 167–71, no. C41, pl. 40. Sonkes considered the *Scupstoel* and the *Procession* to be by the same hand, and so does Royallon-Kisch (in London 1996–97, no. 71). See also Wisse 1999, p. 142, fig. 24.
18. The city accounts for the years 1435–64 have been lost (Dickstein and Bernard in Brussels 1979, pp. 38, 39), but sufficient documents have been preserved to conclude that Rogier was appointed city painter by the city of Brussels between 1 August 1432 and 2 May 1436 (Dhanens 1995, p. 54). In that capacity he did execute paintings, such as the *Scenes of Justice* (at least partly executed by 1439, now known only from tapestries and, perhaps, drawings), and he probably polychromed (*stofferen*) sculptures. Unfortunately, however, no documentary evidence exists concerning designs for sculptures for the Town Hall. Adhémar (1952–53) pointed out that the architect Jan van Ruysbroeck (d. 1485), who was connected with the building of the tower for the Town Hall as of 23 January 1448, could have originated the designs for the capitals. According to Marguerite Devigne (in Thieme and Becker 1907–50), Ruysbroeck made (whether he designed or built it is not known) the fountain for the Hospital of Saint Mary in Audenaarde, which was decorated with sculptures and was completed in 1453.
19. That a painter could furnish designs for sculpture may be concluded from the documents indicating that between 1450 and 1453, just prior to his appointment as city-master painter of Louvain in 1453–55, Hubrecht Stuerbout (d. 1483/84) was paid for designs for the sculpted bases of niches, illustrating biblical scenes as well as episodes inspired by the texts of Flavius Josephus (Wisse 1998, p. 24; Lebeer 1953, p. 195). The nature of those designs is not clear, however. Wisse (1999) notes that in documents referring to this commission, Stuerbout’s designs are called *beworpen* (designs) in 1450 and 1453 and *patronen* (models) in 1451.
20. Bucher 1979.



No. 24

Copy after Rogier van der Weyden

24. Studies of Saint John the Baptist

1975.1.847

Metalpoint on gray prepared paper; lines scratched with a very fine metal point into the preparation along some contours (e.g., the arm and the legs); in the hair, beard, and mustache of Saint John; and, to a lesser extent, in the fur of his cloak and the foot at bottom right. 118 x 181 mm. Annotated on the verso in pencil: *Lorenzo da Credi* and *Hans Holbein*; in pen: *E* (or *3?*); in pencil or black chalk: *200* (in a rectangle).

The bottom left and both right corners made up; tears at the left and right in the sleeve and the leg repaired.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England; sale, Sotheby's, London, 30 June 1948, lot 153, frontispiece (as Rogier van der Weyden; to Roberts for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 131, pl. 55 (as attributed to Rogier, but perhaps a copy after him); Cincinnati 1959, no. 235, ill. (as Rogier); New York 1964; New York 1978–79, no. 2, ill. (as Rogier[?]); New York 1989 (as Flemish, fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: *Burlington Magazine* 90 (1948), p. xi, ill. (advertisement); *Illustrated London News*, no. 213 (10 July 1948), p. 48, ill.; Panofsky 1953, p. 471, n. 4 (as Rogier[?] or after Rogier[?]); Benesch 1957, p. 11 (as Rogier); Sonkes 1969, pp. 58–60, no. B11, pl. 11b (as after Rogier); Davies 1972, p. 200 (as after Rogier); Bruyn 1974, pp. 164, 166, ill. (as after Rogier); Brussels 1979, p. 77 (as after Rogier); Dunbar 1980, p. 70, fig. 4 (as follower of Rogier); Dijkstra 1990, pp. 53, 54, 193 (as after Rogier).



No. 24, detail in raking light

One of the most sophisticated fifteenth-century drawings from the Netherlands, this sheet of studies is remarkable for its accomplished, delicate, and elegant craftsmanship. Nor are these qualities diminished when the drawing is recognized as a meticulous record of a painting rather than a study for one.

The bust-length profile of Saint John the Baptist and the adjacent studies of legs correspond exactly to the figure of Saint John in the central panel of the triptych in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, by Rogier van der Weyden, *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist* (Fig. 24.1).¹ The author of the drawing isolated various details of the figure for copying – namely the undraped areas of the head, neck, and arm; the legs; and the drapery on the right shoulder – rendering the forms very precisely, without exploratory outlines or corrections. Where drapery covers the flesh, most notably in the left leg, the limb is not filled out. Although the different parts of the body are studied next to one another, independently of the organic whole, the artist was obviously aware of their role in the total picture.

That the contours and minute details have been accentuated with a sharp instrument that actually penetrated the preparation of the paper (see detail), perhaps to increase the impression of crispness, is most unusual. Popham noted similar “indentations of a stylus in details of the hair” in *The Virgin in Adoration*, a drawing in the British Museum, London, that he attributed to an anonymous fifteenth-century Flemish artist.² Comparable attention to the minutiae of body hair can be observed in the legs of Christ’s lifeless body in the *Pietà* in Rogier’s *Miraflores Altarpiece* in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.³ In other respects, the technique of the Lehman drawing, characterized by careful crosshatching and controlled contour lines sometimes softened by hatching, corresponds to metalpoint drawings attributed to Rogier. *Portrait of a Woman* in the British Museum⁴ and the *Virgin and Child Blessing* in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam,⁵ are cases in point, although there is no indication that the same artist was responsible for all three. The drawing reflects Rogier’s manner of modeling and the specific details of the painting so faithfully and with such a thorough understanding of his idiosyncrasies that it probably was made by a very gifted artist shortly after the Berlin triptych was completed. The painting is usually dated after Rogier’s trip to Italy in 1450 and may well have been painted about 1455.⁶ The drawing can thus be dated to shortly after that. It is doubtful that the drawing served as a model for the reduced, later version of the triptych in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, because, as Sonkes has pointed out, the Frankfurt painting has details found in neither the Berlin painting nor the Lehman drawing.⁷

In both technique and conception the Lehman drawing differs from the underdrawings on Rogier’s paintings, most of which were executed in brush. The underdrawings also lack hatching, and dashes delimit the contours of drapery and suggest the direction of folds, with harder outlines for shading. Background architectural elements are freely drawn, and numerous corrections are visible in the redrawing of certain lines.⁸ And whereas the underdrawings give instructions for the painting of the surface, this drawing reflects the surface of the painting, and does so meticulously.

The great majority of fifteenth-century metalpoint drawings are records of details, or sometimes entire compositions, of paintings that were at the time in artists’ studios. Particularly when they are of details, they thus continue the tradition of the model books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁹ The Lehman



Fig. 24.1 Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint John Baptizing Christ* (central panel of the triptych *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist*). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 534B. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

drawing shares with some of the earlier model-book drawings a lack of overlapping forms and an economical use of the surface, whether the surface was paper or parchment.

The facial features and the gesture of the saint recorded and studied so diligently in the Lehman drawing must have been one of the reasons for the lasting effect of Rogier's innovative *Baptism*. While it participated in a peculiarly Netherlandish tradition inasmuch as the saint uses his hand alone to baptize Christ, without a further receptacle such as a cup, shell, or pitcher,¹⁰ Rogier's painting made a great impression on his contemporaries and their immediate followers. The figure of

Saint John was adopted not only in the Frankfurt painting but also in a wood sculpture of about 1480 that was in the Benoit Oppenheim collection in Cologne¹¹ and a Flemish tapestry in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, that was produced in Brussels, perhaps about 1500.¹²

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NOTES:

1. Gemäldegalerie 1978, pp. 480, 481, no. 534B; Davies 1972, p. 200; Van Asperen de Boer et al. 1992, no. W14. When the Lehman drawing was sold in 1948 it was attributed to Rogier; only in 1953 did Panofsky propose that it might be a preparatory study or a copy after the painting. Although in 1957 Benesch did not question Rogier's authorship, in 1969 Sonkes convincingly explained why the studies must be after Rogier. Davies, Bruyn, and others (Brussels 1979, p. 77) have since concurred.
2. Popham 1932, pp. 1–17, 60, no. 2. Koreny (letter of 16 December 1997) brought my attention to the London drawing in this connection.
3. Lehmann (1997, p. 35, fig. 44) considered this phenomenon.
4. Sonkes 1969, no. A3 (British Museum, 1874-8-8-2266).
5. *Ibid.*, no. A4 (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, N9).
6. See Benesch 1957, p. 9; Davies 1972, p. 202; and Gemäldegalerie 1978, p. 481. For recent discussion of whether Rogier did in fact go to Italy, as Fazio reported, consult Campbell 1979 and Campbell 1996. Furthermore, Campbell (1996, pp. 117–18, 122) is of the opinion that neither of the two paintings associated with Rogier's supposed visit to Italy in 1450 – the *Virgin and Child with Saints* in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, and the *Lamentation* in the Uffizi, Florence – is of sufficient quality to warrant an attribution to Rogier himself, and that because they are both on oak panels they may have been painted in the North rather than in Italy. For the dendrochronological evidence (which points to ca. 1454) and a survey of art historians' dating of the painting, see Van Asperen de Boer et al. 1992, pp. 45, 250.
7. Sonkes 1969, no. B11. For instance, the contours of Saint John's sleeve and right foot are the same in the Berlin painting and the drawing, and in the Frankfurt painting they are different.
8. Sonkes 1970; Sonkes 1971–72.
9. For examples in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, see Scheller 1995.
10. Strzygowski 1885, cited by Sonkes 1969, p. 58, and Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, part 2, p. 300.
11. Leeuwenberg 1942, p. 120, fig. 4; Sonkes 1969, p. 60.
12. Amsterdam 1947, p. 107, no. 443; Kugler 1982, p. 32, fig. 1.

Flanders (Brussels?)

ca. 1470–90

25. Bear Hunt

1975.1.822

Pen and brown ink, with 16 details cut out and redrawn in brown ink by the artist on 15 pieces of paper pasted on the verso of the drawing (Fig. 25.1). 286 x 424 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink in a sixteenth-century hand on the verso on the drawing itself, where the backing has been partially removed: *françois à becke*.

Laid down; probably trimmed on all four sides (slightly at the top and left and more at the right and bottom where the horses and figures are not complete);¹ dark brown borderline drawn with a ruler over the remains of a lighter brown borderline apparently drawn freehand; six small wormholes backed by three additional pieces of paper; vertical fold 209 mm from left; water stains along the top margin, at the middle left, and at the bottom right corner. Entire sheet rebacked.

PROVENANCE: Mary Mitchell (Mrs. Chauncey J.) Blair, Chicago and Chambésy (Geneva), by 1914;² Blair sale, American Art Association / Anderson Galleries, New York, 15–16 January 1932, lot 289 (as Jan Beeck, Flemish, ?–1516). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1932.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1915–16, no. 196(?); Buffalo 1935, no. 10, fig. 10 (as *Boar Hunt*, Flemish, fifteenth century, possibly a Burgundian sketch for a tapestry); Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 110, pl. 54 (as *Bear Hunt*, Flemish master [“François Becke”], ca. 1470–80); Cincinnati 1959, no. 238, ill. (as

Boar Hunt, by Jan Beeck); New York 1964, p. 28 (as *Boar Hunt*, by Jan Beeck); Lawrence, Kansas, 1969, no. 37, pl. 75 (as *Bear Hunt*, Flemish, ca. 1470–80); Tokyo 1977, no. 11, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 4, ill. (as Frank van der Beecke or François à Becke, Bruges[?], ca. 1470); New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 1, ill.; New York 1988a.

LITERATURE: Blair 1914, no. 123 (as *The Chase*, early fifteenth century); Frank and Miner 1937, p. 24, n. 58 (as *Boar Hunt*); Ainsworth in New York 1998–99, pp. 205–6, fig. 72.

At the climactic moment of a bear hunt, a crowd gathers to witness the kill. While two hunters stab the hapless animal, men carrying spears keep their eager hounds at bay and an elderly shepherd (perhaps a metaphor for nature and the wild) and a beater blowing his horn look on from the foreground. Several men and women on horseback, their fashionable dress marking them as members of the nobility or upper bourgeoisie, grace the company with their detached elegance (see detail),³ and another group of mounted gentlemen and ladies, one of them riding a mule or donkey, approaches the festivities from the right.⁴ The scene takes place in hilly terrain



Fig. 25.1 Diagram of changes made to *Bear Hunt* (No. 25)



No. 25

with a sprawling castle in the background that confirms the high social status of the hunting party.

Fusing narrative and stereotype, this drawing partakes of a long tradition of representations that blend the chase, festive leisure, and chivalric love in an idealistic image of the life of high society. Whether the specific subject was a hunt for wild boar, deer, rabbits, bears,

otters, or other quarry or, more generally, the departure for a hunt with mounted participants carrying falcons, these scenes of the chase and the capture always retained their metaphoric reference to the pursuit of love. Particularly in tapestries, this tradition flourished from the Middle Ages well into the sixteenth century.⁵ An early phase of it is exemplified by the *Boar and Bear*



No. 25, detail

Hunt (Fig. 25.2), one of a set of four tapestries from Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (now Victoria and Albert Museum, London), that was probably woven about 1425–50.⁶

Since no weaving directly related to this drawing is known, its function can be reconstructed only on the basis of its physical appearance. The drawing is the size of an average northern European chancery (*kanzlei*) sheet of the late fifteenth century (290–300 x 420 mm), and that is probably what the paper is.⁷ Little is known,

however, about cartoons and their sizes, and we do not know whether such sheets were used exclusively for certain purposes in the North at the time. Some tapestry cartoons made in Brussels decades later are on larger paper (580 x 390–420 mm), but they were probably made by Italians, and the paper's region of origin is not known to me.⁸ The Lehman drawing seems large for a *petit patron*, or first creative sketch for the scene to be woven. Nonetheless, the rather finished aspect of the penwork and the lack of hesitation, as well as certain



No. 25, detail



No. 25, detail in raking light

lapses in detail that suggest that it repeats a design, possibly by a different artist, indicate that it is more likely a cartoon. Furthermore, *petit patrons* are in the same direction as the tapestries,⁹ and this drawing must have been intended to appear in reverse in the weaving, judging from the left-handed gestures of many of the figures.

The most unusual aspect of this drawing, the numerous changes the artist made, may also be the most relevant to explaining its use. By excising the areas to be corrected, pasting pieces of paper behind the resulting holes, and redrawing the new versions (judging by the shapes of the holes, these were often reduced versions of the original motifs) on the paper patches, he altered no

less than sixteen details, among them five heads of figures and three heads of animals (Fig. 25.1). So carefully did he apply these changes, without violating the design in any way, that no student of the drawing has remarked in print on these numerous and fundamental changes.¹⁰ Because the ink and the execution of the redrawn details are identical to those of the drawing as a whole, the alterations were certainly made by the same hand, at the time or shortly after the drawing was executed, and not later for the purpose of transformation or restoration.

Guy Delmarcel has suggested the following scenario:¹¹ A draftsman was asked to copy a tapestry cartoon representing the subject in reverse.¹² After finishing the



No. 25, detail in raking light

copy, he began to change certain details, particularly certain heads, possibly portraits, by cutting, pasting, and redrawing, in order to disguise or modernize certain aspects of the older version for the benefit of a new commission for a different patron. We know that such changes were frequently made in tapestry designs, but the evidence is usually the final weavings, rather than the intermediary drawings.

A similar relationship between figures, landscape, and background architecture is found in Hugo van der Goes's *David and Abigail*, a wall painting made for a fireplace mantel that was probably painted in the 1470s and is now known only from copies.¹³ In *A King and His Entourage Halting near an Ossuary*, a drawing in the Hamburger Kunsthalle that is perhaps a copy after a lost work by Van der Goes also dating to the 1470s, the architecture is similarly placed behind the hilly foreground.¹⁴ The Lehman drawing probably dates from the same period or somewhat later, about 1470-90. This same general manner of drawing, which relies on the pen and the generous use of parallel lines and crosshatchings, with no brush, is also found in other drawings from those years, for instance two drawings depicting scenes from the life of Saint Barbara, one in the Louvre, Paris,¹⁵ and the other in the Pierpont Morgan Library,

New York,¹⁶ and the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,¹⁷ all probably by the Master of the Saint Barbara Legend, who was active, most likely in Bruges and Brussels, during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

The narrow-waisted jackets and tight hose worn by some of the men in the Lehman drawing also appear in the miniature *The Civil War in Ghent* in the *Chroniques des Comtes de Flandres*, a manuscript illuminated by the Master of Mary of Burgundy that was completed for Margaret of York in 1477 at the scriptorium of David Aubert in Ghent.¹⁸ Hennins like these ladies' were fashionable during much of the fifteenth century, but they are worn with virtually identical décolleté dresses in *Margaret of York at Prayer* and other miniatures by the Master of Mary of Burgundy in the book of moral and religious treatises written by Aubert in 1475 (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford).¹⁹ The rimmed caps known as bourelets date from about 1480-85.²⁰

The high horizon, providing ample space for the display of figures, relates the drawing to tapestry compositions of the last third of the fifteenth century, as does the group of figures arriving from the right.²¹ The parallels with the works of the Master of the Saint Barbara Legend point to Brussels, the leading center of tapestry weaving at the time.²² However tempting it is to think that the two women on horseback are Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, and that the drawing was made as a design for a tapestry on the occasion of one of the festivities celebrated in their time, evidence for such a hypothesis is lacking.²³

The only tantalizing clue to the identity of the draftsman who made this drawing and the event it commemorates is the name written on the verso in what is probably a sixteenth-century hand: *francois à becke*. A number of artists by the name of Frans and Jan Verbeeck have recently come to light, but their activities in Mechelen in the sixteenth century postdate the drawing.²⁴ The same is true, as Béguin noted in 1957, of the painter and chronicler Jan Beeck, to whom this drawing was attributed when Robert Lehman acquired it in 1932; Beeck, who was abbot of the Saint Laurentius Monastery in Liège, died in 1516.²⁵ More promising is Béguin's suggestion that François à Becke (or Frans Verbeeck, or Frans van Beck) might have been a member of the same family as Jehan and Joos van der Beecke, who were among the numerous artists engaged in the decorations for the festivities arranged for the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1468.²⁶ But no such artist is known, and neither is a Frans Verbeeck or van



Fig. 25.2 *Boar and Bear Hunt* (one of a set of four tapestries from Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.204-1957. Courtesy of the V&A Picture Library

der Beke mentioned among the “patron” painters in Brussels in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁷ The name may not of course refer to the artist at all. François à Becke may have owned the drawing or been affiliated with it in some other way.²⁸

Far more significant than the name of the artist, however, is the conclusion that this drawing probably was made in Brussels in about 1470–90 and that it is the only drawing that documents the transition between one version of a subject for a tapestry and the next. It is one of the very few extant designs for a figured scene made in the Netherlands.²⁹ Although it is largely a second version and in that sense a copy, it shares a place of honor in a group comprising no more than half a dozen drawings with the *Scupstoel* in the Robert Lehman Collection (No. 23), the *Religious Procession* from the circle of Rogier van der Weyden in the British Museum, London (Fig. 23.5),³⁰ and Hugo van der Goes’s *Meeting of Jacob and Rachel* in Christ Church, Oxford.³¹

EHB

NOTES:

1. There is no reason to suppose, however, as Szabo did (in Evanston 1988, no. 1), that originally the bear was at the center of the composition. In tapestries of the fifteenth century the principal animal is often placed off center.
2. Mary Blair also owned a painting in the Robert Lehman Collection, the *Portrait of a Woman* of about 1475–80 that has been attributed to a Franco-Flemish painter (Sterling et al. 1998, no. 2, color ill.).
3. Madou’s excellent, easily accessible introduction to the history and problems of costume of the last third of the fifteenth century (Amsterdam–Frankfurt am Main 1985,

pp. 289–94, with bibliography) is useful here in spite of its emphasis on the Housebook Master.

4. Szabo (in Evanston 1988, no. 1) interpreted the rider of the mule or donkey as a court jester wearing an eared foolscap. The figure’s headgear is difficult to read.
5. On the hunt in tapestries, Göbel 1923 (particularly vol. 1, pp. 84, 85, 270, 271, index) remains essential, and Moxey’s essay “Chivalry and the Housebook Master” (in Amsterdam–Frankfurt am Main 1985, pp. 65–78, with bibliography) is a good introduction to the subject of chivalric love and hunt tapestries of the fifteenth century. Friedman’s 1978 study on hunting scenes in the art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance has not been available to me.
6. Kurth 1918, pp. 59–66, pl. 5 (as Tournai, ca. 1425); D’Hulst 1960, no. 6 (as Arras[?], 1425–50; with bibliography); Wingfield Digby and Hefford 1971; Wingfield Digby and Hefford 1980, nos. 2–5; Pächt 1989, p. 117, fig. 70.
7. Pointed out by Nicholas Stogdon (letter to the author, 3 June 1999). The drawing is almost fully laid down, and it has not been possible to read a watermark.
8. I thank Guy Delmarcel (letter to the author, 3 June 1996) for referring me to the three cartoons in the Louvre for the eight-piece set the *Fructus belli*, which was woven upon designs of Giulio Romano about 1544–47/48 (height ca. 350 mm), and the discussion of sizes of cartoons in Brown and Delmarcel 1996, pp. 169–73, n. 42.
9. The anticipation of the reversal of the image in the tapestry would indicate that a *basse lice* weaving was projected (rather than *haute lice*, which reproduces the scene in the same direction). In Delmarcel’s experience, cartoons are always in reverse to the tapestries, while *petit patrons*, the first creative sketches, are in the same direction (Delmarcel, letter to the author, 3 June 1996).
10. Sixteen details were excised and backed by fifteen pieces of paper: five men’s heads, two dogs’ tails, two horses’ heads, one dog’s head and body, the tassel and neck of a horse, a horse’s leg, a horse’s chest, part of the costume of

- the shepherd, and the roof of a building. Lines and certain details (such as a cap, or a horse's ears) remaining on the edges of the cut-out sections, as well as the contours of some of the cut-outs, indicate that many of the heads were reduced in the second version. The head visible above the back of a horse to the left was drawn in a slightly more reddish ink, but by the same hand. Three more patches (making a total of eighteen) back six small holes, two in the side of the bear, three in the body of the mounted hunter stabbing the bear at right, and one halfway between the mounted lady at the right and the shouting man near her. Whether the paper used for the repair of these irregularly shaped holes differs from that of the corrections cannot be established because the backing paper has been removed only where it covered the annotation. I thank Manus Gallagher for his help with the diagram.
11. Letter to the author, 3 June 1996.
 12. As Schrader (in Lawrence, Kansas, 1969, no. 37) has suggested, the artist may have worked from left to right, relaxing the urge to define detail while proceeding.
 13. Friedländer ([1924-37] 1967-76, vol. 4, no. 19) listed eight copies, and Winkler (1964, pp. 95-99, ill.) added three more and discussed at length the informative copy proceeding from the Béguinage in Ghent (Musée du Cinquante-naire, Brussels). All the copies seem to modernize the spatial arrangement to some extent. It was Schrader (in Lawrence, Kansas, 1969, no. 37) who first remarked that "in some respects the Lehman drawing is the stylistic successor to Hugo van der Goes' lost composition 'David and Abigael,' which presumably is transmitted in part by the drawing representing 'The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel,' preserved in Christ Church, Oxford" (for the drawing, see Haverkamp-Begemann 1962, no. 466, color ill., and Sander 1989).
 14. Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21927; Baldass 1919, pp. 5, 6, fig. 2; Winkler 1964, pp. 242, 243, ill.; Szabo in Evanston 1988, under no. 1.
 15. Louvre, 20.665; Lugt 1968, no. 55, pl. 28.
 16. Pierpont Morgan Library, III.127; Bruges 1960, no. 72.
 17. Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 1965; Bock and Rosenberg 1931, p. 6. On the Master of the Saint Barbara Legend, see Sonkes 1971 and Toussaint and Dijkstra 1994, pp. 536-38 (concluding that he probably worked in Brussels).
 18. Pächt 1948, pp. 63-64, no. 5, pl. 9. The manuscript is in the collection of Lord Leicester, Holkham Hall (ms. 659). See Cambridge 1993, no. 48 (I owe the reference to Nicholas Stogdon).
 19. Bodleian Library, Douce 365 (s.c.21940); Pächt 1948, p. 63, no. 3, pls. 2, 44, dust jacket. Delmarcel (letter to the author, 3 June 1996) suggested Brussels as the center of origin for the drawing on the basis of parallels with the Master of the Saint Barbara Legend.
 20. I thank Adolph Cavallo (conversation with the author, February 1990) for this information.
 21. I owe this observation to Adolph Cavallo.
 22. Campbell (1976, p. 191) reminds us that painters in Brussels defended their privileges by a law "forbidding the tapestry weavers to draw or even to emend tapestry cartoons" (citing a document of 1476, printed in Wauters 1878, pp. 48-49). I owe this reference to Nicholas Stogdon (letter to the author, 27 July 1998). The existence of the law indicates that such drawings were made, and that they posed a threat.
 23. Even if one accepts that likeness was not required for such a reference, there is no evidence to justify identifying the woman at the far left as Margaret of York and the couple in front of her as Mary of Burgundy and her husband, Archduke Maximilian, as Szabo has suggested (in New York 1978-79, no. 4, and Evanston 1988, no. 1).
 24. See Faggin 1969; Renger in Berlin 1975, pp. 174, 175; Vandenbroeck 1981, pp. 31-34; and Gibson 1992. Ellen Caljé-van den Berg's attribution of the Lehman drawing to Jan Verbeek (on the photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, 1972) is understandable because there is a certain similarity between his works (for the drawings, see Faggin 1969, pp. 54-57, figs. 1-3, and Gibson 1992) and this drawing, but the relationship is actually an indication only of the source of Verbeek's graphic concepts. In any case, his penwork is wilder and less controlled than this (see especially Gibson 1992).
 25. The attribution to Beek was probably derived from Wurzbach (1906-11, vol. 1, p. 68), who referred to Immerzeel 1842, and Nagler and Meyer 1872-85.
 26. Béguin in Paris 1957, p. 78, no. 110. On Jehan and Joos van der Beecke, see Laborde 1849-52, vols. 2 and 4, and H[ans] V[ollmer] in Thieme and Becker 1907-50, vol. 3 (1909), p. 163.
 27. No such name is mentioned in Duverger 1969.
 28. Boon (letter to the author, November 1989) has pointed out that Van der Haeghen (1899, p. 112) mentioned a Van der Beke who was the *stadsecretaris* of Ghent in the sixteenth century. After the text of this entry was completed, Nicholas Stogdon suggested (letter to the author, 27 July 1998, and in New York 1998, under no. 37) that the inscription on the verso of the Lehman drawing could refer to the artist known as Master FVB, who in that case would have been named Frans van Beeke or the like. He finds support for his hypothesis in certain formal relationships between this drawing and works by Master FVB and in motifs Joos van Cleve borrowed from Master FVB. (Joos van Cleve was also called Joos van der Beke and may have belonged to the same family.) These promising associations need to be worked out, and the search for the identity of an artist named Frans van (der) Beek (Beke, Verbeek) must be continued. Fritz Koreny (letter to the author, 2 February 1999) considers both the Hamburg *King and His Entourage* (see above and note 14) and the Lehman drawing, with its free graphic qualities, to be works made (after earlier designs) later than 1520.
 29. Béguin (in Paris 1957, no. 110) reached a similar conclusion.
 30. See No. 23, note 17.
 31. As Byam Shaw (1976, no. 1309) concluded and Sander (1989) confirmed in his detailed analysis, the Oxford drawing is in all likelihood an original design by Hugo van der Goes heavily reworked by a later hand. See also note 13 above.

Antwerp

first quarter of the sixteenth century

26. Adoration of the Magi

1975.I.832

Pen and light brown and grayish brown ink over traces of black chalk; original borderline all around. 280 x 202 mm. Annotated at the bottom right in pen and brown ink: *L* (the monogram of Lucas van Leyden); on the verso in pencil in the hand of Adalbert von Lanna: "Aus einer mir unbekanntem (wohl Wiener) Sammlg. / in deren gedrucktem Kataloge das BL[att]: folgend beschrieben: / Lucas v. Leyden / 1474-1533 / 43. - Die Anbetung d. Kindes(?) in architektonisch / reich ausgestatteter . . . sitzt Maria mit / d. Jesus Kinde; bei ihnen d. H. drei Könige: / Schöne figurenreiche Komposition. Federzeichn[un]g / bez. L. / H 0.280 Breite 0.200 / Erworben . . ."¹

PROVENANCE: Adalbert von Lanna, Prague (Lugt 2773 on the verso); Lanna sale, Stuttgart, 6-11 May 1910, lot 348, ill. (as Lucas van Leyden); Junius S. Morgan, New York; [Morgan] sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 18 February 1921, lot 67 (as Bernaert van Orley); [Richard Ederheimer, New York].

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942-44; Rotterdam-Bruges 1965, no. 53, ill. (as by or attributed to Jan Gossaert); New York 1978-79, no. 5, ill. (as Gossaert); New York 1988a; New York 1991 (as Flemish, Antwerp, first quarter of the sixteenth century).

LITERATURE: Rosenberg 1938, ill. (as Gossaert); Folie 1951, p. 96, n. 14 (as not by Gossaert); Bruyn 1965, p. 467 (as probably not by Gossaert); Haverkamp-Begemann 1965, p. 404 (as not by Gossaert); Herzog 1968, pp. 50-53, 414, 415, no. D.19, pl. 110, p. 436, under no. D.34 (as Gossaert); Lugt 1968, p. 27, under no. 75 (as Gossaert); Ainsworth in New York 1998-99, pp. 206, 207, fig. 74 (as Antwerp, first quarter of the sixteenth century).

This drawing, depicting elegant figures worshipping the Virgin and Child among the ruins of antiquity, was traditionally attributed to Lucas van Leyden, as is confirmed by the *L* added later to the architectural base at

the lower right. In 1938 Rosenberg attributed it to Jan Gossaert, probably on the basis of its similarity to a drawing in the Louvre, Paris, another *Adoration of the Magi* that features a similar Düreresque Virgin attended by mannered figures.² (Baldass had previously attributed the Paris drawing to Bernaert van Orley, which may be why Friedländer once attributed the Lehman drawing to him.)³ Although Rosenberg's attribution was upheld in the catalogue of the Gossaert exhibition in Rotterdam and Bruges in 1965 (as well as by Herzog, who assisted with the exhibition), Folie, Bruyn, and Haverkamp-Begemann have all questioned it. In 1968 Lugt implied that he had reservations concerning the attribution of the Paris drawing to Gossaert.⁴

Although it may be the work of an artist in his circle, the Lehman drawing cannot have been made by Gossaert himself. The profuse and very fine lines are faint and unsteady in many areas, and the definition of the figures is not characteristic of his work. Until more is known about artists working in Gossaert's circle, the drawing must remain unattributed.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Lanna was probably quoting from a sale catalogue.
2. Louvre, 20.000; Baldass 1915, p. 223, ill.; Lugt 1968, p. 27, no. 75, pl. 40.
3. According to an old Ederheimer label removed from the verso (now in the Robert Lehman Collection files): "The present positive attribution [to Van Orley] is due to Dr. Friedlaender of the Berlin Museum."
4. Lugt 1968, p. 27, no. 75.



No. 26

Master of the Death of Absalom

probably Northern Netherlands, ca. 1500

In 1931 Popham assembled a group of five drawings he attributed to a designer of stained glass who was a younger contemporary of the Haarlem artist Geertgen tot Sint Jans (ca. 1460–ca. 1490). Three of the five – *The Death of Absalom* (Louvre, Paris),¹ *The Drunkenness of Noah* (British Museum, London),² and *A Gentleman with a Hawk and a Lady with a Rose* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)³ – are designs for glass roundels; the other two – *Ecce homo* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin)⁴ and *The Meeting of David and Abigail* (in 1931 in the collection of N. Beets, Amsterdam) – may have been cartoons for small rectangular glass panels. To these Popham added three woodcuts depicting Charlemagne, Judas Maccabaeus, and Hector from a series of the *Nine Heroes* (all British Museum, London)⁵ and two stained glass roundels representing scenes from the Passion that he thought were probably from designs by the same artist: *The Betrayal of Christ* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)⁶ and *Ecce homo* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).⁷ In 1932 he attributed another design for a glass roundel to the artist he called the Master of Absalom, *The Month of March: Pruning* in the British Museum.⁸ Based on the costumes in the Oxford drawing he postulated that the designs were made about 1500–1510, and he proposed that the draftsman might well have been the Haarlem artist Volkert Claesz, who is known only from a comment by Karel van Mander that his style was a traditional one and that he made countless inexpensive drawings for painters on glass.⁹

In 1978 Boon enlarged Popham's grouping by also attributing to the Master of the Death of Absalom a page of studies of heads in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, that had previously been ascribed to Cornelis Engelbrechtsz;¹⁰ two brush drawings in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, *Jacob's Brothers Returning to Jacob with Their Corn Money*¹¹ and *A Courty Hunting Party*; and a drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, that is a design for a stained glass roundel with Saint George and the dragon.¹² He attributed to the same workshop a glass roundel in the Metropolitan Museum that depicts either King Arthur or Alexander the Great and is based on a woodcut that is probably from the same *Nine Heroes* series as the three in the British Museum.¹³ To this list it is possible to add the *Head of a Man Wearing a Turban* in the Robert Lehman Collection and a sheet in the Kongelige Kobbersticksammlung,

Copenhagen, with two studies of heads that, like several others of these drawings, are executed in chiaroscuro.¹⁴ The head studies in Amsterdam, the Lehman drawing, the two round drawings in Dresden, and possibly also the pen drawing in Berlin are among the core works in the group.

Although these works are unquestionably related, they are not sufficiently homogeneous in style to warrant attributing them to the same draftsman. Nevertheless, this approximate grouping is a first step toward understanding and categorizing Netherlandish drawing from the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁵

NOTES:

1. Popham 1931, ill. p. 275; New York 1995, p. 74, fig. 1.
2. Popham 1932, no. 71, pl. 34.
3. Parker 1938, no. 5, pl. 1; New York 1995, p. 74, fig. 2.
4. Winkler 1931b, pl. 12 (as Jacob Cornelisz); Steinbart 1937, pl. 32.
5. Another woodcut probably from the same series, representing Joshua or Judas Maccabaeus and now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, bears the monogram MG and is dated 1510 (Steinbart 1937, pp. 24–25, ill. p. 27). Steinbart postulated that the Monogrammist MG and the Master of the Death of Absalom were the same artist.
6. New York 1995, no. 20, ill.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 75, fig. 1.
8. Popham 1932, no. 72, pl. 34; New York 1995, p. 176, fig. 1.
9. Van Mander (1617) 1906, vol. 1, p. 63.
10. Boon 1978, no. 515, ill.; New York 1995, p. 74, fig. 4.
11. New York 1995, p. 74, fig. 3.
12. Stampfle 1991, no. 8, ill.
13. New York 1995, p. 75, figs. 2, 3. Popham suggested in 1931 (p. 276, n. 3), when it was in the collection of Wilfred Drake, that the roundel might be from a woodcut in the same *Nine Heroes* series as the three in the British Museum, but he had seen only a photograph of it. I am grateful to Timothy Husband, curator, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum, for providing me with photographs of this pane and the reference to the Netherlandish woodcut. Husband (New York 1995, nos. 19, 35, ill.) considers two more roundel designs to be by the Master of the Death of Absalom: *The Reading of a Royal Proclamation* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; and *Sorgheloois, Pover, and Aermoede Being Rebuffed* in the Collectie Stichting P. en N. de Boer, Amsterdam. He associated *A Couple Seated before a Fire* (British Museum), with the group as well. See also Husband 1989, pp. 183, 186.
14. Schilling 1952, pp. 47–48, fig. 2.
15. *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* and two drawings of fantastic creatures (Prentenkabinet, Leiden, 3670–72), all in pen and brown ink, can be added to this group.

Master of the Death of Absalom(?)

27. Head of a Man Wearing a Turban

1975.I.863

Brush and black brown ink heightened with white gouache on slate gray prepared paper. Watermark: hand holding a flower (similar to Briquet 11417). 233 x 166 mm. On the recto under the wash and on the verso, undeciphered Latin script written in ink in two columns in a late fifteenth-century hand, the gray wash repelled in spots by the oilier substance used for the text, especially just below the beard and in the upper right corner.

Inlaid; horizontal fold in the center.

PROVENANCE: Victor Koch, London; Koch sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 8 February 1923 (Lugt 84707), lot 66 (as early German school, second half of the sixteenth century); LeRoy Backus, Seattle; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Schaeffer on 11 May 1951.¹

EXHIBITED: California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 1941;² Portland, Oregon, 1946; New York 1948a, no. 17, ill. (as Hinrik Funhof); New York 1956, no. 159 (as Rueland Frueauf the Younger, ca. 1440–1507); Cincinnati 1959, no. 253 (as Funhof); New York 1978–79, no. 18, ill. (as Funhof); New York 1985–86.

LITERATURE: Parker 1926, pl. 35 (as south German, ca. 1505–10); Tietze 1947, p. 18, no. 9 (as Funhof[?], ca. 1482–84); Schilling 1952, pp. 47–48.

This monumental study of a head, executed with great assurance by a highly experienced draftsman, was drawn on a sheet of paper of which both sides had already been used. Two columns of Latin text in an undeciphered script that can be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century cover the verso of the folded sheet.³ The artist painted a gray ground over the text on the recto, but it is still visible in spots where the pigment was repelled by the oilier substance used for the writing.

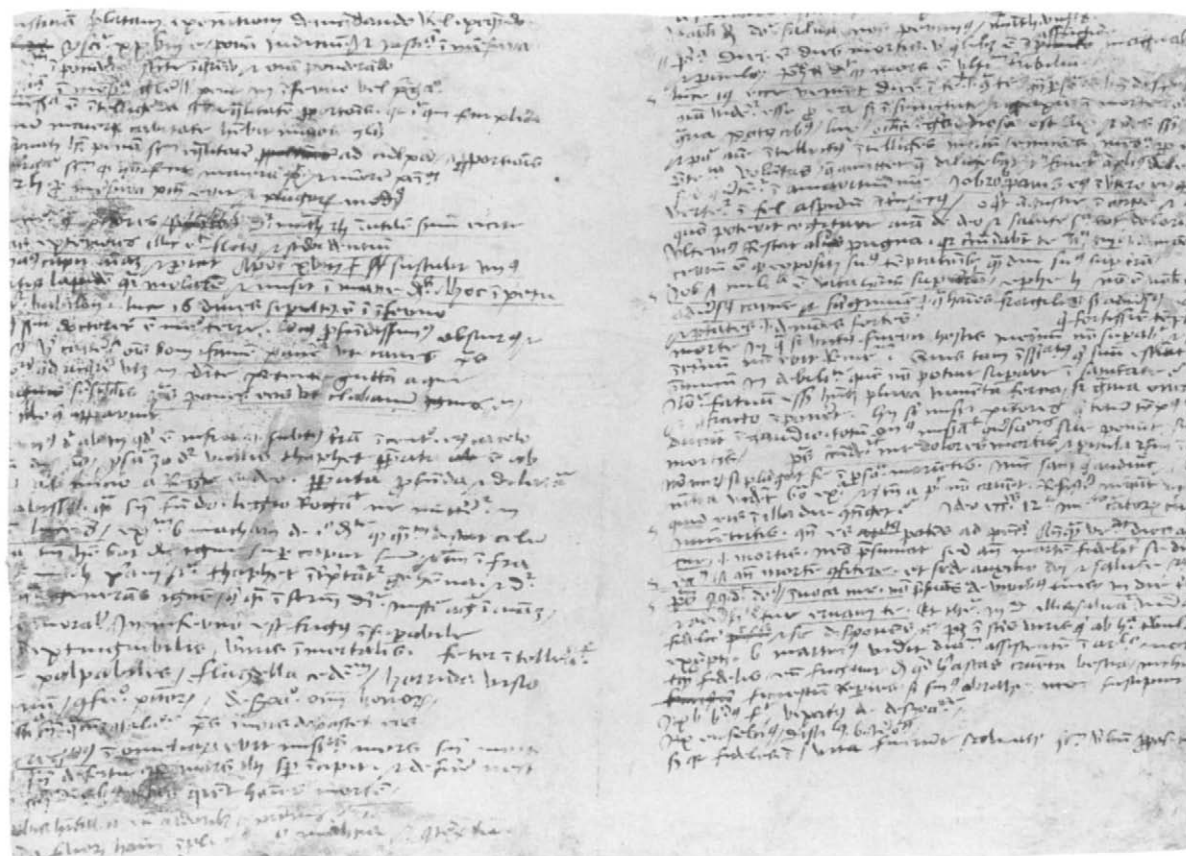
As the engraved head studies by Martin Schongauer,⁴ Israhel van Meckenem, and the Master WB⁵ and a number of Netherlandish and German drawings attest,⁶ the motif of a bearded head with crude, deeply lined features topped by a massive turban was quite popular at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. This drawing is distinguished by its medium, however. Chiaroscuro drawings in dark ink on gray or green prepared paper began to appear as early as the end of the fourteenth century. Only beginning with the second quarter of the fifteenth century does one see occasional drawings in white gouache, first on

black grounds and then later, as the technique was used more and more frequently, on green, blue, or reddish brown prepared paper, on rare occasions with pink and red added for flesh tones and lips. The specific grisaille-like technique employed here seems to have appeared as early as the years immediately before 1500 (Hans Holbein the Elder, for instance, used it for a *Madonna and Child*, a *Salvator mundi*, and the so-called *Donaueschingen Passion*),⁷ but it was only after the turn of the century that it found increasing use. In a parallel development, the color chiaroscuro woodcut was perfected at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

When Parker published the Lehman sheet in 1926, he found its traditional attribution to Hans Baldung Grien “altogether impossible to uphold” and ascribed it instead to a south German painter active about 1505–10.⁸ In 1947 Tietze proposed an attribution on stylistic grounds to Hinrik Funhof (d. 1484 or 1485), a Westphalian



No. 27, watermark



No. 27, verso

painter who worked in Hamburg.⁹ Tietze's attribution was endorsed by Schilling in 1952.¹⁰ Except for one attempt in 1956 to attribute the drawing to Rueland Frueauf the Younger, the drawing has been treated in all subsequent scholarly discussion as Funhof's work.

The chiaroscuro technique was used for drawings after about 1500 more frequently in the Netherlands than in Germany, however. (Even Hans Holbein the Elder was relying on Netherlandish precedents.) The Lehman sheet, with its assured and decorative lines and grisaillelike technique, is reminiscent of Netherlandish designs for glass painting from about 1500.¹¹ The suggestion that the drawing is of Netherlandish rather than German origin is not contradicted by the watermark, a hand holding a flower, which is similar to the watermark in papers that according to Briquet were used primarily in Troyes, Nancy, Rouen, and Laon in France but also in Cologne and Frankfurt as well as the Netherlands, notably in Amsterdam and Utrecht, between 1480 and 1485.

In 1926 Parker mentioned a sheet of head studies now in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (Fig. 27.1),¹² that had always been associated with the Netherlandish

painter Cornelis Engelbrechtsz (1468–1533) or his circle, and that he considered very similar in treatment to the Lehman *Head of a Man*. He pursued his observation no further, however, because this face and the ones on two sheets of studies he suggested might be by the same hand (one with two heads in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and another with six heads in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden)¹³ were so different in type, he thought, from those in drawings attributed to Engelbrechtsz. The Lehman head is obviously much larger than those on the Amsterdam sheet and more carefully executed, doubtless because it was meant to fill the sheet, but the shaping of the heads, hair, and facial features show the same artistic sensibility. The grisaille technique of white gouache applied in broad brushstrokes over a dark gray ground and countless similar individual draftsmanly formulas also suggest that the same hand was at work in both drawings. The white fir tree–like highlight that forms the bridge of the nose in the Lehman drawing, for example, appears as well on the bearded man at the upper right in the Amsterdam drawing (Fig. 27.1, detail), and the short white needles of hatching that highlight the ridges on the turban, the crescent-shaped white



No. 27



Fig. 27.1 Master of the Death of Absalom, *Studies of Heads*, with detail. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-T-1921-474

flourish that marks the cheekbone and the pouch under the man's right eye and sets off the contour of his face, and the schematic, almost concentric brushstrokes that create the lower lid of his left eye and the pouch below it can be seen in the man at the center bottom in the Amsterdam group. The continuous stroke that forms the outline of the upper lip and its furrow, the rendering of the plane separating the nostril from the cheek, and the way the artist handled the shadow of the nose, the dark opening of the mouth, and the highlighted lower lip also recur in the Amsterdam heads, and in that drawing, too, the figures are defined by a glaring light falling from the left, the brightest spots rendered with dense white hatching that gradually fades into the ground.

When Cornelis Engelbrechtsz's style became more clearly defined in 1971 on the basis of a drawing in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest,¹⁴ the attribution of the Amsterdam drawing became less secure. In 1978 Boon attempted to add it to the oeuvre of the so-called Master of the Death of Absalom, which Popham first assembled in 1931. In my opinion that attribution is only partially acceptable. What ties the graphic "oeuvre" of the Master of the Death of Absalom together is after all only a general similarity of style. The Lehman *Head of a Man*, the Amsterdam drawing, and perhaps an *Ecce homo* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, as well,¹⁵ which seem to be by the same hand, are in fact quite different from the other drawings assembled by Popham and Boon (among them the eponymous *Death of Absalom* in the Louvre, Paris)¹⁶ and have distinct stylistic

features of their own. Nonetheless, this first approximate grouping, however makeshift, of this very complex material is of considerable importance. Even if it cannot be shown to be the work of Cornelis Engelbrechtsz or the Master of the Death of Absalom, the Amsterdam drawing, and therefore also the Lehman one, was almost certainly executed by a Netherlandish artist in Engelbrechtsz's circle in roughly 1510.

FK

NOTES:

1. Invoice in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
3. I thank Herbert Haupt, of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and Christiane Thomas, of the Haupt-Hof-und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, for evaluating the script and the text.
4. See Winzinger 1962, pp. 50–55, nos. 16–21, especially no. 19.
5. See Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 6, pp. 348–49, no. 3, vol. 9, pp. 374, 405–6, nos. 480, 515.
6. See, for example, Benesch 1928, p. 6, no. 30, ill. (by the Master of Frankfurt).
7. Tietze et al. 1933, nos. 203, 204, pl. 65; Lieb and Stange 1960, pp. 56–57, no. 11, figs. 18–31.
8. He attributed to the same hand a sheet with two male heads in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett 1910, pl. 170; Bock 1921, no. 5011, ill.), and a study of six heads in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, both of which were executed in the same chiaroscuro technique as the Lehman sheet (the Berlin sheet with a brown, rather than gray, background) on paper that had also already been printed or written on.

9. Tietze pointed out the similarity between this head and the figures in the altarpiece Funhof painted in 1482–84 for the church of Saint John in Lüneburg (Stuttman 1936, ill. pp. 77, 78), particularly the executioner in the *Beheading of John the Baptist* panel, and postulated that this drawing is a rare example of a late fifteenth-century cartoon for a panel or mural.
10. Schilling (1952, p. 65, n. 6) listed the drawings attributed to Funhof up to that time, with the addition of a frontal study of a beardless old man with a hooked nose he said was in the possession of A. v. Hevesy in Paris. He associated this drawing with a similar grisaille study of two male heads in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (ibid., pp. 47–48, fig. 2), recognizing in them a type he also saw in the Lüneburg Saint John altarpiece (see note 9 above).
11. Jan de Beer's *Tree of Jesse*, a cartoon for the central panel of a window (Benesch 1967, no. 126, ill.), is the only surviving example of a design for a monumental work in the medium (it is in two parts, each measuring 215 x 56 cm), but such cartoons were probably commonly produced as patterns for wall paintings or large windows. The small glass roundels that became fashionable about 1500 were also often executed in grisaille.
12. Moskowitz 1962, vol. 2, no. 481 (who suggested that the drawing may be a collection of examples derived from older masters and intended for workshop use); Boon 1978, no. 515, ill.
13. See note 8 above.
14. Gerszi 1971, pp. 40–41, no. 69a,b.
15. Winkler 1931b, pl. 12; Steinbart 1937, pl. 32.
16. Popham 1931, ill. p. 275; New York 1995, p. 74, fig. 1.

Leiden

ca. 1520–30

28. The Parable of the Beam and the Mote

1975.1.829

Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk; original borderlines at left and right edges. 211 x 238 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the bottom right: *Polidoro*.

Laid down.

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 638 (as Pieter Cornelisz, called Kunst; to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: London 1953, no. 254 (as *The Parable of the Beam and the Mote*, by Pieter Cornelisz); New York 1978–79, no. 11, ill. (as Pieter Cornelisz); New York 1991 (as Leiden, ca. 1520–30).

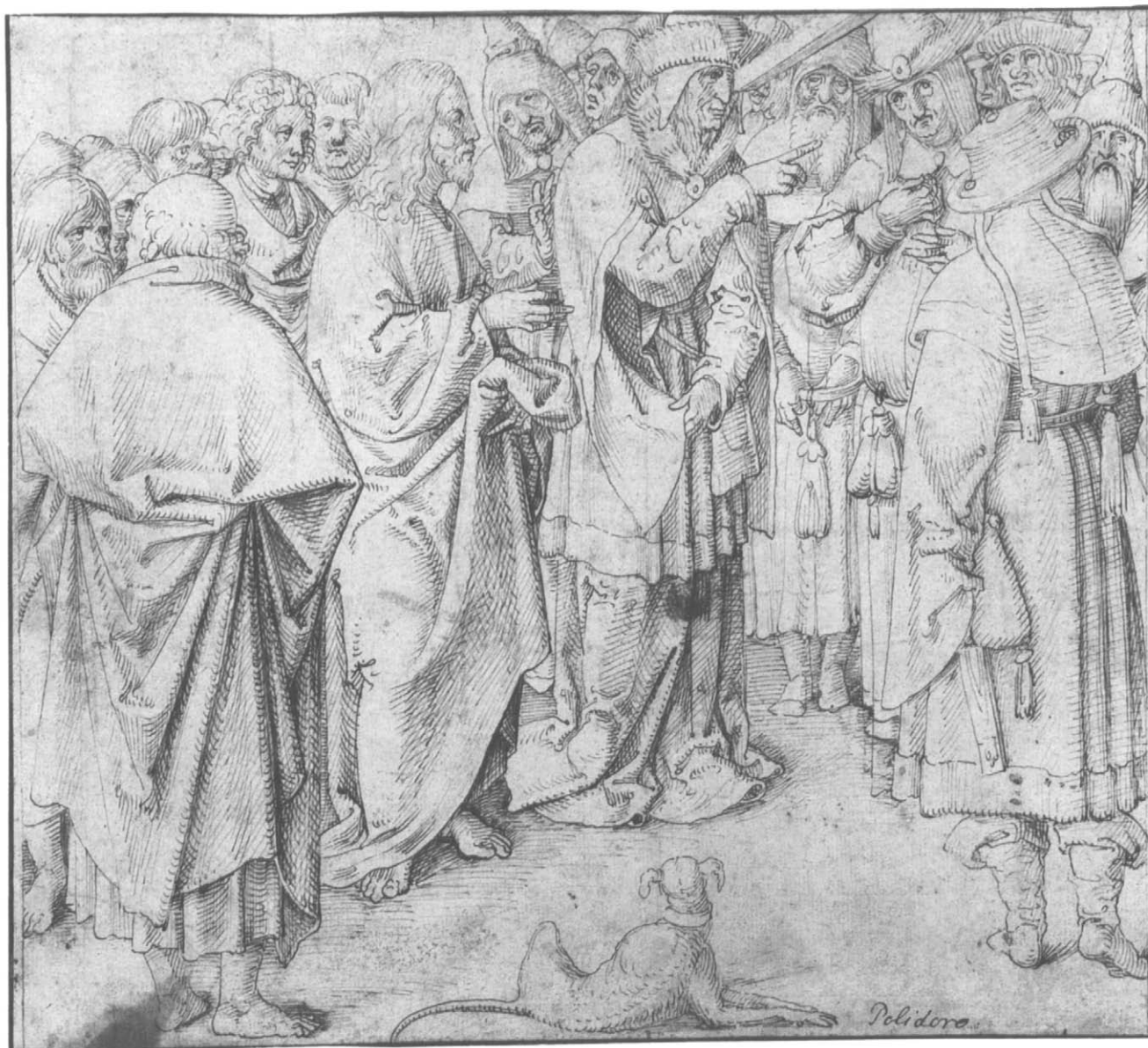
LITERATURE: Reitlinger 1922, p. 130, pl. 21 (as *Christ and the Elders*, Dutch, ca. 1520); Beets 1935, p. 171; Lugt 1956, p. 336, under no. 2274a.

Previously thought to represent Christ and the Elders, the unusual subject of this drawing was identified by Parker and Byam Shaw in 1953, when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy, as the Parable of the Beam and the Mote (Matthew 7:3–5; Luke 6:41–42). Christ's parable, part of the Sermon on the Mount, was meant to criticize those who are blind to their own weighty faults, admonishing them to remove the beam from their own eyes before endeavoring to clean the specks of dust from the eyes of others.¹

The short, hooked pen lines, deliberate contours, and careful crosshatchings, ultimately derived from Albrecht

Dürer, are typical of artists in the school of Cornelis Engelbrechtsz working in Leiden in the 1520s and 1530s, among them Aertgen van Leyden, Lucas van Leyden, and Engelbrechtsz's three sons, Pieter Cornelisz (Kunst), Cornelis Cornelisz (Kunst), and Lucas Cornelisz (Cock). Apart from Pieter Cornelisz Kunst and Lucas van Leyden, none of them has been clearly defined as an artistic personality, and attributions are frequently insecure. In spite of the contributions Beets, Boon, and Hoogewerff have made to our understanding of Engelbrechtsz's school,² this drawing cannot be attributed with certainty to any one artist. It was once attributed to Pieter Cornelisz Kunst, but although it is close in style to Kunst's work, it lacks the rounded drapery folds, the half circles beneath the eyes, and the arcs above the knees (to suggest the fall of the drapery) that are characteristic of his drawings, and the lines are stiffer than his. The similarity Beets noted in 1935 between the Lehman sheet and the drawing *A Hermit and Two Women* in the Louvre, Paris, is not sufficient to indicate the same hand, and neither does it clarify the date or suggest another place of origin.³

The Beam and the Mote may have belonged to a series representing various parables. Artists working in Leiden in the beginning of the sixteenth century often worked in series. Pieter Cornelisz Kunst, for instance,



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created at least two different series of drawings of the Seven Acts of Mercy.⁴

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NOTES:

1. As Réau (1955–59, vol. 2, p. 34) has pointed out, the German word *Splinter*, meaning “splinter,” or the Dutch *splinter* is a more exact translation than the English “mote.” For a listing of representations of the parable from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (and one by Maurice Denis [1870–1943]), see Pigler 1974, vol. 1, pp. 362–63.
2. See Beets 1935; Beets 1936; Hoogewerff 1939, pp. 321–56; Beets 1952; Boon 1978; and Boon in Florence–Paris 1980–81.

3. Louvre, 19.200; Beets 1935, p. 170; Lugt 1968, p. 41, no. 129, pl. 63. Beets attributed the drawing, unconvincingly, to Lucas Cornelisz; Lugt catalogued it as “in the manner of Aert Ortkens,” a rather vague association, as he said himself.
4. These often discussed incomplete series are most clearly listed, with previous literature, by Boon in Florence–Paris 1980–81, pp. 140–41, under no. 99. A drawing in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (Bergsträsser 1979, no. 45), that has been attributed to Kunst but is probably by another artist of the Leiden school (and not by the same hand as the Lehman drawing) represents another rare subject, the tax collector Zacchaeus in the sycamore tree (Luke 19:1–10).

Maerten van Heemskerck

Heemskerck 1498–Haarlem 1574

Maerten van Heemskerck and Jan van Scorel dominated the Haarlem art market until Hendrick Goltzius rose to prominence in the late sixteenth century. Van Heemskerck adopted and disseminated the Italian Renaissance principles of perspective, anatomy, and proportion that, in a different way, also permeated Scorel's work. He visited Rome in 1532–36/37 and made numerous drawings after classical sculptures and architecture. Many of these copies are preserved in two sketchbooks that are now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. They provided

Van Heemskerck with a continual source of motifs upon which he drew inventively during the remainder of his career in Haarlem. He was, with Pieter Bruegel the Elder, one of the first Netherlandish artists to make designs expressly for reproduction by professional print-makers. His drawings for prints are characterized by fine hatching and stippling suited to their purpose. The almost seven hundred engravings and etchings after his designs had a lasting impact on subsequent generations of Dutch painters.

Maerten van Heemskerck

29. Jael

1975.1.780

Pen and brown ink over black chalk; traced for transfer; remains of original borderline at the top and bottom left. 186 x 247 mm. Inscribed on the column: *IAEL / Martinus / van / Heemsker[k] / inventor / 1560*. Annotated on the verso in the hand of R. P. Roupell: "These drawings have all been Engraved. / They were sold in McGowans Collection in 1804 – there were six in the / original set. McGowan had only four of these – and one has again / got separated from the four – I bought the four / from Hamilton in 1860 – / For an account of them see Vasari's Lives of the painters' Tom. 2 p. 310 / of the 4th Ed. Florence / R.P.R."; and in the hand of R. P. Roupell with additions by a later hand: "Kerricks' Catalogue p. 7 / Reveleys Coll. Christies 1852 (L. 1356) / J. McGowan, 1804 / R. P. Roupell Coll. London 1887 (L. 2234)."

Laid down.

PROVENANCE: John MacGouan, Edinburgh (Lugt 1496 on the verso); MacGouan sale, T. Philipe, London, 26 January–4 February 1804, lot 305; Henry Reveley, Bryn y gwin, North Wales (Lugt 1356 on the recto); Reveley sale, Christie's, London, 11–12 May 1852; [Hamilton], 1860; Robert P. Roupell, London (Lugt 2234 on the verso); Roupell sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, 12–14 July 1887, lot 998; possibly Heinrich Loedel, Göttingen (Lugt 1331 cut out from the old mount and glued down on the verso); sale, Karl and Faber, Munich, 16 November 1959, lot 108, ill.; [Robert M. Light and Co., Boston]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962, no. 1; New York 1978–79, no. 12, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York 1988b; New York 1989; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Veldman and Luitjen 1993–94, part 1, p. 221, under no. 265.

Jael, who killed Sisera, commander of the Canaanite forces, by driving a stake through his temple (Judges 4:17–21), is one of the Eight Exemplary Women from the Old and New Testament who are represented in a series of prints after designs by Maerten van Heemskerck that Philips Galle completed in or soon after 1560 (see Fig. 29.1).¹ The other seven Exemplary Women are Judith, Susanna, Abigail, Esther, Ruth, Mary Mother of Christ, and Mary Magdalen. The engravings had already attained some renown by 1568, when Vasari mentioned the series in the second edition of his *Vite*, in the life of Marcantonio.²

According to a note in the hand of Robert P. Roupell of London on its verso, the Lehman drawing of Jael and three others of Van Heemskerck's preparatory studies for the series – *Judith and Holofernes*, *Susanna*, and *Abigail* – were in the collection of John MacGouan in Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century. Roupell acquired all four in 1860, and two – *Jael* and *Susanna* – were still together in 1959, when they were sold in Munich. *Susanna* is now in the Art Museum, Princeton;³ *Abigail* is in the Art Institute of Chicago;⁴ and *Judith and Holofernes* is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Figs. 29.2–29.4).⁵ Roupell thought there were six, not eight, drawings in the original set.

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Fig. 29.1 Philips Galle, after Maerten van Heemskerck, *Jael*. Photograph: Ilja Veldman and Ger Luijten, *The New Hollstein* (Koninklijke van Poll, Roosendaal, 1993-94), vol. 1, no. 265



Fig. 29.2 Maerten van Heemskerck, *Susanna*. Art Museum, Princeton University, Laura B. Hall Memorial Fund, x1962-53

NOTES:

1. Kerrich 1829, p. (7), nos. 1-6 (*Jael* is no. 1); Hollstein 1949- , vol. 8, nos. 476-81 (*Jael* is no. 476); Veldman and Luijten 1993-94, part 1, nos. 265-72 (*Jael* is no. 265).
2. Vasari (1568) 1962, vol. 2, p. 310.
3. Roupell sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, 12-14 July 1887, lot 999; sale, Karl and Faber, Munich, 16 November 1959, lot 108. The drawing is in pen and brown ink on ivory

4. Roupell sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, 12-14 July 1887, lot 999 (pen and ink, 200 x 250 mm).
5. *Ibid.*, lot 998 (with *Jael*).



Fig. 29.3 Maerten van Heemskerck, *Abigail*. Photograph © 1999 Art Institute of Chicago, Simeon B. Williams Fund, 1961.33



Fig. 29.4 Maerten van Heemskerck, *Judith and Holofernes*. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 91.GG.17



No. 29



No. 30

Hans Bol

Malines (Mechelen) 1534–Amsterdam 1593

A prolific draftsman of imaginary landscapes, Hans Bol favored mythological, biblical, and allegorical scenes, which he set either in broad panoramas or in familiar countryside. Few of Bol's early works – the watercolors and canvases of scenes in his hometown of Mechelen for which he was most famous, according to Karel van Mander – have survived.

In 1572, on account of the Spanish occupation, Bol fled northward, residing in several cities before settling in Amsterdam in 1591. He excelled in painting miniatures in gouache on parchment, and he made some oil paintings as well, but he is best known for his drawings. Many of these he conceived in series, and often they served as designs for prints.

Copy after Hans Bol

30. Landscape with Abraham and the Angels

1975.I.825

Pen and brown ink, brown and a little gray wash; 182 x 287 mm. Annotated in pencil on the verso in a recent hand: "Hans Bol né à Malines le 16 decembre 1534 / bourgeois [*sic*] d'anvers 15 spt 1575 / + à Amsterdam 20 novembre 1593."

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 754 (as Hans Bol; to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 87 (as Bol); Cincinnati 1959, no. 242, ill. (as Bol); New York 1978–79, no. 8, ill. (as Bol, 1570–80); New York 1979 (as Bol); New York 1985–86 (as Bol); New York 1987 (as Bol); Evanston 1988, no. 16, ill. (as Bol); New York 1991 (as Bol[?]).

Hans Bol treated the subject of Abraham and the Angels a number of times: in 1567 and 1568 in two drawings now in the Art Institute of Chicago,¹ and the Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig;² in 1580 in a drawing in the Albertina, Vienna, that was engraved by Jan Sadeler as part of a series of seventeen landscapes with biblical scenes, mostly from Genesis;³ and again in 1585 in a gou-

ache drawing that was in the collection of E. Douwes in Amsterdam in 1969.⁴

The Lehman drawing and the two early drawings of 1567 and 1568 depict the protagonists in an identical fashion in a similar compositional setting: in front of a group of houses on a high plateau in the left foreground, with a gnarled tree at the center, a view of a town below to the right, and mountains along the distant horizon. This drawing is much bolder, harsher, and less refined in execution than any drawing by Hans Bol, however. It is probably either a copy of a now lost version by Bol or a pastiche of several drawings.

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NOTES:

1. Art Institute of Chicago, 22.3705; Franz 1965, pl. 40, fig. 38.
2. Museum der bildenden Künste, 1.414; *ibid.*, pl. 41, fig. 39.
3. Albertina, 7902; Benesch 1928, no. 233. For the series, see Hollstein 1949–, vol. 3, p. 54, nos. 232–48.
4. According to a note in the Albertina files.

Gillis van Coninxloo

Antwerp 1544–Amsterdam 1607

In his views of nature Gillis van Coninxloo combined the elements of a wooded landscape in an imaginary and inventive fashion in compositional patterns characterized by densely foliated foregrounds, double perspectives, and deep vistas. Although Coninxloo was not the first Netherlandish artist to depict the interiors of forests, he was certainly one of the most significant.¹ Karel van Mander praised his landscapes and noted his influence. Both Dutch and Flemish landscape painting, however different in their subsequent development, benefited greatly from his concepts.

Style of Gillis van Coninxloo

31. Wooded Landscape

1975.I.828

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and blue ink and washes in the same colors. 195 x 298 mm. Annotated in pencil on the verso in an old hand: *Tobias Verhaecht*.

PROVENANCE: [Delius Giese, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1948.¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1948b, no. 2 (as Jan van Coninxloo); New York 1978–79, no. 9, ill. (as Gillis van Coninxloo); New York 1979 (as Gillis van Coninxloo); New York 1987 (as Gillis van Coninxloo); Evanston 1988, no. 17, ill. (as Gillis van Coninxloo III); New York 1991 (as style of Jan van Coninxloo).

The use of pen and ink and colored washes in this wooded landscape and certain aspects of the composition – the distant vista and the trees placed to one side as a repoussoir device and at the center to create a double

NOTE:

1. The long and widely held view that Coninxloo was the first to depict such scenes has now been largely discredited (see Gerszi 1976, Hanschke 1988, and Cologne–Antwerp–Vienna 1992–93). Hans Bol and Lucas van Valckenborch created wooded interiors in the 1570s, Paul Bril and Jan Brueghel in the early 1590s, all well before Coninxloo's first dated painting of 1598 in the Liechtensteinische Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Vaduz. On Coninxloo's drawings, see Wegner 1967.

perspective – reflect ideas of Gillis van Coninxloo. But the simplicity of the execution and the additive relationship of forms indicate that the drawing is a work by one of the numerous artists strongly influenced by him. Similar in execution and in some motifs, although probably not by the same hand, is a drawing of a wooded landscape in the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden.²

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NOTES:

1. Delius invoice of 15 March 1948, Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. Kupferstich-Kabinett, C976; Gerszi 1976, p. 228, fig. 29 (as follower of G. van Coninxloo[?]).



No. 31



No. 32

Joos van Liere

Brussels(?) before 1520—Zwijndrecht 1583

Praised by Karel van Mander as a landscape painter in oil and watercolor and also as a designer of tapestries, Joos van Liere may very well be the Master of the Small Landscapes, one of the most talented landscapists of the mid-sixteenth century. Ironically, only a few signed drawings and prints by Van Liere are known, all of which are

wooded scenes with distant vistas quite different from the eponymous “small landscapes,” a series of forty-four prints first published by Hieronymous Cock in two sets in 1559 and 1561. Those more straightforward views of villages and pastures probably are early works, deriving from the tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder.

Copy after Joos van Liere (Master of the Small Landscapes)

32. Travelers at a Village

1975.1.824

Pen and brown ink, gray wash. 153 x 210 mm.

Laid down. Annotated in the bottom left corner: *HBol* (*H* and *B* in monogram).

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 1, ill. (as Ferdinand Bol); New York 1987 (as Bol); Evanston 1988, no. 26, ill. (as Bol[?]); New York 1991 (as a copy after Joos van Liere).

This village with two travelers has been copied freely from a drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 32.1), by an artist known as the Master of the Small Landscapes.¹ The copyist, who was not particularly sure of himself as a draftsman, altered details and added the figures and the fowl in the foreground.

The drawing in Berlin is one of a series of forty-four published by Hieronymous Cock in two sets of prints, fourteen in 1559 and thirty in 1561. The Berlin drawing was reproduced in reverse as the fourth print of the second set, *Proediorum villarum et rusticorum icones . . .*² Cock did not mention the name of the draftsman, either in those first two books or in the second edition of the second set that he produced in 1561, but the title page of a third edition of the entire series that Theodoor Galle published in 1601 names Cornelis Cort as the artist, and the copies Claes Jansz. Visscher published in 1613 cite Pieter Bruegel as the author.³ Neither of these attributions is acceptable. I proposed in 1979 that the Master of the Small Landscapes might be Joos van Liere, who was probably born in Brussels, was active in Antwerp and Frankenthal, and died in Zwijndrecht in 1583.⁴ Liess rejected this identification and attributed the drawings to Pieter Bruegel the Elder and other artists.⁵ Mielke, on the other hand, accepted the proposal.⁶

The drawing probably dates from the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its



Fig. 32.1 Joos van Liere (Master of the Small Landscapes), *A Village*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kdz 719. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

style makes the attribution to Hans Bol written on the drawing in a later hand understandable without justifying it.

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NOTES:

1. Bock and Rosenberg 1931, p. 21, pl. 19; Berlin 1975, no. 186.
2. Van Bastelaer 1908, no. 37.
3. For the series of prints and their editions, see *ibid.*, pp. 35–38, ill.; Franz 1969, vol. 1, pp. 216–21, 330; and Berlin 1975, pp. 139, 140.
4. Haverkamp-Begemann 1979.
5. Liess 1979–82, part 1, pp. 94–96, fig. 43. Liess placed the Berlin drawing in a group that according to him was made by a follower of Pieter Bruegel, possibly Cornelis Cort.
6. Mielke 1986, pp. 84–88.

Bartholomeus Spranger

Antwerp 1546–Prague 1611

The elongated figure types, artificial poses, and complex compositions Bartholomeus Spranger created were much admired and were eventually taken up by his Dutch contemporaries Karel van Mander, Cornelis Cornelisz, and particularly Hendrick Goltzius, who engraved many of Spranger's drawings. Spranger established his *maniera* between about 1565 and 1575. During those years he was working in Paris, Milan, Parma,

and especially Rome. While he was in Rome he enjoyed the patronage first of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and later of Pope Pius V. From 1575 he worked in Vienna for Emperor Maximilian II and from 1580 in Prague for Rudolf II.

In addition to paintings and drawings of mythological, allegorical, and religious subjects, Spranger produced sculptures and designs for the applied arts.

Bartholomeus Spranger

33. Venus and Amor

1975.I.844

Pen and brown ink, light and dark brown and gray wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized); traced for transfer. 194 x 135 mm.

Laid down; two horizontal folds, one toward the top and the other through the center.

PROVENANCE: Adolf Klein, Frankfurt am Main (Lugt 2786b on the recto); sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 21 November 1929, lot 67.

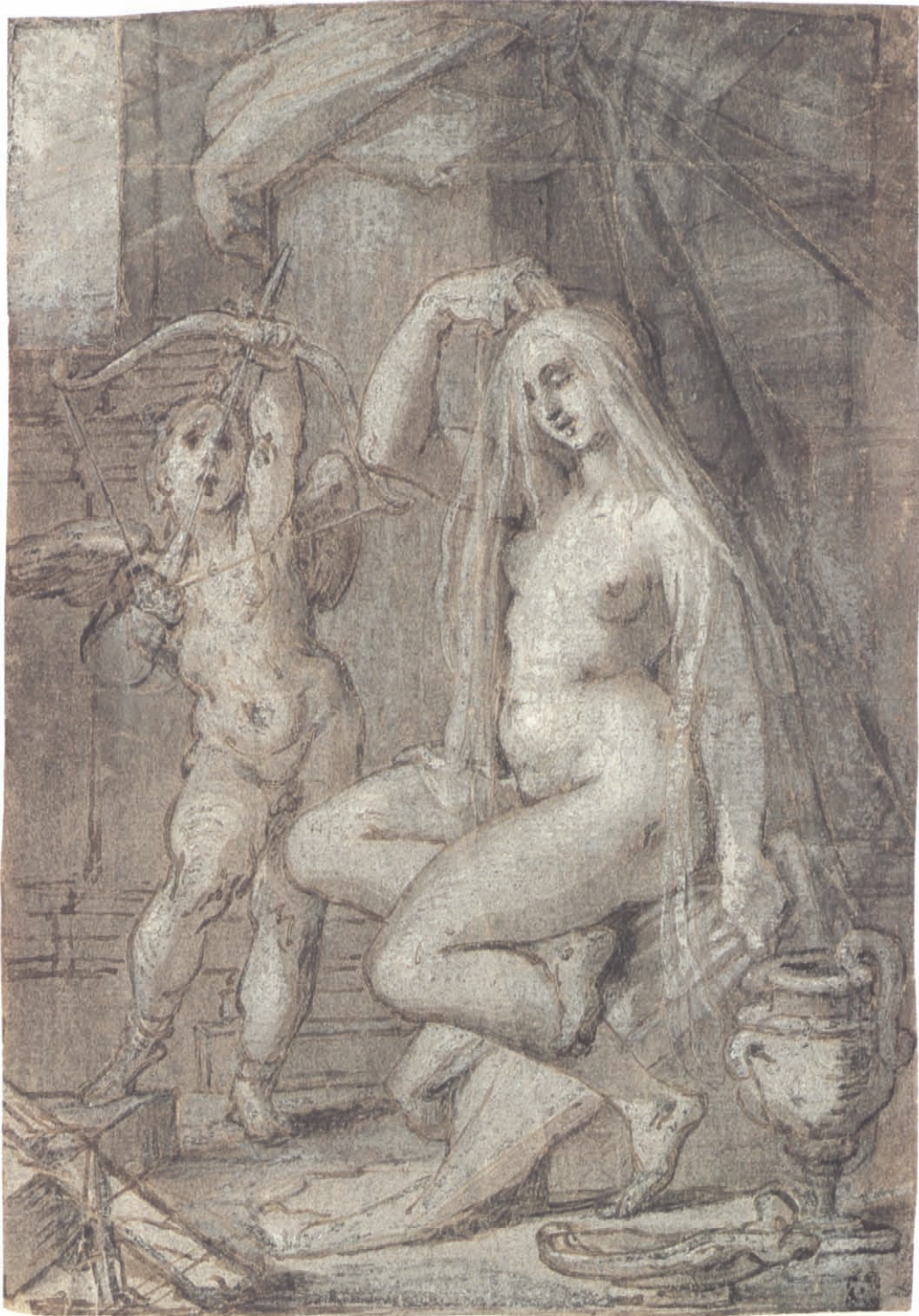
EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1978–79, no. 10, ill.; Princeton–Washington, D.C.–Pittsburgh 1982–83, no. 50, ill.; New York 1988b; New York 1989; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Swarzenski and Schilling 1924, no. 29, ill.; Baldass 1925; Niederstein 1931, pp. 3, 8, 24, no. 9; Oberhuber 1958, pp. 184, 185, 250, no. 25, pp. 286, 287, under nos. 58, 60; Limouze 1990, p. 226, n. 33; Metzler 1997, pp. 214–16, no. A42.

Bartholomeus Spranger probably intended so complete and highly finished a drawing, which has much the character of a chiaroscuro woodcut, as an autonomous work. Not only is Amor right-handed, but Aegidius Sadeler engraved the drawing in the same direction (Fig. 33.1).¹ It can be compared, particularly in its execution, with Spranger's *Penitent Magdalen* in the *Musées des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie*, Besançon.² As Reznicek supposed, Hendrick Goltzius used the Besançon drawing as a model for his engraving of 1585. Both drawings therefore probably date from 1585 or somewhat earlier.³ The drawing,



Fig. 33.1 Aegidius Sadeler, after Bartholomeus Spranger. *Venus and Amor*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 1975.I.845



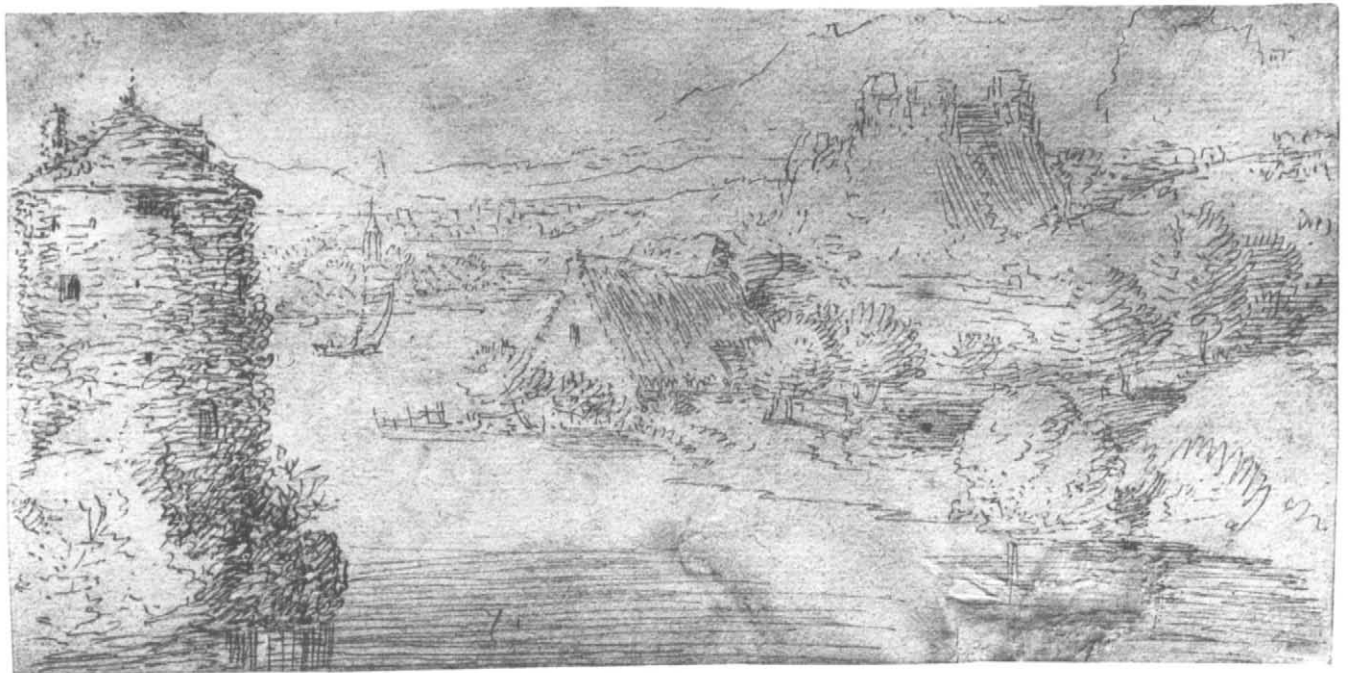
Nó. 33

or more likely the print, enjoyed a certain popularity, to judge by early repetitions of the motif in various media.⁴

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NOTES:

1. Hollstein 1949- , vol. 21, no. 112. Sadeler probably used an intermediary drawing, now lost. The engraving by Hieronymus Lederer, previously thought to be after Spranger's drawing, differs in many details; as Baldass suggested in 1925, it is probably a free copy after Sadeler's print.
2. Musées des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, D.282; Reznicek 1961, pp. 68, 69, 154, fig. A12; Washington, D.C.—New York 1986–87, no. 107, ill.
3. On the basis of its similarity to Goltzius' *Feast of the Gods*, Niederstein dated the Lehman drawing about 1587. Oberhuber, on the other hand, followed by Kaufmann (in Princeton–Washington, D.C.—Pittsburgh 1982–83, no. 50), placed it later, about 1601. Yet although it is true that Sadeler frequently engraved Spranger's designs after 1597, when he was appointed engraver to Rudolf II, and that the figure of Venus resembles those Spranger created about 1600, these factors do not preclude an earlier date for the Lehman drawing. Metzler dated the drawing to about 1590, partly because of the similarities between the figure of Venus and that of Ceres in Spranger's painting *Allegory of the Reign of Rudolf II* of 1592 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).
4. Metzler (1997, p. 216) lists as copies of the drawing a black chalk drawing (250 x 200 mm) sold at Rittershofer, Berlin, 18 October 1960, lot 726; a gold-plated punched brass plate (117 x 90 mm) in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, that represents the main figure with variations; and a print (190 x 245 mm; ex coll. Gluentein [Lugt 123], according to Metzler with Pace Prints, New York) that depicts the figures in an extensive landscape.



No. 34

Jaques Saverij

Courtrai (Kortrijk) ca. 1565–Amsterdam 1603

Among the many artists who fled the Southern Netherlands in the 1580s to escape Spanish domination, Jaques Saverij was most instrumental in introducing the legacy of Pieter Bruegel the Elder to the North. A pupil of Hans Bol, probably in Antwerp, Saverij adapted the concepts

of his teacher to his own landscape drawings. He later made drawings that imitated Pieter Bruegel's style so successfully that they were until recently thought to be by Bruegel himself. Saverij also painted miniatures in gouache.

Jaques Saverij

34. River Landscape

1975.I.827

Pen and brown ink; 100 x 203 mm.

Minor tears at the right bottom border.

PROVENANCE: Dr. Fröhlich, Vienna; LeRoy M. Backus, Seattle.

EXHIBITED: New York 1948a, no. 30, ill. (as Pieter Bruegel the Elder); Paris 1957, no. 88 (as attributed to Bruegel); Cincinnati 1959, no. 241, ill. (as Bruegel); New York 1978–79, no. 7, ill. (as attributed to Bruegel); New York 1979 (as attributed to Bruegel); New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 15, ill. (as attributed to Bruegel); New York 1991 (as Jaques Saverij).

LITERATURE: Tietze 1947, pp. 88–89, no. 44, ill. (as Bruegel); De Tolnay 1952, p. 89, no. A16 (as probably Jacob Savery); Münz 1961, p. 232, under no. A12 (as related to Jaques Saverij); De Tolnay 1969, p. 62, n. 5 (as not surely Bruegel).

This drawing of a castle tower overlooking a panoramic landscape with a winding river, buildings, and distant mountains belongs to the tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's mountain landscapes of 1559–61. Friedländer¹ and Tietze attributed the drawing to Bruegel himself, but Tolnay in 1952 and Münz in 1961 realized that this drawing and a group of similar ones are closely related to works by Jaques Saverij. This attribution was confirmed by Zwollo and Mielke, who noted the drawings' similarity in both subject matter and style to etchings by Saverij.² The drawings, probably dating from about 1600 and therefore from the last years of Saverij's life, are more loosely modeled than is compatible with

Bruegel's more precise yet feathery style. And the abrupt spatial transition caused by the disparity in scale of the landscape elements is a radicalized interpretation of Bruegel's smoother recessions into space.

The drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection is among the more sketchy in the group. It is closest in style to two drawings in private collections in Munich and Zurich³ and one in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.⁴ Mielke suggested that such drawings in the style of Pieter Bruegel were made as deliberate forgeries.⁵ But these adaptations of Bruegel's concepts are more accurately interpreted as expressions of admiration, part of a turn-of-the-century phenomenon that saw artists reviving Bruegel's, and also Albrecht Dürer's, style in a display of virtuoso technique.⁶

EHB

NOTES:

1. According to Tietze 1947, p. 88.
2. Zwollo 1979; Mielke 1986 (neither of them mentions the Lehman drawing).
3. Zwollo 1979, pp. 208, 209, fig. 15. According to Zwollo, the drawings were formerly in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck.
4. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (as in the style of Pieter Bruegel the Elder); *ibid.*, p. 208, fig. 12.
5. Mielke 1986, p. 81.
6. Held 1931; Reznicek 1961, pp. 113–15.

THE SOUTHERN
NETHERLANDS

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Flanders

1604(?)

35. Tervueren Castle

1975.1.826

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, over traces of black chalk. On the verso, in pen and brown ink, studies of five figures standing near a tree, and some mathematical calculations. 133 x 200 mm. Annotated or inscribed on the recto at the bottom in pen and brown ink: "Ick Jorden[?] Lef [or Les?] . . . vereere[?] dit Spaens . . . / aanden ghedachtenis" (I Jorden[?] Lef [or Les?] . . . dedicate[?] this Spanish . . . to memory),¹ and, possibly in a different hand: "Anno 1604 30 Julius," the writing later partially obliterated by the embankment added in the foreground, over the water of the moat.

Inlaid.

PROVENANCE: Wladimir Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukoff, Paris (Lugt 2602d on the verso); Argoutinsky sale, R. W. P. de Vries, Amsterdam, 27 March 1925, lot 68, pl. 8 (as Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 1562); sale, M. N. collection, The Hague, and various other Dutch private collections, *Arti et Amicitiae* (directed by Bernard Houthakker and F. W. H. Hollstein), Amsterdam, 21 February 1939, lot 15, ill. (as Bruegel, 1564).

EXHIBITED: Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 240, ill. (as Bruegel); New Haven 1960, p. 154, no. 158, ill. (as Bruegel, 1564); New York 1964, p. 30; New York 1978–79, no. 6, ill. (as attributed to Bruegel); New York 1987 (as attributed to Bruegel); Evanston 1988, no. 14, ill. (as attributed to Bruegel); New York 1991 (as circle of Hendrik Hondius I).

LITERATURE: Lugt 1956, p. 376, under no. 2602d; Frankfurter 1960, p. 46 ill. (as Bruegel); Paris–Antwerp–London–New York 1979–80, pp. 37–38, under no. 6 (as in the Bruegel tradition); Kloek, Niemeijer, and Van der Wyck 1989–90, vol. 2, p. 102, n. 32 (as circle of Jaques Saverij?); Stampfle 1991, p. 47, under no. 77, fig. 57 (as anonymous); Orenstein 1992, p. 493, under no. D19.

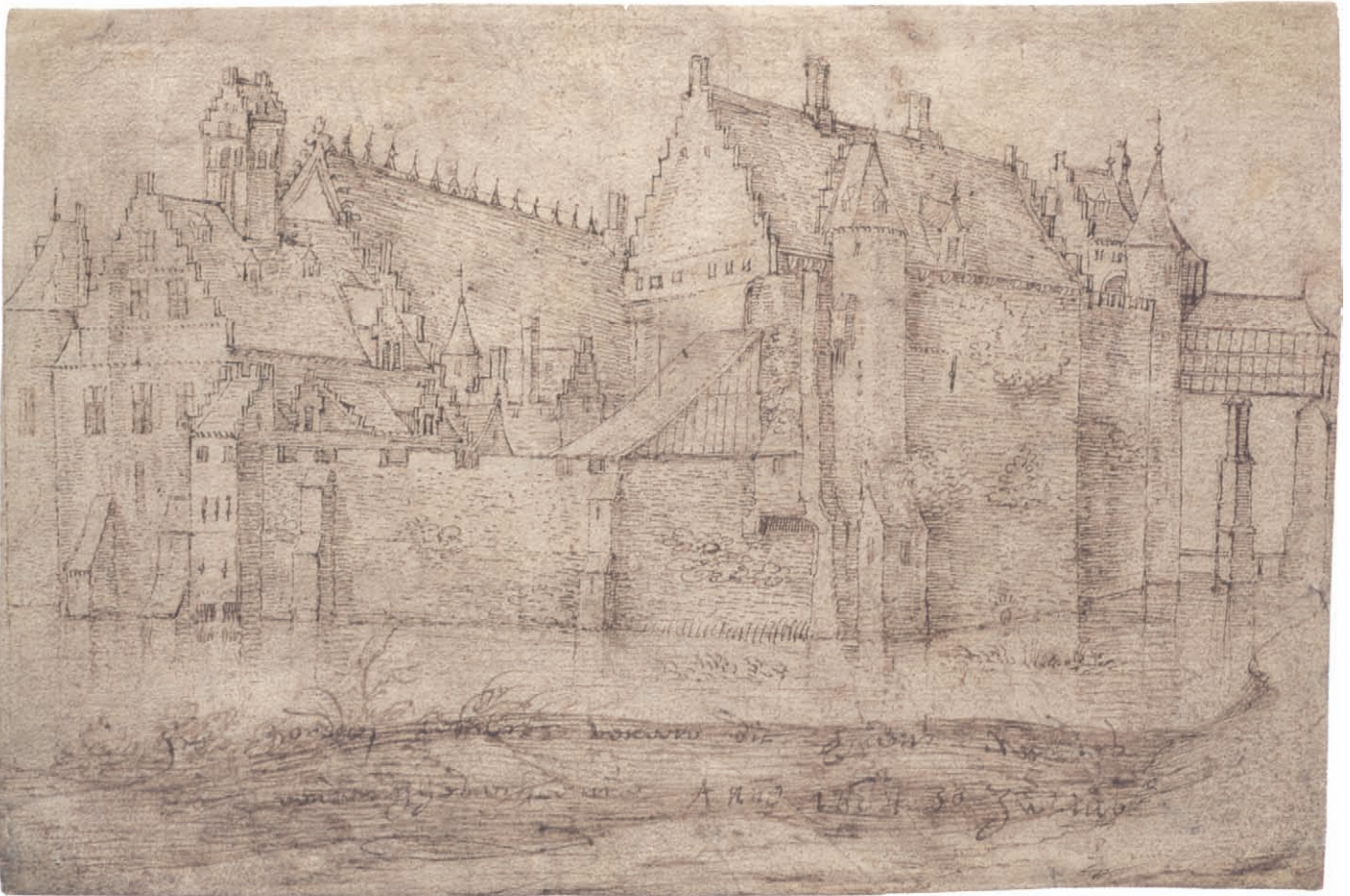
This view of a fortified castle with rounded towers, steeply pitched roofs, crenellations, and pointed spires bears two lines of almost illegible text that can only be partially deciphered. No artist by the name of Jorden Lef[] or Les[] is known, and the date, 30 July 1604, may have been added by another hand.² Around the turn of the century many artists were working in styles that emulated those of earlier masters like Albrecht Dürer, Lucas van Leyden, and Pieter Bruegel the Elder.³ Jan Brueghel the Elder and Jaques and Roeland Saverij, for example, are known to have adopted the manner of Pieter Bruegel.⁴ This drawing cannot be securely attributed to any of them, however. The drawing can be iden-

tified only as an example of the Flemish interest about 1600 in topographical views executed in a rather free, naturalistic manner, an approach that must have influenced Dutch landscape artists like Claes Jansz. Visscher.⁵ The verso, drawn in slightly darker ink, is probably by a different hand.

The subject of the drawing is much easier to name than its author. In 1567 Lodovico Guicciardini wrote in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altramenti detti Germania Inferiore*, that the town of Vueren, "situated at the entrance of the Bois de Soignes two miles from Brussels and two from Louvain, [had] a very beautiful castle where the dukes of Brabant frequently [liked] to come and stay because of the comfortable opportunities for hunting."⁶ This drawing is a depiction of Tervueren Castle, one of the main châteaux of Brabant, which is today part of Belgium. Previously the seat of the dukes of Brabant, Tervueren had by the start of the seventeenth century become one of the primary residences of Archduke Albert, sovereign ruler on behalf of Philip II in the Spanish Netherlands, and his wife, Isabella. Under the rule of the Spanish regents, it was used to house numerous fine paintings, forming a collection which later greatly enhanced the holdings of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁷ The castle was razed in 1781.⁸



Fig. 35.1 Bernaert van Orley and workshop, *The Month of January: Capturing the Wild Boar*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 20, 158. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux



No. 35

Not surprisingly in view of its size, distinction, and location, Tervueren was often represented in art. It appears for the first time in the background of *The Month of January*, one of the twelve tapestries in the Hunts of Maximilian series (Louvre, Paris), which were woven in Brussels after designs by Bernaert van Orley in 1531–33, and in the corresponding design for the tapestry, also in the Louvre (Fig. 35.1).⁹ Almost a century later, in 1616–17, Jan Brueghel made Tervueren the backdrop for Rubens's portrait of Archduke Albert (Prado, Madrid; Fig. 35.2). (The pendant portrait of the archduchess Isabella, made at the same time and also now in the Prado, depicts her against the couple's summer residence, Mariemont.)¹⁰ Tervueren appears as well in Brueghel's *Allegory of Taste* (Prado), one of a series of allegories of the senses on which he and Rubens collaborated.¹¹

Tervueren was also the subject of at least five other drawings and one print. Two of the drawings depict the castle from the same viewpoint as the Lehman sheet. One, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fig. 35.3), is signed and dated 1605 by Hendrik Hondius and is executed in pen and ink and watercolor in the fine, precise manner that characterizes his drawings.¹² The other, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 35.4), is in pen and brown ink and blue wash and is not dated or signed (the *HSB* monogram was added later).¹³ None of the three drawings appears to have been done from nature, and none is clearly based on any of the others. It is likely that all three are copies of the same prototype, which may have been made in the Bruegel tradition about 1600, or possibly as late as 1604, the date on the Lehman drawing.¹⁴

Two other drawings, one in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam,¹⁵ and the other formerly



No. 35, verso



Fig. 35.2 Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel, *Archduke Albert*. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

with the dealer Bernard Houthakker in Amsterdam,¹⁶ represent Tervueren from a greater distance and from a point farther to the left than the drawings of the Lehman type, and they show more buildings on the left but fewer to the right. A third drawing, in a private collection in New York (in 1963 at Colnaghi's in London, where it was attributed to Jan Brueghel the Elder), presents a modified panoramic view of the castle, combin-

ing some buildings, among them the crested roof as seen from the left, with the buildings in the courtyard seen from the right as in the Lehman drawing.¹⁷ The depictions of Tervueren in a print in Jacques Le Roy's *Castella et praetoria nobilium Brabantiae*, which was published in Leiden in 1699,¹⁸ and in a drawing dated 1752 that was sold at Sotheby Mak van Waay's in Amsterdam in 1987 combine fantasy and reality.¹⁹

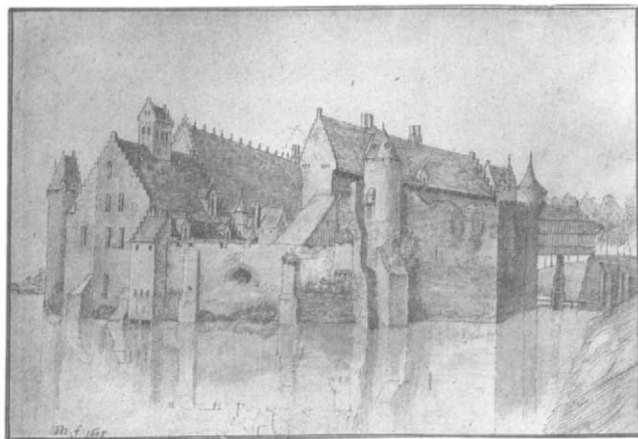


Fig. 35.3 Hendrik Hondius I, *Tervueren Castle*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1978.40



Fig. 35.4 Manner of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Tervueren Castle*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

On the evidence of these works, it seems that between about 1531–33, when Van Orley made his tapestry design (Fig. 35.1), and about 1604–5, when the Lehman drawing and its counterparts (Figs. 35.3, 35.4) were made, the walled courtyardlike space in Tervueren between the high, crested roof and the footbridge on the far right was filled with buildings. Sometime after 1605, the double-chimneyed building on the right and the adjacent smaller structures were razed; in the Rotterdam and Houthakker drawings they are gone and the courtyard is planted with trees. To judge by the painted view in Archduke Albert's portrait (Fig. 35.2), sometime before 1616–17 the open courtyard was again filled, this time with lavish new buildings.²⁰

EHB

NOTES:

- Stampfle's reading (in Paris–Antwerp–London–New York 1979–80, p. 38; Stampfle 1991, p. 47) of the fourth word as *vueren* is not convincing.
- Undoubtedly influenced by the knowledge that Bruegel died in 1569, the authors of the catalogues of the Argoutinsky sale in 1925 and the sale at Arti's at Amsterdam in 1939 read the date on the drawing, which may have been added by someone other than the draftsman, as 1562 and 1564, respectively, and in New Haven 1960 the date was also given as 1564. Held was the first to read the date correctly as 1604 (note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, cited in Evanston 1988, no. 14).
- Held 1931; Reznicek 1961, p. 54; Spicer-Durham 1979.
- On Jaques Saverij, see Zwollo 1979; on Roeland Saverij, see Spicer-Durham 1979, chap. 4; and see Mielke 1986.
- As pointed out by Kloek, Niemeijer, and Van der Wyck 1989–90, vol. 2, pp. 80–82.
- Guicciardini (1567) 1612, p. 122.
- On Tervueren as the home of part of the collections of Albert and Isabella, see De Maeyer 1955.
- Seyn [1950], pp. 1296–97, cited in Paris–Antwerp–London–New York 1979–80, p. 37, and Stampfle 1991, p. 47. The site is now occupied by the Royal Central African Museum.
- Lugt 1968, no. 188, pl. 91; Ainsworth 1982, pp. 80–82, ill.; Balis et al. 1993, pp. 60–76, fig. 55. As Ainsworth and Balis (p. 65) suggested, although the design is certainly by Van Orley, the drawing was probably made in his studio (according to Balis under his supervision and perhaps with his cooperation) after a lost earlier version. The panorama of Brussels, the buildings on the Coudenberg, the monasteries of Groenendael and Rooklooster, and various royal hunting grounds appear in the backgrounds of other tapestries in the series. Jean II Tons (ca. 1500–after 1569/70; see Balis et al. 1993, pp. 72–74) may have drawn the landscapes, including Tervueren, and also the animals, for the tapestries.
- Prado, inv. 1683, 1684; Ertz 1979, nos. 309, 310, ill.
- Prado, inv. 1397; *ibid.*, no. 330, figs. 405, 422 (detail of Tervueren), and see also pp. 338–40, 352 (a discussion of the role of the residences as background motifs).
- Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978.40 (pen and brown ink and blue, gray green, and pink watercolor, over traces of black chalk, 147 x 223 mm; signed and dated: *Hb f. 1605*); Paris–Antwerp–London–New York 1979–80, no. 6, ill.; Stampfle 1991, no. 77, ill.; Orenstein 1992, pp. 71, 493, no. D19, fig. 217. Hondius used the Morgan drawing for part of a print dated 1612 that appeared in Marolois's *Perspective* in 1614 and later editions (Orenstein 1994, no. 55, ill.).
- Kupferstichkabinett, 4527 (pen and brown ink and blue wash, 195 x 276 mm); Bock and Rosenberg 1931, p. 23 (as manner of Pieter Bruegel the Elder); Stampfle 1991, fig. 58. One wonders if Sebald Beham's monogram could be a fallacious substitution for Hondius's, as both contain a capital *H* and a smaller letter, *s* and *h* respectively.

14. Schapelhouman (1987, p. 54, under no. 34) first suggested that the Berlin sheet may be a copy, and Orenstein (1992, p. 493, under no. D19) was the first to propose that it and the Lehman drawing may be based on the same prototype.
15. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, H91 (pen and brown ink, blue wash, 250 x 387 mm); Stampfle 1991, p. 47, fig. 56; Orenstein 1992, p. 493, under no. D19. The Houthakker drawing (see note 16 below) may be a copy of the one in Rotterdam (rather than the other way around, as Orenstein suggested), or both may be after the same prototype.
16. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 7 July 1966, lot 31 (as Hendrik Hondius); Amsterdam 1968a, no. 9 (as Jan Brueghel the Elder); Winner 1972, p. 150, fig. 29 (as Jan Brueghel the Elder); Paris–Antwerp–London–New York 1979–80, under no. 6 (as “showing the château from the opposite direction”); Stampfle 1991, p. 47, fig. 55; sale, Sotheby's, New York, 29 January 1997, no. 205 (as Flemish). This drawing, done in pen and brown ink and gray wash with touches of red chalk (the gray washes probably added later) and measuring 179 by 258 millimeters, comes from the same album as the view of Tervueren by Hondius in the Morgan Library (see note 12 above).
17. London 1963, no. 27, pl. 4 (pen, brown ink, and watercolor; as Jan Brueghel the Elder, *A Castle in a Lake*). Stampfle (in Paris–Antwerp–London–New York 1979–80, p. 38, and Stampfle 1991, p. 47, fig. 59) identified the drawing as a view of Tervueren.
18. Stampfle 1991, pp. 47–48, fig. 60.
19. Sale, Sotheby Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, 2 November 1987, lot 126; Stampfle 1991, p. 48, fig. 61.
20. On Tervueren Castle, see De Jonge in Balis et al. 1993, pp. 80–101, ill.

Justus Sustermans

Antwerp 1597–Florence 1681

As the favored portraitist to three generations of the Medici, Justus Sustermans (or Suttermans) dominated Florentine portraiture for fifty years after his move to Italy in 1620. He was a pupil of Frans Pourbus the

Younger and was on familiar terms with Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. His drawings, little studied until recently, are mainly bold, free sketches of figures done in chalk in preparation for his painted portraits.

Circle of Justus Sustermans

36. Portrait of a Florentine Lady

1975.I.842

Black and red chalk, brush and grayish brown and gray washes, touches of brush in black ink. 357 x 213 mm.

Irregularly cut out at the left and laid down.

PROVENANCE: George Guy, fourth earl of Warwick, Warwick (Lugt 2600 on the recto); [P. and D. Colnaghi, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979–80, no. 64, ill. (as Frans Pourbus the Younger); New York 1988b; New York 1991 (as circle of Justus Sustermans).

This study of a standing woman belongs to the tradition of court portraiture established by Northern artists such as Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, Frans Pourbus the Younger, and Anthony van Dyck, all three of whom,

like Justus Sustermans, worked abroad. The type and pose of the figure as well as her Florentine dress suggest an attribution to Sustermans, and there are general similarities between the drawing and some of Sustermans' paintings, such as the *Portrait of Caterina di Ferdinando I* (late 1620s; Uffizi, Florence).¹ The drawings that are firmly attributed to Sustermans, however, tend to be less finished than this standing figure. He often made freely executed studies of poses or drapery in chalk on prepared paper with white heightening, and he studied the physiognomies of the sitters separately.² This drawing may be a copy of a portrait by Sustermans or by someone in his circle.

EHB



No. 36

NOTES:

1. Langedijk 1981-87, vol. 1, p. 343, no. 8.
2. In her discussion of Sustermans' drawings in collections outside Florence, Goldenberg Stoppato (in Florence 1983,

pp. 66-69, nos. 41-51) defines this aspect of his working method. For a list of Sustermans' drawings in the Uffizi, see Kloek 1975a, nos. 562-613.

Peter Paul Rubens

Siegen 1577–Antwerp 1640

Learned humanist, skilled diplomat and businessman, and, above all, gifted painter and draftsman, Peter Paul Rubens worked in the courts of many of Europe's capitals: Brussels, Mantua, Genoa, Madrid, Paris, and London. He developed a vigorous and expressive manner based principally on his interpretation of the traditions of his Flemish predecessors and teachers, Italian Baroque and High Renaissance artists, and classical sculptors, evolving a style that swept northern Europe. As the head of a studio, he collaborated with his contemporaries and instructed a new generation, most notably Anthony van Dyck. His oeuvre includes monumental ecclesiasti-

cal commissions, for example the triptychs *The Raising of the Cross* (1609–10) and *The Descent from the Cross* (1610–11) in the Antwerp cathedral, as well as religious and mythological works, portraits, and landscapes for private patrons. His particular skill with religious subjects earned him the title of Counter-Reformation painter par excellence.

Following Italian as well as Flemish models, Rubens made extensive use of the medium of drawing for many purposes, among them copying older works of art and sketching motifs from nature. His oil sketches on panel combine the qualities of drawing and painting.

Peter Paul Rubens

37. Bust of Pseudo-Seneca

1975.I.843

Pen and various shades of brown ink, over black chalk, heightened with white in the mouth and beard, touched with brush and gray ink. 265 x 177 mm.

Traced for transfer; mounted; patches in the hair and above the left eye scratched out; irregularly cut out and made up.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat, Paris; L. D. Lempereur, Paris (Lugt 1740 on the recto); Lempereur sale, Joullain/Boilleau, Paris, 24 May–24 June 1773, lot 305 (with *Nero* and two other drawings, to Basan); Henri Duval, Liège; Duval sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, 22–23 June 1910, lot 336 (with lot 335 [*Nero*]); [Richard Ederheimer, New York].¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1942, no. 28; Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1956, no. 13, pl. 17 (as ca. 1615); Paris 1957, no. 125, pl. 63 (as ca. 1615); Cincinnati 1959, no. 243, ill.; New York 1964, p. 26; Washington, D.C., and other cities 1973–75 (New York only; not in catalogue); Los Angeles 1976, no. 216 (as ca. 1615); Antwerp 1977, no. 158, ill.; New York 1979, no. 65, ill. (as before 1638); New York 1985–86; New York 1989.

LITERATURE: Chennevières and Montaiglon 1851–60, vol. 5, p. 118; Mongan and Sachs 1940, pp. 251, 252, under no. 485; Goris and Held 1947, p. 43, no. 111, pl. 101; Antwerp 1956, pp. 87, 88, under no. 99; Held 1956, p. 123 (as a preliminary sketch by Rubens, with penwork by an assistant[?]); Rosenberg 1956, p. 142 (as not by Rubens[?]); Jaffé 1957, p. 432; London 1961a, under no. 1; Miesel 1963, p. 313; Pérez Sánchez 1964, p. 11, pl. 3; Stechow 1968, pp. 30, 35, 36; Kuznetsov 1974, pl. 149; Renger 1974, p. 165, n. 121;

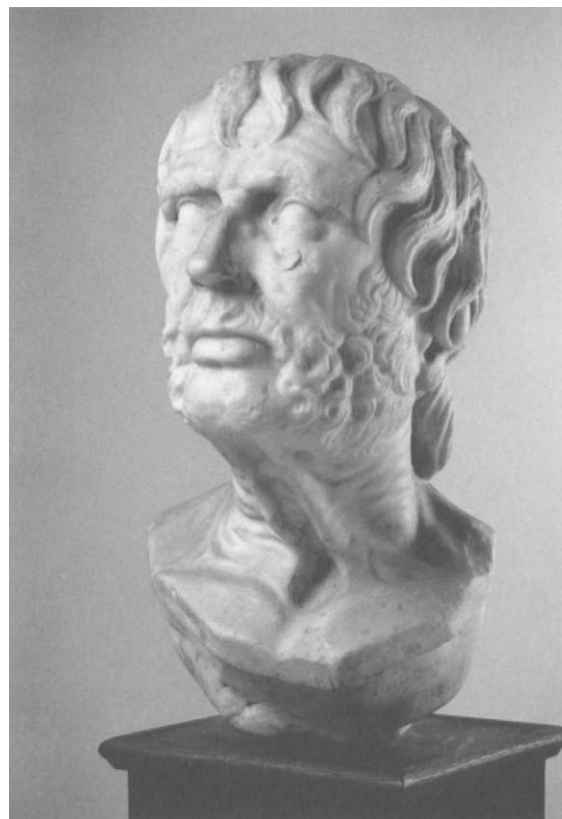


Fig. 37.1 First century A.D., *Pseudo-Seneca*. Rubenshuis, Antwerp, B.37



No. 37

Szabo 1975, p. 104, pl. 183; Baudouin 1977, pp. 322, 323, fig. 163; Jaffé 1977, pp. 83, 117, n. 66; Logan 1977, p. 409 (as probably by Rubens, with penwork perhaps added by an assistant); Rome 1977, pp. 80, 81, under no. 150; Zijlstra-Zweens 1977, p. 205, fig. 3; Logan 1978, p. 431 (as not by Rubens); Paris 1978, p. 59, under no. 50; Logan 1980, p. 58; Tijs 1984, p. 71, ill.; Pohlen 1985, p. 281 (as a studio drawing in black chalk redrawn in pen by Rubens); Stampfle 1991, p. 156, under no. 324; Van der Meulen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 146, vol. 2, pp. 115–17, 130, 135, 138, 139, no. 117a, vol. 3, fig. 224; Díaz Padrón 1995, p. 1062.

When he was in Italy from 1600 to 1608, Rubens acquired a marble version (see Figs. 37.1, 37.2) of the celebrated bust then thought to represent the Stoic philosopher, poet, and statesman Seneca (and now thought to be a type that is an imaginary portrait from the second century B.C. of Hesiod or Aristophanes).² He apparently took the bust with him when he returned to Antwerp and may have placed it in his library. It was of fundamental significance for him, and it appears in a number of his works, paintings as well as drawings, and in prints after his designs.³



Fig. 37.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Justus Lipsius and His Students (The Four Philosophers)*. Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photograph: Frans Baudouin, *Pietro Paolo Rubens* (Mercatorfonds, Antwerp, and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1977), pl. 80

The Lehman drawing is a preparatory study after this bust for a print (in reverse) by Lucas Vorsterman and has been traced for that purpose. The print shares characteristics with eleven others after antique busts representing Greek philosophers and Roman generals and emperors: *Democritus*, *Plato*, and *Brutus*, also engraved by Vorsterman; *Sophocles*, *Socrates*, *Hippocrates*, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Nero*, by Paul Pontius; *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, by Hans Witdoeck; and *Julius Caesar*, by Boetius A. Bolswert.⁴ All twelve prints are inscribed “P. P. Rubens delin[eavit] – Ex marmore antiquo” (P. P. Rubens made the design – from an antique marble). The five by Pontius, the two by Witdoeck, and the *Brutus* and *Seneca* by Vorsterman are dated 1638; the other two by Vorsterman and the *Julius Caesar* by Bolswert are undated, but as Bolswert died in 1633, his print must have been completed by then. The sizes of the prints vary somewhat, but their overall similarities and the consistency of their inscriptions, which appear all to be by the same calligrapher, suggest they were intended as a series. It may be that Rubens sought to produce a corpus of antique portraits similar to his unrealized project to publish his collection of antique gems.⁵ The series may originally have been the idea of the French scholar Peiresc, who had suggested in a letter to Rubens in 1621 that his marble busts should be drawn and engraved.⁶ Completed in 1638, it was Rubens’s last archeological project and a major step in seventeenth-century efforts to create an iconography of prominent classical philosophers, military leaders, and statesmen.⁷

P. J. Mariette (1694–1774) described the prints of the Twelve Famous Greek and Roman Men in the eighteenth century, when according to him “most were in the collection of the king.” His perception still holds true: “They are retouched by Rubens in a wonderfully intelligent way. The engravers were quite fortunate to have such a good leader; however skillful they were, they never would have been able by themselves to produce such a great clair-obscur effect.”⁸ Preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are trial proofs of *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, *Scipio Africanus*, *Nero*, and *Seneca* (Fig. 37.3), all reworked by Rubens with black and gray wash and white heightening in so similar a manner that they must have been done about the same time.⁹

Four other preparatory drawings for prints in the series are known: *Julius Caesar* (Louvre, Paris),¹⁰ *Nero* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts),¹¹ *Plato* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Fig. 37.4),¹² and *Brutus* (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg).¹³ The *Julius Cae-*



Fig. 37.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Seneca* (trial proof retouched by Rubens). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

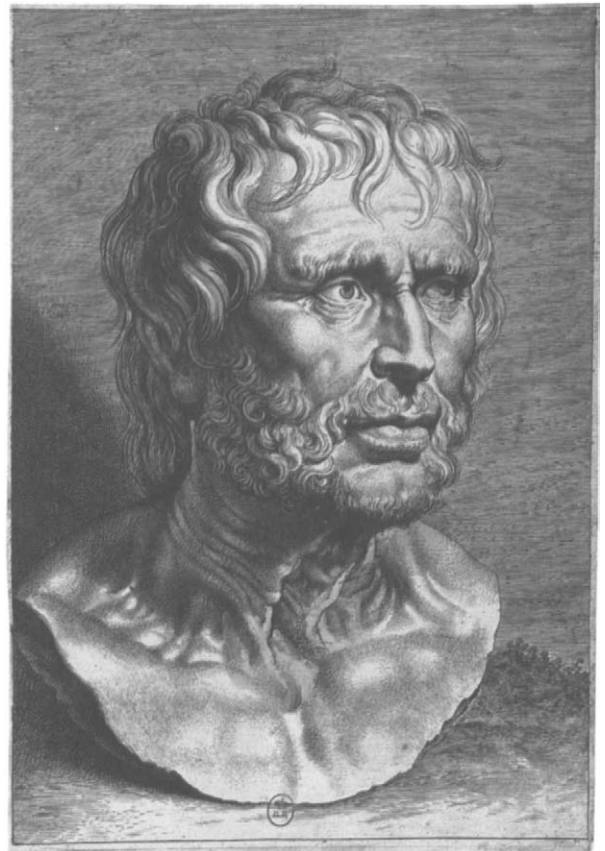


Fig. 37.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Plato*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, III, 161

in Paris for the print by Bolswert was drawn in brush and ink with brown and gray washes and stands apart from the other three, which are, in a general sense, similar in execution to the Lehman drawing and approximately the same size. All except the *Plato* have been traced for the prints. *Nero*, *Plato*, *Brutus*, and *Seneca* were drawn with the pen and brown ink over black chalk, though they differ somewhat in manner of execution as well as in the color of the ink (the *Plato* in the Morgan is a little more grayish brown, the *Seneca* more reddish brown, and in the *Plato* and the *Seneca* certain accents have been made with brush and gray wash).¹⁴ The pen lines range from slowly and deliberately placed, as particularly in the *Brutus*, to boldly and freely sketched, as particularly in the *Seneca*, but all four sheets also contain some areas, like the crosshatchings in the beards and chests, that display a certain hesitancy. The drawings were probably made over a considerable period of time, and different hands may

have been involved.¹⁵ The drawing *Julius Caesar* in the Louvre, like the print after it, dates before 1633, the year of Bolswert's death.¹⁶ If Rubens's bust of *Seneca* was indeed among the antiquities he sold to the duke of Buckingham in 1626, the Lehman drawing would have to have been made before that year.¹⁷ The earlier drawings and plates must have been held aside until 1638, when the other drawings were completed and the series was printed. Sometime before this printing the inscriptions were composed and engraved, probably in, or shortly before, 1638.¹⁸

In 1956 both Rosenberg and Held called into question the authenticity of the penwork in the Lehman and Fogg drawings, claiming it is too detailed to be by Rubens. Held suggested the penwork may be by an assistant and the preliminary sketch in black chalk by Rubens. The infrared reflectography Marjorie Cohn carried out on the drawing in the Fogg appears to support his hypothesis.¹⁹ Unfortunately, too much of the

black chalk underdrawing of the Lehman sheet has been effaced to determine whether or not its graphic qualities confirm Rubens's authorship. The general Rubensian interpretation of the classical busts already apparent in the black chalk underdrawings suggests, however, that Rubens most likely made at least the first sketches himself. One probably can go further. The pen lines in the Lehman drawing, and also in the *Nero* in the Fogg, demonstrate such a deft understanding of form, volume, and details, even to the movement of the hair, and the Lehman drawing, in particular, has such vigor, that without further evidence it would be rash to reject the traditional attribution to Rubens.

Although Rubens designed the series of busts from classical marbles, as the inscriptions on the prints state, he transformed the effigies into images of his own. Mariette understood this perfectly when he described the Lehman drawing and the *Nero* in the Fogg as "drawn with the pen, very firmly, but little or not at all according to the taste of antiquity."²⁰ When the Rubenshuis in Antwerp was rebuilt and restored in 1937–46, it was decided to place a bust of Seneca above the entrance to Rubens's studio, and the replica was modeled on the sculpture as it appears in Rubens's painting *Justus Lipsius and His Students (The Four Philosophers)* in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Fig. 37.2), and in the Lehman drawing.²¹

EHB

NOTES:

1. Rooses (1886–92, vol. 5, pp. 14, 15, under no. 1218), Burchard and D'Hulst (in Antwerp 1956, under no. 99), and Sérullaz (in Paris 1978, no. 50) all mentioned P. J. Mariette's reference (Chennevières and Montaiglon 1851–60, vol. 5, p. 118) to having seen in Pierre Crozat's collection "deux desseins de Rubens pour ces bustes; ils étoient à la plume et dessinés très ferme, mais peu ou point du tout dans le goût antique" (two drawings by Rubens of these busts; they were drawn with the pen, very firmly, but little or not at all according to the taste of antiquity). It was only Van der Meulen (1994–95, vol. 2, pp. 117, 130, 138–39), however, who realized that those drawings must have been the *Seneca* in the Robert Lehman Collection and the *Nero* now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (see note 11 below). She pointed out that although the drawings are not listed separately in the catalogue of the sale of Crozat's drawings (Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741), which Mariette wrote, they both bear the collector's mark of L. D. Lempereur, who according to Lugt (1921, p. 314, under no. 1740) acquired most of his Italian and Netherlandish drawings from Crozat's collection. Lot 305 of the Lempereur sale in 1773 is described in the catalogue as "deux beaux dessins, titres de livres [avec] deux autres à la plume, d'après l'antique" (two beautiful drawings, book title pages [along with] two others in pen, after the antique); all four were sold to Basan. Van der Meulen also established that both drawings had been in the collection of Henri Duval and therefore had remained together until the Duval sale in 1910 (lots 335, 336, described as "Buste de Sénèque. Gravé par L. Vorsterman . . . Cabinet Lempereur" and "Buste de Néron. Gravé par P. Pontius . . . Cabinet-Lempereur"). The incorrect provenance given for the Lehman drawing in the catalogues of the 1956 Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York and the 1957 Paris exhibitions, Van der Meulen (1994–95, p. 139, n. 3) suggests, was probably the result of Lempereur's mark (Lugt 1740) being misread for that of the earl of Warwick (Lugt 2600).
2. Van der Meulen 1975, pp. 17, 18, 154; Muller 1989, p. 151, no. 7, pl. 130; Van der Meulen 1994–95, vol. 1, pp. 142–43, text ill. 82, 83, vol. 2, pp. 135–38, fig. 218. The whereabouts of the sculpture Rubens owned are not known, but there are a number of replicas (see Richter 1965, pp. 58–66, figs. 198–200, with a list of versions). Muller correctly pointed out in 1989 that both the bust in the Ashmolean, Oxford, which Vickers (1977, p. 644) claimed as the one owned by Rubens, and the version in the Rubenshuis, Antwerp, which Baudouin (1955) tentatively and Prinz (1973, pp. 412, 417, fig. 13) assuredly claimed as his, differ from Rubens's design. Whether, as Prinz has postulated, the drawings of this type of Seneca by Jacques de Gheyn (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam) and David Bailly (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) were indeed done from the bust in Rubens's collection is questionable. Casts may have been available. The bust in Jan Brueghel's *Sense of Sight* in the Prado, Madrid (ibid., fig. 16; Van der Meulen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 143, text ill. 84 [detail]), may well have been Rubens's exemplar.
3. See Muller 1989, pp. 45, 46. The importance of the bust of "Seneca" for Rubens and its appearance in various forms throughout his work is best summarized by Van der Meulen (1994–95, vol. 1, pp. 144, 145, vol. 2, pp. 135–38, figs. 218–27). Most notable is Rubens's inclusion of the bust in his painting *Four Philosophers* of 1611–12 (Palazzo Pitti, Florence; ibid., fig. 219 [detail]; Fig. 37.2), where it is seen from the same angle as in the Lehman drawing. The bust was engraved also by Cornelis Galle after another drawing by Rubens for the second edition of Lipsius' *Senecae opera* of 1615 (Judson and Van de Velde 1978, no. 32, fig. 111; Van der Meulen 1994–95, fig. 221). Rubens's lost drawing, reversed in Galle's print, represented the bust from the left rather than the right. The drawing of the bust of Seneca in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (D.83, Gernsheim Corpus 22023; Judson and Van de Velde 1978, no. 32), is a copy after the *Senecae opera* print (or the lost drawing for it); it depicts the bust from a slightly different point of view and is not directly related to the Lehman drawing or the print after it. In addition, Rubens made three small sketches of the bust (British Museum, London; Hind 1915–32, vol. 2, nos. 68, 69, 84;

- Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 2, nos. 121, 122, 181, vol. 3, figs. 237, 239, 356) and incorporated its features in his painting *The Death of Seneca* (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich), based on the so-called *African Fisherman* now in the Louvre, Paris.
4. Voorhelm Schneevoogt 1873, pp. 223-24, *Suites* 25; Rooses 1886-92, vol. 5, nos. 1208-19; Renger 1974, pp. 161-68; Pohlen 1985, pp. 186, 187, 237-43, 276-85, nos. 3, 26-30, 46-51; and now particularly Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 1, pp. 142-52, vol. 2, pp. 115-42, nos. 108-19, ill.
 5. Stechow 1968, pp. 35, 36.
 6. Letter from Peiresc to Rubens, 23 December 1621 (Rooses and Ruelens 1887-1909, vol. 2, p. 319), and see also Peiresc to Girolamo Aléandre, 10 May 1624 (*ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 292), both cited in Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 1, p. 151.
 7. Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 1, pp. 145, 147, 151.
 8. Mariette, quoted in Chennevières and Montaiglon 1851-60, vol. 5, p. 118: "Presque tous sont dans la collection du roy, retouchés de la main de Rubens avec une intelligence merveilleuse. Les graveurs étoient bien heureux d'avoir un si bon conducteur; quelq'habiles qu'ils fussent, ils n'auroient jamais été capables par eux mêmes de leur faire produire un si grand effect de clair obscur."
 9. Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 1, pp. 146-47, vol. 2, p. 116, nos. 110b, 112b, 114b, 116b, 117b (*Seneca*), ill. On the *Seneca* trial proof (Bibliothèque Nationale, CC 34 j réserve, fol. 118, c 10.513), see also Renger 1974, p. 167, fig. 21, and Pohlen 1985, p. 282.
 10. Louvre, 20.225 (brush and brown ink, brown and gray washes, white heightening over black chalk, incised, 261 x 190 mm); Lugt 1949, no. 1085, pl. 51; Paris 1978, no. 50, ill.; Pohlen 1985, p. 186, no. 3; Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 2, no. 109a, fig. 190.
 11. Fogg, 1932.360 (pen and brown ink, brown wash over black chalk, 276 x 197 mm); Mongan and Sachs 1940, pp. 251, 252, no. 485; Cambridge, Massachusetts-New York 1956, no. 27, pl. 17; Pohlen 1985, p. 279, no. 27; Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 2, no. 114a, fig. 208 (as probably Rubens).
 12. Pierpont Morgan Library, III.161 (pen and brush in brown, 257 x 161 mm); Goris and Held 1947, no. A101; Pohlen 1985, p. 279, no. 46; Stampfle 1991, no. 324 (as a copy); Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 2, no. 115a, copy 1, fig. 212 (as a copy of the lost model for the print).
 13. Hermitage, 5461 (black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 257 x 165 mm); Kuznetsov 1965, no. 38, fig. 24; Kuznetsov 1974, pl. 145; Logan 1978, p. 431, under no. 5 (as not Rubens); Pohlen 1985, p. 276, no. 48; Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 2, no. 108a, fig. 188 (as probably Rubens).
 14. According to Pohlen (1985, p. 276), similar accents were made with the brush in brown ink on the drawing of *Brutus* in Saint Petersburg (see note 13 above).
 15. Pohlen dated the *Julius Caesar* in Paris to 1630-33, the *Nero* in Cambridge to shortly before 1638, the *Brutus* in Saint Petersburg to before 1621, and the *Plato* in the Morgan and the Lehman *Seneca* to before 1622 (Pohlen 1985, nos. 3, 27, 46, 48, 49).
 16. The drawing *Julius Caesar* in the Louvre (see note 10 above) was, in my opinion, drawn by an assistant in brush and gray ink and gray wash, then extensively retouched by Rubens with brush and brown ink and white mainly for corrections. Whether the underlying black chalk drawing is by Rubens is difficult to decide. Lugt (1949, under no. 1085) questioned the attribution of the black chalk sketch in this drawing but did not doubt the attribution of the retouches in brush to Rubens.
 17. See Van der Meulen 1975, pp. 19, 20, 83, n. 10; Muller 1989, p. 151; Van der Meulen 1994-95, vol. 2, p. 136. As Van der Meulen notes, a *Seneca* is listed among the sculptures in the 1635 inventory of Buckingham's estate (*ibid.*, vol. 1, app. VII.1, pp. 220-21), and Dubuisson-Aubenay said he saw a head of Seneca in the Buckingham collection in 1627 (Halkin 1930, p. 184).
 18. See Renger 1974, p. 163. Van der Meulen (1994-95, vol. 1, pp. 145-46) adds that the wording of the copyright indicates that the texts were formulated in or after 1635.
 19. In a conversation with the author at the Old Master Drawing Symposium held at Harvard University in the spring of 1985 (also mentioned by Logan 1988, p. 80), Marjorie Cohn said that the black chalk underdrawing, which appeared greatly intensified under infrared light, seemed to be in the hand of Rubens, whereas the overlying closely hatched penwork, which under these conditions seems weaker in comparison, gave the impression of being by another hand. These findings could support the hypothesis that Rubens made black chalk drawings for the entire series, some of which he then turned over to his students or assistants to work up. Logan (*ibid.*) is of the opinion that in these and similar drawings the black chalk underdrawing was made by Rubens, and that in these instances the statement "P.P. Rubens delin[ea]vit" frequently appears on the corresponding print. Van der Meulen (1994-95, vol. 2, p. 130, under no. 114a, fig. 209) discusses and illustrates the infrared photograph of the *Nero*, concluding that both black chalk and pen may well be by Rubens.
 20. See note 1 above.
 21. Tijs 1984, pp. 71, 255, 385. The sculpture was made by Frans Claessens.

Jacob Jordaens

Antwerp 1593–Antwerp 1678

Jacob Jordaens was, after Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, the foremost seventeenth-century Flemish painter. He received commissions from Charles I of England, as well as for the Huis ten Bosch, outside The Hague (1651–52), and for the Amsterdam Town

Hall (1660). His subjects ranged from allegory and religion to portraits and genre scenes, which tended to be rooted in popular traditions and concerns. Jordaens was a prolific draftsman whose drawings often served as studies for his paintings and tapestries.

Jacob Jordaens

38. Allegory of Fertility

1975.I.836

Verso: *Two Studies for the Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia*

Pen and brush and brown ink, watercolor, over traces of preliminary drawing in black chalk; verso in black chalk. 230 x 203 mm. Annotated on the recto at the bottom right in pen: 9,25,[x] 10, 12, 9[?]. Annotated on the verso in black chalk or pencil near the center of the left edge: Z6; at lower left: *Nrfs* [or *Nfss?*] / *J. Jordaens ft*; near the bottom edge: recent letters and numbers.

PROVENANCE: Joseph D. Böhm, Vienna (Lugt 271 and Lugt 1442 on the verso); Böhm sale, Miethke and Wawra, Vienna, 4 December 1865, lot 1314 (to Koolbach); M. Koolbach, Frankfurt am Main, 1881;¹ William Pitcairn Knowles, Rotterdam and Wiesbaden (Lugt 2643 on the verso); Knowles sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 25 June 1895; Bellingham Smith, London; sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 5–6 July 1927, lot 230, ill. (to Ederheimer); [Richard Ederheimer, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1932.

EXHIBITED: New York 1940, no. 13; Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 105; Cincinnati 1959, no. 244; New York 1964, p. 27; Antwerp–Rotterdam 1966–67, no. 55, ill.; Ottawa 1968–69, no. 210, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 56, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York 1988b; New York 1991; Antwerp 1993, vol. 2, no. B12, ill. (recto and verso).

LITERATURE: D'Hulst 1956, pp. 189, 348, no. 70; Michalkowa 1969, p. 306; D'Hulst 1974, pp. 239–40, no. A146, fig. 159 (recto); Logan 1980; D'Hulst 1990, pp. 147–49, no. A146 verso, fig. 9 (verso).

Jacob Jordaens often depicted allegories of fertility in his paintings and drawings of the mid-1620s, and he repeated the theme throughout his career. He represented the subject as the Offering to Ceres and the Offering to Pomona and as satyrs and nymphs exuberantly displaying and enjoying the fruits of nature,² as in this drawing, where beneath the sprawling branches of a large tree a satyr plays his flute in the company of three putti and three nymphs, one of whom holds a cornucopia brim-



No. 38, verso

ming with flowers and fruit. The head of a second satyr appears from behind a branch of the tree. As D'Hulst has suggested, Jordaens sketched this drawing about 1640, probably for a painting. In style and subject matter (although not in composition) it is closely related to a drawing in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Besançon that Jordaens signed and dated "1639.6. Augusty JJ."³

On the verso of the sheet (turned 180 degrees) are two preparatory studies for the *Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia*



No. 38

Jordaens painted for the church of Saint Augustine in Antwerp (now on loan to the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp), as D'Hulst has established.⁴ The executioner extracting the saint's teeth with pliers has been quickly formulated twice: once with his right arm outstretched and again with it pointing downward. The same figure also points downward in Jordaens's large *modello* for the painting (Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp),⁵ but in the painting he twists his arm upward, with greater dramatic effect. As the painting was completed in 1628, we can conclude that the sketches on the verso of the Lehman sheet date to that year or shortly before. They were therefore already on the paper when, about twelve years later, Jordaens used the reverse for the *Allegory of Fertility*. According to D'Hulst,

it was not unusual for Jordaens to use different sides of the same sheet at different points in his career.

EHB

NOTES:

1. A note on the mount reads: "M. Koolbach, Kunstverein, Frankfurt, 1881."
2. See D'Hulst 1974, nos. A67, A63, A64, A46, A47, A250, figs. 76, 72, 73, 51, 53, 266.
3. *Ibid.*, no. A145, fig. 158.
4. Letter from D'Hulst to the author, 1 September 1989, and D'Hulst in Antwerp 1993, nos. A38, B12. D'Hulst perceived the upside-down figure in the upper left corner of the verso as a study for the cross-carrying putto in the painting, but it seems rather to be the putto at the bottom left corner of the recto showing through the paper.
5. D'Hulst 1974, no. A73, fig. 82; Antwerp 1993, no. B13, color ill. The *modello* measures 510 by 275 millimeters.

Jacob Jordaens

39. Saint Philip Healing the Cripple in Samaria

1975.I.839

Red and black chalk, reddish brown and gray wash; paper extended 30 mm at the left and at the top by the artist (similar extensions at the right and bottom margins may have been removed). Watermark: the arms of Holland supported by two lions guardant. 356 x 435 mm.

PROVENANCE: V. Winthrop Newman, New York (Lugt 2540 on the recto); Newman sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 2–3 February 1920, lot 177, ill. (as *Healing the Lame*, by Jacob Jordaens); Pierre Lorillard.

EXHIBITED: New York 1964, p. 26; Ottawa 1968–69, no. 259, ill. (as *Saint Peter Preaching*, by Jordaens); New York 1979–80, no. 57, ill. (as *Saint Peter Preaching*, by Jordaens); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: D'Hulst 1956, p. 438, no. 311 (as *Healing the Lame*, after Jordaens); Held 1969a, pp. 267, 272 (as *Saint Philip Healing*, by Jordaens); D'Hulst 1969, p. 383 (as Jordaens); D'Hulst 1974, no. A311, fig. 328 (as *Paul Healing a Cripple at Lystra*, by Jordaens, ca. 1655), p. 384, under no. A308.

The biblical source for this scene of an apostle healing a lame man has been debated. D'Hulst suggested Paul healing a cripple at Lystra (Acts 14:8–10) and Jaffé¹ posited Peter preaching to the Israelites in Solomon's porch after healing the lame man at the Beautiful Gate (Acts 3:2–26), but Held more convincingly identified the scene as Philip healing the sick and the lame in

Samaria (Acts 8:6–8). The joyful crowd of women, men, and children, gesticulating and talking among themselves, who have gathered to witness or experience Philip's acts reflect the biblical reference to the "great joy in that city." Jaffé seems correct in interpreting the scene as referring to the Calvinist idea of the self-sufficiency of the authority of the Bible.

Jacob Jordaens made six other drawings of similar scenes that D'Hulst has also dated to about 1655.² Although no related paintings or tapestries are known, he may, as D'Hulst has suggested, have been sketching ideas for a series of tapestries depicting the Acts of the Apostles.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Jaffé in Ottawa 1968–69, no. 259.
2. D'Hulst 1974, nos. A308 (*Paul and Barnabas at Lystra*; whereabouts unknown), A309 (*Paul before Ananias*; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Jord. 5), A310 (*The Scourging of Paul and Silas*; Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 13.988), A312 (*Paul, Silas, and Timothy at Philippi*; Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp), A313 (*Paul, Silas, and Timothy before the City Gate of Philippi*; in 1965 at Alfred Brod Gallery, London), A314 (*Possessed Man Attacking the Sons of Sceva at Ephesus*; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Jord. 1), figs. 325–27, 329–31.



No. 39



No. 40

School of Jacob Jordaens

40. Nymphs Surprised

1975.1.830

Brush and brown and gray ink, brown and gray washes over red chalk and traces of black chalk, some blue chalk. 202 x 272 mm.

Laid down. Annotated on the verso of the mat in pen and brown ink: "N^o 160 Gaspar de Crayer"; in another hand: "MCH(?). Auct. 1860 Spt 24f. N^o 128"; in a third hand: "no. 66.-ma-."

PROVENANCE: Sale, Maillinger, Munich, 24ff. September 1860, lot 128; Henry Oppenheimer, London (Lugt 1351 on the verso); Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 10, 13, 14 July 1936, lot 225 (as Gaspar de Crayer; to John Hunt with another drawing).

EXHIBITED: Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942-44; New York 1979-80, no. 54, ill. (as De Crayer); New York 1985-86 (as De Crayer); New York 1988b; New York 1991 (as school of Jacob Jordaens).

LITERATURE: Logan 1980 (questions De Crayer attribution).

This drawing has traditionally been attributed to Gaspar de Crayer, but neither the titillating mythological subject nor the broad application of colored chalks and washes finds parallels in his known works.¹ The outdoor scene with four nymphs turning away in surprise as they are presumably disturbed by an intruder, most likely Actaeon, as a fifth emerges from her bath has more in common with the drawings of nymphs and satyrs by De Crayer's Flemish contemporary Jacob Jordaens. The coloring and the types, poses, and proportions of the figures relate this drawing to the numerous allegories of fertility drawn by Jordaens, among them the *Allegory of Fertility* of about 1640 in the Robert Lehman Collection (No. 38). It thus should be placed in the school of Jordaens and dated to about 1640.

EHB

NOTE:

1. See Vlieghe 1972, Vlieghe 1979-80, and Vlieghe 1989.



No. 41

Follower of Jacob Jordaens

41. Old Couple with a Child Playing a Pipe

1975.1.834

Pen and brush and brown gallnut ink, brown and grayish brown washes; 261 x 370 mm. Annotated on the verso: "M. Gowan / IMG / 1780."

Laid down.

PROVENANCE: John MacGouan, Edinburgh (Lugt 1496 on the verso); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, 10, 13, 14 July 1936, lot 256B (as probably not by Jacob Jordaens; to John Hunt with No. 42).

EXHIBITED: London 1927, no. 626 (as Jordaens); Brussels 1928, no. 102 (as Jordaens); Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942-44; New York 1979-80, no. 62, ill. (as attributed to Jordaens); New York 1991 (as follower of Jordaens).

The subject, the medium, and the execution of this drawing are not sufficiently similar to Jordaens's graphic work to place its origin in his immediate surroundings.

The anonymous, and apparently unskilled, draftsman was only distantly influenced by him. D'Hulst has suggested that the drawing may be a copy after a particular, now lost work of Jordaens's or a pasticcio derived from several.¹

EHB

NOTE:

1. Letter to the author, 1 September 1989.



No. 42

Copy after Jacob Jordaens

42. The Young Woman and the Jester

1975.1.837

Black chalk and pen and brown ink, red chalk, and gray wash, heightened with white (oxidized). 280 x 219 mm. Annotated in pen and brush at the bottom left: *Jordaens*.

Laid down.

166

PROVENANCE: William Mayor, London (Lugt 2799 on recto); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson, and Woods, London, 10, 13, 14 July 1936, lot 256A (as Jacob Jordaens; to John Hunt with No. 41).

EXHIBITED: London 1927, no. 612 (as Jordaens); Brussels 1928, no. 101 (as Jordaens); New York 1940, no. 15, ill. (as Jordaens); New York 1979–80, no. 60, ill. (as Jordaens); New York 1988b; New York 1991 (as Jordaens).

LITERATURE: D'Hulst 1956, p. 443, no. 327 (as after Jordaens); D'Hulst 1974, no. C26, fig. 505 (as after Jordaens); Logan 1980 (as after Jordaens).

This drawing was long attributed to Jacob Jordaens himself, but D'Hulst, followed by Logan, correctly identified it as a copy after a lost work by him. A jester often joins a woman or a pair of lovers in Jordaens's work, as in his painting *The Woman, the Fool, and His Cat* of 1641–45 (Stanley S. Wulc collection, Philadelphia).¹ Here the smiling jester stands in an archway behind a

young woman in a décolleté dress who holds a pitcher in her left hand and with her right offers a wineglass on a platter to the viewer. He is meant to symbolize the futility and short-lived nature of carnal love.

EHB

NOTE:

1. Ottawa 1968–69, no. 68, ill. See also *The Fool, the Woman, and the Owl*, an engraving by Pieter de Jode II after Jordaens (Metropolitan Museum, 49.95.2454; *ibid.*, no. 309, ill.); *Young Woman with a Jester*, a drawing possibly by Jordaens (Collectie Stichting P. en N. de Boer, Amsterdam; D'Hulst 1974, no. B22, fig. 465); and *Young Woman with a Jester*, a copy of a lost work of Jordaens's of about 1640–50 (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 13.028; *ibid.*, no. C30, fig. 509).



No. 43

Copy after Jacob Jordaens

43. The King Drinks

1975.I.838

Red chalk with brush and gray, blue, and brown ink, and washes in the same colors over black chalk; remains of a black chalk framing line. 173 x 285 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the bottom left: 904.

PROVENANCE: [Boerner, Leipzig]; [Richard Ederheimer, New York].

EXHIBITED: Antwerp 1905, no. 117, ill. (as *As the Old Sing, So the Young Twitter*, by Jacob Jordaens); Poughkeepsie

1942–44; New York 1979–80, no. 61, ill. (as possibly a student of or workshop of Jordaens); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Logan 1980 (questions attribution to Jordaens); D’Hulst 1990, no. C60e, fig. 33 (as a copy after or workshop of Jordaens, ca. 1645–50).

Around a table sit a man dressed as a king, a mother and child, and a youth playing the flute, while in the background another youth plays the bagpipes, a servant passes food, and an old woman sits in a wicker chair

with a child at her side. Above is an empty cartouche. As D’Hulst has suggested, this drawing appears to be a copy of a now lost work by Jordaens or his workshop from about 1645–50. A better copy of the same work is in the print room in Antwerp.¹

EHB

NOTE:

1. Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, 569; D’Hulst 1974, no. C60, fig. 532.

Copy after Jacob Jordaens

44. Dorcas Raised from the Dead by Saint Peter

1975.I.835

Red and black chalk; margins left blank by the artist (25 mm at the bottom and 5–8 mm on the top and sides). 303 x 405 mm. Inscribed in the bottom margin in red chalk: *petrus brenckt dorcas van den doot*; annotated(?) at the bottom left of center in pen and brown ink: *de myn*; unidentified collector’s mark at the lower left: *R M*.

PROVENANCE: Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 10, 13, 14 July 1936, lot 255A (as Jacob Jordaens; to John Hunt with No. 46 and one other).

EXHIBITED: Brussels 1928, no. 117; New York 1940, no. 11, ill.; Oberlin, Ohio, 1942–44; New York 1979–80, no. 59, ill. (in all as Jordaens); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: D’Hulst 1953–54, p. 79, no. 3; D’Hulst 1956, pp. 430, 431, no. 283 (as after Jordaens); D’Hulst 1974, p. 569, no. C118, fig. 593 (as after Jordaens), p. 470, under no. A412; Logan 1980 (as after Jordaens).

In the incongruous setting of a seventeenth-century Flemish house, Saint Peter raises Dorcas from the dead while the widows for whom she made clothes look on in amazement. The simplification of forms, overemphasis on outline, and rigidity of contour in this drawing recall Jacob Jordaens’s later work, but in this case, as D’Hulst has pointed out, the drawing is a copy by another hand after a drawing Jordaens inscribed and dated 1670 (Musée Bertrand, Châteauroux, Indre, France; Fig. 44.1).¹ The story of the raising of Dorcas, also called Tabitha, a Joppa woman known for her charitable deeds, is told in Acts 9:36–42. As Held suggested, Jordaens’s choice of



Fig. 44.1 Jacob Jordaens, *Dorcas Raised from the Dead by Saint Peter*. Musée Bertrand, Châteauroux, Indre

rarely illustrated biblical subjects in his later years was doubtless related to his activity as one of the leaders of the Calvinist faith in Antwerp.²

EHB

NOTES:

1. D’Hulst 1974, no. A412, fig. 433.
2. Held in New York 1940, no. 11.



No. 44

Jan Fijt

Antwerp 1611–Antwerp 1661

One of the foremost seventeenth-century painters of hunting still lifes, Jan Fijt followed in the tradition established by his teacher, Frans Sniijders. His paintings are seemingly uncontrived displays of abundance enlivened with a great variety of color and texture. Fijt

traveled extensively; he was in Paris in 1633–34, in Italy in 1641, and in the Northern Netherlands in 1642 and 1645. He also painted flower still lifes and delicate landscape backgrounds, but rarely figures. No drawings can be securely attributed to him.

Copy after Jan Fijt

45. Still Life of Fruit, Musical Instruments, and Venison, with a Young Man at the Left

1975.I.831

Brush and brown ink and greasy brownish black chalk over black chalk, heightened with white. 295 x 440 mm. Inscribed in pen and brown ink at the bottom, probably by the artist: *Jan Fijt 1672 / G v(?) H . . .*

Laid down. Annotated on the verso of the mount by William Esdaile: “. . . the coll of Cha^s Rogers WE,” to which he added: “S^r Tho^s Lawrence and J. Richardson.”

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London (Lugt 2184 on the recto; Richardson sale, Cock and Langford, London, 22 January–10 February 1747 (1746 o.s.); Charles Rogers, London (Lugt 624 on the recto); Rogers sale, Philipe, London, 15–24 April 1799, lot 296; Sir Thomas Lawrence, London (Lugt 2445 on the recto); William Esdaile, London (Lugt 2617 on the recto and verso; acquired 1834); Henri Duval, Liège; Duval sale, Amsterdam, 22–23 June 1910,



No. 45

lot 127; Maurice Delacre, Ghent; Delacre sale, Gutekunst and Klipstein, Bern, 21–22 June 1949, lot 216, pl. 11; [C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979–80, no. 55, ill. (as Jan Fijt); New York 1985–86 (as Jan Fijt); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Greindl 1956, p. 162; Greindl 1983, p. 106 (in both as Jan Fijt, *premier projet* for Vienna painting).

Except for minor differences, this drawing corresponds to a painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Fig. 45.1), that is signed by Jan Fijt but not dated.¹ Fijt rarely painted figures, and Demus has attributed the young man in the Vienna painting to Erasmus Quellinus. That the drawing includes the figure that may have been added to the painting by someone else, that some of the objects in its background are larger than those in the painting, and the absence of similar drawings by Fijt all indicate that the drawing is a copy after the painting. The inscription at the bottom may well have been written by the copyist, possibly a Fleming whose name included the letters G and H. The 1672 is probably the date of the drawing, as Fijt died in 1661. The where-



Fig. 45.1 Attributed to Jan Fijt, *Still Life of Fruit, Musical Instruments, and Venison*. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 389

abouts of the painting before 1781, when it is first mentioned in the collections in Vienna, are not known.

EHB

NOTE:

1. Engerth 1884, no. 842; Demus 1973, p. 73, pl. 96.

Flanders

mid-seventeenth century

46. Head of a Man

1975.1.833

Black and red chalk with traces of white heightening. 236 x 173 mm. Annotated on the verso in black chalk: *Baltasar Denner*.

Heavily foxed.

PROVENANCE: Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 10, 13, 14 July 1936, lot 255c (as offset, under Jacob Jordaens; to John Hunt with No. 44 and one other).

EXHIBITED: Brussels 1928, no. 124 (as Jordaens); Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942-44; New York 1979-80, no. 58, ill. (as Jordaens); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Logan 1980 (questions attribution to Jordaens).

That this drawing is a counterproof, as was already recognized at the time of the Oppenheimer sale in 1936, is

clearly indicated by the faded chalk lines and confirmed by the hatch marks running from upper left to lower right. Jacob Jordaens (see No. 38) drew many such head studies, but this drawing lacks the rounded lines, emphatic contours, and marked crosshatching characteristic of his style and so must be given to a follower.¹ The old attribution on the verso to the portraitist and miniature painter Baltasar Denner, who was born in Hamburg in 1685 and died in Rostock in 1749, seems without justification.²

EHB

NOTES:

1. Compare D'Hulst 1974, nos. A128, A133, A168, A165, A234, A237, A249, A409, ill.
2. Compare the two drawings by Denner in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (4421, 4422; Gernsheim Corpus 57292, 57293).



No. 46

Flanders

mid-seventeenth century

47. Landscape with a Bridge

1975.1.840

Pen and brown ink, brush and bluish gray wash over traces of graphite. 157 x 265 mm. Signed or annotated in pen and brown ink and black chalk or graphite at the bottom left: *JVK F* (or *TVK?* in monogram). On the verso, in black chalk in a different, later hand: a garden scene (crossed out by the draftsman) and three summary studies of figures, possibly sculptures, two standing, one sitting.

PROVENANCE: Sale, M. van Gogh and others, R. W. P. de Vries, Amsterdam, 16–17 July 1930, lot 95, pl. 4 (as Jan van Kessel).

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 63, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 27, ill.; New York 1991 (in all as Van Kessel).

This drawing has been attributed to Jan van Kessel (1626–1679) on the strength of the monogram added at the bottom left by someone other than the artist, but it bears virtually no similarity to the landscapes of this Flemish follower of Jacob van Ruisdael, and the monogram is different from Van Kessel's as well.¹ If the monogram is *TVK*, it might refer to the Dutch engraver and etcher Theodoor van Kessel, but the few drawings attributed to him, among them two equestrian portraits in Rotterdam, are drawn with the meticulous hatchings and crosshatchings of an engraver.² Drawings by two other artists with similar monograms, Jan Verkolje (1650–1693) and Johann Ulrich Kraus (Augsburg, 1645–1719), are even further removed. The drawings of the Dutch landscapist Gillis d'Hondecoeter (d. 1638) are closest to the Lehman drawing in composition and medium.

This landscape may have been sketched by a Flemish artist around the middle of the seventeenth century. The drawings on the verso may date to later in the century.

EHB

NOTES:

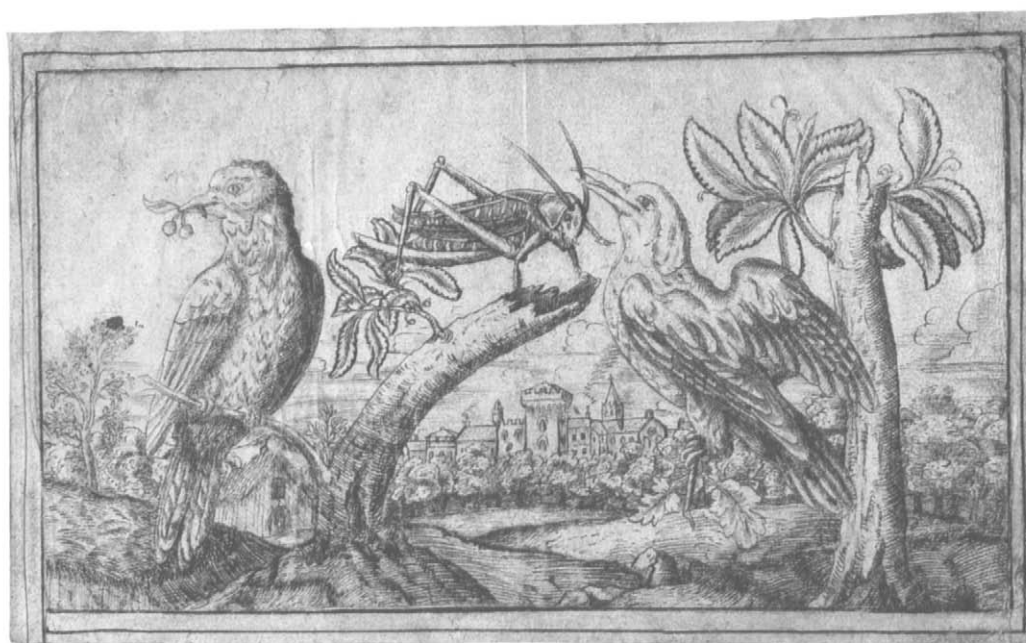
1. Van Kessel's drawings are well catalogued and generously illustrated in Davies 1992, pp. 221–63, nos. d1–d69, pls. 184–252.
2. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Van Kessel nos. 1, 2 (Gernsheim Corpus 36535, 36534). On Theodoor van Kessel, see Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 1, p. 259.



No. 47, verso



No. 47



No. 48

Flanders

seventeenth century

48. Two Birds and a Cricket

1975.I.767

Pen and brown ink. 141 x 254 mm.

Laid down.

PROVENANCE: [Helene C. Seiferheld Gallery, New York].
Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1962.

EXHIBITED: New York 1962, ill.; New York 1976, no. 2;
New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 3, ill. (in all as
Nicolas de Bruyn); New York 1991.

The two birds resting on very small tree stumps before an imaginary, medievalizing townscape, one holding cherries in its beak, the other grasping the feeler of a large cricket, might actually be two views of the same

bird. The disproportionate forms and the amateurish execution suggest that the drawing is a pastiche. It has been attributed to Nicolas de Bruyn and associated with the engravings he made for the *Volatilium verii generis effigies*, published in 1594 by A. van Londerseel,¹ but it more likely derives from prints by Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618), although no direct example has been established. It probably dates from the late seventeenth century.

EHB

NOTE:

1. Hollstein 1949–, vol. 4, p. 24, nos. 224–36.

Jan Frans van Bloemen, called Orizzonte

Antwerp 1662–Rome 1748/49

Jan Frans van Bloemen was one of several Dutch and Flemish artists active in Rome who perpetuated the styles of Claude Lorrain and Gaspard Dughet well into the eighteenth century. A member of the “Bentvogels,” he was nicknamed Orizzonte for the luminous horizons in

his landscapes. His landscape drawings, often enlivened with imaginary ruins, are sometimes confused with those of his brother, Pieter, who is better known for his studies of figures and animals. Jan Frans also drew topographical landscapes in pen of the buildings in and around Rome.

Jan Frans van Bloemen(?)

49. Forest Clearing with Figures

1975.I.823

Pen and brown ink, brown wash on paper backed with Japan paper. 155 x 233 mm. Annotated in pencil(?) on the verso: “1646-1686 / 1676 / Passe.P.17 / Jan de Bischof / open / [] / Soft S.”

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 53, ill. (as Jan Frans van Bloemen); New York 1991.

The light brown wash used to create the strong light in this sun-drenched clearing in a wood is reminiscent of



No. 49

drawings by Jan de Bisschop (1628–1671) and Jacob van der Ulft (ca. 1627–after 1688), which accounts for the later annotation on the verso.

The subject and composition of the drawing relate it to several paintings by Jan Frans van Bloemen that date before 1700 and betray the influence of Gaspard Dughet.¹ It cannot, however, be related to any of the drawings attributed to Van Bloemen,² nor does it resemble drawings by the artists in his circle: Abraham Genoels, Johannes Glauber, Jacob de Heusch, Albert Meyeringh, Isaac de

Moucheron, Hendrik Frans van Lint, or Theodoor Wilkens.³ Until more is known about the graphic work of the third-generation Italianate painters, the traditional attribution to Van Bloemen should be retained.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Busiri Vici 1974, nos. 1–6.
2. *Ibid.*, nos. 1d–31d.
3. Zwollo 1973; Coekelberghs 1976.

THE NORTHERN
NETHERLANDS

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Gerrit Pietersz

Amsterdam 1566–Amsterdam(?) 1608 or after

The few paintings, drawings, and etchings attributed to Gerrit Pietersz indicate that although he was not an innovator, he was a gifted artist who shared the concepts of other Dutch Mannerists such as Hendrick Goltzius, Joachim Uytewael, Abraham Bloemaert, and particularly Cornelis Cornelisz. According to Karel van Mander, Pietersz was probably Cornelis Cornelisz's first pupil and then, from about 1590 to about 1593, worked in

Haarlem as an independent master. He was probably living in Antwerp in 1594–95. He traveled to Rome in the late 1590s, returning to Amsterdam in 1599–1600. There he taught Pieter Lastman. Until recently he was wrongly called Gerrit Pietersz Sweelinck, under the assumption that he had adopted the same family name as his brother, the organist and composer Jan Pietersz Sweelinck.

Gerrit Pietersz

50. The Preaching of Saint John the Baptist

1975.1.846

Pen and brown ink, brush and blue and brown ink, blue and brown washes, heightened with white (partly oxidized). 249 x 400 mm. Annotated on the verso in pen and brown ink: "A sketch by N. Bruegel" and recently in pencil: "Gerrit Pietersz Sweeling / c 1610"; unidentified collector's mark on the verso: RJ.

Some tears; partially abraded; the left bottom corner made up; vertical and horizontal folds.

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 794 (as *The Sermon on the Mount*, by Gerrit Pietersz Sweelinck; to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 66, ill. (as *The Sermon on the Mount*, by Pietersz); New York 1985; New York 1991 (as *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist*, by Pietersz).

LITERATURE: Van Thiel 1988, p. 365, n. 3 (as not by Pietersz).

Artists from Pieter Bruegel to Rembrandt have depicted Saint John the Baptist preaching by placing him in the background in order to emphasize the crowd of listeners, both interested and unaffected.¹ The figure in the distance here is not articulated, but the number of people listening (more than twelve), the site (not a mountain), and the similarity of the composition to numerous representations of Saint John preaching in the desert indicate that the drawing depicts that subject rather than Christ addressing his apostles on the mount, as had previously been assumed.

Although this *Saint John Preaching* bears a general resemblance to drawings by Cornelis Cornelisz and its execution derives from him, it is clearly by Gerrit Pietersz, who was probably Cornelisz's first student. Indeed, the two artists' works are often confused.² This drawing, however, is similar in execution to some of Pietersz's signed drawings, among them the *Merry Company*, dated 1593, in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich,³ and particularly *Achior Bound to a Tree by Order of Holofernes*, dated 1601, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.⁴

In 1606 Pietersz depicted Saint John preaching in a painting.⁵ The woman nursing her child at the right in the drawing and the figure seen from the back at the left both appear in the foreground of the painting (although the woman is on the left and the standing figure on the right), but Saint John and the group of figures surrounding him have been moved closer to the viewer. The figures' facial expressions are also quite different (and very Cornelisz-like) in the painting, and all of them are fully clothed. The differences may be explained by assuming an earlier date for the drawing, closer to the *Achior Bound* of 1601. In Pietersz's painting *Caritas* of 1601 in Barnard Castle, the scene of Saint John preaching is also far in the background.⁶

EHB

NOTES:

1. Bruegel's painting of 1566 is in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, Rembrandt's of 1634–36 is in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.



No. 50

2. *The Couple Making Music* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, for instance, was attributed by Bauch (1938, p. 260) to Gerrit Pietersz but was later given to his teacher by Van Thiel in his fundamental study of Cornelisz as a draftsman (1965, no. 8, pl. 12). I still favor Gerrit Pietersz for that drawing, as I do for the similar *Baptism of the Eunuch* in the Kunsthalle Bremen (ibid., no. 6, pl. 13). Notes on the mount of the drawing in Braunschweig indicate that Reznicek, and Van Thiel himself at an earlier time, also considered Gerrit Pietersz the author. The authorship of another drawing of Saint John preaching (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich 34803; Wegner 1973, p. 17, no. 43, pl. 30; Munich 1989–90, no. 58 [incorrectly titled *The Sermon on the Mount*]) is also disputed; it was attributed to Gerrit Pietersz by Bauch (1938, p. 255), to Cornelis Cornelisz by Van Thiel (1965, no. 16, pl. 11b), and reattributed to Pietersz by Blankert (Blankert and Ruurs 1975–79, p. 310, under no. 432). I would prefer to see it as a work of Gerrit Pietersz (although Blankert went too far in considering the drawing a study for the etching of 1593). In his rather restricted 1988 study of the drawings by Gerrit Pietersz, Van Thiel rejects the attribution to Pietersz of the Lehman drawing and the entire group of Cornelisz-like drawings mentioned here, because he does not find the comparison with Pietersz's signed *Anchior Bound* of 1601 in Amsterdam convincing.
3. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1035; Munich 1989–90, no. 57, colorpl. 4 and cover.
4. Boon 1978, no. 402, ill. The drawing is inscribed: "Judit Capittel 6. / Ger. Pieterse / 1601."
5. In 1970 the painting was acquired by the Historisch Museum in Amsterdam. It is now on loan to the Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (Van Thiel 1988, p. 359, fig. 6). It was previously with the Brian Koetser Gallery, London (*Burlington Magazine* 108 [March 1966], p. lxxiii, color ill.); Douwes, Amsterdam (Art Dealers Fair, Delft, 1967); Wagener and De Beer, Amsterdam (1970); and in the collection of F. C. Butôt, Saint Gilgen. In his detailed analysis of the painting, Blankert (Blankert and Ruurs 1975–79, no. 432) convincingly detected the influence of Pieter Lastman, who was Pietersz's pupil, concluding that Lastman must have returned to Amsterdam from Italy by the time Pietersz executed the painting.
6. Van Thiel 1988, p. 358, fig. 4.

David Vinckboons

Mechelen 1576–Amsterdam 1630–33

David Vinckboons can be credited, along with Hans Bol, Jaques Saverij, and others, with introducing Flemish peasant genre scenes to Amsterdam, where his family settled in 1591. He was a prolific painter, as well as draftsman, of religious scenes and allegories, frequently

in landscape settings. His early imaginary mountain and forest landscapes reflect the influence of Gillis van Coninxloo; in his later work figures modeled on Bruegelian types take on greater importance. Many of Vinckboons's drawings were engraved.

David Vinckboons

51. A Young Man Pursuing His Beloved into the Woods

1975.I.817

Pen and brown ink, bluish gray and brown washes. 119 x 84 mm. Annotated at the bottom center in pencil(?): *David Vinckboons*.

Traced for transfer; laid down.

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 799 (as *A Young Couple in a Wood as Apollo and Daphne*, by David Vinckboons; to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 35; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 48, ill. (as Vinckboons, ca. 1605–10); New York 1985; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Van Thiel 1983, pp. 101–2, fig. 6; Luijten and Schuckman 1989, vol. 1, p. 140, under no. 432.

The figure types and movement of this elegantly dressed young man and the equally finely appareled young woman he is pursuing into the woods, as well as the manner of drawing with brown and bluish gray washes, are familiar from the later drawings of David Vinckboons, for example his *Mercury and Herse*, which is signed and dated 1623 (collection of W. J. A. E. Kempenaer, Vosselaer, Belgium),¹ and the *Elegant Company at Table in a Park* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.²

In 1983 Van Thiel recognized that the Lehman drawing is the design for one of the fifteen etchings Jan van de Velde the Younger made after drawings by Vinckboons to illustrate Gerbrand Andriaensz. Brederode's *Boertigh, Amoreus, en Aendachtigh Groot Lied-Boeck*, published in Amsterdam in 1622.³ Until then it had been assumed that the designs were Van de Velde's own. As the illustrations were probably made in 1621, the

drawing must date from the same time, or within the last decade or so of Vinckboons's career.

The print after the Lehman drawing illustrates two poems in the *Boertigh, Amoreus, en Aendachtigh Groot Lied-Boeck*. It probably was initially made for one section of the book, the *Groote Bron der Minnen* (pp. 72–74), where the poet speaks about an amorous pursuit in the woods, and was used again for another section, the *Boertigh Liedt-Boeck* (p. 42; Fig. 51.1), in which a young woman also flees from a suitor, but the setting is not described.

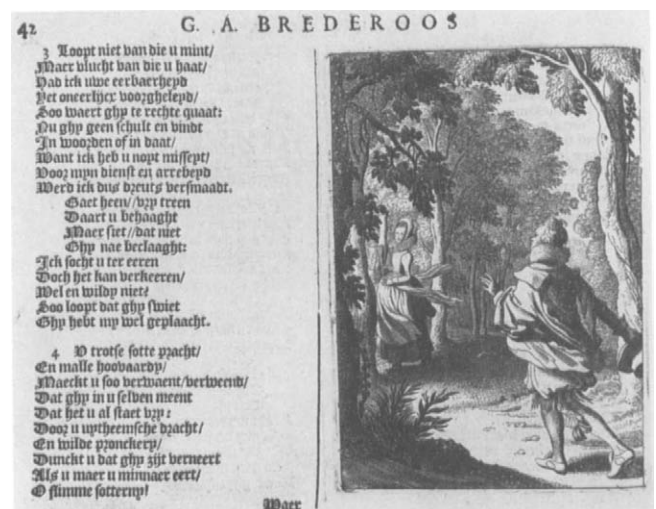


Fig. 51.1 Jan van de Velde the Younger, after David Vinckboons, *Amorous Pursuit*. Gerbrand Andriaensz. Brederode, *Boertigh Liedt-Boeck*, p. 42. Photograph courtesy of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York



No. 51

Interpreting the subject as a young couple in a wood as Apollo and Daphne, as the catalogue of the Reitlinger sale in 1954 did, lends it a classical tone not supported by the imagery. Yet as Van Thiel also noted, Vinckboons may well have been reminded of representations of Daphne's plight when he was called upon to illustrate a contemporary text with a similar theme.⁴

EHB

NOTES:

1. Wegner and Pée 1980, no. 64, ill. p. 111 (a page in the *Liber amicorum* of D. Van Kempenaer; pen and brown, gray, and bluish gray washes).
2. *Ibid.*, no. 212, ill. p. 122 (pen and brown ink, gray and brown wash on brownish paper, 281 x 421 mm). Wegner and Pée include the large Berlin drawing among the doubtful drawings, but in their lengthy discussion of it they seem inclined to accept it as Vinckboons's. As they point out, little is known about Vinckboons as a draftsman in the 1620s. In my opinion, the Lehman drawing and the drawings in Berlin and the Kempenaer collection appear to be by the same hand, and therefore by Vinckboons. A painting apparently based on the Berlin drawing and signed GB (and therefore possibly by Gerbrand Andriaensz. Brederode) was with M. L. Wurfbain in Oegstgeest in 1996 (conversation with the author, 1997).
3. Van Thiel 1983, pp. 101–2. Van Thiel's discussion of the *Groot Lied-Boeck* is fundamental to the study of Dutch seventeenth-century book illustration.
4. Van Thiel (*ibid.*, p. 128) also touches on this relationship.

David Vinckboons

52. The Triumphal Entry of Frederik Hendrik of Orange into The Hague

1975.I.818

Pen and brown ink, gray and blue and brownish gray washes over black chalk. 371 x 509 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the bottom left: *Vinkebons*.

Traced for transfer; laid down; vertical fold through the middle; five small vertical tears at the bottom.

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 797 (as David Vinckboons; to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 34, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 49, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1985–86; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 18, ill.; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Held 1951, pp. 242–44, fig. 2; Goossens 1954, p. 5; Lugt 1956, p. 337, under no. 2274a; Simon 1958, p. 39, n. 67; Wegner and Pée 1980, no. 65, ill.; Mules 1985, pp. 12–13, color ill.

This drawing conflates reality and allegory to commemorate the successful sieges Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange (1584–1647), stadtholder and admiral general of the United Provinces during much of the “golden age” of the Dutch Republic, waged against the cities of Wesel and 's Hertogenbosch in 1629. The subject itself may be imaginary, for although many contemporary books and pamphlets record the prince's military campaigns against the Spaniards in the Southern Netherlands and his capture of the two cities on 19 August and 14 September 1629,¹ there are no accounts of a triumphal entry into The Hague.²

Two women with bowed heads, representing the conquered cities, and the commanders of the defeated garrisons, Losang and Grobbendonck, follow a pair of trumpeters toward a triumphal arch decorated with the prince's coats of arms and surmounted by Justice-Fortune. Behind them personifications of the four cardinal virtues, Temperance, Prudence, Justice, and Fortitude, lead the chariot carrying Frederik Hendrik, who holds a hat on a pole, the symbol of Freedom. Above, Fame blows her trumpet, while from the clouds the deceased heroes of the prince's family observe the scene. The drawing was traced for a print (Fig. 52.1), probably by Solomon Saverij, which bears inscriptions identifying the figures.³ The Vijver and the buildings of the Binnenhof in the background are a mirror image of the view as it was in 1629.



Fig. 52.1 Solomon Saverij(?), after David Vinckboons, *The Triumphal Entry of Frederik Hendrik of Orange into The Hague*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

As Held pointed out, this drawing is a rare and successful Dutch example of the type of allegorical representation Rubens was at the same time brilliantly formulating. Compared to Rubens's oil sketches for the triumphal entry of Henry IV into Paris,⁴ however, Vinckboons's design is less monumental and more sober, with the allegorical elements subordinated to the realistic setting and contemporary costumes.

The Lehman drawing, the latest known in Vinckboons's oeuvre, must date from the last months of 1629. That was once thought to be the year of Vinckboons's death, but a reexamination of the literature and published documents in connection with this drawing led Held to conclude in 1951 that he died between 1630 and 1633.⁵

EHB

NOTES:

1. For example, Quintyn 1629. On the large number of pamphlets published on this occasion, see Knuttel 1890–1920, vol. 1, part 2, nos. 3872–3908, part 8, nos. 3885b, 3888a, 3893a.
2. On triumphal entries in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see particularly Roeder-Baumbach 1943 and Snoep 1975.



No. 52

3. Muller 1863–82, no. 1649. Held (1951, p. 242) first discussed the print in connection with the Lehman drawing. In 1609 Vinckboons designed a similar allegorical history subject, *Truth Established between the United Provinces and Spain in 1609*, for a print by Hessel Gerritsz (Wegner and Pée 1980, no. 45; Paris–Hamburg 1985–86, no. 123). This large drawing in three parts, since 1951 complete in

the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, is characteristic of Vinckboons's livelier and more ambitious earlier style, which was similar to that of Claes Jansz. Visscher the Younger, to whom the drawings originally were attributed.

4. One of the sketches is in the Metropolitan Museum (Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1956, no. 39, pl. 26).
 5. See also Goossens 1954, p. 5.

Claes Jansz. Visscher the Younger

Amsterdam 1587–Amsterdam 1652

Not only was Claes Jansz. Visscher the most productive early seventeenth-century publisher of prints, he was also one of the first artists to draw simple rural motifs directly from nature. His approach depended to a certain

extent on the drawings of David Vinckboons and Pieter Bruegel the Elder, but the subjects he chose are often recognizable views of the canals, church spires, and towns in the picturesque countryside around Amsterdam.

Style of Claes Jansz. Visscher the Younger

53. Barges Moored by Cottages

1975.I.819

Pen and brown ink, brush and grayish brown ink, brown and grayish brown wash over black chalk. 150 x 176 mm.

PROVENANCE: [P. and D. Colnaghi, London] (no. D23962 on verso). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 36; New York 1979–80, no. 50, ill. (in both as Claes Jansz. Visscher); New York 1985; New York 1991 (as style of Visscher).

Both the subject and the composition of this peaceful view of barges moored alongside some cottages, with a discarded rowboat used as an outhouse toward the right, are reminiscent of drawings by Claes Jansz. Visscher the Younger, such as the *Landscape with Windmills* in the Fondation Custodia, Paris.¹ This drawing lacks the freedom of line characteristic of Visscher, however, and thus should be assigned to an artist working in his circle or

influenced by him. Gillis van Scheyndel, who is primarily known as a printmaker strongly influenced by Esaias and Jan van de Velde, Willem Buytewech, and Visscher, was thought by Lugt to have made drawings similar to Visscher's, if a little more rigid in line.² Others, like Gerard Terborch the Elder and the Younger, also adopted some of Visscher's linearity. But the Lehman drawing cannot at present be attributed to an individual artist.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Fondation Custodia, 4617; Brussels–Rotterdam–Paris–Bern 1968–69, no. 169, pl. 23.
2. Two of Van Scheyndel's drawings are in the Fondation Custodia (480, 510; *ibid.*, no. 146, pl. 19); another is in the Louvre, Paris (23.383; Lugt 1931, no. 864, pl. 71).



No. 53

Jan van Goyen

Leiden 1596–The Hague 1656

In tandem with other Haarlem artists, notably Pieter Molijn, Salomon Ruisdael, and Jan Porcellis, Jan van Goyen introduced a new approach to Dutch landscape painting in the 1630s. This tonalist approach, characterized by a monochrome palette and, frequently, a diagonal compositional scheme, was a marked departure from Van Goyen's earlier works, which depended largely on the example of his teacher in Haarlem, Esaias van de Velde.

Traveling throughout Holland, the Southern Netherlands, and the area around Cleve, Van Goyen made hundreds of chalk sketches from nature, some of which are still preserved in sketchbooks. He used many of these for his paintings, often combining different motifs, and for the many drawings he intended as autonomous works of art. Other drawings he invented in the studio. Very few of his drawings served as preparatory studies for paintings.

Jan van Goyen

54. Winter Landscape with Skaters and Fishermen

1975.I.779

Black chalk with gray wash; two framing lines, the first in brush and gray ink by Van Goyen himself, the second in pen and dark brown ink added later. Watermark: fleur de lys in a crowned shield with the letters *LR* under it. 113 x 195 mm. Signed and dated at the bottom right: *VG 1647*;¹ annotated on the verso in pencil: *GN* (probably Gustav Nebehay).

PROVENANCE: John Postle Heseltine, London; Heseltine sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 27–28 May 1913, lot 104, ill.;² [Gustav Nebehay, Vienna]; H. E. ten Cate, Almelo (Lugt 533b on the verso); [C. G. Boerner, Düsseldorf] (December 1964 catalogue, no. 43); [H. N. Bier, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1965.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 12; New York 1979–80, no. 14, ill.; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Hannema 1955, no. 235; Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, p. 58, no. 168, ill.; New York–Paris 1977–78, p. 76, under no. 53.

Jan van Goyen often painted winter landscapes, but before 1653 he only rarely treated the subject in his drawings. This drawing of 1647 does not relate directly to

any known painting. Three of Van Goyen's paintings of the 1640s feature a similarly disposed windmill and church spire, but although they include figures playing golf, riding in sleighs, and skating none of them have such a prominent group of fishermen.³ Another chalk and wash drawing with similar dimensions that is also dated 1647 (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam) depicts fishermen pulling in their nets in a summer setting.⁴ Perhaps Van Goyen made the drawings as a pair or as part of a series of landscapes representing the seasons. The site has not been identified.

EHB

NOTES:

1. There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the signature and date, as Beck has suggested.
2. According to Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, no. 168.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, nos. 57, 59, 70.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 167.



No. 54

Jan van Goyen

55. Boating Party on a River

1975.I.775

Black chalk with pale washes (reddish brown in the sky, greenish gray in the water, green and gray in the trees, red in the figure in the boat). Watermark: crowned double-headed eagle with the coats of arms of Basel. 199 x 304 mm. Signed and dated on the stern of the boat in the foreground: VG 1651.¹

PROVENANCE: Madame E. Warneck, Paris; Warneck sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 10 May 1905, lot 169; [Warneck] sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 December 1924, lot 70, ill.; [Lock Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 10, ill.; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 10, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 19, ill.; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, p. 101, no. 281, ill., ill. p. 343 (watermark).

This river scene may be grouped with others by Jan van Goyen of similar size and from the same year, 1651.² All of them were drawn in black chalk and gray wash, and in some cases brown wash was also applied. This drawing was probably originally executed in chalk with brown and possibly gray washes; the colored washes are a later addition.³ Van Goyen added brown wash to his black chalk drawings rarely, and almost exclusively in 1651,⁴ and he used other colored washes on only a few occasions, mostly in his early drawings (where in any case they were not applied as they are here).⁵

As Beck recognized in 1972, the scenery in this drawing is modeled on the village of Leiderdorp, situated on the Oude Rijn near Leiden. Van Goyen often represented the local church, with its elegant, narrow spire in the center of the roof, from the same vantage point. The village and its surroundings appear in his work as early

as about 1627–29, in drawings from the Catchmade-Morgan Album⁶ and a painting of 1628 that was formerly with the dealer P. de Boer in Amsterdam,⁷ and as late as 1653, in a drawing in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt.⁸ This background recalls particularly the village Van Goyen depicted in a painting of the early 1630s that was exhibited by P. de Boer in 1964.⁹

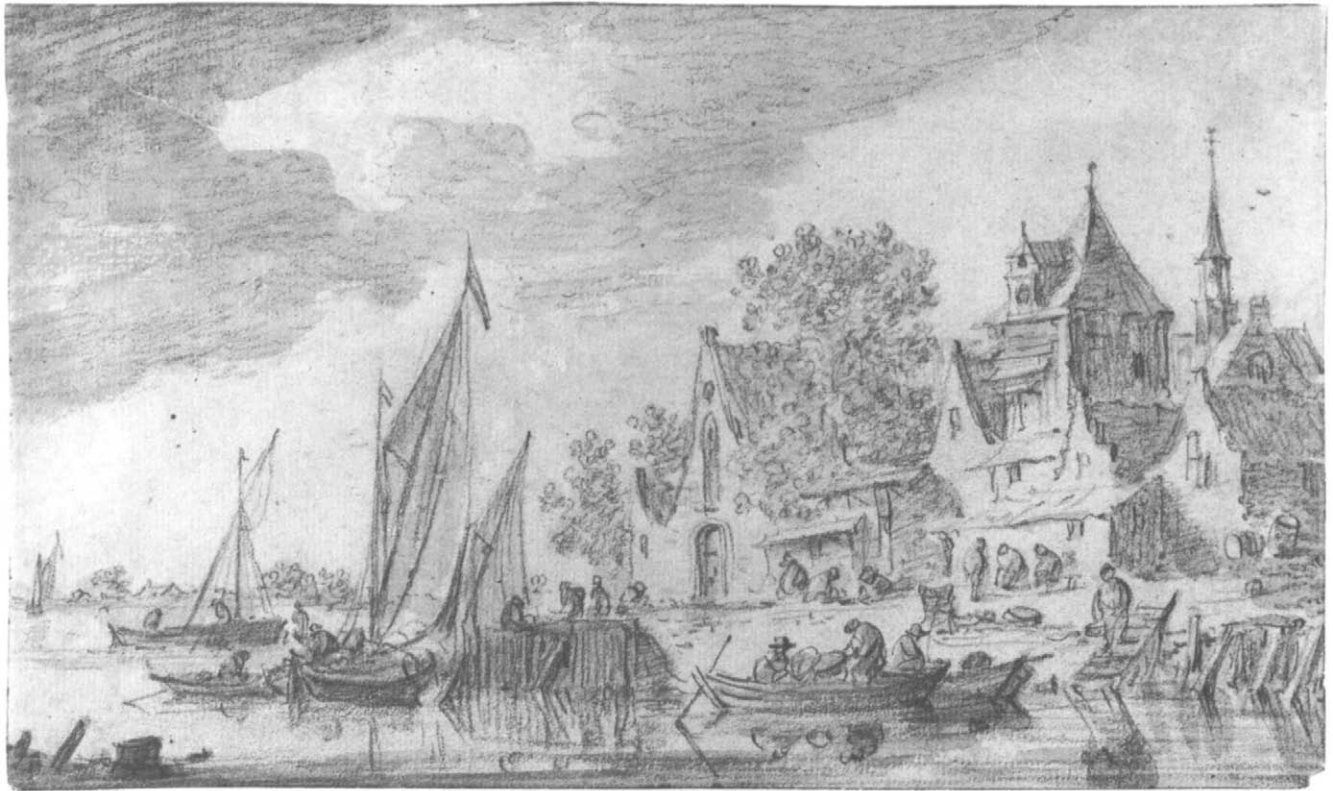
EHB

NOTES:

1. According to Beck (1972–73, vol. 1, no. 281), the drawing also once bore an annotation in pen toward the right: *v. Goyen*. This apparently was removed.
2. *Ibid.*, nos. 274–83.
3. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, James Byam Shaw suggested orally on 12 April 1963 that the washes were probably added to the Lehman drawing.
4. See Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, p. 52. For a good color illustration of a black chalk drawing of 1651 (175 x 276 mm) washed in brown by Van Goyen himself (*ibid.*, no. 212 [ex-Louis Deglatigny collection]), see Habeldt 1990, no. 9. Another drawing washed in brown by Van Goyen (but with other colors by another hand) is illustrated in color in the catalogue of the sale at Christie's, Amsterdam, 9 November 1998, lot 76 (Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, no. 224c).
5. See, for example, two drawings in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, both of 1628 (Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, nos. Z.57, Z.58).
6. Beck 1987, nos. 844A/18, 19, 38.
7. *Ibid.*, no. 429A.
8. Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, no. 492. Beck (*ibid.*, introduction, p. 70, and 1987, p. 17) provided an index to the representation of Leiderdorp in Van Goyen's work.
9. Paris 1964, no. 12, ill.; Beck 1972–73, vol. 2, p. 276, no. 607, ill.



No. 55



No. 56

Style of Jan van Goyen

56. Landing Place by a Town

1975.I.776

Black chalk with gray wash. 115 x 195 mm.

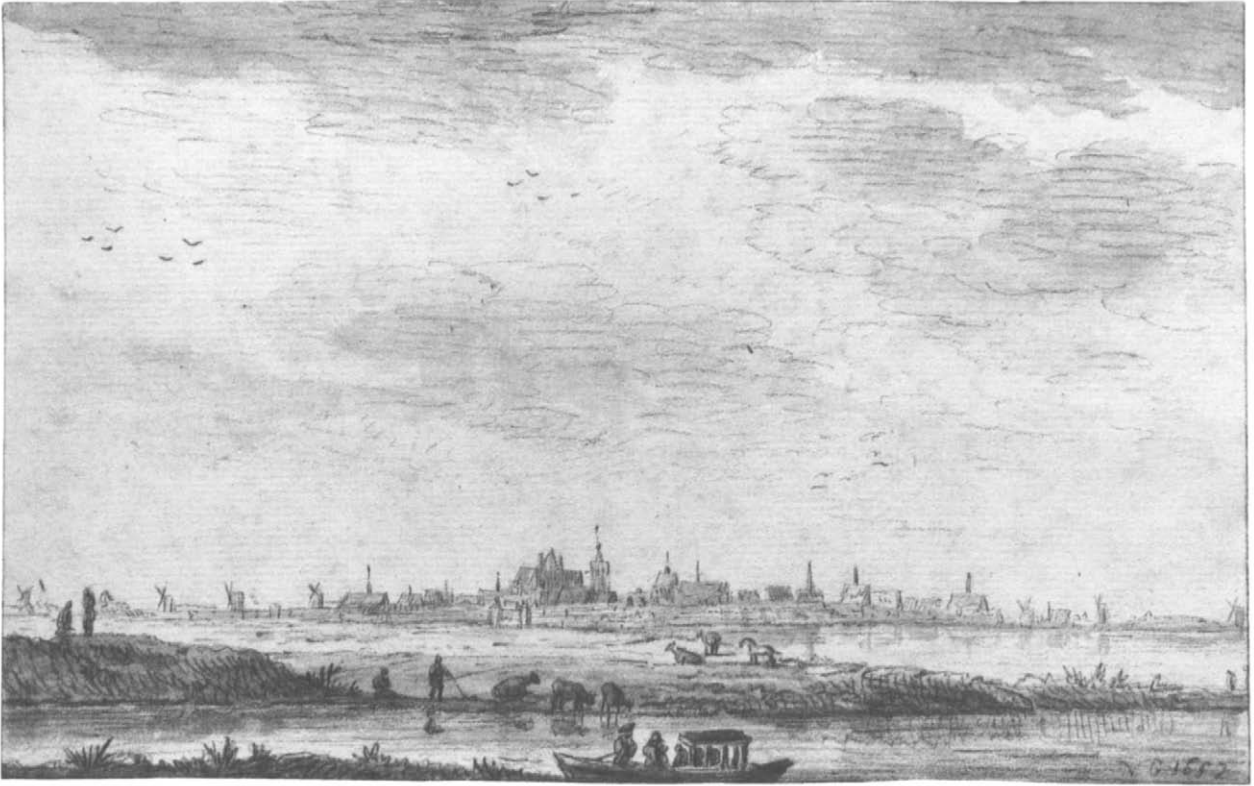
PROVENANCE: [R. M. Light and Co., Boston]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, no. 14, ill.; New York 1976, no. 11; New York 1979; New York 1979-80, no. 11, ill. (in all as Jan van Goyen); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Beck 1972-73, vol. 1, p. 227, no. 725, ill.

Although Jan van Goyen favored similar river landscapes and canals in both his paintings and his drawings, this drawing was not executed by him. The chalk lines in the figures are too hard and fine, the washes in the clouds are too crudely applied, and the paper is unusually thin. Although Beck accepts it as Van Goyen's, the drawing should be considered the work of a follower.

EHB



No. 57

Style of Jan van Goyen

57. Distant Town Seen across Water and Fields

1975.I.777

Black chalk with gray wash. 134 x 212 mm. Annotated in the bottom right corner: *VG 1652*.

PROVENANCE: Count Stroganoff, Rome (Lugt 550 on the verso); [Harlow, McDonald and Co., New York]; [Lock Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 13; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 12, ill. (in all as Jan van Goyen); New York 1991.

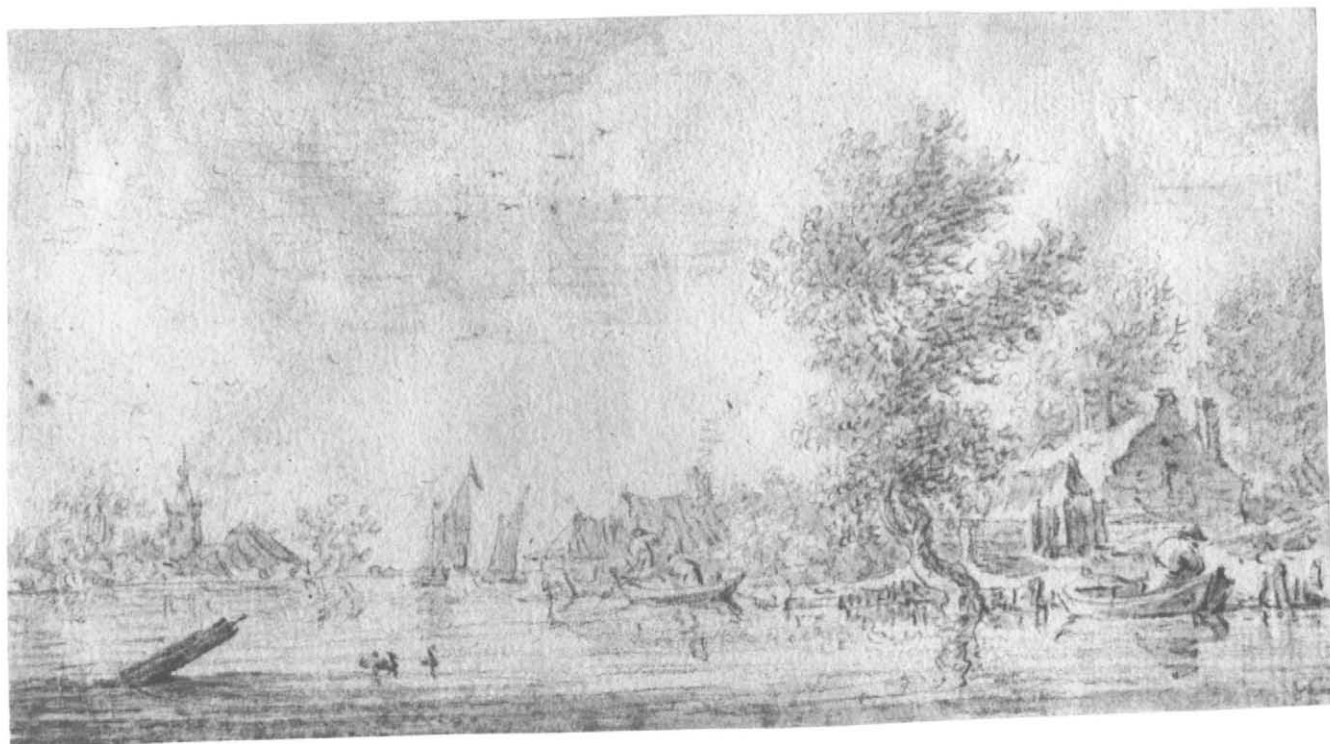
The emphasis given to the silhouette of the town against the sky and the layering of space in horizontal bands

relate this drawing to the topographically accurate landscapes Jan van Goyen painted and drew.¹ The boat and figures in the foreground and some of the details in the middle ground, however, are too roughly executed to be by Van Goyen, and the drawing should be given to a follower.

EHB

NOTE:

1. For example, Beck 1972–73, vol. 1, nos. 278, 502, vol. 2, no. 250, and Beck 1987, no. 284.



No. 58

Follower of Jan van Goyen

58. Village on a River

1975.1.778

Black chalk and gray wash. 74 x 137 mm. Annotated at the bottom right in black chalk: VG; on the verso in pen and black ink: 21.

PROVENANCE: Karl Eduard von Liphart, Dorpat; Reinhold von Liphart, Dorpat and Florence (Lugt 1758 on the verso); Liphart sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 27ff. June 1899, lot 234 (as Jan van Goyen; to Rump); J. Rump, Copenhagen; Rump sale, Amsler and Ruthardt, Berlin, 25-27 May 1908, lot 223 (as Van Goyen; to Artaria); [William Schab Gallery, New York, 1959]; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1959a, no. 139, ill.; New York 1964, p. 33; New York 1976, no. 14; New York 1979-80, no. 13, ill. (in all as Jan van Goyen); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Beck 1991, p. 441, no. 1251, ill.

This river scene is carried out in the style of Jan van Goyen's drawings of the 1630s. Nevertheless, the treatment of the foliage and the ripples in the water seems too painstaking and schematic to be by him. Beck tentatively attributes the drawing to the young Anthonie Waterloo and dates it to about 1645-50 because of its similarity to other drawings Waterloo made in imitation of works by Van Goyen of the 1630s. Without more evidence, it seems preferable to leave the artist anonymous.

EHB

Aelbert Cuyp

Dordrecht 1620–Dordrecht 1691

The foremost painter in Dordrecht of landscapes, Aelbert Cuyp derived his subjects from the environs of his hometown, as well as from his travels throughout the Netherlands, along the Rhine and the Meuse, and around Cleve. His paintings after 1645 have a crystalline light and atmosphere that betray his debt to Italianate painters such as Jan Both, and his drawings reveal his

particularly innovative use of pencil, gum arabic, and watercolor to enhance the effects of atmosphere and space in the landscape. He also produced some etchings and, later, large-scale equestrian portraits. Cuyp never did paint for a living, and after 1665 he fulfilled various civic functions in Dordrecht and devoted even less time to his painting.

Aelbert Cuyp

59. River Landscape with Sailboats

1975.1.769

Black chalk and gray, yellow, and grayish green wash; traces of a colorless varnishlike substance (probably gum arabic) on the grayish green wash toward the right; brown framing lines at the top and bottom and dark brown framing lines at the sides. 121 x 186 mm. Annotated at the bottom right corner in pen and brown ink: *A Cuijp*.

Near the center of the left edge, a light brown water stain about 35 x 25 mm; parts of a vertical drying fold near the left edge.

PROVENANCE: John Rushout (1770–1859), earl of Northwick, Northwick Park and Cheltenham; John, Lord Northwick (d. 1887); his grandson Captain Edward George Spencer-Churchill; Northwick sale, Sotheby's, London, 1–4 November 1920, lot 142, ill. (to Daniell); [Lock Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1964, p. 33; New York 1976, no. 4; New York 1979–80, no. 4, ill.; New York 1991.

This drawing is closely related to *A Windmill by a River* in a private collection in Rotterdam (Fig. 59.1).¹ The Rotterdam sheet is about the same size as the Lehman drawing (125 x 188 mm); it is also washed in gray, yellow, and green; and it too was included in the sale of Lord Northwick's collection in London in 1920. Aelbert Cuyp used the companion drawing for a painting (formerly A. Laan collection, Bloemendaal; in 1991 with P. de Boer, Amsterdam) that on stylistic grounds can be dated to about 1641–42.² The Lehman drawing was therefore probably also made about that time or somewhat earlier.

The Lehman and Rotterdam sheets share a number of characteristics with a series – or perhaps more than one

series, possibly originally from sketchbooks – of landscape drawings that Cuyp made in the early 1640s.³ Most of the drawings are also river views that may have been sketched in and around Dordrecht, they are also drawn in black chalk and colored with green and yellow watercolor (though some of them have white body color in the sky and small touches of red or reddish brown watercolor), and like the Lehman drawing many of them are partly covered with a transparent substance that is probably gum arabic.

The *River Scene with Fishermen Mending Their Nets* in the British Museum, London, is particularly closely related in motif and execution, especially in the handling

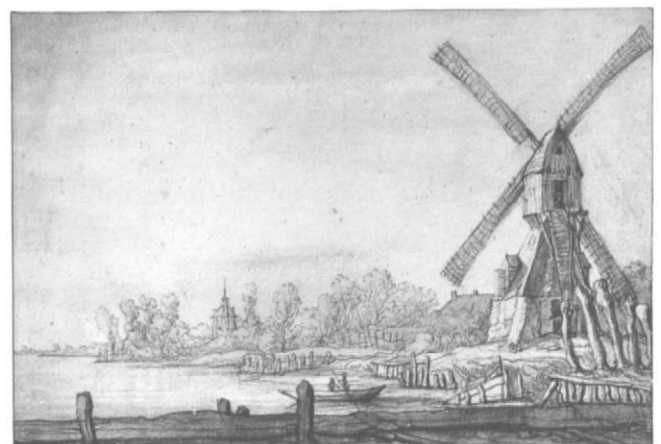


Fig. 59.1 Aelbert Cuyp, *A Windmill by a River*. Private collection, Rotterdam



No. 59

of the trees.⁴ Other similar drawings in the series are in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; Amsterdams Historisch Museum (Collectie Fodor); the Paul Russell collection, Amsterdam; the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; the Art Institute of Chicago; the British Museum, London, and the Albertina, Vienna. The Lehman *River Landscape with Sailboats* and the drawing in Rotterdam are somewhat smaller than the drawings in the series, most of which measure about 140 by 195 millimeters, and they do not appear to have been cut down. Whether they were part of the series or not, however, they surely originated in the years 1640–42.⁵

EHB

NOTES:

1. Northwick sale 1920, lot 141, ill. (to Colnaghi for Count De Robiano, Brussels); Robiano sale, A.W.M. Mensing, Amsterdam, 15–16 June 1926, lot 366 (to Meyer Elte for

Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, The Hague); Hofstede de Groot sale, 4 November 1931, lot 50 (to D. G. van Beuningen); Hannema 1949, no. 156, fig. 212; Reiss 1975, ill. p. 49.

2. Reiss 1975, ill. p. 49; Chong 1992, p. 275, no. 14.

3. Van Gelder and Jost recognized the existence of one or more series and analyzed the dates, techniques, and provenances of the drawings (see Van Gelder in Amsterdam 1968b, p. 14, under no. 31; Van Gelder and Jost in Poughkeepsie 1976, pp. 61–63, under no. 45; and Van Gelder and Jost in Washington, D.C.–Denver–Fort Worth 1977, pp. 69, 70).

4. Hind 1915–32, vol. 3, p. 70, no. 11. The drawing is also colored in green, yellow, and gray, but it is larger (142 x 192 mm) and has white in the sky and touches of brownish red, red, and brown.

5. The Van Gelders did not mention the Lehman drawing as belonging to the series either in their published statements or in their unpublished notes on Cuyp (now with the author), but they indicated its proximity to the drawing in London (see note 4 above) by filing photographs of the two drawings together.

Aelbert Cuyp

60. View of the Groote Kerk in Dordrecht from the River Maas

1975.I.768

Black chalk and moistened black chalk, gray wash (mainly in the clouds, water, and sails), greenish yellow and grayish green wash (in the trees and under the houses at the left), and touches of brown chalk (in and under the houses at the left and on the large sailboat). 182 x 368 mm. Annotated on the verso in an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand in pen and brown ink: *Dortse groote kerk*; in pencil or black chalk: N° 60 and *f.f.y.*

Vertical fold within a drying fold about 123 mm from the right edge.

PROVENANCE: The Misses Alexander, London; Alexander sale, Sotheby's, London, 21 October 1963, lot 57, ill. (to P. and D. Colnaghi, London, for Robert Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 3; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 5, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1985–86; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 20, colorpl. 6.

LITERATURE: Van Gelder and Jost 1972, pp. 227, 238, fig. 5 (as before 1647); Reiss 1975, p. 117, ill. (as related to Dulwich painting); Murray 1980, p. 48 (as related to Dulwich painting); Chong 1992, p. 467, under no. C59 (as related to Rotterdam painting).

The Groote Kerk in Dordrecht, here seen from the northeast, is still the same today; the mill in front of it to the left and the buildings to the right of it have all gone. Aelbert Cuyp perhaps sketched this topographically accurate scene either from Zwijndrecht, opposite Dordrecht on the other side of the river Maas, or, more likely, from a boat on the river.

The prominent double structure to the right of the church and closer to the viewer is the Blaeuw Poort, one of the city gates. To the right of it is the bastion De Engelenburch and farther to the right is the high roof of the Gevangenpoort, which functioned as a city gate as well as a jail. The Engelenburch seems to have lost its roof, however, and to the right of it the covered gallery leading from the Engelenburch to the Papenbolwerk is missing. According to Matthys Balen's *Beschryvinge der Stad Dordrecht*, which was published in 1677, the Nieuwe Haven was provided with a stone *veste* (wall) in 1647.¹ The drawing clearly shows this stone embankment, but it does not record the stone facing around the mill or the extension to the right of the mill that was also built in 1647. Balen describes the expansion of 1647 as the Seventh Enlargement, which among other

things was meant to “de Nieu-Haven een Langer Geut of Loop te verleenen, Doorborende den Dam voor Engelenburg” (provide the Nieuwe Haven with a longer stretch of water, piercing the dam in front of the Engelenburch). The Engelenburch was converted into a house in 1647, and the walkway and the Papenbolwerk were torn down at that time to make room for the digging of one more harbor, the Maartensgat. If indeed these changes are recorded in the drawing, which is likely, Cuyp sketched this view in 1647–48 or shortly before that.

The mill was situated on the southwestern end of the strip of reclaimed land between what is now called the Wolwevershaven and the river, at the point where this harbor at the time opened into the river and a short distance to the west of where it and the Nieuwe Haven now connect. Wolwevershaven and Nieuwe Haven, which now form one body of water running from the Grootshoofdpoort to the Groote Kerk in a northeast to southwesterly direction, are together referred to as Nieuwe Haven by Balen (see Fig. 60.1). He calls the strip of land on which the mill was situated Wolle-Wevers-Kaey, and his description of the earlier development of this part of town suggests that the spot where the mill stood was called Sint Joost Hoek.



Fig. 60.1 Joan Blaeu, map of Dordrecht, 1649



No. 60

The prominent mill of this drawing is depicted in detail in a painting by a follower of Cuyp (Kunsthalle Bremen) that also includes the houses that were built in 1652 (and do not appear in this drawing) on a landfill in the Maas to the northwest of the church on the stretch of riverfront now called the Hooikade, between the Katharyne Poort and the Mazelaars, or Sint Anna Poort.² In the view of Dordrecht from the river that Romeyn de Hooghe sketched for Balen's book in 1677 the stone parapets near the mill are clearly visible, but the mill itself has gone.³

Cuyp also sketched the mill from the other direction, looking toward Zwijndrecht and its gallows in the distance on the other side of the river. That drawing, in the British Museum, London, dates to about 1640–43.⁴ Another of his drawings (Fig. 60.2), in the Collectie Stichting P. en N. de Boer in Amsterdam, again shows the church and neighboring areas, this time from the northwest and certainly before the alterations of 1647, as the Engelenburch, the covered walkway, and the Papenbolwerk are still intact.⁵

The Lehman view of Dordrecht's church, with the prominent mill in front of it, served as the model for the background of the painting *Cattle on a Bank near Dordrecht*, which is known from various versions, none of

them probably by Aelbert Cuyp himself. In the best versions, in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam,⁶ and the Dulwich Picture Gallery, London,⁷ the background closely follows the drawing, including the houses and the mill to the left and even the large sailboat to the right. The drawing also left its mark, with variations, in Cuyp's painting *Fishing under the Ice near Dordrecht* (Marquess of Tavistock collection, Bedford Estate, Woburn Abbey, England).⁸

EHB

NOTES:

1. Balen 1677, pp. 64, 65.
2. Hofstede de Groot 1906, no. 654; Busch and Schultze 1973, pl. 45 (as Aelbert Cuyp). The painting was acquired by the Kunsthalle Bremen in 1973 as a gift from NordMende; until 1956 it was in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (bequest of William K. Vanderbilt; Burroughs 1924, p. 71, no. C99.4; sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, 27 March 1956, lot 50 [as manner of Aelbert Cuyp]).
3. Balen 1677, ill. following p. 74.
4. British Museum, Gg. 2-295; Hind 1915–32, vol. 3, p. 70, no. 10.
5. Van Gelder and Jost 1972, pp. 227–29, fig. 6; Dordrecht 1977–78, no. 64, ill. (black chalk with gray wash, 186 x 504 mm).
6. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2491; Hofstede de Groot 1906, no. 384; Chong 1992, pp. 467–68, no. C59.

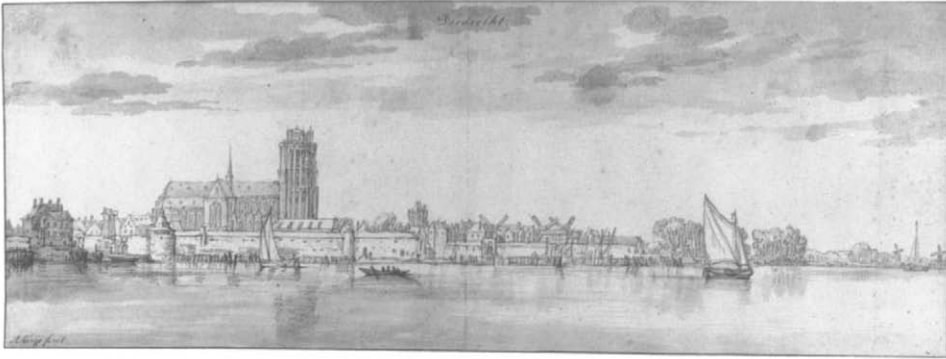


Fig. 60.2 Albert Cuyp, *View of the Grootte Kerk in Dordrecht from the Northwest*. Collectie Stichting P. en N. de Boer, Amsterdam

7. Hofstede de Groot 1906, no. 201a; Reiss 1975, p. 117; Murray 1980, no. 144. Reiss and Murray related the Lehman drawing to the Dulwich painting. Chong (1992, pp. 467–68) considers the Rotterdam version, to which he thinks the Lehman drawing relates, the best one and possibly a record of an original painting by Cuyp; according to him the version in Dulwich is further removed. He also lists the other versions, including one in the Timken Art Gallery, San Diego (Hofstede de Groot 1906, no. 385).
8. Chong 1992, pp. 402–3, no. 156. There are also four other versions, one being the painting in the M. H. de Young Museum, San Francisco (63-22-1; Hofstede de Groot 1906, no. 736), that is possibly by Abraham Calraet (as I now believe, in agreement with Chong and contrary to my statement in *Apollo* 111 [1980], pp. 107–8).



No. 60, detail

Allaert van Everdingen

Alkmaar 1621–Amsterdam 1675

Allaert van Everdingen expanded the subject and scope of Dutch landscape painting and drawing by introducing dramatic views of rocky cliffs and waterfalls inspired by his trip to Sweden and Norway in 1640–44. His teachers, Roeland Saverij and, to a lesser extent, Pieter Molyn, may have stimulated his interest in these

wild, uncultivated landscapes, which later, in the 1650s and 1660s, had a great impact on Jacob van Ruisdael and Jan van Kessel. Van Everdingen lived in Haarlem and, after 1652, in Amsterdam, where he also worked as an art dealer, a painter and draftsman of marines, and an engraver of landscapes and illustrations.

Allaert van Everdingen

61. Fishing Boats and a Man with a Net

1975.I.772

Brush and brown ink. 67 x 95 mm. Signed or annotated at the bottom left corner in pen and ink: AVE.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Robert Lehman in Boston in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 9, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 8, ill.; New York 1991.

See No. 62.

Allaert van Everdingen

62. Harbor Scene

1975.I.773

Brush and brown ink. 68 x 95 mm. Signed at the bottom left in pen and ink: AVE.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Robert Lehman in Boston in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 8, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 9, ill.; New York 1991.

Whereas the majority of Allaert van Everdingen's marine paintings depict stormy weather with tossing ships, his numerous drawings of Dutch marine subjects, includ-

ing these two (see also No. 61), represent calm harbors on still days. His *Seascape* in the Hamburger Kunsthalle and the *Naval Battle* in the Albertina, Vienna, are similar in style and composition to the drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection.¹

EHB

NOTE:

1. Kunsthalle, 21899, and Albertina, 9584; Davies 1978, p. 92, figs. 53, 54.



No. 61



No. 62

Adriaen van Ostade

Haarlem 1610–Haarlem 1685

More than any other subject, Adriaen van Ostade depicted the world of the peasant. According to Houbraken, Van Ostade was a pupil of Frans Hals, and it is conceivable that in Hals's studio he encountered Adriaen Brouwer, whose own peasant scenes seem to have

influenced Van Ostade's early works. In Van Ostade's later paintings the palette is lighter and the subjects are more civilized. He also made drawings, engravings, and, later in his career, watercolors that are self-contained, independent works.

Style of Adriaen van Ostade

63. Peasants Carousing in a Barn

1975.I.789

Pen and brown ink and brown, gray, and reddish brown wash over black chalk. 194 x 283 mm (oval). Annotated on the verso in pen and brown ink: [] *voit au commencement*(?); in pencil: "ISAAC VAN OSTADE / 1621-1649 / Ex Coll. LeROY BACKUS"; and in another hand in pencil: "gemälde- / ähnl. Raum(?) / Lempertz 14.-17. Nov 56."

Laid down on rectangular backing paper.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Delteil, Paris, 27 February 1924, lot 108, ill. (as Isaac van Ostade); LeRoy Backus, Seattle; [Helene C. Seiferheld Gallery, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in January 1963.¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 73; New York 1979-80, no. 21, ill. (in both as Isaac van Ostade); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Schnackenburg 1981, vol. 1, p. 228, no. F193 (as in imitation of Adriaen van Ostade's early style).

The types of the figures, their activities, and the setting of this scene resemble works by Adriaen van Ostade of the late 1630s, but the manner of drawing does not. Neither does Adriaen's younger brother Isaac (see No. 64) appear to be the author. The artist was probably, as Schnackenburg suggested, imitating Adriaen's style.

A better version of the drawing, also in an oval, was exhibited with Brian Koetser in London in the summer of 1976.²

EHB

NOTES:

1. Seiferheld invoice dated 7 January 1963 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. *Connoisseur* 192 (May 1976), ill. p. 92 (as Isaac van Ostade).



No. 63

Isaac van Ostade

Haarlem 1621–Haarlem 1649

In his short career Isaac van Ostade produced not only peasant genre scenes in the manner of his brother Adriaen, who Houbraken said was his teacher, but also later painted outdoor scenes expressing his own vision. The

most successful of these are winter landscapes. Isaac's drawings often are more linear and angular than his brother's. His watercolors are easily confused with those of Cornelis Dusart.

Copy after Isaac van Ostade(?)

64. Peasant Family in a Barn

1975.1.788

Pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, and watercolor (mainly brown, gray, red, green, yellow) over traces of black chalk. 271 x 386 mm. Annotated at the bottom left in pen and dark brown ink: AVO (in monogram) 1653.

Vertical drying fold and a second fold near the center; creased; left corner torn and replaced; some holes along the top and bottom.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York; sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 18 February 1921, lot 68, ill.; [Richard Ederheimer, New York].

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 269, ill.; New York 1964, p. 27; New York 1976, no. 19; New York 1979–80, no. 20, ill.; New York 1985–86 (in all as Adriaen van Ostade); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Eisler 1963, no. 82, ill., jacket ill. (as Adriaen van Ostade); Schnackenburg 1981, vol. 1, p. 227, no. F192,

vol. 2, p. 301, fig. 123 (as possibly after an early painting by Isaac van Ostade).

Both Adriaen and the young Isaac van Ostade made paintings and drawings of barn interiors in the early 1640s. The elaborate coloring in this drawing resembles finished drawings by Adriaen and the summary definition of detail finds some parallels in works by the two brothers, but the combination of color and sketchiness is alien to both and the similarities are not enough to warrant an attribution to either artist. Furthermore, 1653, the date written on the drawing, seems too late for the composition. The simple and somewhat amateurish execution of this reasonably sophisticated scene indicates that the drawing may well be a copy, perhaps, as Schnackenburg has suggested, after a work by Isaac.

EHB



No. 64

Cornelis Dusart

Haarlem 1660–Haarlem 1704

Cornelis Dusart, a gifted pupil of Adriaen van Ostade, continued the peasant subjects and style of his teacher in paintings, drawings, and etchings until the end of the seventeenth century. His drawings are often confused with those of his fellow pupil Isaac van Ostade.

Cornelis Dusart

65. The Schoolmaster

1975.I.771

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash. 152 x 197 mm. Signed(?) in pen and brown ink in the bottom right corner: *c. dusart*.

Laid down.

PROVENANCE: Sale (from the collections of Landgerichtsrat ausser Dienst [Retired Judge] Rudolf Peltzer, Cologne, and others), H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, 13–14 May 1914, lot 128, pl. 8; Ruth H. Heidsick, New York; Gallery Heidsick estate sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, 12 May 1960, lot 53; [Harlow, McDonald and Co., New York].

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 6; New York 1979–80, no. 7, ill.; New York 1991.

The subject and execution of this drawing derive from the schoolroom scenes by Adriaen van Ostade and his circle (see Nos. 63, 64). The drawing was first carried out with pen and brown ink and was subsequently redrawn over its entire surface by an inferior hand with the brush

and gray ink. The figure type and the pen lines of the original drawing resemble certain works by Cornelis Dusart, who was Van Ostade's pupil, sufficiently to suggest attributing it to Dusart himself.¹ A drawing similar in composition and subject that Schnackenburg attributed to Dusart was on the London art market in 1974.²

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NOTES:

1. See specifically Schnackenburg 1981, nos. F36 (Maida and George Abrams collection, Boston; fig. 73), F42 (Collection De Grez, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; fig. 70), F234 (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; fig. 79).
2. Sale, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, London, 22 November 1974, lot 13, ill. Schnackenburg's attribution was mentioned and adopted by the sale catalogue. The drawing is based on Adriaen van Ostade's etching *The Schoolmaster* (Bartsch 17, Hollstein 17).



No. 65

Rembrandt van Rijn

Leiden 1606–Amsterdam 1669

Rembrandt is often considered the outstanding Dutch artist of the seventeenth century. He was a masterful painter, draftsman, and etcher who keenly observed his surroundings and summarized his vision with the seeming effortless handling of the brush, pen, and stylus. His

acute understanding of the human psyche and deft expression of it are brilliantly manifest in his graphic work, for example *The Last Supper* (No. 66). The impact of his genius was felt not only by his contemporaries and pupils but also by succeeding generations of artists.

Rembrandt van Rijn

66. *The Last Supper, after Leonardo da Vinci*

1975.1.794

Red chalk; some lines, particularly under the canopy, broken into small bits, apparently due to a rough surface (such as a plank) having been placed under the paper; ruled framing line in red chalk possibly by the artist. 364 x 473 mm. Inscribed and signed in red chalk along the lower border: *Wt[] d[] Rembrant f* (the words preceding “Rembrandt” erased at an unknown date); annotated in red chalk at the bottom right: *f 10-*. On the verso, a half-length sketch of Christ (now barely visible), in red chalk, and accountings in black chalk or pencil in an old hand (not Rembrandt’s).

PROVENANCE: Friedrich August II of Saxony, Dresden (1797–1854; Lugt 971 on the recto), and his descendants.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 122; Washington, D.C., and other cities 1958–59, no. 60; Cincinnati 1959, no. 268, ill.; New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, no. 9, pl. 9; New York 1964, p. 27; Chicago–Minneapolis–Detroit 1969–70, no. 100, ill.; Washington, D.C.–Denver–Fort Worth 1977, no. 33, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 23, ill.; Washington, D.C. 1983–84, no. 15, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1988a, no. 31, ill.; New York 1995–96, no. 56, color ill.

LITERATURE: Lippmann and Hofstede de Groot 1888–1911, vol. 2 (1889), no. 99, ill.; Müntz 1892, pp. 203, 206, 208, ill.; Michel 1893, pp. 406, 578, colorpl. 71 (as entirely by Rembrandt); Hofstede de Groot 1894, p. 178; Kleinmann 1894–99, vol. 6, no. 53, ill.; Kristeller 1901, p. 163; Neumann 1902, pp. 436–37, fig. 106 (as drawn in 1630s, redrawn in 1650s); Neumann 1905, pp. 452ff.; Valentiner 1905, pp. 75–78; Graul 1906, p. 13, no. 25, ill.; Hofstede de Groot 1906, pp. 71–72, no. 297 (as ca. 1635); Michel 1906, ill. p. 74; Hind 1915–32, vol. 1 (1915), under no. 3; Sirén 1916, p. 113, ill.; Neumann 1918, pp. 106–12, fig. 34 (detail); Neumann 1919, no. 58, ill.; Pfister and Dehmel 1920, colorpl. 6 (actual size before surface cleaning; F. A. stamp obliterated in ill.); Singer 1921, no. 625, fig. 39; Neumann 1924, pp. 469–70; Freise, Lilienfeld, and Wichmann 1925, pp. 9, 20, no. 105 (as an “overdrawn red chalk drawing”); Kauffmann 1926, p. 177; Weisbach 1926, pp. 197–99,

fig. 446; Bock and Rosenberg (1930) 1931, p. 238, under no. 1369 (wrongly as in the British Museum); Hell 1930, p. 111, n. 1; Lugt 1931, p. 62, under no. 1369; Hind 1932, p. 61, pl. 39; Van Rijckevorsel 1932, pp. 236–37, fig. 293; Valentiner 1925–34, vol. 2 (1934), p. 195, ill. p. 409, no. 623 (the initial sketch as by a pupil); Benesch 1935, p. 21; Goetz 1941, p. 12, no. 36, ill.; Poortenaar 1943, no. 40; Benesch 1947a, p. 19, no. 45 (as entirely by Rembrandt); Benesch 1947b, p. 22, pl. 45 (as ca. 1635); Hind 1948, vol. 5, p. 89 (as certainly after engraving by the Master of the Sforza Book of Hours); Van Regteren Altena 1949, p. 14; Lugt 1952, pp. 40–41; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 443, fig. 531; Nordenfalk 1956, pp. 79–80, n. 30; Van de Waal 1956, pp. 79–80, fig. 12; Sumowski 1956–57, p. 263; Krönig 1957, p. 164, n. 7; Münz 1957, pp. 221, 226, n. 2; Sumowski 1958, p. 198, pl. 70; *Life* 48, no. 15 (18 April 1960), p. 72, ill.; Maison 1960, p. 105, pl. 125; Gantner 1962, pp. 179–84, fig. 4; Scheidig 1962, p. 43, no. 45, fig. 45; White 1962, pp. 12–13; Rotermund (1963) 1969, p. 261, fig. 216; Gantner 1964, pp. 36–40 passim, fig. 12; White 1964, pp. 19, 134, n. 19, ill.; Slive 1965, vol. 1, no. 100, ill.; Clark 1966, pp. 53–57, fig. 43; Gerson 1968, p. 86, ill.; Licht 1968, p. 209; Hamann 1969, pp. 78, 152, 406, 434, fig. 110; Van de Waal 1969a, p. 85; Campbell 1971, pp. 69, 71, 78–81, 250–52; Benesch 1973, no. 443, fig. 500; Steinberg 1973, pp. 309, 386, n. 19, 406–7; Heydenreich 1974, p. 71, ill.; Van de Waal 1974, pp. 256–57, fig. 13; Szabo 1975, p. 104, fig. 187; Broos 1975–76, pp. 210, 221, n. 37; Haak 1976, p. 18, no. 16, ill.; Roberts 1976, p. 11, pl. 27; Broos 1977, pp. 105, 106; Mayor 1978–79, p. 29, fig. 23; Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 598, no. 6, ill.; Logan 1980, p. 58; Schatborn 1981, p. 15, fig. 5; Foucart 1982, p. 52, ill.; Slatkes 1983, p. 42, fig. 20; Schatborn 1985a, p. 186, n. 5, under no. 87; *Corpus*, vol. 2 (1986), p. 294; Guillaud and Guillaud 1986, fig. 580; Lambert 1987, pp. 166, 168, fig. 159; *Corpus*, vol. 3 (1989), p. 254; Royalton-Kisch 1991, pp. 275–78; Berlin–Amsterdam–London 1991–92, pp. 14, 74, 77; Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, pp. 59–61, fig. 14a; Smith 1995, pp. 100–101, fig. 9; Wheelock 1995, pp. 248, 250, fig. 2; Limentani Virdis in Padua 1997, under no. 26, ill.¹



No. 66

EUROPEAN DRAWINGS



No. 66, detail



No. 66, detail

One can only speculate about Rembrandt's reasons for not having developed his own interpretation of the Last Supper.² In this drawing he paraphrased Leonardo's *Last Supper*.³ Where Leonardo had renewed the tradition of the Last Supper by depicting the figures' expressions, from simple surprise to bewildered disbelief, primarily through their gestures, Rembrandt made their reactions more dynamic. He signed the drawing at the bottom and added a comment, which was later obliterated and is now indecipherable.⁴ Whatever he wrote, the drawing itself states clearly that Rembrandt was stimulated by a host of artistic challenges, notably how to convey the figures' emotions and how to render the space in which he placed them.

As Kristeller first recognized in the late nineteenth century, the direct model for Rembrandt's drawing was the first print ever made of Leonardo's fresco, soon after it was completed in 1497.⁵ The print (Fig. 66.1) is a rather faithful but uninspired rendering of the original. It is not signed, but the artist responsible for it is thought to be the Milanese printmaker Giovanni Pietro da Birago. The print is distinguished from all other primary reproductions by the presence of a dog in the right bottom corner, a feature Rembrandt adopted.

At first glance, Rembrandt's drawing is impressive because of its size. (It is the largest drawing he made, perhaps influenced by the large size of the print, which measures 230 by 450 millimeters.)⁶ Yet it is the decisive, unequivocal characterization of the figures, with their expressive gestures and attitudes defined with boldly drawn lines, that captures the viewer's attention and imagination. Rembrandt began by sketching a preliminary version thinly and tentatively in hard red chalk.⁷ In appearance and function this preliminary drawing resembles the first thin outlines in pen he set down when starting to draw figures and scenes from his imagination as a draft to be elaborated and changed. This implies that right from the beginning Rembrandt wanted to interpret Leonardo's *Last Supper*, rather than simply copy it.⁸ When he reworked the drawing with softer red chalk, he largely suppressed the earlier, more tentative sketch, but left certain passages of it visible, either by incorporating them into the new version and using them for detail or simply by not covering them with white. The tilted head of Christ, including his finely drawn hair and beard, and certain architectural elements, as well as the contours of the canopy, remained visible even though they had become superfluous. Other parts of the early sketch – Christ's right hand, the figure of Saint Peter,

and the dog – were incorporated into the new one without much change. Likewise, the body of Saint John (the figure directly to Christ's right) and large sections of the group of three apostles immediately to his left (including Saint Thomas, who is lifting his hand and index finger) are largely from the first sketch. By providing detail, the early sketch allowed Rembrandt the expressive economy of his final design.

The final drawing dominates the scene, presenting each apostle as a distinct individual who displays his own reaction to Christ's astonishing charge that one among them will betray him. Rembrandt emphasized the surprise and bewilderment of all the apostles but one – Judas – who sits quietly, clutching the purse. Bartholomew, at the very left, rises and rests his hands on the table as if to steady himself. Andrew lifts both his hands in a gesture of denial, as if to say that he is not the guilty one. Peter, the figure behind Judas, leans to the right, whispering to the young John. On Christ's left, James Major flings wide his arms in surprised denial in a far more convincing way than in Birago's print, and Matthew gestures to Christ with both hands while speaking to Thaddeus and Simon at the end of the table. For Rubens, the Last Supper represented the institution of the Eucharist, for Rembrandt it was a human drama.⁹

Rembrandt attached vital importance to the space behind the apostles, and he began the transformation of the background in the first sketch by constructing a wall directly behind the figures.¹⁰ He pushed the table and the figures toward the viewer and eliminated the large hall that in Leonardo's *Cenacolo* and the print after it by Birago pulls the figures back into space and makes them look smaller. Rembrandt structured the wall and articulated its surface in both versions of his sketch with great care.¹¹ In the first, tentative drawing, he placed a canopy over Christ that at that stage was marked by a certain bulging toward the top and right but was not entirely clear in its construction. In the second, reworked version, he solidified the canopy's structure and made it protrude from the back wall by squaring it and heightening its corners, as well as by defining the curtains. The monumental canopy adds to the drama of the scene below. By placing it off center (with his usual abhorrence of symmetry), Rembrandt eliminated Leonardo's classical balance, thus destroying the assumption created by Leonardo's symmetrical composition that Christ occupies the central place at the table. The only light in the shadow-filled space under the canopy radiates from

Christ, creating an effect that is present in the first version but even more pronounced in the second.¹²

Another interpretation of Leonardo's painting by Rembrandt, in the British Museum, London (Fig. 66.2),¹³ is closely related to the Lehman drawing. The bold lines of the London drawing, which represents only the apostles on the left and Christ's outstretched right arm and hand, are drawn in the same red chalk. The scene was drawn on the same scale as the Lehman drawing, and if it included the whole composition it would be the same size.¹⁴ The preliminary drawing, though more directly fused figure by figure to the later, heavier one, is also similar to that on the Lehman sheet. Rembrandt signed the London drawing as well, but only the tops of the letters remained after it was trimmed along the bottom.¹⁵ The London and Lehman drawings were therefore probably executed about the same time, yet they were not after the same model. As Van Regteren Altena was the first to suggest, for the London *Last Supper* Rembrandt used Pieter Soutman's drawing (Chatsworth; Fig. 66.3) for a print after a lost design by Rubens.¹⁶ The diagonal stretch of drapery behind the three apostles closest to Christ and the pointing hand of Saint Peter under Saint John's head appear in both Soutman's drawing and the one in London, and the borderline at the right cuts off Christ's shoulder at the same point in both. It was thus either Soutman's drawing or a variant of it that served Rembrandt as a model. Rembrandt apparently reformulated the three apostles on the left, covering the figures partly with white chalk (now abraded), turning Saint Andrew toward the left, and changing the height of the figures.

The question arises whether the London drawing was a preliminary effort preceding the Lehman drawing or a further interpretation of it, made primarily to modify the arrangement of some of the apostles. Because Rembrandt adhered so closely to Birago's model for the three apostles at the extreme left, it is more probable that the Lehman drawing preceded the London version.¹⁷ That Rembrandt would have returned to Birago's restraint after having seen the greater liveliness of Soutman's design is unlikely. Rembrandt must have known Soutman's drawing, however, before he executed the Lehman *Last Supper*. The lowered head of Saint Peter, the rendering of his decidedly pointed hand beneath Saint John's chin, and the slant of Judas's arm resting on the table indicate that Rembrandt was familiar with Soutman's copy of Rubens. Furthermore, it is quite possible, even highly likely, that the greater vitality of the scene as a whole reflects a stimulus from Rubens, through Soutman's drawing.

Immediately after his intense engagement with Leonardo's *Last Supper* as it is witnessed in the Lehman and British Museum drawings, Rembrandt distanced himself from his example in order to benefit from it further for his own artistic aims. In a smaller, yet still relatively large pen drawing he made in 1635, as he was careful to note on the drawing itself (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin),¹⁸ he started out again with a very thin preliminary sketch, deviating from his example as he did in the Lehman drawing. Then he further broke the obsessive horizontal linearity of Leonardo's composition by emphasizing the extreme lateral figures at the short sides of the table (where they are visible full length) and by abandoning



Fig. 66.1 Giovanni Pietro da Birago, after Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper (with a Spaniel)*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders



Fig. 66.2 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Last Supper*. © British Museum, London, 1900-6-11-7



Fig. 66.3 Pieter Soutman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Last Supper*. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, 677. Reproduced by permission of the Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art



Fig. 66.4 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Wedding Feast of Samson*. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. 1560

the rigid grouping of the apostles in threes and intensifying their gestures and expressions. The Berlin drawing demonstrates that Rembrandt's intense interest in Leonardo's *Last Supper* focused on the representation of figures conversing with one another and the expression of the apostles' states of mind.¹⁹ The related issues of representing figures interacting with each other and representing a state of mind by bodily movement were two of Rembrandt's main concerns throughout his career, and his mastery in doing so was one of his main contributions to art.

One finds the unmistakable effects of Leonardo's *Last Supper* in this respect first in Rembrandt's *Incredulity of Thomas* of 1634 (Pushkin Museum, Moscow) and in his *Studies of a Disciple at Emmaus* of about 1633–34 (Bartsch 87) in the Fondation Custodia, Paris.²⁰ Joseph's brother who leans on his elbow on the table and faces

the viewer in the oil sketch *Joseph Telling His Dreams* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,²¹ and the etching which Rembrandt based on it (Bartsch 37; dated 1638), seems a paraphrase of the figure of Judas in the Lehman and London drawings. In both drawings Rembrandt made repeated efforts to define the figure, and he remembered it when designing the oil sketch. These lessons also bore fruit in his later works. One thinks particularly of etchings like *The Hundred Guilder Print* of about 1649 (Bartsch 74) and *Christ Preaching (La Petite Tombe)* of about 1652 (Bartsch 67), but instances abound throughout his work. Jupiter in the painting *Philemon and Baucis* of about 1658 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)²² still recalls the figure of Christ in Leonardo's *Last Supper*.

For depictions of Christ and his apostles, or other compositions in which a group of figures gathers on either side of a central figure, Rembrandt often returned to Leonardo's solution. As has frequently been observed, his etching and painting of Christ at Emmaus and his late *Batavians' Oath of Allegiance* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) are dependent in part on impulses he received from Leonardo's fresco.²³ In both his representations of Christ at Emmaus, the painting of 1648 in the Louvre, Paris, and the etching of 1654 (Bartsch 87), Rembrandt based the image of Christ flanked by the two pilgrims on the *Last Supper*, and the arching canopy in the etching directly reflects the influence of the Lehman drawing. The links between the *Last Supper* and his *Wedding Feast of Samson* of 1638 in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden (Fig. 66.4), are also strong.²⁴ The groups of figures who listen attentively to the gesturing Samson are clearly related to the reworked group on the right side of the Lehman drawing.

Rembrandt dated neither the Lehman drawing nor the one in London, but the repercussions of Leonardo's *Last Supper* in Rembrandt's work of 1634 indicate that it was in that year that he became acquainted with it, and probably also in that year that he made the Lehman and British Museum paraphrases.²⁵

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NOTES:

1. The bibliography lists primarily scholarly publications.
2. I am grateful to Jan Leja for helping me gain a better understanding of Rembrandt's drawing by questioning traditional assumptions and suggesting alternative interpretations. Rembrandt's reasons for not developing his own version of the *Last Supper* may range from the theological (Stechow 1966, col. 551; Rotermund [1963] believes that

- Rembrandt was thinking of the Supper at Emmaus, where the risen Lord breaks bread with his brethren) to the purely artistic (Clark [1966, pp. 56, 57] supposes Rembrandt avoided subjects of which the formal possibilities were exhausted).
3. The most informative and balanced monograph on Leonardo's seminal work is Steinberg 1973.
 4. All that can be made out now are two or three letters at the beginning, which seem to read "Wt" for "From." The rest remains maddeningly obscure. Infrared and other special photographic methods have not been helpful in this respect.
 5. Hofstede de Groot (1894) gave credit to Kristeller for the discovery. Kristeller himself mentioned the relationship in 1901 (p. 163), stating that he considered the engraving, which he thought was by Antonio da Monza, better than three other early prints of the *Last Supper*, in spite of its limited quality. Hind (1948, vol. 5, p. 89, no. 9) discussed the engraving as a work by the Master of the Sforza Book of Hours, considering it the first print made after the *Last Supper*. Möller (1952, p. 163, fig. 107) also discussed it as the oldest print, but as by Zuan Andrea. That the artist who made the print was Giovanni Pietro da Birago (active from the early 1470s until at least 1513) is now generally accepted. (The history of this identification is set forth by Sheehan in Washington, D.C. 1973, pp. 272, 273). The engraving was not commissioned by Leonardo (Levenson in *ibid.*, p. 281).
 6. The drawing by Soutman, discussed below, may also have had an influence in this respect. It measures 202 by 515 millimeters. Rembrandt's second largest drawing, *Cottage near the Entrance to a Wood* (299 x 455 mm) is also in the Robert Lehman Collection (No. 69).
 7. Valentiner's opinion (1925-34, vol. 2, p. 409; seconded by Münz [1957], who considered Constantijn van Renesse its author; by Campbell [1971, pp. 69, 86]; and tentatively by Schatborn [1985a, p. 186]) that the first drawing is the work of a student failed to take into consideration the fundamental differences between this first drawing and the print, which seem more readily attributable to Rembrandt than to a pupil in the early 1630s. (Schatborn withdrew his opinion in a letter to the Metropolitan Museum of 16 March 1995, as stated in New York 1995-96, vol. 2, p. 158, n. 1, under no. 56.) The role of the first drawing has been discussed in some detail only by Clark (1966, p. 54) and Royalton-Kisch (1991, pp. 275-78). Royalton-Kisch (in London 1992, pp. 60, 61) correctly observes a similarity between the underdrawings in the Lehman and London drawings. My discussions with Justus Müller Hofstede (in Chicago in 1969) and Jan Leja (in New York in 1996 and 1997) about the preliminary drawing on the Lehman sheet were helpful. Strictly speaking, this preliminary version was not Rembrandt's first effort. On the verso he apparently sketched a figure of Christ half-length, starting his copy with the principal figure at the center of the sheet, and then abandoned it. This sketch is now barely legible (and is therefore not reproduced here) partly because of the glue remaining from a backing that was removed, but it seems to be drawn in the same red chalk as the initial sketch on the recto, and it is too sharp to be the counterproof of a drawing stored next to it. Rembrandt probably abandoned it because the paper would have been too small for the entire scene had he continued on this scale. That he started with the central figure indicates that he followed a practice evident in two of his etchings, the *Virgin and Child in the Clouds* (Bartsch 61) of 1641 and the *Self-portrait Drawing at a Window* (Bartsch 22) of 1648, and in a drawing, *Two Indian Noblemen* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1,208). In all three cases he started with the head of the main figure, then turned the plate or paper upside down, started over in a different spot, and completed the figure.
 8. The appearance and function of such preliminary sketches in Rembrandt's drawings were discussed by Schatborn in Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991-92, p. 14.
 9. Steinberg (1973, p. 309), thinking primarily of the drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Benesch 445), stated that Rembrandt conceived of Leonardo's *Cenacolo* as pure psychodrama. The best analyses of Rembrandt's interest in Leonardo's *Last Supper* and its effect on his art were made by Clark (1966, pp. 54-64) and Campbell (1971, pp. 78-85). Campbell's assumption (p. 79) that the *Last Supper* had an effect on Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* of 1632 (Bredius 403; *Corpus*, vol. 2, no. A51) is less convincing. Gantner's 1964 discussion is marred by idiosyncrasies (as Stechow lucidly stated in 1966).
 10. Other artists before Rembrandt had closed off the space behind the figures. Marcantonio, for example, in his print (Bartsch 26) after Raphael (under Leonardo's influence), placed a wall broken by a Serliana in the center behind the scene, an idea adopted in the Netherlands by Pieter Coecke van Aelst. (Coecke's *Last Supper* and its various versions, precedents, and influence are discussed in Krönig 1957 and Marlier 1966, pp. 93-104); Hendrick Goltzius made a print after it in 1585. Karel van Mander, in *The Last Supper* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; Van Mander 1994- , vol. 2, p. 119, no. D7, ill.), a drawing of 1596 for a print by Zacharias Dolendo, placed wainscoting with pillars above it behind the table and figures and a canopy over Christ, with architectural space beyond. Frans Pourbus the Younger, in *The Last Supper*, a painting of 1618 in the Louvre, Paris (Brejon de Lavergnée, Foucart, and Reynaud 1979, p. 197, no. 1704, ill.), placed a table and figures derived from Leonardo in front of a broad cloth hanging in front of a wall with pilasters. Pieter Soutman, in his large print reflecting a composition of Rubens's (discussed below) placed the figures against a dark background and suspended a cloth of honor above them. For Soutman's print, see Voorhelm Schneevogt 1873, p. 38, no. 231; Rooses 1886-92, vol. 5, no. 1376; Möller 1952, p. 164, fig. 108; Bodart in Rome 1977, no. 24; Wheelock in Washington, D.C. 1983-84, no. 13; and particularly Gantner 1964, pp. 33-35, fig. 10; Royalton-Kisch 1991; and London 1992. Van de Waal (1969a, p. 85) interpreted the function of the wall behind the figures as a Caravaggesque means of propelling them toward the

- viewer. Steinberg (1973, p. 394, n. 1) noted that only rarely is the background left open in copies and adaptations of Leonardo's *Last Supper*. A large canopy behind Christ like the one in the Lehman drawing was represented in prints by Johannes Wierix (Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1978–83, no. 125, and others) and Karel van Mander (see above) and also in a sculpted triptych of about 1600 with the Last Supper in the center that was in the church in Duttonstedt, near Braunschweig (Möller 1937, cols. 41, 42, fig. 13).
11. To articulate the wall, Rembrandt placed a slim pilaster or column on a pedestal behind Simon, the apostle at the extreme right. Above the three apostles at the extreme left he seems to have pierced the wall with a doorway or arch. (Neumann [1902, p. 436] interpreted this passage as a window and saw it as a remnant of Leonardo's model.) Rembrandt reformulated these structures in the second version of the drawing, making them broader and flatter and thereby emphasizing the planar structure and its function as a barrier. For this purpose he constructed a broad, flat pilaster resting on an even broader base which overlaps the narrow pilasters of the earlier design. He indicated one, or possibly two, similar broad pilasters on the left and thus eliminated the window or archway.
 12. The element of radiance as a sign of the godlike nature of Christ was recognized as a fundamental feature of Rembrandt's interpretation of the subject by Rotermund (who does not mention this *Last Supper* in this context) in 1952.
 13. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 444, fig. 502 (1973, fig. 532); London 1992, no. 14 (red chalk, corrected with white, now partly abraded, 124 x 219 mm).
 14. The lesser detail and lighter pressure evident in the execution of Christ's arm near the right edge suggests that the drawing is not a fragment (as Neumann [1918, p. 109] and others thought) and that Rembrandt drew on the London sheet only this section of the subject.
 15. Schatborn (in Berlin–Amsterdam–London 1991–92, p. 52) suggested that Rembrandt signed these two versions of the *Last Supper*, as well as the one in Berlin (see below and note 18), to underscore the fact that the execution, not the invention, was his.
 16. As for Rubens's effect on Rembrandt in this case, Campbell (1971, p. 78) goes so far as to say that "while it was undoubtedly the example of Rubens which first led Rembrandt to study this composition, the enthusiasm with which the younger artist adapted its lessons to his own ends reveals his own recognition of its originality and potential usefulness." The model for Soutman's drawing and print is not known. A drawing from Rubens's workshop in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, and a painting attributed to Van Dyck (marked by strongly Rubensian features) in the José Luis Alvarez collection in Madrid probably reflect the influence of this lost model, albeit in different ways. The connection between the three works (Soutman print, Dijon drawing, and Madrid painting) is discussed by Wheelock in Washington, D.C. 1983–84, under no. 11 (the Dijon drawing). The painting attributed to Van Dyck is discussed in Brussels 1975, no. 13, and Madrid 1977–78, no. 23. Still unaware of Soutman's drawing and Van Regteren Altena's supposition, Clark (1966, p. 54) surmised that Rembrandt knew of a copy closer to Leonardo's original than the early Italian print. Royalton-Kisch (London 1992, pp. 59–61) persuasively defined the dependence of the London drawing on Rubens's (Soutman's) example.
 17. In the Lehman drawing Rembrandt redrew the three apostles at the very right, changing them substantially and confusing the design. By contrast, the three at the very left remained close to the Birago print. If he proceeded from left to right, it seems plausible that, wanting to redo the left half as well, he needed to start on a new piece of paper. But other scenarios could be imagined as well.
 18. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 445, fig. 501; Benesch 1973, fig. 533 (128 x 385 mm); best illustrated in a facsimile in Pfister and Dehmel 1920, pl. 7.
 19. Gantner (1964) and Campbell (1971, pp. 78–85) explore the influence of Leonardo's *Last Supper* on Rembrandt's work in great detail. See also note 9.
 20. As observed in the *Corpus*, vol. 2, p. 294, under no. A66.
 21. Bredius 504; *Corpus*, vol. 2, no. A66.
 22. Wheelock 1995, pp. 247–52, ill.
 23. Campbell 1971, pp. 80, 82–83.
 24. Van Rijckevorsel 1932, pp. 145–47. Slatkes (1983, pp. 43–51) has suggested that the similarity between the compositions of the Lehman drawing and the Dresden painting was determined not only by the typological relationship between their subjects but also by theoretical implications. Slatkes suggests, unconvincingly, that Rembrandt may intentionally have used both the composition of Leonardo's *Last Supper* and the counting gesture described by Leonardo in his *Trattato della pittura* as a challenge to the classical ideals championed by Joachim von Sandrart, who was living in Amsterdam at the time, and his circle. Although Rembrandt may have known Leonardo's *Trattato* (Clark 1966, pp. 64–67), the direct link needs to be established.
 25. One other drawing must be considered in this respect. In the same year, 1634, Rembrandt made the large *Christ and His Disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane* in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (Benesch 1973, no. 89, fig. 104; the subject convincingly suggested by Plomp [1997, no. 323]). Campbell (1971) considers the Teylers sketch to have been influenced by Leonardo's *Last Supper*; I believe that Rembrandt tried to represent the interaction of persons and the expression of their states of mind without the benefit of the contribution Leonardo made to such issues in his *Last Supper*. The Teylers drawing, which Rembrandt dated and which in its structure resembles an oil sketch, differs in every respect (composition, arrangement of figures, representation of the states of mind) from the *Last Supper*. The differences are so notable that one would assume that Rembrandt did not know Leonardo's work at the time. If that assumption is correct, he must have become familiar with it after he had drawn the Teylers sketch, but still in the course of 1634. This implies that the year 1633 assigned by the authors of the *Corpus* (no. A66) to the oil sketch *Joseph Telling His Dreams* (see note 21 above) would need to be changed to 1634.

Rembrandt van Rijn

67. Old Man Leaning on a Stick

1975.I.796

Pen and brown ink. 135 x 78 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the bottom left: *Rinbrant*.

Mounted along the top margin on a strip of paper 11 x 77 mm with a horizontal line in brown ink (largely covered by the drawing); top left corner below the strip made up with different paper. (The strip of paper may well have been part of the drawing before it was cut into pieces.)

PROVENANCE: Rodolphe Kann, Paris; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London](?); Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York].¹

EXHIBITED: New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, no. 18, pl. 15 (as ca. 1634–36); Chicago 1961 (as 1634–36; lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver); New York 1964, p. 31; New York 1979–80, no. 24, ill. (as 1633–35); New York 1991; New York 1995–96, no. 58, ill. (as 1635–40, comparable to studies from the late 1630s).

LITERATURE: Kann collection 1907, vol. 2, p. 81, no. 168, ill. (as *A Patriarch*); Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, p. 65, no. 260, fig. 277 (as ca. 1635); Van Gelder 1961, p. 151, n. 24; Benesch 1973, vol. 2, no. 260, fig. 307 (as ca. 1635).

Rembrandt executed this drawing in two stages: first he drew a complete sketch with fine pen lines, and then he reinforced and modified the form with broad strokes of the pen. By elongating and indenting the hat, enlarging the mantle, and changing the shape of the sleeve, he added individuality and presence to the figure. The two-step working method is typical of Rembrandt's pen drawings from the 1630s. His method of modifying and completing his own drawings had its origins in his chalk studies and etchings of the Leiden period, and he seems to have further developed this technique over the next decade.² One might see in these bold lines a parallel to his corrections of his pupils' drawings of that period. Many of his pupils subsequently adopted the combination of fine, precise strokes and broad, sketchy ones so beautifully exemplified by this drawing, and in so doing they transformed a working method into a stylistic manner.

Specific graphic parallels to this study are found in a number of similar sketches of standing figures by Rembrandt. The combination of parallel hatchings and delicate outlines, particularly noticeable in the Lehman drawing before Rembrandt reformulated it, appears in *Old Man with a Walking Stick* in the George and Maida

Abrams collection, Boston,³ and *Three Studies of a Bearded Man on Crutches* in the British Museum, London (Fig. 67.1).⁴ The London drawing also shares with the Lehman study the manner of defining the feet, hats, and faces. Although a precise date cannot be established, it is likely that Rembrandt made these and similar drawings about 1632–35, soon after he moved to Amsterdam.⁵

The figure Rembrandt sketched is neither a simple beggar nor a humble tradesman but rather a more dignified figure, sporting as he does a tall hat and a long mantle with large sleeves. The tilt of the old man's head, his facial expression, and the way he leans on his cane, his hands covering it, indicate that this is a study of a man listening intently. Rembrandt frequently depicted figures in the act of listening, as in *The Hundred Guilder Print* and *Christ Preaching* (Benesch 74, 67). The way he emphasized specific details of a figure's pose or the position of his hands and head suggests that these studies were from the mind rather than from life. Furthermore, such sketches may have been part of an album labeled *figurer schetsen* (figure sketches) in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656, whereby the word *schetsen* may suggest that they were imaginary.⁶



Fig. 67.1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Three Studies of a Bearded Man on Crutches*. © British Museum, London, Gg.2.252



No. 67

The trimming of the sheet and the absence of a setting indicate that it was probably cut from a larger sheet of studies like the one in the British Museum (Fig. 67.1).

EHB

NOTES:

- In June 1963 M. Knoedler and Co., New York, offered fifteen drawings by and attributed to Rembrandt for sale to a number of its clients (a typed list is in my possession). Fourteen were offered as a group, one separately. They all belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver of Chicago, who had acquired them shortly before 1960, when some of them were included in the exhibition of Rembrandt drawings in New York and Cambridge. Robert Lehman acquired the separate *Satire on Art Criticism* (No. 70) and ten of the group of fourteen (Nos. 67, 71-74, 76, 78-81). Mr. and Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw, New York, now own two of the remaining four: *Three Studies for a Descent from the Cross*

(which came to them via Norton Simon) and *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*; see Valentiner 1925-34, nos. 493, 343; Benesch 1954-57, nos. 934, 965; New York-Cleveland-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-76, no. 30; and New York-Richmond 1985-86, no. 7. The third, *Jacob and Rachel* by Ferdinand Bol, is in the collection of Maida and George Abrams, Boston (Valentiner 1925-34, no. 78; Benesch 1954-57, no. c.46; Sumowski 1979- , no. 260x; Amsterdam-Vienna-New York-Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991-92, no. 45), and the fourth, *Lion* (110 x 205 cm; formerly in the Defer-Dumesnil collection), cannot be located. Before Mr. and Mrs. Silver acquired the fourteen drawings they had belonged to Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice of New York. Nine of the fourteen (Nos. 71-73, 76, 78, 79, and Benesch 1954-57, nos. 934, 965, c.46) were recorded by Valentiner (1925-34; 1931) as being in the collection of Dr. Rice's wife, Eleanor Elkins Widener Rice of Newport. Mrs. Rice (1861-1937) had previously been married to

George Dunton Widener, who died on 15 April 1912 on the *Titanic* with their son, Harry Elkins Widener. It is possible, even likely, that the drawings came into her possession before she married Dr. Rice. The four other drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection are assumed to have belonged to her as well because they share earlier provenances with eight of those nine drawings: three (Nos. 67, 80, 81) had been in the collection of Rodolphe Kann, as had five of the group of nine (Nos. 71, 72, 79, and Benesch 1954–57, nos. 965, c.46), and one (No. 74) is purportedly from the collections of the earl of Warwick and Thomas Halstead, as are three of the nine (Nos. 76, 78, and Benesch 1954–57, no. 934). Nos. 74, 76, and 78 also shared the fate of having been “approved” by Seymour Haden, who wrote his initials on the reverse. As two of the Warwick/Halstead drawings (Nos. 74, 76) bear a Duveen stamp, it may be assumed that all four with that provenance came to Mrs. Rice through Duveen. Given Duveen’s

participation in the dispersal of the Kann collection and the formation of the Widener collection, it is likely that the group of eight from the Kann collection came to her via Duveen as well. Whether No. 73 was ever in the Kann or Warwick/Halstead collections has not been established.

2. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 1, nos. 40, 41, figs. 43, 44.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 224, fig. 245 (as ca. 1633–34); Amsterdam–Vienna–New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991–92, no. 44.
4. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 327, fig. 367 (as ca. 1636); London 1992, no. 8, ill. (as 1632–34).
5. Roylton-Kisch (in London 1992, p. 42, no. 8) adduced convincing arguments for such a date for the London drawing (Benesch 327), and Rosenberg (1956a, p. 69) also considered a date in the early 1630s likely for it.
6. See Bruyn 1983, pp. 58–59; Schatborn in Amsterdam–Vienna–New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991–92, p. 12; and Robinson in *ibid.*, p. 106.

Rembrandt van Rijn

68. Two Cottages

1975.I.801

Pen and brown ink (gallnut ink, possibly only partially), corrected with white chalk and/or body color. 150 x 191 mm.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby’s, London, 30 June 1948, lot 147; [P. and D. Colnaghi, London]; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]; [Rosenberg and Stibel, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1965.

EXHIBITED: Chicago–Minneapolis–Detroit 1969–70, no. 114, ill. (as ca. 1640–45); New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 28, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 22, colorpl. 7 (as ca. 1640–45); New York 1991; New York 1995–96, no. 59, ill.

LITERATURE: Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 462a, fig. 521 (as ca. 1632–33); Benesch 1973, vol. 2, no. 462a, fig. 51 (as ca. 1632–33); Logan 1980; Starcky in Paris 1988–89, under no. 19 (as ca. 1635–38 by implication); Washington, D.C. 1990, under no. 2 (as ca. 1633–36).

This sketch is a brilliant combination of the summary and the specific. With a minimum of lines, Rembrandt suggested the larger cottage, the wooden fence, the wagon, and the yard. The careful elimination with white chalk (now mostly abraded) of some of the thin lines, primarily on the thatched roof of the second cottage,¹ indicates the significance he attached to the remaining rapidly drawn lines of the roof and trees. Their seeming sketchiness was deliberately sought. In contrast, he elaborately specified numerous details of the

first cottage, including the two figures conversing on its front porch and another emerging from the shadow of a doorway, and the carriage, including the stick propping it up where one of the wheels is missing.

The Lehman drawing has been grouped with a number of sketches Rembrandt made around the outskirts of Amsterdam in the early 1640s, when he also produced several comparable landscape etchings.² The precise dating of *Two Cottages* remains uncertain, however. It could date as early as 1632, when Rembrandt etched cottages in a similar manner in the background of *The Rat-Catcher* (Bartsch 121; signed and dated RHL 1632), but it was most likely made about 1636, when he sketched two drawings of cottages now in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam,³ and the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,⁴ that although they are in silverpoint share the same spiky handling and emphasis on texture.

EHB

NOTES:

1. On the roof of the farther cottage: three parallel lines to the right of the rightmost tree, one vertical line in the lower part between the two trees, and a short line near the top, also between the trees; on the roof of the nearer cottage he corrected two areas on the thatched “overhang” with white and reformulated the details on top of it.



No. 68

2. Benesch 1954-57, vol. 4, no. 794, fig. 939 (Albertina, Vienna), no. 795, fig. 946 (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm), no. 796, fig. 944 (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), all of which Benesch dated 1640-41. The drawing was compared with those drawings and the etchings Bartsch 225 and 226 of 1641 and Bartsch 228 and 213 of 1645 in Chicago-Minneapolis-Detroit 1969-70, no. 114.

3. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, R25 (silverpoint on prepared parchment, 134 x 80 mm); Benesch 1954-57, vol. 2, no. 341v, fig. 390 (as ca. 1637); Giltaij 1988, p. 56, no. 11, ill. (as 1636-37). The recto depicts five studies of heads similar to the etching *Studies of the Head of Saskia and Others* (Hind 145), which is dated 1636.

4. Benesch 1954-57, vol. 2, no. 466, fig. 526 (as ca. 1636).

Rembrandt van Rijn

69. Cottage near the Entrance to a Wood

1975.I.792

Pen and inks ranging from light to dark brown, brown washes, corrected in white (oxidized, partially abraded), and touches of red chalk (in added structures to the left of the main cottage). Watermark: running dog or fox (unidentified). 299 x 455 mm. Signed and dated in pen and brown ink at the bottom left: *Rembrandt f. 1644*.¹ Annotated on the verso: at the upper left in red chalk in a seventeenth-century hand: *Rembrant*;² at the lower right in pen and brown ink: *f2-10*.³

Heavily foxed.

PROVENANCE: Probably Lambert Doomer (1624–1700), Amsterdam; Jonathan Richardson Sr., London (Lugt 2184 on the recto); Richardson sale, Cock and Langford, London, 22 January–10 February 1747 (1746 o.s.), lot 46; Arthur Pond, London (Lugt 2038 in black chalk or pencil on the verso of the old mount); probably Pond sale, Cock and Langford, London, 25 April–2 May 1759; John Barnard, London (Lugt 1420 in pen and brown ink on the recto and verso of the old mount); probably Barnard sale, Greenwood, London, 16–24 February 1787, lot 51; Sir Benjamin West, London (Lugt 419 on the recto); West sale, Christie's, London, 1–5 July 1820, lot 31; Sir Thomas Lawrence, London, 1835 (Lugt 2445 on the recto); William Esdaile, London (Lugt 2617 on the recto); Esdaile sale, Christie and Manson, London, 17 June 1840, lot 103; Barron Grahame, London; probably Grahame sale, Sotheby's, London, 15 March 1878; John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1507 on the recto of the mount); Heseltine sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 27–28 May 1913, lot 24; Otto Gutekunst, London, 1939; [Jacob Hirsch, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1952.

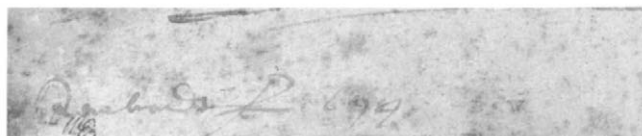
EXHIBITED: London 1899, no. 160; London 1929, no. 587; Amsterdam 1932, no. 278; London 1938, no. 551, ill.; Kansas City, Missouri, 1940–41, no. 47; Flint, Michigan, 1941, no. 32, ill.; Paris 1957, no. 123, pl. 64; Cincinnati 1959, no. 267, ill.; New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, p. 32, no. 40, pl. 34; New York 1964, p. 31; Chicago–Minneapolis–Detroit 1969–70, no. 117, ill.; Los Angeles 1976, no. 196, ill.; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 29, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1985–86; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 23, ill.; New York 1991; New York 1995–96, no. 60, ill.

LITERATURE: Lippmann and Hofstede de Groot 1888–1911, ser. 1, part 4, pl. 186; Michel 1893, p. 583; Von Seidlitz 1894, p. 124; Michel 1903, p. 449; Hofstede de Groot 1906, p. 237, no. 1049; Heseltine 1907, no. 37, ill.; Eisler 1918, p. 64, fig. 30; Lugt 1921, p. 72, under no. 419, p. 275, under no. 1507; Neumann 1921, no. 64, ill. p. 7; Lugt 1929–31, vol. 1, pp. 33–34, under no. 245; Benesch 1935, p. 36; Wichmann 1941, p. 26, no. 49, ill.; De Tolnay 1943, p. 138, no. 197; Schinnerer 1944, p. 33, no. 78, ill.; Benesch 1947a, p. 31, no. 134; Benesch 1947b, pp. 16, 24, pl. 134; Graul 1947, no. 30, ill.; Van Regteren Altena in Rome–Florence 1951, under no. 77; Frankfurter 1953b, p. 54, ill.; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 4, p. 215, no. 815, fig. 965; Haverkamp-Begemann in Rotterdam–Amsterdam 1956, under no. 119; Rosenberg

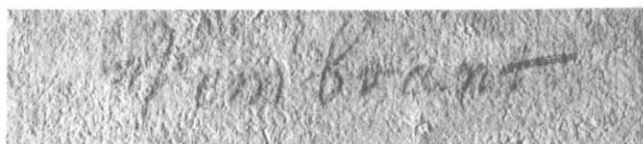
1959, p. 114; Benesch 1960, p. 151, no. 45, fig. 45; Moskowitz 1962, no. 585, ill.; Slive 1965, vol. 1, no. 199, pl. 199; Dattenberg 1967, p. 83; Gerson 1968, ill. p. 353, fig. a; Hamann 1969, pp. 304, 305, fig. 208; Schulz 1971, p. 254, pl. 29; Schulz 1972, p. 213; Benesch 1973, vol. 4, p. 210, no. 815, fig. 1014; Schulz 1974, pp. 10, 11, 39, under no. 1; Szabo 1975, p. 104, fig. 188; Schatborn 1977, pp. 48, 50; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 2, under nos. 465x, 479x; Broos 1981, under no. 22, p. 91, fig. a; Broos 1984b, p. 177; Mules 1985, pp. 32, 33, ill.; Guillaud and Guillaud 1986, fig. 94; Szabo 1988, ill.; Paris 1988–89, under no. 103; Schneider 1989, p. 87; Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, under no. 44, ill. (detail); Paris–Haarlem 1997–98, under no. 34.

In spite of its size, this drawing of a cottage near the edge of a wood displays the spontaneity of a study made on the spot. An old man leans on the bottom half of the cottage door, perhaps watching the two chickens near the log in the foreground, one pecking at seed in the dirt, the other preening itself, wings raised.

This is Rembrandt's largest landscape drawing, and it is the only one that is signed and dated (see detail).⁴ Certain of its characteristics – in particular the execution of trees near the upper border, drawn in wash without any pen – are without parallel in Rembrandt's work, but this does not suggest the drawing might be by another artist. Rembrandt sketched and painted far more unusual landscapes, such as the *River Landscape* in the Louvre, Paris,⁵ and the *Winter Landscape* in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Kassel,⁶ and many details of this impressive view of a farm are echoed in other landscapes he drew and etched in the first half of the 1640s. The darkness of the trees at the left, barely penetrated



No. 69, signature and date at left on recto



No. 69, annotation on verso



No. 69

by the light between their trunks, is reminiscent of the left foreground of the etchings *The Omval* of 1645 and *The Three Trees* of 1643 (Bartsch 209, 212; Hind 210, 205). The looseness of lines in the foreground recalls that in *Six's Bridge* of 1643 (Bartsch 208; Hind 209). Structures like the cottage are found in the *Landscape with Farm Buildings and a Man Sketching* of 1645 (Bartsch 219; Hind 213). The nervous, energetic penwork is akin to that in *The Singel in Amersfoort*, a drawing in reed pen usually dated about 1648 (Louvre,

Paris).⁷ Although neither the purpose nor the occasion it served are known, that Rembrandt signed and dated this drawing indicates that he made it for some unusual purpose, perhaps a commission or a document.

According to the classification of farm buildings Boudewijn Bakker proposed in 1990, this cottage could be a *langhuis*, a type found mostly to the south of Amsterdam in the early seventeenth century. On the verso of a drawing in the Fondation Custodia in Paris that faithfully reproduces Rembrandt's model, even its large size,⁸

Lambert Doomer (1624–1700) inscribed what appears to be the location of the farm: *te hilversum* (at Hilversum). How Doomer might have come by the information is not known, however, and the building cannot be positively identified as having been in Hilversum because the center of the town and all the town records were destroyed in 1766.⁹ Doomer also copied this drawing on two other occasions, introducing notable changes.¹⁰ It is likely that he owned it, possibly in one of the five albums of drawings he acquired during the auction of Rembrandt's studio in 1657–58, and that he made the copies after having acquired the original.¹¹

EHB

NOTES:

1. The signature is similar to those on Rembrandt's letters to Constantijn Huygens (reproduced in Gerson 1961). The fours are drawn the same way as the fours in some of Rembrandt's letters, particularly his letter of February 1639 to Huygens (*ibid.*, no. 7, p. 67, ll. 11, 15), where he drew the fours in 4000 and 1244 in one stroke, starting with the horizontal stroke from right to left and then turning clockwise up and then downward, ending the vertical stroke in a short, upward loop.
2. As Jeroen Giltaij of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, pointed out (conversation with the author, 28 November 1989), this annotation is in the same, possibly early eighteenth-century hand and in the same red chalk as the annotations on the versos of drawings by Jacob Koninck in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (MB 183–85; Giltaij 1988, nos. 89–91, *ill.*); the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Bock and Rosenberg 1931, p. 171, no. 2864, fig. 118; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 6, no. 1304x); and the British Museum, London (Hind 1915–32, vol. 5, p. 80, no. 1, pl. 47; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 6, no. 1289). Similar annotations also appear on a drawing by Pieter de With in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (MB 186; Giltaij 1988, no. 135, *ill.*). Giltaij suggests these drawings may have belonged to the set of twelve by Koninck and De With in a seventeenth-century collection mentioned on one of the Koninck drawings in Rotterdam (MB 183; *ibid.*, no. 89).
3. Annotated on the back of the old mount: at the upper left, in pencil(?): *Rembrandt / 5*; at the top center, in pen and brown ink, probably by or for Jonathan Richardson Sr. (Lugt 2984): *M 10 / X*; under this, at the lower right, in pen and brown ink by John Barnard: *J:B-N^o:504 / 17³/₄ by 11³/₄* (Lugt 1420); at the bottom right, in pen and brown ink: *the 13th night / Lot 46* (referring to the Richardson sale in London on 22 January 1747 and the seventeen following evenings), to which Arthur Pond added in pencil or black chalk: *True / A. Pond* (Lugt 2038); annotated later toward the top, left of center, in pencil(?): *by Rembrandt b. Leyden 1606 d. Amsterdam 1669*; sideways, right of center: *Rembrandt / 28 x 21*; and at the bottom center in pencil: *glomi vieux bistre / avec cartouche Louis XIV / 39²x93* (instructions to the matter).
4. Of all of Rembrandt's drawings only the two versions of *The Last Supper* in the Robert Lehman Collection (No. 66; 364 x 473 mm) and the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (128 x 385 mm; see No. 66, note 18), are comparable in size.
5. Louvre, RF 4709; Lugt 1933, no. 1202; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 6, no. 1351, fig. 1585; Starcky in Paris 1988–89, no. 69.
6. The painting in Kassel (Bredius 1915–22, no. 452), much smaller than the present drawing, is dated 1646. Cynthia Schneider, in a lecture titled “One Cottage Too Many: Landscape Drawings by Rembrandt and His Followers” delivered at the College Art Association meeting in San Francisco on 16–18 February 1989 (*CAA Abstracts* 1989, p. 86), expressed a certain degree of doubt concerning Rembrandt's authorship of the Lehman drawing. In my opinion there are no grounds for such doubt. The signature and date (see detail) seem entirely authentic.
7. Louvre, 22.896; Lugt 1933, no. 1196; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 4, no. 824, fig. 971; Starcky in Paris 1988–89, no. 45.
8. Fondation Custodia, 8236; Schulz 1971, p. 254, pl. 28; Schulz 1974, no. 1, fig. 1 (copy made in 1644 after Rembrandt drawing); Paris–Haarlem 1997–98, no. 34, color *ill.* Doomer's *Hut at the Edge of a Wood*, in pen and blackish brown ink with brown wash and some red chalk, measures 297 by 437 millimeters.
9. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam, conversation with the author, 29 September 1989. According to the collector Valerius Röver's register, Rembrandt made an etching of “de buiten plaats van Uitenbogaert buiten Naarden” (the country house of Mr. Uytendogaert, outside Naarden; see Dickey 1994, p. 209, nn. 56, 61). The etching, which has not been identified, may well have represented Komerrust, Uytendogaert's country house near Naarden, which was eulogized by Jan Vos and Huygens. If indeed Rembrandt visited Komerrust, he was very near Hilversum.
10. *Rest before an Inn* (private collection, Hilversum; Schulz 1974, no. 2, fig. 2) and *Peasant Cottage* (Louvre, 22578; Lugt 1929–31, vol. 1, no. 245, pl. 37; Schulz 1974, no. 25; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 2, no. 465x). Doomer may have based the Louvre version, the smaller of the two (220 x 318 mm), on his initial copy, the one now in the Fondation Custodia.
11. Van Regteren Altena (in Rome–Florence 1951, under no. 77), unaware of Doomer's initial copy, believed the Louvre drawing was made on the same occasion that Rembrandt drew his. Schulz (1971, p. 254), followed by Sumowski (1979–, vol. 2, no. 465x), recognized the Louvre drawing as a fair copy and dated the initial copy 1644. Schatborn (1977, p. 48), who rightly again raised the question whether Doomer ever was a pupil of Rembrandt before Doomer's trip to France in 1645, argued persuasively that Doomer's first version is not a student effort but rather a later, mature interpretation of Rembrandt's style.

Rembrandt van Rijn

70. Satire on Art Criticism

1975.I.799

Pen and brown ink corrected with white. Watermark (near the left border and perpendicular to it): fleur-de-lis in a shield surmounted by a crown. 155 x 201 mm. Inscribed in the margin at the bottom center: *den tijd 1644*; on the critic's platform: *dees . . . van d kunst / is hortich gunst*; on the bottom of the framed painting: *Houdloos . . . ind . dat*. (the inscription at the top indecipherable).¹ Annotated at the bottom left: *Rembrandt*.²

Laid down; the white oxidized.

PROVENANCE: Baron Vivant Denon, Paris (Lugt 779 on the recto); probably Vivant Denon sale, Paris, 1 May 1826, lot 655 (as "un dessin à la plume représentant un sujet allégorique," by Rembrandt); Friedrich August II of Saxony (1797–1854), Dresden (Lugt 971 on the recto), and his descendants;³ Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Knoedler in June 1963.⁴

EXHIBITED: New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, no. 41, pl. 35 (as Rembrandt); Chicago 1961 (lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver); New York 1964, p. 31; Delft–Antwerp 1964–65, no. 151, fig. 60; Chicago–Minneapolis–Detroit 1969–70, no. 115, ill. (as Rembrandt); Los Angeles 1976, no. 195, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 30, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1985–86; New York 1991; New York 1995–96, no. 61, ill. (as Rembrandt).

LITERATURE: Hofstede de Groot 1906, pp. 73, 74, no. 303 (as inscribed "wie es scheint: *den tyt 1604*"); Freise, Lilienfeld, and Wichmann 1925, p. 21, no. 111, ill. (as not by Rembrandt, dated 1694); Valentiner 1925–34, vol. 2, pp. 185, 408, no. 619, ill. (as Rembrandt, 1644); Wichmann 1939, p. 26, no. 48, ill.; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 3, p. 159, under no. 555, vol. 4, no. A35a, fig. 1037 (as by a pupil, inscribed by Rembrandt "den tijd 1644"); Van Gelder 1959, p. 308 (as Rembrandt); Rosenberg 1959, p. 116 (as possibly by Rembrandt); *Arts*, March 1960, p. 29, ill.; Van Gelder 1961, p. 150 (as probably Rembrandt); Haverkamp-Begemann 1961, p. 90 (as Rembrandt); Sumowski 1961, p. 24 (as possibly Govert Flinck); Emmens (1964) 1968, pp. 150–154, 201, fig. 28; White 1964, pp. 92, 139, ill. (as Rembrandt); Koch 1967, p. 71, fig. 33; Benesch 1973, no. A35a, fig. 1069; McGrath 1978, pp. 274–75, n. 141; Emmens 1979, pp. 200–208, 285, 286, fig. 27; Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, pp. 591 (as undated), 609, fig. 15 (as dated 1644); Logan 1980, p. 58 (as Rembrandt); Schatborn 1982, p. 253; White 1984, pp. 147, 211, ill. (as Rembrandt); Schwartz (1984) 1985, p. 228, colorpl. 247 (as *The Asinine Art Buyer*); Klemm 1986, p. 139, n. 14; Alpers 1988, p. 91, fig. 4.5; London 1992, pp. 114, n. 4, 124, under nos. 44, 53; Maharaj 1992, p. 349, fig. 52; Roscam Abbing 1993; Van de Wetering 1993; Aldrich, Fehl, and Fehl 1995, vol. 1, p. XLIX, n. 63; Smith 1995, p. 95, fig. 5; Van de Wetering 1995 (as Rembrandt, *Revenge on the Asses of Art*); Mai 1998, p. 108, fig. 10 (as Rembrandt[?], *Satire on Art Criticism*).⁵

This complex drawing is a rare instance in Dutch art of the representation of the judgment of Art by Ignorance. The Flemish tradition of the depiction of this subject, usually as part of paintings of imaginary or real art collections, apparently had no, or very little, effect in the Northern Netherlands.

Benesch observed, correctly, that the inscription along the bottom of the sheet, "den tijd 1644" (which he read as "den tijd 1644") is by Rembrandt himself. Matching the other texts to his handwriting is more difficult, however. Benesch was of the opinion that this drawing is the work of a Rembrandt pupil, inscribed by Rembrandt. Recent writers have disagreed.⁶ The complex grouping of the figures and the combination of tightly drawn passages and more spontaneous, almost abstract delineations resemble others of Rembrandt's drawings from the early 1640s, such as the two versions of *Benjamin with the Brothers of Joseph* in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam,⁷ and the Louvre, Paris,⁸ and *The Star of the Kings* in the British Museum, London.⁹ Yet many details cast doubt on Rembrandt's authorship. Some of the lines that one would expect to be bold, or at least decisive, in the pipe, for instance, or the left knee of the man squatting at the right, are sketchy or hesitant. The hands and headgear of the second man from the left and the arms of the person holding up the painting are uncharacteristically confused. The donkey's ears on the seated figure at the far left are not connected to his head in an intelligent manner, and the right arm of the figure at the center back is also poorly defined. The cross-hatchings are odd, profuse, timid, schematic, and unlike Rembrandt's. Even so, as long as so much uncertainty remains about Rembrandt's drawings, particularly his drawings of the 1640s, dogmatically rejecting his authorship seems unjustified.

The central character of the drawing is the vigorous, youngish man at the left, who represents a critic. He is dressed in contemporary costume: an elegant jacket, possibly of leather, crossed by a sash or a bandolier, knee-length trousers, high leather boots, and a broad-brimmed hat cut to accommodate his most notable feature, the long donkey's ears that are a centuries-old symbol of stupidity, King Midas being the classic example.¹⁰ The empty barrel on which he sits in mock authority symbolizes

the hollowness of his words, the snake twining under his right arm refers to the envy that influences his judgment, the smoking pipe draws our attention to the senselessness of his words, and the glasses lying at his feet signify his lack of vision.¹¹

Several changes to the two pictures that are the focus of the critic's attention indicate that the artist considered them significant.¹² Yet although they are quite carefully drawn, the paintings cannot be identified. The panel painting that lies at the critic's feet depicts a man with long hair and a large floppy hat.¹³ The picture being shown to him by the man standing behind it represents an androgynous half-length figure turned to the right, with what appears to be another figure in the background. The painting bears inscriptions at both the top and bottom, and its heavy frame, rounded at the top, suggests that it is a work of importance.¹⁴

The action of the young man squatting in the right foreground is as clear as it is unusual in a work of art: after defecating, he wipes himself with what looks like either prints or pages from an open book, possibly illustrated, lying in front of his left knee.¹⁵ He may be a painter ridiculing the critic, or, if he is defecating on a palette, as a similar figure does in a print of 1645 by Aert van Waes (Fig. 70.1),¹⁶ he may be expressing his despair at painting as a source of his livelihood. In either case, he seeks the viewer's concurrence by looking at him.¹⁷

Van Regteren Altena proposed that the figure holding up the framed painting is a (Dutch) painters' guild official. He compared the large links of the chain the figure wears around his or her neck to the disks worn by Abraham Grapheus, *cnape* (superintendent, secretary, and messenger) of the Antwerp guild of painters, in the portrait Cornelis de Vos painted of him in 1620.¹⁸ The chain seems to be composed of large, uniform links, however, rather than metal disks like the ones that cover Grapheus' chest, and the drawing lacks any other reference to guild activities.¹⁹ With his cap and sharp features, the figure is more likely an old, respected artist who is showing his work to the critic. As Held has recalled, the ancient custom of bestowing honor upon an artist by means of a gold chain, usually the gift of a patron such as a prince or a civic authority, was revived in the Renaissance and was still practiced in the seventeenth century.²⁰ Titian, Rubens, Van Dyck, and Samuel van Hoogstraten all portrayed themselves wearing the gold chain with a portrait medal that had been awarded to them by a sovereign.²¹ Rembrandt himself adopted the imagery in several self-portraits.²²

The figure standing behind the artist and looking in the direction of the critic is difficult to read. The figure wears a helmetlike head covering and holds aloft a large object, seen at an angle. The object is either a rectangular painting with a cloth draped over it or a heart-shaped shield with a protruding piece at center top and a grip attached to its back. In 1964 Emmens interpreted the object as a painting being carried in for judgment by the critic. In 1995 Van de Wetering saw it as half painting, half drapery, a "painting poor as a rag." *Vod* or *voddige kopy* (rag or ragged copy) was Dutch slang for an inferior painting. Van de Wetering thinks that the gazes of the two men in contemporary costume whispering to each other near the right border of the drawing "are plainly directed toward the mysterious object, which seems to be held up for their scrutiny."²³ His new interpretation does not convince. Certainly these figures "have some significance over and above being mere bystanders listening to the critic," but they may do so in another way than he thought. The man at the far right, whose costume is unreadable and who grips an unidentifiable sticklike object in his left hand (the drawing is clipped and the design unclear), pays no attention to the painting/shield or *vod*. And his companion seems to be trying to move past the object to the center of the scene. Under his left arm he appears to be carrying an unframed panel, holding it vertically, like a portfolio, its clearly marked edge turned to the viewer and its verso, marked by parallel hatching, facing outward. He may be bringing one more painting to be judged, and he and his companion may simply be visitors (collectors?) seeking the critic's opinion.



Fig. 70.1 Aert van Waes, *Man Defecating on a Palette and Brushes*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-61684



No. 70

It seems likely that the figure in the center of the drawing is Minerva, bearing a heart-shaped shield and standing behind and over the artist as if to protect him. The grip in the center of the object would be appropriate for a shield, and the figure's headgear could well be a helmet. As Van de Wetering himself said, there is no tradition of pictorial representation of the metaphor *vod*. Heart-shaped shields, though, have been known since antiquity. Minerva carries one in a drawing by a Mantuan artist of about 1550 in the collection of Allen R. and Frances Beatty Adler²⁴ and in another in Maerten van Heemskerck's sketchbook in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.²⁵ In her stance and action Minerva has a precedent. She resembles the helmeted Minerva, also lifting her shield (in this case a round one) to protect a

prostrate youth against Bacchus and Venus in Pieter Perret's print *Minerva Protecting Youth* after a design by Otto van Veen of about 1594–95.²⁶

The scene is apparently a mixture of allegory, metaphor, and reality. For centuries, when seeking to vent their feelings toward their critics or wishing to allegorize criticism and calumny of artists, painters and others had illustrated Lucian's description of the Calumny of Apelles. In the mid-1650s Rembrandt himself copied Andrea Mantegna's seminal drawing of the subject (both drawings are in the British Museum, London).²⁷ As Emmens pointed out, the judge or critic with his donkey's ears placed at the left of the composition in the Lehman drawing may reflect Mantegna's design.²⁸



Fig. 70.2 Adriaen Stalpent, *The Sciences and Arts*. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, inv. 1405



Fig. 70.3 Frans Francken II, *Art Endangered by Ignorance*. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, inv. 1988

The theme of the Arts Endangered by Ignorance was often included in the representations of painting galleries that were common in Flanders in the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁹ Even when they record actual collections, such paintings visualize ideas like the Art of Painting, the Liberal Arts, or the Power of the Artist. Frequently they contrast art patrons, connoisseurs, or collectors with the destructive effect of ignorance. In *The Sciences and the Arts* attributed to Adriaen Stalpent in the Prado, Madrid (Fig. 70.2), two elegant gentlemen comment on a canvas depicting men with donkeys' heads destroying paintings and musical instruments.³⁰ In a work by Frans Francken II in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (Fig. 70.3), a group of scholarly looking men study a painting in a *constkamer* (gallery), while a crowd of donkey-headed men brandishing torches like Harpies smash art in an arcade to the right.³¹ And Francken and his circle depicted the conflict between learned art lovers and the ignorant public, outfitted with donkeys' heads, in a number of other paintings.³²

Using first donkeys, then figures with donkeys' heads or ears, to enact the abuse and destruction of the arts that can result from ignorance was a tradition of long standing. In an anonymous print after Cornelis Cort, who died in 1578, ten donkeys encircle the gods of Olympus.³³ One of them eats a print, others kick a globe, maltreat a musical instrument (an organ), or step on geometric tools. Isaac Duchemin, who was active in Brussels and Cologne from about 1550 until after 1600, used some of these donkeys as models for the animals in his own print on the subject (Fig. 70.4).³⁴ He added two

Muses and a poet, who are trying in vain to mend one donkey's ways by washing his head, while in the distance the seven Liberal Arts lament the treatment of the arts. Flying in as if they were Pegasus are two winged donkeys representing the power of money in the hands of those who despise and ridicule the liberal arts. The late sixteenth-century edition of Duchemin's print was entitled *Tabula asinaria inscitiae saeculi vivum exemplum* (Donkey Picture; Vivid Demonstration of the Ignorance of Our Age), but in 1612 the title was changed to *Der Eselen Kunstammer* (Donkey Museum), with the added explanation, "this is a living illustration of how today the worthy liberal arts are treated by the ignorant buffalo, how they are pushed around, trampled, and despised."³⁵

As the personification of Wisdom, Minerva has protected the arts from Ignorance and Envy in Flemish painting and theoretical writings at least since the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁶ In the canvas that hangs over the mantelpiece in the center of the gallery painting by Stalpent in the Prado (Fig. 70.2), Minerva and Fama rescue Pictura (wearing the mask of *Imitatio* on her right arm) from Ignorantia, depicted as a man with donkey's ears.³⁷ An enraged Mercury joins Minerva and Fama to protect Pictura from the donkey-eared viewers, one a pseudo-learned gent holding a booklet or piece of paper, the other apparently a semiclad baker holding a peel (representing the uneducated, perhaps), who are appraising a painting of the Judgment of Midas in *Minerva and Mercury Protecting Painting against Ignorance and Envy* by Simon de Vos (private collection; Fig. 70.5).³⁸ Amid the sketches, books, and other tools and attributes of the

painter strewn across the foreground is a piece of paper with the inscription: “De kunst / doch weynich / voordeel heeft daer onveerstant / het oordeel geeft” (When judged by ignorance, art achieves little).

The Lehman drawing, then, is not merely a satire on art criticism, but rather a late and witty instance in the tradition of representations of Art Endangered by Ignorance and Protected by Wisdom. This tradition was inaugurated by the elegant and sophisticated drawing of the *Porta virtutis* by Federico Zuccaro (Christ Church, Oxford).³⁹ In the drawing, and the related painting that no longer exists, Zuccaro represented Minerva standing under an arch and guarding Good Art. Ignorance, with donkey’s ears, and Envy, covered with snakes, are among the main attackers. Zuccaro was exiled from Rome after his painting was exhibited on Saint Luke’s Day of 1581, because the allegory, essentially representing Art Triumphant over Ignorance and Calumny, was thought to reflect negatively upon members of the papal household. In his defense, Zuccaro said his satire was directed at ignorance and critics in general and not at specific persons.



Fig. 70.5 Simon de Vos, *Minerva and Mercury Protecting Painting against Ignorance and Envy*. Private collection

Rembrandt, too, had to cope with critics and unhappy clients. Andries de Graeff, the younger son of a prominent Amsterdam regent family who later served several terms as burgomaster, expressed his dissatisfaction by refusing to pay for a portrait.⁴⁰ The critic Samuel van Hoogstraten considered the two dogs coupling in Rembrandt’s *John the Baptist Preaching* of 1634–35 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) an inexcusable lack of decorum.⁴¹ He praised *The Nightwatch* (1642), which he said would outlast all other paintings of its kind, but he wished that Rembrandt had introduced more light into it.

Emmens has postulated that Franciscus Junius might be the critic caricatured in this drawing. He saw a likeness between the critic and the portrait of Junius in the 1641 Dutch edition of his *De pictura veterum*. And he saw in the two paintings judged by the critic half-length figures in a style propagated by Caravaggio, of whom Junius profoundly disapproved and whose work he considered an insult to classic principles. None of these arguments are convincing, however.⁴²

Neither is it likely that Constantijn Huygens was meant as the targeted critic.⁴³ The face in the drawing is too general, and Huygens had given Rembrandt significant support in his dealings with the court. It is true that his *Momenta desultoria*, a book of poems he published the year this drawing was made, 1644, includes seven distichs about Rembrandt’s *Portrait of Jacques de Gheyn* of 1632 (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London), none of which has anything favorable to say about the painter. But the poems were written in 1633 and not 1644, and they were published in Latin. The sitter, it



Fig. 70.4 Isaac Duchemin, *Der Eselen Kunstammer*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Holl VI, 8, no. 4



Fig. 70.6 Jan Lievens, *A Painter's Studio*. Present location unknown. Photograph: *Jan Lievens (1607–1674): Prints and Drawings* (exhib., Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 1988–89), no. 44



Fig. 70.7 Arnold Houbraken, *The Art of Painting* (from his *Toneel van Sinnebeelden . . .* [1700], vol. 2, title page and pl. 1). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 302-E-19, II TITEL

seems, was a friend of his, and Huygens did not approve of the likeness. Another distich, the only one to include Rembrandt's name, was left out of the published volume and is known only from the manuscript version. Neither the negative words about De Gheyn's portrait nor the absence of praise of Rembrandt in these verses is a measure of Huygens's appreciation of Rembrandt.⁴⁴ Huygens does not say much about artists in any of his poems, and he mentions only those whom he knew personally or by whom he was portrayed. True, he failed to mention the paintings he helped Rembrandt channel to the prince of Orange, or the painting Rembrandt gave him as a present, or the portrait of his brother Maurits. But in his poems he did not mention Rubens either, in spite of his admiration for him.

Any specific references to Rembrandt's own misfortunes or to known persons in the Lehman drawing, therefore, are apparently in the eye of the beholder. However exceptional, the drawing allegorizes the threat posed to Art by Ignorance, and it is not the only work by an artist of Rembrandt's circle to represent this idea. In his drawing *A Painter's Studio* (Fig. 70.6), Jan Lievens also generalized the subject rather than directing the

criticism at a specific person. His drawing shows an artist working on a *Judgment of Midas*, a reminder to the student he instructs.⁴⁵ The painting on the easel fulfills the same function as the *Judgment of Midas* in Simon de Vos's *Minerva and Mercury Protecting Painting* (Fig. 70.5) and in the one (being painted by Pictura) in the *Allegory of Painting* by Frans Francken II in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (on loan from a private collection), which is dated 1636.⁴⁶

In 1644, the year of the Lehman drawing, Joachim von Sandrart, a German who was then living and working in Amsterdam, painted for Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels a large *Minerva and Saturn Protecting Science and Art against Envy and Deceit* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).⁴⁷ The subject probably reflected the specific wishes of the archduke, who had a liking for Saturn. The painting represents Envy as the main adversary of Science and Art, personified by two putti, with Deceit, in the form of a man with a mask and donkey's ears, attacking the two putti with a torch, in a secondary role.

Art threatened by Ignorance, Envy, and Slander and supported by Reason was illustrated by Arnold Houbraken in his *Toneel van Sinnebeelden* of 1700 (Fig. 70.7).⁴⁸

In his commentary Houbraken wrote, "Ignorance, with donkey's ears, spurns Painting and her work blindly, sticking out his tongue and pointing at her. Behind him stands Envy . . . followed by Slander. . . . Picture shows her work to Reason [Minerva], who diligently seems to pay attention to it."

That Sandrart's painting dates from the same year as the Lehman drawing would seem to indicate that a specific event or specific circumstances were troubling artists in 1644, but none have been identified. The print dated 1645 by Aert van Waes (Fig. 70.1) could confirm a low point in art appreciation at that time. When Samuel van Hoogstraten wrote at length about unfortunate art lovers who cannot distinguish trifles from masterpieces or copies from originals, he may well have been referring to situations prevalent during his stay in Rembrandt's studio, from about 1643 to 1646.⁴⁹ As Van de Wetering has pointed out, the drawing fits in the climate of criticism that Van Hoogstraten described; ignorance about art was troubling artists in general, and it was displayed by collectors and buyers as well as connoisseurs and theoreticians.⁵⁰ As the inscription "den tijt 1644" indicates, the Lehman drawing probably was intended to convey a general message about a current situation.⁵¹ Just as Zuccaro's *Porta virtutis* had done in 1581 and Duchemin's *Tabula asinaria* in 1612, this drawing decries the lack of understanding of art at its time.

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NOTES:

1. This reading of the inscriptions differs from the one I proposed in Chicago–Minneapolis–Detroit 1969–70 mainly in that ".ooting." has been replaced by "hortich," which means "fast, obstinate, recalcitrant, or unkind." S. A. C. Dudok van Heel suggested this reading in a conversation with me in March 1993, after he had consulted his colleagues. He added that other parts of the inscriptions cannot be read as long as their general sense is not understood. Previous readings of the inscriptions on the platform below the critic, on the bottom of the framed painting, and at bottom center have differed significantly from mine. Valentiner (1925–34) read them as "der quark van d kunst – is footing gunst(?)," and "den tyt 1644" (he did not transliterate the texts on the painting); Wichmann (1939), as "der quark van de kunst / is hartens gunst," "om en kunst te werden / houd was vindt dat," and "den tijt 1644" (which he translated as "der Quark um die Kunst / ist eine Herzensangelegenheit / Um Kunstwerk zu werden, halte etwas und finde das"); Benesch (1955) as: "den . . . van d kunst / is gooting gunst," "Houdt vas / vindt dat," and "den tijt 1644" (Benesch was of the opinion that Rembrandt was the author only of "den tijt 1644"); Van Regteren Altena (letters to the author, 7 December 1959 and 4 January 1960) as: "dees spueter van d kunst / is Jockich gunst," "pen en fust / pareerden," and "Houdloos . . . / windtvat" (this spitter of art is jocular[?] favor; pen and barrel agreed; hollow barrel . . . without a tap[?]) [translated partly by Van Regteren Altena, partly by me]; Delft–Antwerp 1964–65 as: "der . . . van d kunst / is .ooting gunst," ". . . / . . .," "Houdl.os . . . / .indt dat," and "den tijt 1644"; Emmens ([1964] 1968) as: "Dees quack van de kunst is Jockich gunst"; Strauss and Van der Meulen (1979) as: "dees epitome(?) van d kunst / is J . . . ooting gunst" and ". . . / . . . and Houdl. es / .indt dat." If the main figure is a bareheaded grown person, it is tempting to read the word "Houdloos" as "Hoedloos" (without a hat), but such a reading seems rather risky (conversation with Schatborn, 1989). Van de Wetering (1995, p. 268, n. 11) also discussed the inscriptions with specialists in paleography (S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, J. van der Veen, J. E. H. Boomgaard), without success.
2. The other inscriptions on the platform and the framed painting look tantalizingly promising, but so far they have defied reading. The few words that make sense are "gunst" and "kunst" for "favor" and "art," and "hortich" for "contrary," but without an understanding of the remainder of the inscriptions their full meaning remains unclear. In the nineteenth century at least five sayings or proverbs were recorded around the words *kunst* and *gunst* (Roscam Abbing 1993, p. 18).
3. The year near the lower margin also has been variously interpreted. Hofstede de Groot (1906) read it as 1604 but expressed doubt; Slive suggested to Robert Lehman in a letter of 19 May 1967 that he preferred 1604 and added that if the date is 1604, then the drawing may be a criticism of Karel van Mander's theoretical treatise *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, published that year. But this does not explain why the bystanders wear costumes of the 1630s or 1640s, and why the criticism concerns a portrait that seems to date much later. Emmens ([1964] 1968, pp. 152, 153) thought 1604 was possible, but rejected it in favor of 1644. The first 4 looks unfamiliar because the artist wrote it in one continuous line, starting with the short horizontal stroke in the center of the number from right to left, continuing into a clockwise loop, and ending with a vertical downward line. In Rembrandt's drawings *Cottage near the Entrance to a Wood*, dated 1644 (No. 69), and *Studies of Two Men*, dated 1641 (Courtauld Institute, London [ex coll. Count Seilern]; Benesch 1954–57, no. 500a, fig. 629), the third digits are written the same way.
4. Rembrandt's name is written by the same hand on a drawing by Govert Flinck now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (4236; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 4, pp. 2148–49, no. 980xx), that like the Lehman drawing also was in Vivant Denon's collection. This may suggest that the annotation was placed there by Vivant Denon or on his behalf.
5. Inv. no. 100240 (according to Hofstede de Groot 1906, p. 74).
6. See No. 67, note 1.
7. Van de Wetering saw an earlier version of this entry before he wrote his 1995 article. As I have changed the text since

- then, his comments (both the generous and the critical ones) need to be checked against the present version.
6. The drawing was rejected by Freise, Lilienfeld, and Wichmann (1925) and Sumowski (1961), as well as by Benesch (1954–57). Valentiner (1934) was the first to defend Hofstede de Groot's attribution of the drawing to Rembrandt, and Wichmann included it among drawings by Rembrandt in his book of 1939. Van Gelder accepted it as Rembrandt's in 1959 and 1961 (with a "probably"), and so did Emmens and White in 1964. According to Strauss and Van der Meulen (1979, p. 609), by May 1978 Sumowski had also accepted it as by Rembrandt. Schatborn, in a conversation with Van de Wetering, supported Rembrandt's authorship, particularly with reference to the *Star of the Kings* (see note 9 below). Van de Wetering (1995, pp. 264, 269, n. 15) finds Schatborn's arguments convincing.
 7. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 3, no. 541, fig. 671; Schatborn 1985a, no. 17, ill. (pen and brown ink, 176 x 231 mm).
 8. Lugt 1933, no. 1112; Benesch 1954–57, no. 542, fig. 672 (pen and some brush in brown, 200 x 277 mm). The Amsterdam and Paris drawings more likely represent the brothers of Joseph requesting Benjamin from their father than the brothers' report on their return, as Schatborn (1985a, pp. 38, 39) suggested.
 9. Benesch 1954–57, no. 736, fig. 882; London 1992, no. 44 (pen and brown ink, wash, 204 x 323 mm).
 10. On the donkey as a symbol of characteristics from laziness and ignorance to perseverance and industry, see Plagemann and Denzler 1967. Roscam Abbing (1993) has noted that in 1657, in his free translation of Nicolas Faret's *L'honneste homme ou l'art de plaire à la court* (which in its turn is based on Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro de Cortegiano*), Samuel van Hoogstraten characterized an ignorant critic with the saying "Zyn lange oren door den hoed [zien] uytwassen" ([One sees] donkey's ears growing through his hat) and suggested that the Lehman drawing might represent this saying.
 11. Emmens ([1964] 1968, p. 152) was the first to interpret the figure as an art critic "whose ignorance is characterized by the donkey's ears poking through his hat, whose idle words are shown by his pipe in his right hand and whose general hollowness is demonstrated by the barrel he is seated on." Emmens cited emblematic and literary parallels, and he was also the first, as Van de Wetering (1995, p. 264) has pointed out, to title the drawing *Satire on Art Criticism* (previously it was titled *Allegory on Art Criticism*). The glasses were read as such independently by me and Roscam Abbing (1993, pp. 18, 21). Royalton-Kisch (letter to Roscam Abbing, 3 February 1993) suggested that the critic has a small reed pen tucked behind his right ear. If he is right, the critic is characterized as a writer.
 12. He first drew the painting of the half-figure in the floppy hat as a rectangle, and later rounded it at the top. In the other painting he adjusted the perspective of the frame and corrected part of the lower inscription.
 13. Emmens ([1964] 1968, p. 152) characterized the painting as "of a half figure, the traditional *bête noir* of what we have learned to know as the anti-Caravaggist criticism."
 14. However, the painting could be as well in the style of Massys, Gossaert, or Ferdinand Bol.
 14. The inscriptions and their interpretations are discussed in note 1 above. The object in front of the main figure looks spherical (a globe, or the head of a child?).
 15. Van de Wetering (1995, pp. 265, 267) convincingly argued that the object might be a printed book rather than a sketchbook or a roll of prints, as I had proposed in an earlier draft of this text (see note 5 above).
 16. Amsterdam 1997, p. 251, under no. 49.
 17. According to Emmens, the figure in the Lehman drawing (he called it a *kakkertje*) is a recurring motif in Dutch painting (though he cited no other instances). He gave two contradictory interpretations: in the text ([1964] 1968, p. 152) he suggested that the figure is ridiculing the critic, but in his no. 272 he said that he is expressing his lack of respect for the works of art and supporting the critic. In my 1995 version of this entry (see note 5 above), I likewise saw the criticism of the defecating man as directed against the art works. In New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960 (no. 41) I had interpreted his action as directed against the critic. I now see him as the personification of ridicule of the critic. He may well be, as Van de Wetering (1995, pp. 265–67) sees him, an artist personifying that disdain. Van de Wetering reads the figure as being invisible to the critic, which invites a parallel to Apelles hiding behind his painting in order to listen to the cobbler's remarks, and, referring to Van Hoogstraten, he sees him as the artist who has to cope with conceited, stupid connoisseurs. Smith (1995), citing Bakhtin, characterizes the scatological humor and ridicule of authority in this drawing as Caravaggesque.
 - Insult and ridicule expressed by the exposure of rear parts in some fifteenth-century works of art is the subject of Gessler's 1949 article (I owe the reference to Roscam Abbing [letter to the author, 1996]). A drawing of the same motif was sold at auction under the name of Rembrandt with the collection of drawings of Dionis Muilman in Amsterdam, 29 March 1773, lot 968 (portfolio N): "Rembrand. Een lachende Jongen, zyn Gevoeg doende, zeer fraai getekend met de Pen en Oostind. Inkt, hoog 6, breed 5 duim" (Rembrandt. A Laughing Boy Relieving Himself, very beautifully drawn with the Pen and India Ink, 6" high, 5" wide). Someone noted in the catalogue (copy in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam): "Schets lugtig" (Quick sketch). It went for Fl. 21, a good amount. Did Rembrandt represent the motif more than once? Was the drawing a study for or a copy after the Lehman figure? If only the drawing were known.
 18. Van Regteren Altena in New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, under no. 41, and in Delft–Antwerp 1964–65, p. 111; and see also *ibid.*, pp. 94, 95, no. 114, fig. 10 (with bibliography); Greindl 1944, pp. 24, 25, 113, pl. 16; Van der Stighelen 1990, pp. 25–31, no. 7; and Van der Stighelen in Cologne–Antwerp–Vienna 1992–93, no. 65, ill. (panel, 120 x 102 cm, signed and dated: *C DE VOS F. ANNO 1620*). The sitter in Frans Floris's portrait of a messenger of a chamber of rhetoric of about 1565–70 is

- also bedecked with large disks, though they are not in a chain (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Van de Velde in Cologne–Antwerp–Vienna 1992–93, no. 48, ill.). And another guild official, Pierson la Hues, drummer and messenger of the militia guard the Oude Handboog in Antwerp, wears large round shields on his chest, this time forming a chain, in the portrait Gillis Congnet painted of him in 1581 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp; Wuyts in *ibid.*, no. 49, ill.).
19. That, as Van Eeghen (1969a, p. 72) pointed out, since 1630 a *gildeknecht* (guild assistant) was required to be present at auctions of paintings would support Schwartz's suggestion ([1984] 1985, p. 228) that in this drawing Rembrandt was attacking the ignorant art buyer. Schwartz accordingly titled the drawing *The Asinine Art Buyer*. In the absence of specific references to commerce or collecting, the critic's well-to-do costume does not suffice to identify him as an "art buyer." That the guild might somehow figure in this drawing, however, is suggested by H. E. van Gelder's contention (1956) that changes made to the guild rules in 1658 were directed against Rembrandt. This issue needs further investigation.
 20. Held 1969b, p. 35.
 21. Titian is wearing his chain in his self-portraits in the Prado, Madrid, and the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Van Dyck wears his in the *Self-portrait* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and *Self-portrait with a Sunflower* in the collection of the duke of Westminster (Wark 1956, p. 52; Bruyn and Emmens 1957, pp. 96–97); and Rubens wears his in the self-portrait in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.
 22. His self-portrait of 1633 (Louvre, Paris) is but one instance. Van Mander noted in his *Schilder-boeck* in 1603–4 (fols. 230v–231, 284v–285, 273v) that Antonis Mor, Hendrick Goltzius, and Bartholomeus Spranger also portrayed themselves wearing such chains.
 23. Van de Wetering 1995, p. 265.
 24. Princeton 1997, no. 138 (ex coll. Richard and Trude Krautheimer).
 25. Hülsen and Egger 1913–16, vol. 2, fol. 19r, p. 22. Reading the object held aloft by Minerva in the Lehman drawing as a mirror, and associating it with the mirrors of the Hall of Mirrors in the Alcázar in Madrid, which were installed in the mid-1640s and which are decorated at the center top with heads of bronze eagles, might be tempting but would be overly speculative.
 26. Hollstein 1949–, vol. 17, Perret no. 35, ill.; Müller Hofstede 1962, pp. 206ff., fig. 32 (as after a design by Van Veen of ca. 1594–95). A painted copy of Perret's print bears the informative title *Typus Inconsultae Iuventutis*.
 27. Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, pp. 123–25, no. 53, ill. (Rembrandt's copy; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 5, no. 1207, fig. 1431), fig. 53a (Mantegna's drawing). On the subject of the Calumny of Apelles in art, see Förster 1887, Förster 1894, Cast 1981, and Massing 1990.
 28. In his *Calumny of Apelles* (painting at Hampton Court, drawing in the Hamburger Kunsthalle, print after it by Cornelis Cort, 1572; Bierens de Haan 1948, no. 219; Rotterdam 1994, no. 68), Federico Zuccaro also placed the ass-eared critic toward the left.
 29. The broader subject of Art Endangered by Ignorance and Envy was treated in admirable fashion by Pigler 1954. In a chapter entitled "Pictura, Virtus und Ignorantia," Winner (1957, pp. 64–87; recapitulated in 1962) gave an excellent analysis of the subject in the context of painted galleries. Also stimulating is the broader essay by Lecoq (1982–83). The subject was taken up again in a discussion of gallery paintings and their perceived reflection of attitudes toward the guilds by Filipczak (1987, pp. 68–70, 134), and in the context of the work of Frans Francken II by Härting (1989, pp. 17, 25, 85–88, 91; and in Madrid 1992, pp. 22, 23, 196–200) and Schwartz (1993).
 30. Winner 1957, pp. 63–68; Díaz Padrón 1975, pp. 380, 381, pl. 251 (as Adriaen Stalpent); Briels 1980, p. 160, fig. 11 (detail of destructive donkeys); Lecoq in Dijon 1982–83, p. 209, fig. 374; Madrid 1992, no. 25, ill. Winner discussed a version of this painting, with different personages, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Härting 1989, p. 178, fig. 157 [with bibliography]).
 31. Winner 1957, pp. 68, 69; Briels 1980, p. 159, fig. 10; Lecoq in Dijon 1982–83, p. 209, fig. 377; Härting 1989, no. 450, ill.; Haveman 1991, pp. 14, 15, colorpl. 4; Schwartz 1993, p. 70, colorpl. 3 (Schwartz rightly wondered whether the iconoclastic scene is taking place in adjoining space or is meant to be a wall painting). Speth-Holterhoff (1957) called the donkeys in Francken's paintings "ânes iconoclastes." A second version of the Munich painting is in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome (Härting 1989, no. 451).
 32. A painting depicting donkeys destroying art that is signed and dated "Johannes FFRANCK IN.itf [1]606 [or 1616?]" was in the Balbi family collection, Genoa (Boccardo 1997, pp. 155, 159, 174, n. 18, fig. 4). And see also the paintings in the Royal Collection, London (with donkeys destroying art in the distance on the right), the Courtauld Institute, London (also with "iconoclastic donkeys"), and on the Berlin art market in 1931 (Härting 1989, nos. 448, ill., 449, ill., 452). A version of the London painting is in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (Lecoq in Dijon 1982–83, fig. 376).
 33. Winner 1957, pp. 70–72; Bierens de Haan 1948, no. 184; Härting 1989, p. 88, fig. 81; Weber in Hamburg 1993, no. IV.18, ill. The print (Graphische Sammlung, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 35632) is an expanded copy of one attributed to Cornelis Cort (and published by Hieronymous Cock) after Primaticcio's drawing in the Louvre, Paris, for the ceiling of the Galerie d'Ulisse. Cort's print, probably made before 1565, represents the Olympian gods gathered in a circle; the anonymous copyist added an entire earthly circle of ignorant, destructive, maleducated donkeys around the gods. The enlarged copy is not dated, but it must precede the print by Duchemin (see note 34 below) and therefore was probably made before 1582 (or possibly before 1592). According to Weber (in Hamburg 1993, p. 204), the enlarged copy in Cologne, a print of high quality, is the only complete one; Bierens de Haan

- (1948, under no. 184) mentioned two other, incomplete copies.
34. McCarron 1992, no. 4, ill. (with Latin text); Kruzel 1994 (with Latin text); Schöller 1992, no. 62, fig. 55, frontis. (with German text); Weber in Hamburg 1993, no. IV.19, ill. (with German text). The 1582 (or 1592?; the date is written as *MDXXCII*) edition of the print has a long explanatory text in Latin; on the 1612 edition the explanation is in German. Schöller does not mention the earlier version with the Latin text. Weber gives the best analysis of the print.
 35. "Der Eselen Kunstammer / Das ist lebendige Abbildung / welcher gestalt // heutiges Tags die Löbliche Freyen Künsten von den unwissenden Buffeln gehandelt / herumgezogen /// unter die Fuss getretten und in verachtung gebracht werden."
 36. See Pigler 1954. Miedema (in Van Mander [1604] 1973, p. 377) rightly disagreed with Pigler's confining the battle between Minerva and Ignorance to academic artistic thinking.
 37. As described by Winner 1957, pp. 67, 68.
 38. McGrath 1978, p. 275 (in the context of a discussion of the threat of ignorance to art); Cast 1981, p. 183, fig. 51 (with *Calumny* in the title instead of *Envy*). On Simon de Vos, see Michalkowa 1977.
 39. Heikamp 1957; Heikamp 1958; Byam Shaw 1976, pp. 155, 156; Winner 1957, pp. 76–81 (in the context of gallery paintings by Antwerp artists); McGrath 1978, pp. 274–75 (in relation to the *Calumny of Apelles* and *Apollo's Defeat of Pan* Rubens painted for his home in Antwerp). McGrath connected Zuccaro's drawing with the Lehman one. The most sophisticated representation of *Wisdom Triumphant over Ignorance and Envy* by an artist trained in the Netherlands may well be the drawing Bartholomeus Spranger made in Prague in 1604 (Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe; Stuttgart 1979–80, p. 80, no. B12, ill.; Metzler 1997, no. A28, fig. 43 [with bibliography]). The drawing represents an imaginary statue of Minerva, with shield and lance, standing on a pedestal to which the crouching figures of Ignorance (with donkey's ears) and Envy are chained. In his theoretical treatise *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, published in the same year, Karel van Mander called Ignorance the mother of Discord and in subsequent verses discussed Minerva and Midas (Van Mander [1604] 1973, vol. 1, pars. 1, 32, 49, 50, with excellent commentary by Miedema in vol. 2, pp. 377, 392, 394).
 40. Schwartz 1985, pp. 223–24. The document is printed and translated in Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 451, no. 1659/21.
 41. Van Hoogstraten 1678, pp. 176, 183.
 42. Emmens's arguments ([1964] 1968, pp. 150–52) have found limited acceptance (e.g., Van de Wetering 1995, p. 265). Aldrich, Fehl, and Fehl (1995, vol. 1, p. XLIX, fig. 1), who illustrate the portrait of Junius by Van Dyck (Bodleian Library, Oxford) that served Wenceslaus Hollar for his print in the 1641 edition, do not consider Emmens's ideas conclusive.
 43. This suggestion was made by Paul Crenshaw in a paper in August 1996. I welcome the new observation, which he plans to publish in greater detail.
 44. My summary is based on Van Gelder's brief commentary of 1954 on the relationship between Huygens and Rembrandt. Van Gelder concluded his paragraphs (p. 177) in a more absolute vein: "The limited references to Rembrandt [in these poems] does not say anything in favor but neither anything against Huygens's appreciation of the artist."
 45. Sumowski 1979–, vol. 7, no. 1636bx, ill. (as a late work); Schatborn in Amsterdam 1988–89, no. 44, ill. (as from Lievens's Antwerp period, or 1635–44).
 46. The subject matter of the painting by Frans Francken the Younger in Berlin (Härting 1989, no. 370, ill.) is discussed in great detail by Bentinck and Kelch 1979.
 47. Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1136 (Klemm 1986, no. 56, pp. 137–40, ill., p. 138). *Pictura* is not referred to specifically in the painting, although *Disegno* is.
 48. Houbraken 1700, pl. 1 (serving as the illustrated title of vol. 2). On p. 4 of a commentary to the plates Houbraken wrote about pl. 1: "Agter haer [the personification of *Pictura*] volght d'Onwetenheit met Ezels ooren. Hy beschimpt al blindeling de Schilderkonst en haer werk; steekende haer Tong, en Vingers na. . . ." I owe the reference to this etching and the book, a fruitful source apparently hitherto overlooked, to Michiel Roscam Abbing (letter to the author, 2 February 1998).
 49. Van Hoogstraten 1678, introduction ("Aen de lezers en de liefheebbers van de schilderkunst"), and pp. 197–98, 315. Van Hoogstraten had no false expectations but did hope that his book would contribute to a better understanding of art. He tells his readers that donkey's ears represent ignorance and lack of judgment (*ibid.*, p. 172; Roscam Abbing 1993, p. 18), and he mentions Midas several times (Van Hoogstraten 1678, pp. 130, 142, 225, 296, 316), once giving the name Midas to someone who prefers unnatural colors over natural colors in their delicate shades (I thank Roscam Abbing for this reference), another time describing Michelangelo painting "Messer Biagio" as Midas with donkey's ears. Van Hoogstraten also included depictions of both Minerva Conquering Ignorance and the Contest of Apollo and Pan in the interior of his perspective box in the National Gallery, London (Brusati 1995, pp. 178–80, figs. 118, 120). The only index to Van Hoogstraten 1678 (in Van Gosen 1933) is difficult to consult; fortunately Czech 1999 (forthcoming) will include an index. The time span 1643–46 I owe to Michiel Roscam Abbing (letter to the author, 27 June 1999).
 50. Van de Wetering 1995, pp. 264–67, 269, 270, nn. 35–46.
 51. Rosenberg (1959, p. 116, as noted in Van de Wetering 1995, p. 264) was the first to suggest that the drawing was a personal polemic statement by Rembrandt.

Rembrandt van Rijn (reworked by another hand)

71. Self-portrait

1975.1.800

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray ink, brown and gray washes. 136 x 114 mm. Annotated on the verso at the bottom center in pen and brown ink: *Thern Marge(?)*.

Remains of hinges on all four corners; two paper patches about 10 mm square and tinted with brush and gray wash pasted behind the sitter's left ear and above his right hand to mend small holes.

PROVENANCE: Alcide(?) Furby collection, Aix-en-Provence;¹ Rodolphe Kann, Paris; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London]; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York].² Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, no. 13, pl. 13; Chicago 1961 (as ca. 1634–36; lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver); New York 1964, p. 31 (as ca. 1636); New York 1979–80, no. 22, cover ill.; New York 1985; New York 1985–86.

LITERATURE: Kann collection 1907, vol. 2, p. 77, no. 164, ill.; Valentiner 1925–34, vol. 2, pp. 241, 415, no. 668, ill. (as ca. 1657); Benesch 1935, p. 23 (as “das unerhört grossartige Selbstbildnis” of 1634–35); Benesch 1947a, p. 23, no. 78 (as ca. 1636); Benesch 1947b, p. 22, pl. 78; Pinder 1950, p. 89, ill. (as 1640–41); Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, p. 75, under no. 311, p. 98, no. 434, fig. 492 (as ca. 1636); Sumowski 1956–57, p. 262, fig. 53 (as 1640s); Benesch 1960, p. 13, no. 20, pl. 20 (as 1636); Van Gelder 1961, p. 151, n. 24; Genaille 1963, ill. (as ca. 1635); Bauch 1966, p. 17, errata slip (as possibly a study for Bredius 37); Erpel 1967, no. 63, fig. 32; Benesch 1973, vol. 2, p. 78, under no. 311, p. 102, no. 434, fig. 525 (as ca. 1636); Szabo 1975, p. 104, fig. 189; Roberts 1976, p. 16, pl. 65; Logan 1980, p. 58; Wright 1982, p. 45, no. 7, pl. 54 (as ca. 1635); Bonafoux 1985, pp. 78, 148, color ill. (as ca. 1635); Mules 1985, p. 15, color ill.; Guillaud and Guillaud 1986, colorpl. 720 (as 1635).³

This portrait of Rembrandt in three-quarter profile with his hand on his chest, wearing a cloak and a turbanlike cap, is similar in feeling to his painted self-portraits of the mid-1650s. On the basis of some of these, Valentiner dated the drawing about 1657.⁴ Benesch, however, believed that it portrays a younger man than Rembrandt would have been in the late 1650s and that the penwork in the face and bust corresponds to that in Rembrandt's drawings of about 1636.⁵ (He did not comment on the washes.) Sumowski considered the drawing preparatory to the so-called Rembrandt *Self-portrait* of the 1640s in Buckingham Palace, by implication dating it to those years.⁶

The marked divergence in opinion can be accounted for in part by the peculiarities of the drawing's execution and the confused manner in which the various media have been applied, which precludes an unequivocal association with any of Rembrandt's many self-portraits. The black and gray lines, all drawn with the brush, and the washes in the same tones were applied by one hand, apparently not the same hand that sketched the lines and applied the washes in brown. The black and gray lines and washes find no parallels in Rembrandt's work. Except in a few drawings he made before he left his native Leiden for Amsterdam, Rembrandt rarely used gray or black ink in conjunction with the usual brown, and never in the assertive, even aggressive, way it is applied here. Two of the few early drawings in brown and gray, dating from 1628–29, are also self-portraits, but the shapes of the lines and the tonal areas between them are quite different from those in the Lehman drawing.⁷ Furthermore, Rembrandt looks distinctly older here.

The gray and black must have been added later by someone else to “complete” the figure and dramatize it by adding detail and heightening contrasts.⁸ The cloak, originally left white, was later toned with light and dark gray wash and enhanced with curved brush lines to suggest an (anatomically too high) elbow at the bottom left, and the collar of the cloak or doublet, between the sitter's left shoulder (also to our left because in the mirror the image is reversed) and his cheek and his cap, was accentuated with three short, broad dark gray to black brushstrokes. The background, originally indicated in very light and darker brown washes, was later covered entirely with very dark and, in the upper part, light gray washes. The contours of the cap, originally defined in brown with bold broad brush lines, were partly redrawn with gray brush lines, and the cap itself was later accentuated with heavy black wash and additional dark gray brush lines. The gray brush lines and washes in the left eye and eye socket, on the adjoining collarbone, and along the nose were added to heighten the contrast in Rembrandt's face, as were the numerous little gray dashes with the brush on his forehead, chin, and right cheek.⁹ His unusually large pupils, blackened by the later hand, give him a penetrating, if not somewhat menacing, expression.

What remains of the original drawing is thus an only partially visible array of brown pen and brush lines and washes. Unfortunately, most of the brown washes have disappeared under the gray additions. The pen and brush lines in brown are partly thin and sparse, like those on the cheeks, and partly bold, like those configuring the right sleeve and partly hidden hand and the straight and decisive contours of the cloak. Most impressive for their graphic quality are the three pen lines on the upper left of the arm the sitter turns toward us. They have character and convey spontaneity.

Do these qualities support an attribution to Rembrandt? The question is not easy to answer, not only because of the limited visibility of the lines and washes, but also because Rembrandt drew few portraits in the period with which the first version of this drawing (the version in brown) might be associated. The rough contours of the cheeks and the lines in the forehead, the eyebrows, and under the chin in his *Self-portrait as an Artist* of about 1634 (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin)¹⁰ display a certain similarity to the Lehman drawing, but the physiognomy of the two sitters differs considerably. The *Study for the Portrait of Maria Trip* he completed in about 1639 (British Museum, London) is marked by similar boldness in the right bottom corner, in that case meant to define the hand and arm and also part of the costume.¹¹ His copy of Raphael's *Baldassare Castiglione* (Albertina, Vienna), which he executed in 1639, resembles the Lehman drawing in the broad sketchiness of the hat, the hastily drawn short parallel lines in the face, and the boldness of the contours of the head.¹² And finally, there is the *Seated Woman with an Open Book on Her Lap* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam),¹³ which is in many respects similar to the London *Portrait of Maria Trip* and was also probably drawn in or about 1639 and in which the face of the woman is partly defined by regular, parallel pen lines that resemble those in the Lehman drawing. The correlations indicate that the Lehman self-portrait was probably made by Rembrandt himself about 1635–40, as a quick, sketchy, informal drawing, perhaps with a painting in mind. Later, in a mistaken effort to lend the drawing more contrast and greater finish and monumentality, another hand obscured parts of it.

As Sumowski first noted in 1956–57, this self-portrait does resemble the painting in Buckingham Palace. The three-quarter profile, the right hand partly hidden in the cloak, and even the large cap and the cloak itself, worn over a doublet with a collar, are similar. Van de Wetering

and Broekhoff have recently clarified the complex genesis of this painting, which had in the past been dismissed as Rembrandt's work in part because its surface has been modified by a later hand. They convincingly demonstrate that it is a self-portrait painted by Rembrandt himself in 1642 over an earlier self-portrait of about 1632–33 that was partly scraped off.¹⁴ In the original portrait of 1632–33, as they reconstruct it, Rembrandt represented himself en face, rather than in three-quarter profile as in the final version. It seems likely that Rembrandt executed the Lehman drawing after the early version of the painting (1632–33) but before the final one (1642), possibly with the final version in mind. The date of about 1635–40 for the drawing that can be inferred from the stylistic evidence should therefore be extended to 1635–42.

Two distinctive facial features recognized only recently by Van de Wetering and his associates – the drooping fold of skin above the right eyelid and the unusual slanted furrow in the brow immediately above the bridge of the nose and terminating in the left eye socket – confirm that the drawing was made by Rembrandt himself.¹⁵ Both features are visible in Rembrandt's self-portraits of the years 1639–45 and later, and they can also be seen in the Lehman drawing, in the bold oblique brown pen line toward the right on the upper eyelid and the very short but clear brown pen line above the bridge of the nose.

EHB

NOTES:

1. According to Kann collection 1907. The drawing is not in the catalogue of the sale of the Alcide Furby collection in Marseilles, 12–13 March 1896.
2. The Kann-[Knoedler] provenance is discussed in No. 67, note 1.
3. This is a select bibliography that includes primarily scholarly publications. Not all textbooks and general works in which the drawing is illustrated are cited.
4. Valentiner (1925–34, vol. 2, p. 415, no. 668) saw a resemblance particularly to Bredius 44 (formerly Mendelssohn collection, Berlin), 46 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden), and 50 (Frick Collection, New York). The first two are no longer considered autograph works.
5. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 434.
6. Sumowski 1956–57, p. 262. Following Sumowski, Bauch (1966) and Erpel (1967) also saw in the Lehman drawing possibly a study for the Buckingham Palace painting. On the basis of information available in 1982, White (p. 112, no. 168), considered the painting a later imitation, possibly of the eighteenth century. See also note 14 below.



No. 71

7. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 1, nos. 53 (British Museum, London), 54 (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam), the former discussed fully by Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, no. 1; the second by Schatborn 1985a, no. 1, ill.
8. The anonymous author of the catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann collection published by Sedelmeyer in Paris in 1907 (preface by Wilhelm von Bode) was the first to mention that this drawing was retouched, though with the pen rather than the brush: “Washed drawing on cream paper, in India ink and sepia, retouched with the pen here and there in the moustache, the eye, and the nose.” In New York 1979–80 (no. 22) Szabo mentioned “some later additions in the washes,” and in 1980 Logan also referred to later washes. Royalton-Kisch (letter to the author, 16 November 1989) suggested that the drawing might be the work of a pupil but did not mention additions by another hand.
9. In the face itself, along with two powerful brush lines above the left eye (probable additions in gray, difficult to distinguish: one in the brow, one in the upper eyelid), crow’s-feet were added to the same eye, parallel hatching to the collarbone, and, in very light and very dark grays, the contour of the nose was strengthened. In addition, the side of the face turned away from the viewer was darkened by an added gray shadow cast by the nose and the lower lip, and by little dashes of gray added to brown lines on the cheek, on the collarbone and in the socket of the right eye. The shadow cast by the chin onto the collar and partly under it was strengthened in gray. Tone was added to the chin by small gray dashes of the brush, and the brown pen lines across the corner of the mouth (to our left) were similarly amplified with gray brushstrokes. The

- gray tufts of hair protruding from under the cap were also added with a brush.
10. Hofstede de Groot 1906, no. 98 (as ca. 1645); Freise, Lilienfeld, and Wichmann 1922, no. 88 (by implication as ca. 1629); Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 432 (as ca. 1634); Erpel 1967, p. 164, no. 58 (as ca. 1635–36); Guillaud and Guillaud 1986, fig. 714 (color); Berlin–Amsterdam–London 1991–92, no. 4, color ill. (as later than the drawing of 1628–29 in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam [Benesch 1954–57, no. 54; see note 7 above] and the etching of 1629 [Bartsch 338]).
11. Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, no. 26. Royalton-Kisch, who best analyzed this drawing, accepted the date of 1639, the year the related painting was dated. He believed that Rembrandt made the drawing after he started the painting but before it was completed. Benesch (1954–57, no. 442), who also dated it about 1639, reproduced the London drawing side by side with the Lehman drawing. The use of iron-gall ink and the extensive white correction in the London drawing are exceptional features. On Maria Trip's white lace collar, to the viewer's left, Rembrandt drew a quick pen line with a loop at one end that although it is smaller, is similar to the two in the Lehman portrait.
12. Benesch 1954–57, vol. 2, no. 451, fig. 508.
13. *Ibid.*, no. 757; Giltaij 1988, no. 15 (as ca. 1635–40).
14. Van de Wetering and Broekhoff 1996. See also note 6 above.
15. Van de Wetering and Broekhoff 1996, p. 180. As the details reproduced by Van de Wetering and Broekhoff show, these features are clearly visible in Rembrandt's etched *Self-portrait* of about 1639 (Bartsch 21; reproduced in reverse in *ibid.*, ill. 32) and his painted self-portraits of 1640 (National Gallery, London) and 1645 (Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe).

Rembrandt van Rijn

72. Elsje Christiaens Hanging on a Gibbet

1975.I.803

Pen and brown ink, brush and grayish brown wash, on heavy brownish paper.¹ 158 x 80 mm.

Reworked in several areas by another hand with heavier reddish brown wash.² Paper discolored and brittle; top right corner trimmed; irregular missing areas made up at left corners and along left edge.

PROVENANCE: G. C. (Lugt 1143 on the recto); De Bourguignon de Fabregoules, Aix-en-Provence; Charles-Joseph-Barthélemi Giraud, Aix-en-Provence and Paris; Flury-Hérard, no. 434 (Lugt 1015 on the recto);³ Paul Mathey;⁴ Rodolphe Kann, Paris; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London](?); Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York].⁵ Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, no. 65, pl. 59 (as ca. 1654–56); Chicago 1961 (lent by Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver; as ca. 1654–56); New York 1964, p. 31; New York 1976, no. 22; New York 1979–80, no. 34, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1988b; New York 1991; New York 1995–96, no. 66, ill.

LITERATURE: Lippmann and Hofstede de Groot 1888–1911, ser. 3, part 1, pl. 308; Hofstede de Groot 1906, p. 180, no. 805; Kann collection 1907, vol. 2, p. 82, no. 169, ill.; Valentin 1931, pp. 142, 143, fig. 13 (as 1650s); Benesch 1935, p. 49; Mongan and Sachs 1940, vol. 1, p. 271, under no. 515; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 5, p. 313, no. 1106, fig. 1325 (as ca. 1654–56); *Art News* 59 (March 1960), p. 37, fig. 3; Van Gelder 1961, p. 151, n. 24; Slive 1965, vol. 2, no. 363, ill.; Van E[eghen] 1969b, pp. 73–78, ill. (as 1664); Haverkamp-

Begemann 1971, p. 96; Benesch 1973, vol. 5, no. 1106, fig. 1398; Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 530; Schatborn 1985a, pp. 146–48, n. 4, under nos. 67, 68; Alpers 1988, p. 79, fig. 3.50.

This drawing was thought to date from the 1650s until 1969, when Van Eeghen identified its subject as Elsje Christiaens, an eighteen-year-old woman from Jutland who was executed on the first of May 1664.⁶ Barely two weeks after her arrival in Amsterdam in April 1664, in a violent argument over unpaid rent, Elsje hit her landlady over the head with an ax and knocked her down the cellar stairs. This, and her attempts to steal things from her landlady and the other lodgers, earned her a death sentence. So determined were the Amsterdam magistrates to make an example of the young murderer that her sentence called for the executioner not just to hang her, but to strike several blows to her head with the offending ax and hang it up beside her.

Rembrandt drew Elsje Christiaens's lifeless body as it was exposed to viewers on the Volewijck outside Amsterdam, probably on the day of the execution.⁷ His contemporary Anthonie van Borssum made a drawing of the execution from a distance and included other convicted felons and a view of the gallows field,⁸ but Rembrandt must have sketched from directly below the gibbet. The Metropolitan Museum possesses another



Fig. 72.1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Elsje Christiaens Hanging on a Gibbet*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 29.100.937



No. 72

sheet (Fig. 72.1) on which he drew the figure from the front, again including the murder weapon hanging by her head.⁹ Both studies attest to his interest in contemporary events. His intent was similarly journalistic when he drew the charred ruins of the Old Town Hall¹⁰ and, in a certain sense, when he sketched Raphael's *Baldassare Castiglione* during the auction of the painting in the Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam.¹¹

The drawing originally was very thinly washed in light grayish brown. Several areas of the Lehman sheet

were reworked with heavier reddish brown wash by another artist who did not fully understand Rembrandt's intentions. The large area of wash added on the clothing between the two horizontal ropes tying the body to the gibbet, for example, casts in shadow an area that logically should be sunlit.

EHB

NOTES:

1. The catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann collection (1907, vol. 2, p. 82) wrongly describes the drawing as being on rice paper.

2. The added washes are particularly clear at the top and bottom of the vertical post of the gibbet, in Elsie's right hand and wrist, along the lower left edge of her skirt, on the gibbet just beneath her skirt, on the right of the center rope tying her to the gibbet, and at the right of the horizontal strut at the top of the gibbet. Conversations with Carolyn Logan and Mariët Westermann were especially helpful in establishing these additions.
3. The origin of the Flury-Hérard collection is discussed by Lugt (1921, p. 177, under no. 1015). The drawing was not included in the Flury-Hérard sale, Paris, 13-15 May 1861, or in the sale of 1919.
4. Benesch's statement that both nos. *ad* 1105 and 1106 belonged to François Flameng seems erroneous and is applicable to his *ad* 1105 only, as it carries Flameng's stamp (Lugt 991) and no. *ad* 1106 does not. His placing both drawings in the hands of Paul Mathey may also be applicable to *ad* 1105 only.
5. On the Kann-[Knoedler] provenance, see No. 67, note 1.
6. See also Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 530.
7. The heavy, discolored, brittle paper, atypical for Rembrandt, suggests that the drawing was made on the spot, on whatever paper was at hand. Van Eeghen (1969b, pp. 77-78) suggested that the drawings were made only a few hours after Elsie's death.
8. Rijksprentenkabinet, 1954-82; Sumowski 1979- , vol. 2, no. 291, ill. The connection of this sheet to the Lehman drawing was made clear in New York 1995-96, no. 66.
9. For the Metropolitan Museum drawing (New York 1995-96, no. 65, ill.) and those related to it, see Valentiner 1931, pp. 142, 143, fig. 10; and Benesch 1954-57, vol. 5, p. 313, no. 1105, fig. 1324. A drawing in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, is probably a studio copy of the New York drawing (Valentiner 1931, pp. 142, 143, fig. 11; Mongan and Sachs 1940, p. 271, no. 515, vol. 3, fig. 261; Benesch 1954-57, vol. 5, p. 313, no. *ad* 1105, ill.). Another in Munich is considered by Valentiner (1931, p. 142, fig. 12) to be an eighteenth-century forgery. This view is supported by Mongan and Sachs (1940, p. 271). Benesch (1954-57, vol. 5, p. 313) calls it a copy of the New York drawing.
10. Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam; Benesch 1954-57, vol. 6, no. 1278; Filedt Kok 1972, no. 6.
11. Albertina, Vienna, 8859; Benesch 1954-57, vol. 2, no. 451, fig. 508. On Rembrandt's interest in his environment, see Lugt 1915, Lugt 1920, and Schneider 1990.

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

73. Abraham and Isaac before the Sacrifice

1975.1.790

Pen and brush and brown ink. 156 x 144 mm. Strip of paper 15 x 77 mm added later at the right.

PROVENANCE: Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler, New York].¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1964, p. 31; New York 1979-80, no. 32, ill. (as Rembrandt); New York 1995-96, no. 77, ill. (as school of Rembrandt, ca. 1645-50).

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1925-34, vol. 1, pp. 50 (ill.), 465, no. 47 (as Rembrandt[?], ca. 1652); Blankert 1978, p. 162, under no. T12; Logan 1980 (as school of Rembrandt); Manuth 1987, p. 170, fig. 91.

According to Genesis (22:7-8), it was as they climbed the mountain in the land of Moriah that Isaac asked his father, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?" and Abraham replied, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering." Flavius Josephus (ca. 37-ca. 100), however, in his *Antiquitates Judaicae*, let the dialogue take place only after father and son had reached the top of the mountain, and in his version of the story Abraham also goes on to tell Isaac that he plans to sacrifice him to fulfill God's command.² The altar in this drawing establishes the scene on the mountaintop. Abraham's grave demeanor



No. 73

and the way he rests one arm on his son's shoulder in a comforting embrace seem to express his sorrow as he reveals Isaac's fate to him.

Rembrandt made an etching of this same subject in 1645 (Bartsch 34; Fig. 73.1) that, as Tümpel has stressed, is a psychologically sophisticated synthesis of the events as recounted in Genesis and by Flavius Josephus.³ The bearded, turbaned head of Abraham, his low-slung scabbard with the sacrificial knife, and the bowl on the altar appear in both the etching and the Lehman drawing. The etching also places the dialogue on the mountaintop, but while the drawing emphasizes the later,

more critical exchange between father and son, when he made the etching Rembrandt seems to have been thinking of the dialogue as a whole.⁴

Three other drawings and two paintings depicting Abraham and Isaac suggest that the theme had a certain currency in Rembrandt's studio. Two of the drawings, one in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,⁵ the other in the Bredius Museum, The Hague,⁶ are variations on the motifs in the Lehman drawing. In both Abraham also embraces Isaac with his left arm, but he gestures with his right hand instead of clasping his son's hand. The author of the third drawing, in the Nationalmuseum,



Fig. 73.1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Abraham and Isaac before the Sacrifice*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 29.107.26



Fig. 73.2 Jan Victors, *Abraham and Isaac before the Sacrifice*. Present location unknown. Reproduced from Werner Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler* (Edition PVA, Landau [Pfalz], 1983), no. 2464

Stockholm, treated the subject somewhat differently by placing the figures farther apart.⁷ None of these drawings can be attributed to Rembrandt.⁸ The thin, regular hatching in the Lehman *Abraham and Isaac*, in combination with the thick, blocky accents in the contours of the costumes, is reminiscent of drawings by pupils working in Rembrandt's style in the late 1640s or early 1650s, particularly the ones sometimes attributed to Willem Drost, who was active about 1650–60.⁹

The two paintings of Abraham trying to comfort Isaac were produced by another of Rembrandt's students, Jan Victors (1619/20–after January 1676). In one of them, in the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Isaac is shown already seated on the sacrificial altar.¹⁰ The composition of the other (Fig. 73.2), the present location of which is unknown,¹¹ is closely related to that of the Lehman drawing. Although the drawing cannot be considered a study for the painting, which has only recently been discovered to bear a date of 1644, they must have originated at roughly the same time. The setting and some of the

gestures of the figures and the details of the costumes are the same in both, and both depict the second, more consequential part of the dialogue in Josephus' text. The relationship between the drawing and the painting on the one hand and between them and Rembrandt's etching on the other is of particular significance because until the date was discovered on Victors' painting, the etching was thought to be without precedent as an autonomous representation of the subject.¹² The similarities can be explained by assuming either that Rembrandt was influenced by the work of a pupil (more likely the painting than the drawing) or that all these representations are based on a lost prototype. It is also possible, however, that the subject was discussed, possibly with the help of sketches, in Rembrandt's studio and under his guidance. Given his innovative power in the depiction of new subjects, it is likely that Rembrandt was the *auctor intellectualis* of both the painting of 1644 and the etching of 1645 (and the drawings of about the same time).

EHB

NOTES:

1. On the provenance, see No. 67, note 1.
2. Josephus 1930, pp. 111–17. The effect of Flavius Josephus on Dutch history painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been discussed in a fundamental way by Tümpel (1973).
3. Tümpel 1973, p. 189. Tümpel had already noted Rembrandt's reliance on Josephus as a source in this instance in Berlin 1970, no. 8.
4. See Tümpel 1973, p. 189, and see also Jeroense and Tümpel in Münster–Amsterdam–Jerusalem 1994, p. 304, under no. 75. The nature of dialogue as such in Rembrandt's work, and in this etching in particular, has been discussed in exemplary fashion by Held (1973, especially p. 115).
5. Hofstede de Groot 1894, no. 86; Kruse 1920, p. 4, ill.; Bock and Rosenberg 1931, p. 239, no. kdZ 5291, pl. 178 (as style of Rembrandt).
6. Blankert 1978, p. 162, no. 112 (as school of Rembrandt).
7. Nationalmuseum, 2052; Hofstede de Groot 1894, no. 1541; Kruse 1920, no. 13; Valentiner 1925–34, vol. 1, no. 46; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 5, no. 1278xx, ill. (as Gerrit Horst). In discussing this drawing Sumowski (*ibid.*, p. 2836) mentioned the drawings in Berlin and The Hague briefly, qualifying them as “mere copies of student originals whose authors can no longer be determined.”
8. As early as 1925 (p. 465), Valentiner, while praising the psychology of the Lehman drawing, expressed a certain hesitation in regard to Rembrandt's authorship because of the similarities to a drawing in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, *God Appearing to Abraham* (*ibid.*, no. 11; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 6, no. c93 [as a copy after Rembrandt]; Giltaij 1988, no. 136 [as by a pupil of Rembrandt, 1640–50]). Valentiner also recorded Gustav Falck's negative opinion (presumably conveyed orally) about the Lehman drawing.
9. See, for example, *Joseph and His Brothers*, a drawing in pen and brown ink and measuring 160 x 166 mm in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (inv. 1930–34; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 6, no. c99 [as a copy after Rembrandt]; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 4, p. 1876, no. 1 [as erroneously attributed to Carel Fabritius]; Schatborn 1985b, p. 101, fig. 13 [as Willem Drost]).
10. Sumowski 1983–94, vol. 4, no. 1743 (as late 1640s); Münster–Amsterdam–Jerusalem 1994, under no. 13, color ill.
11. The painting was included in the sale of the collection of Edward Habich of Kassel in 1892 (Cologne, 9–10 May 1892, lot 15b [as Rembrandt]), but it was not illustrated in the catalogue. On the basis of a poor photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, Manuth (1987, no. 11, fig. 119) attributed it to Jan Victors and dated it 1642–43. Victors' signature and the date 1644 are visible on the better photograph of the painting (from the archive of Ellen Bernt, Munich) published by Sumowski (1983–94, vol. 6, no. 2464). I am grateful to Volker Manuth, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, for first directing me to the painting and then discussing with me (letters of October 1989, 23 June 1992, and 14 July 1996) the consequences of the year 1644.
12. Tümpel (in Berlin 1970, no. 8) called Abraham and Isaac before the Sacrifice “probably among the most revealing subjects represented by Rembrandt for the first time as an autonomous scene.” The closest antecedent, a woodcut of 1517–19 by Lucas van Leyden (Bartsch 3) representing the journey of Abraham and Isaac up the mountain, implies their discussion concerning the absence of the sacrificial animal without representing it. For a discussion of the woodcut in the context of representations of the subject, see Jacobowitz and Loeb Stepanik in Washington, D.C.—Boston 1983, pp. 188, 189, no. 69.

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

74. Two Studies for Blind Tobit

1975.1.802

Pen and brown inks and grayish brown wash. 210 x 261 mm. Annotated in pencil on the verso: *SH yes*; stamped in blue: *DUVEEN BROTHERS*.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Warwick, Warwick(?); Thomas Halstead(?);¹ probably Sir Francis Seymour Haden, London and Arlesford;² [Duveen Brothers, New York and London]; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979–80, no. 26, ill. (as Rembrandt); New York 1991; New York 1995–96, no. 79, ill. (as school of Rembrandt).

LITERATURE: Mayor 1978–79, p. 10, fig. 8 (as Rembrandt); Logan 1980 (as school of Rembrandt).

The story of Tobit and the travels of his son, Tobias, in the company of the archangel Raphael is told in the apocryphal Book of Tobit. In these two studies, blind Tobit is shown as he emerges from his house to greet his son, whose little dog tugs at his feet. At the right, Tobit carefully descends the step, supporting himself against the doorjamb with his left hand and extending his right for balance. At the left, he leans on the stick he holds in his left hand as he stretches his right arm out before



Fig. 74.1 School of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Studies for Blind Tobit*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

him, groping his way forward and welcoming his son at the same time.

The drawing is the work of two different hands. The figures, the dogs, and the basic structure of the architecture were first summarily drawn in pen and dark brown ink, and then a different hand added the landscape and elaborated the entire scene with pen and light brown and grayish brown ink and washes. The dry penstrokes of the original figure studies recall Rembrandt's work of the early 1650s,³ but a certain uniformity and the confused anatomy in the arm and leg of the figure at the right suggest that this is one of the many drawings illustrating the Book of Tobit that were made by Rembrandt's pupils.⁴

Other versions of these two figures of Tobit, differing only in details, are found in a drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 74.1), to which two embracing figures, probably also Tobit and Tobias, and an angel in an outdoor setting were added,⁵ and in a drawing attributed to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout formerly in Lausanne.⁶ A fourth drawing, a *Dismissal of Hagar* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, that is attributed to Samuel van Hoogstraten, combines aspects of these two Tobit figures in Abraham.⁷

The Berlin drawing cannot be the model for the others because it is marked by misinterpretations that are probably the work of a copyist, and neither can the Lehman study be the prototype, because it is less accomplished than the Berlin version. The most likely explanation is that the studies of Tobit were made at the

same time by two pupils in Rembrandt's studio as variations on an assigned subject. In that case Van den Eeckhout may have been a third pupil.

The figure of Tobit at the left in the Lehman drawing, particularly his outstretched arm, is closely related to the figure in Rembrandt's etching *The Blind Tobit* of 1651 (Bartsch 42).⁸ The etching, however, conforms to the biblical text, which describes how Tobit reached for the door when he heard his son's footsteps. No textual source accounts for depicting Tobit making this gesture out of doors, but a drawing by Jacob Pynas, *Tobit Advancing to Welcome His Son* (Fig. 74.2), in the Collectie Stichting P. en N. de Boer, Amsterdam, shows Tobit in this position outside his home.⁹ Furthermore, Tobit and Tobias embracing appear at the right on the same sheet. It thus seems likely that the tradition of representing Tobit out of doors dated from at least one generation before Rembrandt's.

Apparently the same hand that made of the Lehman studies of Tobit a pseudonarrative in a landscape setting also turned the indoor scene of the Departure of Tobias and the Angel into an open-air event in a drawing in the collection of the late Ian Woodward, New York.¹⁰ That same later hand may also have added similar elements to the drawing in Berlin (Fig. 74.1). If that is the case, the three drawings must have been together for some time.¹¹

EHB

NOTES:

1. The only evidence for the Warwick and Halstead provenance is a note on the old mount (Robert Lehman Collection files). The provenance is discussed further in No. 67, note 1.



Fig. 74.2 Jacob Pynas, *Tobit Advancing to Welcome His Son*. Collectie Stichting P. en N. de Boer, Amsterdam



No. 74

2. The *SH* yes written on the verso indicates that Sir Francis Seymour Haden accepted the drawing as a work by Rembrandt, and possibly that he owned it.
3. See, for example, Benesch 1954-57, vol. 5, no. 871, fig. 1082 (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam), and Schatborn 1985a, no. 41, ill.
4. See Rotermund 1960, Held 1964, and Schatborn 1985a, nos. 82, 83, ill.
5. Valentiner 1925-34, vol. 1, no. 244; Benesch 1954-57, vol. 5, no. 881, fig. 1092. Benesch recognized the hand of the additions to the Berlin drawing in an *Offering of Cain and Abel* also in Berlin (*ibid.*, no. 858). Similar embracing figures can be seen in a drawing in the Fondation Custodia in Paris that until now had been thought to represent either the Return of the Prodigal Son or the Departure of Tobias (*ibid.*, no. 983, fig. 1193, as most likely the Return of the Prodigal Son, ca. 1655-56) but that now may be interpreted as the Return of Tobias.
6. Sumowski 1979- , vol. 3, no. 763x.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 1207x.
8. New York 1995-96, vol. 2, fig. 101, under no. 79.
9. Cevat 1973, p. 87, n. 27, pl. 14, fig. 49 (red chalk, 205 x 319 mm).
10. Benesch 1954-57, vol. 5, no. 866, fig. 1075; Held 1964, p. 30, n. 4, fig. 48; Held 1969b, p. 109, n. 6. The drawing was previously in the Emil Hirsch collection. I have not seen the original.
11. Benesch (1954-57, vol. 5, no. 858) attributed the backgrounds of his nos. 484, 533, 858, 866, and 881 all to the same hand (for nos. 858, 881, see above, note 5).

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

75. Christ among the Doctors

1975.I.786

Pen and brush and brown ink. 226 x 178 mm.

PROVENANCE: [R. M. Light, Boston]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 17 (as Nicolaes Maes); New York 1979–80, no. 18, ill. (as Nicolaes Maes); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Sumowski 1979–, vol. 8, no. 1963x, ill. (as Nicolaes Maes, “substantiated,” ca. 1652–53); Starcky 1988, p. 179, under no. 255.

The hesitant and awkward formulation of this drawing, especially noticeable in the man seated in the right foreground, seems at odds with its psychological sophistication and spatial as well as compositional intricacy. The discrepancy seems to indicate that the lost original may have been by Rembrandt or a gifted pupil of the 1650s. Nicolaes Maes, to whom the Lehman drawing has been attributed in the past, is not known to have made similar drawings.¹



No. 75

Rembrandt represented Christ among the Doctors in two etchings (Bartsch 65, of 1652, and 64, of 1654) and a number of drawings, all quite different not only in composition but in the way the subject is interpreted.² This drawing possibly reflects an idea of Rembrandt's that was one more variation on the theme. There are very few similarities between it and either the two etchings or the many drawings of the subject by Rembrandt and his pupils. Like this drawing, the etching of 1652 includes a group of Pharisees behind a balustrade on a higher level in the center background. And in a drawing in the Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, Copenhagen, that may also be a copy of a lost original by Rembrandt the composition is framed, as it is here, by a standing man at the left and a seated man at the right.³

EHB

NOTES:

1. Sumowski (letter to Szabo, 15 May 1970 [Robert Lehman Collection files]; 1979- , vol. 8, no. 1963x) accepted the drawing as a work of Maes. Starcky (1988, p. 179) pointed to similarities between the *Standing Man* in the Louvre, Paris (his no. 255), and the Lehman drawing but expressed reservations about Maes as author of the Louvre drawing.
2. See Benesch 1954-57, vol. 3, no. 500, fig. 623 (Sammlung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur); no. 622b, fig. 755 (formerly collection of E. Gordon Roe, Cambridge, copies in Munich [Wegner 1973, no. 1187], Berlin [Bock and Rosenberg 1931, p. 241, no. 4239], and Bremen [see Benesch 1954-57, vol. 6, p. 432]); vol. 4, no. 855, fig. 1003 (Louvre, Paris; see also Lugt 1933, no. 1130); vol. 5, no. 936, fig. 1147 (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm); no. 998, fig. 1213 (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York); and vol. 6, no. A87, fig. 1656 (Groninger Museum), p. 431 (Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden, HdG 213). A drawing of the subject in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (57.333), is attributed to Samuel van Hoogstraten by Sumowski (1979- , vol. 5, no. 1161x).
3. Falck 1924-25, p. 77, fig. 3 (as a copy after Rembrandt).

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

76. The Martyrdom of Saint Peter

1975.1.793

Reed pen and brush and brown ink and brown wash.¹ Watermark: foolscap. 201 x 274 mm. Annotated at the right top corner in pen and brown ink: 5; annotated on the verso in pencil: *N^o5 / S.H. yes*; and in another hand: *f.43.11*; blue stamp on the verso: DUVEEN BROTHERS.

Trimmed (remains of original arch across the top and framing line along the bottom); vertical fold 34 mm from the right edge.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Warwick, Warwick(?); Thomas Halstead(?);² probably Sir Francis Seymour Haden, London and Arlesford;³ Rodolphe Kann, Paris; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London]; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979-80, no. 33, ill. (as Rembrandt); New York 1991; New York 1995-96, no. 80, ill. (as school of Rembrandt, late 1650s).

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1925-34, vol. 2, p. 107, ill., p. 397, no. 549 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1653); Benesch 1954-57, vol. 6, p. 392, no. C102, fig. 1639 (as a copy); Van Gelder 1961, p. 151, n. 24; Benesch 1973, vol. 6, no. C102, fig. 1720 (as a copy of a work of ca. 1660).

The arched frame, only part of which remains, and the circular grouping of the figures around the central action in this drawing are decidedly Rembrandtesque, and Peter Schatborn and Carolyn Logan have rightly noted the drawing's similarity, in technique and in the formulation of the cross, to Rembrandt's drawing *The Raising of the Cross* of about 1657-58 (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin).⁴ Rembrandt borrowed the motif of a horse and rider that serves as a framing device at the right from his teacher, Pieter Lastman, and made use of it in his own work throughout his life, eventually passing



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it on to his pupils.⁵ It appears, for instance, in his drawing *Golgotha* in the Louvre, Paris,⁶ and (in reverse) in the etching *The Baptism of the Eunuch* of 1641 (Bartsch 98).⁷ Here, however, the figures are disproportionately large.

The author of the Lehman *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* has carefully thought through the difficult and awkward aspects of the task of the four men struggling to raise the cross to which Saint Peter is nailed, even placing a rock at the head of the cross to prevent it from sliding away. But the execution of the drawing does not equal its conception. The washes do not convey a sense of light and shade, and the unevenness in the handling of line – in some places broad, in others thin and irresolute – also betrays a certain inconsistency. This must be the work of one of Rembrandt's pupils from the late 1650s.

EHB

NOTES:

1. What Valentiner saw as corrections in white on the rider and the right arm of the cross are probably areas of wash blotted with sand.
2. According to a label on the back of an old mount (Robert Lehman Collection files), the drawing was in the Warwick and Halstead collections. The provenance is discussed further in No. 67, note 1.
3. The *S.H. yes* written on the verso indicates that Sir Francis Seymour Haden accepted the drawing as a work by Rembrandt and possibly that he owned it.
4. Kupferstichkabinett, 12013; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 4, no. 1036, fig. 1251; Logan in New York 1995–96, vol. 2, pp. 191–92, n. 1, fig. 102 (citing Schatborn's letter to her of 16 March 1995).
5. For a discussion of the aspects Rembrandt took over from Lastman's *Coriolanus*, see Broos 1975–76.
6. Louvre, 22885; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 3, no. 652, fig. 789; Starcky 1988, no. 46, ill.
7. The similarity was pointed out by Logan in New York 1995–96, vol. 2, p. 192.

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

77. The Beheading of Anabaptist Martyrs

1975.I.791

Pen and brown ink with brush and brown and gray wash.
181 x 133 mm.

Laid down. Inscribed on the mount in pen and brown ink: "§3 / De Ophir et Tarsis gf. Buddei hist. eccles. tom . . . / et Bachieng geogr. sacr. tom. 3 ab. initio; and §4 / Vid Fabrit bibl. ant. cap.16 §8; and on verso §2 / . . . dloi . . . t eg ex Egypto petiti Cyro et Alir nation . . . / . . . iti in s reg. 10-29."¹

PROVENANCE: Count A. de Robiano, Brussels; Robiano sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 15-16 June 1926, lot 453; A. W. M. Mensing, Amsterdam; sale, Mensing et Fils/F. Muller, Amsterdam, 27-29 April 1937, lot 555 (as Rembrandt); sale, Kornfeld and Klipstein, Bern, 27 May 1964, lot 245, frontis. (as Rembrandt; to Lock Galleries for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1964, p. 31; New York 1979-80, no. 31, ill. (as Rembrandt); New York 1985; New York 1995-96, vol. 2, no. 73, ill. (as school of Rembrandt).

LITERATURE: Benesch 1947a, p. 28, no. 109 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1640); Benesch 1947b, pl. 109 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1640); Benesch 1954-57, vol. 3, p. 139, no. 478, fig. 596 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1640); White and Boon 1969, vol. 1, p. 51, under no. B.92; Volskaya 1970, pp. 88, 93, 96; Benesch 1973, vol. 3, no. 478, fig. 633 (as ca. 1640); Roberts 1976, pl. 39 (as ca. 1640); Konstam 1977, p. 94, fig. 35; Konstam 1978, pp. 24, 25, fig. 2; Logan 1980, p. 58 (as Rembrandt); Mules 1985, p. 18, color ill.; Schatborn 1985a, pp. 42, 43, 45, fig. 19c, under no. 19 (as probably by a pupil); Alpers 1988, p. 43, fig. 2.16; Berlin-Amsterdam-London 1991-92, vol. 2, pp. 74, 77, under no. 19, color fig. 19d (as probably by a pupil);² Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, pp. 96-97, under no. 35, fig. 35b (as perhaps Ferdinand Bol); Dickey 1995, pp. 58-61, fig. 9 (as either by a pupil or a copy after Rembrandt); Dickey 1996, p. 96, n. 11.



Fig. 77.1 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Beheading of Prisoners*.
© British Museum, London

Execution by beheading must have been of considerable interest to Rembrandt and members of his studio about 1640. They treated the chilling theme in at least nine drawings depicting both single and multiple executions³ and in two etchings of the Beheading of John the Baptist, one (Bartsch 92) signed and dated 1640 by Rembrandt, the other (Bartsch 93) probably made by Jan van Vliet about 1631-33.⁴

The subject of this drawing, showing an executioner in an undefined setting poised to behead a blindfold prisoner kneeling before him, with three severed heads and a decapitated body lying in the foreground, has only recently been identified.⁵ In the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1995-96 Dickey argued persuasively that the severed heads and kneeling victim relate to an episode from the history of the Anabaptists, the forerunners of the Mennonites, who were persecuted as heretics throughout the Northern Netherlands in the sixteenth century. The haunting stories of their execution, sometimes in large numbers, by decapitation and other means were well known to Mennonites and others in the seventeenth century. Rembrandt's own profound interest can be explained at least in part by his close ties to several members of Amsterdam's affluent and culturally sophisticated Mennonite community, among them Hendrick Uylenburgh, the preacher Cornelis Claesz Anso, and a number of his fellow artists, such as Govert Flinck, Jacob Backer, and Samuel van Hoogstraten.⁶



Fig. 77.2 After Rembrandt van Rijn, *Studies of a Decapitation*.
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 1455

Two of the nine drawings of beheadings from Rembrandt's studio – *Beheading of Prisoners* in the British Museum, London,⁷ and *Studies of a Decapitation* in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich⁸ (Figs. 77.1, 77.2) – are closely related to the Lehman drawing. As Konstam first noted in 1978, the three drawings together provide clear evidence that a suggestion Samuel van Hoogstraten made in 1678 in his *Inleyding* was based on experience, probably from his days in Rembrandt's studio.⁹ He advised his readers to search their imagination for the proper composition, to sketch it repeatedly, and then “if you happen to have two or three apprentices around, let them try to act out the principal action you want to represent. Many great artists have used such chamberplay [*kamerspel*] methods to their advantage.”¹⁰

Rembrandt and his pupils did precisely that. They sketched this scene from different angles. The main figures in the Lehman drawing correspond in both pose and relative position to the figures in the British Museum drawing, which depicts the executioner and victims with onlookers from a point farther to the left.¹¹ At first glance the drawing in Munich appears to be partly a copy of the Lehman drawing, but close examination reveals that it contains two separate studies of the same scene, made from farther to the right than the Lehman sketch.¹² The models must have posed long enough to allow an artist to sketch the scene at least three times. That at least in one instance Rembrandt and his students had drawn simultaneously from the same nude models, he on copperplates in preparation for etchings (Bartsch 193, 196) and they on paper, had been known for some time.¹³ But that he used the same procedure with a group of figures acting out a scene in the studio was not known until Konstam recognized that the British Museum and Lehman drawings represent the same figures viewed from different angles.¹⁴

The London drawing, in pen and brown ink with highlights in white gouache, is undeniably in Rembrandt's own hand. The Munich studies are so similar to the Lehman *Beheading*, particularly in the heavy lines of the leftmost executioner, the right contours of the sides and shoulders of both executioners, the head of the victim, and even in the application of rubbed washes, that the two drawings probably are by the same artist. In spite of many of the general characteristics they share with Rembrandt's work around 1640, however, they cannot be attributed to him. The multiple contours of the figures in the Lehman sheet and the thick vertical lines of the figures, particularly those defining the executioners, and the contrasts between the heavy and fine

pen lines in both drawings suggest another hand.¹⁵ Consequently, since 1985 the Lehman drawing has been attributed to a Rembrandt follower, for whom Royalton-Kisch tentatively put forth the name of Ferdinand Bol (1618–1680).¹⁶ For the time being, however, we still lack convincing evidence for assigning it to a specific pupil who worked with Rembrandt about 1640.

The drawing allows a glimpse into a brief period of intense activity on the part of Rembrandt and his pupils. They focused on one motif – the beheading – and its application to two different subjects, one biblical, the beheading of Saint John, and one historical, the martyrdom of the Anabaptists. One can only surmise whether the artists, when engaged in the formal mastering of the motif, were conscious of the subjects their studies were serving and if so, whether the historical subjects affected their interpretation of the models.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Rather than providing a clue to the subject of this drawing, the puzzling notes on the mount (which has been trimmed) probably relate instead to another drawing for which the mount was used.
2. The catalogue incorrectly cited the drawing's location as the British Museum, London.
3. One, *Studies of a Decapitation*, is in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (see note 8 below and Fig. 77.2); Benesch (1954–57, vol. 3, nos. 477–80, 480a, 482 recto and verso, 485a) discusses and illustrates eight others: *Nude Man Kneeling* (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne), the Lehman drawing, *Beheading of Prisoners* (British Museum, London; Fig. 77.1), *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (formerly Robert von Hirsch collection, Basel), *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (formerly with Bernard Houthakker, Amsterdam), *Executioner* and *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (recto and verso; Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam), and *Scenes of Execution* (formerly Seilern collection, now Courtauld Institute, London). Rembrandt's drawings of beheadings of this period, and those of his students done at the same time under his influence, have been studied as a group more than once. Benesch (1947a, under no. 109; 1954–57, under no. 478) noted parallels between *Nude Man Kneeling*, *The Beheading of John the Baptist* (Benesch 482 verso), the Lehman drawing, the London *Beheading of Prisoners*, and the etching *The Beheading of John the Baptist* of 1640 (Bartsch 92). In 1970 Volskaya interpreted the drawings, together with others of the entombment of Christ, as indicative of Rembrandt's interest in representing successive moments of a particular action (i.e., from the moment just before decapitation, through the act itself, to entombment) and of his interest in the theater. Schatborn (1985a, under no. 19; in Berlin–Amsterdam–London 1991–92, under no. 19) analyzed the relationship between the Lehman drawing, the drawing in London, and the *Beheading of John the Baptist* (Benesch 482 verso)



No. 77

- further, clarifying in particular the *Beheading of John the Baptist* and the *Executioner* on its recto and the date of that drawing (1640–41). Royalton-Kisch (in London 1992, p. 97, nn. 3–6, under no. 35) made a broad analysis of the complex issue of the scenes of beheading by Rembrandt and his pupils about 1640. And, most recently, Dickey (New York 1995–96, under no. 73) gave a concise review of the group with emphasis on the Lehman drawing and its subject. She also expanded the group of comparable drawings to include three others by Rembrandt's pupils: *Christ as Prisoner between Two Soldiers and a Priest* in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (attributed to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout; perceptively, as related to Benesch 479; see also Schatborn 1985b, p. 96, fig. 4); *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (attributed to Barend Fabritius; see also Sumowski 1979–, vol. 4, no. 859xx); and *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (16.448; Valentiner 1925–34, no. 280; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 5, no. 1276axx [as Samuel van Hoogstraten]), of which there is another version in the Louvre, Paris (Lugt 1933, no. 1265).
4. Schuckman in Amsterdam 1996, no. 76, with bibliography.
 5. Dickey proposed this new interpretation in 1995 and 1996 and discussed it briefly in New York 1995–96, pp. 180–82. Benesch (1954–57, vol. 3, p. 139, no. 478) thought the scene represented an event that belonged to secular history and suggested the beheading of the Tarquinian conspirators as recounted by Livy (books 1 and 2) as a possibility. Royalton-Kisch (in London 1992, p. 96) noted the improbability that the London and Lehman drawings represent the beheading of John the Baptist, as he was executed alone.
 6. Dudok van Heel 1980 and Dickey 1995 and 1996 are fundamental to understanding Rembrandt's relations with members of Amsterdam's Mennonite community and his artistic response to them. Dickey (1995, pp. 54–62; 1996, pp. 94–98;) also discusses the sect's legacy of martyrdom and the intensity of the public's awareness of that legacy about 1640.
 7. Benesch 1954–57, no. 479; Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, no. 35, ill., with extensive references to related works. See also note 3 above.
 8. Wegner 1973, p. 170, no. 1168. See also note 12 below.
 9. Konstam 1978, p. 24. The Lehman drawing was loosely linked with the *Beheading of Prisoners* for the first time in the Robiano sale catalogue in 1926.
 10. Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 192. In 1970 Volskaya had connected these drawings with the stage as well (see note 3 above). On the relationship between Rembrandt and the theater the basic sources are still Witkowsky 1936 and Van de Waal 1969a (reprinted in Van de Waal 1974). Alpers offered new insights on the subject, including Van Hoogstraten's text, in 1988 (pp. 34–57).
 11. See Konstam 1977, p. 94, figs. 34, 35, 41, 42; and Konstam 1978, p. 24, figs. 1–4. Konstam's suggestion that Rembrandt used mirrors to assist in creating different points of view seems contrived, however.
 12. Lugt (1933, under no. 1265) mentions the Munich drawing [with the wrong inventory no., 1435] as representing the subject of the Louvre drawing (inv. 1265; see note 3 above) twice. Wegner (1973, p. 170, no. 1168) surmised that the group at the left is a copy of the Lehman drawing. The position of the man crouching beside the victim on the very left in the Munich drawing can be explained only by assuming either that while posing he moved to the left or that the draftsman sketched him separately in a position that allowed him to be seen in full. Surprisingly enough, on the Munich sheet the scabbard of the executioner, which is omitted in the Lehman drawing, was drawn before the legs were sketched in.
 13. See the drawings in the Albertina, Vienna (Benesch 1954–57, vol. 4, no. 709); the British Museum (ibid., vol. 3, no. 710); and the Louvre, Paris (ibid., no. A55; Lugt 1933, no. 1327). The relationship between these drawings and etchings and the history of their interpretation are discussed by Bevers in Berlin–Amsterdam–London 1991–92, pp. 224–26, under no. 21, and by Royalton-Kisch in London 1992, under no. 87. As Hind noted in 1932 (p. 33), Sir Martin Conway was the first to point out that the drawings were done simultaneously after the same model, partly by Rembrandt's pupils.
 14. The severed heads may have been drawn from imagination or after wooden dummies. Konstam (1977) suggested that sculptures were used.
 15. It should be noted (as Royalton-Kisch did in London 1992, p. 97, n. 3) that the gray washes were added by another hand, most likely in the eighteenth century. The entire background, the heavy shadows along the neck and back of the executioner, the shadow along the leg of the kneeling victim, and the shadows on the ground are all later additions. The original artist applied only a transparent light brown wash to the crouching man barely visible behind the kneeling victim and between the legs of the executioner and those of his victim. Without the gray wash the contrast between the few heavy pen lines and the many thin pen lines must have been even more pronounced.
 16. Royalton-Kisch (in London 1992, pp. 96–97, under no. 35) said that the Lehman drawing “appears to have been made by another artist, perhaps Ferdinand Bol, at the same sitting as the [British Museum drawing].” Among the drawings attributed to Bol the closest to the Lehman drawing, particularly its bold passages, are two drawings that have been dated to early in his career: *Saul and the Witch of Endor* (formerly Katzenellenbogen collection, San Francisco; Sumowski 1979–, no. 91), and *Two Studies of Mary Walking* (Ossolinski National Institute, Wrocław; ibid., no. 98), the latter for the painting *The Three Marys at the Tomb* of 1644 (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen). Yet the similarities do not suffice to support the attribution of either the Lehman or, by extension, the Munich drawing to Bol. *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (formerly Von Hirsch and John R. Gaines collections; Benesch 1954–57, vol. 3, no. 480) that Royalton-Kisch (in London 1992, p. 97) suggested is by the same hand as the Lehman drawing is likewise too far removed from it.



No. 78

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

78. A Hawker Showing an Animal in a Cage to a Woman and Her Child

1975.I.798

Verso: *Head of an Old Woman*

Reed pen and brown ink, pen and gray washes; verso in pen and dark brown ink. 134 x 130 mm. Annotated on the verso in pencil: *S.H. yes*.

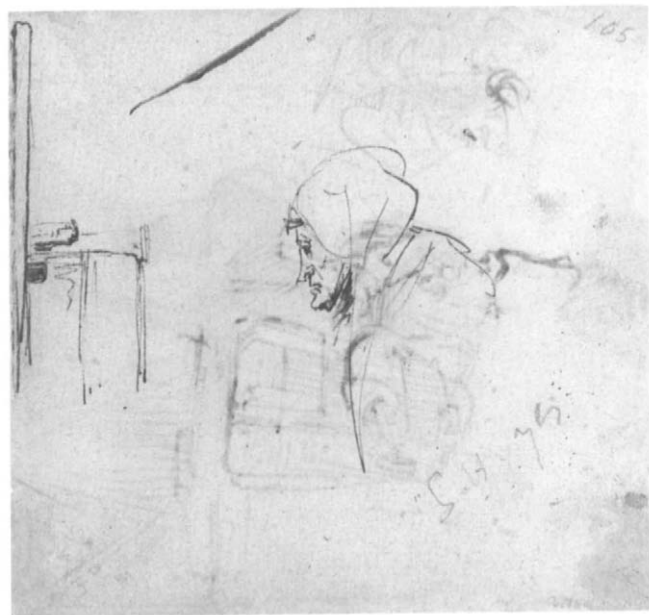
Inlaid.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Warwick, Warwick(?); Thomas Halstead(?); probably Sir Francis Seymour Haden, London and Arlesford; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London(?)]; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs.

Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York].¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 21 (as Rembrandt); New York 1979-80, no. 25, ill. (as Rembrandt, ca. 1637); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Valentiner 1925-26, p. 274, ill. (as Rembrandt); Valentiner 1925-34, vol. 2, p. 316, ill., p. 426, no. 752 (as Rembrandt); Benesch 1935, p. 15 (as Rembrandt, 1632-33); Benesch 1954-57, vol. 2, p. 94, no. 419, figs. 472, 473 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1637), and under no. 356; Van Gelder 1961, p. 151, n. 24 (as Rembrandt); Benesch 1973, vol. 2, no. 419, figs. 503, 504 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1637).



No. 78, verso

The profile of this man entertaining a woman and her child with a marmot or some other small animal is convincingly summarized, and the wicker cage is carefully defined, but the hatch marks seem too regularized and the contour lines too ill formed to be by Rembrandt. Furthermore, the mother's right arm and hand lack definition, and her facial features, such as the arc of her brow and the pupil of her eye, are not typical of Rembrandt. The two figures are drawn in the same ink and thus are by the same hand, but at a later point in time the drawing was also extensively worked over in gray washes and pen and gray ink. This accounts for the clumsy proportions of the bench, the awkward passages in the man's left arm and leg, the addition of hands to the mother and child, and the nondescriptive shading in washes throughout.

The study of an old woman on the verso, which Benesch thought preceded the drawing on the recto by a few years, is probably by a different seventeenth-century hand. The object at the left has not been identified.

EHB

NOTE:

1. The provenance is discussed in No. 67, note 1.

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

79. Old Woman with a Baby in Her Arms

1975.I.797

Pen and brown ink, with wash in three shades of brown and gray. 159 x 119 mm. Inscription near the top erased and covered with grayish brown wash.

About 20 mm along the top and 2 mm along the right edge discolored by an old mat.

PROVENANCE: Rodolphe Kann, Paris; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London(?)]; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York].¹ Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York 1964, p. 31; New York 1976, no. 24; New York 1979–80, no. 27, ill. (as Rembrandt); New York 1988b; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Kann collection 1907, vol. 2, p. 80, no. 167, ill. (as Rembrandt); Valentiner 1925–34, vol. 1, p. 347, ill., p. 483, no. 323 (as *Nurse with a Child* [*Saint Anne with the Christ Child?*]); if authentic, ca. 1640; Benesch 1935, p. 36;

Benesch 1954–57, vol. 4, no. 742, fig. 886 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1643); Van Gelder 1961, p. 151, n. 24; Benesch 1973, vol. 4, no. 742, fig. 937 (as Rembrandt, ca. 1643).

An old woman cradling a baby in her arms in a dark interior setting is a most unusual variation on the theme of mother and child that is so prominent in Rembrandt's work.² Benesch dated this genre scene about 1643, mainly because of similar pen lines in other genre drawings, such as *The Smoker*, dated that year.³ Benesch described the scene as set "in bright sunlight,"⁴ but the play of the light suggests it emanates from a wood fire. The string of onions hanging above would seem to confirm this.

The gray wash near the top and at the left and probably also some of the darker brown washes were added by another hand, and they tend to confuse rather than clarify the light effects. The pen lines themselves, espe-



No. 79

cially in the old woman's hands, lack Rembrandt's subtlety, and the crosshatching in the lower part of the scene has no parallels in Rembrandt's work. This drawing is therefore probably by a follower who was influenced by the dramatic effects of light and dark Rembrandt achieved in *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Bartsch 44) and other etchings from the early 1640s.

EHB

NOTES:

1. The provenance is discussed in No. 67, note 1.
2. For example, Benesch 1954-57, vol. 2, nos. 226, 275-78.
3. Ibid., vol. 4, no. 686. Compare also the drawings of the Holy Family attributed to Rembrandt in the British Museum, London, and the Louvre, Paris (ibid., vol. 3, nos. 516, 517).
4. This was also the interpretation of the anonymous author of the catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann collection that was published in 1907.

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

80. An Officer Holding a Ceremonial Sword

1975.1.795

Pen and brush and brown inks. 200 x 115 mm.

PROVENANCE: Count Jan Pieter van Suchtelen, Saint Petersburg (Lugt 2332 on the recto; not in Suchtelen sale, Blaisot, Paris, 4 June 1862); Paul Mathey, Paris(?); Rodolphe Kann, Paris; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London(?)]; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York].¹ Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York 1964, p. 31 (as Rembrandt); New York 1976, no. 23 (as Rembrandt); New York 1979–80, no. 35, ill. (as Rembrandt); New York 1985; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Lippmann and Hofstede de Groot 1888–1911, ser. 3, part 1, no. 32 (as Rembrandt); Hofstede de Groot 1906, p. 179, no. 800 (as Rembrandt); Kann collection 1907, vol. 2, p. 79, no. 166, ill. (as Rembrandt); Slive 1965, no. 365, ill. (as school of Rembrandt); Logan 1980 (as school of Rembrandt).

The standing man holds a huge *tweehander*, or two-handed sword, of a type that was used until sometime in the sixteenth century and gradually assumed a purely symbolic and ceremonial function.² He is also armed with a dagger or short sword on his hip, and he wears a sash indicating his rank or his militia company. The rest of his costume is civilian, and very elegant. He wears a cloak, breeches with tassels, boots, a doublet, and an apronlike skirt of ribbon loops, a French creation known as a *tablier de galants*.³ His tall hat with ostrich feathers was an elegant afterthought.

When ceremonial *tweehandlers* were included in group portraits of citizens as militiamen, they were usually only partly visible.⁴ This drawing is probably therefore an independent sketch rather than a study for a group portrait.

This figure was drawn with assurance, yet the thin, tentative strokes that map out the main outlines; the thicker, bolder lines that impart texture and weight to the costume; and the light parallel hatchings that were added for shading are clearly not Rembrandt's. Hofstede de Groot listed the drawing as by Rembrandt, but Slive has argued more convincingly for assigning it to a talented student. One of Rembrandt's pupils, Govert Flinck (1615–1660), was commissioned to make civic guard portraits, but his pen drawings, either of militiamen or of other subjects, are technically quite unlike this one.⁵

EHB

NOTES:

1. The provenance is discussed in No. 67, note 1. According to Hofstede de Groot (1906, p. 179), Paul Mathey owned the drawing.
2. For a ceremonial *tweehander* of 1573, see Haarlem 1988, no. 17; on its function and aspects of its history, see *ibid.*, p. 226.
3. The costume is described in Washington, D.C.–London–Haarlem 1989–90, no. 70 (Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1650–52; Metropolitan Museum, 91.26.9).
4. See, for example, Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* of 1642 and Bartholomeus van der Helst's *Company of Captain Roelof Bicker* of ca. 1643, both in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, pp. 19, 90). On the swords in *Nightwatch*, see the discussion between Tümpel and Müller Hofstede in Simson and Kelch 1973, pp. 174–75.
5. See, for instance, Sumowski 1979–, vol. 4, nos. 876 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), 877 (École des Beaux-Arts, Paris), and 953x (Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, Copenhagen).



No. 80



No. 81

School of Rembrandt van Rijn

81. A Young Man

1975.1.804

Verso: *The First "Oriental" Head* (etching by Rembrandt after Jan Lievens)

Pen and brush in brown ink; the verso printed in brown. 150 x 124 mm. Annotated in pencil(?) at the bottom right on the recto: *Seguier Sale* and various numbers; inscribed at the center top on the verso: *Rembrandt geretuc / 1635*.

PROVENANCE: William Seguier; Seguier sale, Christie's, London, 29 April 1844, lot 591 (sold as an etching); Rodolphe Kann, Paris; [Duveen Brothers, New York and London(?)]; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice, Newport and New York; Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, New York; Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Silver, Chicago; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York].¹ Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979-80, no. 36, ill.; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Kann collection 1907, vol. 2, p. 83, no. 170, ill.

This half-length study depicts a young man standing, his eyes cast downward, and resting his right hand on what must be a pouch, or perhaps a mailbag. The drawing is carried out primarily in brush and a little wash, with thin strokes of the pen in the face, collar, shoulder, and sleeves. The artist seems to have used the brush to imitate lines drawn with the pen, particularly the reed pen Rembrandt favored in the mid-1650s.



No. 81, verso

The drawing was made on the verso of an impression of the second state of *The First "Oriental" Head* (Bartsch 28711), Rembrandt's etching after Jan Lievens.² The etching is inscribed *Rembrandt geretuc / 1635*. This particular impression, a rather late one, is printed in an unusual light brown ink that was not used for any contemporary impressions of Rembrandt's etchings. It confirms the doubts that have been raised about the attribution of the drawing to Rembrandt himself.

EHB

NOTES:

1. The provenance is discussed in No. 67, note 1.
2. Broos (in Amsterdam 1985–86, pp. 22–23, under nos. 6, 7) and Schatborn (in Amsterdam 1988–89, pp. 50–51, under no. 28) have recently suggested, convincingly, that Rembrandt did more than add finishing touches to a copy made by a pupil, as was previously believed. They posited that Rembrandt traced the contours of the head in the Lievens etching through the paper onto a new etching plate and worked up the print himself. This accounts for the lack of stippling in the shadows and the addition of new details throughout.

Constantijn Daniel van Renesse

Maarsen 1626–Eindhoven 1680

Constantijn van Renesse has a respectable oeuvre of drawings, prints, and paintings credited to his name. He also had interests in other fields, such as literature and mathematics. From 1663 he was a town clerk of Eindhoven. Whether he should be considered a professional artist or an amateur depends in part on how one defines the terms.¹ His earliest drawings, of 1642, reflect the influence of Pieter Quast (1605/6–1647).² In 1649 he took lessons in drawing from Rembrandt, and in the early 1650s he came under the influence of Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678).³

Several of Renesse's drawings show Rembrandt's corrections, and others have inscriptions that state that Rembrandt corrected them. His drawings often depict detailed biblical scenes.

NOTES:

1. Vermeeren (1978, pp. 7, 8) has discussed this issue, which Falck (1924, p. 199) raised earlier in passing. Byam Shaw (1938–39, p. 20) characterized Renesse as an amateur; Broos (1983, pp. 44, 47) considers him a "documented" pupil. Biographical data were established by Falck (1924, p. 198) and expanded by Vermeeren (1978, 1979). Falck

- 1924 and Sumowski 1979–, vol. 9, remain fundamental to understanding Rembrandt's correcting the drawings of his pupils, specifically those by Renesse.
2. Sumowski 1959, pp. 115ff., and 1965, p. 250. Falck (1924,

- p. 199) and Vermeeren (1978, p. 7) have suggested that a member of the Rembrandt circle in Leiden may have been responsible for Renesse's early training.
3. Sumowski 1965, p. 250.

Constantijn van Renesse

82. The Judgment of Solomon

1975.I.806

Pen and brush and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, with traces of corrections in white. 232 x 327 mm. Inscribed on the verso in pen and brown ink: *Tweede ordinatie Bij RemBrant 1649* (second composition at Rembrandt's 1649); annotated on the recto in pen and brown ink at the bottom right: *RemBrant*; in pen and brown ink at the bottom left: *2086 D'A*.

Laid down; the backing paper partly removed.

PROVENANCE: Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, Paris (Lugt 2951 on the recto);¹ Charles Marquis de Valori, Paris (Lugt 2500 on the recto); Valori sale, P. Roblin, Paris, 25–26 November 1907, lot 198 (as school of Rembrandt); Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, The Hague (Lugt 561 on the verso); Hofstede de Groot sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 4 November 1931, lot 119 (as Samuel van Hoogstraten); [Nebehay, Vienna]; Henry S. Reitlinger, London, by 1938; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22 June 1954, lot 693 (as Constantijn van Renesse; to Leonard for Lehman).

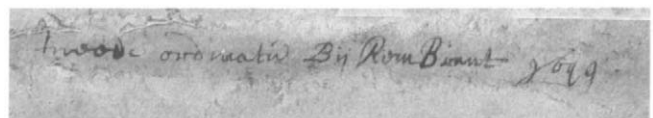
EXHIBITED: Leiden 1916, no. 56 (as Samuel van Hoogstraten); London 1953, no. 320; New York 1976, no. 25, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 38, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1991; New York 1995–96, no. 85, ill.

LITERATURE: Hirschmann 1917, pp. 208, 211, fig. 12 (as Samuel van Hoogstraten); Byam Shaw 1938–39, pp. 20, 21, pl. 18, fig. 5 (as in the Reitlinger collection; attributed to Constantijn van Renesse); Lugt 1956, pp. 336, 337, under no. 2274a; Sumowski 1956, p. 126;² Sumowski 1961, p. 27, under no. A119; Sumowski 1965, p. 255, n. 12; Chicago–Minneapolis–Detroit 1969–70, p. 179, under no. 142; Sumowski 1973, p. 96, n. 43; Vermeeren 1978, pp. 7, 8; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 9, no. 2151, ill. (as ca. 1660), pp. 4818, 4828, 4868, 4872, 4874, 4911, under nos. 2145, 2150, 2168, 2169, 2170; Sumowski 1983–94, vol. 4, p. 2469; Giltaij 1988, under no. 130; Labbé and Bicart-Sée 1996, p. 265.

Constantijn van Renesse situated his scene of the Judgment of Solomon (1 Kings 3:16–28) in a stagelike setting similar to those Rembrandt devised for biblical and historical subjects. Although it was frequently represented in seventeenth-century art outside Holland, this subject was not depicted by Rembrandt as far as we know, and it was rarely taken up by artists in his circle.

Renesse's inscription on the drawing (see detail) translates literally as “second composition at Rembrandt's,” and it could also be read as “second drawing [following a first one of the same subject, or worked up from a first preliminary sketch] at Rembrandt's.” (In seventeenth-century Dutch, “ordina[n]tie,” like its present-day English equivalent, “composition,” denoted not only the arrangement of forms in a work of art, particularly a two-dimensional one, but also the work of art itself.)³ *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, a drawing signed by Renesse (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam), is inscribed, however, “the first drawing shown to Rembrandt 1649 the first of October / it was the second time that I went to Rembrandt.”⁴ This means that the Lehman sheet was either the second drawing Renesse made on Rembrandt's premises or the second one he showed to him, presumably during the second lesson or shortly afterward, and that what Renesse wrote on it was “the second drawing I did at Rembrandt's.” It seems safe to assume that not much time elapsed between the first and second drawings, so the Lehman drawing can be dated 1649–50.

Renesse was dependent on his teacher's ideas for the composition of this drawing; a similar arrangement of figures can be seen in Rembrandt's drawing *Jacob and His Sons* in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.⁵ Renesse's inventions were his personal, “painterly” manner of drawing and his application of Rembrandt's composition to a new and different subject. Certainly he did not adopt Rembrandt's expressive faces and telling gestures. This drawing also has parallels with the work



No. 82, annotation on verso



No. 82

of Samuel van Hoogstraten, who may have impressed Renesse while the two of them were working together in Rembrandt's studio.

EHB

NOTES:

1. On Dezallier d'Argenville, see Labbé and Bicart-Sée 1987.
2. Reference provided by Sumowski (1979- , vol. 9, no. 2151) but not traced by the present author.
3. De Pauw-de Veen 1969, pp. 90, 91, 184, 244.
4. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, MB200; Giltaij 1988, no. 130. The inscription reads: "de eerste tjckening getoont Bij RemBramt in Jaer 1649 de 1 October / het waert voor

- de tweede mael dat ick bij Rembrandt geweest ben." The drawing is also signed and dated 1652 on the recto and signed on the verso. Sumowski (1979- , vol. 9, no. 2151) interpreted the inscription as recording the date the artist presented his first drawing to Rembrandt, rather than the date of this specific drawing, and dated the drawing on stylistic grounds to about 1660. As Giltaij (1988, no. 130) has said, the inscription does not seem to allow for that interpretation, however, and the date on the recto must therefore be presumed to be erroneous. Vermeeren's interpretation (1978, p. 8) seems overly complex.
5. Schatborn 1985a, no. 17. For a discussion of the effect of a similar composition on Rembrandt's pupils, see *ibid.*, under no. 79 (*Esther Fainting before Ahasuerus*).

Anthonie van Borssum

Amsterdam 1632–Amsterdam 1677

Anthonie van Borssum is thought to have studied with Rembrandt from about 1645 to about 1650. His connection with Rembrandt can be seen primarily in his early pen drawings. Van Borssum is known for his landscapes in the style of Philips Koninck (1619–1688), as well as his studies of animals.

Attributed to Anthonie van Borssum

83. A Praying Youth

1975.1.805

Pen and brown ink. Watermark: *Schellenkappe*. 152 x 103 mm.

PROVENANCE: August Artaria, Vienna (Lugt 33 on the verso); sale, Artaria and Co., Vienna, 6–13 May 1896, lot 1018, pl. 6; R. P. Goldschmidt, Berlin (Lugt 2926 on the verso); Goldschmidt sale, F. A. C. Prestel, Frankfurt am Main, 4 October 1917, lot 462, pl. 15; Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, The Hague (Lugt 561 on the verso); Hofstede de Groot sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 4 November 1931, lot 172, pl. 15 (as Rembrandt, according to Valentiner; bought in); [Richard Ederheimer, New York].

EXHIBITED: The Hague 1930, no. 69; Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942–44; New York 1976, no. 7; New York 1979–80, no. 37, ill. (as school of Rembrandt); New York 1991.

The catalogue of the Artaria sale in 1896 suggested that this profile study of a youth kneeling with his hands clasped, apparently in prayer, was a drawing from the model and was used for an Adoration of the Shepherds, but no corresponding painting has been found. In 1931 Valentiner attributed it to Rembrandt, even though it is markedly different from his drawings. It is probably by one of Rembrandt's pupils or followers.

The capable, even gifted artist made rapid penstrokes using very little ink, creating sketchy, often interrupted lines that give the impression of energetic execution. The dry pen, the light brown color of the ink, and the combination of curving lines and loose parallel hatch marks are found in drawings attributed to the Amsterdam artist Anthonie van Borssum, especially *Turkey, Rooster, and Hens under a Tree* (particularly the background) from a sketchbook by Van Borssum in the British Museum, London,¹ and *Two Geese with Goslings on the Water*, which was formerly in the Brod collection, London.²

EHB

NOTES:

1. Sumowski 1979–, vol. 2, p. 770, no. 363 (British Museum, 1836-8-11-62; pen and brown ink, brown washes, with touches of red watercolor, 161 x 198 mm).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 768, no. 362 (pen and brown ink, 112 x 148 mm). And see also the *Chained Dog and Birds* in the Louvre, Paris (RF00.728; Lugt 1929–31, no. 127, pl. 17 [as Anthonie van Borssum]).



No. 83

Lambert Doomer

Amsterdam 1624–Amsterdam 1700

Like his teacher, Rembrandt, Lambert Doomer was a dedicated observer of his surroundings and traveled extensively making sketches of the landscape he encountered. Many of his large topographical drawings are inscribed with the names of the places he visited along

the Loire (in 1646 with Willem Schellinks), the Rhine (probably about 1663), and elsewhere. In later years Doomer made finished drawings in the studio that were based directly on those sketches. His paintings, however, are only loosely dependent on them.

Lambert Doomer

84. The Monterberg Seen from Kalkar

1975.I.770

Pen and brown ink, brush and washes in brownish, grayish, and greenish tints, on ledger paper with two horizontal red lines printed near the upper border. Watermark: bunch of grapes. 236 x 408 mm. Annotated on the verso in pen and brown ink, probably in the eighteenth century: “de Monferenbergh / van Kalkar aftezien”; and by a later hand in pen and brown ink: “Le Mont monterland / vu de Calcar.”

PROVENANCE: Jeronimus Tonneman, Amsterdam (possibly from the estate of the artist); Tonneman sale, Amsterdam, 21 October 1754, album T, lot 3 (to Woortman); Bernardus Hagelis, Amsterdam; Hagelis sale, Amsterdam, 8 March 1762, lot 1066; Hendrik Busserus, Amsterdam; Busserus sale, Amsterdam, 21 October 1782, album 14, lot 861; Jan Gilde-meester, Amsterdam; Gildemeester sale, Amsterdam, 11 November 1800, album 1, lot 31 (to Helmont); possibly Jacobus Lauwers, Amsterdam; Lauwers sale, Amsterdam, 13 December 1802, album D, lot 27 (to Dirk Versteegh); Henri Duval, Liège; Duval sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 22–23 June 1910, lot 97; Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, The Hague (Lugt 561 on the verso); Hofstede de Groot sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 4 November 1931, lot 68 (to Nebehay); Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 643, ill. (to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: Leiden 1916, no. 32; Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942–44; New York 1976, no. 5; New York 1979–80, no. 6, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 21, ill.; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Hirschmann 1917, p. 207 (as early 1670s); Spiess 1930, p. 241, fig. 229; Dattenberg 1938, p. 391, no. 12; Doede and Dattenberg 1953, no. 35; Steeger 1953, p. 48, fig. 17 (detail); Dattenberg 1967, p. 97, no. 110, ill.; Schulz 1972, p. 371, no. 283; Gorissen 1974, p. 135, fig. 92; Schulz 1974, pp. 24, 26, 86, no. 197, fig. 102 (as made in situ in or ca. 1663); New York–Paris 1977–78, p. 48, under no. 30,

n. 11; Schulz 1978, pp. 90, 97, 99, fig. 23; Sumowski 1979–, p. 870, no. 10.

The Monterberg is one of the hills bordering the west side of the Rhine Valley east of Nijmegen, just across the present Dutch–German border. It is situated a few kilometers south of Cleve and west of Kalkar. Attractive not only because of its elevation but also for its historical significance – the ruins are those of the castle of the dukes and counts of Cleve, destroyed in 1635 during the Thirty Years' War – it was sketched by Lambert Doomer and by Aelbert Cuyp and other artists.¹ Here Doomer drew the hill from the east, from the direction of Kalkar. He also represented the view from the opposite direction in the *Kalkar Seen from the Monterberg* in the Van Eeghen collection, Amsterdam, which is drawn on ledger paper the same size as the Lehman sheet.²

Schulz has established that Doomer made the Lehman and Van Eeghen drawings and a large number of other highly finished drawings in the same technique, many of them also on ledger paper, in Amsterdam in the early 1670s.³ He used more freely and boldly drawn sketches he had made in situ as models. On the basis of topographical evidence Schulz was able to date some of the sketches about 1663. He had reason to assume that Doomer made only one trip up the Rhine and therefore dated all the other sketches of this region to the same period. Comparatively few of the first versions of Doomer's fair copies have been preserved, most of them



No. 84

in the British Museum, London. The sketch that served as a model for the Lehman drawing is not among them.

In their settings and details Doomer's fair copies closely follow his preliminary sketches, but in the airy execution of the sketches one senses a greater proximity to Rembrandt than in the more carefully completed copies. Doomer also added figures to the finished drawings to lend them a pastoral air. Here he placed in the left corner a shepherd and a shepherdess wholly absorbed in playing a flute together. As Schulz has pointed out, Doomer made the motif the main subject of one of his few paintings, now in the Landesmuseum in Oldenburg, adding details that emphasize its erotic nature.⁴

EHB

NOTES:

1. On the site and its representation in art, see Spiess 1930, Doede and Dattenberg 1953; and Steeger 1953. On Cleve itself, see Gorissen 1964. For Cuyp's drawings in Amsterdam and Groningen, see Bolten 1967, pp. 53, 54, no. 14.
2. Spiess 1930, fig. 228; Schulz 1972, no. 285; Schulz 1974, no. 198; Sumowski 1979–, p. 870, no. 11.
3. Schulz 1972, pp. 50–65; Schulz 1974, pp. 22–29. Sumowski (1979–, p. 783) suggested that the second versions were commissioned.
4. Schulz 1972, no. G.55; Schulz 1978, p. 99, no. 11, fig. 22. The subject of the painting, and therefore of the couple in the drawing, is discussed in Braunschweig 1978, no. 8, pp. 62, 63; Rembrandt's similar interpretation of a flute player is clarified in Kettering 1977, and the pastoral in Dutch art in a broader sense is discussed in Kettering 1983.

Roeland Roghman

Amsterdam 1627–Amsterdam 1692

Roeland Roghman's painted landscapes are often marked by a cosmopolitan grandeur that seems to fuse Rembrandt and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673). Possibly he was stimulated early in his life by the fantasies of Roeland Saverij (1576?–1639), who was his great-uncle, but his earliest drawings, a series of 241 views of castles and houses in the Northern Netherlands dated 1646–47, are straightforward depictions in black chalk and wash. (These were once thought to be later works, but it has

recently been shown that Roghman's birthdate was 1627, not 1597.)¹ Houbraken reported that Rembrandt and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674) were Roghman's friends, but neither of them had a noticeable effect on his drawings.

NOTE:

1. Kloek 1975b, p. 100, citing research by Dudok van Heel.

Roeland Roghman

85. River Landscape with Rocky Cliffs

1975.I.808

Pen and brush and washes in tints of brown and gray ink over black chalk; framing line in pen and brown ink probably by the artist. Watermark: foolscap surmounted by the number 4 and three balls. 152 x 231 mm. Signed in pen and brown ink at the bottom right: *R Roghman*; annotated on the verso in pen and brown ink: 1829 WE N100, *Roghman* (now partially hidden by the mat) and 773, and in pencil: D26642 (Colnaghi inventory number).

PROVENANCE: William Esdaile, London (Lugt 2617 on the recto and verso); possibly Esdaile sale, Christie and Manson, London, 18 June 1840, lot 704 or 706; Mrs. C. Frank, London, 1963; [P. and D. Colnaghi, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 27; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 39, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1991.

These two imaginary mountain landscapes (see also No. 86) convey impressions of foreign countryside, yet Roeland Roghman may never have traveled outside the Netherlands. In composing these views he may have been influenced by the paintings and prints of the Dutch Italianates working around the middle of the seventeenth century,¹ as well as by Hercules Segers (1589/90–1633/38), Rembrandt, and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout.

The two Lehman drawings can be grouped with a large number of Roghman's drawings now in Amsterdam, Berlin, Copenhagen, Leiden, London, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Groningen, and elsewhere.² They are all drawn in pen and brown ink with brush and brown and gray washes over black chalk and are of approximately the same dimensions as the Lehman landscapes, and most are signed in identical fashion. Many of the drawings in the group have the same foolscap watermark as No. 85, and some have framing lines like those on these two sheets, which may have been drawn by the artist.

The chronology of Roghman's work is not well understood, but these drawings must postdate the series of topographical drawings of castles and country houses he made in 1646–47, when he was about twenty years old. The landscape drawings are more closely related to undated etchings by Roghman, although they are not studies for them. This *River Landscape with Rocky Cliffs* is similar to an etching from his series *Eight Tirolean Landscapes* (Hollstein 27), and the *Mountainous River Landscape with Figures* (No. 86) recalls one of his *Six Views in the Wood of The Hague* (Hollstein 34).

EHB



No. 85

NOTES:

1. See Blankert 1978, p. 40.
2. See, for example, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, A4537 (Schapelhouman and Schatborn 1987, p. 51, ill.); Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 3806-8, 3810 (Bock and Rosenberg 1931; Berlin 1974, nos. 147, 148, fig. 99); Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, Copenhagen, Tu 56a/2; Prentenkabinet, Leiden, Welcker 245; British Museum, London (Hind

1, 2); Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Dyce 456; Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1921-73; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Roghman 11, 12, H31; Groninger Museum, 1931-215 (Bolten 1967, no. 85, ill. p. 209). For a detailed discussion of Roghman's landscape drawings, see Kloek, Niemeijer, and Van der Wyck 1989-90, vol. 2, pp. 24-39.



No. 86

Roeland Roghman

86. Mountainous River Landscape with Figures

1975.I.807

Pen and dark brown ink, brush and light brown ink and grayish brown wash over black chalk; framing line in pen and brown ink probably by the artist. 153 x 234 mm. Signed in pen and dark brown ink at the bottom left: *R Roghman*; annotated on the verso in pen and dark brown ink: 1806 WE.

PROVENANCE: William Esdaile, London (Lugt 2617 verso); possibly Esdaile sale, Christie and Manson, London, 18 June 1840, lot 704 or 706; Lady Bentinck; W. T. Bree; probably Bree sale, Sotheby's, London, 25–26 February 1920, lot 236 (with two other signed Roghman drawings from the Esdaile collection, to Sabin);[†] Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, The Hague (Lugt 561 on the verso); Hofstede de Groot sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 4 November 1931, lot 204; Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 694 (to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 26; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 40, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 24, ill.; New York 1991.

This drawing and No. 85 both belonged to William Esdaile, but he acquired this one in 1806 and No. 85 twenty-three years later. They reached Robert Lehman's collection via different routes.

See No. 85.

EHB

NOTE:

1. Lady Bentinck and W. J. Brie are mentioned as previous owners in the Hofstede de Groot sale catalogue under lot 204. W. J. Brie is probably the Reverend W. T. Bree, whose collection of drawings was sold at Sotheby's in 1920.

Anthonie Waterloo

Lille ca. 1610–Utrecht 1690

Anthonie Waterloo, a productive draftsman of landscapes, preferred nature to man-made structures, even in his topographical drawings. His early works, in particular, evidence his admiration for Simon de Vlieger and the early Allaert van Everdingen. Waterloo sketched woods, tree-lined fields, and distant views near his home in Utrecht, and he also traveled west to Brussels

and east to northern Germany and as far as Gdańsk to sketch sites there.¹ His etchings of woods and trees resemble some of his drawings. He left only a few paintings.

NOTE:

1. For the Utrecht drawings, see Broos 1984a; for those of northern Germany, see Stubbe and Stubbe 1983.

Anthonie Waterloo

87. Landscape by Moonlight

1975.1.820

Black chalk and brush and black ink with gray and grayish black wash heightened with white. 258 x 180 mm. The strip about 30 mm wide along the bottom is part of a fragment of a letter (ca. 75 x 180 mm) in Waterloo's hand that is pasted on the reverse.

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 743/1 (with No. 88, to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 38; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 52, ill. (with the verso of No. 88 erroneously catalogued as its verso); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Lugt 1956, p. 337, under no. 2274a; New York–London 1986, p. 162, under no. 69; Kahn-Gerzon 1992, pp. 96, 98, n. 41, figs. 5, 6.

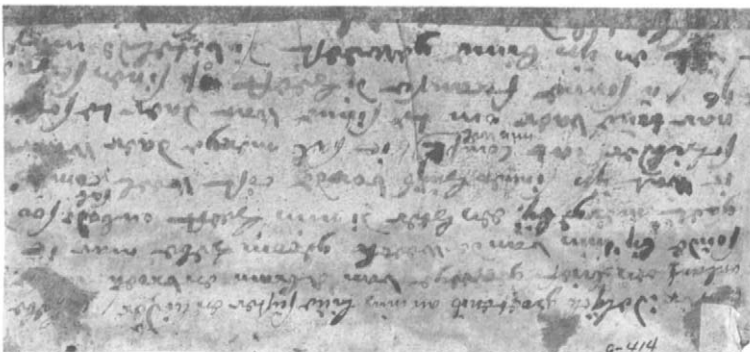
Although neither companion pieces nor part of a series, this drawing and No. 88 both recall the hilly country on

Holland's eastern border as well as the wooded area around Brussels. Waterloo made many drawings of these areas, usually in black chalk and gray wash heightened with white. The drawings show Waterloo's preference for close-up views of nature with large trees dominating the foreground. The strip of paper washed with gray that extends the foreground of this *Landscape by Moonlight* is Waterloo's own addition and dates from 1676 or later, as indicated by the fragment of a letter written by the artist on the reverse.¹

EHB

NOTE:

1. Kahn-Gerzon established the date based on the evidence of the letter's text, in which Waterloo refers to his son Abram and his wife, whom he married in 1676.



No. 87, fragment of letter pasted on verso

EUROPEAN DRAWINGS



No. 87



No. 88

Antonie Waterloo

88. Wooded Landscape

1975.1.821

Verso: *Design for a Cartouche*

Black chalk and brush and black ink, gray and grayish black wash, heightened with white; verso (by the artist?) in pen and brown ink over black chalk. 300 x 180 mm. Annotated in the upper right corner in dark gray ink: *Waterlow.f.*

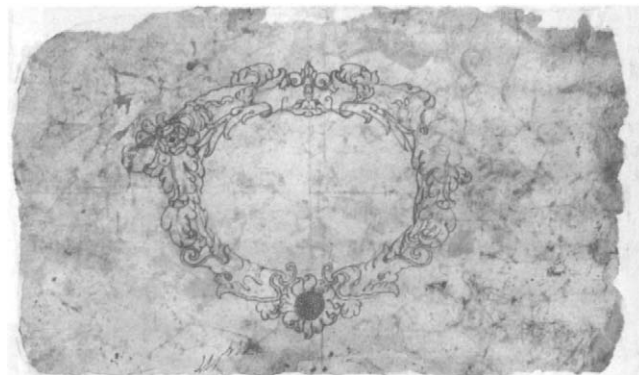
Laid down, backing largely removed; annotated on the backing paper extending below the bottom margin of the drawing in pen and gray ink: 77; and in pencil: A. *Waterloo.*

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 743/2 (with No. 87, to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 37, ill.; New York 1979; New York 1979–80, no. 51, ill. (with its verso erroneously illustrated as the verso of No. 87); New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 25, ill.; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Lugt 1956, p. 337, under 2274a; Amsterdam 1984–85, pp. 15, 23, n. 17 (1995 ed., pp. 30, 39, n. 17); New York–London 1986, p. 162, under no. 69.

It has been suggested that the drawing on the verso of this *Wooded Landscape* is a design for a frame and that it may have originated in connection with the activities of Antonie Waterloo's wife, Cathalyntge Stevens van den Dorpe, as a dealer in pictures.¹ If that is so, it would seem to be the only known seventeenth-century drawing of a frame per se, without the painting or other work of art it surrounds.² The supposition that Waterloo's wife, who was the widow of the painter Elias Home, was a dealer is probably based on her and Antonie's wedding contract (1676) and on a deposition of 1674 concerning a painting sold by her.³ The inference is plausible, but more evidence is needed, and even if Cathalyntge Waterloo did deal in paintings, it does not necessarily follow



No. 88, verso

that this drawing is of a picture frame. The scale of the motifs and the outer contours indicate, in fact, that the design was probably intended as a cartouche.⁴ The elegant swirls that create fantastic flowers and dolphinlike creatures somewhat resemble auricular design of the time.⁵ Sunflowers could symbolize marital love or personal devotion.

See also No. 87.

EHB

NOTES:

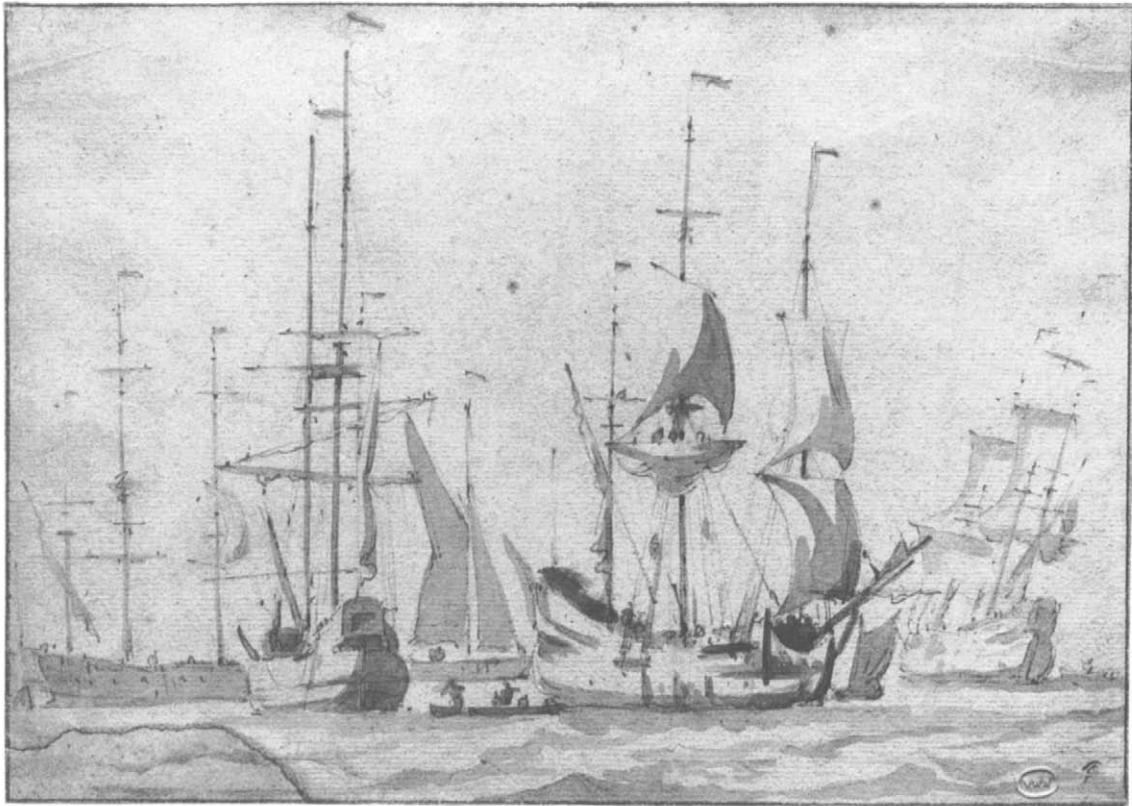
1. Szabo in New York 1979–80, no. 52.
2. Five other drawings of frames from the seventeenth century, four by Rembrandt, one by Thomas de Keyser, represent paintings as they are or might be surrounded by frames (see Van Thiel in Amsterdam 1984–85, pp. 15, 23, n. 17).
3. For the documents, see Bredius 1915–22, vol. 5, pp. 1808, 1804.
4. Van Thiel (Amsterdam 1984–85, p. 23) thought this drawing might be a cartouche.
5. See, for instance, the frame of a portrait by Jan de Baen of about 1667 (Amsterdam 1984–85, no. 57).

Willem van de Velde the Elder

Leiden ca. 1611–London 1693

Willem van de Velde was one of the first marine artists to sail with the Dutch fleet and rely not on written or oral observations for his paintings of naval engagements but on the sketches he drew from life. He was a specialist par excellence who could match any shipbuilder and

outfitter in his knowledge of ships and their rigging and habits. Many of Van de Velde's drawings bear specific notations, and though he often used them for paintings in a modified fashion, his vision remained a straightforward, reportorial one.



No. 89

Willem van de Velde the Elder
(and another hand)

**89. Dutch Merchant Ships at Anchor or under
Easy Sail in a Moderate Breeze**

1975.I.816

Pencil, brush and grayish brown wash. 165 x 231 mm.

Vertical fold through the center; lower left corner made up irregularly.

PROVENANCE: Nathaniel Hone, London (Lugt 2793 on the recto); V. Winthrop Newman, New York (Lugt 2540 on the recto); [Julius H. Weitzner, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 32; New York 1979-80, no. 45, ill.; New York 1991.

At center foreground a flute-sterned merchant ship sails under fore course and fore and main topsails, as men on the main yard appear to furl the sail. Close to her starboard is another merchant ship without its sails set. Between them a small gaff-rigged vessel is under sail. In

the right background a ship is sailing and at the far left another small ship is under way.

M. S. Robinson points out that the boats are not in correct proportion to one another and the masts of the ship in the left foreground are too tall.¹ These perspectival inaccuracies are alien to the mature work of both the elder and younger Willem van de Velde. He suggests that this drawing is a faint sketch by Van de Velde the Elder of about 1658 that was strengthened with washes by a later hand.

EHB

NOTE:

1. Robinson kindly provided descriptions and dates for this and the other drawings by the Van de Veldes (Nos. 90-95) in the Robert Lehman Collection in a letter of 20 June 1989.

Willem van de Velde the Elder
(and another hand)

90. A Dutch Ship in a Strong Breeze

1975.1.813

Brush and gray ink and gray wash over preliminary drawing in pencil. 303 x 198 mm.

Vertical fold 57 mm from the right.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Warwick, Warwick (Lugt 2600 on the recto); Warwick sale, Sotheby's, London, 17 June 1936, possibly part of lot 121; [Bernard Houthakker, Amsterdam]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

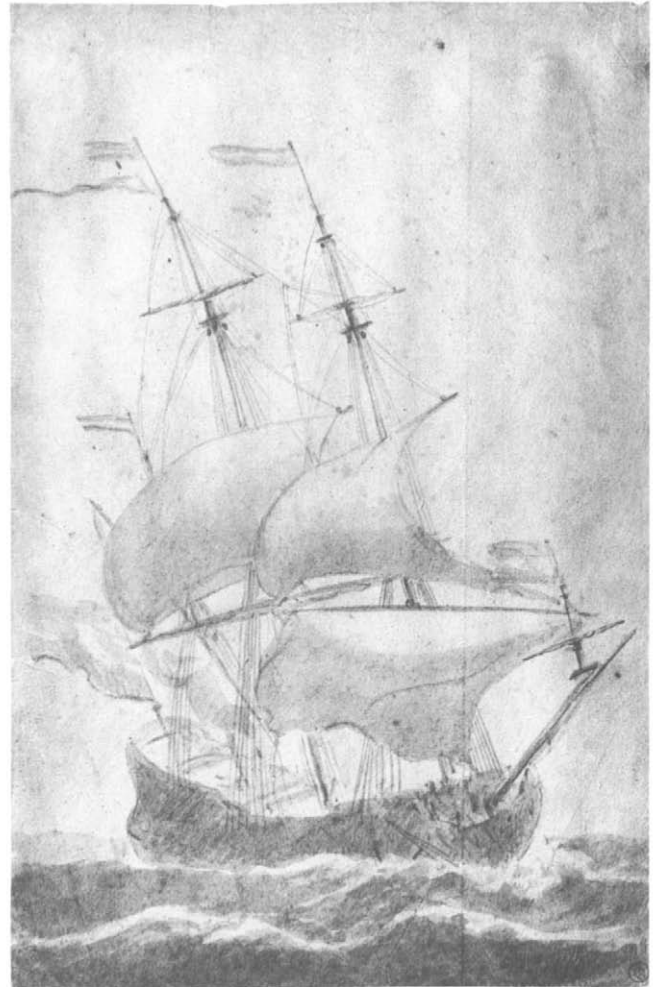
EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1955, no. 62; New York 1976, no. 31; New York 1979-80, no. 43, ill.; New York 1991.

Seen from the starboard bow, a Dutch ship sails under fore course with a mizzen half brailed, fore and main top-sails lowered half-mast, and topgallant yards crossed. There is a pennant at the main and vanes at each mast-head. M. S. Robinson, who kindly provided this description, dates the drawing about 1665.¹ It should be noted, however, that only the preliminary drawing in pencil can be attributed to Van de Velde; the brush and wash were added later.

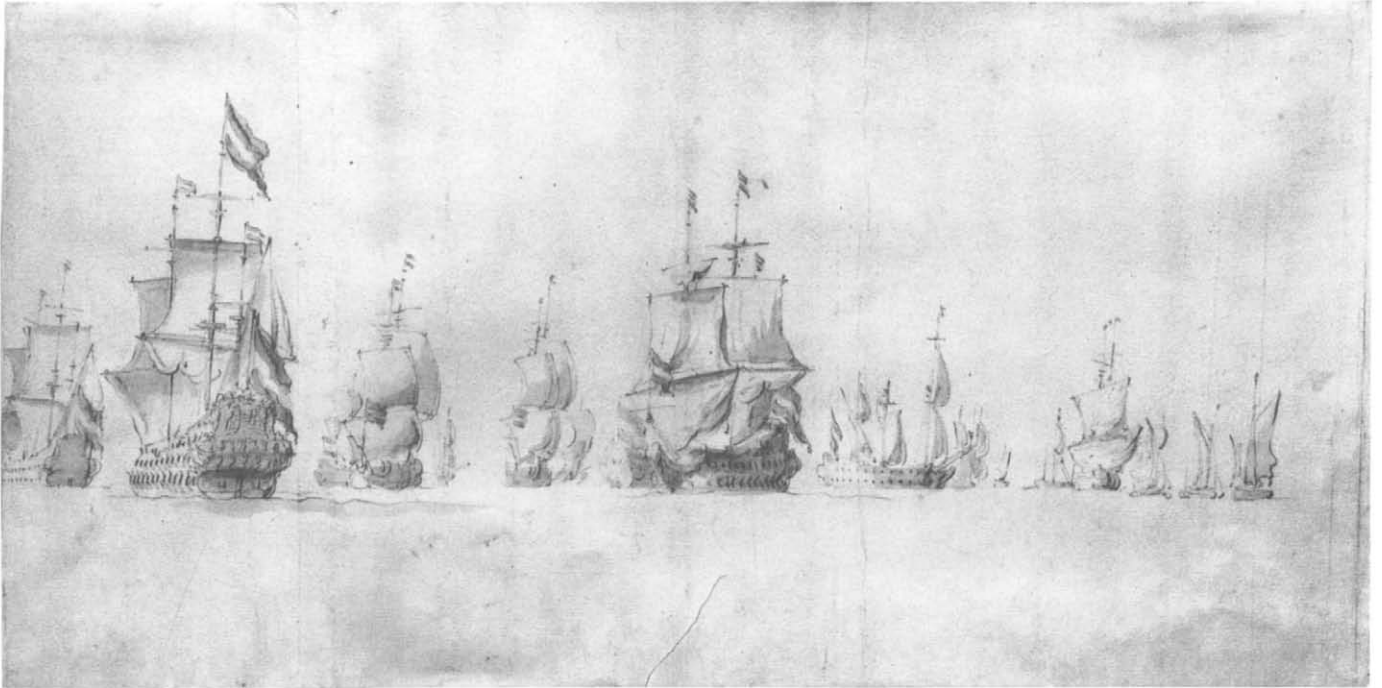
EHB

NOTE:

1. See No. 89, note 1.



No. 90



No. 91

Willem van de Velde the Elder

91. A Dutch Fleet Under Sail at Sea in a Light Breeze

1975.I.814

Pencil and gray wash on two sheets of paper joined 115 mm from the left. 268 x 533 mm. Inscribed on the verso (under the backing paper): "Saturdach den 12 July 1666."

Laid down; vertical tear at lower center.

PROVENANCE: [Bernard Houthakker, Amsterdam]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 29; New York 1979-80, no. 42, ill.; New York 1991.

On the left, seen from behind, a large man-of-war is close-hauled on the port tack under fore course and fore and main topsails. She flies a Dutch flag but carries no pennants and may be the vessel of an admiral of a smaller squadron. The coat of arms on the taffrail may

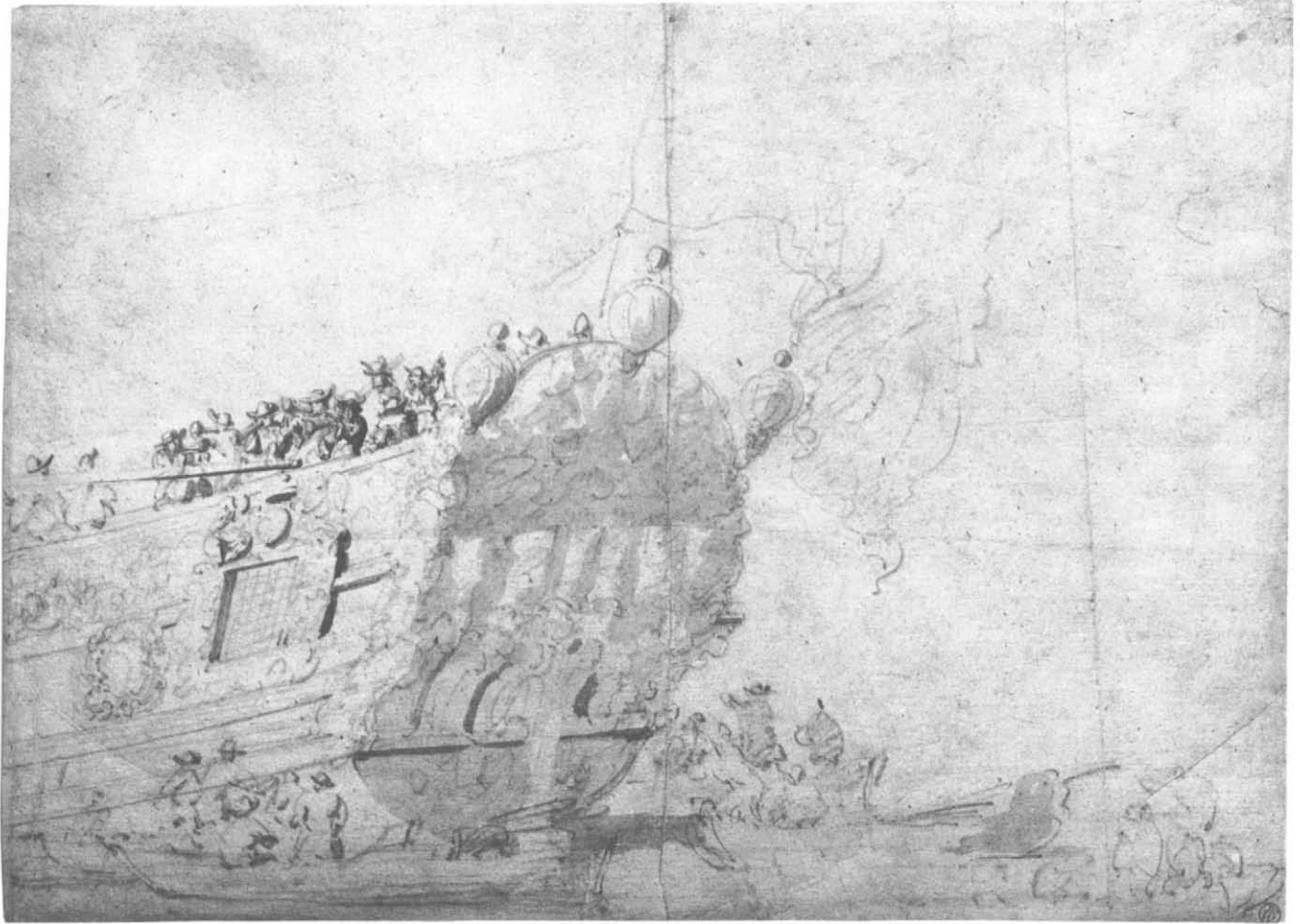
be the arms of Zeeland. At the center another large ship lies facing into the wind with fore course clewed up and fore and main topsails loosed.

M. S. Robinson, to whom the above description is owed, suggests that this may be one of several drawings Willem van de Velde the Elder made on the spot while sailing with the Dutch fleet before the Battle of Lowestoft in June 1665.¹ The artist would have added the washes later, in his studio. Unfortunately, the drawing has lost some of its freshness.

EHB

NOTE:

1. See No. 89, note 1.



No. 92

Willem van de Velde the Elder

92. An English Royal Yacht

1975.1.810

Pencil, brush and gray ink and gray wash. 271 x 378 mm.

Vertical fold in the center and a vertical crease at the right; backed with Japan paper.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Warwick, Warwick (Lugt 2600 on the recto); Warwick sale, Sotheby's, London, 17 June 1936, one of lots 114-23; [Bernard Houthakker, Amsterdam]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1955, no. 59; New York, 1976, no. 30; New York 1979-80, no. 44, ill.; New York 1991.

Previously this drawing was thought to depict the stern of the royal yacht *Katherine*, probably on the occasion of her return to the English in 1674 after having been captured by the Dutch. M. S. Robinson believes, how-

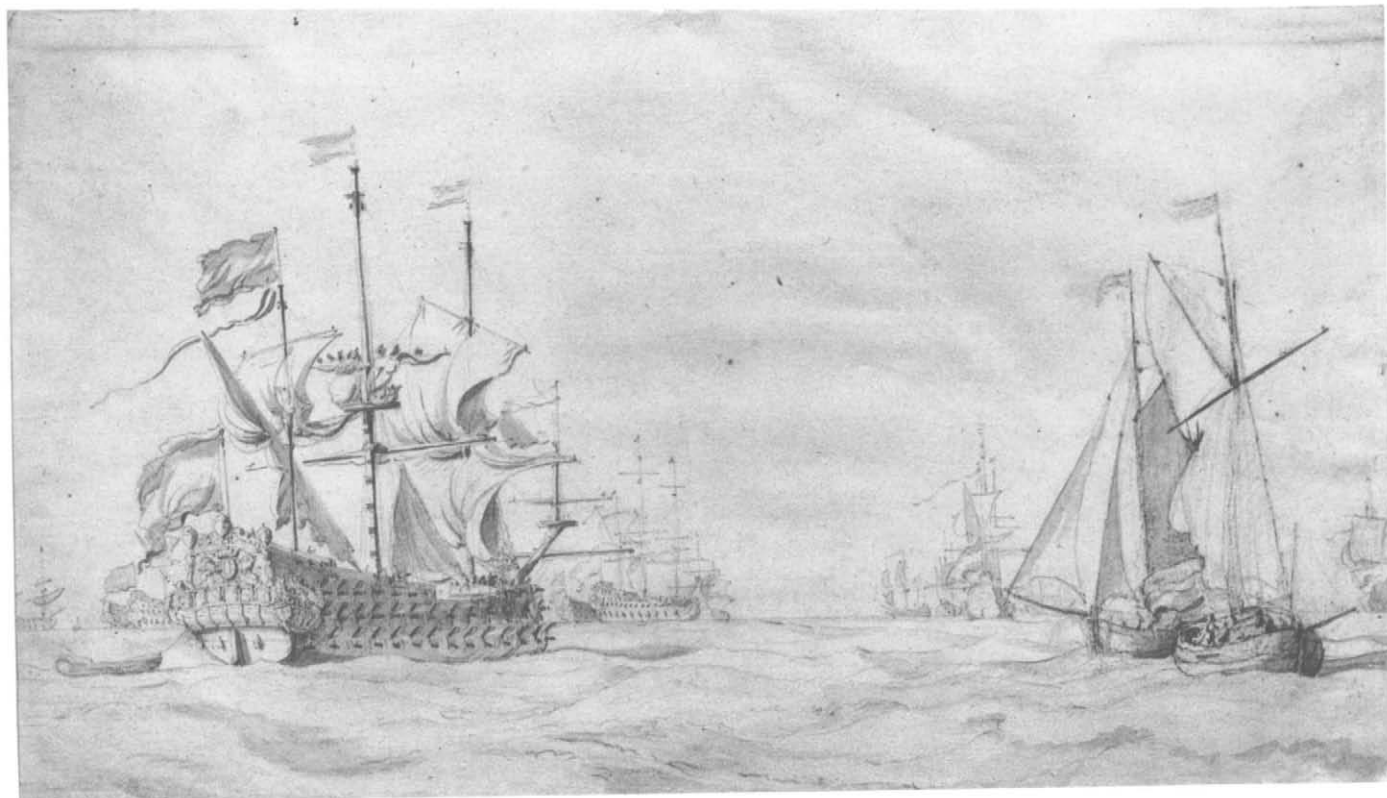
ever, that it may represent one of two English royal yachts that bore the name *Mary*.¹ This vessel may be the *Mary* that was built in 1677 and on which William of Orange and Mary traveled to Holland after their wedding that same year. If so, the drawing may date to about 1677.

Under the washes, some of which were added later, the broad curving pencil lines are consistent with the elder Willem van de Velde's manner.

EHB

NOTE:

1. See No. 89, note 1.



No. 93

Attributed to Willem van de Velde the Elder

**93. A Large Dutch Ship with a Fleet at Sea
and Two Small Vessels**

1975.I.811

Pencil, brush and gray ink and gray wash. 241 x 420 mm.

PROVENANCE: [Bernard Houthakker, Amsterdam]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: New York 1964, p. 27; New York 1976, no. 28; New York 1979-80, no. 41, ill.; New York 1991.

As M. S. Robinson has explained, the ship at left is lying head to the wind, her fore course, topsail, and mizzen topsail laid aback, main staysail set, and mizzen brailled up.¹ The Dutch flag and a pennant on the mizzen mast signify that this is the ship of a rear admiral, probably from the Amsterdam squadron. The coat of arms on the taffrail, the upper part of the stern, may be that of the

Gouda, which Isaac Sweers commanded at the Four Days' Battle in 1666 and Jan de Haen at the Battle of Solebay in 1672. Willem van de Velde the Elder recorded both battles from a galliot similar to the nearest of the two vessels at the right. The drawing may date from about 1672.

According to Van de Velde's practice, the horizon line has been delineated with a ruler, but the waves seem too stiffly drawn to be by him.

EHB

NOTE:

1. See No. 89, note 1.

Willem van de Velde the Younger

Leiden 1633–London 1707

One of the most important seventeenth-century Dutch marine painters and draftsmen, Willem van de Velde the Younger spent most of his career documenting the Anglo-Dutch sea battles, first for the Dutch and after 1673 for

the English. He favored pen and ink for his sketches. As he was trained not only by his father but also by the more poetically inclined Simon de Vlieger, it is not surprising that his vision is more picturesque than his father's.

Willem van de Velde the Younger

94. Dutch Ships at Anchor with a Yacht Lying Head to the Wind

1975.1.812

Pencil and brush and gray ink and gray wash. 153 x 262 mm. Annotated on the verso in pencil(?): *Mr Segen*. On the recto, an unidentified collector's mark: *B*.

PROVENANCE: Segen(?); [Julius H. Weitzner, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979–80, no. 47, ill.; New York 1991.

As M. S. Robinson has pointed out, the large Dutch ship lying at anchor in the left middle ground of this drawing carries a flag and pennant on the main signifying that it is the ship of a commander in chief.¹ The

positions of the flag and pennant indicate that the vessel either has just arrived or is soon to depart. This may be the fleet that J. van Wassenaer assembled in the Haring Vliet near Hellevoetsluis in the autumn of 1664 in response to the threat of war with England.

In the right foreground lies a yacht with a spritsail facing into the wind. Among the flags on the masthead and the peak are an ensign and a striped jack.

EHB

NOTE:

1. See No. 89, note 1.

Willem van de Velde the Younger (and another hand)

95. A Dutch Fleet Lying at Anchor

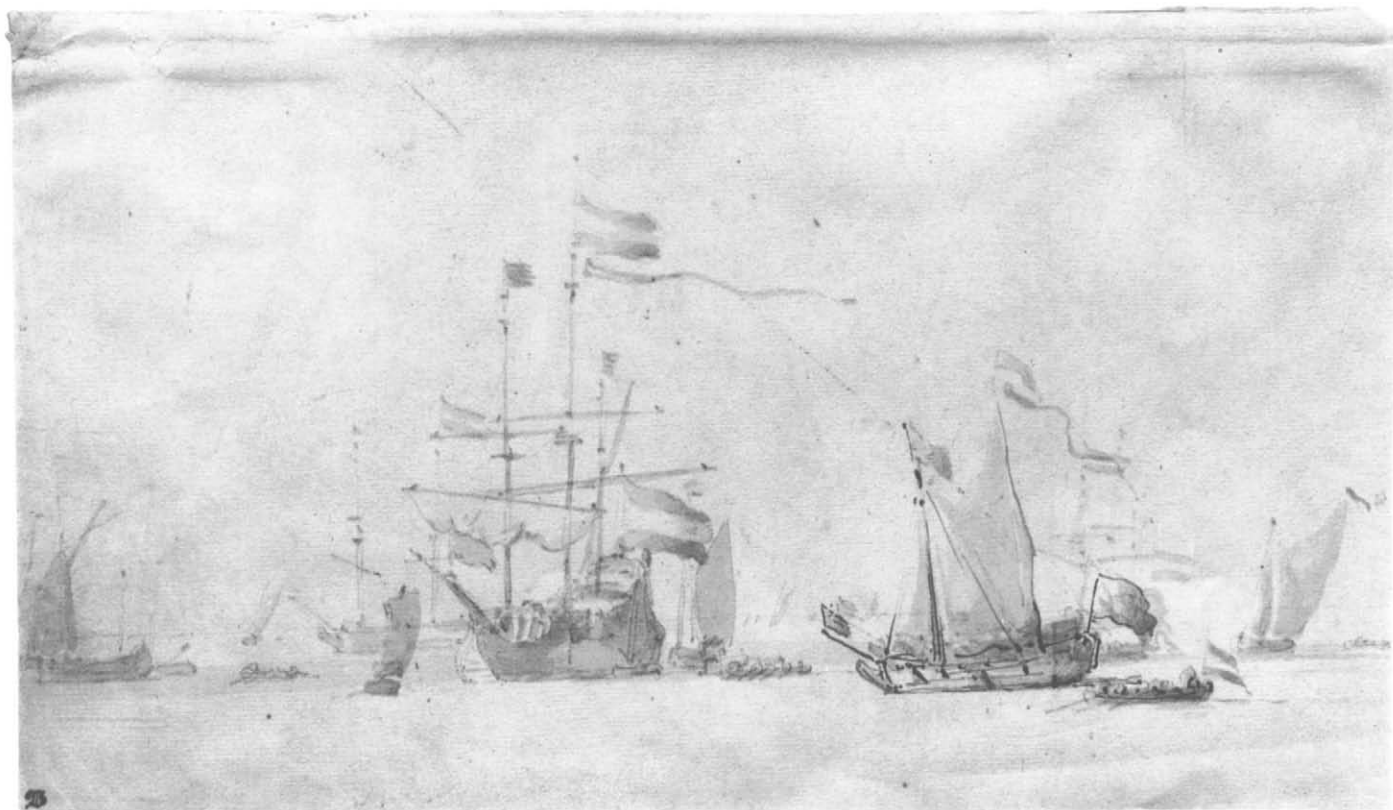
1975.1.815

Pencil, pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink over gray wash. 182 x 287 mm.

PROVENANCE: [Julius H. Weitzner, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 33; New York 1979–80, no. 46, ill.; New York 1991.

At the left foreground in this drawing is a ship of the rear squadron of the Dutch fleet, as indicated by its pennant at the mizzen. In the background at the center, partly obscured, is the vessel of the commander in chief, flag and pennant at the main. Farther to the right, the vessel of the vice admiral of the center squadron has flag at the fore and pennant at the main.



No. 94

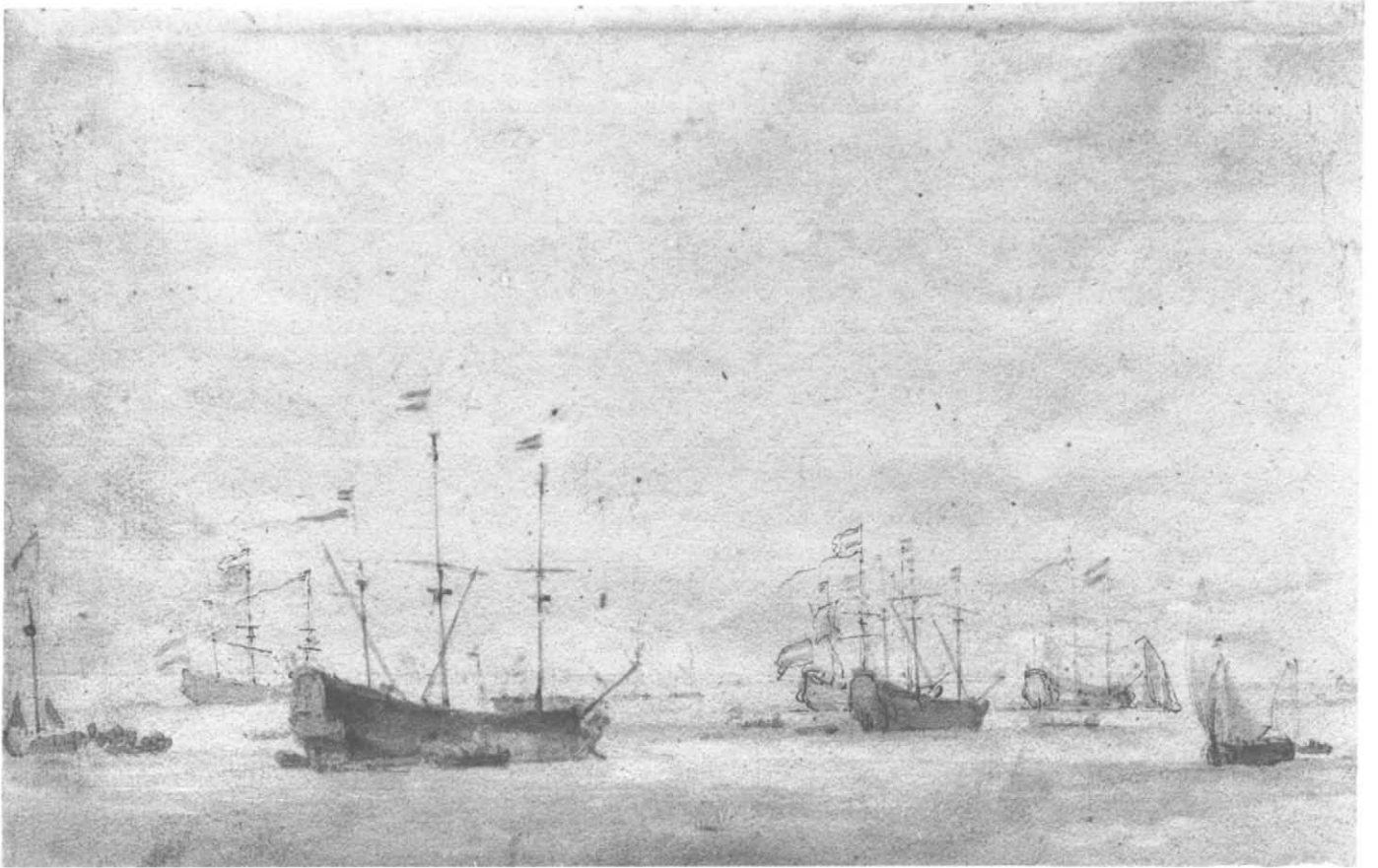
The large ship at the left – which from the design on the taffrail can be identified as the *Vrede* – the vessels of the commander in chief and vice admiral, and the small ships under sail at the right are also depicted, as M. S. Robinson has noted, in a painting by Willem van de Velde the Younger in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid (Fig. 95.1).¹

The original drawing in pencil is almost certainly by Van de Velde the Younger, but the gray brush and washes in the boats, masts, flags, and water were added later. The drawing may date from about 1664.

EHB

NOTE:

1. See No. 89, note 1.



No. 95



Fig. 95.1 Willem van de Velde the Younger, *A Dutch Fleet Lying at Anchor*. Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Gerard Terborch the Younger

Zwolle 1617–Deventer 1681

Eldest son in a family of artists, Gerard Terborch was one of the most accomplished portraitists and genre painters of his age. His early training with Pieter Molijn (1595–1661) left no lasting mark on his work. His travels abroad, especially to England in 1635, where he encountered the work of Van Dyck, had an impact on his elegant portrait style. As a genre painter, Terborch cre-

ated suggestive, often amorous situations, and he beautifully defined in paint the objects, materials, and textures of bourgeois interiors. He also was a skilled draftsman, particularly of figures. Most of his drawings and those of his father, sister, and brother are in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. That so many drawings should have survived from a family studio is unusual.

Circle of Gerard Terborch the Younger

96. A Seated Huntsman

1975.I.809

Black chalk. Watermark: circle with six lozenges with a rampant lion holding arrows within a shield, with the initials AP below and a fleur-de-lis above. 268 x 183 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the bottom right: *G:T:Bornch: 1672*.

PROVENANCE: Jean F. Gigoux, Paris (Lugt 1164 on the recto);¹ John Postle Heseltine, London; Heseltine sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, 27–28 February 1913, lot 54, ill. (to Hofstede de Groot,); Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, The Hague; Hofstede de Groot sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 4 November 1931, lot 28 (as Gesina Terborch); Henry S. Reitlinger, London: Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, London, 22–23 June 1954, lot 626 (as Gesina Terborch; to Leonard for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: Leiden 1916, no. 17 (as Gerard Terborch); The Hague 1930, no. 19 (as Gerard Terborch); New York 1976, no. 1, cover ill. (as Gesina Terborch); New York 1979–80, no. 2, ill. (as Gesina Terborch); New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Hirschmann 1917, p. 209 (as Gerard Terborch; signature and date by a later hand); Lugt 1931, p. 71 (as Gesina Terborch); Plietzsch 1944, p. 37 (as by an unidentified artist); Lugt 1950, p. 9, under no. 72 (as Gesina Terborch); Lugt 1956, p. 336, under 2274a; Andrews 1985, vol. 1, p. 87, under no. D4843; Kettering 1988, vol. 2, app. 1, p. 856, under no. 86, p. 858, no. 92, ill. (as probably a student of Gerard Terborch).

This *Seated Huntsman* belongs to a group of eight, possibly nine, studies of single figures that originated in the immediate circle of Gerard Terborch the Younger and that have a general affinity with his work. One of the drawings is in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (*Seated Soldier Holding a Gun*);² and two are in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (*Seated Soldier Holding a Gun*, *Seated Soldier Asleep*);³ two in the École des

Beaux-Arts, Paris (*Seated Young Man*, *Young Man Wrapped in a Cloak*);⁴ and two in the Albertina, Vienna (*Seated Woman Holding a Hand of Cards*, *Drinking Cavalier*).⁵ A possible ninth, a *Sportsman Seen from Behind*, was on the art market in London in 1959, but its present whereabouts are unknown.⁶ Because the eight known drawings are annotated *G. T. Bornch* or *G. Ter Bornch*, they have traditionally been attributed to Gerard or to his younger sister, Gesina (1633–1690). The core of the group – the Lehman, Berlin, and Vienna drawings – were considered to be by Gerard until 1931, when Lugt suggested Gesina for the Lehman and Berlin sheets and the *Drinking Cavalier* in Vienna.⁷ Gerard's authorship of the most impressive and accomplished drawing, the *Seated Woman Holding a Hand of Cards* in Vienna, was defended vigorously as recently as 1964 by Benesch,⁸ and in 1974 the drawing was shown as by Gerard in the exhibition devoted to his work held in The Hague and Münster.⁹ Plietzsch, however, had in 1944 taken issue with Lugt and considered the group the work of neither Gerard nor Gesina but of an unidentified artist,¹⁰ and Kettering believes that these studies must be given to the students of Gerard or to others, rather than to Gerard himself, or Gesina, or any other member of the family.¹¹

Indeed, Gerard's authorship of this core group is difficult to uphold. In all five studies, including the *Seated Woman* in Vienna, there is a stiffness in the limbs and particularly the hands of the figures and a schematic rigidity in the costumes that seem incompatible with

Gerard's painted work of the late 1660s or 1670s. Unfortunately, drawings by Gerard from this late period are sparse, but the few sheets that do survive, as Kettering has pointed out, are very different from these.¹² Judging from the picture of Gesina as a draftsman that emerges from the drawings once belonging to Terborch's studio, she is also not to be credited with this group of drawings, and certainly not the core five.¹³

Complicating the matter is the uncertainty about the authorship of the annotations. Neither Gesina nor any other member of the family seems to be their author, for none of them are the same as the annotations on the drawings from the Terborch estate now in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.¹⁴ The huntsmen in the Lehman, Edinburgh, and Berlin drawings appear to have been drawn from the same model, and the drawings may have been made on the same occasion, yet they seem to be by more than one artist and the annotations by more than one hand. The hand responsible for the annotation on the Lehman drawing also wrote on the Berlin drawings, but the annotations on the Edinburgh sheet, the two in Vienna, and the *Seated Young Man* in Paris seem to be by one or two other hands. The writing on the *Young Man Wrapped in a Cloak* in Paris, according to Lugt, is from the early nineteenth century.¹⁵ The dates in the annotations on the eight drawings are also unreliable: one of the Paris drawings and the *Seated Woman* in Vienna are dated 1669, the Berlin and Edinburgh sheets 1670, the *Drinking Cavalier* in Vienna 1671, and the Lehman *Seated Huntsman* 1672.

Under these circumstances one can only suppose that the drawings in this group were made about 1670 by a student or students of Gerard Terborch. I agree with Kettering that they are probably all by the same hand,¹⁶ though I would make possible exceptions of the *Seated Soldier Holding a Gun* in Edinburgh and the *Seated Young Man* in Paris.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Unless it was in one of the unspecified lots, this drawing was not in the Gigoux sale at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 20–23 March 1882.
2. National Gallery of Scotland, D4843 (black chalk and gray wash, 256 x 186 mm; annotated at the bottom left: "GT Borch nae het leven getekend 1670"); Andrews 1985, vol. 1, no. D4843, ill.; London 1966, no. 66, pl. 31 (as Gerard[?] Terborch); Kettering 1988, part 2, app. 1, no. 91, ill. See also note 6 below.
3. Kupferstichkabinett, kdz 13996, *Seated Soldier Holding a Gun* (black and red chalk, 258 x 188 mm; annotated in pen at the bottom left: "G:T:Borch:1670"), and 2301, *Seated Soldier Asleep* (black chalk, 294 x 198 mm; annotated in pen at the bottom right: "G:T:Borch:1670"); Bock and Rosenberg 1931, pp. 282, 284; Kettering 1988, vol. 2, app. 1, nos. 86, 87, ill. See also Plietzsch 1944, fig. 110 (*Seated Soldier Asleep*, as by an anonymous artist).
4. École des Beaux-Arts, M2.051, *Seated Young Man* (brush and gray ink, 277 x 197 mm; annotated at the bottom right: "G:Ter Burgh"), and 34.600, *Young Man Wrapped in a Cloak* (black and red chalk, 306 x 201 mm; annotated(?) at the bottom right: "G.T. Borch na het / leven geteekend / 1669"); Lugt 1950, nos. 72, 73, pl. 7 (as Gesina Terborch, the second signed by her); Kettering 1988, vol. 2, app. 1, nos. 93, 94, ill.
5. Albertina, 17587, *Seated Woman Holding a Hand of Cards* (black chalk, 285 x 194 mm; annotated in black chalk at the bottom left: "G T Borch nae leven / geteekend anno 1669"); and 17586, *Drinking Cavalier* (black chalk, 295 x 200 mm; annotated in pen at the bottom right: "G T Borch na het leven geteekend / 1671"); Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, nos. 313, 383; Kettering 1988, vol. 2, app. 1, nos. 95, 96, ill. Benesch [1964] 1967, no. 200, ill.) published the *Seated Woman* as *Young Fortune-Teller*, by Gerard Terborch.
6. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 25 February 1959, lot 26 (black chalk heightened with white, 273 x 178 mm). The drawing now in Edinburgh (see note 2 above) is presumably identical with lot 27, and lot 26 may have been similar to it. Both were sold as by Gesina Terborch.
7. Lugt 1931, p. 71.
8. Benesch 1964, p. 367 (repeated in the first posthumous edition of his book in 1967, p. 368, and in the second German edition in 1981, p. 367). Degenhart (1943, no. 96) had also not accepted Lugt's suggestion and had published the Vienna *Seated Woman* as by Gerard.
9. The Hague–Münster 1974, no. 108. Hoetink, who wrote the catalogue entry, did not pronounce himself clearly on the authorship of the Vienna drawing, however. Gudlaugsson (1959–60) did not address himself to the question.
10. Plietzsch 1944, p. 37. He was contradicted by Lugt himself (1950, p. 9).
11. Kettering 1988, part 1, p. xxxi, *ibid.*, part 2, app. 1, p. 856, under no. 86.
12. See *ibid.*, part 1, nos. GJr 87–92.
13. The drawings are discussed and illustrated in *ibid.*, part 2, nos. Gs 1–62.
14. *ibid.*, part 1, p. xxxii, n. 21, and letter to S. Dickey, 21 June 1982. The entire collection of seventeenth-century Terborchiana in Amsterdam, frequently called the Zebinden collection after its previous owner, was studied in exemplary fashion by Kettering in 1988.
15. Lugt 1950, no. 72.
16. Kettering 1988, part 2, app. 1, p. 856, under no. 86.



Frans van Mieris the Elder

Leiden 1635–Leiden 1681

An exponent of the so-called Leiden school of *Fijnschilders* (Precise Painters), Frans van Mieris took up the genre scenes and precise technique of his teacher, Gerrit Dou (1613–1675), and made them his own by injecting a quality of light and clarity of composition that recalls paintings of the Delft school.

Like Dou, Van Mieris painted portraits and a few historical subjects as well. In genre painting he expanded Dou's subject matter considerably. Most of Van Mieris's drawings are in black chalk, with some wash, on vellum. Like his paintings, they are highly finished, independent works.

Copy after Frans van Mieris the Elder

97. The Cardplayer

1975.I.787

Black chalk, probably moistened in certain areas, and gray wash on vellum. 117 x 150 mm. Signed on the side of the table: FVM (in monogram), possibly strengthened.

PROVENANCE: [Mortimer Brandt, New York].¹ Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1962.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 18, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 19, ill.; New York 1991 (in all as Frans van Mieris).

LITERATURE: Naumann 1978, pp. 11, 21, 34, fig. 13 (as after Frans van Mieris); sale, Sotheby's, New York, 29 January 1997, under lot 50 (as after Frans van Mieris).

In subject matter and composition this drawing is a variant of one that was sold at Sotheby's in New York in 1997 (Fig. 97.1).² That drawing enjoyed considerable fame in the eighteenth century and was reproduced by Cornelis Brouwer for Cornelis Ploos van Amstel in a print of 1777 that imitates its technique and general appearance.³ The man in the background of that drawing, probably the loser of the game just finished, explains why the cardplayer at the table points triumphantly to the ace in his hands and smiles.

The figure and the room in the background have been omitted from the Lehman version, the cardplayer's body is more in profile and he crosses his legs, and a rug and glass have been placed on the table. The execution of the Lehman drawing is distinctly less confident than that of the other *Cardplayer*, confirming Naumann's view that the Lehman drawing is a copy.⁴ Because like many of Van Mieris's drawings it is on vellum and because it so



Fig. 97.1 Frans van Mieris the Elder, *The Cardplayer*. Private collection

closely resembles its model, it may well have been made just shortly after Frans van Mieris executed the primary version.

EHB



No. 97

NOTES:

1. Brandt's mark, consisting of the initials *MBNY* within a rectangular box printed in purple (not in Lugt), is on the reverse, with the number 1345-4 written in pen and black chalk underneath. One or more of the references to a drawing of a cardplayer in nineteenth-century sale catalogues that usually are applied to the drawing in the Ploos van Amstel collection of 1767 (see Naumann 1978, p. 30, under no. 23) may in fact be to the Lehman drawing, but evidence is lacking. Also, it is uncertain whether the drawing is identical to another version (or versions) of a *Cardplayer* that was on the Amsterdam art market in the 1760s and 1770s (sale, J. G. Cramer, Amsterdam, 13 November 1769, lot 423; sale, D. Muilman, Amsterdam, 29 March 1773, lot 1036 [6¾ x 6 duim, or ca. 170 x 150 mm; as after Frans van Mieris; sold to Van der Dussen]; sale, L. van der Dussen, Amsterdam, 31 October 1774, lot 685 [without measure-
- ments; as by Frans van Mieris]). The Lehman drawing may have been in the United States by 1952; an old label states: "Attribution confirmed by Dr. Valentiner, 1952."
2. Naumann 1978, no. 23, pl. 12; sale, Sotheby's, New York, 29 January 1997, lot 50 (black chalk on vellum, 193 x 148 mm; to O. Naumann).
3. Naumann 1978, p. 12, fig. 12; Laurentius, Niemeijer, and Ploos van Amstel 1980, pp. 218, 266, 267, no. 26.
4. See also the *Courtesan* in the British Museum, London (10-227; black chalk on vellum, 196 x 151 mm; Hind 1915-32, vol. 3, p. 143, no. 1; Naumann 1978, p. 27, no. 10, pl. 11); and the *Man Lifting His Glass* in the Collection Dutuit, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (black chalk strengthened with brush and black ink on vellum, 172 x 141 mm; Lugt 1927, no. 52; Naumann 1978, pp. 29-30, no. 19, pl. 13).

Lievin Cruyl

Ghent 1634–Ghent 1720(?)

Very little is known of Lieven Cruyl's life except that he was a priest and a paper architect who designed two monumental towers that were never built. His artistic personality, however, has been clearly established by his many surviving drawings, mainly bird's-eye views of architectural monuments. Cruyl was born in Ghent and received his theological training in Louvain. For some ten years, from about 1644–54, he lived in Rome, where he produced several series of drawings as well as indi-

vidual renderings of the city's landmarks, a number of which were the models for prints, made first by him and later by others. The panoramic settings of those drawings and Cruyl's precise technique probably set a standard for the coming generation of *vedutisti*, particularly Gaspar van Wittel (1653–1736). From Rome, Cruyl went on to record famous sites and views in Venice, Naples, Ghent, and Versailles. His latest known dated drawing is from 1690.

Lievin Cruyl

98. View of the Lateran, Rome

1975.I.577

Pen and brush and gray and brown ink, gray and brown washes, some watercolor and white gouache, on vellum. 84 x 142 mm. Inscribed in the cartouche at the center: *BASILICA SALVA / TORIS LATERAN*; signed in pen and brown ink at the bottom right: *L.(?)C.*

Laid down on rice paper.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1980, no. 2, ill. (as Jacques Callot(?)); New York 1991.

See No. 99.



No. 98

Lievin Cruyl

99. View of the Pantheon, Rome

1975.I.578

Pen and brush and gray and brown ink, gray and brown washes, some watercolor and white gouache, on vellum. 84 x 142 mm. Inscribed in the cartouche at the center: *PANTHEON NUNC / S. MARIA ROTUNDA.*; signed in pen and brown ink at bottom right: *L.(?)C.* (the horizontal bar of the *L* abraded).

Laid down on rice paper.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 3, ill. (as Jacques Callot[?]); New York 1991.

On rectangles of vellum smaller than postcards, Lievin Cruyl depicted the Lateran (No. 98) and the Pantheon, foci of Baroque Rome, with characteristic precision and breadth. The earliest evidence of Cruyl's careful study of Roman architectural monuments is a series of large-scale drawings, each approximately 380 by 480 millimeters, twenty-one of which are known.¹ The drawings bear inscriptions that include dates from February 1664 to August 1665.² Some of them served as models for prints. Cruyl's first series of engravings based on them,

with ten views and a frontispiece and entitled *Prospectus locorum urbis romae insigni*, was published by Giovanni Battista de' Rossi in 1666. Jatta has shown that this was probably to be the first of several volumes.³

Two groups of smaller drawings by Cruyl, now in the Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence,⁴ and the Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, Palazzo Braschi, Rome,⁵ both probably dating from the early 1670s, demonstrate his continuing interest in many of the same sites. These drawings are comparable to the Lehman views in type and general compositional scheme. Ten of the eighteen drawings in Florence, which bear dates of 1672 and 1673, depict Roman sites, including a Lateran view that although larger, resembles the Lehman one.⁶ The eleven (originally twelve) drawings in Rome, all undated, focus exclusively on Roman monuments,⁷ including views of the Lateran and Pantheon (Figs. 99.1, 99.2) that are nearly identical to the Lehman drawings not only topographically (though there are variations in the staffage) but also in size and finesse of technique.⁸ The Lehman



No. 99

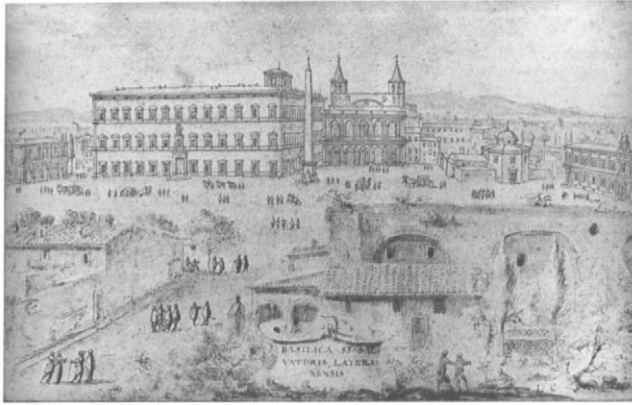


Fig. 99.1 Lievin Cruyl, *View of the Lateran*. Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, Museo di Roma, 857. Photograph: Studio Fotografico Idini, Rome



Fig. 99.2 Lievin Cruyl, *View of the Pantheon, Rome*. Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, Museo di Roma, 862. Photograph: Studio Fotografico Idini, Rome



Fig. 99.3 Lievin Cruyl, *View of the Piazza Navona, Rome*. Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of Robert Lehman, X1956-25

views, along with a view of the Piazza Navona that was also once owned by Robert Lehman (Fig. 99.3), were very likely part of a similar series.⁹ This type of *ricordi*, or small graphic mementos, of the eternal city were popular with travelers. The inscription on the reverse of one of the drawings in Rome traces the original commission of the series to the ambassador of Spain. The sites of the Lehman drawings, identified as the Lateran and the Pantheon in the cartouche inscriptions, were especially favored by artists and collectors; similar views are included in contemporary print series by and after Cruyl.¹⁰ The figure perched atop the ruined wall in the right foreground of the Lehman Lateran view represents the perennial presence of an artist recording the famous site.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Egger 1927. Eighteen of these drawings now belong to the Cleveland Museum of Art (Jatta in Rome 1989; Jatta 1992), and the three others are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
2. Jatta 1992, p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 153–60.
4. Egger 1927; Langedijk 1961; Jatta 1992, p. 111, nos. 29–46, ill.
5. Pietrangeli 1972; Jatta 1992, p. 114, nos. 48–58, ill. (as 1670s). All of the drawings in both series are individually mounted on panels.
6. Jatta 1992, no. 37, fig. 51 (162 x 240 mm; signed and dated 1673).
7. According to an inscription on the verso of one of the drawings (*ibid.*, p. 114).
8. *Ibid.*, nos. 53, 57, ill. All eleven drawings measure 90 by 145 millimeters.
9. Robert Lehman probably acquired the three drawings at the same time (see Szabo in New York 1980, under no. 2). He gave the *Piazza Navona* to the Art Museum, Princeton. It is the same size as Nos. 98 and 99 and bears a similar inscription in a cartouche, and the draftsmanship is identical. There are a number of other small single drawings on vellum of a similar format and also in roundels that appear to be components of other Roman series by Cuyp; see, for example, Jatta 1992, nos. 66, 99, 126D, 129D.
10. Similar depictions of the Lateran and the Pantheon are included in the *Prospectus locorum urbis romae insign* (see above and note 3). A second print of the Pantheon, engraved by Jean Baptist and Peter Sluyters after Cruyl, is part of a series entitled *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum . . .*, published by J. G. Graevius in 1697. For these prints, see Jatta 1992, nos. 4S, 12S, 26S.

Gerard de Lairese

Liège 1641–Amsterdam 1711

Breaking with both the naturalistic tradition that prevailed in the Netherlands during most of the seventeenth century and the Rembrandt tradition in history painting, Gerard de Lairese was among the first to base his art on French and Italian classicist ideas. Primarily a history painter, he received commissions for ceiling paintings and decorative wall hangings immediately upon arriving in Amsterdam in or about 1665, and he

was much in demand until blindness forced him to retire in 1689–90. His drawings tend to be detailed designs for prints and paintings; many of them are studies for illustrations to literary works. De Lairese has always been remembered for his theoretical writings, but his paintings have only in recent years come to enjoy increased appreciation after a long period of neglect.

Gerard de Lairese

100. The Sacrifice of Iphigenia

1975.I.784

Pen and brown ink. 202 x 163 mm.

Minor losses in the bottom margin and bottom right corner.

PROVENANCE: [Alister Mathews, Bornemouth]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 16; New York 1979–80, no. 17, ill.; New York 1985.

LITERATURE: Roy 1992, p. 514, no. D.R. 18 (as Jan Glauber).

Iphigenia, daughter of King Agamemnon of Mycenae, was lured to Aulis on the pretext that she was to marry Achilles and obediently allowed herself to be sacrificed to Artemis in order to gain the support of the goddess in the war of the Greeks against Troy. While the priest prepared to behead Iphigenia and Agamemnon covered his eyes, Artemis substituted a hind for the young maiden.

This version of the myth, as it was usually represented in the seventeenth century (for instance by Jan Steen in his painting in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam),¹ is largely based on Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* (ll. 1540–90). Euripides' text, with its dramatic narrative, is far more impressive than the short statement in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (12:28–39), which lacks clarity and detail. Only Euripides describes Agamemnon covering his eyes with his cloak, as he is shown in the drawing.²

The mourning Agamemnon also appears, in similar attire and a similar pose but in a larger setting with more figures, in one of Gerard de Lairese's early etchings of mythological subjects, dated 1667. De Lairese clearly knew of the etching of the same subject (Bartsch 23; Fig. 100.1) by the Roman painter and engraver Pietro Testa (1611–1650), whose influence on his graphic works has been documented.³ Testa's etching depicts the scene in reverse, as does his painting in the Galleria Spada, Rome, which probably was made after the print.⁴ Several drawings of the subject by Testa, among them a large compositional study in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, were probably made in preparation for the etching, as they are in the same direction as the Lehman drawing.⁵

De Lairese's drawing *Diana Departing for the Hunt* in the Louvre, Paris,⁶ and his design for the title page of *Opuscula mythologica*, which was published (without the author's name) by Hendrik Wetstein in Amsterdam in 1688,⁷ both display the kind of free, emphatic parallel hatching that characterizes the Lehman *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*. That similarity, and its relationship to De Lairese's etching, invalidates Roy's attribution of the Lehman drawing to Johannes Glauber.

EHB



No. 100



Fig. 100.1 Pietro Testa, *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

NOTES:

1. Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 521, no. A3984; Westermann 1997, pp. 31, 277, 302, 303, 312, pl. 2. As Westermann points out, Steen may have known the lively narration of the story by Karel van Mander (1604, also based on Euripides).
2. I thank the late Robert Chambers for pointing this out.
3. Philadelphia–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1988–89, no. 61, ill. Robert Chambers noted the relationship between Testa's etching and the Lehman drawing. On Testa's influence on De Lairese's graphic works, see Timmers 1942, pp. 88–89.
4. Galleria Spada, 312; Philadelphia–Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1988–89, no. 62, ill.
5. Kupferstichkabinett, kdz 17451 (pen and brown ink over black chalk, 337 x 399 mm); Timm 1966.
6. Louvre, 22.708 (pen and brown ink over red chalk, 250 x 360 mm); Lugt 1929–31, p. 56, no. 384, pl. 67.
7. The drawing, in pen and brown ink over red chalk, 161 x 110 mm, is in the Kunsthalle Bremen (20/232; Gernsheim photograph 61308). Van Tatenhove (1993, pp. 30, 31, figs. 8, 9) describes the significant changes made to the subject matter in the transfer of the design to the print, which is by G. van der Gouwen (and not by De Lairese, as Roy wrote in 1992 (p. 487, no. G117).

Valentijn Klotz

ca. 1650–The Hague after 1718

Valentijn Klotz's oeuvre is composed mainly of topographical drawings, many inscribed with the place and date they were made. In 1672–76 he accompanied the Dutch army on its campaigns. Late in his life he drew

many views of The Hague. His carefully delineated drawings have much in common with those of Josua de Grave, who also recorded the Dutch army's exploits, but Klotz's drawings are livelier and artistically more sophisticated.

Valentijn Klotz

101. A Roadside Shrine and Cross

1975.I.783

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, gray wash. 155 x 192 mm. Monogrammed and dated: "VK fet. de - 12/24 1699."

PROVENANCE: Sir Robert Witt, London (Lugt 2228b on the verso); E. W. Kornfeld, Bern (Lugt 913b on the verso).

EXHIBITED: New York 1979–80, no. 15, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 28, ill.; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Byam Shaw 1928–29, p. 55.

Valentijn Klotz probably sketched this roadside shrine on one of his frequent travels, perhaps in Germany. The castle in the distance is reminiscent of that of Bentheim, which was interpreted often in an even more romanticizing vein by Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29–1682). Like many drawings by Klotz, this sheet originally had a

more transparent and airy appearance. The contrasting shadows and extensive foliage in gray probably were added by Klotz himself. On a similar, larger landscape in the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, he wrote the date of the original drawing and stated that he had added the "shadows" about two decades later. To judge by the many drawings "shaded" in gray, Klotz decided that his drawings needed more contrast and "body."¹

EHB

NOTE:

1. On Valentijn Klotz as a draftsman, see Breitbarth–Van der Stok 1969 and Venlo 1989. Klotz's reworking of his own drawings is not mentioned by either author. I am grateful to Alexei Larionov, curator of Dutch and Flemish drawings at the Hermitage, for showing me the Klotz drawing (pen and brush and brown ink, gray washes).



No. 101

Valentijn Klotz

102. Buildings along the Hofvijver in The Hague

1975.I.782

Pen and brown ink, gray wash. 153 x 198 mm. Inscribed in pen and brown ink at the upper left: 3; at the upper right: *Aen't Hof in den Hage*; at the lower right 9/29 1712.

PROVENANCE: [P. and D. Colnaghi, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1976, no. 15, ill.; New York 1979–80, no. 16, ill.; New York 1985; New York 1991.

LITERATURE: Dumas 1991, under no. 14, pp. 195, 197, n. 11, fig. 5.

This drawing represents the buildings of the Binnenhof seen across the water of the Hofvijver in The Hague. To the left is the Kleefse Kamer, to the right, the beginning of the Hofkapel (Court Chapel). Valentijn Klotz dated the drawing 29 September 1712. As Dumas, who also identified the buildings, has pointed out, that same month Klotz made three other drawings of buildings of the Binnenhof seen from the Lange Vijverberg across the Vijver (literally, the Pond).¹ Together these four drawings, which Klotz numbered 1–4, represent all the buildings along the Vijver, though not as a continuous panorama. (They overlap and were made from different points of view.)

On 1 September Klotz sketched the trees on the Korte Vijverberg and the Mauritshuis, or the leftmost section of the row of buildings (Fig. 102.1).² On 15 September he sketched the buildings situated at the opposite end to the very right, including the entire Hofkapel, the small island still in the Vijver today, and the tower of the Jacobs Kerk in the distance (Fig. 102.3).³ And sometime during the month (the date has been partly trimmed off) he sketched the buildings immediately to the right of the Mauritshuis, once more including the Kleefse Kamer (Fig. 102.2).⁴

The Hofkapel was razed in 1879, and all the other buildings were replaced in 1913 by a structure in neo-Renaissance style.

EHB

NOTES:

1. Dumas 1991, p. 195, under no. 14, figs. 3–6; see also Breitbarth-Van der Stok 1969, pp. 93ff., where the other three drawings (but not the Lehman one) are also discussed.
2. Gemeentearchief, The Hague, kl. A855 (pen and brown ink, gray wash, 149 x 192 mm, inscribed at the bottom right:

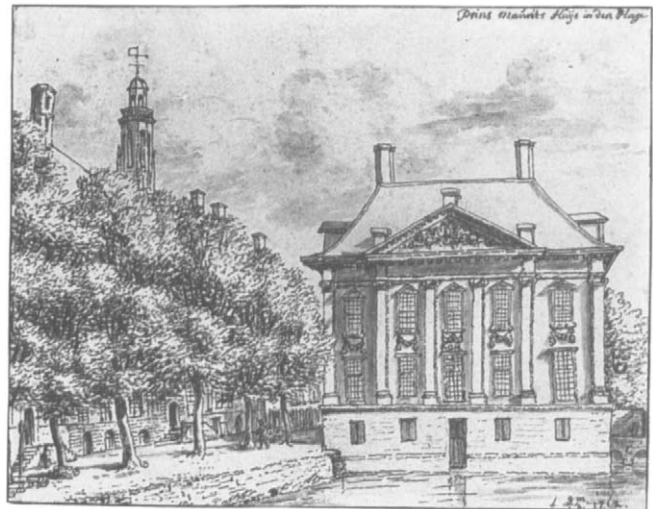


Fig. 102.1 Valentijn Klotz, *Buildings along the Hofvijver in The Hague*. Gemeentearchief, The Hague, kl. A855

- “f. 9m / 1d. 1712,” at the top right: “Prins Maurits Huijs in den Hage,” numbered at the top left: 1 [partly cut off]; Van Hasselt 1965, no. 339).
3. Present location unknown (pen and brown ink, gray wash, 152 x 178 mm, inscribed at the top right: “in den Hage 9/15 1712,” numbered at the top left: 4; sale, Christie’s, London, 25–26 March 1963, no. 44, ill. [as Josua de Grave]; with Agnew, London, in 1964; Van Hasselt 1965, no. 340).
4. Gemeentearchief, kl. A850 (pen and brown ink, gray wash, 147 x 193 mm, inscribed at the bottom right: “fe 9m. / [] 1712,” at the top right: “Aen’t Hof in den Hage” [partly cut off], numbered at the top left: 2 [partly cut off]; Van Hasselt 1965, no. 341; Slechte 1977, p. 21, ill.). Charles Dumas (letter to the author, 20 December 1989), of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, kindly brought to my attention a fifth drawing by Klotz that shows part of the Binnenhof buildings and part of the adjoining Buitenhof but is not part of this series, as it is dated 1716 and numbered 63: National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, RSA 356 (pen and brown ink, gray wash, 149 x 196 mm; inscribed at the top right: “Het Hof fe–9m / 16d 1716,” numbered at the top left: 63; Andrews 1985, vol. 1, p. 44, vol. 2, fig. 295).



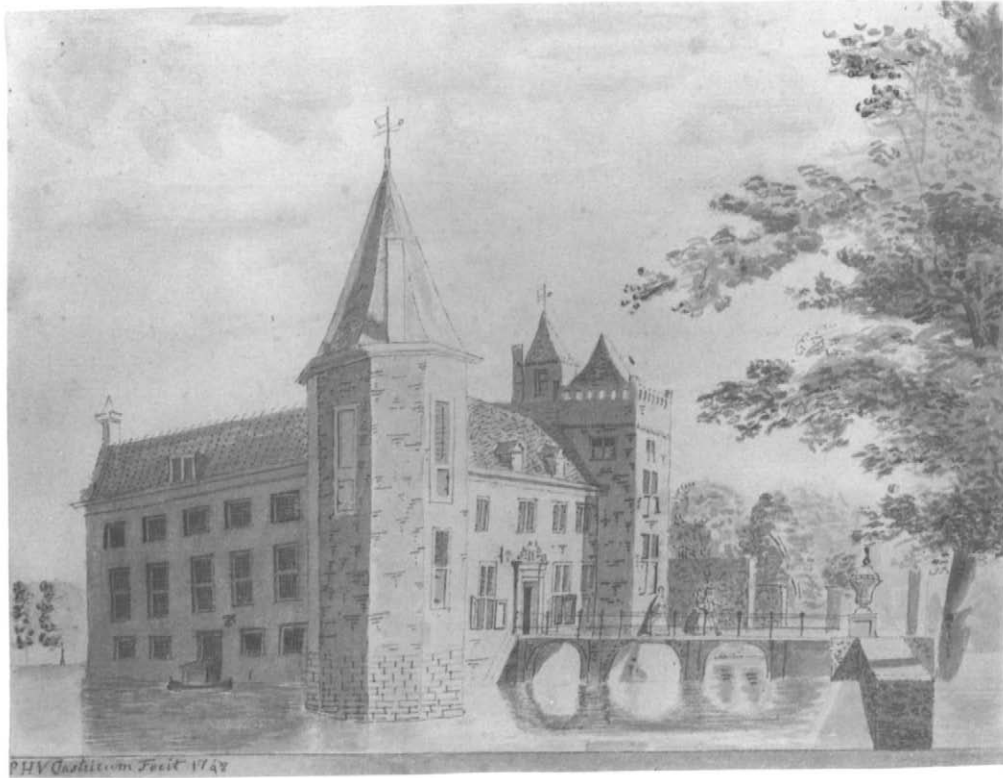
No. 102



Fig. 102.2 Valentijn Klotz, *Buildings along the Hofvijver in The Hague*. Gemeentearchief, The Hague, kl. A850



Fig. 102.3 Valentijn Klotz, *Buildings along the Hofvijver in The Hague*. Present location unknown



No. 103

Monogrammist PHV

1748

103. View of a Castle

1975.I.785

Pen and brush and gray ink and gray wash; pen and dark brown ink (added later by another hand?); framing line in gray and brown. 179 x 222 mm. Inscribed in pen and brown ink at the bottom left: "PHV Castricum Fecit 1748."

Fragment torn away at the top left of center; trace of a vertical fold on the left side; some foxing.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1991.

This drawing of a castle was executed by an amateur artist who did not completely understand perspective. The relationship between the building and the trees and the hedge is not right, and the entire structure appears to be sinking into the water at the left. The castle has not been identified, though according to the inscription it is presumably in Castricum, north of Haarlem.

EHB

FRANCE

Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century

Étienne Delaune

Milan ca. 1518/19–Paris 1583

Although best known for his book illustrations and detailed engravings after works by Fontainebleau artists, which contributed to the diffusion of the Fontainebleau style both in France and abroad, Étienne Delaune's origins were as a goldsmith. He is recorded in Paris as a *compagnon orfevre* in 1546, and by January 1552 he had been appointed to the royal mint as principal medalist to Henry II (r. 1547–59). He held the post only until June of that year, but he continued to work for the king, designing royal armor starting in 1555. Following King Henry's death in 1559 Delaune turned to printmaking. His first dated engravings, a series of twelve plates illustrating Old Testament scenes and two designs

for hand mirrors, are from 1561. In his graphic work Delaune was primarily inspired by the Italian artists of Fontainebleau, particularly Rosso Fiorentino, Nicolò dell'Abate, Luca Penni, and Francesco Primaticcio.

After the Saint Bartholomew's Eve massacre on 24 August 1572, Delaune, a Protestant, fled Paris, seeking refuge first in Strasbourg, then in Augsburg, where he received commissions for portraits, and settling finally in Strasbourg in 1577. The highlights of Delaune's late work are his engraved portrait of the famed surgeon Ambroise Paré of 1582 and the series of twenty moral allegories he made after drawings by his son Jean (fl. ca. 1580).

Étienne Delaune

104. Wolf Hunt

1975.1.618

Pen and black, dark gray, and gray brown ink, and (between the pen lines of the illusionistic frame) brush and gray ink, on vellum. 70 x 221 mm. Annotated on the verso in black chalk: 6.

Trimmed on or just within the outer borderline of the illusionistic frame at the top, bottom, and right side.

PROVENANCE: Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, 10, 13, 14 July 1936, lot 424/1; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1948.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 91; Cincinnati 1959, no. 256, ill.; Tokyo 1977, no. 12, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 15, ill.; Lugano 1998, no. 82, ill.

LITERATURE: Distelberger 1975, pp. 157, 159, fig. 187.

Within an illusionistic frame, nine hunters and their dogs chase a wolf into a net strung up in a group of trees. The drawing is a preparatory study by Étienne Delaune for one of a series of six engravings, also by him, representing various hunt scenes (see Fig. 104.1).¹ As is typical of Delaune's method, both drawing and engraving are in the same direction.²

This same scene, probably based on the print rather than the drawing, is carved on one side of a rock crystal bowl cut in the shape of a heron that was manufactured by the Sarachi workshop in Florence on the occasion of the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinand in 1589 (Fig. 104.2).³ The other side of the bowl, which is now in the Museo degli Argenti in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, depicts a boar hunt that is clearly from the same group of designs by Delaune. No preparatory drawing is known for the boar hunt, but a drawing for the stag hunt in the same group of prints was formerly in Robert Lehman's collection (Fig. 104.3).⁴ The small format of Delaune's engravings made them eminently suitable as designs not only on glass but also on gold or other metal objects (carved weapons, for example).

EHB

NOTES:

1. Linzeler and Adhémar 1932–38, vol. 1, pp. 271–72, nos. 268–73. The prints are not dated.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 271, no. 270; Dimier 1900, pp. 406–7; Paris 1957, pp. 64–65, no. 90. On Delaune, see Linzeler and Adhémar



No. 104



Fig. 104.1 Étienne Delaune, *Wolf Hunt*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, L.270: RD.277



No. 104, detail



- 1932-38, vol. 1, pp. 218-301, nos. 3-14, 216-35, 307, vol. 2, p. 299; Wanklyn 1990; and Washington, D.C. 1995-96, p. 209. See also No. 20. On his drawings, see Paris 1972-73 and Jacquot 1983.
3. Date and occasion according to Distelberger 1975, p. 157, figs. 185, 186.
 4. Paris 1957, no. 90; Cincinnati 1959, no. 255, ill.



Fig. 104.2 Sarachi workshop, Florence, rock crystal bowl. Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photographs: Rudolf Distelberger in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 71, n.s. 35 (1975), figs. 185, 186



Fig. 104.3 Étienne Delaune, *Stag Hunt*. Present location unknown

Georges Lallemand

Nancy 1592–Paris 1636

Because Georges Lallemand was profoundly influenced by Jacques Bellange, the most important artist active in Nancy during Lallemand's youth, it has been assumed that he studied with him. Nothing is known, however, about Lallemand's life in Nancy. Our knowledge of his career begins with his move to Paris in about 1601. By 1605 he had established a highly successful atelier. Indeed, some of the most important artists of the next

generation, including Philippe de Champaigne, Laurent de la Hyre, and Nicolas Poussin, attended his studio. Very few of Lallemand's painted works survive. He is best known from the series of handsome chiaroscuro woodcuts made between 1623 and 1630 by Ludolf Büsinck after his smaller religious and genre compositions. Lallemand's animated style and his frequently witty approach to subject matter are most apparent in his drawings.

Georges Lallemand

105. The Procuress

1975.I.651

Black chalk on buff paper. 200 x 262 mm. Annotated in red chalk at the top, left of center: 39; annotated in pencil on the verso: *Gerard Honthorst*.

Brown stain in the lower right corner.

PROVENANCE: Henry S. Reitlinger, London; Reitlinger sale, Sotheby's, 14 April 1954, lot 319; Mrs. Charles E. Slatkin, New York.

EXHIBITED: New York 1959c, no. 17, ill.; New York 1974, no. 23; New York 1980, no. 17, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York 1988b.

LITERATURE: Sutton 1956, p. 27, fig. 33; Nancy 1992, under no. 87, fig. 1 (as French, seventeenth century).

Thanks largely to a group of chiaroscuro woodcuts produced by his contemporary and probable associate Ludolf Büsinck, a number of Georges Lallemand's designs have been preserved.¹ The prints document Lallemand's interest in genre subjects like the scene of seduction depicted in this drawing, in which a prostitute openly solicits a client by throwing her arm around his neck. Directly to her right stands the procuress, extending her hand from behind a cupid (probably a stone relief) to accept the coins in the client's palm. At the far right two male figures stand before a painting displayed on an easel and gesture toward the group on the left, while a third figure, only faintly sketched in, observes the scene from behind the easel. The painting depicts two heads, one male and one female. The artist appears to have



Fig. 105.1 Georges Lallemand, *L'entremetteuse*. © Musée Lorrain, Nancy. Photograph: G. Mangin

been suggesting that relations between men and women are much the same in art as in life.

The Lehman sheet is similar in style and subject to two other drawings in pen and wash that have been attributed to Lallemand. One of the drawings is in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy (Fig. 105.1),² the other was on the Paris art market in the early 1990s.³ They are the same size and depict the same subject in identical compositions: a richly dressed man with a prostitute on his



No. 105

lap and an old, haggard procuress clutching a bag of coins and stroking the young woman's neck, as if touting her charms to the client.

Unfortunately, our understanding of Lallemand's work is too incomplete to allow us to date the Lehman drawing with any certainty. From Büsinck's prints we can assume that Lallemand executed such genre subjects in the 1620s, about the same time that such themes were in vogue among the many artists influenced either directly or indirectly by the art of Caravaggio. Save for a perhaps fortuitous parallel in subject matter, however, nothing in Lallemand's work suggests an interest in Caravaggism, though in both Lorraine and Paris he had the opportunity to become acquainted with it. Throughout his life

his style remained thoroughly Mannerist, unaffected by the newer developments in French painting.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. On the importance of Büsinck's woodcuts for understanding Lallemand's subjects, see Stechow 1938-39. Pariset (1954) used Büsinck's prints to distinguish Lallemand's style from Jacques Bellange's.
2. Nancy 1992, no. 86, ill.
3. Pariset 1954, ill. (as in a Swiss private collection); Nancy 1992, fig. 2, under no. 86. In his entries in the Nancy catalogue (nos. 86, 87), Lavalle cast doubt on the authorship of all three drawings, attributing the Lehman sheet to an anonymous French artist of the seventeenth century and the other two only tentatively to Lallemand.

Jacques Callot

Nancy 1592–Nancy 1635

Jacques Callot was originally apprenticed to a goldsmith in Nancy, but he soon left France and journeyed to Rome, where he arrived about 1610 and where he studied engraving with Philippe Thomassin. About 1612 he moved to Florence. Two years later he was in the official employ of Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici, devoting much of his time to recording ducal festivals and theatrical performances. After Cosimo's death in

1621, Callot returned to Nancy and entered the service of the duke of Lorraine.

Especially in later works like his *Miseries of War* etchings, Callot gave expression to a fatalistic, deeply pessimistic view of the world. He is best known as a printmaker. No paintings certainly by his hand are known, but more than fourteen hundred of his drawings have survived.

Imitator of Jacques Callot

106. The Hangman's Tree

1975.1.576

Pen and sepia ink. 120 x 185 mm.

Some discoloration and abrasion in the lower section.

PROVENANCE: Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1948.

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 257, ill.; New York 1980, no. 4, ill.; New York 1985–86 (in all as Jacques Callot).

The composition of this *Hangman's Tree* closely corresponds to Jacques Callot's etching *The Hanging* (Fig. 106.1), number eleven in his *Large Miseries of War* series of 1633.¹ The large tree at the far left has been added to the drawing, however, to balance the group with the priest at the right, and the entire image has been increased in height by a third. The Lehman image also does not include the throngs of soldiers that encircle the hangman's tree at a distance in the print, or the figures of several of the guards beneath it. The tree itself is represented here as a shattered trunk rather than in leaf, and only about half the number of victims – those closest to the spectator – dangle from its branches. The uniforms piled in the foreground in Callot's etching are missing as well.

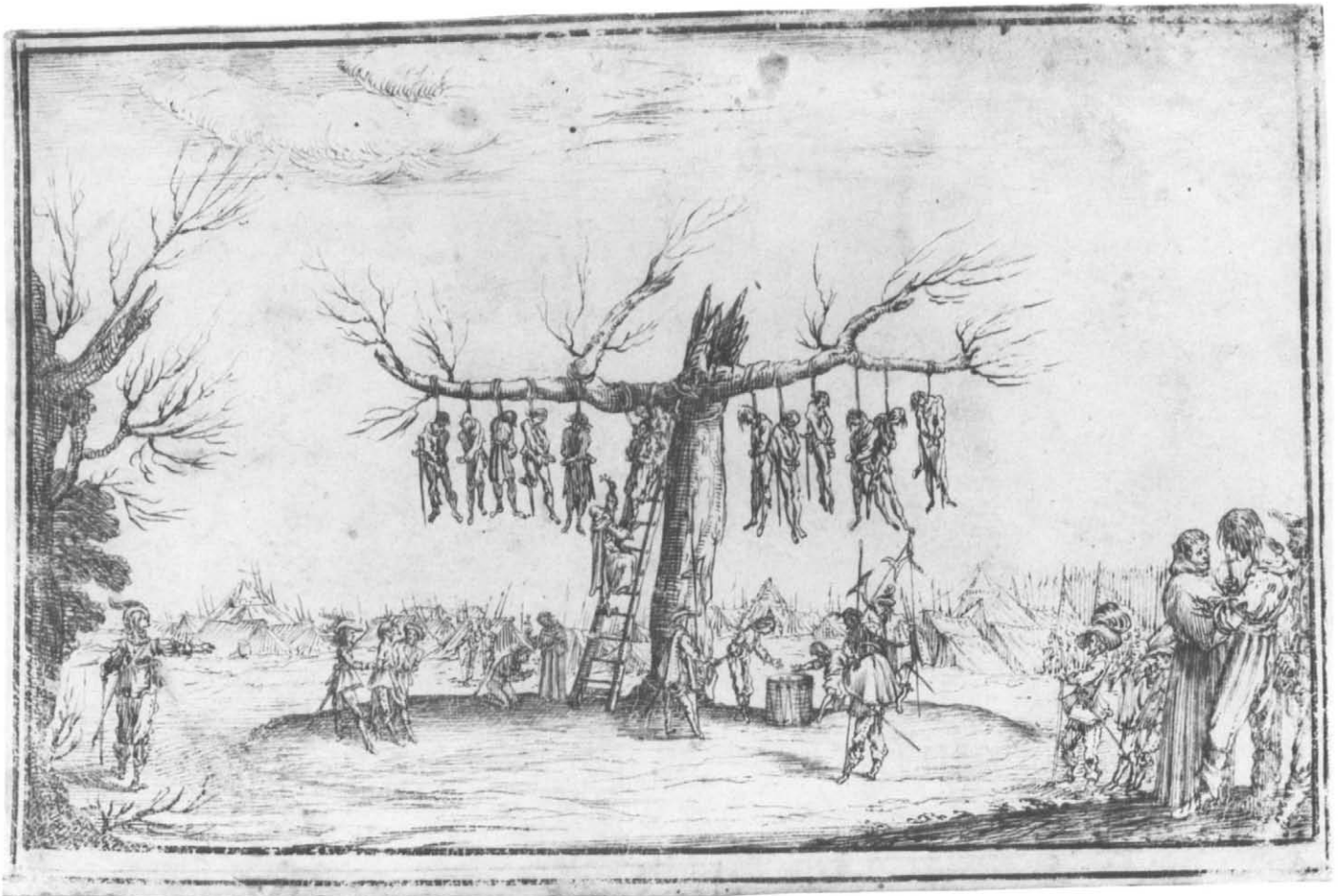
Ternois has catalogued thirty-eight drawings by Callot that are associated with the *Large and Small Miseries of War* series.² None of them resemble the Lehman sheet in either type or style. What is more, when drawing in



Fig. 106.1 Jacques Callot, *The Hanging*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1922 22.68.14

pen and ink Callot did not use the printmaker's device of shading with crosshatching; in his authentic drawings, shadow and three-dimensional forms are suggested by parallel lines alone. When the treatment of the Lehman *Hangman's Tree* is compared with the modeling in the forty-nine landscape drawings Callot made for Gaston, duke of Orléans, about 1630,³ the differences in graphic technique are immediately and strikingly apparent. One must conclude, therefore, that the Lehman sheet was made in imitation of Callot's style, and that it was probably intended to feign a preparatory drawing for the *Miseries of War* etching.

MTH/DP



No. 106

NOTES:

1. Lieure 1927, no. 1349; Russell in Washington, D.C. 1975, no. 205.
2. Ternois 1962, nos. 914-52. The more than fourteen hundred drawings by Callot that have survived were studied and catalogued by Ternois in an exemplary way.
3. Ibid., nos. 1272-1320. The duke was in residence at the court of Lorraine between 1629 and 1631, and Callot gave him drawing lessons.

Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain

Champagne, Lorraine, 1600–Rome 1682

Claude spent his youth in Lorraine, where he was apprenticed to a pastry cook. When he was twelve, he was orphaned and went to live for a year in Freiburg with his brother, a wood-carver. He then went to Rome, where he joined the household of the painter Agostino Tassi. Beginning as Tassi's servant, Claude became his student and assistant. Except for a two-year period between 1625 and 1627 when he returned to Lorraine and worked as an assistant to Claude Deruet on frescoes in Nancy, Claude spent the rest of his life in Italy. His early work grew out of the Northern landscape tradition with which Tassi was associated, but by the 1640s Claude had fashioned a new type of landscape picture – heroic in scale, architectonic in structure, evocative in effects of

light and atmosphere, and lyrical in details. The later history of art, and especially the English school of landscape painting in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was deeply influenced by Claude's work.

Claude was as prolific and gifted a draftsman as he was a painter, and nearly twelve hundred drawings by his hand are known today: several hundred nature studies, about seven hundred compositional drawings, and nearly two hundred sheets of the *Liber veritatis*. The *Liber veritatis*, now in the British Museum, London, consists of drawings made by Claude to record his painted compositions and arranged by him in chronological order, generally with an indication of both the patron and the date of the work.

Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain

107. Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt

1975.I.658

Brown wash heightened with white gouache, on blue paper.
235 x 183 mm (octagonal).

Faded.

PROVENANCE: John Rushout, earl of Northwick, Northwick Park and Cheltenham (1770–1859); John, Lord Northwick (d. 1887); his grandson Captain Edward George Spencer-Churchill; Northwick sale, London, Sotheby's, 3 November 1920, lot 246, and 5 July 1921, lot 32; [P. and D. Colnaghi, London]; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale, London, Christie, Manson and Woods, 10, 13, 14 July 1936, lot 421 (to John Hunt). Acquired by Robert Lehman by 1938.

EXHIBITED: New York 1938, no. 13; Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979; New York 1980, no. 20, ill.; Bordeaux 1981, no. 157, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 29; New York 1990, no. 5, ill.

LITERATURE: Roethlisberger 1961, p. 244, under no. LV88; Francis 1962, p. 234; Roethlisberger 1968, no. 570, ill.; Kitson 1978, p. 109, under no. 88; Cleveland Museum of Art 1982, p. 74, under no. 32; Roethlisberger 1977, p. 104, under no. 151.

The Lehman *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* is the second drawing Claude made after the painting of this subject, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, that he executed in 1645 for Count Crescenzi in Rome (Fig. 107.1).¹ The first drawing, which reproduces the proportions and format of the painting more faithfully than the Lehman sheet, survives as number 88 in the *Liber veritatis* in the British Museum, London (Fig. 107.2).² According to Roethlisberger, Claude based the composition for the *Rest on the Flight* on another picture he had painted some five years earlier, the *Landscape with the Finding of Moses* in the Prado, Madrid (Fig. 107.3),³ which is recorded in Claude's *Liber veritatis* as number 47 (Fig. 107.4).⁴ The relationship between these four objects is complicated. Roethlisberger has pointed out that even though Claude's *Liber veritatis* drawings were made to record the paintings, his drawings after second versions of compositions sometimes deviate from the models.⁵ *Liber veritatis* 88 (Fig. 107.2) and the Lehman drawing



No. 107

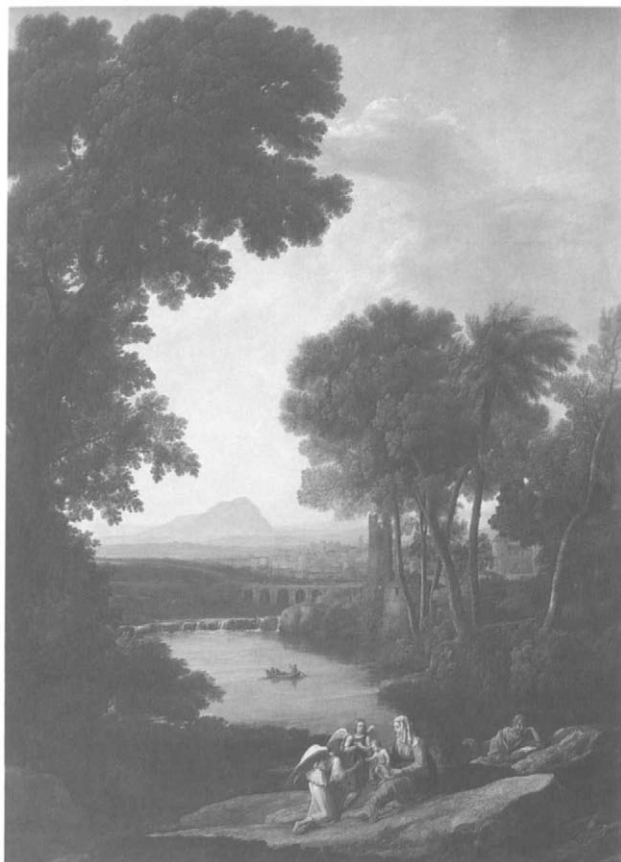


Fig. 107.1 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. © Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1962.151



Fig. 107.2 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt (Liber veritatis, no. 88)*. © British Museum, London, 1957-12-14-94

are cases in point. In *Liber veritatis* 88 he altered details in the background; the changes in the Lehman version are even more obvious. The individual forms have been enlarged and the space reduced. Although the figures of the Virgin and Christ Child with a kneeling angel reproduce those in the Cleveland painting, the second angel, originally placed behind the Virgin and Child, has been omitted and Joseph and the donkey moved from the right to the left side of the composition. The palm tree, which is small in the Cleveland picture and in the corresponding *Liber veritatis* drawing, is given far greater prominence in the Lehman version. Finally, the background of the Lehman drawing is derived neither from the Cleveland *Rest on the Flight* nor the London sheet, but from the Madrid *Finding of Moses*. Thus, it appears that the Lehman drawing represents a rethinking of the composition rather than a mere repetition, and that Claude executed it as an independent creation based on two earlier models preserved in the *Liber veritatis*.

As Roethlisberger has noted, although Claude preferred the sharper medium of pen and ink for the *Liber veritatis* drawings, blue paper like this and extensive heightening over wash are characteristic of his pictorial drawings of the mid-1640s.⁶ The drawing was probably originally octagonal. Even though only four of the nearly twelve hundred drawings Roethlisberger catalogued as by Claude use this format, the Lehman *Rest on the Flight* is perhaps best compared with two of them, pendants that were both in Rome in the 1960s: *Landscape with Diana and Callisto* (Rospigliosi collection) and *Coast View with the Heliads at the Tomb of Phaëthon* (Pallavicini collection).⁷ The three sheets, which can all be dated to about 1645, represent an expansion of Claude's interest in purely pictorial drawing. Indeed, the *Diana and Callisto* and the *Tomb of Phaëthon* are the only known examples in Claude's oeuvre of a pair of drawings not related to paintings.

MTH/DP

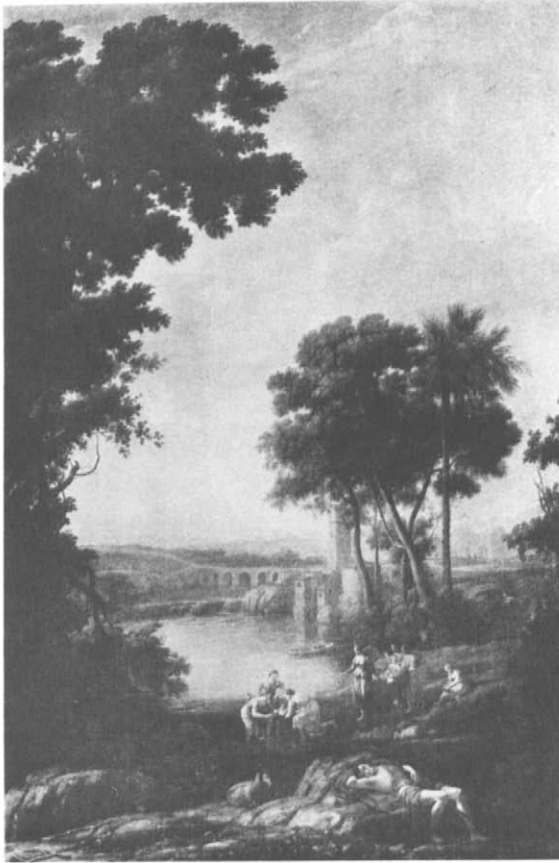


Fig. 107.3 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Landscape with the Finding of Moses*. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Fig. 107.4 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Landscape with the Finding of Moses (Liber veritatis, no. 47)*. © British Museum, London, 1957-12-14-53

NOTES:

1. Roethlisberger 1961, no. LV88, fig. 168.
2. Roethlisberger 1968, no. 569, ill.; Kitson 1978, no. 88, ill.
3. Roethlisberger 1961, no. LV47, fig. 112.
4. Roethlisberger 1968, no. 363, ill.; Kitson 1978, no. 47, ill.

5. Roethlisberger 1968, pp. 227-28.
6. Ibid., p. 228.
7. Ibid., nos. 546, 547, ill. For the other two octagonal drawings, see ibid., nos. 126, 127, ill. (*Liber veritatis*, nos. 11, 12).

Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain

108. Landscape with Sheep

1975.1.657

Black chalk, sepia ink and wash, heightened with white gouache. On the verso, studies of two groups of sheep, the upper in black chalk, the lower in red. 191 x 264 mm. Annotated on the recto in the upper left corner in sepia ink: 16, and in pencil: 7(?)68. Annotated on the verso at the lower right in sepia ink: *CLAUDIO G. I.V. / 1648 ROME*, in the lower right corner in black ink: 19, and at the top center in red ink: N° 68.

Some foxing.

PROVENANCE: Henry Wellesley (1791–1866); Wellesley sale, London, Sotheby's, 25 June 1866; Sir James Knowles (1831–1908); Knowles sale, London, Christie's, 27 May 1908, lot 22; John Postle Heseltine (1843–1929); Heseltine sale, London, Sotheby's, 27 May 1935, lot 273; Alfred Jowett, Killinghall; [Jowett] sale, London, Sotheby's, 21 July 1948, lot 2. Acquired by Robert Lehman at the Jowett sale in 1948.

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 258; New York 1961a, no. 26; New York 1968, no. 35; New York 1980, no. 23, ill.; New York 1985–86.

LITERATURE: Heseltine 1917, no. 6; Hind 1925, pl. 61; Popham 1938, p. 136, fig. 3; Roethlisberger 1961, pp. 508–9, under no. 240; Roethlisberger 1968, no. 666, ill.; Schade 1996, pp. 14, 19, 32, no. 26, color ill.

As Roethlisberger has pointed out, the Lehman *Landscape with Sheep* should be understood as an independent composition. The particular configuration of the animal group does not appear in any known painting by Claude. There is a small picture by Claude in the Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste,

Vienna, depicting a flock of penned sheep, but the drawing is not related to it.¹

Both the style and the subject matter of the drawing are in keeping with Claude's work about 1648, the date annotated on the black chalk sketch of sheep on its verso. The way he has constructed the landscape here recalls his *Paris and Oenone* of the late 1640s, two versions of which are in the British Museum, London (Figs. 108.1, 108.2).² The animals are placed parallel to the picture plane in the foreground. A sequence of repoussoirs defines the spatial relationships in the image. In the middle ground at the right a repoussoir is provided by a large stand of trees, at the left another group of trees closes that side of the composition, and at the center sheep and two planes of hills recede into deep space. In structure, the Lehman *Landscape with Sheep* differs from the London drawings only in its close focus on the animals. But this too is not unparalleled in the artist's work: another pen and wash drawing depicting sheep (Teylers Museum, Haarlem), that is somewhat less finished than the recto of the Lehman sheet and somewhat more so than the verso, also has a close point of view.³

Roethlisberger has noted that Claude's drawings can be viewed as belonging to fixed types.⁴ The nature studies fall into two easily discernible categories: those sketched on the spot and those constructed in the studio. The hastily sketched flock on the verso of this sheet



Fig. 108.1 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Paris and Oenone* (*Liber veritatis*, no. 117). © British Museum, London, 1957-12-14-123



Fig. 108.2 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Paris and Oenone*. © British Museum, London, 1985-9-15-899



No. 108



No. 108, verso

was most probably drawn out of doors. By contrast, the composition on the recto, produced in the studio, has been more carefully organized around the group of the nursing ewe, which Claude apparently traced through the paper from the verso sketch.

MTH/DP

Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain

109. The Origin of Coral

1975.I.661

Black chalk, sepia and black ink, sepia and gray wash, heightened with white gouache. 254 x 325 mm. Inscribed at the lower left: "CLAVDIO / fecit / pensier de Ill.mo / il Cardinalle di massim o"; annotated at the lower right in sepia ink: 16.

Laid down; some stains in the upper section.

PROVENANCE: Richard Houlditch, London (Lugt 2214 on the recto); Houlditch sale, London, 1760; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Viscountess Churchill, London; [Churchill?] sale, Sotheby's, London, 29 April 1937, lot 82, ill. (to John Hunt). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1937.

EXHIBITED: New York 1938, no. 14, ill.; New York 1976–77; New York 1980, no. 22, ill.; Bordeaux 1981, no. 158, ill.; Washington, D.C.–Paris 1982–83, no. 69, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 30, ill.; New York 1990, no. 7, ill.

LITERATURE: De Tolnay 1943, no. 233; Roethlisberger 1961, pp. 434–35, under no. LV184; Bean 1965, pp. 266–68; Boyer 1968, pp. 372, 379, fig. 3; Roethlisberger 1968, no. 1064, ill.; Roethlisberger and Cecchi 1975, under no. 260; London 1994, p. 113.

This sheet belongs to an unusual sequence of seven drawings by Claude that are all related to *Perseus and the Origin of Coral* (Fig. 109.1), one of five paintings he executed between 1645 and 1674 for Cardinal Carlo Camillo Massimi (1620–1676), who was secret chamberlain to Pope Innocent X and chamberlain to Clement X.¹ *Perseus and the Origin of Coral*, painted in 1674, is now in the collection of the earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, England.² The subject, not often illustrated in art, is taken from Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4:740–52). After Perseus had slain the sea monster and rescued Andromeda, he laid the Medusa's head on a bed of seaweed while he washed his hands. To the astonishment of the sea nymphs, her blood turned the seaweed into pink stone. Cardinal Massimi also owned a drawing by Nicolas Poussin of the late 1620s on this subject (Royal Library, Windsor Castle).³

NOTES:

1. Roethlisberger 1961, no. 240, fig. 241.
2. Roethlisberger 1968, nos. 660, 661, ill.
3. Ibid., no. 665, ill.
4. Ibid., p. 14.

Four of the preparatory drawings for *Perseus and the Origin of Coral* depict the entire composition; the three others are figure studies. Boyer has suggested a convincing order for the first five. As Roethlisberger also argued, the Lehman sheet, which Claude himself called a *pensier*, must begin the sequence. A compositional drawing in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 109.2), that is more concerned with tonal relationships, was probably executed at about the same time as the Lehman sheet.⁴ A study in the British Museum, London (Fig. 109.3),⁵ for the group of nymphs gathered around the Medusa head at the left in the painting probably came next, along with another study for the same group that is now also at Holkham Hall (Fig. 109.4),⁶ and one for the figure of Perseus that is in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (Fig. 109.5).⁷ Because



Fig. 109.1 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Perseus and the Origin of Coral*. By kind permission of Lord Leicester and the Trustees of the Holkham Estate



No. 109



Fig. 109.2 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *The Origin of Coral*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF4601. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris



Fig. 109.3 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *The Origin of Coral*. © British Museum, London, Oo.8-260

the London drawing is dated 1672, Roethlisberger concluded that Claude began working on the composition for *Perseus and the Origin of Coral*, along with that of its pendant, *View of Delphi with a Procession* (Art Institute of Chicago),⁸ as early as 1671. (The Holkham Hall drawing bears the date 1671, but it was probably written by a later hand.)

Boyer believed that the sixth drawing, a large and highly finished sheet in the Metropolitan Museum that is dated 1674, was made as the final *modello* for the Holkham Hall picture.⁹ In our view, however, the Metropolitan sheet, like *Liber veritatis* 184, the seventh and final drawing related to *Perseus and the Origin of Coral*, was made after the painted version.¹⁰ Not only does the Metropolitan drawing reproduce the details of the final composition, but it is executed on the same paper as the drawings in the *Liber veritatis*, the album Claude prepared to record the compositions of his paintings.

The sequence of drawings shows how quickly Claude hit upon the basic elements of the composition. In as early a study as the Lehman sheet, he had already fixed the character of his image, established the form of the landscape, and determined the number and placement of the figures. The following four drawings were dedicated to working out the lighting and details of the theme stated in the first sketch.

In 1988 an eighteenth-century annotation in brown ink was found on the primary backing of this drawing

(now removed): “Mr. Richardson has a Drawing in his Collection for the same picture with very little alteration. Mr. Edwin has the Picture. 1740.” The drawing mentioned is undoubtedly the one now in the Louvre, which was in the collection of Jonathan Richardson (1665–1745) in the eighteenth century and bears his mark. A Humphrey Edwin was the owner of record in 1746 of *Perseus and the Origin of Coral* and two others of the five paintings Claude made for Cardinal Massimi, *Landscape with Argus Guarding Io*, also at Holkham Hall, and *View of Delphi with a Procession*, in the Art Institute of Chicago.¹¹ The two at Holkham Hall were bought by the first earl of Leicester from Mrs. Edwin and thence passed by descent to the present owner.

The catalogue of the exhibition held at Colnaghi’s in New York in 1990 reproduced the annotation without discussion, suggesting only that Richard Houlditch was its author and asserting that the date was appended by another hand. Inspection by the paper conservators at The Metropolitan Museum of Art was inconclusive on this point. Houlditch, the director of the South Seas Company in London, did possess a large collection of Claude drawings, including this one, but he died in Hampstead in 1736.¹² Obviously, either the date was added later, or Houlditch was not the author. In any case, Houlditch’s collection was not sold until 1760, so the note on the mount could very well have been made by someone cataloguing his estate.

MTH/DP



Fig. 109.4 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *The Origin of Coral*.
By kind permission of Lord Leicester and the Trustees of the
Holkham Estate



Fig. 109.5 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Perseus*.
Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, 1633. Photograph © Arch. Phot.
Paris/CNMHS

NOTES:

1. See Roethlisberger 1961, p. 240, under no. LV86. The other four paintings are *Landscape with Argus Guarding Io*, also at Holkham Hall; *Coast View with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl*, in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; *Wooded Landscape*, present location unknown; and *View of Delphi with a Procession*, in the Art Institute of Chicago (ibid., nos. LV86, LV99, LVI18, LVI82, figs. 164, 180, 296).
2. Ibid., no. LVI84, fig. 299.
3. Ibid., n. 1, citing Blunt 1945, no. 170, pl. 28.
4. Boyer 1968, fig. 4; Roethlisberger 1968, no. 1065, ill.
5. Boyer 1968, fig. 5; Roethlisberger 1968, no. 1068, ill.
6. Roethlisberger 1968, no. 1067, ill.
7. Ibid., no. 1059v, ill.
8. See note 1 above.
9. Metropolitan Museum, 64.253; Boyer 1968, colorpl. 6; Roethlisberger 1968, no. 1066, ill.
10. The same view was maintained by Kitson (1978, p. 168). For *Liber veritatis* 184, see Roethlisberger 1968, no. 1069, ill.
11. See note 1 above.
12. According to Lugt 1921, nos. 2214, 2215.

Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain(?)

110. Roman Landscape

1975.1.660

Sepia ink and wash. 159 x 286 mm. Annotated on the verso: No. 615.

Scattered foxing.

PROVENANCE: Richard Johnson, London; William Bateson, London (Lugt Suppl. 2604a on the recto); Bateson sale, Sotheby's, London, 23–24 April 1929, lot 140; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Acquired by Robert Lehman by 1949.

EXHIBITED: London 1917–18, no. 55; Paris 1925b, no. 496; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933; Buffalo 1935, no. 45; New York 1938, no. 12; Boston 1939, no. 149; San Francisco 1940, no. 67, ill.; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1948–49, no. 41; New York 1953, no. 23; Paris 1957, no. 99, pl. 65; Rotterdam–Paris–New York 1958–59, no. 24, ill.; Cincinnati 1959, no. 259, ill.; New York 1979; New York 1980, no. 24, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 31 (in all as Claude).

LITERATURE: *Art Digest* 13, no. 18 (July 1939), ill.; Tolnay 1943, no. 232, ill.; Mongan 1949, p. 80, ill.; Frankfurter 1953a, pp. 45, 66, ill. (in all as Claude).

Because it has been so extensively exhibited, the *Roman Landscape* is probably the best known of the drawings attributed to Claude in the Robert Lehman Collection. It is, however, problematic. Although such respected connoisseurs as Tolnay and Mongan have accepted it as an authentic work by Claude, Roethlisberger excluded the sheet from his 1968 catalogue of the artist's drawings, and more recently he has suggested that the drawing may be Italian in origin and of uncertain date.¹ It bears a striking resemblance to a drawing in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, which is described there as "anonymous French(?), seventeenth century."²

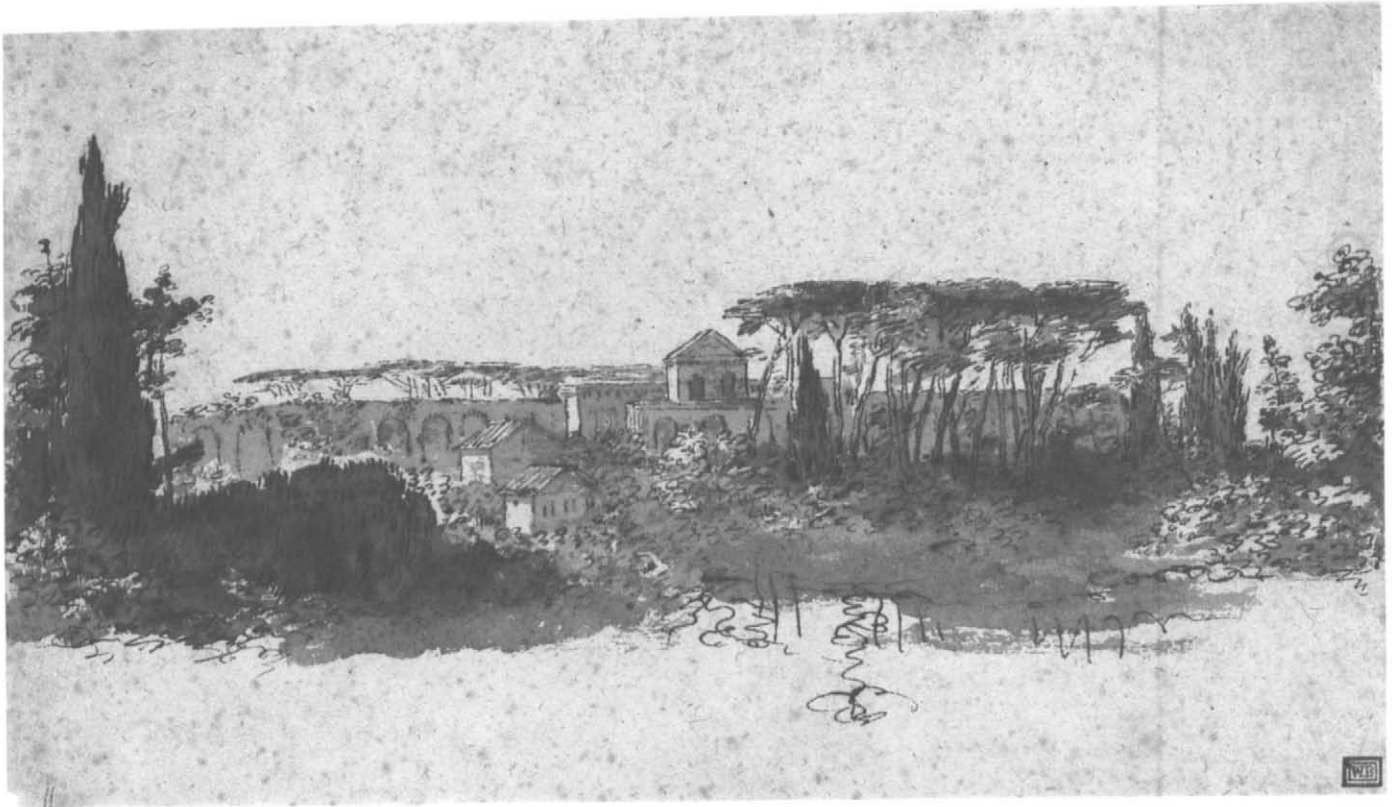
Although the *Roman Landscape* is very handsome, it is structurally unlike Claude's landscape scenes in two important ways. First, there is little articulation of spatial recession in the drawing. The architecture, rather than establishing a movement into depth, seems, like a wall, to close the scene at the middle distance. Second, in no other drawing did Claude position the image on the sheet as it is here, where it looks like a patterned stripe between two strips of empty paper. Claude filled his sheets, leaving no blank areas and no undefined spaces. Furthermore, the penmanship itself in the Lehman drawing is overly fussy, and the peculiar swirls and curls in the foreground are also unparalleled in Claude's draftsmanship.

Krautheimer suggested that when he made this drawing, Claude sat in the Villa Ludovisi about where the Palazzo Margherita now is and then looked up the Via Veneto toward the Villa Borghese. The walls would then be the Mura Aureliane and the Mura di Belisario.³ Other writers have identified the building as the Villa Doria Pamphili or the Villa Ludovisi.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Letter to Posner, 4 May 1981 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Moscow 1995–96, no. 203, ill. This drawing bears an old annotation ascribing it to Claude. The authors wish to thank Perrin Stein, Metropolitan Museum, for bringing the drawing to their attention.
3. According to Mongan 1949, p. 80.



No. 110

*French artist in the circle of
Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi*

Rome, about 1650

111. Trees

1975.I.659

Pen, sepia ink, and wash with white gouache heightening on blue paper. 200 x 260 mm. Annotated on the recto in the upper right corner in red ink: 22.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; Lawrence sale, London, August 1935 (to Esdaile); William Esdaile, London (Lugt 2617 on the recto and, with the date 1836, verso); Esdaile sale, London, 30 June 1840. Acquired by Robert Lehman by 1962.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1980, no. 21, ill. (as Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain).

LITERATURE: Moskowitz 1962, vol. 3, no. 668, ill. (as Claude); Vallery-Radot 1964, no. 16 (as Claude); Roethlisberger 1965, no. 2.

Although this drawing had traditionally been attributed to Claude (see No. 107), Roethlisberger excluded it from his 1968 catalogue of Claude's drawings. In 1965 he had argued that it should be assigned, along with more than sixty other landscape drawings executed in pen and wash on blue paper, to an artist working in Rome about 1650 in the circle of Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi (1606–1680), who was known especially for his decorative landscape frescoes and his landscape etchings and drawings. The identity of this artist remains unknown, but he was probably French; according to Roethlisberger, color notes in French appear on some of the sheets.¹ Many of the drawings in the group bear traditional attributions to Claude, and it is easy to see why the Lehman *Trees* is among them. But when this drawing is compared to authentic tree studies by Claude, such as those in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (see Fig. 111.1),² the differences are immediately apparent. Claude also created elaborate patterns from misshapen trunks and crossed branches, but he organized them in ways that define the spatial relationships between the forms. In the Lehman sheet recession is suggested only by differences in the values of the applied wash. Moreover, the trees lack the organic structure and three-dimensional weight one expects to see in Claude's work.

Roethlisberger argued further that the evidence strongly suggests that the sixty-odd drawings represent

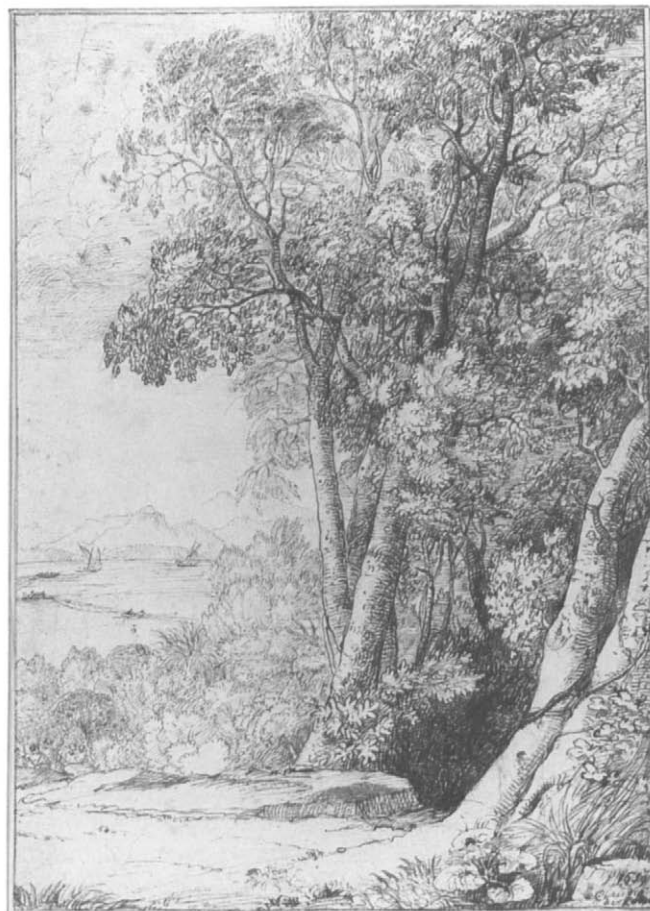


Fig. 111.1 Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Tree Study*. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, L.42.360

the remains of original sketchbooks.³ They fall into three standard size groupings, and six of them, including the Lehman *Trees*, bear what appears to be a page number in red ink in the upper right corner. The early provenance of the sheets also indicates that they first appeared in large groups. The mark (Lugt 2903) of Count Moriz von Fries (1777–1826), Vienna, appears on some two dozen of the drawings. Thomas Lawrence



No. 111

(1769–1830), who attributed them to Claude, purchased the Von Fries drawings along with nine similar sheets from an unknown source. All these sheets then passed to William Esdaile (1758–1837), whose mark the Lehman drawing bears.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Letter to Posner, 4 May 1981 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Teylers Museum, L.42.360, L.45.430, L.65.336; Roethlisberger 1968, nos. 820–22, ill.
3. Roethlisberger 1965, p. 370.

Israël Silvestre

Nancy 1621–Paris 1691

Israël Silvestre studied first with his father, Israël, and then with his uncle the engraver Israël Henriët, who introduced him to the graphic art of Jacques Callot. Following his apprenticeship, Silvestre completed his artistic education by traveling extensively in France and Italy between 1640 and 1653. By the mid-1650s he had settled in Paris and had begun to attract attention for his handsome topographical engravings, many of which

were made from drawings of sites and monuments recorded during his travels. In 1663 he was named *graveur et dessinateur du roi*, in 1670 he became an academicien, and in 1673 he was appointed drawing master to the Dauphin. Despite his contemporary acclaim, in modern times Silvestre has too often been considered a mere topographer and his considerable talents as a designer and landscapist inadequately appreciated.

Israël Silvestre

112. View of the Garden Terrace of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli

1975.1.726

Pencil, black ink, sepia and gray wash, pale green watercolor. 341 x 471 mm.

Pasted down; vertical fold in the center.

PROVENANCE: Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 35.

According to Fauchaux, Israël Silvestre was in Italy in 1643–44 and again in 1653.¹ The Lehman *View of the Garden Terrace of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli* was most likely executed during the first sojourn, for in 1646 Silvestre published a set of engravings that included various views of the villa.² Although this view was not one of the set, it is drawn so carefully with a rule that it was surely intended to serve as the basis for a topographical print.

In this representation of the garden façade of the Villa d'Este as seen from the northeast corner of the upper level of the two-storied portico, Silvestre was scrupulously faithful to his model, as the depiction of the villa in a fresco of 1568 in the lower *salotto* and E. Dupérac's 1573 engraving of the house and gardens (Fig. 112.1)

reveal.³ Silvestre's accuracy as a topographer has generally been one of the most admired aspects of his work.⁴ But as Coffin has pointed out, while Silvestre's preliminary drawings of sites and buildings record his subjects with great accuracy, the engravings made after them show slight differences in detail.⁵ Indeed, Silvestre approached his work as a landscape artist and not merely as a topographer. In the Lehman *View of the Garden Terrace* he showed himself to be as interested in capturing the quality of the light and shadows as in describing the architecture of the villa. His sensitivity to the effects of light, not dissimilar to those created in painting by his compatriot and contemporary Claude Lorrain, make his works true "views," as much as descriptions of observed reality.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Fauchaux 1857, p. 5.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.
3. Coffin 1960, pp. 11–12, figs. 8, 1.
4. See Fell 1936.
5. Coffin 1960, p. 128.



No. 112

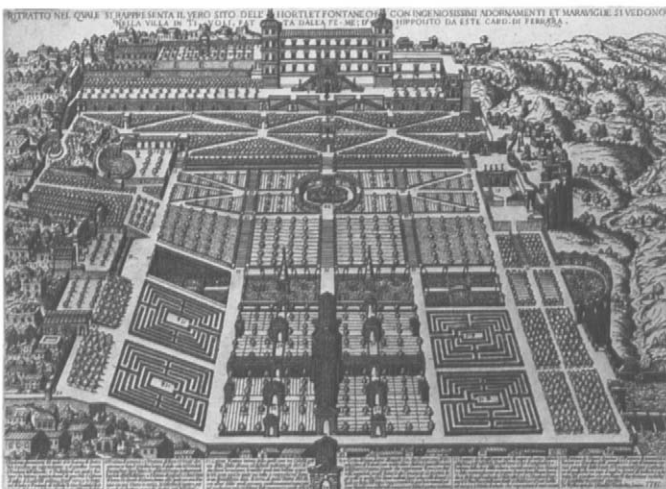


Fig. 112.1 E. Dupérac, *The Villa d'Este*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittlesey Collection, Elisha Whittlesey Fund, 1941 41.72(3.65)

Antoine Watteau

Valenciennes 1684–Nogent-sur-Marne 1721

Antoine Watteau studied with a local painter in Valenciennes before he went to Paris in 1702. For some years he supported himself by making copies, mainly of Netherlandish paintings. About 1705–7 he became a student of Claude Gillot, an artist who helped him develop his lifelong interest in theater scenes and theatrical costume. Later, about 1708–9, he worked with Claude Audran, a leading ornamentalist of the time. In 1712 Watteau became an associate member of the Académie Royale; five years later, in 1717, he was elected to full membership as a painter of *fêtes galantes*, a category created specifically for him. He did not fit into the world of academic art and thought, however, and although he was

successful in the market for “private” pictures, he never received or sought any of the large, official commissions from the church, the crown, and the high aristocracy that academicians traditionally expected.

Watteau’s drawings, like his paintings, reflect both his French and his Flemish heritage. His drawings *aux trois crayons*, especially, depend upon an elegance of line and a tension of posture and gesture fused with a realism and sensuousness of surface and atmosphere. Watteau’s contemporaries regarded his drawings as something entirely new in the history of art, and Watteau himself is reported to have been more satisfied with them than with his paintings.

Antoine Watteau

113. Seated Woman

1975.I.763

Black, red, and white chalk. 240 x 137 mm, including strips (probably of the same paper) added along the bottom (10 mm), left (10 mm), and top (13 mm).

Laid down; apparently trimmed; strips of paper glued to the top, bottom, and left side at a later date.

PROVENANCE: Schwab, Manchester (1957); [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.¹

EXHIBITED: London 1950, no. 98, ill.; London 1953, no. 402; New York 1961b, no. 30, ill.; New York 1980, no. 37, ill.; Washington, D.C.–Paris–Berlin 1984–85, no. 86, ill. (German ed., no. 89, ill.); New York 1985–86; New York 1988b; New York 1996; New York–Ottawa 1999–2000, no. 25, ill.

LITERATURE: Parker and Mathey 1957, vol. 2, no. 556, ill.; Rosenberg and Prat 1996, vol. 2, no. 494, ill.

This *Seated Woman* is a masterful example of *aux trois crayons* technique. Exploiting the painterly qualities of the technique, Antoine Watteau displayed his consummate skill by using black chalk to outline the forms, white to light and shape them, and red to suggest roseate flesh tones. From the beginning of his career Watteau preferred to draw in chalk, usually red, but he began to make drawings of the coloristic sophistication of the



Fig. 113.1 Antoine Watteau, *Study of Drapery and Two Female Figures*. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. 1912-719

Lehman sheet only in about 1713–14.² The grandeur and monumentality of the figure, which is rendered with a deft economy of means, further suggest that the



No. 113

Seated Woman dates from his mature period, about 1716–17.

Like the model who posed for the nude studies Watteau made about 1716–17 in connection with *La toilette* (Wallace Collection, London),³ the sitter in the Lehman drawing is full-bodied, even a little plump. Although Watteau seems not to have used her as a model often, she does appear in another sheet *aux trois crayons* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (Fig. 113.1), where she is shown standing, in front view, and again seated, in the same pose shown in the Lehman drawing, but from behind.⁴ A comparison of the two sheets also demonstrates the spirit of free fancy with which Watteau approached such studies. The small black bow ornamenting the right sleeve of the woman's dress in the drawing of her standing appears to have been transformed in the Lehman drawing into a butterfly that has alighted on her arm.⁵ Most certainly her delicate gesture is one of surprise and delight and not meant to repulse an overardent suitor, as Parker and Mathey have suggested.⁶

This figure of a seated woman does not appear in any painting by Watteau, and there is no reason to suppose that the drawing was made as a preparatory study. Indeed, the vast majority of Watteau's mature drawings were made as independent studies that often, but not necessarily, served the artist in his paintings.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Schaeffer invoice of 24 October 1958 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Rosenberg and Prat (1996, vol. 1, pp. xx–xxi) move this chronology slightly later, suggesting that Watteau used all three chalks after 1715.
3. See Posner 1973, figs. 23, 25–29.
4. Vayer 1956, p. 30, pl. 101.
5. Grasselli (in Washington, D.C.–Paris–Berlin 1984–85, p. 161) argues that the anecdotal element would be a rarity in Watteau's work and remains convinced that the object is a bow.
6. The gesture appears in other drawings by Watteau, such as one in a private collection in New Jersey (New York 1999, no. 7, color ill.).

France(?)

eighteenth century

114. The Rommelpot Player

1975.I.764

Red chalk. 171 x 112 mm. Annotated in brown ink at the lower left on the recto: 2116; on the verso in pencil(?): *mettre dans le cadre* and (in a different hand) D2507 3HCO (a Colnaghi number).

PROVENANCE: Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville (Lugt 2951 at the lower left on the recto); Dezallier d'Argenville sale, Paris, 18 January 1779, possibly lot 2099 (as Jan Both) or 2124 (as Bartholomeus Breenbergh);¹ [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in 1961.

EXHIBITED: London 1961b (as Antoine Watteau), no. 21, ill.; New York 1980, no. 38, ill. (as Watteau).

LITERATURE: Davis 1961, p. 90 (as Watteau); Hayes 1961, pp. 358, 369, pl. 39 (as Watteau); Labbé and Bicart-Sée 1996, p. 268, no. 2116 (between works attributed to Jan Both and to Bartholomeus Breenbergh); Rosenberg and Prat 1996, vol. 3, no. R391, ill. (as Northern master, seventeenth century), under no. 415.

The Lehman *Rommelpot Player* has a very distinguished provenance, as it bears the mark of the great eighteenth-century collector Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville. Until 1996, however, the paraph on the sheet was mistakenly believed to be the mark of Pierre Crozat. Because Crozat was friendly with Antoine Watteau, who even resided with him for a brief time, it was easy to argue that Watteau made this drawing after one of the Dutch genre scenes in Crozat's extensive collection.² The drawing does have the look of a copy, but Watteau's interest in Northern art, and even arguments about his access to it, are not sufficient to justify attributing *The Rommelpot Player* to him, particularly now that its true provenance has been identified.

When the Lehman drawing is compared to Watteau's autograph studies of street urchins and Savoyards, the



No. 114

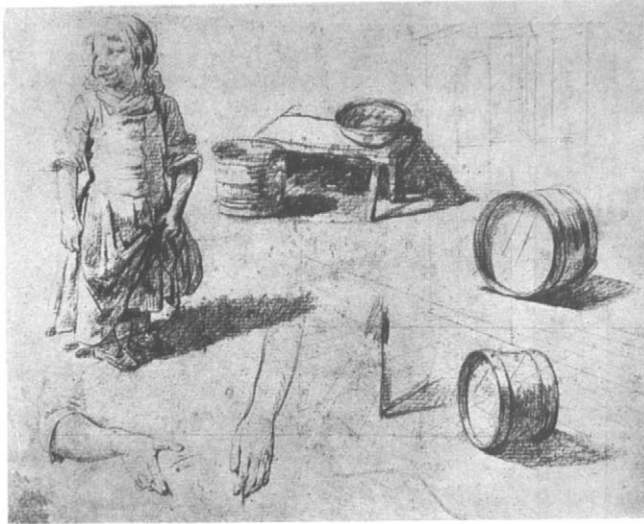


Fig. 114.1 France(?), eighteenth century, *Studies of a Standing Young Girl, Two Arms, a Table, and Two Round Boxes*. Present location unknown. Photograph: K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné* (F. de Nobele, Paris, 1957), vol. 1, no. 320

differences are striking.³ The authentic drawings are characterized by an acuity of vision, a freedom of handling, and a sense of spontaneity that are lacking in the competent but more pedestrian rendition of *The Rommelpot Player*. Watteau drew the outlines of his figures with a firm hand and, if he was dissatisfied with the results, boldly reworked the contours. Anatomical forms are particularly strongly defined in his drawings. This is in marked contrast to the modeling of the figure in the *Rommelpot Player*, where, for instance, there is so little differentiation between the boy's left hand and the rommelpot he is holding that the two seem to merge.

A rommelpot, really more a noisemaker than a musical instrument, is made from a pig's bladder stretched across the mouth of a jug half-filled with water, and it produces a loud, squeallike sound when a stick is rotated in it. It was probably the Dutch character of the subject matter – rommelpot players appear in works by Jan Molenaer, Godfried Schalken, Frans Hals, Jan Steen, and others – that led Dezallier d'Argenville to group this *Rommelpot Player* among the drawings in

his collection by or attributed to Jan Both, Jan Miel, and Bartholomeus Breenbergh.⁴ Yet even though the subject is Dutch, and Rosenberg and Prat have ascribed the drawing to an unknown Northern master of the seventeenth century, it may have been executed in France. Unfortunately, however, the lack of accepted or well-documented similar sheets makes it impossible to attribute it to a known master.

Rosenberg and Prat have recently identified a sheet that not only appears to be by the same hand as the Lehman drawing but is quite probably the larger right part of the same page (Fig. 114.1).⁵ Despite the fact that neither Rosenberg and Prat nor the present authors have seen this second fragment (it was last recorded by Parker and Mathey in 1957 as being in an unnamed New York collection), the reconstruction is convincing.⁶ The medium and height of the sheets match (according to Parker and Mathey, the now lost sheet of studies measures 180 by 230 millimeters and is executed in red and black chalk), and the little girl on the larger fragment actually appears to be dancing to the "tune" of the rommelpot.

EHB/MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. See note 4 below.
2. The suggestion was first made in the Colnaghi catalogue (London 1961b, no. 21). Watteau is known to have made copies of some of the works owned by Crozat (see Parker and Mathey 1957, vol. 1, p. 39). In addition, at the beginning of his career he earned his livelihood making copies and variants of Northern genre paintings (see Mathey 1957).
3. Compare, for instance, Parker and Mathey 1957, vol. 1, figs. 488–97.
4. See Labbé and Bicart-Sée 1996, p. 268, no. 2116. In accordance with this placement, Rosenberg and Prat (1996, no. R391) tentatively identified the Lehman drawing with lot 2099 (Jan Both) or 2124 (Bartholomeus Breenbergh) of the Dezallier d'Argenville sale of 1779.
5. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, no. R415, ill.
6. Parker and Mathey 1957, vol. 1, no. 320, ill. A (Colnaghi?) label removed from the Lehman drawing (Robert Lehman Collection files) also postulates that *The Rommelpot Player* was cut from the left-hand side of the sheet that Parker and Mathey published as no. 320.

France

first half of the eighteenth century

115. Portrait of a Man Holding a Pen

1975.I.656

Black chalk with white heightening(?). 294 x 228 mm. On the verso, a study of a hand in black chalk. Annotated at the lower left on the recto in brown ink in an eighteenth-century hand: *Carle vanloo / Delineavit*; on the verso in pencil: 31 x 38 / 182.

Slight rubbing and foxing.

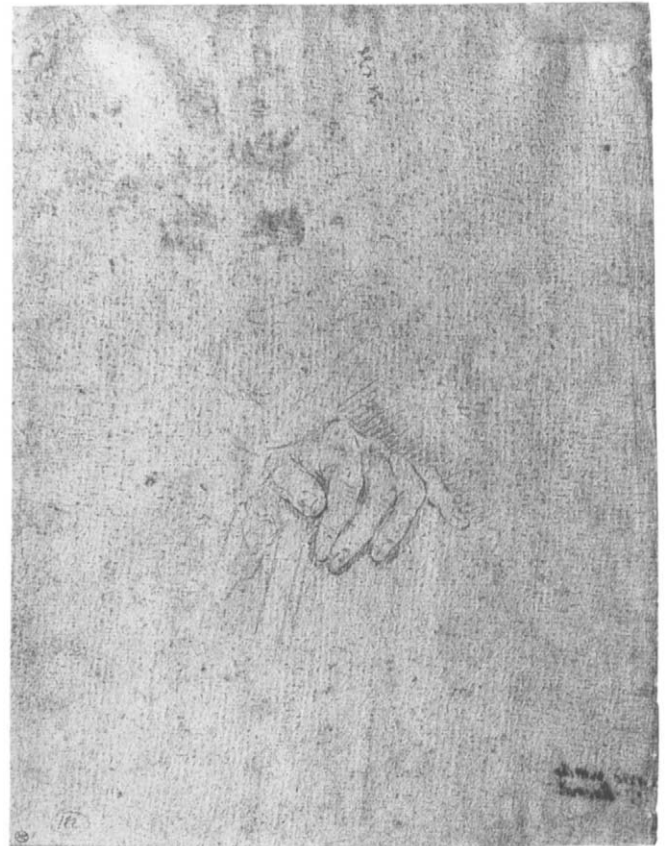
PROVENANCE: Jean Masson, Paris and Amiens (Lugt 1494a at the lower left on the recto); Masson sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 7–8 May 1928, lot 233; A. Morhange; Morhange sale, Christie's, London, 23 November 1956, lot 6 (as *Portrait of the Duke of Saint-Simon*, by Carle Vanloo); [Mathias Komor, New York] (Lugt Suppl. 1882a at the lower left on the recto). Acquired by Robert Lehman from Komor in 1965.¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 19, ill. (as Carle Vanloo).

Despite a certain generic similarity to chalk drawings by him such as the *Portrait of Carlo Giuseppe Gioanetti* of 1736 (private collection, Paris),² the eighteenth-century attribution of this *Portrait of a Man Holding a Pen* to Carle Vanloo (1705–1765) cannot be supported. As a portraitist Vanloo was acutely interested in delineating the quirks of individual physiognomy. Even in drawings he brought to no higher state of finish than the Lehman sheet – as, for example, the *Self-portrait* in the Louvre, Paris³ – the portrait is highly characterized. The eyes, in particular, are given special emphasis, the glance is forceful and direct, and the pose is lively and informal. By contrast, the Lehman *Portrait of a Man*, while certainly competent, is tentative and without personality.

Because Carle has always been the most famous of the Vanloo dynasty of painters, many works by other members of the family have been assigned to him. The difficulty in attributing drawings to the various Vanloos is complicated by the fact that Carle's training under his brother Jean-Baptiste was virtually identical to that received by his nephews. Furthermore, the drawing styles of individual family members have yet to be studied and defined, and as a draftsman Carle himself showed a remarkable variation of style. An attempt to ascribe *Portrait of a Man Holding a Pen* to the best known of Carle's relations, Louis-Michel, is inconclusive, largely because there is so little accepted material for comparison.⁴

The Lehman drawing, whoever its author, should probably be dated early in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The emphasis on rendering the effects of light on the sumptuous velvet robe, the cascading peruke, and the stately setting relate the image to the tradition of monumental portraiture that flourished in France in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The *portrait d'apparat*, in which the sitter's status was frequently more evident than his personality, began to be superseded in the 1740s by a more intimate depiction of subjects in relaxed poses and informal dress. Carle Vanloo's full-length portrait drawings, for example, are all of the latter type.⁵



No. 115, verso



No. 115

The sitter has not been identified. In the catalogue of the Morhange sale in 1956 the drawing was described as a portrait of Louis de Rouvroy, duke of Saint-Simon (1675–1755), apparently based entirely on the assumption that because of his attributes, the subject was a writer. In his catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1980 Szabo suggested that it might be a self-portrait by Carle Vanloo. A comparison of the Lehman drawing with Vanloo's *Self-portrait* in the Louvre and an engraved portrait of him of 1757⁶ does not support the second hypothesis (although this might, of course, be a self-portrait of the draftsman who actually made the drawing).

On the verso of the sheet is a study of the left hand of the sitter.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Komor invoice dated 8 March 1965 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Nice–Clermont-Ferrand–Nancy 1977, no. 393.
3. Louvre, 33.155; *ibid.*, no. 395, ill.
4. See, for example, Louis-Michel's *Portrait of Madame Amédee Vanloo* (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 4, 8 [1912], ill. p. 227).
5. See Nice–Clermont-Ferrand–Nancy 1977, nos. 405–9, ill. For a recent survey of these drawn portraits by Carle, see Stein in New York 1999, under no. 28.
6. Nice–Clermont-Ferrand–Nancy 1977, no. 480, ill.

Jean-Baptiste Oudry

Paris 1686–Paris 1755

Jean-Baptiste Oudry was taught first by his father, Jacques, and then, from 1707 to 1712, by the portraitist Nicolas de Largillière (1656–1746). Oudry began his career as a specialist in portrait and still-life painting, but by the mid-1720s he had expanded his repertoire to include history, animal, and landscape subjects as well. He was admitted to the Académie in 1719 as a painter in “tout les talents.” Oudry was also active as a tapestry designer, from 1726 at the Beauvais factory and then at

the Gobelins factory, becoming director of these establishments in 1733 and 1748, respectively.

Oudry was a prolific draftsman in all media. He valued his drawings very highly and composed albums of them as collections demonstrating the wide range of his work. The deft balance he sustained between naturalism and the curving grace of the Rococo, together with the subtlety of his chiaroscuro, make Oudry's drawings highly prized.

Jean-Baptiste Oudry

116. Country Farmhouse

1975.1.678

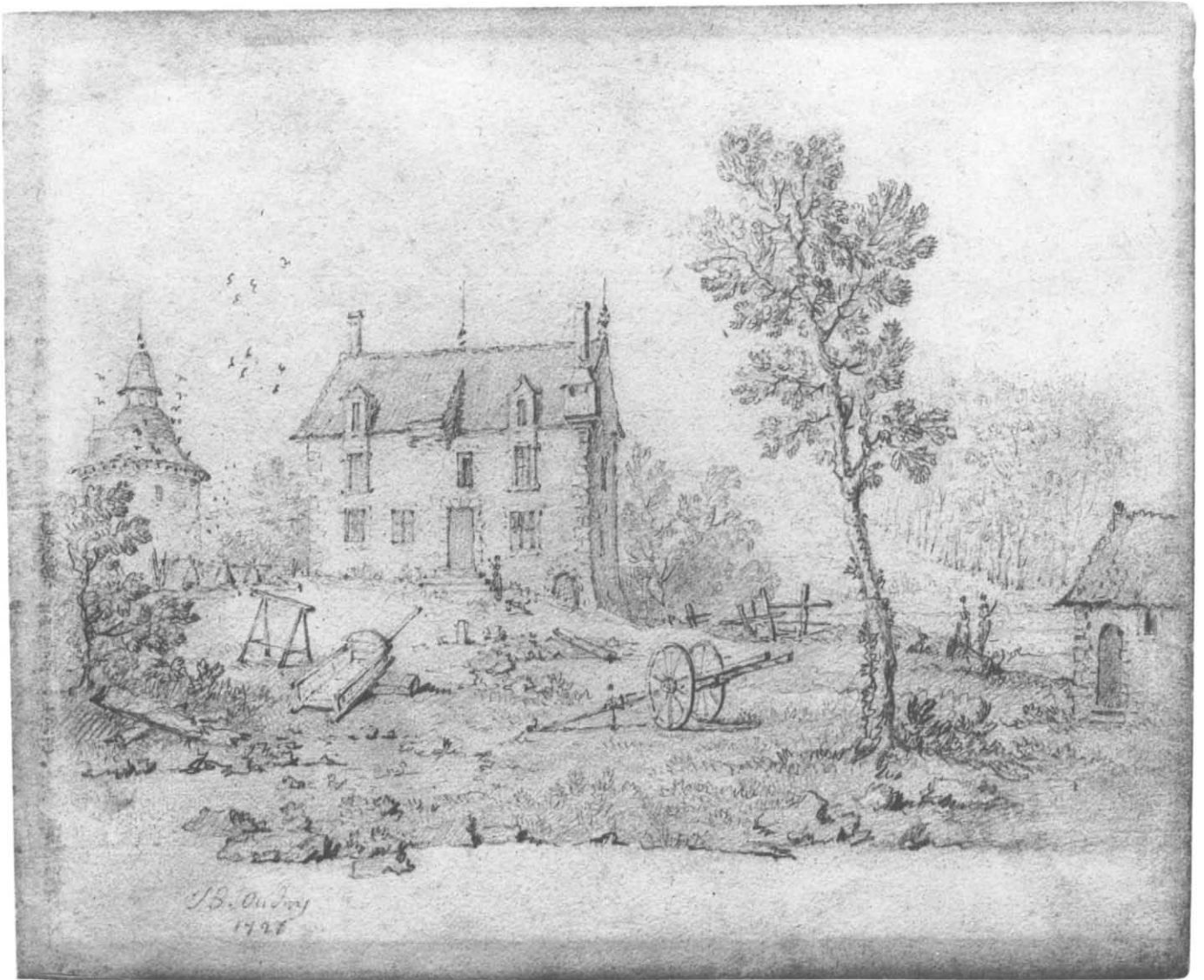
Pencil. 192 x 232 mm. Signed and dated at the lower left: *J. B. Oudry 1728*.

Slight discolorations on the edges from an old mount.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, 12 May 1960, lot 61 (as Jean-Baptiste Oudry). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1980, no. 27, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 32, ill.

Country Farmhouse is a rare example of Jean-Baptiste Oudry's use of pencil, for he preferred to draw in pen and ink and wash or in black and white chalk. In fact, only a handful of the over eleven hundred drawings given to Oudry by Opperman are executed in pencil.¹ Nonetheless, when the Lehman sheet is compared to other drawings signed by the artist, such as *La main chaude* in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Fig. 116.1),²



No. 116



Fig. 116.1 Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *La main chaude*. National-museum, Stockholm, NM H 2890/1863. Photograph courtesy of Statens Konstmuseer, Stockholm



Fig. 116.2 Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *La sortie de la ferme*. Present location unknown. Photograph courtesy of Galerie Cailleux, Paris



Fig. 116.3 Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *Le cheval rétif*. Present location unknown. Photograph courtesy of Galerie Cailleux, Paris

which is executed in black and white chalk and is signed and dated 1728, its authenticity is evident.³

The drawing is also a witness to the fundamental change in the artist's landscape style that occurred in the mid-1720s. Oudry's early landscapes, such as those contained in the album he began in 1714, *Livre de dessins d'après nature et de génie* (Louvre, Paris),⁴ were made almost entirely *de génie* (from imagination) and reflect a taste for the classical landscape compositions of Claude and Poussin. But in the mid-1720s, probably as the result of his preparation for the Chasses royales de Louis XV tapestry series that was undertaken in 1728,⁵ Oudry began to study nature more assiduously. He depicted naturalistic details with greater fidelity, and he turned for inspiration to seventeenth-century Flemish models.

Oudry's interests are manifest in his drawings as well as his paintings of the period. Although the *Country Farmhouse* cannot be directly associated with any known picture, similar natural and architectural elements can be found in the seven paintings Oudry made for the marquis of Beringhen beginning in 1727 (see Figs. 116.2, 116.3).⁶ Like the Beringhen pictures, the *Country Farmhouse* has been very carefully composed. The drawing is perfectly centered and the pencil line stops uniformly short of the paper's edge as if to accommodate a mat. It probably was intended as an independent work of art.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Opperman 1977, vol. 2, nos. D711, D1104, D1105, D1120, D1134.
2. *Ibid.*, no. D553, fig. 194.
3. Opperman (letter to Posner, 4 May 1981) concurs: "It is, indeed, by Oudry; the signature is authentic and there is no reason to doubt the date of 1728."
4. See Duclaux 1975, nos. RFI4940-46.
5. Opperman 1970.
6. On the Beringhen paintings, see Paris-Geneva 1980-81, nos. 27, 28, ill., and Fort Worth-Kansas City 1983, nos. 27, 28, ill. Opperman (letter to Posner, 4 May 1981) believes that the drawing was "done rather quickly from nature, with little or no rearrangement" and thus should be related not to the Beringhen commission but rather to the studies Oudry made in connection with the Chasses royales project.

Charles-Joseph Natoire

Nîmes 1700–Castel Gandolfo 1777

Charles-Joseph Natoire's artistic education began with his father, Florent, an architect and sculptor who recognized his son's talent for painting. Florent Natoire sent the seventeen-year-old Charles-Joseph to Paris to continue his training, first with Louis Galloche (1670–1761) and then with François Le Moyne (1688–1737). From the beginning of his career Natoire enjoyed considerable academic success. He won the Prix de Rome in 1721 (although he did not take up residence at the Rome Academy until 1723), and on his return to France in 1730 he was admitted to the Académie Royale as an associate member. Four years later he was made a full

member. An enthusiastic participant in academic affairs throughout his life, he was appointed director of the French Academy in Rome in 1751 and served in that capacity until his death in 1777. Natoire's talents as a painter and, in particular, as a decorator were highly esteemed by his contemporaries. Nonetheless, while he was director of the Rome Academy he was more active as a draftsman than as a painter. His drawings were then, and are today, admired not only for the academic correctness of the figure studies but for the charm of the landscape elements that began to play an increasingly significant role in his art during his later years.

Charles-Joseph Natoire

117. Orpheus Charming the Nymphs, Dryads, and Animals

1975.I.676

Pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, pale blue, yellow, and pink watercolor and white heightening over preliminary drawing in pencil and black chalk.¹ 818 x 425 mm. Signed at the lower right in brown ink: *C. Natoire f.*

The bottom left corner (90 mm along the left edge and 22 mm along the bottom) torn off and pasted down with the rest of the sheet onto a larger (363 x 477 mm) piece of heavy cream paper, on the verso of which are several figure studies in red chalk and black ink (Fig. 117.1).

PROVENANCE: Probably Natoire sale, Paris, 14 December 1778, lot 93;² private collection, Paris, 1948(?);³ sale, Paris, 1954(?), lot 42, ill.;⁴ sale, Sotheby's, London, 20 July 1960, lot 44 (to Colnaghi); [P. and D. Colnaghi, London] (D 24680AX). Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in 1960.⁵

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 25, ill.; New York 1985–86; New York 1988b.

LITERATURE: Boyer 1949, probably no. 474;⁶ Paris 1983, under no. 43; Roland Michel 1987, p. 38, colorpl. 20; Cambridge, Massachusetts, and other cities 1998–2000, pp. 55, 222, fig. 3, under no. 57.

During his years as director of the French Academy in Rome (1751–77), Charles-Joseph Natoire became especially interested in drawing and devoted less of his time to painting. Landscapes and mythology were his main subjects, and he depicted them on numerous large and



Fig. 117.1 Italy? *Figure Studies* (on sheet used to back No. 117)



No. 117

highly finished sheets. Natoire had always been an accomplished academic draftsman, but at this time his technique grew increasingly refined as he developed a greater sensitivity to the coloristic possibilities of washes and watercolor highlighting. In the finest drawings of this period he strengthened black chalk or pencil underdrawing with monochromatic washes, then completed the modeling in delicate pastel tints, and finally put in the details of the composition with pen and ink. Natoire's drawings of this type were considered finished works of art in their own right and often cannot be related to paintings or larger decorative projects.⁷

The Lehman *Orpheus Charming the Nymphs, Dryads, and Animals* is an excellent example of Natoire's mature style.⁸ Natoire must have been especially pleased with the composition, for he made at least three versions of it. This highly colored sheet has been identified with the one from Natoire's own collection that Gabriel de Saint-

Aubin recorded in a marginal drawing in his copy of the catalogue of the sale of Natoire's effects held on 14 December 1778.⁹ The other two versions, one in the Jeffrey E. Horvitz collection in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, the other in the Musée Atger, Montpellier (Figs. 117.2, 117.3), are close to the same size as the Lehman *Orpheus*, but they were executed in pen and brown ink and brush and brown wash, heightened with white gouache (the Horvitz drawing over black chalk on off-white paper, the one in Montpellier on blue paper).¹⁰

The three drawings form a remarkable and instructive group in which Natoire, a veteran academician, demonstrated the effects of different media and supports on the same design. The Horvitz drawing, on which the black chalk underdrawing is still visible, was probably made first. The Montpellier version, for which Natoire used blue paper, thereby increasing the impact



Fig. 117.2 Charles-Joseph Natoire, *Orpheus Charming the Nymphs, Dryads, and Animals*. Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Loan from the Collection of Jeffrey E. Horvitz, 0001.1993.99



Fig. 117.3 Charles-Joseph Natoire, *Orpheus Charming the Nymphs, Dryads, and Animals*. Musée Atger, Montpellier. Photograph: Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier

of the landscape, is dated 1757. The third essay, the Lehman sheet, should also be placed in 1757, for its style accords well with Natoire's draftsmanship at that time. Here he added watercolor and gouache, flattening out the picture plane and lending the image a decorative lightness that sets it quite apart from its more Baroque brothers. Nonetheless, as Roland Michel has implied, what Natoire lost in force and coherence of line he gained in grace and charm.¹¹

In the sketches on the backing sheet, which appears to have been cut to serve as a stiffening board for the *Orpheus* drawing, three apparently unrelated subjects can be discerned, each oriented in a different direction. At the left is a multigure composition representing the Virgin and Child with saints, in the center is a study of a nude man in sharp foreshortening, and to the right is a large study of a male torso in red chalk. The drawings are not by Natoire and are probably Italian.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. The drawing has not been squared for transfer, as was suggested in New York 1980, no. 25a. Rather, the line visible through the transparent watercolor (but hidden in spots by the opaque white highlights) that runs horizontally across the sheet 53 millimeters from the bottom probably reflects Natoire's initial idea for the framing line. In density and tone it matches the border on the finished image.
2. See Roland Michel 1987, p. 38.
3. See note 6 below.
4. Without giving a full reference or mentioning the Lehman sheet, Duclaux (in Troyes-Nîmes-Rome 1977, p. 101, un-

der no. 71) had linked the watercolor owned by Natoire to one sold in Paris during 1954, and Roland Michel (letter to Posner, 28 April 1983) believes that the watercolor sold in Paris in 1954 is the Lehman sheet.

5. Colnaghi invoice dated 22 August 1960 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
6. In a conversation with Holmes on 13 September 1995, Marandel, whose catalogue raisonné of Natoire's works is expected soon, tentatively identified the Lehman *Orpheus* as no. 474 in Boyer 1949, which Boyer located in a private collection in Paris and described as a drawing in crayon and watercolor measuring 370 by 480 millimeters.
7. According to Marandel (see note 6 above), a painted version of the Orpheus composition attributed to Natoire appeared on the Paris art market in 1994. As the whereabouts of the painting are unknown, it is not possible to establish whether the Lehman sheet might be a preparatory study or a *ricordo*, or not related at all. There is a preparatory study for the figure of Orpheus in the Louvre, Paris (31392; Duclaux 1975, no. 34, ill.), and one for the female river figure in Montpellier (Boyer 1949, no. 452).
8. Other instances of this type are *Bacchanal* and *Les Vendanges de Cythère* in the Musée Atger, Montpellier (Paris 1974-75, no. 32, ill.; Troyes-Nîmes-Rome 1977, no. 81, ill.); and *Bacchanal* in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (Toronto and other cities 1972-73, no. 98, ill.).
9. Duclaux 1975, p. 101, no. 93.
10. Roland Michel 1987, colorpls. 19 (295 x 438 mm), 21 (321 x 430 mm). Marandel (conversation with Holmes, 13 September 1995) identified these two drawings as nos. 473 and 472, respectively, in Boyer 1949.
11. Roland Michel (1987, p. 38) described the drawing as "plus spectaculaire peut-être par là même, bien que le dessin en soit plus maladroit que dans les deux premières feuilles." Marandel described it as "tentative."

François Boucher

Paris 1703–Paris 1770

François Boucher first studied with his father, Nicolas Bouché, but the style of François Le Moyne, his teacher about 1720, was the main influence on his own. His draftsmanship was deeply affected by his experiences in the 1720s making etchings for the *Recueil Jullienne* after Watteau's drawings. Boucher won the Prix de Rome in 1723, was admitted to full membership in the Académie Royale in 1734, and was named its director in 1765. In that year he was also appointed to the highest official position in his profession, *premier peintre du roi*.

As Madame de Pompadour's favorite artist, Boucher never lacked royal commissions, in which he displayed his versatile talents as a painter of monumental canvases and tapestry cartoons, a creator of stylish decorations, and a designer of book illustrations, theater sets, and ornamental sculptures. Boucher worked in virtually every medium. His figure drawings, generally in chalks, are characterized by vivacity and naturalism and show his innate sense of the decorative potential of the image.

François Boucher

118. Nymphs and Cupids

1975.1.572

Black and white chalk, partially stumped, on tan paper. 333 x 233 mm.

PROVENANCE: Eugène Féral collection, Paris; Féral sale, Paris, 31 January 1870; Harcourt collection(?);¹ [F. T. Sabin and Co., London]; [Leicester Galleries, London], 1926; Samuel Courtauld, London, 1926; Lady Aberconway, 1954; Sir Robert Abdy. Acquired by Robert Lehman by 1962.

EXHIBITED: Los Angeles 1976, no. 154, ill.; New York 1980, no. 1, ill.; Bordeaux 1981, no. 159, ill.; New York 1988b.

LITERATURE: Soullié and Masson [1906], no. 574; Cooper 1954, p. 189; Van Schaack 1962, no. 70; Jean-Richard 1978, under no. 770; Roland Michel in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and other cities 1998–2000, pp. 54–55, ill.

Nymphs and Cupids is an excellent example of François Boucher's mature drawing style. Although the drawing is undated, its style suggests that it is a very late work. The fleshy roundness of the forms, the thick and somewhat mannered drapery, the soft atmospheric handling of the chalk, and the tendency to leave no part of the sheet untouched are elements closely paralleled in Boucher's signed and dated works of the late 1760s, such as the *Cupid Carried by the Graces* of 1768 (Fig. 118.1).² Furthermore, a late date for the composition is indicated by the existence of a *manière de crayon* print by Gilles Demarteau, inscribed "Boucher inv. del 1769," that reproduces the poses of the two large nymphs in the Lehman drawing.³ The print varies in some details and omits several figures.

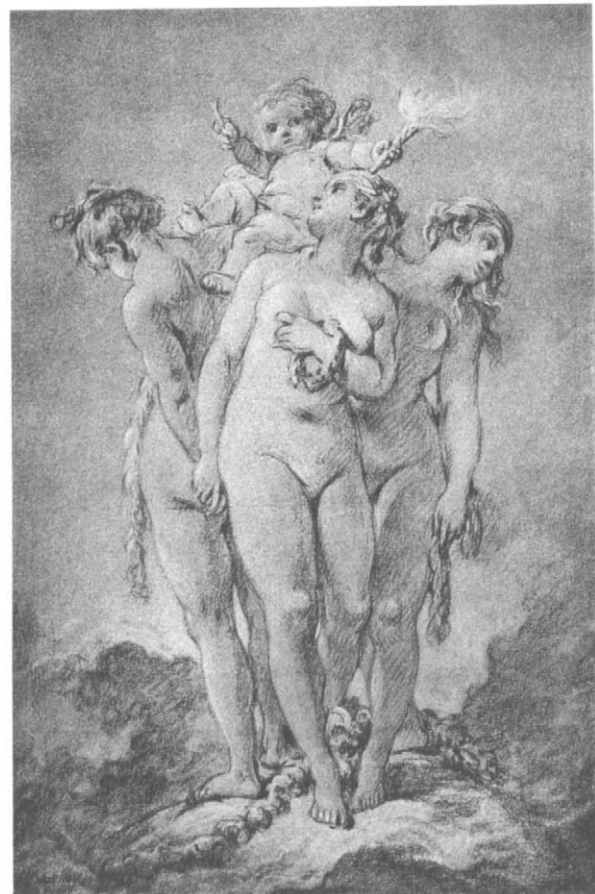


Fig. 118.1 François Boucher, *Cupid Carried by the Graces*. Photograph: Alexandre Ananoff, *L'oeuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard* (F. de Nobele, Paris, 1963), vol. 1, fig. 149



The Lehman drawing, with its high degree of finish and substantial size, seems to have been made as an independent work of art. It can be identified with a drawing formerly in the Eugène Féral collection that Soullié and Masson listed as “Nymphes (Trois) groupées dans une attitude gracieuse. Des Amours entourent de fleurs.” The drawing cannot be associated with any known painting by Boucher. Cooper thought it was a preparatory study for a painting included in the Hue sale in Paris in 1833, but he had misread Soullié and Masson’s entry for the former Hue picture, which describes it as depicting a single nymph with cupids, not three nymphs.⁴

Nymphs and Cupids has the appearance of being made without recourse to the model. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was in Paris in 1752, said that Boucher, who had drawn consistently after the live model earlier in his

career, had by then largely abandoned the practice and depended on memory as the primary source for his figures.⁵ This may be an exaggeration, but *Nymphs and Cupids* certainly reflects the lifetime of observation and experience in rendering figure, pose, and gesture that made it possible for Boucher to work from memory alone.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Van Schaack (1962, no. 70) suggested that the drawing had been in the Harcourt collection, but gave no source for the information.
2. Ananoff 1966, no. 883. In 1966 the drawing was in the David David-Weill collection, Paris.
3. Jean-Richard 1978, no. 770, ill.
4. Soullié and Masson [1906], no. 235.
5. Reynolds 1975, pp. 224–25.

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

Grasse 1732–Paris 1806

Although he was born in the provinces, Jean-Honoré Fragonard arrived in Paris as a child and grew up there. His artistic education followed a traditional pattern. After a brief period of study with Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin and some years with François Boucher, Fragonard won the Prix de Rome in 1752. He then studied with Carle Vanloo at the École des Élèves Protégés before going to Italy in 1755. There, along with his fellow student at the French Academy Hubert Robert, Fragonard developed an interest in landscape drawing and produced some of the most luminous and majestic nature studies ever made. Fragonard returned to Paris in 1761 and became an associate member of the Académie

Royale four years later. He never submitted a *morceau de réception*, however, and did not seek official commissions, but built his career on private patronage.

After a second journey to Italy in 1773–74, Fragonard began to explore the pictorial potential of ink washes and watercolor. But the sumptuous bravura of his style, as well as the erotic energy with which he invested so many of his genre subjects, proved out-of-date in a period that experienced a rising taste for a new classicism. Although the artist's late style does, in fact, foreshadow much in nineteenth-century Romantic art, it seemed *retardataire* at the time, and Fragonard died impoverished and largely forgotten by art lovers.

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

119. The Draftsman

1975.I.626

Black chalk. 380 x 250 mm.

Laid down. Annotated on the lower right edge of the mat: *Fragonard*.

PROVENANCE: Gabriel Huquier (1695–1772), Paris (Lugt 1285 at the lower left on the recto); Emmanuel de Ghendt, Ghent; Ghendt sale, Ghent, 15–22 November 1779, lot 266 (to Desmarest[?]); Camille Groult, Paris; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 26 March 1953, lot 90, ill.; [Galerie André Weil, Paris]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Weil in March 1953.¹

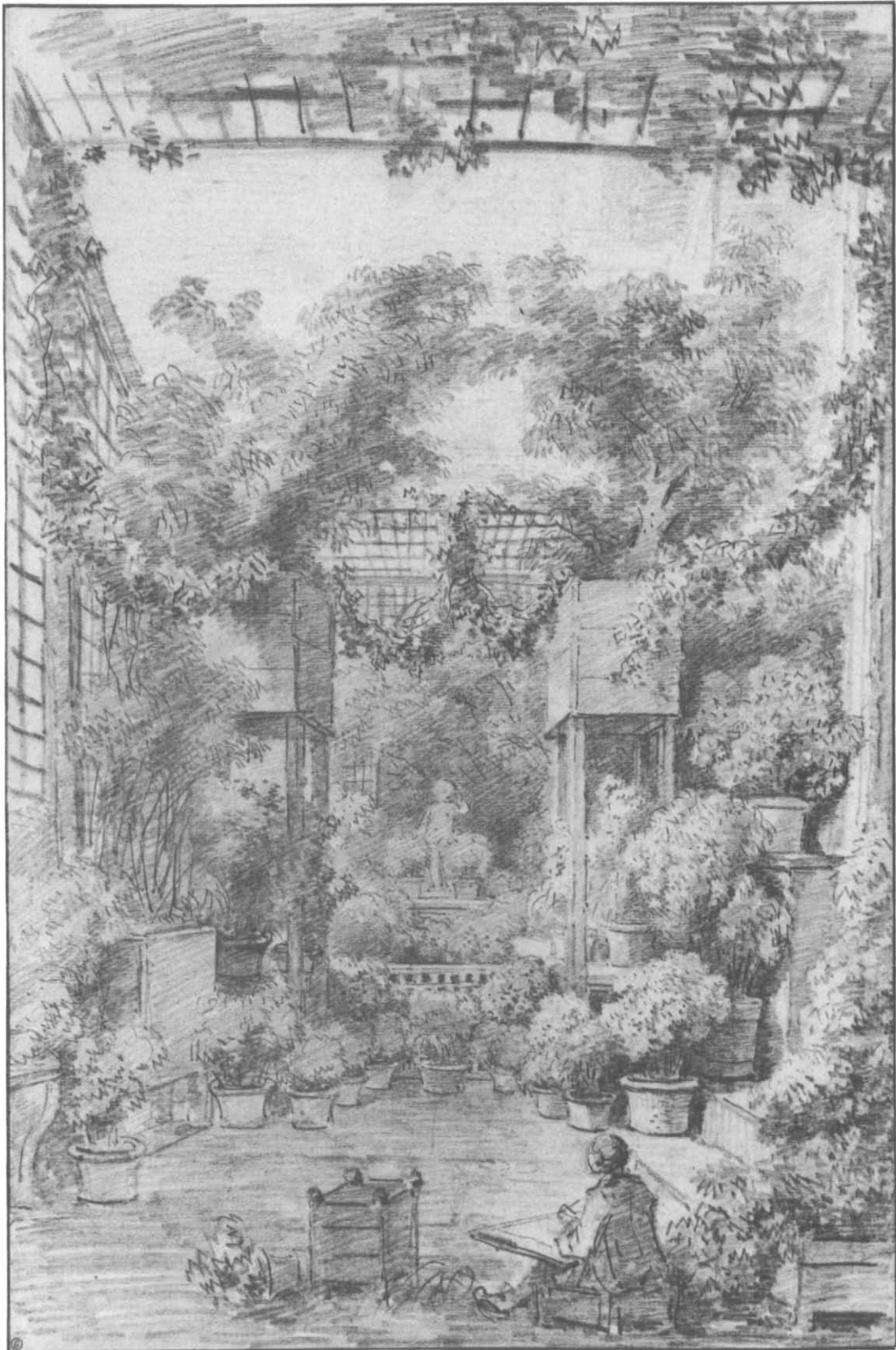
EXHIBITED: New York 1959c, no. 54, ill.; Los Angeles 1961, no. 47, ill.; Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, no. 21, ill.; New York 1980, no. 12, ill.; Tokyo–Kyoto 1980, no. 140, ill.; New York 1985–86; Paris–New York 1987–88, no. 151, ill.

LITERATURE: Sawin 1959, ill. p. 60; Ananoff 1961–70, vol. 1, no. 650, vol. 4, p. 374, fig. 702; Munhall 1971, pp. 404, 406–7, fig. 9; Massengale 1979, p. 271, fig. 102; *Apollo*, November 1980, p. 349, fig. 2.

Among the many eighteenth-century French pictures of artists sketching out of doors, Fragonard's drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection is very special. Usually the subject is presented as a scene casually observed and spontaneously recorded (see, for example, François-

André Vincent's *Landscape near Tivoli with Artists Drawing* of 1775 in the Fondation Custodia, Paris).² Fragonard, however, has given his composition a remarkably structured, deliberately planned appearance. The design, with the centrally placed statue, is symmetrically balanced, and the spatial recession clear and measured. Each object is arranged to form and define the composition, in which graceful curvilinear patterns seem a tracery over the rectilinear structure of the perspective grid.

Another feature that sets Fragonard's *Draftsman* apart from similar pictures is the anonymity of the site. A recurrent characteristic of such scenes is that the draftsman is shown sketching at a famous place, as in Hubert Robert's *Draftsman in the Oratory of Sant' Andrea, San Gregorio al Celio* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).³ If the site was not well known and easily recognizable, the artist commonly wrote the location on the sheet, as Claude-Henri Watelet (1718–1786) did on his *Draftsman near Aix-la-Chapelle* (private collection, Paris).⁴ In each of these cases, the artist also dated the drawing, thus recording his presence at a particular place at a particular time. He had, in a certain sense, produced a drawing of himself making the drawing.



No. 119

When Fragonard took up the theme, however, he eschewed such specificity. Like his other three versions of the subject, all now lost, the Lehman *Draftsman* is undated and its site unidentified.⁵ This, together with the drawing's highly structured composition, suggests that the scene it represents is not a real place, but an imaginary garden. Such an approach to the subject matter would be very much in keeping with the character of Fragonard's late landscape drawings (see, for example, No. 121). In style, too, *The Draftsman* belongs to this group, despite a rather unusual degree of finish for that time. The drawing exhibits a masterful balance between areas worked broadly with strokes of even diagonal hatching and those thrown into relief by heavy, broken zigzag accents. This graphic technique is paralleled in a series of tree studies by Fragonard, one of which is dated 1782.⁶

Although scholars have been unanimous in assigning a late date to the Lehman *Draftsman*, its specific place in Fragonard's chronology has been debated. Munhall believed that the subject of a draftsman in a garden setting related the Lehman drawing to the painting *The Lover Crowned* (Frick Collection, New York), one of the panels commissioned from Fragonard about 1770 by Madame du Barry, the mistress of Louis XV, for Louveciennes, the château the king gave her in 1769.⁷ Williams, while rightly rejecting the association between the draw-

ing and the Frick painting on compositional grounds, agreed that a date of about 1770 would be appropriate for the sheet; she has proposed a terminus ante quem of 1772, based on the identification of a collector's mark on the drawing as that of Gabriel Huquier, who died in that year.⁸ Massengale felt that the drawing's style should place it about a decade later, in the 1780s, and in support of this belief she argued that Gabriel Huquier's son, Jacques-Gabriel (d. 1805), who like his father was an engraver and print dealer, may have continued to use his father's mark. Massengale apparently overlooked, however, a sale of 1779 in which the drawing appeared.⁹ Thus a date in the 1770s would seem correct for the Lehman *Draftsman*.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Letters from Weil to Robert Lehman dated 27 and 31 March 1953 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Méjanès 1976, p. 403, fig. 15.
3. New York 1999, no. 41, color ill.
4. Paris–Geneva 1980–81, no. 43, ill. (dated 1776).
5. See Ananoff 1961–70, vol. 2, nos. 649, 1194, 1196.
6. *Ibid.*, nos. 962 (dated 1782), 966, 968.
7. Wildenstein 1960b, no. 307. On the Louveciennes panels, see also Paris–New York 1987–88, pp. 319–25, figs. 1–14.
8. Williams in Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, no. 21.
9. First noted by Ananoff (1961–70, vol. 4, p. 374).

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

120. The Dreamer

1975.I.627

Pencil and sepia wash. 308 x 216 mm.

PROVENANCE: Baronne de Ruble, Paris; Madame la Baronne de Ruble, Paris; Alfred Beurdeley, Paris (Lugt 421 at the lower right on the recto); Beurdeley sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 13–15 March 1905, lot 71, ill. (to Ernest Cognacq); Ernest Cognacq, Paris; Gabriel Cognacq, Paris; Cognacq sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 14 May 1952, lot 1, ill.; Mrs. Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zurich. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Feilchenfeldt in April 1965.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1907 (not in catalogue); Paris 1921, no. 145; Paris 1931, no. 26; Bern 1954, no. 77, pl. 17; Zurich 1955, no. 102; Stockholm 1958, no. 250; Los Angeles 1961, no. 47; Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, no. 48, ill.; New York 1980, no. 14, ill.; New York 1985–86; Paris–New York 1987–88, no. 271, ill.

LITERATURE: Portalis 1889, p. 305, ill. following p. 140; Thirion 1895, p. 332; Dayot and Vaillat 1908, pl. 169;

Eudel 1908, pp. 428–29; Förster [1925], pl. 20; Algoud 1941, pl. 90; Fosca 1954, p. 61, pl. 28; Réau 1956, p. 216; Ananoff 1961–70, vol. 1, no. 58, vol. 2, p. 295, vol. 4, fig. 682; Zafran 1992, p. 112, fig. 13; Cambridge, Massachusetts, and other cities 1998–2000, p. 55, fig. 3.

Fragonard's lovely *Dreamer* is one of the finest of his mature figure drawings. His drawing style had always been free and animated, characterized by a remarkable degree of surface movement, but about 1773–74, during his trip to Italy with his patron Bergeret de Grandcourt, Fragonard took a further step and began to liberate forms from a defining line by building them almost entirely from a wide value scale of spontaneously applied washes. As Williams put it, Fragonard



No. 120



Fig. 120.1 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Dreamer*. Bequest of Forsyth Wickes, Forsyth Wickes Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 65.2566

expanded the “traditional concept and role of drawing, transforming it into a deliberately pictorial idiom.”² In doing so, he paralleled his contemporary innovations in oil technique.

As do his paintings, the Lehman *Dreamer* exhibits Fragonard’s virtuosity in capturing the interaction of light and texture. The brilliance with which light is reflected from the sleeping young woman’s silk skirt is made to contrast with the deep shadows that encompass the heavy drapery behind her. Fragonard’s interest in such lighting effects has traditionally been ascribed to the influence of Rembrandt’s art. As Williams has noted, in 1771 Fragonard in fact purchased a number of prints by Rembrandt and his school at the sale of François Boucher’s collection.³

The attention to effects of light is not, however, the only reference in the drawing to Fragonard’s interest in

Northern art, for the motif of the sleeping woman appears often in Dutch seventeenth-century genre paintings.⁴ There it is often moralizing in purpose, but in France by the mid-eighteenth century, the theme had acquired a decidedly romantic character. Typical is Pierre-Antoine Baudouin’s *Reading* (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris),⁵ in which the young woman slips into a reverie inspired by the book she has been reading, probably, as its quarto format suggests, one of the popular romances of the day. Fragonard’s *Dreamer* too has fallen asleep while reading. And as Gowing has pointed out in his discussion of Vermeer’s *Sleeping Girl* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, “sleep admits a fantasy of love.”⁶ Behind the young woman in the Lehman drawing two older women, servants perhaps, smile knowingly about youthful dreams of love and agree not to wake her.

The Lehman *Dreamer* is one of a group of drawings virtually identical in scale and style whose subjects are similar romantic flights of fancy. The well-known *Letter* (Art Institute of Chicago), for example, depicts the same model, wearing the same costume, surprised by an ardent young man.⁷ Interestingly, a number of drawings of this type exist in several versions. Although the discovery that some are twentieth-century forgeries has raised questions about the artist’s practice of reproducing his own work,⁸ one cannot doubt the authenticity of the Lehman *Dreamer* or of another version of the composition in the Forsyth Wickes Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 120.1).⁹ The two drawings are not, it should be pointed out, exact replicas. In the Boston sheet the girl’s head is bent less sharply than in the Lehman version and the mirror is closer to her; the figure of the girl is exactly centered and the secondary figures are treated with greater attention to detail. By contrast, in the Lehman sheet Fragonard concentrated more narrowly on the figure of the sleeping girl. By making slight changes in her posture, he imbued the figure with a more graceful bearing, although problems arising from the final placement of certain details, such as her feet, were never fully resolved. At the same time he was uninterested in developing the figures of the two women in the background. Not only is the silencing gesture of the woman to the far left less clear in the Lehman drawing than in the Boston version, but the two have been sketched in so hurriedly that they are larger and out of scale with the sleeping woman in the foreground.

Although the high degree of finish in the figure of the sleeping woman and the elegance of her pose make the Lehman *Dreamer* the more striking of the two versions of the composition, Williams has argued convincingly

that the Boston drawing is the earlier of the two. Extensive underdrawing is evident in it, but scarcely visible in the Lehman sheet. Indeed, in the latter Fragonard seems to have been less interested in the composition than in perfecting its central figure. For both drawings a date in the late 1770s would be appropriate.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Invoice dated 22 April 1965 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Williams in Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, p. 22.
3. Ibid., no. 48.
4. See, for example, Bernt 1969–70, vol. 1, no. 349, vol. 3, no. 1375.
5. Huisman 1969, p. 44, ill.
6. Gowing 1952, p. 91. On the erotic connotations of images of sleeping women, see Kahr 1973, pp. 124–25. For another *Young Woman Dozing* by Fragonard, see Holmes in New York 1999, no. 75, color ill. (private collection).
7. Williams in Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, no. 43, ill.
8. See Norman 1978a and Norman 1978b.
9. Ananoff 1961–70, no. 59 (300 x 200 mm).

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

121. View of a Park

1975.I.628

Verso: *View of a Park*

Black chalk with gray wash and touches of green and pink watercolor over pencil underdrawing; verso: black chalk.
354 x 430 mm.

Some foxing. The verso bears marks made by a sharp, hard instrument in the course of making a tracing; the marks outline the composition but do not correspond exactly to the chalk lines.

PROVENANCE: Baronne de Ruble, Paris; Madame la Baronne de Ruble, Paris, 1889;¹ René Gimpel, Paris(?);² Alfred Beurdeley, Paris (Lugt 421 in the lower left and right corners on the recto); Beurdeley sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 13–15 March 1905, lot 80, color ill.; Walter Gay, Paris (d. 1938); [Galerie André Weil, Paris]; in Germany during World War II; César de Hauke, Paris. Acquired by Robert Lehman from De Hauke in March 1953.³

EXHIBITED: Paris 1921, no. 114; Paris 1931, no. 66; London 1932, no. 798 (catalogue 1933, no. 677); Paris 1946, no. 122; Paris 1957, no. 97;⁴ Cincinnati 1959, no. 262, ill.; Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, no. 39; New York 1980, no. 13, ill.; Bordeaux 1981, no. 160, ill.; New York 1987; Paris–New York 1987–88, no. 274, ill.; New York 1999, no. 72, color ill.

LITERATURE: Portalis 1889, p. 81, ill.; *Société de reproduction des dessins de maître* 1909, color ill.; *Art News* 36 (5 February 1938), p. 20; Wildenstein 1960a; Ananoff 1961–70, no. 790, fig. 706; ; Evanston 1988, p. 27, fig. 1; Launay 1991, p. 300, fig. 148, under no. 103; Cambridge, Massachusetts, and other cities 1998–2000, p. 55.

A lifetime of studying gardens – the play of light on water, stone, and foliage, and the placement of elegant figures – is reflected in Fragonard's *View of a Park*. Its freedom of handling, deft use of color, and joyful, spir-



Fig. 121.1 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Children Dancing in a Park*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1953:204

ited figures create an illusion of total spontaneity. In fact, Fragonard often worked and reworked such scenes in both paintings and drawings. This particular setting he explored at least three times – in a drawing in gray wash now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Fig. 121.1), in this sheet with touches of color, and on the verso in black chalk. In each drawing the same children remain at the center, while the garden that surrounds them and the technique in which the whole is rendered are altered. Fragonard, like Natoire before him, enjoyed experimenting with media, gauging the changes that different techniques would impose on a similar scene. In the Lehman recto, the easy, colorful wash over a brief



No. 121, verso

architecture of black chalk creates an atmospheric unity; the Amsterdam drawing, in tones of gray, is more precise and descriptive; and the verso of the Lehman sheet, a free copy in black chalk of the Amsterdam drawing, has the appearance of sketchy underdrawing. The three drawings were made in the late 1770s, after Fragonard's second trip to Italy. The Rijksmuseum drawing must have been done first, then the Lehman verso, and finally the Lehman recto, whose less regimented and less conventional composition and fluid technique depart significantly from the Rijksmuseum example. They need not be seen as a sequence, however, but rather as independent variations on a theme.

Viewed from this perspective, Fragonard's monumental painting *La fête à Saint-Cloud* (Banque de France, Paris), commissioned about 1775 by the duke of Penthièvre and for which the present drawing was long

considered a preliminary study, should be understood as a fourth variant.⁵ For although the Lehman recto corresponds loosely to the central section of the painting, there are too many differences for it to be considered truly preparatory, except in the sense that Williams describes, as a study "in spirit if not in detail."⁶ Williams has further observed that Fragonard's paintings and drawings "complement each other but are rarely coordinated."⁷

Whether the composition is in fact the garden at Saint-Cloud is not documented, and the drawing is now usually titled *View of a Park*.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Williams (in Washington, D.C.—Cambridge, Massachusetts—New York 1978–79, no. 39) said that the drawing bears the Goncourt stamp (Lugt 1089). In fact, it does not, and



No. 121

- Ananoff has indicated that lot 99 in the Goncourt sale (Paris, 15–17 February 1897), with which this drawing has been identified, was a sanguine drawing measuring only 320 by 380 millimeters. The name of the earliest known owner of the drawing, Madame la Baronne de Ruble, is taken from Baron de Portalis's 1889 monograph (p. 81).
2. The suggestion of Agnes Mongan (letter to Robert Lehman, 1953), then of the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, that Beurdeley acquired the drawing from Gimpel cannot be verified.
 3. Invoice from De Hauke dated 19 March 1953 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
 4. Ananoff has pointed out that this drawing is the one from the Gay collection, which refutes the suggestion made in the Paris 1957 catalogue that there were two identical versions of this sheet.
 5. Cuzin 1988, pp. 198–99.
 6. Williams in Washington, D.C.—Cambridge, Massachusetts—New York 1978–79, no. 39.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

122. Imaginary View of a Roman Villa

1975.I.630

Bister wash over pencil. 288 x 390 mm.

Slight foxing.

PROVENANCE: M. Bruun-Neergaard; Bruun-Neergaard sale, Paris, 29 August–7 September 1814, lot 129(?) (as *Vue de la villa Borghèse hors des murs de Rome*; with five other drawings by Fragonard);¹ Maingot collection, Paris; Maingot sale, Paris, 11–13 November 1850, lot 32(?);² Pierre Defer, Paris; Defer sale, Hôtel de Commissaires-Priseurs, Paris, 28 February 1859, lot 367; Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Paris (Lugt 1089 at the lower right on the recto); Goncourt sale, Paris, 15–17 February 1897, lot 100 (to L. Behrendt for Camille Groult); Camille Groult, Paris; Groult sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 21–22 June 1920, lot 149, ill. (to Wildenstein); R. Owen, 1924; Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1957.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1879, no. 594; Paris 1957, no. 96, pl. 66, ill.; Cincinnati 1959, no. 264; New York 1972b, no. 21; Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, no. 35, ill.; New York 1979; New York 1980, no. 11, ill.; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 33, ill.

LITERATURE: Chennevières 1880, p. 110; Portalis 1889, p. 315, ill. opposite p. 174; Villain 1953, fig. 43; Ananoff 1961–70, vol. 3, no. 1441, vol. 4, p. 425, fig. 736; Paris–New York 1987–88, p. 387, fig. 1, under no. 184; Launay 1991, no. 104, fig. 149, colorpl. 14.

Baron Portalis, writing in the nineteenth century, believed that the Lehman *View of a Roman Villa* represents the Villa Borghese. Later, while the drawing was in the Groult collection, its subject was described as the Villa Doria Pamphili. In fact, the building is an imaginary structure, composed of typically Roman architectural elements. Fragonard meant to evoke, not record, the city's suburban palaces and their parkland settings. Indeed, the very construction of the image – in which the semicircle of the architectural niche in the center of the composition is echoed by the curve of the great stand of parasol pines and by the arrangement of the figures in graceful arcs – indicates that the drawing should not be considered a plain air production, but rather a studio re-creation of the pleasures of a sunny summer afternoon in Rome.

In this drawing Fragonard was particularly interested in the magnificent pines that dominate the image, and extensive underdrawing is visible in them. The figures,

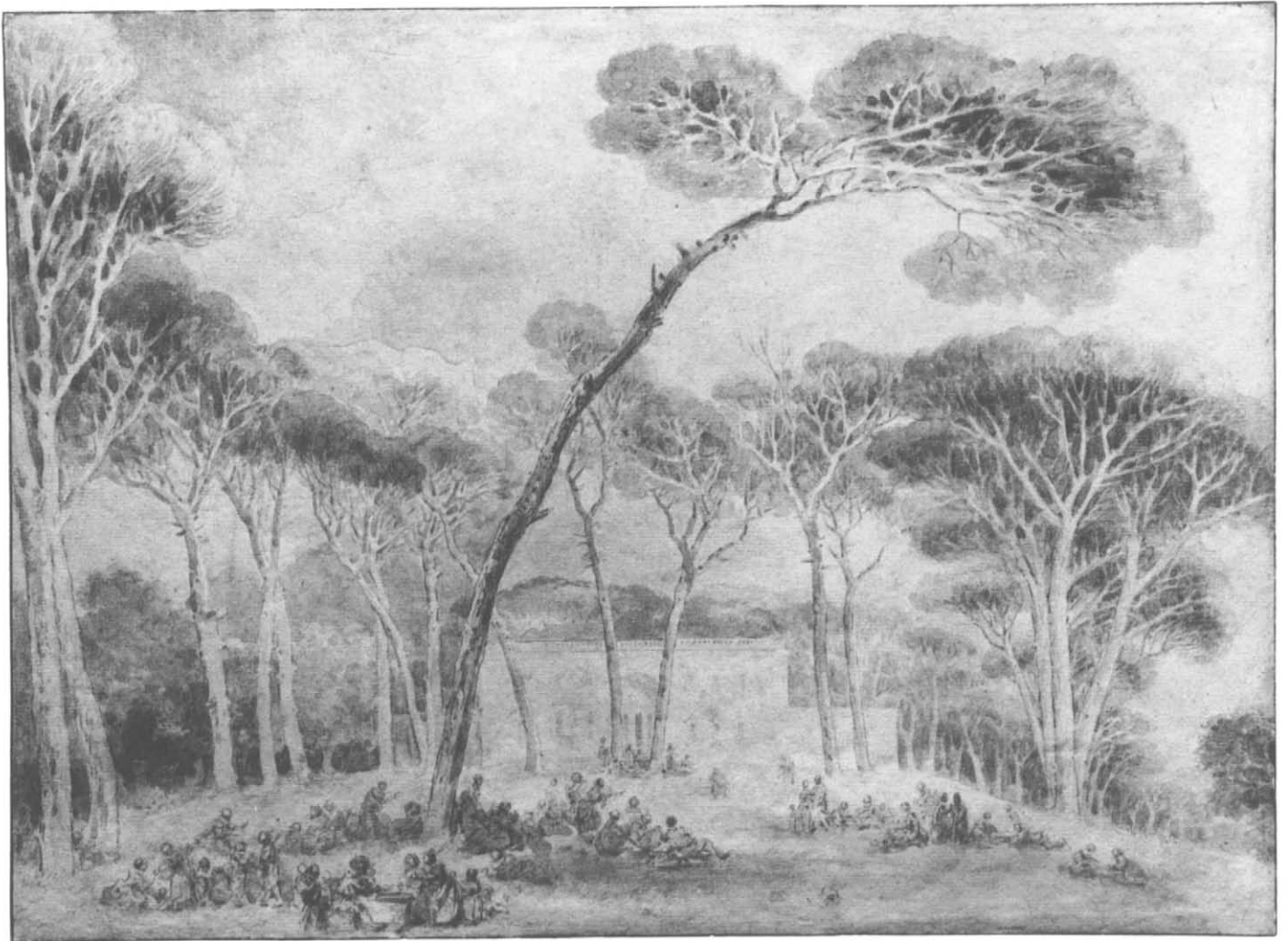
however, were set down quickly and directly in wash. Fragonard's fascination with the elegance and complexity of the patterns created by the pine branches is, as Williams has noted, typical of the landscape drawings dating from his second Italian trip of 1773–74.³ At that time his interest in landscape had been reawakened, and he produced a number of very handsome views of the Italian countryside that are similar in style and subject matter to the Lehman *View of a Roman Villa*. These drawings differ in both technique and temperament from those he made about 1760, during his first Italian sojourn. The early landscape drawings, which are close in technique and theme to those made by Fragonard's compatriot and traveling companion Hubert Robert, are executed with great precision in chalk, generally red, and depict recognizable places. The landscape drawings of the second Italian trip are in a much freer mode, in which the delicate tracery of the underdrawing directs, but does not rigidly control, the flow of superimposed wash. The drawings are more concerned with evoking mood than with rendering actual appearance.

These later landscape drawings are very difficult to date precisely, for, as Williams has pointed out, after the trip of 1773–74 Fragonard's drawing style changed little. The same is true of his choice of subject matter. Even as late as the 1780s he was producing imaginary Italian landscape scenes, such as the signed and dated *Italian Park* of 1786 (E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento).⁴ Nonetheless, the cursive quality of the underdrawing in the Lehman *Imaginary View of a Roman Villa* suggests a somewhat earlier date, perhaps in the mid-1770s.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. According to Ananoff 1961–70, vol. 3, no. 1441.
2. According to *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 425.
3. Williams in Washington, D.C.–Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York 1978–79, no. 35.
4. E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1871.407; Paris–New York 1987–88, no. 302, ill.



No. 122

Imitator of Jean-Honoré Fragonard

123. Landscape with Road and Monument

1975.I.629

Pencil and pale sepia wash. 157 x 223 mm.

Scattered foxing; laid down. Annotated in brown ink at the lower right of the mat: "H Fragonard f"; on the reverse of the mat: "Fragonard Vue dans le parc de Fontainebleau . . . 987."

PROVENANCE: Paul Cailleux, Paris(?).

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 263 (as *Fontainebleau*); New York 1979; New York 1980, no. 15; Evanston 1988, no. 34, ill. (in all as Jean-Honoré Fragonard).

LITERATURE: Ananoff 1961-70, vol. 2, no. 800, vol. 4, p. 378; Launay 1991, pp. 298-99, fig. 146, under no. 100 (in both as Fragonard).

The Lehman drawing can be related to another version of this subject that was formerly in the collection of Alfred Beurdeley and in the 1960s was in a private collection in Amboise (Fig. 123.1).¹ The two sheets are virtually identical in scale and composition, although the Amboise version, which was very hastily sketched in black chalk alone, would seem at first glance to be a *première pensée* for the more detailed Lehman landscape.

The relationship between the Lehman sheet and a drawing once in the Goncourt collection is more problematic. In 1889 Portalis catalogued the Goncourt drawing, which was identical in size to the Lehman

Landscape with Road and Monument, as depicting an "Allée de grands Arbres avec Fontaine surmontée d'une Statue" (allée of tall trees with fountain surmounted by a statue).² The sheet was sold eight years later by Edmond de Goncourt under the title *La fontaine*,³ but its history after the sale is unknown. The Lehman *Landscape* appeared on the Parisian art market in the late 1930s. Even though it matches the description of the Goncourt sheet, one must doubt that it is the same drawing. Drawings from the Goncourts' collection generally bear their marks, and (Ananoff's suggestion notwithstanding) this sheet does not. But most important, when the Lehman sheet is compared to other landscape drawings of undoubted authenticity, the drawing technique appears surprisingly weak. The allée of trees lacks convincing structure, and the hesitant and too even application of wash in the foliage counteracts the strong recession into deep space that characterizes Fragonard's drawings of this type.⁴ Unusual too is the lack of definition in the placement of the figures surrounding the column. Indeed, the drawing is so illegible in its details and so inadequate in suggesting the great expanse of space that one must conclude that the Lehman *Landscape with Road and Monument* is an imitation, most likely based on the now lost Goncourt landscape.

MTH/DP



Fig. 123.1 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Le carrefour*. Present location unknown. Photograph: Alexandre Ananoff, *L'oeuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard* (F. de Nobele, Paris, 1963), vol. 2, fig. 218



No. 123

NOTES:

1. Ananoff 1961-70, no. 799, fig. 218.
2. Portalis 1889, p. 293.
3. Goncourt sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 15-17 February 1897, lot 95.
4. See Ananoff 1961-70, nos. 327-30.

Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger

Paris 1715–Paris 1790

Charles-Nicolas Cochin was taught first by his father, the engraver Charles-Nicolas the elder, then by Jean Restout. He was admitted to the Académie Royale as an associate member in 1741 and received as a full member a decade later. Cochin was an engraver of very considerable abilities, but his work as a practicing artist has to a large extent been overshadowed by the influence he exerted on the development of French art criticism and theory. One of the most important experiences of his career occurred in 1749–51, when, along with the architect Jacques Soufflot and the abbot Leblanc, he accompanied Madame de Pompadour's brother the future marquis of Marigny on a tour through Italy. Cochin returned convinced that antiquity could serve as a revitalizing source for French art, and he expounded this view in numerous publications. In his position as keeper

of the king's drawing cabinet (from 1752) and secretary of the Académie (from 1755), he was an influential spokesman for the movement in art that opposed rococo taste and advocated a restrained Neoclassicism. These ideals are manifest in Cochin's own work as a draftsman and, in particular, in the numerous handsome portraits he made of the leading artistic, literary, and scientific figures of the Enlightenment.

Cochin's many portrait drawings, including those he completed after his return from Italy, maintain a high level of quality and stylistic uniformity. Most of them are in profile, inspired by his admiration of antique cameos. In his mature drawings the linear definition of outlines and details is so precise the images almost appear to be engravings. Yet the delicate variations in values create a convincing sense of personality, atmosphere, and texture.

Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger

124. François-Emmanuel Pommyer, abbot of Bonneval

1975.1.584

Black chalk and pencil(?). 115 x 89 mm. Inscribed in black chalk at the bottom: "Dessiné par C. N. Cochin le fils, a Gandelet 1772."

Laid down. Annotated in pencil on the reverse of the mat: "l'abbé Pommier conseiller a la gd[?] Chambre du Parlement" and, in a modern hand: A23683LX.

PROVENANCE: Le Breton, 1922; David David-Weill, Paris; Irwin Laughlin, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Hubert Chanler, Genesco, New York; sale, Sotheby's, London, 10 June 1959, lot 10; [P. and D. Colnaghi., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in February 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 7, ill.

LITERATURE: Portalis 1877, vol. 1, p. 126; Goncourt and Goncourt 1880–83, vol. 2, p. 123; Michel 1993, p. 129, n. 59, p. 623.

The sitter for this drawing, François-Emmanuel Pommyer (1712–1784), was a prominent intellectual and one of the leading personalities of the ancien régime. He and Charles-Nicolas Cochin enjoyed each other's friendship and political sympathy.¹ As the annotation on the verso of the drawing confirms, Pommyer was a *conseiller*, or jurist, in the Grand-Chambre, or central pleading



Fig. 124.1 Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger, *François-Emmanuel Pommyer, Abbé de Bonneval, Le Paysan de Gandelu*. Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, Mortimer C. Leventritt Fund, 1972.48



No. 124

chamber, of the Parlement de Paris. When King Louis XV dissolved the parliament in January 1771 and exiled its members, Pommyer was forced to spend time in Gandelù, near Ménars. This drawing was made at Gandelù in 1772, during Pommyer's exile from the capital. Cochin represented the abbot in a relaxed, informal pose. His slight smile suggests a man of wit and good humor as clearly as the ecclesiastical costume indicates a man of position.

Pommyer was the subject of at least two other portraits by Cochin. The earliest is an unfinished etching dated 1768 that depicts him in the then popular mode inspired by ancient coins and medals, that is, in bust-length profile in a round or oval frame.² In 1771, the same year as the Lehman drawing, Cochin drew a full-length portrait of Pommyer in black chalk (Stanford University; Fig. 124.1) that shows him seated in a simple interior wearing a plain costume and holding a wanderer's staff, a reference to his exile.³ Cochin gave the drawing the ironic title *Le Paysan de Gandelù*.

This engaging portrait departs from the profile medallion format Cochin preferred, and it does not

seem to have been intended for engraving. Cochin used the three-quarter view, which introduces informality and movement, for another drawn portrait of a close friend, Joseph Vernet (private collection, New York); he evidently liked using this format for these more intimate documents.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. For a succinct explanation of the relationship between Cochin and Pommyer in terms of the politics of the period, see Eitner in Eitner, Fryberger, and Osborne 1993, p. 68, no. 101. Michel (1993, pp. 127–31) discusses the political issues more fully; he notes that Cochin's "principal ami au Parlement est l'abbé Pommyer."
2. Jombert 1770, p. 130, no. 104 (engraved by Augustin de Saint-Aubin in 1769; a print is in the Metropolitan Museum, 49.125.186). Jombert's catalogue of Cochin's work (*ibid.*, pp. 122–31) lists 121 designs for such *portraits en médaillons* of famous individuals. Most of the portraits were later etched or engraved by other artists.
3. Portalis 1877, p. 126; Eitner, Fryberger, and Osborne 1993, p. 68, no. 101. The drawing is signed and dated *le 29 mars 1771*. It was engraved in reverse by Gilles Demarteau in 1788 (a print is in the Metropolitan Museum, 979.621.1).

Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle

Paris 1717–Paris 1806

The son of a shoemaker, Louis Carrogis – or Carmontelle, as he preferred to call himself – had no formal training as an artist. He did, however, study geometry and perspective and was probably active as a topographer in his early years. In this capacity he was named an aide-de-camp to M. de Pons-Saint-Maurice, the commander of the Orléans dragoons, at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756. Although his official duties involved making military maps, Carmontelle soon attracted more attention for his caricatures and portrait drawings. After the war, in 1763, he entered the household of the duke of Orléans as master of entertainment.

There his satirical plays, quick wit, and charming, if somewhat repetitive portraits of the aristocracy won him much esteem. Carmontelle apparently kept the originals of his drawings while giving away many autograph copies. At his death in 1806, 750 of the portrait drawings from Carmontelle's personal collection were acquired by his friend Richard de Lédans, who drew up a manuscript inventory that identified the various sitters. The drawings passed, in 1816, into the hands of Pierre de la Mésangère, who mounted and inscribed them, and eventually 440 of them entered the collection at the Musée Condé, Chantilly.

Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle

125. Madame la Comtesse de Boufflers and Thérèse

1975.I.579

Pencil, black and red chalk, watercolor with white chalk highlights. 305 x 203 mm.

Laid down. Annotated at the bottom center of the mount in black ink in the hand of Pierre de la Mésangère: *M^{me} de Boufflers et Thérèse*.

PROVENANCE: Richard de Lédans, 1806; Pierre de la Mésangère, 1816; [Bensimon, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Bensimon in 1953 along with No. 126.¹

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 260, ill.; New York 1980, no. 5, ill.; New York 1988b.

Carmontelle's *Madame de Boufflers* betrays both the strengths and the weaknesses of his art, both his ability to produce a convincing as well as charming likeness in the context of a lively two-dimensional design and his inability to render space, mass, anatomical proportions, and texture. Indeed, Carmontelle's talents as a draftsman were modest by professional artistic standards. On this sheet, for example, the heads of the figures dwarf their undersized bodies, the hands are lost in the volumes of fabric, the background is no more than a colored stage set, and the depiction of the chair is decidedly awkward. The textures of leaves, silk, and flesh are hardly differentiated. Nonetheless, the drawing has a freshness and immediacy that is undeniably appealing, and its rich and lifelike color effectively compensates for the flaws in draftsmanship.



Fig. 125.1 Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle, *Madame la Comtesse de Boufflers and Thérèse*. Musée Condé, Chantilly, 221. Photograph: Giraudon, Paris



The correspondence of Baron Grimm, specifically a letter of 15 May 1768, provides us with biographical information about Marie-Charlotte-Hippolyte de Saujon, countess de Boufflers-Rouveral (1725–1800).² Renowned for her beauty and her wit, Madame de Boufflers was long the companion of the duchess of Orléans, and then the mistress of Louis-François, prince of Conti (1717–1776). She is also reputed to have been an intimate friend of both Jean-Jacques Rousseau and David Hume. Thérèse is mentioned in another of the baron's letters, written in November of 1763, as "the daughter of a poor bourgeois of Lunéville" whom "Madame de Boufflers pleased herself by raising."³

The costumes and hairstyles of the figures indicate that the drawing was made in about the mid-1760s or a little later,⁴ when Madame would have been in her mid-forties. The date is confirmed by the 1768 written by Pierre de la Mésangère on the mount of another version of this drawing, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Fig. 125.1).⁵ Mésangère, whose collection of Carmontelle drawings can be traced back to the artist himself,

also wrote the sitters' names on the mount of the Lehman sheet. The Lehman sheet is the same as the Chantilly drawing except for a small difference in scale and the absence of a section of sky and trees at the top. Carmontelle drew Madame de Boufflers on at least two other occasions; among the 440 Carmontelle drawings in the Musée Condé are a single-figure portrait of the lady and a double portrait of her and the duchess of Lauzun.⁶

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Bensimon invoice dated 16 March 1953 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Nicklas in Seminar 1979, citing Grimm 1877–82, vol. 6, p. 56.
3. Grimm 1877–82, quoted in Gruyer 1902, p. 158: "fille d'un pauvre bourgeois de Lunéville, était remplie de grâces, et Mme de Boufflers se plaisait à l'élever." Grimm's witty and gossipy letters are a rich source for historians of eighteenth-century society and letters.
4. See Ruppert 1931, p. 59.
5. Gruyer 1902, no. 221 (300 x 177 mm).
6. Ibid., nos. 220, 222.

Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle

126. Madame la Marquise de Coëtlogon

1975.1.580

Pencil(?), black and red chalk, watercolor with white chalk highlights. 310 x 215 mm.

Laid down. Annotated on the mount at the bottom center in black ink in the hand of Pierre de la Mésangère: *M^{me} La Marquise de Coetlogon*.

PROVENANCE: Richard de Lédans, 1806; Pierre de la Mésangère, 1816; [Bensimon, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Bensimon in 1953 along with No. 125.¹

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 261; New York 1980, no. 6, ill.; New York 1988b.

As befits her higher social standing, Madame la Marquise was afforded a more sophisticated treatment in her portrait than were the sitters in No. 125. Although in both sheets the heads are represented in strict profile, which may be due as much to the limitations of the artist's abilities as to the vogue for having one's portrait drawn in the style of an antique medallion, Carmontelle softened the stiffness of the pose of Madame la Marquise by

depicting her body in three-quarter view. In her portrait even the shallow space has been expanded by the inclusion of a building seen in perspective (and neatly ruled with a straightedge) and by the ordered recession of the landscape elements. Carmontelle's handling of color, too, is particularly effective in this sheet. The restrained olive greens of the landscape, the grays of the stone and dress, and the black of the tulle shawl are enlivened, but not overwhelmed, by the touch of rose pink in the bow.

The sitter, Françoise-Bernarde-Thérèse-Eugénie de Roy de Vaquières, became the marquise of Coëtlogon after her marriage in 1764. Her costume suggests that this portrait was drawn some years later. Wasserman has identified the gown as in the style called "Polonaise à la dévote," an informal mode inspired by the pseudo-pastoral life at the Petit Trianon that came into fashion about 1777.² The marquise's hair is dressed "élevé aux bouillons," powdered and swept high with four large curls on either side. The same hairstyle appears in a



M^{me} La Marquise de Coetlogon.



Fig. 126.1 Louis Carrogis, called Carmontelle, *Madame la Marquise de Coëtlogon*. Musée Condé, Chantilly, 231. Photograph: Giraudon, Paris

fashion engraving taken from the *Galerie des modes et costumes français dessinés d'après nature* of 1776.³

As with No. 125, another version of this drawing exists in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (Fig. 126.1).⁴ In this case as well, the Chantilly drawing is on a slightly different scale, and it includes an extra strip along the top. The annotation is again by Pierre de la Mésangère.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Bensimon invoice dated 16 March 1953 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Wasserman in Seminar 1979, and see also Blum 1928.
3. Yarwood 1975, fig. 690.
4. Gruyer 1902, no. 231 (315 x 192 mm).

Gabriel de Saint-Aubin

Paris 1724–Paris 1780

By 1750 Gabriel de Saint-Aubin was studying at the Académie Royale under Étienne Jeurat and Hyacinthe Colin de Vermont. He failed to gain admission to the Académie, however, and his paintings found as little favor in the marketplace as in academic circles. He is known to have sold only two paintings during his lifetime. In addition to making book illustrations, advertisements, and similar works, Saint-Aubin supported

himself in part by teaching classes in human proportion and allegorical science at Jacques-François Blondel's private art school. As an artist he had an obsessive interest in drawing, and that interest has left us with an extraordinary record of street scenes, theatrical performances, and festive gatherings. The purpose of these fine, detailed drawings appears to have been largely a private one.

Gabriel de Saint-Aubin

127. Revelers at a Table in the Countryside

1975.1.701

Pen and black ink with bister wash over black chalk. 253 x 196 mm. Annotated in sepia ink at the lower right: *G. S'Aubin del.*

Pasted down.

PROVENANCE: Albert Meyer, Paris; Meyer sale, Paris, 6 May 1938, lot 41(?); [Jacques Seligmann and Co., Paris]; René Fribourg, New York; Fribourg sale, Sotheby's, London, 16 October 1963, lot 606; [P. and D. Colnaghi, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in October 1963.¹

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1936, no. 212(?); Paris 1937, no. 584, ill.; Middletown–Baltimore 1975, no. 48; New York 1980, no. 34, ill.

LITERATURE: Ricci 1938, pl. 19; Sutton 1951, p. 27; La Vaissière 1981, p. 50, ill.

Revelers at a Table in the Countryside exemplifies the union of spontaneous technique and informal, often witty subject matter that makes Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's drawings instantly recognizable and especially appealing to the modern connoisseur. Although there is some black chalk underdrawing on the sheet, Saint-Aubin executed the *Revelers* almost without preparation, directly in pen and wash. The outlines of the figures have been set down with a pen line as animated as the actions

it describes. The wash that lies over it is broadly and freely applied. A number of pentimenti (see, for example, the hat on the stool, the placard on the tree, and the arrangement of the landscape) make it obvious that the artist was working quickly, with few preconceptions about the details of the scene.

These features, together with Saint-Aubin's habit of emphasizing a figure or two in each composition with heavy ink lines, appear in the outdoor scenes he liked to draw, especially during the 1760s. In style and subject matter *Revelers* can be related to drawings like *The Boulevard* (Fondation Custodia, Paris)² and *Fête in a Park* of the early 1760s (Cleveland Museum of Fine Arts)³ and to paintings like *Le bal champêtre* (Louvre, Paris), in which the figure group of the wine pourer and young woman reappear.⁴ *Le bal champêtre* has been dated to 1760–62, and a date in the 1760s would be appropriate for the Lehman drawing as well.⁵

The subject of the Lehman *Revelers* is not so easily understood. The scene is surely set in one of the many rural taverns, or *guinguettes*, that were opened just beyond the city walls to circumvent the Paris wine tax.⁶ The card marked 10 that is posted on the tree at the right and the placards on the trellis that are inscribed



TRIANON and MARLY, the names of two royal country estates, have never been satisfactorily explained, however. Carlson has proposed that the drawing refers to a “then-popular scandal since there could be no reason otherwise to attach these references to a simple bucolic scene,” but he was unable to suggest which, or what kind of, scandal might be involved.⁷

The drawing must be related to a now lost painting by Saint-Aubin entitled *La guinguette* that is known from an engraving made before 1762 by Pierre François Basan (Fig. 127.1).⁸ It may have been made in preparation for the painting or, more likely, drawn from the same source. The painting depicted a scene from a ballet of the same name by Jean-Baptiste de Hesse, Madame de Pompadour’s ballet master and chief choreographer at the Théâtre Italien.⁹ The drawing’s rustic setting, the reveling figures, and the motifs of the overturned stool with a hat resting on it and the windmill glimpsed through the trellis arcades are all echoed in the engraving. Most intriguing, *La guinguette* includes four numbers written on placards on the trees. Unfortunately, as Saint-Aubin’s representation is the only known source of information about the content of the ballet, it is impossible to say what the numbers meant or whether “Trianon” and “Marly” refer in some way to the ballet. One must emphasize, too, that the Lehman sheet does not depict dancers. Nor is it characterized by the sense of refinement that De Hesse, despite his penchant for “picturesque” subjects, brought to such themes. Rather, Saint-Aubin’s image recalls the earlier, popular burlesque representations of *guinguettes* that were introduced in France about 1730 by the three English pantomime artists Roger, Rinton, and Haughton.¹⁰ Perhaps it was one of those decidedly indelicate pieces of comic theater, as much as De Hesse’s ballet, that served as the inspiration for Saint-Aubin’s *Revelers*.¹¹

MTH/DP



Fig. 127.1 P. F. Basan, after Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *La guinguette*. Photograph: Émile Dacier, *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin* (Éditions G. van Oest, Paris and Brussels, 1929), vol. 1, pl. 8

NOTES:

1. Colnaghi invoice dated 24 October 1963 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Amsterdam 1974, no. 109, ill.
3. Richards 1967, p. 216, ill.
4. Cailleux 1960, ill. p. ii (as 1760–62).
5. Carlson (in Middletown–Baltimore 1975, no. 48) and Kim de Beaumont (conversation with the author) agree with that dating.
6. See Gaxotte 1968, pp. 41–42.
7. Carlson in Middletown–Baltimore 1975, no. 48.
8. For the painting and the print, see Dacier 1929–31, vol. 1, pl. 8, vol. 2, nos. 775–77. The print is included in the undated first volume of Basan’s *Recueil de cent estampes de sujets agréables*. . . . The second volume carries the date 1762.
9. See Michel 1945.
10. See *ibid.*, p. 278.
11. Sutton (1951, p. 27) believed the scene to be imaginary.

Gabriel de Saint-Aubin

128. Les fêtes vénitiennes

1975.1.702

Watercolor and gouache over pen and brown ink. 205 x 151 mm. Inscribed in brown ink at the lower left: *de St. Aubin inv.*

Laid down. Annotated in pencil on the back of the mount: "N^o 44 / Ragonde, ou la veillée de village desillages / ballet burlesque en 3 actes sans / prologue représenté le 31 janvier 1742 / Les paroles sont de Nericault Destouches / La musique de Mouret / Il a été [] au théâtre / le 12 feb. 1743 / le 9 fe[] 1744 / le 29 fe[] 1752."

PROVENANCE: Hippolyte Destailleur, Paris(?); A. Focqué, Paris; Focqué sale, Hôtel de Commissaires-Priseurs, Paris, 4 May 1906, lot 91 (to Picard); Mme Paul Tuffier, Paris; Mr. and Mrs. Eliot Hodgkin; Hodgkin sale, Sotheby's, London, 21 October 1963, lot 135 (to Seiferheld). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1963.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1925a, no. 29; Paris 1929, no. 199; New York 1974, no. 5;¹ Middletown-Baltimore 1975, no. 40, ill.; New York 1980, no. 33, ill.; Bordeaux 1981, no. 161, ill.; New York 1985-86.

LITERATURE: Dacier 1929-31, vol. 2, p. 131, no. 749, pl. 28.

Dacier convincingly identified the theatrical subject matter of Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's drawing as the *entrée* entitled "L'amour saltimbanque" from Campra and Danchet's celebrated ballet-comique, *Les fêtes vénitiennes*. Appropriately, the scene is set in the Piazzetta in Venice, where Cupid has alighted to intervene on behalf of two young lovers. His followers are disguised as commedia dell'arte characters. At center stage, the god of love, identified only by his bow and quiver, engages the portly governess Nérine in conversation so that her charge, Léonore, has a chance to meet undisturbed with her lover, Eraste. The play, first produced in 1710, was extremely popular and enjoyed many revivals, in 1750 for a fourth time and in 1759 for a fifth. Dacier has argued, and Carlson has agreed,² that a watercolor of the technical complexity exhibited by the Lehman sheet would have been beyond Saint-Aubin's capabilities in 1750. Both conclude, therefore, that *Les fêtes vénitiennes* was inspired by the later revival.

Nonetheless, as Riopelle has pointed out, such a date can serve only as a terminus post quem for the drawing because our knowledge of the chronological relationship between actual theatrical presentations and Saint-Aubin's records of them remains incomplete.³ Yet in this case the artist's reliance on a rather heavy, opaque gouache coloring, in contrast to his more masterful use of translucent watercolors in *Ernelinde, Princess of Norway*, a drawing dated 1767 (Achenbach Foundation for the Graphic Arts, San Francisco),⁴ suggests that *Les fêtes vénitiennes* was executed soon after the performance that inspired it.

Riopelle has explained the curious annotation on the back of the mount of the Lehman drawing by identifying it as the work of Hippolyte Destailleur (1822-1893), an assiduous collector of eighteenth-century prints and drawings. Destailleur is known to have mounted his collection, according to subject, in albums that he often heavily annotated.⁵ The notes on the mount of this drawing tend to confirm the otherwise undocumented provenance given in the Focqué sale catalogue of 1906, which is the only evidence that Destailleur ever owned *Les fêtes vénitiennes*. "Ragonde, ou La Veillée de Village" corresponds to a now lost drawing that was sold by Destailleur in 1866.⁶ Riopelle has reasonably suggested that the Lehman sheet and the lost *Ragonde* formed consecutive leaves in one of Destailleur's albums, and that when the album was subsequently cut up, the inscription annotating the facing image remained on the back of *Les fêtes vénitiennes*.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. The provenance provided for the drawing when it was exhibited at the Bronx Museum of Art in 1974 is incorrect. It confuses the history of *Les fêtes vénitiennes* with that of *Revelers at a Table in the Countryside* (No. 127).
2. Carlson in Middletown-Baltimore 1975, no. 40.
3. Riopelle in Seminar 1979.
4. Hattis 1977, no. 115, ill.
5. See Berckenhagen 1970, pp. 5-7.
6. Dacier 1929-31, no. 742.



No. 128

Augustin de Saint-Aubin

Paris 1736–Paris 1807

Augustin de Saint-Aubin was born into a family of professional artists and artisans. His older brother Gabriel was his first teacher and the most important influence on the development of his style. But unlike Gabriel, Augustin showed little interest in painting. After additional study with Étienne Fessard and Laurent Cars, Augustin began to make his career exclusively as an engraver and illustrator. Although he was received as an associate member of the Académie Royale in 1771, he never submitted his assigned reception piece and so

never achieved full academic status. His talents as an illustrator were officially recognized, however, in 1776, when he was appointed *graveur de la bibliothèque du roi*. Augustin's art was largely directed toward fulfilling commissions for the decoration of invitations, tradesmen's cards, programs, frontispieces, and bookplates. He also excelled as a portraitist, typically depicting his sitters in the "antique" style – a bust-length, profile view set into an oval frame – made popular by Charles-Nicolas Cochin at midcentury.

Augustin de Saint-Aubin

129. Portraits of a Young Man

1975.I.700

Black chalk. 160 x 124 mm.

PROVENANCE: John Auldjo (1805–1886), England (Lugt 48 at the lower right on the recto); David David-Weill, Paris; Irwin Laughlin, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Hubert Chanler, Genesco, New York; Chanler sale, Sotheby's, London, 10 June 1959, lot 63; [P. and D. Colnaghi, London].

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 32, ill.

LITERATURE: Zafran 1992, p. 141, fig. 21.

The sketchiness of the features makes it impossible to identify the youth, or youths, represented on the two sides of the Lehman *Portraits of a Young Man*, which has traditionally been attributed to Augustin de Saint-Aubin. It has been suggested that the sitter may be the artist's older brother Gabriel,¹ but a comparison with Gabriel's self-portrait reveals no resemblance.² Nor can this drawing be linked to the pen and ink self-portrait drawing that Augustin signed and dated 1764 and that in the nineteenth century was owned by the Goncourt brothers and reproduced by them in the third edition of *L'art du dix-huitième siècle*.³

The Lehman sheet can be related in style, however, to another drawing, this time in pencil, in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (Fig. 129.1), that is thought to be a first study for the Goncourt portrait. Like the Lehman *Portraits of a Young Man*, the Rotterdam drawing presents the sitter in an informal pose, a



Fig. 129.1 Augustin de Saint-Aubin, *Portrait of a Young Man*. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, F-1-301



No. 129



No. 129, verso

departure from the usual profile view of Saint-Aubin's portraits. Moreover, in both drawings the artist has de-emphasized the contours of the forms, opening them and interrupting them with areas of diagonal hatching that create a hazy silhouette and imbue the image with a soft, feathery quality. As a result, the drawing is animated although the pose of the figure is static.⁴

Unfortunately, our knowledge of Augustin de Saint-Aubin's draftsmanship is very incomplete. In 1879 Bocher catalogued over three hundred fifty portrait engravings by him, yet his portrait drawings remain little known and their chronology unstudied. What is more, the similarities in their styles have led to confusion in identify-

ing the work of each of the various artist members of the Saint-Aubin family. Nonetheless, although the date of the drawing remains in question, the Lehman *Portraits of a Young Man* fits comfortably into our current concept of Augustin's work.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. New York 1980, no. 32.
2. Sutton 1949, pl. 45.
3. Goncourt and Goncourt 1880-83, vol. 1, opposite p. 378.
4. Compare a similar figure study of a woman that has been attributed to Augustin de Saint-Aubin by Hattis (1977, no. 112).

Hubert Robert

Paris 1733–Paris 1808

Although Robert first studied drawing under a sculptor, Michel-Ange Slodtz, he pursued a career as a painter under the patronage of the comte de Stainville, French ambassador to the Holy See and the future duke of Choiseul, who sponsored the young artist's trip to Rome in 1754 and arranged his admission to the French Academy there in 1759. During his eleven-year stay in Italy, Robert became a close friend and admirer of the two great Italian painters Gian Paolo Panini and Giovanni Battista Piranesi, whose *capricci* very much influenced his own work. Robert returned to France in 1765. He became a member

of the Académie Royale in 1766 and exhibited regularly in the Salon. Under Louis XVI he worked extensively on designs for the gardens at Versailles and was named keeper of the king's pictures. He was arrested and briefly imprisoned during the Revolution, but he was released in 1794 and appointed to the governing body of the newly organized Musées Nationaux. Evidently an able administrator, Robert was also, throughout his life, a popular artist. His patrons never lost their taste for his picturesque scenes, whether executed as decorative canvases or as large, often colored drawings.

Hubert Robert

130. Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius

1975.I.693

Pen and black ink, brush and gray and brown wash, pale rose watercolor and white heightening over black chalk. 484 x 588 mm. Inscribed on the base of the statue: *IMPE CAESARI DIV / ANTONINI . . . / HADRIANI . . . ROBERT FECIT.*

PROVENANCE: J. B. Glomy, Paris (Lugt Suppl. 1085 at the lower center of the mount); Charles Molinier, Toulouse (Lugt Suppl. 2917 at the lower right on the recto); sale, C. A. Minicieux, Geneva, [1920s], lot 89; Paul Chevalier, Paris; Chevalier sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 20 March 1956, lot 36.

EXHIBITED: Cincinnati 1959, no. 265, ill.; Washington, D.C. 1978–79, no. 2, ill.; New York 1980, no. 28, ill.; New York 1985–86.

LITERATURE: Held 1990, p. 128, fig. 104; Cambridge, Massachusetts, and other cities 1998–2000, pp. 55, 292, fig. 2, under no. 90.

The catalogue of the sale of Paul Chevalier's collection in Paris in 1956 erroneously described this drawing as representing "la statue équestre de l'empereur Hadrien dans le cirque de Marcellus" (the equestrian statue of the emperor Hadrian in the Circus of Marcellus). It is, in fact, a *capriccio* combining elements of various monuments of ancient Rome. The focus of the image is the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius – not Hadrian – on the Campidoglio. Although the artist depicted the statue itself with fidelity, he gave it a higher, and far more weathered, base with an imaginary inscription reading "IMPE CAESARI DIV / ANTONINI . . . /

HADRIANI . . . ROBERT FECIT." As Claire Piroli has pointed out,¹ this inscription was intended not to identify the statue as a portrait of Hadrian but to suggest the actual inscription found on the left side of the pedestal of the statue in Rome, which reads, in part: "IMP. CAESARI ED I ANTONINI . . . HADRIANI / NEPOTI DIVI TRAIANI . . . NEPOTI DI / NERVAE ABNEPOTI M. AURELIO."

To enhance the elegiac sense of *sic transit gloria* that the scene conveys, Robert has surrounded the statue with an animal skull, bones, and fragments of the shattered architecture. Now, he seems to have been saying, the glory of the ancient capital is as much in ruins as the other ancient cultures once ruled by an invincible Rome. The fallen obelisk inscribed with fantasy hieroglyphs alludes to the North African conquest, and the broken statue of a Scythian warrior symbolizes the Eastern Empire. Amid the decay of earlier civilizations numerous figures stroll, ponder, and play. Most are in contemporary dress, but the soldiers gambling in the foreground wear ancient military garb. This mingling of past and present appears also in the background, where the drawing's oval format is echoed in the sweep of a curved arcade. Carlson has proposed that the arcade is a free rendering of Gianlorenzo Bernini's colonnade for the piazza of Saint Peter's.² The design does follow Bernini's arrangement, but Robert has "antiquicized" it by using architectural details, proportions, and other elements



No. 130

derived from the interior of the Pantheon. For instance, he has substituted the elegant Corinthian order for the massive Tuscan one Bernini used. Beyond the colonnade, the Pantheon and the Colosseum can be seen set among modern buildings.

The sheet is undated, but it is generally considered an early work. Carlson has noted that the drawing style of *Marcus Aurelius* is a little hesitant when compared to the boldness and freedom of handling evident in the artist's later works. According to Carlson, the drawing

was probably made about 1757. That year Robert executed, and dated, a larger watercolor version of the scene.³ In addition, two related, but undated, oil paintings by Robert exist.⁴

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Piroli in Seminar 1979.
2. Carlson in Washington, D.C. 1978-79, no. 2.
3. Amsterdam 1936, no. 204 (as with A. Doucet, Paris).
4. Paris 1957a, no. 2; sale, Sotheby's, London, 6 April 1977, lot 67.



No. 131

Hubert Robert

131. Interior of Saint Peter's

1975.I.694

Pen and black ink over blue, green, and rose watercolor, gray and brown wash with red chalk underdrawing. Pentimenti include ink outlines of the beggar woman, her bowl and jug, and the head of Constantine's horse. 414 x 321 mm. Signed at the lower left: *Robert f roma*; annotated on the verso: "de St. Pierre avec figures et Constantin à la plume et à l'aquarelle."

Slight foxing in the foreground; a creased line extends from the middle of the door at the left to the middle of the first column at the left; some flaking of the watercolor.

PROVENANCE: F. Renaud, Paris (Lugt Suppl. 1042 at the lower right on the mount); Pierre de Nolhac, Paris, 1933; Paul Chevalier, Paris; Chevalier sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 20 March 1956, lot 27.

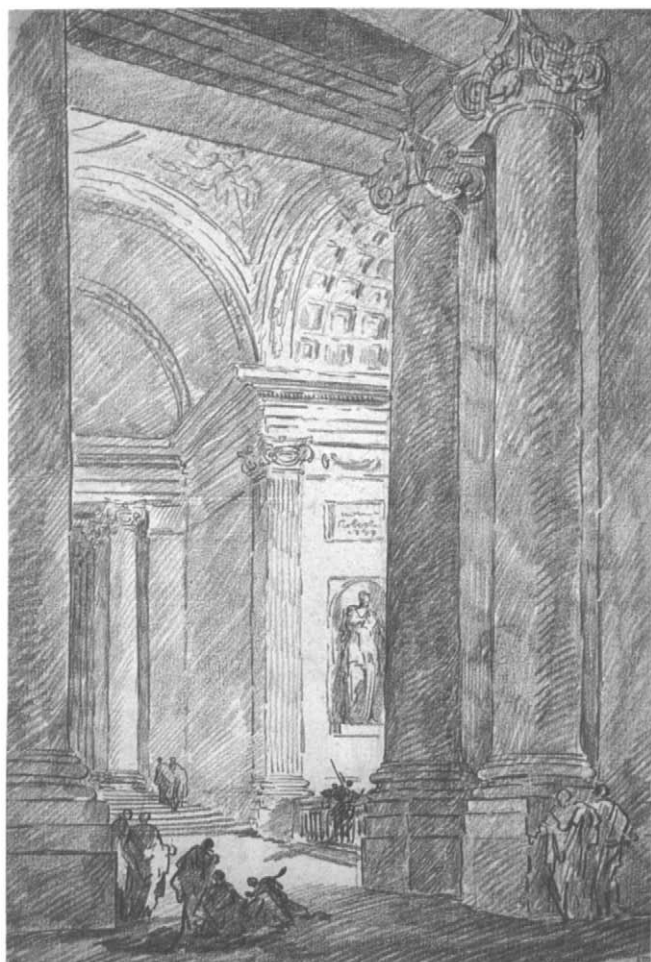


Fig. 131.1 Hubert Robert, *The Loggia of Saint Peter's, Rome*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF3 1266. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

EXHIBITED: Paris 1933, no. 63; Cincinnati 1959, no. 266; Washington, D.C. 1978–79, no. 3; New York 1980, no. 29, ill.

LITERATURE: Held 1990, p. 141, fig. 52.

Hubert Robert's drawing depicts a view into the right portico of Saint Peter's, where the Scala Regia connects the Vatican Palace with the basilica. At the intersection he shows a large niche containing Bernini's statue of Constantine the Great (not Cornacchini's *Charlemagne*, as Carlson suggested).¹ Although Robert has rendered the statue's pose with accuracy, he has widened its base and

altered the setting. The architectural space he has provided is more generous than the actual niche, which is narrow, flat, and uncoffered, and he has also removed the large and dramatic stucco curtain behind the statue. Indeed, in the *Interior of Saint Peter's*, Robert seems to have been uncertain whether to approach the view in a spirit of fantasy or fidelity. In his representation of the Scala Regia, for example, the entablature on the left side of the vault reproduces Bernini's design, but the one over the columns and pilasters on the right is Robert's invention.

The same vacillation can be seen in the artist's style. As Carlson has pointed out, the careful delineation of the complex architecture, in which a straightedge was quite obviously used, contrasts sharply with the free and lively figure drawing. Because of the signature, *Robert f roma*, the *Interior of Saint Peter's* must have been made between 1754, when Robert arrived in Rome, and 1765, when he returned to Paris. The curious disjunctions in the drawing's style suggest an early date within this period. The composition, with its emphasis on the manipulation of light and its use of dark foreground repoussours leading to a brilliantly lit middle ground, is similar to what is seen in Robert's red chalk drawing *The Loggia of Saint Peter's, Rome* in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 131.1).² The date of that very early sheet has been read both as 1757 and as 1759.³ Furthermore, as Novick has argued, Robert used wash over red chalk only very early in his career.⁴ By the 1760s, he consistently preferred black chalk as the medium for the underdrawing. Thus, we agree with Carlson that a date of about 1758 seems the most probable for this sheet.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Carlson in Washington, D.C. 1978–79, no. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 1 (as 1757). Carlson (*ibid.*, no. 3) also noted the existence of two other drawings by Robert: another view of the staircase preserved in the Collection Pierre-Adrien Paris, Besançon (Cornillot 1957, no. 134), and a view of the statue in the Louvre, Paris (11.541). Neither of those drawings is executed in the same technique, however, and neither is dated.
3. Paris–Geneva 1978, no. 38 (as 1759).
4. Novick in Seminar 1979.



No. 132

Hubert Robert

132. View of the Campidoglio with the Statue of Marcus Aurelius

1975.I.695

Pen and black ink, brush and watercolor over red chalk counterproof. 438 x 334 mm. Dated, in reverse, at the lower right: 1762. Annotated in ink on the verso and on the old mat, *Robert*; in pencil on the verso, biographical data referring to Paul Ponce Antoine Robert, called Robert de Séri (1686–1733).

PROVENANCE: Sale, C. A. Mincieux, Geneva, [1920s], lot 91, ill.; Von Hettinger, Switzerland(?); Paul Chevalier, Paris; Chevalier sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 20 March 1956, lot 28, pl. 8.

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam–Paris–New York 1958–59, no. 74, pl. 77; Poughkeepsie 1962, no. 18; New York 1980, no. 30, ill.



Fig. 132.1 Hubert Robert, *View of the Campidoglio*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

LITERATURE: Winner in Berlin 1967, under no. 8; Carlson in Washington, D.C. 1978–79, p. 50; Cayeux 1985, pp. 140, 142, fig. 34, under no. 27.

Winner connected the Lehman *View of the Campidoglio* with a red chalk drawing by Hubert Robert in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 132.1). He suggested that the Lehman sheet was copied after a counterproof pulled from the Berlin drawing. More recently, Carlson has said that the Lehman watercolor is worked over a counterproof taken directly from the Berlin version. As Tabler has pointed out, this is proved by the fact that the Berlin drawing is dated 1762 at the lower left,

and the same date appears, reversed, at the lower right on the Lehman sheet.¹

After the counterproof was pulled, the Lehman drawing was strengthened with red ochre wash to denote halftones, white wash to emphasize the brilliantly lit middle ground, and blue green watercolor to accentuate the walls framing the doorway. The figures were then heavily reworked with pen and black ink. But the quality of the reworking of the counterproof is not as high as one normally expects from Robert, and one must consider the possibility that another hand was involved.

The Lehman *View of the Campidoglio* and the group of red chalk drawings of similar size to which it is related are among Robert's more faithful renderings of the Roman scene.² Winner has argued that in the Lehman drawing the actual triangular pediment over the central window of the Palazzo Nuovo (now the Palazzo del Museo Capitolino) has arbitrarily been changed into an arch. But Winner's interpretation is based on the assumption that the angle of vision is straight. In fact, as Leslie Jones has shown, the view is taken not from the center of the Palazzo dei Conservatori to the center of the Palazzo Nuovo but slightly to one side of the central axis.³ As a result, the view does not include the central bay of the palace. The two bays shown do have arched segmental pediments.

The provenance of this drawing is particularly difficult to establish. The sheet was included by C. A. Minicieux in an undated sale in Geneva, and Jean Cailleux has suggested that it may have been owned by Von Hettlinger in Switzerland before it appeared in the Chevalier sale in 1956.⁴

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Tabler in Seminar 1979.
2. See Carlson in Washington, D.C. 1978–79, nos. 11, 12; and Beau 1968, no. 23.
3. Jones, conversation with Posner.
4. Cailleux, letter to George Szabo, 13 April 1979 (Robert Lehman Collection files).



No. 133

Imitator of Hubert Robert

133. Three Young Girls by Ruins

1975.I.696

Pen and black ink, brush and gray wash, and pink, blue, moss green, and pale gold watercolor. 361 x 288 mm.

Laid down; slight foxing.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 20 March 1956, lot 71 (as Hubert Robert).

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 31, ill.; New York 1988b.

This drawing was acquired at the same sale as the three preceding sheets (Nos. 130–32), but unlike them it was not from Paul Chevalier's collection, for it is listed in the catalogue among objects from the collections of "divers Amateurs." Its history before the sale, where it was attributed to Hubert Robert, is unknown.

The drawing is not of high quality. Carlson has rejected the attribution to Robert, as do we, and noted that the composition is not based on any painting or drawing by Robert known to him.¹ He points out that the scale of the figures in relation to the architecture is unconvincing. This is particularly evident when *Three Young Girls by Ruins* is compared to a drawing of undoubted au-

thenticity depicting the identical subject, *Four Figures Standing in Antique Ruins*.² The figures themselves in the *Three Young Girls* are curiously disproportionate, and the coloring of the forms is uncharacteristically garish. As Carlson has remarked, it is impossible to say whether the drawing is by an anonymous eighteenth-century imitator or is a work of more recent origin.³

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. Carlson, letter to Posner, 12 May 1981.
2. Carlson in Washington, D.C. 1978–79, no. 57, ill.
3. See note 1 above.

Nicolas-Bernard Lépicier

Paris 1735–Paris 1784

Nicolas-Bernard Lépicier began his career studying with his father, François-Bernard, who held the post of engraver to the king and perpetual secretary of the Académie Royale. Poor eyesight, however, soon forced Nicolas-Bernard to abandon engraving. He turned instead to painting and continued his studies under the guidance of Carle Vanloo. As a painter Lépicier achieved considerable official success. Several times he placed high in the annual Académie competitions (but was never

able to win the coveted Prix de Rome). He was admitted to the Académie as an associate member in 1764 and as a full member five years later. Although Lépicier entered the Académie Royale as a history painter, his contemporaries noted that his most successful works were those depicting genre subjects. Lépicier was not, in fact, especially active as a history painter. Over three-quarters of his painted oeuvre is composed of portraits and genre pictures, and the same is true of his drawings.

Nicolas-Bernard Lépicier

134. Seated Woman in Profile

1975.I.655

Red and black chalk. 216 x 194 mm. Signed in brown ink at the lower right: *Lépicier*. Dry stamp of François Renaud (Lugt 1042 and Suppl.) at the lower right on the recto. On the verso, an octagonal label annotated: *B. Lépicier N.1157*.

Laid down; considerable foxing and extensive water stains.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 20 March 1956, lot 67 (as Nicolas-Bernard Lépicier).¹

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 18, ill.; New York 1988b.

Nicolas-Bernard Lépicier's early training as an engraver is evident in this handsome sheet. Here the artist has sharpened his chalk to give an almost burinlike precision to the line. Although Lépicier's handling of color in his paintings was criticized by contemporaries, his control of colored chalks was masterful.² In the *Seated Woman* he used red chalk for the face, arm, and dress of the figure and then enlivened the sheet by accenting the



No. 134

apron, scarf, cap, and shoe in black. The drawing is, in fact, a costume study that can be related, as Piroli has demonstrated,³ to a figure that appears in the lower right corner of the artist's much admired painting *View of the Marketplace* (private collection).⁴ In both, the seated woman wears the *casquin*, or short jacketlike bodice worn with a petticoat and apron, that was the standard dress of lower-class women of the time.⁵ The figure is thus appropriately attired for her role as a modest vegetable seller in the painting.

Although Gaston-Dreyfus did not include the Lehman sheet among the thirty-three drawings he published in connection with the painting, its authenticity is certain.⁶ The signature is genuine, and the sheet bears the dry stamp *FR*, for François Renaud. The same mounter's mark is also to be found on eight of the drawings Gaston-Dreyfus associated with the *Marketplace*. A number of counterproofs are known to have been made from the

drawings for the *Marketplace*; three of the eight stamped *FR* are counterproofs. Piroli has suggested that the stains on the Lehman sheet may be the result of a counterproof having been pulled from this drawing as well. Because the *Marketplace* was exhibited in the Salon of 1775, we may reasonably assume that the many studies Lépicié made for it may be dated about 1774.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. The drawing was not, however, included in the Paul Chevalier collection; it is listed in a separate section of the catalogue among objects from the collections of "divers Amateurs."
2. See Gaston-Dreyfus 1923, pp. 20-21.
3. Piroli in Seminar 1979.
4. Gaston-Dreyfus 1923, no. 191, ill.; Conisbee 1981, p. 167, fig. 145.
5. See Squire 1974, p. 120.
6. Gaston-Dreyfus 1923, nos. 421-55.

Jean-Jacques de Boissieu

Lyons 1736–Lyons 1810

Jean-Jacques de Boissieu trained in Lyons, first with an artist named Lombard, then with the history painter Jean-Charles Frontier, director of the *École de Dessin* in Lyons. About 1761 Boissieu traveled to Paris, where his circle included Jean-Baptiste Greuze, the printmaker J.-G. Wille, the landscape painter Claude-Joseph Vernet, and the architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot, as well as Pierre-Jean Mariette and Claude-Henri Watelet, both renowned as printmakers, writers, and collectors. He accompanied Duke Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld to Italy, visiting Naples and Genoa and living in Rome, where he met Johann Winckelmann. On his return to France in 1766, he sought employment as an etcher. In 1771 he settled once again in Lyons and purchased the office of the treasurer of France. He was active in the art establishment, though he exhibited in Lyons rather than

Paris. Jacques-Louis David intervened for him during the Revolution, and his etching plates were protected by Revolutionary Law in 1793.

Boissieu is best known for his etchings and landscape drawings. He worked from nature and has been described as “that Dutchman wandering along the smiling banks of the Saône.”¹ He also produced a number of genre paintings and drawings whose dark tones and humble settings reveal their debt to seventeenth-century Netherlandish art and place Boissieu in the important neo-Dutch faction in late eighteenth-century France, a group that included Louis-Léopold Boilly, Marguerite Gerard, and Martin Drolling.

NOTE:

1. D. de Boissieu 1879, p. 9.

Jean-Jacques de Boissieu

135. Seated Man with a Pitcher and a Glass

1975.I.633

Brush and black ink with gray wash. 300 x 222 mm. Annotated in black ink at the lower right: *Greuze*.

PROVENANCE: Rudolf Peltzer, Cologne (Lugt 2231 at the lower right on the mount);¹ Peltzer sale, H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, 13–14 May 1914, lot 161, pl. 13; Paul Chevalier, Paris; Chevalier sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 20 March 1956, lot 15.

EXHIBITED: New York 1980, no. 16, ill.; New York 1985–86.

Because of its superficial similarity to other drawings by him and on the strength of the annotation in the lower right corner, this wash drawing of a seated man has traditionally been attributed to Jean-Baptiste Greuze. Greuze's preference for the wash technique is well known. The costume of the figure and the harshness of the setting indicate that he might be a prisoner.² Greuze was in sympathy with the French Revolution, but only two of his known works depict revolutionary subjects: *Scene from the French Revolution*, a brush and wash drawing

in the Musée Greuze, Tournus,³ and *M. de Sombreuil Seized during the Revolution*, a drawing in black and white chalk over pencil in a French private collection.⁴ The *Sombreuil* sheet, which is signed and dated 1792, shares several stylistic features with the Lehman drawing. Although executed in different techniques, the drawings are both simple compositions in which a single figure fills almost the entire sheet. In both the surface is very broadly worked, and light and dark values are set down in sharp and abruptly contrasting areas.

Yet the *Seated Man with a Pitcher and a Glass* lacks the precise linear definition associated with the best examples of Greuze's draftsmanship. Anita Brookner, pointing out that the annotation on the sheet is not in Greuze's hand, rejected the attribution to him.⁵ And Munhall has also recently rejected the attribution to Greuze, pointing especially to weaknesses in the handling of the torso.⁶



No. 135

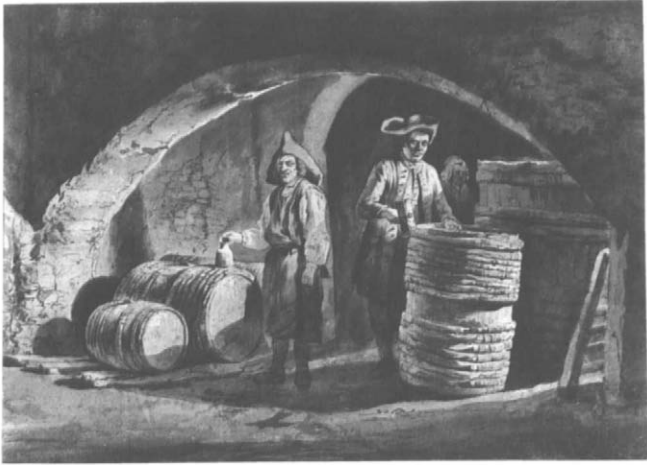


Fig. 135.1 Jean-Jacques de Boissieu, *The Wine Tappers in the Cellar*. © British Museum, London, 1928-10-8-2

The Lehman drawing does have much in common, however, with the genre scenes of Jean-Jacques de Boissieu, a slightly younger contemporary of Greuze and a native of Lyons. Most of Boissieu's portrait drawings in red chalk are the drawings of an engraver, very tightly handled, but in both his paintings and his wash drawings the influence of Greuze and of seventeenth-century Netherlandish art is readily apparent. Marie-Félicie Perez

agrees with the attribution to Boissieu; although the format, a single figure covering the entire sheet, is unusual for him, the setting and the telltale awkward handling of the hand and the pitcher are not.⁷ She draws a convincing comparison between the Lehman drawing and similar genre-like images by Boissieu such as *The Wine Tappers in the Cellar* in the British Museum, London (Fig. 135.1), and *Old Man Reading to a Young Boy* in a private collection.

The sitter has not been identified as yet, but there would be many candidates among the Lyonnais. Lyons was a hotbed of the Revolution with a very active guillotine.

MTH/DP

NOTES:

1. A copy of the entry for this drawing (no. 468, ill.) from an unidentified French sale catalogue, in which it is attributed to Greuze and listed as coming from the Peltzer collection, is in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. As suggested by John Maxon in a letter to Robert Lehman of 1 March 1958 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
3. Martin and Masson 1908, no. 29.
4. Munhall in Hartford-San Francisco-Dijon 1976-77, no. 108, ill.
5. Brookner, letter to Posner, 7 August 1981.
6. Munhall, conversation with Holmes, 7 March 1995.
7. Perez, letter to Holmes, 19 June 1995.

ENGLAND

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Peter Lely (Pieter van der Faes)

Soest, Westphalia, 1618–London 1680

Peter Lely's name is recorded as "Pieter Lely," a pupil of Frans Pietersz. de Grebber, in the minutes of the Guild of Saint Luke in Haarlem in October–November 1637. Early sources give both 1641 and 1643 as the date of his move to England, where he was admitted to the Painter-Stainers Company on 26 October 1647. A year later he painted for the earl of Northumberland the "clouded Majestie" portrait of Charles I with James, duke of York (collection of His Grace the duke of Northumberland, Syon House, London). The influence of Anthony van Dyck's English portraits is unmistakable. Described by James Waynwright as "the best artist in England"

during the Commonwealth, Lely was widely regarded after the Restoration as the successor to Van Dyck. Charles II appointed him principal painter in 1661, and for almost twenty years "Lely on animated Canvas stole / The sleepy Eye."¹ The "Windsor Beauties" he painted for James, duke of York (Royal Collection, Hampton Court, London), are among the best known of his court portraits. Lely was knighted in January 1680, less than a year before he died in his studio in Covent Garden.

NOTE:

1. Alexander Pope, *Imitations of Horace* (epistle 2.1.149–50).

Peter Lely

136. Study of the Forearms and Hands of a Woman

1975.I.887

Black chalk with touches of red, heightened with white, on buff paper. 294 x 199 mm.

Repaired at the lower right.

PROVENANCE: The artist's sale, London, April 1688 (Lugt 2092 at the lower right on the recto); sale, Sotheby's, London, 22 February 1961, lot 16 (to Colnaghi); [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in March 1961.¹

LITERATURE: Goodison 1977, p. 154.

It has been suggested independently by Byam Shaw² and Goodison that this drawing is a study for the hands of the unidentified sitter in Peter Lely's *Portrait of a Lady* of about 1665 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 136.1). The pose (a relatively standard one in Lely's repertory) is close, but not identical. A number of similar studies by Lely survive in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the Witt Collection at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, and elsewhere, all bearing the stamp (Lugt 2092) which his executors applied prior to the studio sales in 1688.³ Some of them appear to have been drawn to guide assistants in the laying out of specific canvases, but the relationship of others to finished pictures is more tenuous. Instead, they may be seen as exercises by a portrait painter whose attitude toward draftsmanship may be guessed from the large collection of master drawings he amassed throughout his career.

DR



Fig. 136.1 Peter Lely, *Portrait of a Lady*. Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, 2442



No. 136

NOTES:

1. Letter of 24 February 1961 from Byam Shaw (then of Colnaghi) to Robert Lehman and Colnaghi invoice dated 1 March 1961 (Robert Lehman Collection files).

2. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
3. London 1978-79, nos. 65-68. On Lely, see also Collins-Baker 1912.

Thomas Gainsborough

Sudbury, Suffolk, 1727–London 1788

Thomas Gainsborough trained in London, perhaps at the Saint Martin's Lane Academy, where he came under the influence of Hubert Gravelot (1699–1773) and Francis Hayman (ca. 1708–1776). He returned to Suffolk in 1748 to paint both portraits and landscapes, the latter strongly influenced by seventeenth-century Dutch art. In 1759 he moved to Bath to pursue the career of a fashionable portrait artist, although the landscape continued to inspire him both as a draftsman and as a painter in oils. In 1774 he abandoned Bath in favor of London, where royal patronage set the seal upon his

reputation as a portrait painter. A founder-member of the Royal Academy, he quarreled with the hanging of his pictures there and preferred to exhibit in his own studio. In spite of metropolitan success, he yearned, as he put it, “for some sweet village where I can paint landskips and enjoy the fag end of life in quietness and ease.”¹

NOTE:

1. Gainsborough, undated letter to William Jackson, quoted in Woodall 1963, p. 115.

Thomas Gainsborough

137. Wooded Landscape with a Man Crossing a Bridge

1975.I.882

Black and white chalk, brush and gray ink, gray wash and white body color on tan paper. 276 x 368 mm.

Inlaid; minor abrasion at the bottom right.

PROVENANCE: Henry J. Pfungst; Pfungst sale, Christie's, London, 15 June 1917, lot 67 (to Barnard); [Craddock and Barnard, London] (catalogue no. 5 [1918], no. 268, ill.); Victor Koch, London; Koch sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 8 February 1923, lot 76, ill. (to Philip Lehman).

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1976, no. 41, ill.; New York 1979; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 43, ill.

LITERATURE: Hayes 1971, no. 501, pl. 187; Kramer 1979.

Hayes assigned this drawing to the early 1780s and compared the loose treatment of the foliage to that in Thomas Gainsborough's *Wooded Landscape with Figures, Cattle, and a Cottage* in the Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art, London (Fig. 137.1).¹ It is a good example of Gainsborough's later landscape drawings, which are picturesque in the strict, late eighteenth-century meaning of the word. As the painter explained in a letter to Lord Hardwicke about 1764, “with respect to real Views from Nature in this Country he has never seen any Place that affords a Subject equal to the poorest imitations of Gaspar or Claude. . . . If his Lordship



Fig. 137.1 Thomas Gainsborough, *Wooded Landscape with Figures, Cattle, and a Cottage*. Samuel Courtauld Trust, © Courtauld Gallery, Courtauld Institute, London



No. 137

wishes to have anything tolerable of the name of G, the subject altogether as well as the figures etc. must be of his own Brain."²

DR

NOTES:

1. Hayes 1971, no. 500.
2. Quoted in Woodall 1963, p. 91.

Paul Sandby

Nottingham 1730–London 1809

Paul Sandby joined his elder brother Thomas Sandby (1723–1798) in London before 1747 and through his offices was employed as a draftsman on the survey of Scotland which followed the suppression of the Forty-five Rebellion. He returned to London in 1752 and rejoined his brother, who had become, under the patronage of the duke of Cumberland, deputy ranger of Windsor Great Park. Paul Sandby was an accomplished drawing master; his pupils included members of the

royal family and household, and in 1768 he was named chief drawing master at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich.

Sandby was one of the first artists in England to use the aquatint process. As a landscape painter, he worked mainly, but not exclusively, in watercolor. He exhibited at the Society of Artists from 1760 onward and at the Royal Academy, of which he was a founder-member, from 1769 to 1809.

Paul Sandby

138. Lady Amelia D'Arcy

1975.1.897

Red chalk, pencil, and some black chalk. 163 x 112 mm. Inscribed in pencil at the upper right: *Ly A D'Arcy* (reinforced); annotated in pencil at the lower right with the *F* mark (see below). Annotated on the verso (and repeated in a different hand and signed *P.S.* on a piece of paper glued to the mount): "Bought at Revd Dr Wellesley's Sale / Sotheby & Wilkinson's / June 1866."

Inlaid. Also pasted on the mount, a label printed with *Lent by . . . and Date . . . No . . .* and annotated in ink: *W. Sandby and 194.*

PROVENANCE: The Reverend Dr. Henry Wellesley (1791–1866); Wellesley sale, Sotheby Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 25 June–10 July 1866, perhaps part of lot 741; William Sandby; by descent to Hubert Peake (great-grandson of Charlotte Sandby, daughter of Thomas Sandby); Peake sale, Christie's, London, 26 May 1959, part of lot 128 (to Agnew); [Thomas Agnew and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Agnew in March 1960 with Nos. 139 and 140.¹

EXHIBITED: Nottingham 1884, no. 37 (as "Sketches in Red Chalk of Lucy D'Arcy, a Girl seated and three Men," lent by W. Sandby); London 1960, no. 40; New York 1976, no. 54.

On the basis of the inscription the sitter may be identified as Lady Amelia D'Arcy, the only surviving child of Robert D'Arcy, fourth earl of Holderness (1718–1778). She was born on 12 October 1754. Her father served as secretary of state in the ministries of the dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire but was dismissed from office in



Fig. 138.1 Paul Sandby, *A Lady Painting*. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, 14377, © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II



No. 138

favor of the earl of Bute by George III shortly after his accession in 1760.

Both the apparent age of the sitter and the style of the drawing recommend a date in the early 1760s. This is the period to which Oppé assigned a number of figure drawings by Paul Sandby, many of them in black and red chalk, in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. Lady D'Arcy is shown wearing a "Dolly Varden" hat and a ribbon around her neck. These details, together with the low, square-cut neckline of the dress and its elbow-length sleeves, may be compared with those in Sandby's watercolor *A Lady Painting* at Windsor (Fig. 138.1).² The Lehman sheet may also be associated with a group of drawings in pencil, pen, and wash, including *A Lady Seated at a Drawing Board*,³ that are now in the Paul Mellon Collection at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. The Yale drawings, like Nos. 138–40, were

owned by Hubert Peake, who was the great-grandson of Charlotte Sandby, daughter of Paul Sandby's elder brother Thomas.

The *F* mark, as Oppé described the monogram-like inscription on the lower right corner of this sheet and No. 141, remains a mysterious characteristic of a number of drawings by either Paul or Thomas Sandby, many of them traceable directly to the artists' heirs.⁴

DR

NOTES:

1. Agnew invoice dated March 1960 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Oppé 1947, no. 259, pl. 94. On Sandby, see also Sandby 1892 and New Haven 1985.
3. New Haven 1985, no. 69, ill.
4. See Oppé 1947, p. 20.

Paul Sandby

139. Thomas Sandby and His Family

1975.1.898

Brush and brown ink and brown washes over pencil. 127 x 124 mm. Inscribed in pencil at the lower center: *T. Sandby & family*.

Corners of the sheet trimmed diagonally.

PROVENANCE: William Sandby; by descent to Hubert Peake (great-grandson of Charlotte Sandby, daughter of Thomas Sandby); Peake sale, Christie's, London, 26 May 1959, part of lot 114 (to Agnew); [Thomas Agnew and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Agnew in March 1960 with Nos. 138 and 140.¹

EXHIBITED: London 1960, no. 69; New York 1976, no. 53.

A comparison between this drawing and the one inscribed "Lady Waldegraves" in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (Fig. 139.1)² establishes the Lehman sheet as a further example of Paul Sandby's figure drawing. Together with No. 138 it may be assigned to the mid-1760s. If the inscription is reliable and the figures represent the artist's elder brother and his family, they



Fig. 139.1 Paul Sandby, *The Ladies Waldegrave*. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, 14390, © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II



No. 139

may be identified as follows (from left to right): Elizabeth Sandby, née Venables (1733–1782), Thomas Sandby's second wife, whom he married in 1753; William Keppel Sandby (born 10 December 1761); Thomas Sandby (in the background); either Maria (born 28 October 1762 and died in childhood) or Harriott Sandby

(born 6 December 1763); and the Sandbys' eldest child, Elizabeth (born 2 December 1758).

DR

NOTES:

1. Agnew invoice dated March 1960 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Oppé 1947, no. 296, pl. 119.

Paul Sandby

140. Travelers Entering a Town

1975.1.899

Watercolor over pencil. 272 x 205 mm.

Laid down onto cardboard backed with thin paper and trimmed. Annotated in pencil on the backing paper: *Sandby*.

PROVENANCE: William Sandby; by descent to Hubert Peake (great-grandson of Charlotte Sandby, daughter of Thomas Sandby); Peake sale, Christie's, London, 26 May 1959, part of lot 14 (as "Travellers on a Road Entering a Town, from the artist's sale, 1811"; to Agnew); [Thomas Agnew and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Agnew in March 1960 with Nos. 138 and 139.¹

EXHIBITED: London 1960, no. 50; New York 1976, no. 57; New York 1979; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 46, ill.

The view has not been identified, and there may be an element of fantasy in the architectural details which surround the narrow gateway to a town. Paul Sandby made large numbers of such drawings throughout his career. A particularly fine example in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, *Windsor Castle: The Maids of Honour Tower from the Black Rod* (Fig. 140.1),² is annotated by a later hand with the date 1767.

DR

NOTES:

1. Agnew invoice dated March 1960 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Oppé 1947, no. 39, colorpl. 1.

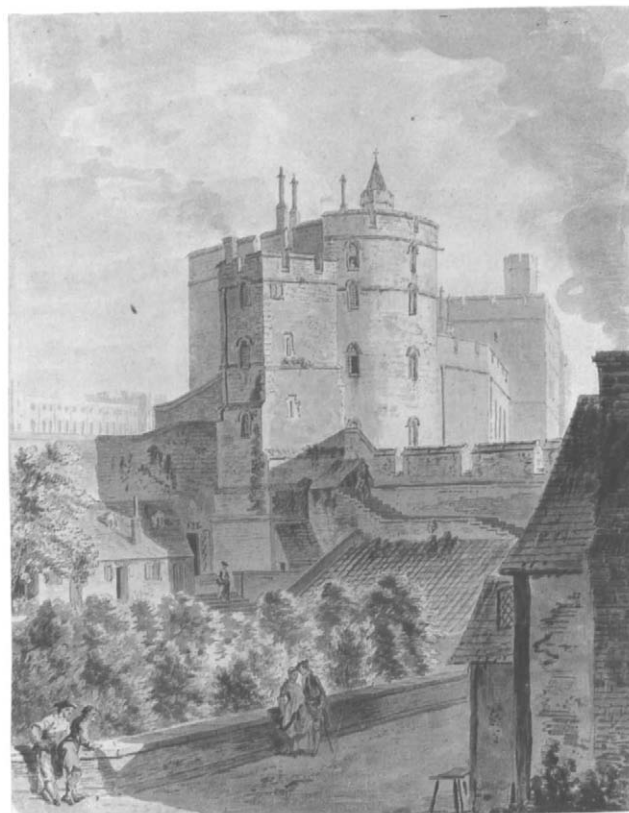


Fig. 140.1 Paul Sandby, *Windsor Castle: The Maids of Honour Tower from the Black Rod*. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, 14561, © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II



No. 140

Paul Sandby

141. A Young Woman, Full Length, with Her Left Arm Outstretched

1975.I.900

Red chalk and red and brown wash. 180 x 95 mm. Annotated in pencil at the lower right with the F mark (see No. 138).

Inlaid; the lower corners made up.

PROVENANCE: [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in February 1960 with No. 142.¹

This vigorous study may be compared with *A Country Girl* in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (Fig. 141.1).² The young woman's hat is of the "Dolly Varden" type, which was popular, to judge from its recurrence in Sandby's drawings of the period, about 1760. Her costume is simple, the kind of full-skirted dress and pinafore which serving maids wore. Her pose suggests farmyard activity; she gathers a part of the pinafore to her waist as if to create a pouch for food, while her glance downward, following the direction of her outstretched arm, implies that she is feeding livestock. Unlike the subject of *Mrs. Pelham Feeding Poultry*, Sir



Fig. 141.1 Paul Sandby, *A Country Girl*. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, 14438, © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II



No. 141

Joshua Reynolds's portrait of 1774,³ this young woman is unaffected in her role.

Looser draftsmanship and the use of wash to model broad areas of drapery suggest that No. 141 is later in date than No. 138, or closer to 1770.

DR

NOTES:

1. Colnaghi invoice dated 16 February 1960 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Oppé 1947, no. 316, pl. 122.
3. London 1986, p. 26, fig. 12 (collection of the earl of Yarborough, Brocklesby).



No. 142

Paul Sandby

142. A Group of Four Children, with Dogs

1975.I.896

Brush and brown ink and brown washes over pencil. 102 x 130 mm.

PROVENANCE: [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London].
Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in February 1960 with No. 141.¹

This drawing is typical of numerous informal sketches of figure groups which Paul Sandby (and his pupils) drew. Rapid in execution, they are more relaxed than Sandby's drawings of the 1760s, closer in date to the

Miss Sandby's [sic] of Norwich formerly in the collection of Sir Bruce Ingram, which Oppé dated, circumstantially, 1798-99.²

DR

NOTES:

1. Colnaghi invoice dated 16 February 1960 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Oppé 1947, p. 70, fig. 18.

George Romney

Beckside (near Dalton-in-Furness) 1734–Kendal 1802

In 1755 George Romney was apprenticed to the itinerant portrait painter Christopher Steele (1733–1767). His first studio was in Kendal, before he moved to London in 1762. In 1763 and 1765 he was awarded premiums by the Society of Arts for history paintings. He traveled to Italy in 1773–75 and on his return to London established a successful portrait practice which was second only to those of Thomas Gainsborough and Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792).

In London Romney exhibited at the Society of Artists and the Free Society of Artists but not at the Royal Academy, where his rival Reynolds presided. After 1782 he drew and painted numerous portraits of Emma Hart, later Lady Hamilton (1761[?]-1815), in a variety of poses and characters which combined his fascination for his model with his ambitions as a history painter. After 1785 Romney's powers declined, and in 1798 he retired to Kendal.

George Romney

143. Half-figure of a Young Woman

1975.I.892

Pen and brush and brown ink. 182 x 116 mm.

Backed with Japan paper; traces of a former mat around the edges. Annotated in pencil on the backing paper: *Romney* and 4/6.

PROVENANCE: Randall Davies; Davies sale, Sotheby's, London, 12 February 1947, part of lot 305(?) (to Spink); [Spink and Son, London]; [Mortimer Brandt, New York] (Lugt 1251 on the verso; catalogue 1961–62, ill.).¹ Acquired by Robert Lehman from Brandt in December 1962.²

This study is typical of Romney's rapid pen sketching. It may be compared with such drawings as the half-length reclining female figure in the British Museum, London,³ and *Catherine Vernon as Hebe* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 143.1), a study for the portrait which was commissioned by the earl of Warwick in 1776.⁴ The informal pose of the Lehman drawing does not suggest a study for a conventional portrait. In the catalogue of the Randall Davies sale, the sitter in this and a group of related sketches was tentatively identified as Lady Hamilton. Emma Hart sat regularly for Romney between 1782 and 1786. As his favorite model, she inspired a succession of uncommissioned portraits, as well as lending her features to many of his subject pictures.



Fig. 143.1 George Romney, *Catherine Vernon as Hebe*. Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, LD.64

DR



No. 143

NOTES:

1. Spink and Brandt labels removed from the drawing and now in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. Brandt invoice dated 10 December 1962 (Robert Lehman Collection files).

3. British Museum, 1914.1.17.1.
4. Cambridge 1977, no. 15, pl. 9.

John Hoppner

Whitechapel, London, 1758–London 1810

John Hoppner entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1775 and exhibited at the Academy from 1780 onward. He won a gold medal in 1782 with a painting depicting a scene from *King Lear*, a rare departure from his practice as a portrait painter. The influence of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) is clear in Hoppner's portraiture. In 1785 he exhibited portraits of the three royal prin-

cesses Sophia, Amelia, and Mary at the Academy, and in 1789 he was named portrait painter to the Prince of Wales. He became an associate of the Royal Academy in 1793 and a full member in 1795. It is significant that Sir Thomas Lawrence was elected a year earlier; Hoppner's attempt to compete against his younger rival was ultimately unsuccessful.

John Hoppner

144. Stormy Landscape

1975.1.884

Black and white chalk, gray wash, on grayish brown paper. 328 x 265 mm. Illegible inscription at the lower left, with a date: 1789(?).

The edges damaged and trimmed; laid down. Annotated on the backing paper in pencil: *T. Gainsborough* and in different hands: *Grecian Williams Collection, Hugh Wm Williams sale 18[] B 1773 D 1829; H. W. Williams Esq; and 38 (in a circle).*

PROVENANCE: Probably Hugh William Williams, known as "Grecian" Williams (1773–1829); Victor Koch, London; Koch sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 8 February 1923, lot 81 (as Thomas Gainsborough).

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979; New York 1987; Evanston 1988, no. 44, ill.

On the evidence of the annotation on the backing paper this drawing was ascribed to Gainsborough, until Hayes questioned the attribution and suggested John Hoppner as the author.¹ In doing so, he cited Sir George Beaumont's opinion, quoted by Joseph Farington in his diary, that Hoppner was "in Portrait an Imitator of Sir Joshua Reynolds, –& in Landscape of Gainsborough."² A number of drawings by Hoppner in the British Museum, London, among them *A Glade* (Fig. 144.1) and a drawing of a woodland scene from a sketchbook, serve to reinforce the new attribution.³

DR



Fig. 144.1 John Hoppner, *A Glade*. British Museum, London, 1847.6.9.19 (LB7b)

NOTES:

1. Letter of 10 May 1961 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Farington 1978–84, vol. 7 (1982), p. 2735 (26 April 1806). On Hoppner, see also McKay and Roberts 1909 and 1914 and Waterhouse 1953, p. 215.
3. British Museum, 1847.6.9.19 (LB7b; black chalk and stump), 1875.10.868 (black and white chalk on blue paper).



No. 144

England

eighteenth century

145. Study of an Allegorical Female Figure with an Attendant Putto

1975.1.891

Brush and brown ink, brown washes, over traces of pencil; partly varnished. Watermark of Honig, eighteenth century (Churchill no. 322). 177 x 226 mm.

Horizontal fold above the center.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Robert Lehman in the 1950s.

The crown seems to identify the figure as a personification of a city. She is holding a cornucopia and what appears to be a pole with a banner. The putto appears to be carrying a sheaf of grain on his shoulders and is submerged to his thighs in water. This drawing, which in the past was attributed to George Romney, recalls the maritime allegories with which Antonio Verrio (ca. 1639–1707) and Sir James Thornhill (1675/76–1734) decorated Hampton Court and other palaces during the reigns of the later Stuarts. However, it was probably made in the second half of the eighteenth century by a much less proficient contemporary of Angelica Kauffmann (1741–1807).

DR



No. 145

England

eighteenth century

146. Study for a Portrait: A Lady and a Gentleman in a Park

1975.1.883

Brush and watercolor, colored washes, over pencil, on thin paper. Watermark of R. Williams, recorded 1776–89 (Churchill no. 215). 222 x 184 mm. Annotated in pen and brush(?) and gray ink at the lower left: *T.G 1767*. On the verso, pencil sketches in two compartments: above, figures in conference; below, a figure descending a staircase with balustrades being shot by a figure at the left and being supported as he falls backward by a figure behind him, with another figure at the top of the stairs and two more armed figures at the right.

Inlaid.

PROVENANCE: Victor Koch, London; Koch sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, 8 February 1923, lot 86, ill.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979 (as Thomas Gainsborough).

LITERATURE: Kramer 1979, ill.

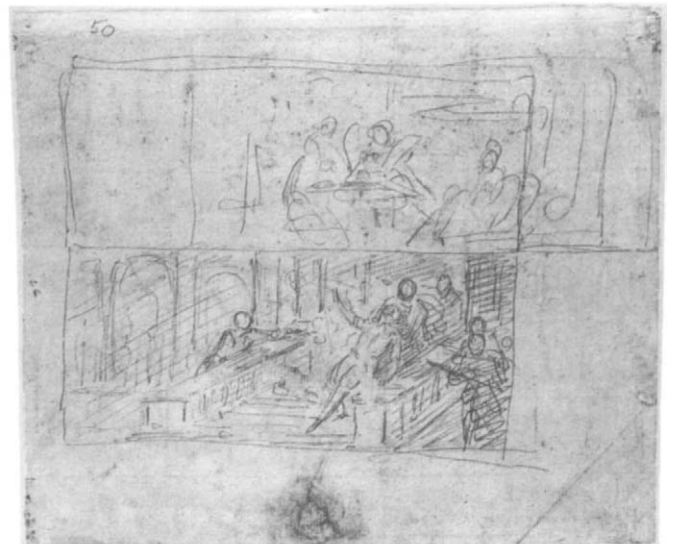
The traditional attribution of this drawing to Thomas Gainsborough cannot be sustained, and the annotation at the lower left must therefore be regarded as spurious.



No. 146

Instead, the drawing may be seen as an interesting example of the “conversational” portrait which was developed about 1780 by artists such as Francis Wheatley (1747–1801) and Nathaniel Dance (1735–1811). The sketches on the verso are presumably by the same hand. They appear to be aide-mémoire of paintings by another artist rather than studies for original compositions.

DR



No. 146, verso



No. 147

England

after Joshua Reynolds, eighteenth century

147. Diana, Viscountess Crosbie

1975.1.875

Pen and brush and brown ink. 252 x 160 mm. Annotated in pencil on the verso: *English 18th Cent* and 19.

Left top corner made up; horizontal fold 61–65 mm from the bottom, reinforced on the back.

This drawing reproduces the pose of Diana, Viscountess Crosbie (1756–1814), in the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1779

(no. 251). The portrait is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Copies after Reynolds's compositions by his contemporaries and followers are common. This is a particularly close study, in which the rapid strokes of the pen and the brush follow the lines of the drapery in the original to a remarkable degree.

DR

England

eighteenth century

148. Study of a Woman and Two Children

1975.1.890

Pen and brown ink over traces of pencil. 225 x 183 mm.

Laid down.

PROVENANCE: [Helene C. Seiferheld Gallery, New York].
Acquired by Robert Lehman from Seiferheld in October
1962.¹

This drawing was formerly attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) and was regarded as a study for the portrait of Mrs. Payne Gallwey and her child, the so-called Pickaback Portrait, which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1779 (no. 253).² Unfortunately, the hand is not Reynolds's, and the discrepancy between this full-length sketch of a female figure with two children and the portrait in oils of Mrs. Gallwey and her son, half length, in reverse, leaves little reason

to connect the two. It is true that Reynolds employed the "pickaback" pose in his early portrayal of the Eliot family of 1746 (collection of the earl of Saint Germans),³ but the Lehman drawing does not correspond to any surviving work. If it is a study for a commissioned portrait, its implied sentiment places it not in the generation of Reynolds but in that of his younger contemporaries, such as William Beechey (1753–1839).

DR

NOTES:

1. Seiferheld invoice dated 13 October 1962 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
2. Waterhouse 1941, pl. 206b.
3. London 1986, no. 2, color ill. p. 78.



No. 148

OTHER EUROPEAN
DRAWINGS

Possibly French or Italian

late fifteenth or sixteenth century

149. Profile Portrait of Bishop Antonius Campanus of Agram (Zagreb)

1975.I.250

Opaque copper-colored wash with pen and ink details against a black background.¹ 440 x 330 mm.

No major losses; the sheet enlarged at the top, then affixed to canvas; long horizontal crease a third of the way up, evidently from a fold in the canvas or the paper; small tear on the lower right side. Annotated in white or light brown ink on a small black paper cartouche affixed to the bottom of the canvas: *Antonius Campanus Eps. Agramien.*

PROVENANCE: Dr. Gaa, Leipzig; Gaa-Manheim sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, 9 May 1930, lot 164 (to Steinmeyer and Boehler for Lehman).

EXHIBITED: Oberlin, Ohio, 1942-44; New York 1978b, no. 41, ill. (as Milanese, end of the fifteenth century).

This unusual profile bust portrait of a man in ecclesiastical robes is really more a painting than a drawing. The face is a uniform and thickly applied copper-colored wash, with details drawn in pen and ink, and the hair and clothes are described in a brown wash. Efforts to

further identify the bishop Antonius Campanus, whose name is written on a cartouche affixed to the canvas mount, have proved fruitless. There was an Antonius who was a bishop in Zagreb in 1287,² but this is too early for the Lehman drawing, which appears to be from the late fifteenth or sixteenth century.

The authorship of the drawing remains unknown. If the sitter was from Zagreb, the relative proximity of Italy might suggest an Italian artist. The drawing bears some resemblance, however, to the profile portraits produced in France under the Valois (1328-1498), many of which were on paper.

MTH

NOTES:

1. Szabo (in New York 1978b, no. 41) has suggested that the black background was added later, at the same time the canvas was affixed to the back.
2. Eubel 1913, vol. 1, p. 537.



No. 149



No. 150

Possibly Spanish

seventeenth century

150. Madonna and Child Seated on a Cloud

1975.I.978

Black chalk and brown wash. 146 x 175 mm.

PROVENANCE: Sir Joshua Reynolds, London (Lugt 2364 at the bottom right on the recto).

This drawing has in the past been attributed to Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. According to Jonathan Brown, it is clearly not by the hand of Murillo, although it is

possible that it was executed by a Spanish artist of the seventeenth century.¹

EHB

NOTE:

1. Brown, correspondence with the author, 1998.



No. 151

Probably French or Italian

late seventeenth century

151. Female Nude (Danaë)

1975.1.315

Black chalk. Watermark: lion with tail raised (Briquet 10563). 304 x 217 mm. Annotated at the lower left in pen and brown ink: *caraci*. On the verso, a sketch of a bird, in black chalk.

Irregularly excised from a larger sheet; brown stain spread over the paper.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Northampton, Massachusetts, 1942-44; New York 1979, no. 53, ill.; New York 1988b.

This black chalk drawing represents Danaë receiving Zeus in the form of golden rain (*Metamorphoses* 4:611).¹

Close examination of the sketchier parts of the drawing reveals the faint figure of the old nursemaid gathering coins from the floor at the lower right and a tumble of bedclothes to the left of Danaë. The optimistic attribution of the drawing to “*caraci*” written at the lower left is certainly based on its loose similarity to Annibale Carracci’s drawing of Danaë now in Windsor Castle and the painting based on it, probably by his student Francesco Albani, that was in Bridgewater House in London and was destroyed during World War II.² Nevertheless, although the paper is apparently of Italian origin – the same watermark appears on paper made in

Verona about 1575 – the drawing might be French, as Anna Forlani Tempesti has suggested.³ It calls to mind particularly the mythologies and allegories François Verdier (1651–1730), a somewhat uninspired follower of Charles Le Brun, and other artists provided for the decoration of the Trianon de Marbre beginning in 1688.⁴ There is a French print after Annibale's design by Bernard Picart.⁵

The drawing of a bird on the verso, also in black chalk, is by the same hand.

MTH

NOTES:

1. The subject was first identified by Christophe Clairmont of Rutgers University (letter to George Szabo, 25 April 1979 [Robert Lehman Collection files]) after he had seen the drawing in the New York exhibition, where it was shown as *Venus and Cupid*.
2. Posner 1971, vol. 2, figs. 153b, 153a. That painting has also been attributed to Domenichino or merely to an assistant to Annibale Carracci.
3. Conversation with Haverkamp-Begemann, 1990.
4. See Schnapper 1967.
5. Posner 1971, vol. 2, p. 69, under no. 153[s].

*Probably eighteenth century***152. Two Male Nudes**

1975.I.980

Red and brown ink. 327 x 223 mm. Annotated in brown ink at the lower right on the recto: *J. Ribera*.

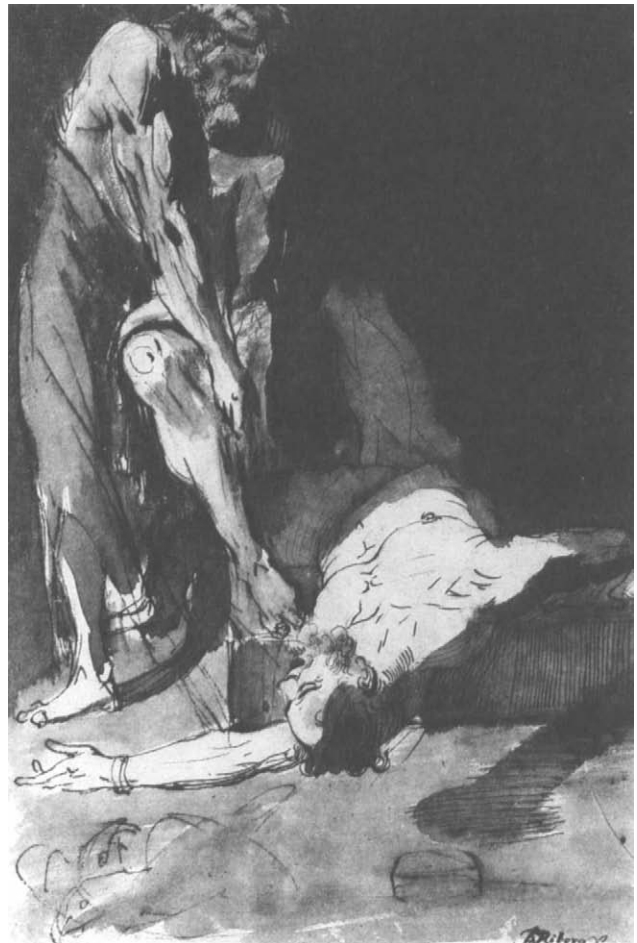
PROVENANCE: Not established.

In Jonathan Brown's opinion, this drawing bears no relation to authentic works by Jusepe de Ribera and appears to be of the eighteenth century.¹

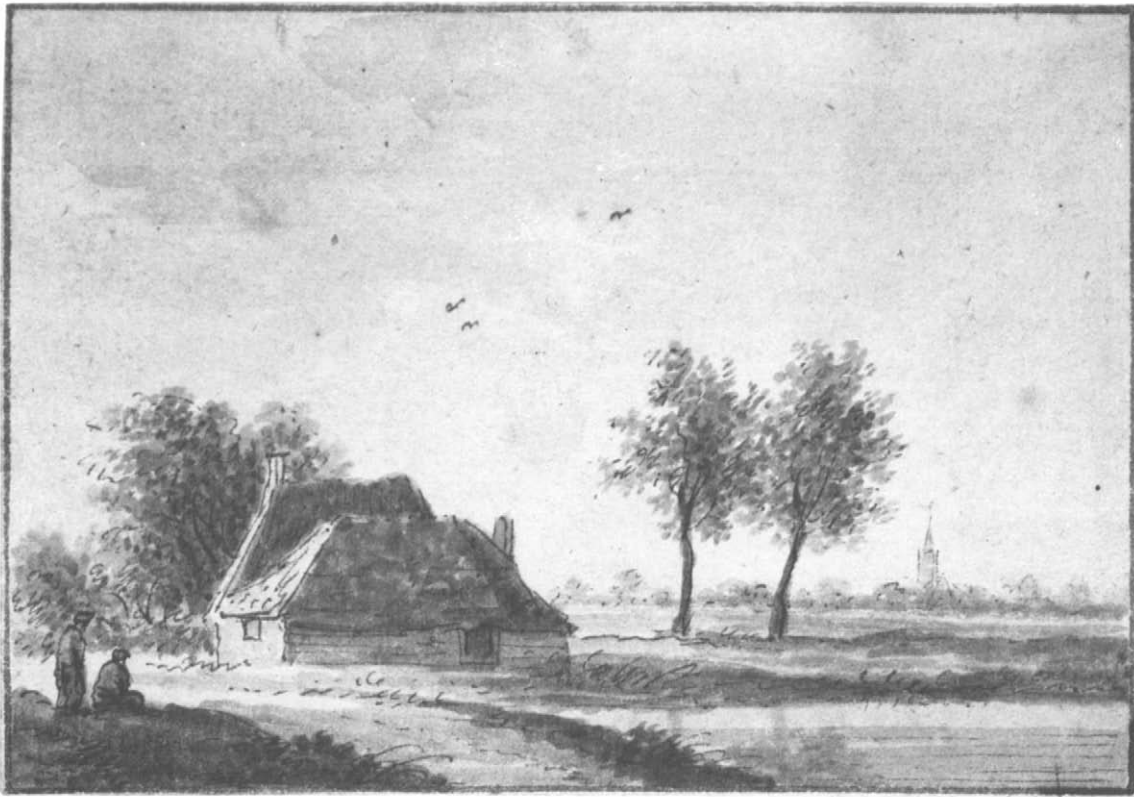
EHB

NOTE:

1. Brown, correspondence with the author, 1998. I am grateful to Jonathan Brown for examining Nos. 150 and 152 and offering his opinions.



No. 152



No. 153

Possibly French or Dutch

eighteenth century

153. Cottage with a Distant Village

1975.1.563

Pen and grayish brown ink, brush and washes in blue, green, grayish brown, and pink; original framing line in gray. 98 x 141 mm.

Laid down; annotated on the verso of the mount in pencil in a recent hand: *Nicolaas Wicart (1748-1815)*, with references to Scheen, Thieme and Becker, and others.

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Robert Lehman in Boston.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979; New York 1979-80, no. 36, ill. (as French, eighteenth century); New York 1991.

Previously considered to be by an unknown French artist of the eighteenth century, this unpretentious view of a cottage, trees, onlookers, and a town with its church steeple rising in the distance has more in common with the topography and tradition of eighteenth-century Dutch landscapes. The relatively recent attribution on

the verso of the mount to Nicolaas Wicart (1748-1815) merits consideration. In two other drawings attributed to Wicart, one in the British Museum, London, the other in the Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, the foliage is also rendered with discrete dabs of the brush, and the background elements are indicated, as they are here, with thin lines.¹ The similarities are insufficient, however, to confirm the attribution of this drawing to Wicart, a draftsman of landscapes who lived and worked in Utrecht and made designs for the Loosdrecht porcelain factory.

EHB

NOTE:

1. British Museum, 1859-9-15-410 (Gernsheim Corpus 33305; pen and wash, 325 x 459 mm); Art Gallery of South Australia, D314 (Gernsheim Corpus 66590; pen and gray wash, 402 x 500 mm).

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- 1997 *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genre Prints in the Netherlands, 1550–1700*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, 8 February–4 May. Catalogue by Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten; translated from Dutch by Michael Hoyle.
- Amsterdam–Frankfurt am Main
1985 *Livelier than Life: The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master, ca. 1470–1500*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, 14 March–9 June; Städtische Galerie im Städtischen Kunstinstitut, 5 September–3 November. Catalogue compiled by Jan Piet Filedt Kok, with Karel G. Boon et al.; translated from Dutch and German by Arno Pomerans et al.
- Amsterdam–Groningen
1983 *The Impact of a Genius: Rembrandt, His Pupils and Followers in the Seventeenth Century. Paintings from Museums and Private Collections*. Waterman Gallery; Groninger Museum. Catalogue and biographies by Guido Jansen; essays by Albert Blankert, Ben Broos, Ernst van de Wetering, and Willem van de Watering.
- Amsterdam–Jerusalem
1991 *Het Oude Testament in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw*. Joods Historisch Museum; Israel Museum. Catalogue by Christian Tümpel et al.
- Amsterdam–Vienna–New York–Cambridge, Massachusetts
1991–92 *17th Century Dutch Drawings: A Selection from the Maida and George Abrams Collection*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, 23 February–28 April; Albertina, 16 May–30 June; Pierpont Morgan Library, 22 January–22 April; Fogg Art Museum, 10 October–6 December. Catalogue by William W. Robinson, with an introduction by Peter Schatborn, 1991.
- Antwerp
1905 *Jacob Jordaens*. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Catalogue by Paul Buschmann.
- 1956 *Tekeningen van P. P. Rubens: Tentoonstelling Stad Antwerpen*. Rubenshuis, 16 June–2 September. Catalogue by Ludwig Burchard and Roger-A. d’Hulst.
- 1977 *P. P. Rubens: Paintings – Oilsketches – Drawings*. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 29 June–30 September. Catalogue by Roger-A. d’Hulst et al.
- 1993 *Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678)*. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 27 March–27 June. Catalogue by Roger-A. d’Hulst, Nora De Poorter, and Marc Vandeven, 2 vols.
- Antwerp–Rotterdam
1966–67 *Tekeningen van Jacob Jordaens, 1593–1678*. Rubenshuis, 8 October–4 December; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 17 December–5 February. Catalogue by Roger-A. d’Hulst, 1966.
- Austin
1983 *Nuremberg, a Renaissance City, 1500–1618*. Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas at Austin. Catalogue by Jeffrey Chipps Smith.
- Basel
1985 *Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein: Tobias Stimmer, 1539–1584*. Kunstmuseum Basel, 23 September–9 December. Catalogue edited by Paul Tanner, with contributions by Dieter Koeplin et al.

- 1991 *Das Amerbach-Kabinett: Beiträge zu Basilius Amerbach*. Kunstmuseum Basel, 21 April–21 July. Catalogue by Elisabeth Landolt, Hans-Rudolf Hagemann, Susanne von Hoerschelmann, and Felix Ackermann.
- Berlin
 1936 *Ausstellung grosse Deutsche in Bildnissen ihrer Zeit: Aus Anlass der XI Olympischen Spiele*. Staatliche Museen, National-Galerie, Kronprinzenpalais, August–September.
 1967 *Zeichner sehen die Antike*. Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, February–April. Catalogue by Matthias Winner.
 1970 *Rembrandt legt die Bibel aus: Zeichnungen und Radierungen aus dem Kupferstichkabinett d. Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin*. Kupferstichkabinett. Catalogue by Christian Tümpel and Astrid Tümpel.
 1974 *Die holländische Landschaftszeichnung 1600–1740*. Kupferstichkabinett. Catalogue by Wolfgang Schulz.
 1975 *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. als Zeichner. Herkunft und Nachfolge*. Kupferstichkabinett. Catalogue by Fedja Anzelewski, Peter Dreyer, Lutz Malke, Hans Mielke, Konrad Renger, and Matthias Winner.
- Berlin–Amsterdam–London
 1991–92 *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop*. [Vol. 2], *Drawings and Etchings*. Kupferstichkabinett, 12 September–10 November; Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, 4 December–1 March; British Museum (etchings only), 26 March–24 May. Catalogue by Holm Bevers, Peter Schatborn, and Barbara Welzel, 1991.
- Berlin–Cologne
 1979–80 *Architektenzeichnungen, 1479–1979, von 400 europäischen und amerikanischen Architekten aus dem Bestand der Kunstbibliothek Berlin*. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstbibliothek; Kunstgewerbemuseum. Catalogue by Ekhart Berckenhagen, 1979.
- Berlin–Regensburg
 1988 *Albrecht Altdorfer: Zeichnungen, Deckfarbenmalerei, Druckgraphik*. Kupferstichkabinett, 12 February–17 April; Museen der Stadt Regensburg, 6 May–10 July. Catalogue by Hans Mielke.
- Bern
 1954 *Fragonard*. Musée des Beaux-Arts Berne [Kunstmuseum Bern], 13 June–29 August. Catalogue by François Daulte.
 1979 *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch: Maler, Dichter, Staatsmann*. Kunstmuseum Bern, 22 September–2 December. Catalogue edited by Cäsar Menz and Hugo Wagner.
- Bordeaux
 1981 *Profil du Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York: De Ramsès à Picasso*. Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 15 May–1 September.
- Boston
 1939 *Art in New England: Paintings, Drawings, Prints, from Private Collections in New England*. Museum of Fine Arts, 9 June–10 September.
- Braunschweig
 1978 *Die Sprache der Bilder: Realität und Bedeutung in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 6 September–5 November. Catalogue by Rüdiger Klessmann, Wolfgang J. Müller, and Konrad Renger.
- Bruges
 1960 *Le siècle des primitifs flamands*. Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge), 26 June–11 September.
 1987 *Bruges et la tapisserie*. Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge), 8 July–18 October. Catalogue by Guy Delmarcel and Erik Duverger.
- Brussels
 1928 *Exposition d'oeuvres de Jordaens et de son atelier*. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 27 October–12 November.
 1953 *Bruxelles au XV^{me} siècle*. A collection of essays was published in connection with this exhibition; see Lebeer 1953.
 1975 *Maîtres flamands du dix-septième siècle du Prado et de collections privées espagnoles*. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 7 May–13 July.
 1979 *Rogier van der Weyden/Roger de la Pasture: Official Painter to the City of Brussels; Portrait Painter of the Burgundian Court*. Musée Communal de Bruxelles-Maison du Roi, 6 October–18 November. Catalogue by Micheline Comblen-Sonkes et al.
- Brussels–Rotterdam–Paris–Bern
 1968–69 *Dessins de paysagistes hollandais du XVII^e siècle de la collection particulière conservée à l'Institut Néerlandais de Paris*. Bibliothèque Albert I^{er}, 22 October–24 November; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1 December–12 January; Institut Néerlandais, 1 February–16 March; Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1 April–11 May. Catalogue by Carlos van Hasselt, 1968.
- Buffalo
 1915–16 [The Mary Blair Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Art.] Exhibition, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, October–January. See Sage 1915.

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- 1935 *Master Drawings Selected from the Museums and Private Collections of America*. Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, January. Catalogue with an introduction by Agnes Mongan.
- Cambridge
1977 *Drawings by George Romney*. Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue by Patricia Jaffé.
1993 *Splendours of Flanders: Late Medieval Art in Cambridge Collections*. Fitzwilliam Museum of Art, 13 July–19 September. Catalogue by Alain Arnould and Jean Michel Massing.
- Cambridge, Massachusetts
1933 *French Drawings and Prints of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Fogg Art Museum.
1948–49 *Seventy Master Drawings: A Loan Exhibition Arranged in Honor of Professor Paul F. Sachs on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Fogg Art Museum, 27 November–6 January. See Mongan 1949.
1960 *Dutch and Flemish Drawings, 16th and 17th Centuries*. R. M. Light and Company, November–December.
1962 *Old Master Drawings*. R. M. Light and Company.
- Cambridge, Massachusetts, and other cities
1998–2000 *Mastery and Elegance: Two Centuries of French Drawings from the Collection of Jeffrey E. Horvitz*. Harvard University Art Museums, 5 December 1998–31 January 1999; Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 20 February–18 April; Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, 1 May–25 June; National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 9 July–5 September; National Academy Museum and School of Fine Arts, New York, 8 October–12 December; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 24 February–24 April 2000. Catalogue edited by Alvin L. Clark Jr., with Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Jean-François Méjanès, and William W. Robinson, 1998.
- Cambridge, Massachusetts–New York
1956 *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P. P. Rubens from American Collections*. Fogg Art Museum, 14 January–29 February; Pierpont Morgan Library, 20 March–28 April.
- Chicago
1961 *Treasures of Chicago Collectors*. Art Institute of Chicago, 15 April–7 May. Catalogue foreword by John Maxon.
- Chicago–Minneapolis–Detroit
1969–70 *Rembrandt after Three Hundred Years: An Exhibition of Rembrandt and His Followers*. Art Institute of Chicago; Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Detroit Institute of Arts. Catalogue by J. Richard Judson, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, and Anne-Marie Logan, 1969.
- Cincinnati
1959 *The Lehman Collection, New York*. Cincinnati Art Museum, 8 May–5 July. Catalogue edited by Gustave von Groschwitz.
- Colmar
1991 *Der hübsche Martin: Kupferstiche und Zeichnungen*. Unterlinden Museum. Catalogue by Claude Pache; drawings entries by Albert Châtelet and Emmanuel Starcky.
- Cologne–Antwerp–Vienna
1992–93 *Von Bruegel bis Rubens: Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämischen Malerei*. Wallraf-Richartz Museum; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; Kunsthistorisches Museum. Catalogue by Ekkehard Mai and Hans Vlieghe, 1992.
- Delft–Antwerp
1964–65 *De schilder in zijn wereld van Jan van Eyck tot Van Gogh en Ensor*. Stedelijk Museum “Het Prinsenhof,” 19 December–24 January; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 6 February–14 March. Catalogue by D. Bolten, J. A. Emmens, and G. T. M. Lemmens, 1964.
- Detroit
1960 *Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch*. Detroit Institute of Arts, October–December. Catalogue titled *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*.
- Detroit–Ottawa–Coburg
1981–82 *From a Mighty Fortress: Prints, Drawings, and Books in the Age of Luther, 1483–1546*. Detroit Institute of Arts, 3 October–22 November; National Gallery of Canada, 4 December–31 January; Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, 18 July–5 August. Catalogue by Christiane Andersson and Charles Talbot, 1983.
- Dijon
1982–83 *La peinture dans la peinture*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, 18 December–28 February. Catalogue by Pierre Georgel, Anne-Marie Lecoq, et al., [1983].
- Dordrecht
1977–78 *Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie. Schilders te Dordrecht. Gerrit Gerritsz. Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp, Aelbert Cuyp*. Dordrechts Museum, 12 November–8 January. Catalogue by Jup M. de Groot and Jan G. van Gelder, with an essay by W. Veerman, 1977.
- Dordrecht–Cologne
1998–99 *Arent de Gelder (1645–1727): Rembrandts laatste leerling / Rembrandts Meisterschüler und Nachfolger*. Dordrechts Museum, 10 October–17 January; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 19 February–19 May. Catalogue by Peter Schoon, Nathalie Dufsis, et al., 1998.

- Dresden
1986-87 *Altdeutsche Zeichnungen aus der Sammlung Franz Koenigs*. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 17 December-12 January. Catalogue by W. Schmidt and F. Glaubrecht, 1986.
- Evanston
1988 *Landscape Drawings of Five Centuries, 1400-1900, from the Robert Lehman Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, 14 January-20 March. Catalogue by George Szabo.
- Flint, Michigan
1941 *Art Marches On!: The Opening and Dedicating Exhibition*. Flint Institute of Arts, 14 November-31 December.
- Florence
1983 *Sustermans: Sessant'anni alla corte de Medici*. Palazzo Pitti, July-October. Catalogue by Marco Chiarini and Claudio Pizzorusso.
- Florence-Paris
1980-81 *L'époque de Lucas de Leyde et Pierre Bruegel: Dessins des anciens Pays-Bas, Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris*. Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, 25 October-30 November; Institut Néerlandais, 26 February-12 April. Catalogue by Karel G. Boon et al.; Italian ed., 1980; French ed., 1981.
- Fort Worth-Kansas City
1983 *J. B. Oudry, 1686-1755*. Kimbell Art Museum, 26 February-5 June; Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 15 July-14 September. Catalogue by Hal Opperman.
- Frankfurt am Main
1975-76 *Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein: Ein Teil der Wirklichkeit*. Liebieghaus Museum Alter Plastik, 10 December-14 March. Catalogue by Herbert Beck, Wolfgang Beeh, and Horst Bredekamp, 1975.
1994-95 *Von Kunst und Kennerschaft: Die Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut unter Johann David Passavant, 1840 bis 1861*. Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Graphische Sammlung, 24 November-5 February. Catalogue by Hildegard Bauereisen and Margret Stuffmann, 1994.
- Haarlem
1988 *Schutters in Holland, kracht en zenuwen van de stad*. Frans Halsmuseum, 10-17 July. Catalogue by Marijke Carasso-Kok, J. Levy-van Halm, et al.
- The Hague
1930 *Verzameling Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot. III. Schilderijen, teekeningen en kunstnijverheid*. Gemeente Museum, 16 August-16 September.
- The Hague-Münster
1974 *Gerard Ter Borch, Zwolle 1617-Deventer 1681*. Mauritshuis, 9 March-28 April; Landesmuseum, 12 May-23 June. Catalogue by Hans R. Hoetink, G. Langemeyer, et al.
- Hamburg
1993 *Pegasus und die Künste*. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 8 April-31 May. Catalogue by Claudia Brink, Wilhelm Hornbootel, et al. Also translated into English.
- Hartford-Hanover, New Hampshire-Boston
1973-74 *One Hundred Master Drawings from New England Private Collections*. Wadsworth Atheneum, 5 September-4 October; Hopkins Center Art Galleries, 26 October-3 December; Museum of Fine Arts, 14 December-25 January. Catalogue by Franklin W. Robinson, 1973.
- Hartford-San Francisco-Dijon
1976-77 *Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1725-1805*. Wadsworth Atheneum, 1 December-23 January; California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 5 March-1 May; Musée des Beaux-Arts, 4 June-31 July. Catalogue by Edgar Munhall, 1976.
- Innsbruck
1950 *Gotik in Tirol: Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters*. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, 24 June-30 September. Catalogue by Vinzenz Oberhammer and Carl Theodor Miller.
1969 *Ausstellung Maximilian I: Zum 450. Todesjahr*. Catalogue by Erich Egg et al.
- Kansas City, Missouri
1940-41 *Seventh Anniversary Exhibition of German, Flemish, and Dutch Painting*. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art.
- Karlsruhe
1959 *Hans Baldung Grien*. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, 4 July-27 September.
- Lawrence, Kansas
1969 *The Waning Middle Ages: An Exhibition of French and Netherlandish Art from 1350 to 1500, Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Publication of The Waning of the Middle Ages, by Johan Huizinga*. University of Kansas Museum of Art, 1 November-1 December. Catalogue by J. L. Schrader.
- Leiden
1916 *Tentoonstelling van teekeningen van Oud-Hollandsche meesters uit de verzameling van Dr. C. Hofstede de Groot. III. Teekeningen van Hollandsche meesters*. Stedelijk Museum "De Lakenhal."
- Leuven
1998 *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475), een Vlaams primitief te Leuven*. Sint-Pieterskerk en

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- Predikherenkerk, 19 September–6 December. Catalogue by Maurits Smeyers, with contributions by Katharina Smeyers.
- Linz–Sankt Florian
 1965 *Die Kunst der Donauschule, 1490–1540. Ausstellung des Landes Oberösterreich.* Schlossmuseum Linz; and Stift St. Florian, 14 May–17 October.
- London
 1899 *Exhibition of Works by Rembrandt. Winter Exhibition.* Royal Academy of Arts.
 1917–18 Exhibition. Burlington Fine Arts Club.
 1927 *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1300–1900.* Royal Academy of Arts.
 1929 *Exhibition of Dutch Art, 1450–1900.* Royal Academy of Arts.
 1932 *French Art, 1200–1900.* Royal Academy of Arts, 4 January–5 March. *Commemorative Catalogue, . . . 1933.*
 1937 *Old Master Drawings: Opening Exhibition.* Walter Gernsheim, 1 February–6 March.
 1938 *Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe.* Royal Academy of Arts, 3 January–12 March.
 1950 *An Exhibition of French Master Drawings of the 18th Century, Held for the Benefit of the French Hospital and Dispensary.* Matthiesen Gallery.
 1953 *Drawings by Old Masters.* Royal Academy of Arts. Catalogue by Karl T. Parker and James Byam Shaw.
 1953–54 *Flemish Art, 1300–1700.* Royal Academy of Arts. Catalogue by Karl T. Parker and James Byam Shaw.
 1960 *87th Annual Exhibition of Water-colour Drawings.* Thos. Agnew and Sons, 1–27 February.
 1961a *Oil Sketches and Smaller Pictures by Sir Peter Paul Rubens. In Aid of the King's Lynn Festival Fund.* Thos. Agnew and Sons, 20 February–11 March.
 1961b *Old Master Drawings.* P. and D. Colnaghi, July.
 1963 *Exhibition of Old Master Drawings.* P. and D. Colnaghi, 2–26 July.
 1966 *Old Master Drawings: A Loan Exhibition from the National Gallery of Scotland.* P. and D. Colnaghi. Catalogue by Keith Andrews.
 1977 *French Landscape Drawings and Sketches of the Eighteenth Century: Loan Exhibition from the Louvre and Other French Museums.* Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. Catalogue compiled by Roseline Bacou, Lise Duclaux, and Jean-François Méjanès.
 1978–79 *Sir Peter Lely, 1618–80.* Exhibition, National Portrait Gallery, 17 November–18 March. Catalogue by Oliver Millar.
 1986 *Reynolds.* Royal Academy of Arts. Catalogue edited by Nicholas Penny.
 1992 *Drawings by Rembrandt and His Circle in the British Museum.* British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 26 March–4 August. Catalogue by Martin Royalton-Kisch.
- 1994 *Claude: The Poetic Landscape.* National Gallery, 26 January–10 April. Catalogue by Humphrey Wine. London.
 1996–97 *Old Master Drawings from the Malcolm Collection.* British Museum. Catalogue by Martin Royalton-Kisch, Hugo Chapman, and Stephen Coppel, 1996.
- London–Washington, D.C.–Nürnberg
 1984 *German Drawings from a Private Collection.* British Museum, 9 February–29 April; National Gallery of Art, 27 May–8 July; Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2 August–23 September. Catalogue by John Rowlands.
- Los Angeles
 1961 *French Masters: Rococo to Romanticism. An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings, and Prints.* University of California at Los Angeles Art Galleries, 5 March–18 April.
 1976 *Old Master Drawings from American Collections.* Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 29 April–13 June. Catalogue by Ebria Feinblatt.
- Lugano
 1998 *Rabisch: Il grottesco nell'arte del cinquecento l'Accademia della Val di Blenio, Lomazzo e l'ambiente milanese.* Museo Cantonale d'Arte, 28 March–21 June.
- Lviv
 1928 Exhibition of Albrecht Dürer Drawings. Lubomirski Museum, Ossolinski Nationalinstitut, spring.
- Madrid
 1977–78 *Pedro Pablo Rubens (1577–1640): Exposición homenaje.* Palacio de Velázquez, December–March. Catalogue by Matías Díaz Padrón, 1977.
 1992 *David Teniers, Jan Brueghel, y los gabinetes de pinturas.* Museo del Prado. Catalogue by Matías Díaz Padrón and Mercedes Royo-Villanova.
- Middletown–Baltimore
 1975 *Prints and Drawings by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724–1780.* Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, 7 March–13 April; Baltimore Museum of Art, 25 April–8 June. Catalogue by Victor Carlson, Ellen d'Oench, and Richard S. Field.
- Moscow
 1995–96 *Five Centuries of European Drawings: The Former Collection of Franz Koenigs.* Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, 2 October–21 January. Catalogue edited by Irina Danilova, 1995. Also published in Russian.
- Munich
 1974 *Altdeutsche Zeichnungen aus der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen.* Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, 7 June–28 July. Catalogue edited by Dieter Kuhrmann.

- 1989-90 *Niederländische Zeichnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München*. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 22 November-21 January. Catalogue by Holm Bevers, 1989.
- Münster
1996 *Die Maler vom Ring*. Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, 1 September-10 November. Catalogue by Angelika Lorenz, 2 vols.
- Münster-Amsterdam-Jerusalem
1994 *Im Lichte Rembrandts: Das Alte Testament im Goldenen Zeitalter der niederländischen Kunst*. Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 11 September-20 November; Joods Historisch Museum; Israel Museum. Catalogue by Christian Tümpel et al.
- Nancy
1992 *L'art en Lorraine au temps de Jacques Callot*. Musée des Beaux-Arts, 13 June-14 September. Catalogue by Jacques Thuillier, Denis Laval, Jean-Claude Boyer, Claude Pétry, Pierre Rosenberg, Michel Sylvestre, Marie-France Jacops, and Pierre Simonin.
- New Haven
1960 *Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture Collected by Yale Alumni*. Yale University Art Gallery, 19 May-26 June.
1985 *The Art of Paul Sandby*. Yale Center for British Art, 10 April-23 June.
- New Haven-Saint Louis-Philadelphia
1969-70 *Prints and Drawings of the Danube School: An Exhibition of South German and Austrian Graphic Art of 1500 to 1560 Prepared by a Graduate Seminar in the History of Art under the Direction of Charles Talbot and Alan Shes-tack*. Yale University Art Gallery, 9 October-16 November; City Art Museum of Saint Louis, 11 December-25 January; Philadelphia Museum of Art, 10 February-24 March.
- New London, Connecticut
1936 *Fourth Anniversary Exhibition: Drawings*. Lyman Allyn Museum, 2 March-15 April.
- New York
1915 *Second Exhibition of One Hundred Original Drawings by the Old Masters*. R. Ederheimer, 15 February-6 March. Catalogue by Richard Ederheimer.
1938 *An Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by Claude Lorrain*. Durlacher Galleries.
1940 *Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678)*. Mortimer Brandt Gallery, 17 February-16 March.
1941 *Master Drawings, 15th to the 19th Century*. Schaeffer Galleries.
1942 *Peter Paul Rubens: Loan Exhibition for the Benefit of the United Hospital Fund of New York*. Schaeffer and Brandt, Inc. Catalogue by Lili M. Nash, with foreword by Gustav Glück and introduction by Julius S. Held.
1948a *The Backus Collection*. Schaeffer Galleries. See Schaeffer 1948.
1948b *Exhibition of Master Drawings Old and New*. Delius Gallery, New York.
1953 *Landscape Drawings and Watercolors, Bruegel to Cézanne*. Pierpont Morgan Library. Catalogue by Felice Stampfle.
1955 *Drawings and Prints by Albrecht Dürer*. Pierpont Morgan Library, 17 March-16 April. Catalogue edited by Felice Stampfle.
1956 *German Drawings: Masterpieces from Five Centuries*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10 May-10 June. The final venue of an exhibition sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany and circulated by the Smithsonian Institution, 1955-56. The Lehman drawings were shown only in New York and were published in a *Catalogue Supplement*. Catalogue foreword by Peter Halm.
1959a *Graphic Arts of Five Centuries: Prints and Drawings*. William Schab Gallery.
1959b *Great Master Drawings of Seven Centuries. A Benefit Exhibition of Columbia University for the Scholarship Fund of the Department of Fine Arts and Archaeology*. M. Knoedler and Company, 13 October-7 November.
1959c *French Master Drawings: Renaissance to Modern. A Loan Exhibition*. Charles E. Slatkin Galleries, 10 February-7 March.
1961a *Animal Studies from Nature by Claude Lorrain*. Seiferheld Gallery, 12 September-14 October. Catalogue, no. 3, by Marcel Roethlisberger.
1961b *Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 1936-1961*. Schaeffer Galleries.
1962 *Animal Drawings from the XV to XX Centuries*. Seiferheld Gallery, December. Catalogue, no. 8.
1964 *The Lehman Collection at 7 West 54th Street*. Robert Lehman. List of works on exhibit by George Szabo.
1968 *The Artist and the Animal: A Loan Exhibition for the Benefit of the Animal Medical Center*. M. Knoedler, 7-24 May. Catalogue by Claus Virch.
1968-69 *Medieval Art from Private Collections: A Special Exhibition at The Cloisters*. The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30 October-5 January. Catalogue by Carmen Gómez-Moreno, 1968.
1970 *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue introduction by Kenneth Clark.
1972a *English Drawings and Watercolors, 1550-1850, in the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon*. Pierpont Morgan Library, 13 April-28 July. Catalogue by John Baskett and Dudley Snelgrove.

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- 1972b *French Drawings and Prints of the Eighteenth Century*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 8 August–15 October.
- 1972c *Portrait of the Artist*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 18 January–7 March. Catalogue by John Walsh Jr., with the assistance of Weston J. Naef and Miranda McClintic.
- 1974 *Paris: Places and People. Paintings and Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. Bronx Museum of the Arts.
- 1976 *Tricolour: 17th Century Dutch, 18th Century English, and 19th Century French Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue by George Szabo.
- 1976–77 *Roman Artists of the 17th Century: Drawings and Prints*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2 November–16 January. Catalogue, 1976.
- 1978a *Artists in Rome in the 18th Century: Drawings and Prints*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 28 February–7 May.
- 1978b *Fifteenth Century Italian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue by George Szabo.
- 1978–79 *XV–XVI Century Northern Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26 October–28 January. Catalogue by George Szabo, 1978.
- 1979 *European Landscape Drawings of Five Centuries from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 3 July–30 September.
- 1979a *XVI Century Italian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue by George Szabo.
- 1979–80 *Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 24 October–27 January. Catalogue by George Szabo, 1979.
- 1980 *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century French Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 4 July–26 October. Catalogue by George Szabo.
- 1985 *Dutch Drawings of the Seventeenth Century in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10 April–9 June. See Mules 1985.
- 1985–86 *One Hundred Master Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1 October–15 January.
- 1987 *Landscape Drawings of Five Centuries, 1400–1900*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 15 April–15 June. See Evanston 1988 for catalogue.
- 1988a *Creative Copies: Interpretative Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso*. Drawing Center, 9 April–23 July. Catalogue by Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, with Carolyn Logan.
- 1988b *Images of Women: Drawings from Five Centuries in the Robert Lehman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 3 May–10 July.
- 1989 *Flemish Prints and Drawings*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17 September–November.
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1884 *Drawings and Pictures by Thomas Sandby, R.A., and Paul Sandby, R.A.* Exhibition, Nottingham Castle, Nottingham Art Museum, February. Catalogue by Harry Wallis.
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1997 *Incontrarsi a Emmaus*. Palazzo del Monte di Pietà, 12 April–18 May. Catalogue by Giordana Mariani Canova et al.
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1879 *Dessins de maîtres anciens*. École des Beaux-Arts, May–June. *Catalogue descriptif des dessins de maîtres anciens exposés à l'École des Beaux-Arts*.
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- 1976 *Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscape Drawings and Selected Prints from American Collections.* Vassar College Art Gallery, 28 March–7 May. Catalogue by Curtis O. Baer, Susan D. Kuretsky, et al.

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1997 *In Celebration: Works of Art from the Collections of Princeton Alumni and Friends of the Art Museum*. Art Museum, Princeton University, 22 February–8 June.
- Princeton–Washington, D.C.–Pittsburgh
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1989 *Vedute romane di Lievin Cruyl: Paesaggio urbano sotto Alessandro VII*. American Academy in Rome. Catalogue by Barbara Jatta, M. Miller, and Joseph Connors.
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1951 *Mostra di incisioni e disegni di Rembrandt*. Palazzo Venezia, 31 March–29 April; Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto delle Stampe e dei Disegni, 6 May–6 July. Catalogue by I. Q. van Regteren Altena.
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1956 *Rembrandt tentoonstelling ter herdenking van de geboorte van Rembrandt op 15 Juli 1606: Tekeningen*. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 18 May–5 August; Rijksmuseum, 8 August–21 October. Catalogue by Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann.
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1965 *Jan Gossaert genaamd Mabuse*. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 15 May–27 June; Groeningemuseum, 10 July–31 August. Catalogue by H. Pauwels, H. R. Hoetink, and S. Herzog.
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- San Francisco
1940 *Master Drawings: An Exhibition of Drawings from American Museums and Private Collections*. Golden Gate International Exhibition. Catalogue by Annemarie Henle, 1941.
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1980 *Fragonard*. National Museum of Western Art, 18 March–11 May; Kyoto Municipal Museum, 24 May–29 June. Catalogue by Denys Sutton.
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- Vienna
1962 *Gotische Baurisse der Wiener Bauhütte*. Akademie der bildenden Künste, May–June. Catalogue by Siegfried Freiberg and Erwin Hainisch.
1971 *Die Dürerzeichnungen der Albertina zum 500. Geburtstag*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 12 October–19 December. Catalogue by Walter Koschatzky and Alice Strobl.
1985 *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 18 April–30 June. Catalogue by Fritz Koreny.
- Washington, D.C.
1971 *Dürer in America: His Graphic Work*. National Gallery of Art, 25 April–6 June. Catalogue edited by Charles Talbot, notes by Gaillard F. Ravenel and Jay A. Levenson; essay by Wolfgang Stechow.
1973 *Prints of the Italian Renaissance*. National Gallery of Art, 24 June–7 October. Catalogue, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art*, by Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, Jacquelyn L. Sheehan.
1975 *Jacques Callot: Prints and Related Drawings*. National Gallery of Art, 29 June–14 September. Catalogue by H. Diane Russell and Jeffrey Blanchard.
1978–79 *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolors*. National Gallery of Art, 19 November–21 January. Catalogue by Victor I. Carlson, 1978.
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- 1995–96 *The Touch of the Artist: Master Drawings from the Woodner Collection*. National Gallery of Art, 1 October–28 January. Catalogue edited by Margaret Morgan Grasselli, 1995.
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- Washington, D.C.–London–Haarlem
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- Alan Shestack, with essays by Alan Shestack, Charles W. Talbot, and Linda C. Hults.
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 1984–85 *Old Master Drawings from the Albertina*. National Gallery of Art, 28 October–13 January; Pierpont Morgan Library, 8 March–26 May. Organized and circulated by the International Exhibitions Foundation. Catalogue by Veronika Birke et al., 1984.
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 1982–83 *Claude Lorraine, 1600–1682*. National Gallery of Art, 17 October–2 January; Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 15 February–16 May. Catalogue by H. Diane Russell, 1982; French ed., 1983.
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