



REMBRANDT'S MASTER PUPILS

FERDINAND

Bol and

GOVERT

Flinck



Ferdinand Bol, *Self-Portrait Leaning on a Balustrade*, c. 1647. Canvas, 93 x 83.5 cm.
Private collection USA



Govert Flinck, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1640. Panel, 59 x 47 cm.
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (loan private collection)

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BOOKS THE REMBRANDT HOUSE MUSEUM AND AMSTERDAM MUSEUM



124. GOVERT FLINCK *Allegory of the Death of Frederick Henry and the Continuation of the Orange Dynasty*, 1654. Oil on canvas, 307 x 189 cm. The Hague, William V Gallery , inv. no. 1116 (on loan from the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)

Out of Rembrandt's Shadow: Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol as History Painters

ERIC JAN SLUIJTER

The arrival of a number of highly talented young painters in the sixteen-thirties heralded the rapid growth of history painting in Amsterdam. The result was a standard and volume of work that would never be equalled.¹ The situation in Amsterdam during this period must have resembled what Karel van Mander wrote in 1604 about Rome around the turn of the century, when there was an 'amicable battle' and 'fervent zeal' to be the best.² Many people at the time would have agreed that the battle in Amsterdam was swiftly decided by Rembrandt. But every artist had to establish his own position relative to the countless other painters working in the same field and against the backdrop of the success of Rembrandt's art (and the high prices that soon had to be paid for it).³ Although connoisseurs laid out huge sums for Rembrandt's work, it was Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol who brought home the most important commissions for the elite.

From Immersion in Rembrandt's Manner to a Style of Their Own

Evidence that you had been a pupil of the most famous master would have guaranteed a good start.⁴ For great talents like Flinck and Bol, who had both already been fully trained, this was an important reason to study with Rembrandt. Houbraken, basing his assertion on information from artists who had been around at the time, was quite explicit: 'Rembrandt's art was generally appreciated as something wholly new, so artists were obliged to master his manner of painting if they wanted their work to do well in the market ... the reason why Govert Flinck ... and others went to study with Rembrandt.'⁵ At the same time, though, while following the style of such a famous artist might well be lucrative, an ambitious young painter who wanted to make a name

for himself also had to be distinctive. This was the task both Flinck and Bol set themselves. They must also have been aware of the age-old advice, repeated by Samuel van Hoogstraten, another of Rembrandt's pupils, that artists should discover as soon as possible what best suited their own characters.⁶

Both broke with Rembrandt's style in the mid-forties. They immediately seized on the potential of a new trend – commissions for large-scale history paintings (overmantel and overdoor paintings and wall panels) to occupy permanent positions in the panelling of prestigious spaces, both public and private, such as the reception rooms of the upper echelons of society.⁷ Gaining a place in a network of wealthy patrons was essential and they, unlike their teacher, were perfectly cut out for this (pp. 58-79).⁸ But their skill in manoeuvring themselves into elite networks was not all that enabled them to make the transition to a new type of painting; proceeding from the specific characteristics that began to emerge in their earliest works they were able to create a style that this elite recognized as perfectly suited to their needs. Rembrandt's priorities were completely different: his position as a great artist was always at the forefront of his mind. He decided what he made – masterpieces for the connoisseur-collector – and his paintings were sold predominantly through the art trade or from his workshop.⁹

Govert Flinck

By copying the master's spectacularly innovative paintings while he was in Rembrandt's studio, Flinck was able to fathom Rembrandt's phenomenal use of 'schikschaduw' (shadows as a means of arranging a composition), as Van Hoogstraten called it (p. 24, fig. 9).¹⁰ At the same time, Flinck learnt from Rembrandt how to create a convincing suggestion of space between figures relative to one another through an accurately observed and carefully tuned interplay of light, colour and tone, so that passages advance and recede; this was called 'houding'.¹¹ Even in his most Rembrandtesque works, however, whenever he could he replaced Rembrandt's vehemence and almost crude directness with fluid movement and a clearly 'legible' narrative style (p. 34, fig. 29).¹² In so doing, he was following the traditional advice in Renaissance art literature. Rembrandt had jettisoned grace and the selection of the beautiful – key concepts in more than a century and a half of art theory – along with the use of conventional tropes of movement and gesture, so as to capture an uncompromising realism in appearance, action and emotion.¹³ Flinck, by contrast, held fast to the traditional ideals that had prevailed with most of the great artists of past generations, among them Rubens, who once wrote that *grâce* was always a fundamental aspect of his art, even for violent action.¹⁴

Ferdinand Bol spent much longer than Flinck training with Rembrandt and consequently internalized his style more thoroughly. The young Bol likewise made copies and variations of Rembrandt's compositions (p. 46, fig. 46 and p. 48, fig. 51). From his earliest independent works, however, we see that Bol sought a certain elegance and muted emotion, using warm colours and nuanced transitions from light to dark to create a typical sort of 'soft focus' (figs. 125 and p. 51, fig. 55).¹⁵ Picturing powerful movements and feelings was not in his nature. Even



125. FERDINAND BOL *Jacob's Dream*, c. 1641-42. Oil on canvas, 128 x 97 cm. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 1604



126 (cat.no. 23). GOVERT FLINCK *Young Shepherdess*, c. 1640-45. Oil on panel, 57.2 x 51 cm. The Kremer Collection

in a subject that is anything but tranquil, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, an immense painting made in 1646 that would immediately have reminded everyone in Amsterdam of Rembrandt's 1635 work, Bol went to great lengths to avoid his teacher's gruesome directness and his focus on stirring up powerful emotions (p. 101, fig. 121 and p. 25, fig. 11).¹⁶

Flinck's ability to deploy stylistic means that were very different from those he had learnt with Rembrandt is already evident in his earliest independent works. In the pastoral pendants he painted in 1636 (p. 28, figs. 17 and 18), for example, the figure of the shepherd (who has Rembrandt's features) has notably little in common with Rembrandt's style. The palette and the design in distinct areas of colour derive from those of his first teacher, Lambert Jacobsz. A shepherdess Flinck painted a few years later (fig. 126), which would also have had a pendant of a young shepherd, shows the virtuosity with which he could blend different elements in the early sixteen-forties. The round face with its rosy cheeks, the pale, almost translucent skin and the flaxen curls immediately call to mind a group of paintings of a young blonde woman that Rembrandt made in the early thirties.¹⁷ But the broad, flowing movement with which Flinck painted the costume with dark strokes and dabs and seemingly swiftly applied highlights over a light brown ground that shows through, is similar to the painting technique used for the *tronies* of children and young people by Jacob Backer, Flinck's friend, seven years his senior, who studied with him under Lambert Jacobsz. The young model even seems to be the same girl Backer painted, probably a little earlier.¹⁸ The carefulness of Flinck's modelling is very different from Backer's rather showy pursuit of effect. A surprising aspect is the unusual colouring of



127. GOVERT FLINCK *The Crucifixion*, 1649. Panel, 119 x 90 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, inv. no. 212



128 (cat.no. 27). GOVERT FLINCK *Christ Holding the Cross*, 1649. Oil on canvas, 119.2 x 89.2 cm. Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, inv. no. GK 130

the light background that suggests a cloudy sky against which the graceful contours of the girl's figure stand out. Initially this little painting, which was originally oval, then changed into an octagon (and only later made rectangular), had the quite dark, brownish background one would expect; it was probably Flinck himself who overpainted it with light blue and grey.¹⁹

Around the mid-forties, Flinck abandoned the outward characteristics of Rembrandt's style in most of his works, although if desired – as in *The Crucifixion* of 1647 – he could still apply the essential elements of that style, in which 'the forceful control of the lights and shadows' was fundamental (fig. 127).²⁰ A *Christ Holding the Cross* of 1649 shows just how flexible he was at around this time (fig. 128). Whereas the *Crucifixion* was painted for an art-loving member of his Mennonite family, his cousin Ameldonck Leeuw,²¹ the *Christ Holding the Cross* was probably made as a devotional work for a Catholic client. The idealized Christ type is unmistakably Anthony van Dyck's, as are the pathos of his expression and the delicacy with which he holds the Cross.²² Then, as now, every connoisseur must have thought of Van Dyck when he saw this picture, and that would have been the intention. Wealthy Catholics would certainly have been familiar with replicas and copies of Antwerp devotional paintings like this.

It was a few years earlier, with his civic guard portrait of 1645, the *Company of Captain Albert Bas* for the Arquebusiers' Guild, that Flinck emphatically broke with Rembrandt's example (p. 136, fig. 169). This is not a history painting, true, but it should be discussed



130. **CHRISPIJN VAN DEN QUEBORN** after Chrispijn van de Passe (freely after Abraham Bloemaert), *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1625. Engraving, 239 x 187 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1907-3799



131. **THOMAS WILLEBOIRTS BOSSCHAERT** *The Annunciation*, 1647. Oil on canvas, 221 x 191 cm. Dessau-Mosigkau, Staatliches Museum Schloss Mosigkau, inv. no. 145

129 (cat.no. 26). **GOVERT FLINCK** *Allegory of the Birth and Death of Wilhelm Heinrich of Brandenburg*, c. 1648-50. Oil on canvas, 115.5 x 82.5 cm. Potsdam, Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Schloss Oranienburg, inv. no. GK I 5249

here because Flinck made ingenious use of the structure of a history work (see p. 133).²³ Faced with this new and difficult challenge – a large group of twelve life-sized figures in a tall, narrow space – he looked for assistance in his composition to a Rubens altarpiece that he knew from a print (p. 136, fig. 170). This enabled him to arrange the group of life-sized figures within a clearly constructed space such that they fill the whole of the picture plane from top to bottom. Flinck carefully modelled each figure individually and gave them clear outlines, but he was also able to use the ‘houding’ he had learnt from Rembrandt: nuances in colour, tone and shading create a convincing space between the figures, something lacking, for instance, in the militia portraits by Backer and Sandrart in the same room.²⁴

This monumental work must have brought him considerable acclaim among the Amsterdam elite. His growing prestige would also have been given a significant boost by the patronage of the Grand Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, and his wife, Louise Henriëtte (the oldest daughter of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms-Braunfels).²⁵ The commission he received from them must have been prompted by the fact that Frederick William also ruled Flinck’s birthplace, the Duchy of Cleves. The allegory of the birth of the electoral couple’s first son was a type of composition that Flinck had never painted before. It was, moreover, a subject for which there was no existing iconographic tradition on which he could call (fig. 129). Again, he made ingenious use of the compositional scheme of another subject, the adoration of Christ. He used traditional motifs like the Virgin ‘revealing’ the infant Christ by



132 (cat.no. 29). GOVERT FLINCK
Pastoral Couple, 1654. Oil on canvas,
 140 x 173 cm. New York, The Leiden
 Collection, inv. no. GF-101

lifting a blanket, a kneeling figure and a standing figure on either side of the new-born baby, and an opening heaven populated by cherubs. The Virgin and the worshipping shepherds were replaced with the guardian goddesses Venus, Minerva and Juno, accompanied by the figure of Abundance who takes Joseph's place right at the back. In the background Flinck pictured Schwanenburg Castle in Cleves, where Prince Wilhelm Heinrich was born in 1648. When the prince died in 1649, the menacing skeleton holding an arrow was added, half concealed behind Juno and Abundance (see also p. 222-225). The recollection of a print after Abraham Bloemaert's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 130) probably aided Flinck in creating this composition, but he skilfully transformed it into something wholly contemporary.²⁶ The group of figures, with a lot of bright red and very light flesh tones, is carefully lit so that it stands out against the many shades of grey in the background. The deft 'koppeling' of the figures shows that Flinck could use with aplomb a lesson learnt from Rubens in constructing a composition in which divine and mortal figures are linked in a sweeping curve through space.²⁷

The success of Flinck's commission for her daughter and son-in-law must have prompted Amalia to order another allegory from him, this one to be much larger. In 1654 she got him to paint an *Allegory of the Death of Frederick Henry and the Continuation of the Orange Dynasty* for her 'large cabinet' in Huis ten Bosch (fig. 124). An *Annunciation* by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert had been hanging on the opposite wall since 1649 (fig. 131).²⁸ This Brabant-born artist, who worked in Antwerp and was one of the most successful followers of Van Dyck, had been a favourite at the court in The Hague for some time. This gave Flinck an opportunity



133. **PIETER LASTMAN** *Pastoral Couple*, 1619. Panel, 47 x 68.5 cm. Worcester (Mass), Worcester Art Museum, inv. no. 1984.39



134. **REMBRANDT** *The Flute Player* (*Uilenspiegel*), 1642. Etching and drypoint, state III (4), 116 x 143 mm. Amsterdam, The Rembrandt House Museum

to present himself as the equal of or – better yet – superior to the best Antwerp artists of the day. Flinck made a composition that subtly reflected that of Willeboirts's *Annunciation* facing it across the room (in its current form an 85-centimetre strip is missing from the top of that work).²⁹ As the Archangel Gabriel appears to the Virgin in Willeboirts's painting while she reads the Bible, so an angel appears to Amalia as she sits with an open book on her lap.³⁰ Flinck combined the pictorial schemes of two types of traditional Annunciation iconography (merged by Willeboirts) – the type with the descending angel and that with the angel kneeling before the Virgin. Here, the latter became the personification of Hope.³¹ In both works a monumental, imaginary classical architecture (in Flinck's case a huge tomb of Frederick Henry) is shown, and a ray of divine light breaks through dark grey-blue clouds. In the flowing outlines and gleaming surfaces, Flinck appropriated characteristics of a Van Dyckian manner, but the compactness of the modelling and the considered tonality of the many nuances, black, green, grey-green, blue-grey, greyish orange, reddish brown and yellow, with which the figures are subtly placed in the space relative to one another, show that his work was rooted in a different artistic tradition. His style appears to be in deliberate competition with the more superficial handling and relative lack of depth in Willeboirts's canvas.

From the same year, 1654, comes a pastoral painting that was probably commissioned as an overmantel (fig. 132). In the second and third decades of the seventeenth century Pieter Lastman was the first artist to make paintings of amorous pastoral couples with decidedly erotic overtones that do not allude to a specific story (fig. 133); these are more at home in the tradition of light-hearted pastoral ballads in the popular Amsterdam song books than in the pastoral literature for the stage.³² Rembrandt had reflected this in 1642 with an etching that gave an entirely new twist to the amorous pastoral: an uncouth rustic voyeur, flute at the ready, looks up the skirt of an innocent-seeming shepherdess who sits weaving a garland of flowers (fig. 134).³³ Rembrandt's little scene must have been at the back of Flinck's mind, but his shepherd and shepherdess are beautiful young urbanites with contemporary hairstyles, wearing loosely draped pastoral costumes made of expensively gleaming fabrics.³⁴ Erotic humour is still evident in the position of flute and flower garland, while the couple



135. GOVERT FLINCK *Bathsheba with King David's Letter*, 1659. Oil on canvas, 116.8 x 88.8 cm. St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-2824



136. REMBRANDT *Bathsheba with King David's Letter*, 1654. Oil on canvas, 142 x 142 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. M.I.975

eye one other with arch smiles. Rembrandt's almost alarming contrast between raw lust and naïve innocence is transformed into a playful game between two elegantly posed young people. And Rembrandt's restlessly jostling rams and billy-goats, age-old symbols of lust, have become quietly grazing sheep.³⁵ Flinck painstakingly observed all the rules of grace and decorum that Rembrandt had broken (and which Lastman largely ignored, too).

Flinck's endeavour to restore 'welstand' (which implied grace, beauty and decorum both of an individual figure and of a composition as a whole) to a central role is nicely expressed in his life studies (pp.196-199, figs. 271, 272 and 276).³⁶ Styling in body and pose was anathema to Rembrandt, and that included life drawing, whereas Flinck specifically accentuates conventional, 'welstandige' poses in arranging and depicting a nude model.³⁷ Flinck's painting of the semi-nude *Bathsheba with the Letter from King David* done in 1659, the last year of his life, must have been painted as a riposte to Rembrandt's incomparable masterpiece of 1654, probably as a commission (figs. 135 and 136). Flinck was undoubtedly aware that he could never equal the way Rembrandt evokes powerful emotional involvement in the viewer. The suggestion of physical proximity and the insistence with which Rembrandt compels the viewer to think about the inner conflict in this woman, faced as she is with an impossible dilemma, would have struck many in the upper ranks of Amsterdam society as unsuited to their prestigious reception rooms. Well-painted, attractive physical beauty was a prerequisite, of course, for Bathsheba ignited the fire of love in those who beheld her nakedness; Flinck wholly satisfied this requirement. His nude moreover followed the rules of grace and decorum, which created some distance from the viewer.³⁸



137. **FERDINAND BOL** *Vertumnus and Pomona*, 1644.
Oil on canvas, 155 x 131 cm. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art
Museum, inv. no. 1957.212



138. **FERDINAND BOL** *The Crowning of Mirtillo*, 165(0?). Oil on canvas, 138 x 192 cm.
San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honor, inv. no. 1937-5

Ferdinand Bol

Ferdinand Bol went through a similar process of development. As early as 1644, Bol had painted a *Vertumnus and Pomona* in which his style appears to have undergone a radical change (fig. 137), but the contrast with earlier work is mainly evident in the composition, based on Jacob Backer's work, the bright colours and the gleaming fabrics.³⁹ It is no coincidence that this move towards a lighter and more colourful palette occurred when he painted a work with a mythological subject. Throughout his career, Bol differentiated between classical or pastoral themes, for which he used light, bright colours, and biblical subjects painted with more muted colours and heavier shadows. The change that began in 1644 was fully developed by 1650, as we see, for instance, in his *The Crowning of Mirtillo* (fig. 138). This theme, taken from the pastoral tragicomedy *Il Pastor Fido*, was a favourite with Jacob Backer, who had painted a number of pastoral subjects based on Renaissance literature in the sixteen-forties.⁴⁰ At the same time, Flinck and Bol's contemporary Jacob van Loo, who had trained in The Hague, made his first works with such subjects, such as his *The Crowning of Mirtillo* of around 1649.⁴¹ There was certainly an interaction between these painters, but unlike Backer and Van Loo, Bol continued to create the effect of three-dimensional space entirely by means of colour, light and shadow.

Bol's *Venus and Adonis* in the Rijksmuseum (c. 1655-58) must have been made in competition with a work by Backer (figs. 139 and 140). Bol painted the same restrained movement by a rather hesitantly departing Adonis, who looks lovingly at the anxious Venus. This is an unusual interpretation of the subject, which we know only from a number of paintings by Backer, Bol and Van Loo.⁴² Rather than emphasizing the dramatic action of Adonis's departure, they focus on the loving relationship between the two, which Bol accentuated by placing two turtle doves lower right. Strikingly, we see in Bol's painting the same type of female nude as in Backer's (and in some of Van Loo's works, too). It is based on drawings of one particular female model



139 (cat.no. 77). **FERDINAND BOL** *Venus and Adonis*, c. 1655-58. Oil on canvas, 168 x 230 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4823

that Backer, Flinck, Bol and Van Loo made at the same time: small, high breasts, a rather broad midriff, almost no waist, and markedly long, thin lower legs.⁴³ Although stylized in pose and outline, the type definitely does not conform to classical proportions and anatomy; the ‘from life’ suggestion is admittedly less pronounced than in Rembrandt, but it is greater than in most Flemish or Italian nudes.⁴⁴ Where Bol’s painting differs significantly from Backer’s, however, is in the powerful modelling with which Bol’s figures advance out of a convincing space; this is achieved entirely by careful modulations of colour and tone. In comparison, Backer’s figures look quite flat and rather insecurely placed on a narrow strip against a background that lacks depth. Bol’s robust shadows and the lively palette create a potent relief that gives the figures a strong presence.

These latter qualities are also immediately evident in a rather large painting of *The Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist and the Archangel Gabriel* of 1659 (fig. 141). A Catholic client must



140. **JACOB BACKER** *Venus and Adonis*, c. 1650–51. Oil on canvas, 200 x 237.4 cm. Eichenzell, Kurhessische Hausstiftung, Schloss Fasanerie, inv. no. B 495



141 (cat.no. 83). **FERDINAND BOL** *The Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist and the Archangel Gabriel*, 1659. Oil on canvas, 120 x 90.5 cm. The Kremer Collection

have had a specific reason for commissioning Bol to make a work with this rare iconography. The combination of the Virgin and Child, the infant John the Baptist and the Archangel Gabriel is highly unusual and I am aware of only a few early Renaissance paintings of this subject by Botticelli and his circle.⁴⁵ As Flinck did earlier, Bol also looked to Anthony van Dyck when he was commissioned to make a devotional work of this kind. In the graceful movement with which Mary bends over the child as he lies on his back and raises one arm, Bol is making a variant of a composition he would have known from an engraving after Van Dyck.⁴⁶ Bol continues the flowing movement into the space in the Christ child's gesture as he grasps the lily Gabriel holds out to him. All the forms are fluidly connected from the lower right foreground to the upper left background and supported by the figure of John with his lamb. The robust forms and the colouring in the foreground so typical of Bol – a combination of rust red, strong yellow and very light flesh tones – set the brightly lit Virgin and Child off powerfully against the greyish dun and beige-brown shades in which the subsidiary figures are painted. None of this is at all reminiscent of Van Dyck or any other Flemish painter.

Flinck and Bol in the Town Hall

When the burgomasters of Amsterdam decided to award contracts for the decorations in the town hall, they commissioned Flinck and Bol to make the paintings in the most prestigious rooms.⁴⁷ For the Burgomasters' Cabinet they had to decorate the very large chimney breasts that faced each other across the room, with *Manius Curius Dentatus Rejects the Bribes of the Samnites* and *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp* respectively (pp. 134–135, figs. 167 and 168): a direct confrontation that inevitably invited comparison. It would soon have been



142. GOVERT FLINCK *Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom*, 1658. Oil on canvas, 465 x 450 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace, City Council Chamber.

realized that Flinck's approach – with well-defined forms linked by fluid movement, a more clearly constructed setting and more even lighting – is better suited to such huge paintings hanging high above the viewer's head (see further pp. 132-141).

Flinck confirmed his abilities on a truly grand scale with *Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom* for the City Council Chamber, completed in 1658, in which he achieved a high point of Rubenesque movement (fig. 142). At the same time, however, Flinck's roots in the Amsterdam history painting of an older generation remained very evident: in types, poses and gestures, the figures are reminiscent of the work of Pieter Lastman and even Claes Moyaert, but more stylized and painted with greater grace. In 1662, in other words after Flinck's death, Bol painted *Moses Descends from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments*, for the Magistrates' Chamber (fig. 144). The tall, relatively narrow format made this a difficult job and one that was clearly beyond Bol's power. Although he, too, sought assistance from compositions by Rubens (fig. 143), he failed to convincingly connect the crux of the scene – Moses coming down from the mountain – with figures in the foreground. In a preliminary drawing for this composition the figures either side of the too dominant figure seen from behind, which he borrowed from Rubens, had slightly more room (p. 201, fig. 281) – by clustering them more closely together in the painting he weakened the movement towards Moses. Bol was still working here with 'the forceful control of the lights and shadows' but he was unable to create spatial unity.⁴⁸



143. **PAULUS PONTIUS** after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1624. Engraving, 646 x 442 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-70.056



144. **FERDINAND BOL** *Moses Descends from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments*, 1662. Oil on canvas, 423 x 284 cm. Amsterdam. Royal Palace, Magistrates' Chamber

In 1659 the burgomasters of Amsterdam gave Flinck the largest public commission ever awarded to a Dutch painter: the Batavian Cycle for the lunettes, the semi-circular fields on the walls of the great gallery in the town hall. In September 1659, as a sort of preview, Flinck produced within a few days four large watercolour paintings on canvas as a one-off festive decoration for Amalia of Solms's visit to Amsterdam.⁴⁹ After this virtuoso performance, Flinck was awarded the definitive commission in November 1659. He had to paint eight huge canvases (c. 550 x 550 cm.), plus four crescent-shaped scenes of biblical heroes above the arched entrances to the Citizens' Hall, and was given six years to do it.⁵⁰ But Flinck died suddenly two months later, and two drawings are all that we have left of his plans (fig. 145, and p. 200, figs. 278-279). It is evident from the palette Flinck chose for the two large overmantel paintings he had previously made for the town hall that he would have painted these lunettes in much brighter colours than those we see today; the rather dark palettes of Jordaens and Lievens were unsuited to these extremely poorly lit locations (and the works have become even darker over time).⁵¹ The 'bright' style Flinck developed especially for decorative commissions would without doubt have been much more appropriate.



145 (cat.no. 50). GOVERT FLINCK *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis*, c. 1659. Black chalk, brown wash, 166 x 167 mm., arched top. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. no. 22345



146. GOVERT FLINCK and JÜRGEN OVENS *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis*, 1659 (Flinck) and 1662 (Ovens). Oil on canvas, 550 x 550 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace

It is ironic, however, that the only work by Flinck that is still hanging there is the darkest of all. This canvas, *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis*, which now looks really unsightly, was originally one of the temporary festive decorations Flinck had painted with watercolour on fine linen, unprimed, in shades of brown with beige highlights and black outlines in charcoal (fig. 146).⁵² In 1662 this huge watercolour was hauled out again as a stopgap to fill the space left when Rembrandt's work was removed, and the composition was quickly touched up by Jürgen Ovens with heavy brushstrokes, lines and highlights in oil paint.⁵³ However, the temporary solution proved permanent; from the eighteenth century until the nineteen-sixties, Flinck's original decoration continued to deteriorate, suffering the ravages of ageing and injudicious treatments.⁵⁴ In consequence, despite the recent restoration, virtually nothing is left of his large watercolour sketch. A surviving drawing that Flinck most probably made for the final version of *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* (fig. 145) shows that he meanwhile had a very different composition in mind.⁵⁵ He has now significantly increased the scale of the figures in the foreground. Once he saw his temporary canvases *in situ*, he must have realized that the figures were too small for the great distance from which they would be seen – a mistake his successors would repeat. There can be almost no doubt that if Flinck had lived to complete these works the gallery would have been considerably more impressive than it is now – albeit that then Rembrandt's removed (and drastically cut down) masterpiece would never have been painted.⁵⁶

There is an oil sketch by Bol for *The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerealis* (fig. 147). In view of the subject, it would appear to be a study for one of the lunettes in the Batavian series for the town hall. Was there a competition for which artists could submit designs? Did Bol, hoping for a commission, make one – or more – designs off



147 (cat.no. 82). **FERDINAND BOL** *The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerealis on the Demolished Bridge*, c. 1658-62. Oil on canvas, 122 x 112,5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4853



148. **ANTONIO TEMPESTA** possibly after Otto van Veen, *The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerealis*, 1612. Etching, 167 x 210 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-37.708



149. **JACOB JORDAENS** *The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerealis*, 1661-62. Oil on canvas, 550 x 550 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace

his own bat? And was this during the first round, or when new commissions awarded after Flinck's death? The tall, rectangular shape is totally different from that of the lunettes, so we may also wonder whether this was a commission from a member of Amsterdam's ruling elite who wanted this scene – or perhaps all of them – on a small scale for his own house. As Flinck had done in his watercolour decoration, Bol stayed very close to the composition of Antonio Tempesta's etching of this subject (fig. 148); all the artists who worked on the Batavian scenes took his set of prints as their point of departure.⁵⁷ Bol, though, brought the principal figures standing either side of a broken bridge much closer and added an allegorical figure holding wreaths and a palm above the heroes' heads.⁵⁸ What is clear is that Bol's composition would have been much more attractive in this place than the flat, confused heap of countless figures, notable for their marked inconsistency of scale, that the elderly Jordaens supplied (fig. 149).⁵⁹



150. FERDINAND BOL Reconstruction of the room at 6 Nieuwegracht, Utrecht, decorated c. 1660–63. Digital visualisation by Margriet van Eikema Hommes and Jonathan Gration

Ferdinand Bol in the Sixteen-Sixties

Bol's ambition to give his life-size figures a strong 'presence' culminated in a spectacular room decoration for a house in Utrecht, which he made in the early sixties (figs. 150 and 151).⁶⁰ The suite of five paintings that covered the four-metre-high walls of a room all round from floor to ceiling – there was not even a wainscot – must have been something wholly new. Without wainscoting it was possible to create the illusion that the figures stood on the same plane as the viewers and, as it were, shared their space. The Renaissance endeavour to achieve 'rilievo', life-size 'presence', as advocated by Alberti and Vasari, came to a head in Caravaggio's altarpieces.⁶¹ Rembrandt even surpassed this in his few history paintings with life-size protagonists, like those in *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (p. 25, fig. 11) and *Bathsheba* (fig. 136), 'advancing strongly', as Sandrart put it.⁶² Bol had learnt Rembrandt's lessons well and knew how to make figures come forward powerfully. The effect was helped by relatively deep shadows – which Bol continued to use much more than Flinck. Unlike Rembrandt, however, Bol did it with bright colours and more idealized forms, and he did not follow Rembrandt's technique of varying relief in the paint.⁶³

In *Elisha Refusing Naaman's Gifts* (fig. 152), the commission for the Leper Hospital painted in 1661, we see, as we did in the town hall, that the regents, possibly with help from poets or humanists, came up with an unusual subject that aptly expressed their moral task (see

151. FERDINAND BOL
Abraham Entertaining the Three Angels,
 c. 1660-63. Oil on canvas, 404 x 282.5
 cm. The Hague, Peace Palace (on loan
 from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
 inv. no. SK-A-1577)



pp. 173-174).⁶⁴ The painting is a good example of the way Bol very skilfully amalgamated the sources on which he chiefly drew during his training as a history painter – Rembrandt, Lastman and Rubens – into a painting with a highly recognizable individual style and a coherent narrative. The figure of Naaman and his position relative to the doorway of a house with a woman looking out of a window are a direct borrowing from Rembrandt's 1637 etching of *Abraham Casting out Hagar and Ishmael* (fig. 153). For Naaman he reused, with a few small adjustments to the torso, the Rubenesque figure of Fabricius (p. 135, fig. 168). From a print after Rubens dated 1636 (p. 137, fig. 171), which he must have studied very closely, he took – even more literally than Flinck had done before him – the naked, kneeling servant laying down valuable gifts and the figure behind him bearing a heavy load on his shoulder (p. 134, fig. 167). The arrangement – a rising pyramid with figures and animals that stand out against the sky at the top (with or without a parasol), where the story clearly unfolds from left to right – is a construction typical of Lastman. Rembrandt must have taught all his pupils to analyse Lastman's history paintings thoroughly. We still see a great deal of Rembrandt's example in the landscape background and the way the groups are lit, but the distinctive palette makes Bol's composition a comprehensible whole with a character all its own.

Bol's practice of using warmer and more subdued colours for biblical subjects than in his works with stories from classical history or mythology (or allegories with mythological figures) is also evident in *Neptune Enters the Amsterdam Admiralty's Service* (fig. 154). Bright green, blue, yellow, pink and white satin fabrics create accents in this joyous composition. Bol painted this work for the Amsterdam Admiralty between 1661 and 1663; it was to hang in



152 (cat.no. 86). **FERDINAND BOL** *Elisha Refusing Naaman's Gifts*, 1661, Oil on canvas, 151 x 248,5 cm. The Rembrandt House Museum (on loan from the Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 7294)

153. **REMBRANDT** *Abraham Casting out Hagar and Ishmael*, 1637. Etching and drypoint, only state, NHD 166, 125 x 95 mm, Amsterdam, The Rembrandt House Museum

the saloon of the governors' yacht. It is easy to imagine that the gentlemen were delighted. The composition is of a type often used in Amsterdam since Lastman: a figure placed higher both literally and metaphorically, flanked by standing figures regarding someone on a slightly lower level, who is surrounded by others lower still. Bol used it effectively and brought vitality to the scene by way of Neptune, who, with a graceful movement, cleverly links the group on the left to the sea-horses pulling his chariot towards us.⁶⁵ This last was a motif Bol took (in mirror image) from an engraving based on a performance during the Joyous Entry of Marie de' Medici in Amsterdam in 1642, in which Neptune drives across the waves (fig. 155).⁶⁶ The atmospheric view of ships in the distance immediately brings to mind the background – probably painted by Willem van de Velde the Younger – to Bol's portrait of Admiral de Ruyter of 1667 (p. 162, fig. 210). Here too, a few years earlier, Bol appears to have called upon Van de Velde's help.⁶⁷ With such a significant commission – Bol was paid the very considerable sum of 2,000 guilders for the four paintings he made for the Admiralty – it is quite conceivable that a specialist was hired to paint this passage.

The other paintings for the Admiralty were destined for the governors' boardroom. Again, the clients had chosen original subjects with a fitting moral message: *Aeneas at the Court of Latinus* and *Consul Titus Manlius Torquatus Orders the Beheading of his Son* (figs. 156 and 157). The more attractive of the two is the scene of Aeneas at the court of Latinus presenting prizes after a sailing race, but it is illustrative of Bol's increasing habit of repeating motifs he had used before. Many elements of this composition appear in the sketch for *Jethro Advising Moses* of around 1655-56 (fig. 158), a painting that was never made: the bowing man climbing the steps, the priest seated beside Aeneas/Moses, the boy with the dog lower right and, of course, the overall structure with the steps, the column and the heavy draperies. Aeneas looks



155. **PIETER NOLPE** after Monogrammist I.W. (Jan Baptist Weenix), *Neptune and Arion Drive on the Sea*, 1642. Engraving, 360 x 378 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.033



154 (cat.no. 87). **FERDINAND BOL** *Neptune Enters the Amsterdam Admiralty's Service*, c. 1661-62. Oil on canvas, 114 x 158 cm. Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 3001

very like the figure of Fabricius we know from another painting with a similar composition, *Consul Gaius Fabricius Refuses To Be Bribeed with Gifts* (fig. 159). What chiefly sets *Aeneas at the Court of Latinus* apart from these other works is the background of masts with sails lowered. Strikingly, in the oil sketch for the painting (fig. 160) these are exotic ships (galleys with a single sail), whereas in the final version all but one have been changed into the masts of modern vessels, establishing a clear relationship with the current age.

In these late years of his career Bol felt less of a need to think up something new. The last history work of his that we know, *The Persian King Cyrus Returns the Treasure Looted from the Temple in Jerusalem* (fig. 161), is actually a repetition in mirror image and a smaller size of one of the large canvases that decorated the room in the house in Utrecht (see fig. 150).⁶⁸ The overall composition of the two is very similar to the paintings discussed above, particularly *Consul Gaius Fabricius Refuses To Be Bribeed with Gifts* (fig. 159), and some figures in earlier works return quite literally. There has been an ongoing debate about the subject of the two paintings. For the last few decades they went under the title *Bringing Gifts for Solomon's Temple*, but it was recently convincingly argued that this is the story of the Persian king, Cyrus, who returns treasure looted from the temple in Jerusalem to the people of Israel.⁶⁹ In this work the treasures are not being brought, they are being carried away to be used in the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem. This rare subject, which had a special significance for orthodox Calvinists, was painted for the meeting room of the churchwardens of Amsterdam's Zuiderkerk – with which Bol and his family had personal ties (see p. 79).⁷⁰



156. **FERDINAND BOL** *Consul Titus Manlius Torquatus Orders the Beheading of his Son*, 1663.
Oil on canvas, 218 x 242 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-613

A comparison with the overmantel work Nicolaes van Helt Stockade painted in 1656 for the Treasury Extraordinary in the town hall (fig. 162) shows that even an uninspired work like this was still superior to what many a capable Amsterdam artist who used a 'bright' style could produce. Stockade's *Joseph Distributing Corn* is a rather uninteresting update of a type of composition also used by Bol, which had been introduced by Lastman. Here, though, the outlines are hard, the colours are strident and depth is suggested only by overlapping outlines and a pronounced perspective. No attempt has been made to create harmony in colour and



157. FERDINAND BOL *Aeneas at the Court of Latinus*, c. 1662-63. Oil on canvas, 218 x 232 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-614

tone; the contrast with Bol's technique is very marked. Bol binds elements together with sophisticated transitions of light and shade, colour and tone, creating a cogent suggestion of three-dimensional space; he convincingly conveys the texture of materials and skilfully organizes the composition by means of groups that are picked out by light or left in shadow.

Bol's *Venus and the Sleeping Mars*, a masterpiece dating from around 1661 (fig. 163), and the 1663 *Allegory of Education* (fig. 164), which was made to go on a chimney breast in the Trip House, prove that in the first half of the sixties Bol could far transcend this level in large paintings with a few figures in a tranquil situation. The latter work is a *portrait historié*



158. FERDINAND BOL *Moses Appoints Leaders on Jethro's Advice*, 1655-56. Oil on canvas, 81 x 66 cm. St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-8866



159. FERDINAND BOL *Consul Gaius Fabricius Refuses To Be Bribeed with Gifts*, c. 1656. Oil on canvas, 83 x 83.5 cm. Worcester (Mass.), Worcester Art Museum, inv. no. 1961.39

of Margaretha Trip as Minerva, teaching her younger sister Anna Maria Trip (see also p. 160).⁷¹ Every educated viewer would immediately have recognized the allusion to traditional personifications of *Grammar*, the first image in series of the Liberal Arts (fig. 165).⁷² An important difference, however, is that it is Minerva herself, the goddess of wisdom and the mother of all the arts, who is teaching the young girl, as Rubens had pictured it in *The Education of Marie de' Medici* in his famous Medici cycle in the Luxembourg Palace.⁷³ There were no prints of these paintings, but there must have been descriptions in circulation; this respectable example will doubtless have been a factor in Bol's conception of this work.

Constructing the work as a balanced equilateral triangle, Bol avoided dullness by introducing a slight twist in the bodies of the two protagonists, and by the movement in space of the figures on either side of Minerva: the two putti walking towards Minerva and the pretty Anna Maria, who connects the viewer's space – her skirt seems to come out of the picture – with her sister Margaretha, who is placed further back. But what makes the painting surpass those of his fellow artists in Amsterdam (Rembrandt always excepted, of course) is the extraordinarily rich colouring: the sheen of the gold, pink, white and blue fabrics, the gleaming golds and silvers, the skin tones ranging from almost chalky white to warm rose, everything carefully attuned and painted in many tonal nuances with superb control of shadows and highlights. A painting like this explains why Bol must have been a significant



160 (cat.no. 88). FERDINAND BOL *Aeneas at the Court of Latinus*, c. 1662. Oil on canvas, 68 x 86 cm.
Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. GG 249

model for Gerard de Lairese, the most important history painter of the next generation, when he arrived in Amsterdam in 1665. During the first five years of his Amsterdam career, De Lairese adapted his style somewhat to what the Amsterdam elite was used to, and enhanced the strictly classicist manner he had learnt in Liège with elements like Bol's warm colouring and his careful use of 'houding'. It seems highly likely that Bol and the young De Lairese were in contact during that time. One can well imagine that his work would be a guide to successful integration into the Amsterdam tradition for this ambitious young man.⁷⁴

In Conclusion

Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol deliberately developed a style that was ideally suited to history paintings with a prestigious function, designed for specific places – both overmantel paintings in the reception rooms of the houses of the elite and decorations in public spaces and palaces.⁷⁵ A style like this was intended to convey a message reflecting the status of the client or the function of the space in a public building. After the mid-sixteen-forties, their works were first and foremost 'commission art' and not, as Rembrandt's were, conceived as objects to be collected – and these commissions came from a carefully built-up network.⁷⁶



161 (cat.no. 95). **FERDINAND BOL** *The Persian King Cyrus Returns the Treasure Looted from the Temple*, 1669.
Oil on canvas, 157 x 171 cm. Amsterdam, Nieuwe Kerk (on loan from the Protestantse Kerk Amsterdam)



162. **NICOLAES VAN HELT STOCKADE** *Joseph Distributing Corn*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 165 x 190 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace, Kamer van de Thesauri Ordinaris



163. **FERDINAND BOL** *Venus and the Sleeping Mars*, c. 1661. Oil on canvas, 228 x 200 cm. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. 245

To achieve an appropriate, 'bright' style in which 'welstand' (grace and decorum) was a crucial concept, they turned away from Rembrandt's radical innovations and harked back to a more conventional representation of gestures, poses and lighting.

Flinck evolved a style in which figures act with clear 'legibility' in a well-constructed space with limited contrasts of light and shade. He sought grace and the selection of the beautiful in nature in accordance with the traditional rules of decorum, with fluid outlines and elegant movement in the composition as a whole. Prints after Rubens that he had already learnt to study with Lambert Jacobsz were an important guide in his change of style. He supplemented his knowledge on a trip to Antwerp, where painters like Van Dyck and Willeboirts Bosschaert must have made an impression on him.⁷⁷ He could also have studied paintings by all these artists in palaces in The Hague. Aided by the knowledge of working with 'houding' he had acquired with Rembrandt, he created a wholly individual 'bright' style that brought him great success with the upper echelons of Amsterdam society and at the courts in Berlin, Cleves and The Hague.

Bol stayed closer to what he had learnt from Rembrandt; he never abandoned the use of strong shadows to bring his figures powerfully to the fore. In terms of colour and technique he was Flinck's superior, but he did not have Flinck's natural ease and ingenuity in constructing multi-figure narrative compositions. In the sixteen-sixties, after Flinck's death,



164 (cat.no. 89). **FERDINAND BOL** *Allegory of Education (portrait historié of Margaretha Trip as Minerva Teaching Anna Trip)*, 1663. Oil on canvas, 208 x 179 cm. Amsterdam, The Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Trippenhuis (on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-46)

165. CORNELIS SCHUT *Grammatica* (from the series *The Seven Liberal Arts*), c. 1640–45. Etching and engraving, 256 x 344 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-33.258



he was indisputably the painter who got the most important commissions where prestigious works for the salon or for public spaces were wanted. Rembrandt, to be sure, was still seen as the greatest artist of the age, as De Lairese was later to leave in no doubt in his *Groot Schilderboek*,⁷⁸ but his work was not suited to official commissions, aside from the fact that he was not prepared to comply with others' wishes.⁷⁹ To Rembrandt, every painting was a new experiment; he only wanted to follow his own drives as an artist. Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol were very different: they modelled themselves on Apelles and Raphael, who were always cited in the art literature as shining examples of painters who were successful in part because of their pleasant nature and polite dealings with clients.⁸⁰ For such artists, the status of their art depended in the first place on their relations with the ruling elite and the reputations they had established.⁸¹ Unlike any other artists of the age, they were able to achieve this status – to a degree through their networking skills but above all by developing an individual, distinctive style that this elite recognized as wholly appropriate for the dignified art they wanted.

Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck in the Burgomasters' Cabinet

ERIC JAN SLUIJTER

For the 77th birthday of Albert Blankert, who has contributed so much to our insight into these paintings

The commission Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck were awarded by the city council to supply paintings for the two monumental chimney breasts that faced one another across the Burgomasters' Cabinet was an unprecedented challenge in these painters' careers.¹ The sheer size of the chimney breasts, the white marble, the supporting double columns with Corinthian capitals and the lavish ornamentation were designed to convey the fact that this chamber had the highest status of all the rooms in the town hall (figs. 166).² It was the administrative epicentre of Europe's largest and most monumental town hall, the meeting place of the four governing burgomasters and the former burgomasters. It was the task of the paintings, high on five metres high, to express this prestige in images that underlined the moral leadership of the burgomasters and validated their position.

Both Bol and Flinck must have regarded the job of producing a huge, multi-figured history painting for this room as a daunting but extraordinarily prestigious one. The works measured 485 x 350 cm and

485 x 377 cm respectively (see figs. 167 and 168), and no painter in Amsterdam had ever made history paintings of this magnitude before. The job was made even harder by the fact that the very unusual subjects had no tradition on which an artist could draw. They were consequently faced with a number of problems that were new to them and for which they had to find satisfactory solutions. At the same time, it meant a trial of strength between the two painters who at that time were enjoying the greatest success among the Amsterdam elite – it was obvious, after all, that everyone would compare the two paintings.

The subject Govert Flinck was commissioned to paint, *Manius Curius Dentatus Rejecting the Bribes of the Samnites*, had to show how the frugal, incorruptible Roman consul was not tempted by the riches he was offered and that he was a man happy with a simple meal of turnips. As far as we know, the episode had never been depicted in Holland before. The Amsterdam burgomasters

wanted to use this estimable historical parallel to convince viewers of the virtues that they, as powerful 'republican' governors, possessed ('consul' was also translated as 'burgomaster' at that time). The subject had been depicted in a town hall once before: in Basel by the famous Hans Holbein the Younger.³ One of the men involved in the Amsterdam project probably had a drawn copy of it, because Flinck was evidently aware of this composition, as appears from the open gallery, columns and arches and a view of trees beyond, and the extraordinary stiff pleated skirts worn by the two pages. In devising the composition for this enormous canvas, Flinck resourcefully adapted a scheme he had used before. Eleven years previously he had had to make a large work in an upright format with many figures – the civic guard portrait of the *Company of Albert Bas* (fig. 169) Although not a history painting, it had likewise been a new challenge; not only was it uncommonly large for a militia work, the vertical orientation was unusual too. Flinck moreover had to find a response to the powerful movement and huge vitality of Rembrandt's *Night Watch*, beside

which his work was going to hang (p. 170, fig. 219). But Flinck wanted every figure to be clearly visible, something Rembrandt had failed to do in his radical pursuit of a unity of movement in the composition as a whole.

Where did an ambitious painter look for a model for such a huge, vertical, multi-figure painting? Almost inevitably he would have turned to the altarpieces by the great Antwerp master Peter Paul Rubens. It was an ingenious idea to use the layout of his *Adoration of the Magi* in Tournai. Flinck knew the composition from an engraving (fig. 170) in which he could see how Rubens had built up a monumental, yet vibrant composition with life-sized, clearly-defined figures that filled the canvas. Like Rubens, Flinck placed men at the top of a staircase, standing behind a balustrade or leaning over it, others descending the stairs and the most important figures sitting and standing at the bottom.

Eleven years later, the success of this civic guard work prompted him to use the same framework for the much larger painting for the Burgomasters' Cabinet. Here, Rubens's composition was also



166. Amsterdam, Royal Palace,
Burgomasters' Cabinet seen from
the south



167. GOVERT FLINCK *Manius Curius Dentatus Rejecting the Bribes of the Samnites*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 485 x 377 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace, Burgomasters' Cabinet



168. FERDINAND BOL *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 485 x 350 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace, Burgomasters' Cabinet

fitting in terms of content: in both scenes a group arrives to offer a 'revered' person gifts. Flinck reversed the composition. He made the architecture more monumental and less cluttered so that he could place the figures in the space even more convincingly, and exploited the dynamic movement of Rubens's figures more than he had in the militia work; there is a sinuous curve that flows down towards us and comes to a halt just before the edge of the picture space. The men in the foreground of the militia work appear to be standing on the same level as the viewer; this time, however, Flinck took into account the height at which the

painting would hang by introducing a step across the full width at the viewer's eye level. And, so it seems, the brown and white dog on the left is trotting up the steps from our own space. Flinck was able to lift this plinth from another print after a composition by Rubens, an engraving of his *Abraham and Melchizedek* (fig. 171). Flinck skilfully added the motif of the kneeling slave who sets down gifts and behind him the bearded, gesturing Samnite, variations of figures in the same print. There is no evidence at all, however, of a Rubenesque manner of painting. Although Flinck may have seen Rubens's 1615 altarpiece on a trip to the Sou-



169. GOVERT FLINCK *The Company of Captain Albert Bas and Lieutenant Lucas Conijn*, 1645. Oil on canvas, 347 x 244 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (on loan from the City of Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-C-371

170. NICOLAES LAUWERS after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1620-30. Engraving, 616 x 454 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1887-A-12010



thern Netherlands and had certainly encountered other works by the Antwerp master, it was nonetheless primarily 'Rubens in print' that would have served as his example, and his style of painting remained completely different. The types of figures are also quite different. The sober Dentatus and his servant on the left, for example, are reminiscent of the Bible figures of Lambert Jacobsz, Flinck's first teacher, and the naked torso of the kneeling man has little in common with Rubens's bruiser, and much more with the muscular figures in Lambert Jacobsz's painting of the *Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard*.⁴

It made sense for Flinck to study the print of *Abraham and Melchizedek* closely. It too, after all, told a story in which one general presents gifts to another. It enabled him to interweave two Rubens

compositions in which a group of men and their retinue offer riches. Flinck was highly inventive in the way he constructed a monumental, legible composition that puts the story across convincingly. The meticulous spacing of the figures relative to one another and their connection to one another with clear shapes, calm gestures and gazes, and carefully thought through transitions of colour and tone, make it a painting that is perfectly suited to this place.

Ferdinand Bol had also made a sketch of this subject (fig. 172). The position of Dentatus in front of the high, bare chimney breast, turning to the group behind him, suggests that Bol, too, knew the drawing after Holbein's painting in Basel. Did the two painters, having been shown this example by the

172 (cat.no. 144). **FERDINAND BOL** *Manius Curius Dentatus Rejecting the Bribes of the Samnites*, 1655. Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, black chalk, 388 x 328 mm. Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. 9504

171. **HANS WITDOECK** after Peter Paul Rubens, *Abraham and Melchizedek*, 1636. Engraving, 409 x 450 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-61.121



burgomasters, submit designs? We do not know. Bol made a sketch of about the same size and in the same technique (pen and ink, wash and black chalk) for *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp* (fig. 173), the subject he was commissioned to make and which came to hang opposite Flinck's *Dentatus*. In this scene, the incorruptible consul Fabricius is entirely unmoved by the sudden appearance of a blaring elephant from behind a curtain, a trick played on him by his opponent King Pyrrhus.

The scale of the figures in Bol's two sketches is different, however, which makes it unlikely that they were done at the same time. The light comes from the left in both drawings, so at that time Bol had yet to take into account the fact that the paintings were to hang facing each other with the window wall on one side. In the final paintings, however, the light was consistent with the position of the

windows: in Bol's it came from the right and in Flinck's from the left. In Bol's first sketch the figures are placed in a high, rather ill-defined space with drapes. The protagonists wear Rembrandtesque clothes, which are actually more in keeping with a work on a biblical subject. Bol probably soon saw that such a composition was unsuited to the large size – it would mean that more than two and a half metres of canvas at the top would have to be filled with dim architecture, curtains or sky.

In Bol's next design for his painting of Fabricius and Pyrrhus the main figures were placed on a high platform with a flight of steps leading from it, down which frightened children tumble (fig. 174). Soldiers in Roman dress stand unmoved on each side in the foreground and a man who has escaped from Rembrandt's *Hundred Guilder Print* looks on. Bol, too, began to use monumental, multi-level architecture in order to place the figures at



173 (cat.no. 107). **FERDINAND BOL** *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp*, 1655. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 394 x 332 mm. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 1749



174. **FERDINAND BOL** *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp*, 1656. Black chalk, pen and washes in grey, 61.7 x 46.1 cm. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 1748

different heights in the space, and unmistakably drew on an engraving of Rubens's *Miracles of St Ignatius of Loyola* (fig. 175) for the basic structure. The semi-circular architectural space that can be seen in the background of a subsequent oil sketch shows that he still had that composition in mind (fig. 176). This time the scene is reversed, probably because by now Bol had realized that the situation in the room meant that the light had to come from the right. By eliminating the high platform, Bol brought the main characters closer and was able to depict them on a somewhat larger scale. He also emphasized the unflappably chatting Fabricius and accentuated the terror of the bystanders by adding a soldier fleeing towards us, after an example of a terrified man in a *Resurrection of Christ* by Pieter Lastman.⁵

In a following oil sketch Bol tried a different composition (fig. 177): the main characters have been brought to the foreground and the staircase has disappeared; only a step parallel to the picture plane remains and a large arch closes off the top. Rubens's *Abraham and Melchizedek* composition, which Bol must also have known well, seems to resonate in it (fig. 171). The elephant has been moved back to the other side, although the light continues – somewhat illogically – to come from the right. Of the figures in the foreground only a dog slinking away and the fleeing soldier, moved to the right, remain to convey fear. The protagonists are now not only much bigger, they also have far sturdier figures and their proportions, poses and costumes have made them more 'classical'. Such figure types are based more on Rubens than on Northern Netherlandish examples. Fabricius, for example, has typical 'Rubens legs' (broad knees, bowed shins), like the armoured Abraham in the engraving.

At this point, Bol must have realized that while this was indeed a legible composition, at full size there would still be two metres of empty space at the

top, which would in no way be consistent with Flinck's composition opposite. In the end Bol reversed the two robust protagonists in his last composition (fig. 178) and, while retaining the larger scale, fitted them into the earlier design. In comparison to the figures in the foreground they have now actually become too large. Admittedly they instantly capture the viewer's attention, but it makes the suggestion of depth less convincing. Bol added a terrified soldier seen from the back, quoting in mirror image a similarly frightened figure, likewise placed in the foreground, which he had seen in a print of Rubens's *Assumption of the Virgin* (p. 117, fig. 143). Some years later he would use this figure again in *Moses Descends from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments* for the Magistrates' Chamber (p. 117, fig. 144).

Conveying the sort of strong reactions and powerful movements needed for this subject was not Bol's strong suit. Nonetheless for the composition as a whole he found a consistent solution that



175. **MARINUS ROBYN VAN DER GOES** after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Miracles of St Ignatius of Loyola*, after 1633. Engraving, 575 x 450 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-67,925

could compete with Flinck's work at the other end of the room. With the warmer palette, the carefully painted effects of lustrous and gleaming materials, and the skilful way in which the figures are powerfully lit against the dark greys of the background, Bol showed his entirely individual style, completely different from Flinck's. The organization of the space is not entirely successful, however, and the composition is not as solidly put together as Flinck's. We do not know the burgomasters' opinion about this trial of strength, but we can imagine that they thought Flinck's style – a more clearly constructed space, more even illumination, and clearly-defined forms linked by supple movement – more appropriate for such huge paintings placed high above viewers' heads. Although Flinck's good

contacts among the governing burgomasters probably clinched it, it is hardly surprising that in 1658 it was he who was commissioned to paint a very large work in the almost as prestigious City Council Chamber (*Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom*, p. 116, fig. 142), and finally, in 1659, he was awarded the large commission to paint twelve enormous canvases, the whole Batavian series and four Bible scenes, for the lunettes in the town hall gallery. Bol was also commissioned to make one other large work for one of the most impressive rooms, the *Moses Descends from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments* for the Magistrates' Chamber (p. 117, fig. 144). But this commission came in 1662, after Flinck had died. In 1658 Bol had probably hoped to get a commission for the overmantel

176 (cat.no. 75). **FERDINAND BOL** *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp*, 1655-56. Oil on canvas, 71 x 54.5 cm. Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 35807



177 (cat.no. 76). **FERDINAND BOL** *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp*, 1655-56. Oil on canvas, 80 x 65 cm. Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 25383



painting opposite Flinck's *Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom* in the City Council Chamber (p. 116, fig. 142), an equally large picture of *Moses and Jethro*, because he had made an oil sketch for it (p. 126, fig. 158). However, this commission was awarded to Jan Gerritsz van Bronckhorst (fig. 179). We do not know why; perhaps it was simply to save money: Van Bronckhorst was paid a lot less than Flinck for an overmantel of the same size. Bol would not have worked for less than Flinck – remuneration and reputation were closely linked. Flinck and Bol were each paid 1,500 guilders for their works in the Burgomasters' Cabinet, and Flinck actually received 2,500 guilders for the even larger painting for the Magistrates' Chamber (Van Bronckhorst only got 1,000 guilders for the similar

sized painting opposite it). These were incredible sums of money, among the highest prices paid for works of art in the seventeenth century. But then, they were also the largest commissions in the seventeenth century, both in size and prestige, and they were made by painters with exceptional reputations.

178. **FERDINAND BOL** *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus in Pyrrhus's Army Camp*, 1655–56. Oil on canvas, 81 x 65 cm. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. no. 248



179. **JAN GERRITSZ VAN BRONCKHORST** *Moses and Jethro*, 1659. Oil on canvas, 465 x 450 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace, City Council Chamber



Notes

Abbreviations

SAA	Stadsarchief Amsterdam
DTB	Doop-, trouw- en begraafregisters (Baptismal, Marriage and Burial Registers)

Introduction - Leonore van Sloten and Norbert Middelkoop

- 1 Von Moltke 1965.
- 2 Blankert 1982.
- 3 Sumowski 1979-92 and *ibid.*, 1983-94.
- 4 See also coll. cat. 2010, exh. cat. Berlin 2006, exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10 and exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014.
- 5 Exh. cat. Berlin / Amsterdam / London 1991-92.
- 6 Exh. cat. Melbourne / Canberra 1997-98.
- 7 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16.
- 8 Queen's University's Bader International Study Centre, Herstmonceux Castle, East Sussex (UK), 16-19 July 2015; a large number of the contributions are published in Dickey (ed.) 2017.

Timeline - Sophia Thomassen

- 1 T. van der Molen in exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, pp. 11 and 221, note 1. Known thanks to a medallion struck after his death and published in Immerzeel 1842, p. 240.
- 2 Blankert 1982, p. 71; Regionaal Archief Dordrecht, DTB, no. 11, 'Dooopboek' no. 3, f. 112 vo.
- 3 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, pp. 12 and 13; Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, p. 20.
- 4 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 13.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 14; Dudok van Heel 2006, p. 202; Von Sandart 1675, f. 319.
- 6 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 14; Dudok van Heel 2006, pp. 204 and 207.
- 7 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 14.

- 8 Blankert 1982, pp. 16-17; Kok 2013, pp. 46-47 and 49.
- 9 *Susanna and the Elders*, red chalk, 235 x 364 mm, verso. Berlijn, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 5296; Bevers 2006, p. 102, no. 18; Blankert 1982, p. 71, fig. 3 (as c. 1637); Bene-sch 1973, vol. 2, pp. 106-07, no. 448.
- 10 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 15; SAA, *Archief van de Weeskamer en Commissie van Liquidatie der Zaken van de Voormalige Weeskamer*, no. 5073, 'Verkoop van inboedels: Daniel Janss. van Beuningen. 1637 - 1638 (Boedelverkoop Jan Basse)', no. 962.
- 11 Kok 2013, p. 55.
- 12 Blankert 1982, p. 71; SAA, *Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam* (NAA), no. 5075, 'A. Loeffs', no. 1602(B), f. 149 and 150.
- 13 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 15.
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15 and 221 note 37; SAA, *Archief van de Schepenen: kwijscheldingsregisters*, no. 5062, 'Registers van kwijschelding', no. 40, f. 102v-103, 26 May 1644.
- 15 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 16; SAA, *Doop, Trouw en Begraafregisters* (DTB), 'Huwelijkinstekeningen van de pui', no. 678, f. 93.
- 16 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 16.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 17; SAA, DTB, 'Begraafregisters van de Westerkerk', no. 1100A, f. 98.
- 18 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 17; SAA, *Inventaris Archief van de Remonstrantse Gemeente*, no. 612, 'Dooopregister', no. 284, f. 55 and SAA, DTB, 'Dooopregisters', no. 301, f. 53.
- 19 SAA, *Archief van de Burgemeesters: poor-terboeken*, no. 5033, 'Registers van gekochte poorters': "E", no. 2, f. 253-253v.
- 20 Blankert 1982, p. 72; SAA, DTB, 'Trouwregisters van de Nieuwe Kerk' no. 990, f. 272 and 273. Notice was given on 2 October 1653; SAA, DTB, 'Huwelijksintekeningen van de kerk', no. 472, f. 51.
- 21 Blankert 1982, p. 73; SAA, DTB, 'Dooopregisters Nieuwezijds Kapel', no. 65, f. 139. On 5 May, only three weeks later, one of Bol's children died, probably Cornelia. SAA DTB, 'Begraafregisters Nieuwe Kerk', no. 1055, f. 73.
- 22 Bontemantel/Kernkamp 1897, vol. 2, pp. 59-61.

- 23 Blankert 1982, p. 73; from a mention in The Hague, RKD Netherlands Institute for Art History, *Archief Dr. A. Bredius*, s.v. Bol, pp. 15-16 (Notary J. van de Ven, Amsterdam).
- 24 Blankert 1982, p. 73; SAA, DTB, 'Dooopregisters Oude Kerk', no. 9, f. 148. One month later one of Bol's children, probably Balthasar, was interred in the Oude Kerk. SAA, DTB, 'Begraafregisters Oude Kerk', no. 1047, f. 11.
- 25 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 20; SAA, DTB, 'Huwelijkinstekeningen van de pui', no. 683, f. 28.
- 26 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 18; Bontemantel 1897, II, p. 520.
- 27 Bontemantel/Kernkamp 1897, vol. 2, p. 520.
- 28 Blankert 1982, p. 73; SAA, DTB, 'Dooopregisters Zuiderkerk', no. 94, f. 317.
- 29 SAA, *Archief van Thesaurieren Ordinaris*, no. 5039, 'resoluties 1 april 1657-16 oktober 1664', no. 2, f. 12.
- 30 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 20; SAA, *Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam* (NAA), no. 5075, 'G. Borsseleer', no. 1474, 27 July 1658.
- 31 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 20; Scheltema 1855-85, vol. 1, p. 134.
- 32 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, pp. 19-21; SAA, *Archief van Thesaurieren Ordinaris*, no. 5039, 'resoluties 1 april 1657-16 oktober 1664', no. 2, f. 42v.
- 33 Blankert 1982, p. 74; Scheltema 1855-85, vol. 3, pp. 104 and 115.
- 34 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 21; Scheltema 1855-85, vol. 2, p. 143, note 12.
- 35 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 21; SAA, DTB, 'Begraafregisters van de Westerkerk', no. 1000, f. 172.
- 36 Blankert 1982, p. 74; SAA, DTB, 'Dooopregister Nieuwezijds Kapel', no. 65, f. 184.
- 37 SAA, DTB, 'Begraafregister Nieuwe Kerk', no. 1055, f. 117. Elisabeth was survived by her husband and one child, from which it can be concluded that both Elisabeth and her newborn child died soon after the birth. SAA, *Archief van de Weeskamer*, no. 5004, 'Begraafregisters', no. 10, 8 April 1661.

38 Blankert 1982, pp. 75 and 114-17, nos. 56-58; Kossman 1937.

39 Formerly in Leiden old town hall (destroyed during a fire in 1929). Blankert 1982, pp. 75 and 107, no. 44; Regionaal Archief Leiden, *Secretarie-archief 1575-1851*, inv. no. 3772, 'Ordonnantieboek deel W', fol. 203.

40 Blankert 1982, p. 76; SAA, *Archief van Burgemeesters*, no. 5028, 'Resoluties van de kriegsraad', no. 505, no. 8.

41 Blankert 1982, pp. 76 and 109, no. 47; Oldewelt 1934, p. 70.

42 Blankert 1982, pp. 63 and 124-27, nos. 76-87.

43 SAA, DTB, 'Begraafregisters Westerkerk', no. 1101, f. 95.

44 Blankert 1982, p. 78 and SAA, DTB, 'Ondertrouwregisters Kerk', no. 494, f. 140.

45 Blankert 1982, p. 79; Commelin 1693/94, vol. 2, p. 539; Scheltema, 1855-85, vol. 3, pp. 104 and 115.

46 Blankert, 1982, p. 79; SAA, *Archief van Burgemeesters*, no. 5028, 'Kohier van de 20oste penning, 1674', no. 662, f. 548. Their combined wealth thus can be estimated at 68,000 guilders. According to Kok 2013, p. 43, Bol was the highest taxed painter in Amsterdam.

47 SAA, NAA, no. 5075, 'A. van den Ende', no. 3674, 21 March 1679, f. 84. A certain Petersen in Utrecht had fragments in his possession, apparently stolen in 1672. Bol declares that he recognized a 'water tank' which he had seen at Trompenburg 'many times'. With thanks to Ruud Koopman for this information.

48 Blankert 1982, p. 82 (incorrectly as 16 April); SAA, DTB, 'Begraafregisters Zuiderkerk', no. 1092, f. 32.

49 Blankert 1982, p. 83; SAA, DTB, 'Begraafregisters Zuiderkerk' no. 1092, f. 33.

50 'Compareerden Srs Willem Strijcker out 52 jaeren, Ferdinandus Bol, out 40 jaeren, Govert Flinck, out 44 jaeren, Nicolaes van Helt out 42 jaeren en Jacob van Loo, out 44 jaeren oft elcx daer omtrent alle mrs. schilders en kunstenaers, residerendebinnen Amsterdam. Ende hebben op eere ende trouwe bij waere christelijcke woorden in

plaetse van solemnelen eede ten versoucke van Sr. Roelandt de la Meer woonend tot Nimwegen, eendrachtelijck getuijght, verclaert en geattesteert hoe waer is dat eene Catarina Jans gewoont hebbende in de Spiegelstraet binnen Amsterdam, dr. van een naeldemaeker, voor haer gettuygen als andere collegialliter moeder naekt als model geseten heeft ende dat sij gettuygen daer naer geteekent en geschildert hebben.'

Govert Flinck learns to paint like Rembrandt - David de Witt

1 'in 't algemeen geprezen ..., zoo dat alles op die leest moest geschoeit wezen, zou het de Waereld behagen.' Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, pp. 20-21. Although not always entirely reliable, Houbraken based his biography of Flinck on a source particularly close to Flinck, his son Nicolaas Anthoni; *ibid.* vol. 2, p. 26.

2 His date of birth has survived on a commemorative medal on his death; Immerzeel 1842/43, vol. 1, p. 240.

3 T. van der Molen in *exh. cat. Cleves* 2015-16, p. 11.

4 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, pp. 18-21.

5 Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 75, no. 1631/4, p. 87, no. 1632/2.

6 Hillegers 2008/09, p. 69.

7 J. van der Veen in *exh. cat. Amsterdam / Aachen* 2009, pp. 17-18.

8 J. van der Veen in *exh. cat. London / Amsterdam* 2006, p. 160, suggests 1635, although his argument does not rule out 1634.

9 Sluijter 2015a, p. 100.

10 C. 1631. Canvas, 161.2 x 142.3 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; *exh. cat. Washington DC / Milwaukee / Amsterdam* 2008/09, p. 132, no. 26, with additional evidence for the unusual theme.

11 Hillegers 2008, p. 71.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 71, with reference to Straat 1928, pp. 72-73, nos. 10, 12, 21 and 22.

13 See Eric Hinterding on the watermark as evidence of the date, in *exh. cat. Amsterdam* 1996, p. 90.

14 As Hillegers 2009, p. 71, 87, note 18, remarks, two works by and two works after Lievens are listed in Lambert Jacobsz's inventory.

15 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, pp. 19-27.

16 Sandrart 1675, vol. 2, book 3, p. 319.

17 Jan Kelch in *exh. cat. Berlin / Amsterdam / London* 1991-92, p. 314.

18 Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 2, p. 477.

19 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 470-71 and Bolten 1981.

20 As described by contemporary writers like Sandrart 1675, vol. 2, book 2, p. 328, and Hoogstraten 1678, pp. 175-76 (also referring to *The Night Watch*); see also Sluijter 2015a, pp. 88 and 387.

21 A drawing in the British Museum is probably a preparatory study for this second version; See M. Royalton-Kisch in *coll. cat. London* 2010, no. 3; Holm Bevers (Bevers 2013, p. 103) suggests that the sheet could be by Flinck rather than Rembrandt, p. 103 (as 'school of Rembrandt').

22 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, p. 21.

23 Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 129 no. 1636/1.

24 Van de Wetering 2002, pp. 17-25.

25 F. Gottwald & D. de Witt, 'Self-Portrait with Shaded Eyes', in Wheelock (ed.) 2017, no. RR-110.

26 See P. van den Brink in *exh. cat. Utrecht / Frankfurt am Main / Luxembourg* 1993-94, pp. 9-10.

27 1634, oil on canvas, 124,7 x 104 cm, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-732.

28 *Self-Portrait with Cap and Fur Coat*, 1634, canvas, 58.3 x 47.5 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 810; Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6, p. 539, no. 123; see J. Kelch in *exh. cat. Berlin / Amsterdam / London* 1991-92, p. 320-21, no. 62.

29 Van Eikema Hommes et al. 2016.

30 D. de Witt & A.K. Wheelock, 'Portrait of Antonie Coopal', in Wheelock (ed.) 2017, nr. RR-103.

31 Signed and dated lower left; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1042, no. 718.

32 *John the Baptist*, c. 1634-35, enlarged in

1640, canvas on panel, 62.7 x 81.1 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 828K; *Diana*, 1634, canvas, 73.5 x 93.5 cm, Anholt, Museum Wasserburg, inv. no. 391; Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6 (2015), pp. 533-34, no. 110 and p. 543, no. 130.

33 1638, panel, 46.5 x 66 cm., Krakau, Muzeum Narodowe, Czartoryski-collectie, inv. no. V.105; Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 561-62, no. 159.

34 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1042, no. 719.

35 This ran in parallel with his painted *Passion Series*, made for Stadholder Frederick Henry; see Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6 (2015), pp. 179, 532, 534-35, no. 113.

36 Flinck may have already been aware of the change in format, from landscape to portrait, by a hand other than Rembrandt's – possibly Flinck's? – and used it in his own version.

37 Enea Vico after Rafaël, *The Lamentation at the Tomb*, 1548. Engraving, 250 x 251 mm. London, The British Museum, inv. no. V.5.46; Ibid., vol. 2, p. 1019, no. 612; Bartsch 1808-21, vol. 15, p. 284, no. 8. Flinck may have turned to the album listed in Rembrandt's estate inventory years later; see exh. cat. Amsterdam 1999-2000, p. 149, no. 205: 'Een dito (Kostelijcke boeck) met prenten van Raefel Urbijn' (A ditto – valuable book – of prints by Raphael Urbino). Flinck – like Rembrandt – also bought prints at the sale of Jan Bassé's collection in 1637: see exh. cat. London / Amsterdam 2006, p. 160.

38 Baldinucci 1681-1728, vol. 5, p. 484.

39 Van de Wetering, in Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6 (2015), p. 535, at no. 113, makes a connection between this etching and the *Lamentation* (fig. 27) as part of the same project.

40 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1020, no. 615; see also Sluijter 2015a, pp. 70-71, with a reference to Franciscus Junius's *De pictura veterum*, published in 1637. The book was translated into Dutch in 1639. Flinck could have read it after it was published in 1641.

41 De Witt in exh. cat. Amsterdam 2015-16, p. 66, no. 41.

42 Baldinucci 1681-1728, vol. 5, p. 484, claimed that Flinck worked for the dealer for 'many years', even 'the whole of his youth',

which suggests that his employment may have continued until Flinck bought his own house on Lauriergracht in 1644, in other words ten years or so. NB: Erna Kok (see p. 243, note 12) sees the payment by Uylenburgh in 1639 as an indication that Flinck had started his own workshop by then. I regard it as part of their work agreements, which would have applied from the start of Flinck's time in the workshop as had probably also been the case between Uylenburgh and Rembrandt before that.

43 Coll. cat. Rotterdam 1995, pp. 85-87.

44 Pen and brown ink, 174 x 190 mm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 3774. Martin Royalton-Kisch endorses this date, after analysis of the watermark by Erik Hinterding: *The Drawings of Rembrandt: A revision of Otto Benesch's catalogue raisonné*, <http://rembrandtcatalogue.net/#/catalogue/4571883574> (accessed on 29 March 2017).

45 Van Eck 1987, p. 44, no. 2, p. 48, note 54.

46 See Raupp 1984, pp. 120-23.

47 The same is true of the *Self-Portrait* of around 1640, panel, 66 x 51.4 cm., Glasgow, Glasgow Museums, inv. no. 44; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1033, no. 669, sees a number of elements borrowed from Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* of 1640.

48 Sumowski – curiously enough – links this work stylistically with Flinck's *Self-Portraits* in London (fig. 34) and Glasgow (see previous note) but sticks to a date of around 1639: Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1033, nos. 667 and 669.

49 This painting has also been interpreted as an allegory of youth, because the earliest reference in a sale catalogue of 1762: sale Dr J. P. Wierman, Amsterdam, 18 August 1762, lot 118, mentions a 'young man', immediately after the description of an *Old Man* by Flinck; see De Bruyn Kops 1965, p. 29. The owner may have regarded the paintings as two independent *tronies*, without knowing the identity of the sitter in this painting.

50 *Self-Portrait*, 1643, oil on panel, 73.1 x 53.5 cm, New York, The Leiden Collection, inv.

no. GF-103; *Man with Plumed Cap and Chain by a Balustrade*, 1641, oil on canvas, 65.5 x 52 cm., Pommersfelden, Graf von Schönborn Collection; *Man in a Red Coat and Cap by a Balustrade*, c. 1640, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 52 cm., sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 15 October 1996, no. 283 (attribution supported in a letter from Werner Sumowski, with the photograph in the Rembrandt Information Centre, Rembrandt House Museum).

51 These characteristics are noticeable for the first time in *Boy with a Soap Bubble* ('*Homo Bulla*'), 1640, oil on canvas, sale, New York (Sotheby's), 22 January 2004, no. 47; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1028, no. 644.

52 Remarkd on for the first time by Tom van der Molen during the conference 'New Light on Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol: Rising Stars in Rembrandt's Amsterdam', Herstmonceux Castle, Bader International Study Centre, 16 July 2015.

53 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 2, p. 1886-87, no. 862.

54 Exh. cat. Munich / Amsterdam 2001-02, pp. 210-12, no. 54. E.J. Sluijter, in exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 66, proposes another source: Jacob Backer's *Granida and Daifilo* in the Hermitage (c. 1637). While the composition of Rembrandt's drawing is the same, the similarity of the placement and the expressions of the main figures is striking and also points to Backer's influence.

55 This is not without controversy; many authors still stand by the date of 1638, which was reported on the painting in *Beschrijving der schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam, met historische aantekeningen en facsimile's der naamteekens*, The Hague 1880, pp. 94-95, no. 87, with the facsimile of the signature and date. On the other hand, this was never mentioned anywhere before this and, moreover, it completely disappeared during a restoration between 1960 and 1965, which suggests that it was not authentic; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1019; exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 17.

56 His *Expulsion of Hagar* (c. 1638), now lost, was already showing smooth brushwork and

soft contrast; previously falsely signed and dated 1640; see Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1021, no. 618.

57 E. van de Wetering in Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 5, pp. 3-6; vol. 6, pp. 296-97. E.J. Sluiter, in exh. cat. Cleves 2015, pp. 68-69, likewise sees Rembrandt cultivating a clientele of art connoisseurs.

Ferdinand Bol: Rembrandt's Disciple - David de Witt and Leonore van Sloten

1 Blankert 1982, p. 16.

2 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 1, p. 301. Houbraken admits that he was poorly informed as he was not able to give a year of birth.

3 Blankert 1982, p. 71.

4 Rembrandt, *Susanna and the Elders*, red chalk, Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 5296; Coll. cat. Berlin 2006, pp. 82-85 (cat. 18); The inscription reads:

Verkocht syn vaendrager synde 15. - . - .
een floora verhandelt 4. 6. - .
Fardynandus van syn werck verhandelt
Aen ander werck van syn voorneemen
Den Abraham een floora
Leenderts floora is verhandelt
tegen 5 g

5 Ibid.

6 Albert Blankert attributed a *Vertumnus* after a painting by Abraham Bloemaert's son, Hendrick, to Bol on the basis of the signature. The work subsequently surfaced at a sale (Christie's Amsterdam, 21 November 2001, lot 54), and further study by Willem van de Watering revealed that the signature should be read as Ferdinandus West. West was active in Utrecht, where Bloemaert also lived. See Blankert 1982, p. 16, RKD - Netherlands Institute for Art History, object no. 44550, and Kok 2011, p. 311.

7 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 3, p. 1711; see the coll. cat. Kingston 2008, p. 179 about Lievens's influence.

8 For the Cuyp, see Schoon 1993. For the Bol see Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, p. 291, no. 78. Benjamin painted this subject regularly and the similarity to the subject in Bol's work has been

commented on before. No one has ever commented, however, on the strong similarities and borrowings which support the suggestion that there was a teacher-pupil relationship between Benjamin Cuyp and Ferdinand Bol.

9 See the discussion in the essay by Peter Schatborn, p. 185, note 13.

10 No drawings by Benjamin Cuyp have survived, so comparisons with his hand are not possible.

11 Painting: Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, p. 293, no. 88 (as c. 1645-50); drawing: Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1, p. 206, no. 91.

12 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 6, p. 3699, no. 2230.

13 Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 293, made the comparison with Bol's *Jacob's Dream*, 1642 (fig. 125 in this book).

14 'Aen een bequaeme vinding in 't ordi-neeren hangt het geluk of ongeluk van het gansche werk: want wat zoudt u lusten veel arbeyts in de byzondere deelen te besteeden, wanneer u 't geheele bestek mishaeft?' Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 180.

15 Ernst van de Wetering shared these observations during a session in 2007 in which the partial copy in the Rembrandt House was examined. He published his findings in Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 5 (2011), pp. 276-82 and note 1.

16 See Blankert 1982, pp. 76-78, no. 22 in the inventory of Bol's possessions, which were part of the marriage contract with Anna van Erckel, dated 8 October 1669.

17 See Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 5 (2011), pp. 276-82, Appendix 3, esp. p. 282.

18 Judges VI, 20-23.

19 Blankert 1982, p. 19.

20 See Brown, Kelch and Van Thiel in exh. cat. Berlin / Amsterdam / London 1991-92, no. 63, and Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 5, pp. 3084-85, no. 2016; see also *Portrait of a Woman*, 1642, oil on canvas, 90 x 69 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 809; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, no. 160.

21 Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6 (2015), p. 572, no. 179.

22 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1, p. 308-09, no. 142*.

23 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, p. 305, no. 134.

24 Blankert 1982, p. 118, no. 62.

25 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, p. 311, no. 161, p. 400.

Tronies in the werk of Flinck and Bol - Franziska Gottwald

1 On the differences between *tronies* and other genres in Dutch art see Hirschfelder 2008 and Gottwald 2011. On the *tronies* by Bol and Flinck see Blankert 1982, pp. 26-28, 57-59, and F. Gottwald in exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, pp. 54-61.

2 Gottwald 2011, pp. 11-14.

3 On the distinction between 'naer het leven' and 'uyt den gheest' - from the imagination - in Dutch art literature see Swan 2005, pp. 5-26.

4 E. van de Wetering in exh. cat. London / Den Haag 1999-2000, pp. 8-37, en coll. cat. New York 2007, dl. 2, p. 562.

5 Gottwald 2011, S. 57-91. On Flinck in Rembrandt's workshops see F. Gottwald in exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 60.

6 Gottwald 2011, pp. 117-27.

7 Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait*, 1633. Panel (oval), 70.4 x 54 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1745.

8 E. van de Wetering in exh. cat. London / Den Haag 1999-2000, p. 8-37, esp. 36.

9 In this case Flinck could have taken his inspiration from a painting by Rembrandt, *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem*, 1630. Panel, 58.3 x 46.6 cm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-3276.

10 The same model appears in other *tronies* by Flinck, reduced to head and shoulders format, such as the *Bearded Man with a Velvet Cap*, 1645. Panel, 60.3 x 52.4 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Collis P. Huntington, inv. no. 25.110.27.

Govert Flinck, Ferdinand Bol and their network of influential clients - Erna E. Kok

1 Scheltema 1856, pp. 92 and 138; Van Eikema

Hommes / Froment 2011, pp. 141-70; M. van der Zwaag and R. Cohen Tervaert in exh. cat. Amsterdam 2011b.

2 Blankert 1982, p. 23.

3 Kok 2016.

4 The *maagschap* consisted of the extended circle of blood relatives and relations by marriage, going back preferably four generations on both the father's and the mother's side. All were regarded as family, and there was an unwritten rule in this network that its members would support one another, with reciprocal obligations as the norm. See Hoppenbrouwers 1985, pp. 69-108 and Dudok van Heel 1995, pp. 49-50.

5 Kooijmans 1997/2016.

6 The emphasis on networks in this condensed essay means that not all their clients will be mentioned by name. For a more extensive overview of Flinck's and Bol's clients see Kok 2013 and 2016.

7 T. van der Molen in exh. cat. Cleves, 2015-16, p. 11.

8 According to Houbraken, Flinck went to Amsterdam with Backer: 'Arrived in Lewaarden, he found Jacob Backer to be a suitable and industrious young man to be his friend and companion in art, who (after they had progressed so far that they could fly with their own wings) went with him to Amsterdam, where Flinck, because he had very prosperous relations living there, had his first opportunity to show proof of his art.' ('Te Lewaarden gekomen vond hy Jakob Backer een geschikt en yverig Jongman tot zyn byslaap en gezelschap in de Konst, die met hém (na dat zy nu zoo veer gevordert waren dat zy op eigen wieken konden vliegen) naar Amsterdam vertrok, daar FLINK, wyl hy daar zeer welvarende Bloedvrienden had wonen, ten eersten gelegenheid vond om proeven, van zyn Konst te geven.'). See Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, pp. 20-21. This must have been in 1633, since on 19 May 1633 Backer was recorded as a 'resident of this city' ('inwoonder deser stede') [Amsterdam] in a letter of attorney signed by Backer and his brothers Tjerck and Isaac Jacobsz, see Van der Veen 2008, p. 18. It is highly likely that

Flinck was already painting or, as Houbraken put it, showing 'proof of his art' before he went to work with Rembrandt and Uylenburgh in the summer of 1635.

9 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, p. 20.

10 Exh. cat. Londen / Amsterdam 2006.

11 'voor egte penceelwerken van Rembrant wierden aangezien en verkogt'. Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, p. 21.

12 On 13 March 1637 Flinck bought a batch of prints for twelve stivers from the estate of the painter and art dealer Jan Bassé. A note recording the sale read 'Govert Flinck at Hendrick Uylenburgh' ('Govert Flinck tot Hendrick Uylenburgh'). The word 'at' ('tot') here has to be read as an address; see exh. cat. Londen / Amsterdam 2006, p. 160 and p. 127. In 1639, Flinck sold Uylenburgh *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* for a good price. For this painting see Moltke 1965, no. 44; Exh. cat. Londen / Amsterdam 2006, p. 163 and pp. 164-66, fig. 113. The sale of the painting to Uylenburgh in 1639 suggests very strongly that Uylenburgh was no longer Flinck's employer, but one of his customers. We do not know where Flinck lived and worked from around 1638-39. The next information we have is that he started his own studio in 1644, when he bought two houses on Lauriergracht for ten thousand guilders. See Dudok van Heel, 1982, pp. 70-90.

13 Von Moltke 1965, cat. no. 211, mistakenly called him Jonas Jacob Leeuwen Dircksz.

14 For the inventory of Ameldonck's widow (1653) see Dudok van Heel 1980, pp. 119-20; see *ibid.*, p. 121, for the identification of the portrait of a boy in the Barber Institute in Birmingham (fig. 70); Von Moltke 1965, no. 407, as the portrait of David Leeuw aged eight or nine. See also Goverde 2011, pp. 14-28.

15 They can no longer be identified, but they were recorded in the inventory of Reijncke's estate in 1647; see exh. cat. Londen / Amsterdam 2006, p. 171; Von Moltke 1965, nos. 428 and 429.

16 Dudok van Heel 1980, p. 118.

17 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, p. 21: 'He [Flinck] subsequently weaned himself off

this manner of painting [Rembrandt's style] with great difficulty and labour, seeing that the world's eyes had already been opened before Rembrandt's death on the introduction of *Italian brushwork* by true connoisseurs of art, when *bright painting* came back into fashion. [My italics E.K.] ('Hy [Flinck] heeft die wyze van schilderen [Rembrandts stijl] naderhand met veele moeite en arbeid weer afgewent; naardien de Waereld voor 't overlyden van Rembrandt, de oogden al geopent wierden, op 't invoeren der *Italiaansche penceelkonst*, door waren Konstekenneren, wanneer het *helder schilderen* weer op de baan kwam.'). On these two alternative painting styles in Amsterdam see Sluijter 2006, pp. 195-219, and Sluijter 2015, p. 88.

18 Von Moltke 1965, p. 19. Van Eck 1987, p. 44, quotes a 1741 inventory of the Catholic church 'De Tol' in Gouda: 'A painting depicting Samson's parents' sacrifice, by G. Flinck anno 1640' ('Een schilderij verbeeldt de offerhande van de ouders van Samson, door G. Flinck anno 1640'). Van Eck, *ibid.*, p. 48, note 54, suggests that this is Flinck's *Manoah* of 1640; De Witt 2008, pp. 132-33, no. 76, hypothesizes that the unusual format relates to its position in the architecture of the church. This would imply that the painting was commissioned by the Catholic church.

19 Von Moltke 1965, no. 466. The date is the subject of debate. Flinck supposedly commenced work on the painting in 1640 and overpainted, signed and dated it in 1646. See Jansen and Giltaij in coll. cat. Rotterdam 1988, pp. 38-40, no. 8, and Lammertse in exh. cat. Amsterdam 2002-03, no. 78. *Ibid.*, for the identification, which has not been conclusively established.

20 Coll. cat. Raleigh 2009, pp. 74-77, nos. 17 and 18; Dennis P. Weller raises this identification following a suggestion done by Jaap van der Veen.

21 Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, pp. 260-61 and Zandvliet 2006, p. 240. For the identification as Augustijn Wittenbogaert see Dudok van Heel 1978, pp. 156-58; Bikker 2006, p. 195, however, suggests that this could also be a portrait

of cousin Pieter Wttenbogaert. Von Moltke 1965, nos. 236, 237 and 238, includes three portraits as Johan Wttenbogaert, but given his age in 1643 (thirty-five) that is unlikely.

22 Van Hoorn was painted by Flinck according to a poem by Jan Vos, 'Den Eed. Heer Symon van Hoorn, Burgermeester en Raadt t'Amsterdam, &c. Door Govert Flinck geschildert', see Vos 1662, p. 180; Von Moltke 1965, no. 206. For Van Hoorn, see Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, p. 447.

23 Von Moltke 1965, nos. 426 and 427, as Joan Huydecoper and Maria Coymans, but with a note that F. van Kretschmar convincingly suggested that it was Appelman and his wife. That is a plausible identification based on a comparison with three portraits of Appelman: on the left in the civic guard portrait with Joan Huydecoper (fig. 79); in Bol's governors' portrait of 1648 on the far right (fig. 227), see Bikker 2011, pp. 127-34; Blankert 1982, no. 179, in a print by Jacob Houbraken after Flinck's militia work; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet. inv. no. RP-OB-48.814, (with inscription: *G. Flinck pinxit* and *J. Houbraken Sculptit*). For Appelman see Elias 1903-05, vol. 2, p. 558.

24 Von Moltke 1965, cat. no. 477. Von Moltke identified this civic guard portrait as marking Flinck's switch to the *bright* style and did not regard his subsequent success as an artistic feat, observing disapprovingly: 'we notice with regrets how connections with the right type of people can be more important than a genuine achievement.'; *ibid.*, p. 28.

25 Lootsma 2007/08, pp. 227-29, figs. 8-14 and p. 226, note 23; Kok 2013, p. 68; Sluijter 2015a, p. 99.

26 Only the prints after Flinck's portraits are known (fig. 80 and 81); Huttenus's portrait is undated, but since he was a minister in Amsterdam in 1643 and in Nijmegen from 1649 to 1659, his portrait must have been made between 1643 and 1649.

27 Flinck remarried in 1656. His second wife was the Remonstrant Sophia van der Houve (? - 1669), daughter of a brewer in Gouda; see Dudok van Heel 2008, p. 462.

28 Von Moltke 1965, nos. 201, 207, 204, 420 and 421. Elias 1903-05, vol. 2, pp. 450-51; *ibid.*, p. 536. In 1654 Flinck also received a commission from outside Amsterdam; he painted the portraits of the burgomaster of Vlissingen, Johannes Schorer (1620-1697), and his wife; see Von Moltke, nos. 430-31.

29 Von Moltke 1965, no. 205. Cf. Amsterdam (Christie's) 9 May 1997, no. 99.

30 Von Moltke 1965, nos. 113 and 30.

31 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, p. 24.

32 For the meaning of exchanging gifts in friendship see Kooijmans 1997/2016 and Kok 2016, pp. 27-29.

33 For the identification see Van der Molen 2012, p. 117.

34 For the development of the Van Dyckian portrait type in Amsterdam see Lootsma 2007/08, pp. 221-36; Ekkart 2007, pp. 34-36; Judith van Gent in *exh. cat. Amsterdam* 2002-03, p. 117.

35 Von Moltke 1965, nos. 120 and replica nos. 121, 198, 214.

36 *Ibid.*, nos. 118 and 119. The last work was lost when the forger Han van Meegeren used it to paint a *Last Supper* in the style of Vermeer over the top; see Coremans 1950, pp. 199-203.

37 Crenshaw 2006.

38 This is evidenced by a notarial declaration in which he acted as a witness for Rembrandt at the end of August 1640; see Blankert 1982, p. 71.

39 'fardynandus [Ferdinand Bol] van zijn werck verhandelt'. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 594.

40 Kok 2016, pp. 48-56.

41 For the identification and a comprehensive discussion of Bol's self-portraits see Kok 2016, pp. 61-67; Blankert 1982, nos. 60-65, 103 and 151. I rule out Blankert 1982, no. 61, as a self-portrait.

42 The *gentiluomo* portrait type alludes to the ideal a nobleman had to meet in the Renaissance. He excelled in self-evident qualities and scholarship, but was distinguished chiefly by his exemplary character, courtly grace and conduct.

43 Blankert 1982, nos. 62, 63, 64 and 65; Blankert, *ibid.*, pp. 57-58, in my view incorrectly, sees these four not as strict self-portraits, but as the prototype of the artist; see Kok 2016, pp. 61-62 and Bruyn 1983, p. 216, note 7.

44 For the artist self-portrait see *exh. cat. The Hague* 2016, Hall 2015 and Raupp 1984.

45 Blankert 1982, no. 152. The *Self-Portrait with Palette* and the pendant portrait of his first wife, Elisabeth Dell, are mentioned in Bol's 1669 marriage contract with his second wife, Anna van Erckel. Both paintings and the *Self-Portrait with Cupid* are listed in Bol's son Elbert's estate (1709-10).

46 Bol made at least 125 portraits (and *tronies*) during his career, more than twice as many as the fifty-five known history paintings by him.

47 Blankert 1982, cat. nos. 145 and 146.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

49 *Ibid.*, no. 138.

50 For the underpinning of the identification and the relationship with the Dell and Spiegel family network see Grijzenhout/Kok 2017.

51 According to Blankert 1982, p. 72, on 2 October 1653.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21 and Ekkart 2002, pp. 25-30.

53 Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, no. 130, pp. 399-401.

54 Three of these are still extant, see *ibid.*, nos. 56, 58 and 59.

55 Blankert, *ibid.*, nos. 76-87, lists 24 works, of which only nos. 76-79 and 82-83 are signed and dated by Bol. Research into this group is needed to distinguish the copies from the originals.

56 Van Eikema Hommes 2012, p. 78 and pp. 157-58.

57 Blankert 1982, no. 34; Ekkart 2002, pp. 14-41. Elisabeth Spiegel (1628-1707) was the daughter of the lawyer Elbert Spiegel (1600-1674) from his first marriage. In 1651 she married Wigbold Slicher (1627-1718), the son born to the first marriage of Elisabeth van Vlaming Outshoorn, who by then was Elbert Spiegel's second wife.

58 Blankert 1982, no. 34. For the identification see Grijzenhout 2009/10, pp. 42-43. Helena van Heuvel (1638-1698) was a niece of

Hendrick Dircxs Spiegel (1598-1667), Bol's wife's uncle.

59 Blankert 1982, nos. 138, 139, 141 and 142. Otto van der Waeyen (1648-1686) was the grandson of Geertruijt Dircxs Spiegel (1601-1661), Bol's wife Elisabeth Dell's aunt. Petronella Elias (1648-1667) was the daughter of Rebecca Spiegel (1626-1651), Elisabeth Dell's first cousin; see Ekkart 2002, pp. 25-29. Joost van den Bempden (1659) was the nephew of Frederick Sluijsken (1644-1710).

60 Dudok van Heel 1979, pp. 14-26.

61 Blankert 1982, no. 12, pl. 58. Called here *Solomon Brings Gifts to the Temple*. Van Eikema Hommes identified the subject as the story of King Cyrus, see Van Eikema Hommes 2012, pp. 121-29.

Flinck and Bol's Companions in Art - Tom van der Molen

1 'Hier is de beurs, en 't geld, en liefde tot de Kunst.' Asselijn and Vondel 1654.

2 See Van der Molen 2013 for a fuller discussion of this meeting and the one held the following year.

3 A month later, on 27 November 1653, Vondel wrote a foreword to his translation of Horace's *Poetics* dedicated to the 'companions in art of St Luke in Amsterdam: painters, sculptors, draughtsmen and their patrons' ('de kunstgenooten van Sint Lukas 't Amsterdam: Schilders, Beelthouwers, Tekenaers, en hunne begunstigers'). In the foreword he cites the same quotation from Plutarch and asserts that 'everyone is saying it now' ('elck [die] nu in den mont [heeft]'). Asselijn and Vondel 1654, foreword.

4 Vos 1662, pp. 140-41.

5 On the relationship between Huydecoper and Vos, see Geerdink 2012.

6 Emmens 1981.

7 Brandt 1658, pp. 121-22; Van der Molen 2012, pp. 319-24.

8 Op d'afbeelding van Rozemond, Door den beroemde schilder G. Flink De geest van Flink vliegt boven zyn penseel,

Nu Rozemond beschaduwd zyn taafreel
En hy van ver die schoone schaduw maalt,
Een schaduw daar een zon van glans uit straalt.
Hij maalt een zon, myn zielzon die my brant,
Die my verteert en licht. Hy maalt die hant,
Die schoone hant die my in boeiens slaat,
Dat voorhoofd, dat de schoone dageraat
Zo ver beschamen kan als d'uchtentstont den nacht.

Hier ziet men nu de kunst en schoonheit in haar kracht.
De diamant, die op haar blanke boezem flonkert,
Wort hier verdooft, en door haar lieflyk oog verdonkert:

Dat is dat oog dat my verwinnen kan,
Dat niemand ziet of hy ontsteekt 'er van
Kupido straal vry water uit zyn schicht,
Want al zyn vier verschuilt in haar gezicht.
Hy heeft voor my geen vier als in haar oog.
Wat schildert Flink, hoe vliegt zyn kunst om hoog?

Ik zie een hof, en wat de lente geeft,
En al wat blos, en kleur, en geuren heeft:
Haar schone slinkerhant vertoont hier bloem op bloem,
Ik zie hier nu by een, ô lente, uw schoonste roem,
Maar 't is al dof en doof by zulke morgen-roozen,
Die om haar zoeten mont en op haar kaken blozen.

Dus maalde Flink myn blonde morgenzon.
Hier ging zyn kunst zo ver die reiken kon,
En geen Apel noch groote Titiaan
Heeft groter kracht met zyn penseel gedaan.
Maar echter (dat Flink my dit woord vergeef)
Hoe zeer zyn kunst de schoonste verf verdreef,
Wat hoogsels en wat diepsels dat hy gaf,
't Is al vergeefs, hy maakt dit werk niet af,
Het blyft, wat dat hy doet, maar stukwerk half gedaan,
hy raakt de schets van 't best, en 't binnenst niet eens aan.
Die dit volmaken wil maal dan alleen geen leden

Geen lichaam, maar haar ziel, haar deugden en haar zeden.

9 Op Meijoffer Margriete Tulp, Huisvrouw van Joan Six.

Door Govert Flinck geschildert.

Animum pictura pascit inani.

Margrite zaghe haer' schyn in haere beeck,
Gelyck een perle in 't klaere water, leven,
Zoo heeft de kunst haer nu met verwe en streeck
Den ommetreck natuurelyck gegeven.
Toen Six dit zaghe, ontvonckte 't hart van min.
Hy zaghe bekoort de schaduw aen voor 't wezen

Van zyne Tulp, en lieve Zanggodin.
Het bloet ontstack, en al zyne aders rezen.
Hy kustte 't beelt, en had het weêr gekust,
De schildery had zelf dien gloet geblust.
Vondel 1660, p. 147.

10 Zoo vat de beitel van Quellyn in louter marmer

Naer 't leven wat ons ooghe in Huidekooper ziet,
Den burgervader en trouwhartigen beschermer

Der koopstadt, daer de Nyt haer pylen op verschiet.

Christina heeft dien helt het ridderzwaert gegeven.

De Keurvorst welkomt hem, als stadts Gezant in 't hof.

Zyn raet stut Indiën, zoo wyt ons zeilen zweven,

En Maerseveen draeft hoogh en groeit op 's ridders lof.

Het lust den burger hem in marmersteen 't aenschouwen:

Maer schooner staet de man in 't hart des volx gehouwen.

Vondel 1660, p. 138.

11 Hier is van Maerseveen uit marmersteen gehouwen,

Om dat hy als een zuil van marmer staat voor 't Y,

Op zulk een burgerburg kan d'Amstel zich betrouwen.

Een ongekreukte moet gedooft geen
dwinglandy.

't Gezantschap naar Berlyn, en Ridderschap
van Zweeden,
Verbreien hem gelyk zyn zorg voor d'ooster-
kust.

Hy waakt, door raadt en moedt, tot heil van
volk en steeden.

Door zulk een wakkerheid bevindt zich elk
gerust.

Hier hoeft geen beeldt van steen, hy leeft by
vreemd' en buuren.

De Staat- en burgerzorg kan steen en staal
verduuren.

Vos 1662, p. 189.

12 Vondel's famous ode to Rembrandt's
Portrait of Cornelis Anso is a prime example:
'Oh, Rembrandt, paint Cornelis's voice.
The visible part is the least of him; the
invisible we know only through our ears; he
who would see Anso, must hear him.' ('Ay,
Rembrant, maal Cornelis stem. / Het zichtbre
deel is 't minst van hem: / 't Onzichtbre kent
men slechts door d'ooren. / Wie Anso zien
wil, moet hem hooren.' Vondel 1644, p. 136).
Govert Flinck made portraits of a number of
ministers from which prints were made with
an accompanying verse: *Portrait of Albertus
Huttenus* (printmaker Hendrik Bary, with a
verse by Gerard Brandt. Rijksmuseum Am-
sterdam, inv. no. RP-P-1885-A-9319), *Portrait
of Daniel Wittius* (printmaker Reinier van
Persijn, with a verse by Reyer Anso. Rijksmu-
seum Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-1905-2033,
printed in Brant 1658, p. 329).

13 Op Het reisjaght der weledele heeren
Raeden ter Amiraliteit.

De groote Zeevooghdin gebiet den Waterheilig
En Amiraal der zee, in haeren dienst getreên,
Dat hy de zeevaert voor 's lants vrede en
welvaert veilig',

En zegene den bou en koopvaerdy der steên.
Dees zeehelt, om dien last groothartigh uit
te voeren,
Neemt Sterckheit, Wijsheit, en Voorzichtig-
heit te baet.

Nu durf geen zeegedroght op zee de vinnen
roeren.

Dus groeit de handel aen, ten wasdom van
den staet.

Vondel 1682, vol. 2, p. 330 (differs slightly
from the original text).

14 'Zinnebeeldt in 't jacht van haare Eed.
Mog. de Zeeraaden t'Amsterdam, door F. Bol
geschildert Neptunus gaat in zee tot schrik
van 't roofgedrocht. Het recht der vrijheid
lijdt geen afgepaalde vlooden. Hij wordt
van Herkules en Pallas Scheep gebrocht. De
Staat is best door Kracht en Wijsheid te
behoeden. Zoo brult de Leeuw van moedt,
en bruist deur alle zeen. De koopmanschap
gedooft geen roovers op de taaren. De
Tritons blaazen; wijk: de zee is elk gemeen.
't Welvaaren van het Landt bestaat in veilig
vaaren.' Vos 1662, p. 654.

15 Fabricius houdt stant, in Pyrrhus leger-
tenten.
Het gout verzet hem niet, door schandelijc-
ke zucht,
Noch elefants gebriesch, en felle dreigemen-
ten.

Zoo zwicht geen man van Staet voor gaven,
noch gerucht.

16 Op 's Burgermeesters wacht magh Rome
veiligh slaepen,
Als Markus Kurius, het aengeboden gout
Versmaênde, zich genoeght met een gerecht
van raepen.

Zoo wort door Maetigheit en Trouw de Stadt
gebouwt.

Vondel 1682, vol. 2, p. 327.

17 Ve[nus]. Nu volgh uw Moeder, Zoon, om
harten aen te rannen,
Ter eere van ons kroon te quetsen met meer
schricks.

Cu[pido]. Ay Moeder, toef, myn boogh stont
kort te stijf gespannen:

Toen sprong de pees. ay toef, myn boogh is
noch niet ficks.

Cornelis van Dalen after Govert Flinck, *Venus
and Cupid*, c. 1660. Vondel 1682, vol. 2, p. 352.

18 Cupido met zijn boog zonder pees by
Venus, door G. Flinck geschildert: in 't zelfde
huis. [bij Tobias van Domselaar]
De vlugge schutter komt, door 't breeken van
zijn snaaren,

By Venus om een pees. wilt gy, o Mingodt!

wis In 't schieten zijn, zoo haal slechts een
van Lauraas hairen,

En spanz' op uwe boog; zoo schiet gy nimmer
mis:

Want Lauraas hair heeft kracht om harten
saam te hechten.

Geen taaier peezen voor de Min dan schoone
vlechten.

Vos 1662, p. 560

19 Christus, voor Joris de Wyze, door Govert
Flinck, naar een Joodt, geschildert

Hier ziet men vel en vleesch; ja bloedt door
d'aadren zweeven.

De Schepper schijnt hier, door zijn schepsel,
weêr te leeven.

De Teelzucht haat de kunst om zulk een
groote vondt.

Hier eischt niet meer dan spraak; maar Flinck
heeft deeze mondt

Niet oopen willen doen, schoon hem de Wijz'
quam smeeken:

Want deeze Christus zou vervloekt van
Christus spreken.

Het hart is anders dan het aanzicht dat hier
straalt.

Vraagt gy waarom? dit beeldt is naar een
Joodt gemaakt.

Vos 1662, p. 531

20 Porteman 2003, pp. 29 -40.

21 Blankert 1982, pp. 34-36; Sluiter 2010.

22 Toneelspel quam in 't licht, tot leerzaam
tijdtverdrijf;

Het wijckt geen ander spel, noch Koningklij-
cke vonden;

Het bootst de weerdlt na: het kittelt ziel en lijf.
En prickeltze tot vreught, of slaet ons zoete
wonden:

Het toont in klein begrijp al 's menschen
ydelheid

Daer Demokrit om lacht daer Heraklit om
schreit

De Winkel 2006, pp. 191 ff., with references
to other authors on the subject.

23 Salomon Savery, *The Boxes in the New
Theatre*, 1658. 513 x 721 mm. Impression in
the Rijksmuseum Print Room, inv. no. RP-P-
OB-70.099

24 'The sale of Joseph came to mind because of the painting by Jan Pinas hanging with other skilful works by Peter Lastman in the house of the scholarly and knowledgeable Doctor Robbert Verhoeven; in it the blood-stained coat is shown to the father: and so, in the same way in making this work I attempted as nearly as I could to imitate in words the painter's colours, drawings and passions.' ('Iosephs verkoopingse schoot ons in den zin, door het tafereel van Ian Pinas, hangende, neffens meer kunstige stucken van Peter Lastman, ten huise van den hooghgeleerden en ervaren Dokter Robbert Verhoeven; daer de bloedige rock den Vader vertoont wort: gelijk wy in 't sluiten van dit werck, ten naesten by, met woorden des schilders verwen, teickeningen, en hartstoghten, pooghden na te volgen.') Vondel 1640, dedication to Joachim van Wickevort.

25 Nicolaes van Helt Stockade, *Joseph Telling His Dreams*, 1655, canvas, 112 x 88 cm, private collection, Sweden; Govert Flinck, *Joseph's Bloodstained Coat Shown to Jacob*, 1655, canvas, 112 x 89 cm, Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki; Rembrandt, *Joseph and Potiphar*, 1655, canvas, 113.5 x 90 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Salomon Koninck, *Joseph Interprets the Pharaoh's Dreams*, 1655, canvas, 112.3 x 89.6 cm, Staatliche Museen, Schwerin; Bartholomeus Breenbergh, *Joseph Distributing Corn in Egypt*, 1655, canvas, 110.5 x 90 cm, Barber Institute of Arts, Birmingham; Salomon de Bray, *Jacob Receives his Father and Brothers in Egypt*, 1655, canvas, approx. 112 x 89 cm, private collection, Sweden.

26 Van der Molen 2017.

27 Van der Molen 2013, pp. 207-11.

28 Amsterdam City Archives (ACA), accession number 5075, *Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam*, Gilles Borsselaer, Minuutakten, no. 1474, 27 July 1658.

29 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2016, pp. 36-39.

30 Strijcker was certainly in Rome between 1626 and 1628; see Renckens 1952, pp. 116-22. Van Helt Stockade was probably there around 1634 to 1637; see Van Velden 1993.

Quellinus was in Rome between around 1635 and 1639; Scholten 2010.

31 Gerson 1942/1983, p. 51.

32 Asselijn 1654.

33 Bredius 1915-21, vol. IV, p. 1244.

34 Bredius 1915-21, vol. IV, p. 1243.

35 Bredius 1915-21, vol. IV, pp. 1118-25.

36 'Landschap van Van Goor met beelden van Stockade.' Bredius 1915-21, vol. IV, p. 1241, no. 10.

37 Schwartz 2012.

38 ACA, 5033: *Archief van de Burgemeesters: poorterboeken*, no. 2, Registers van gekochte poorters, E, 24 to 30 January 1652, f. 253-253v.

39 Jager 2012.

40 Scholten 2010.

41 On G. Flück's Cabinet of Sculptures.

This is no sculpture cabinet:

I find myself here at the peak of the double Parnassus.

The water, at the Tritons' command, has receded again

From the world, all drowned,

One sees here, now that it ebbs,

How Deucalion created people from stones,

To build the earth again.

It seems he had a heart of stone cut from the breast

What! Does my eye miss the fire?

I see how Flück dares challenge death and noble nature

With his paints:

For he breathes life into his paint and shields it from death.

Art will be eternal.

These are the creatures that the gifted

Quellijn

Created with his chisel.

Deucalion created nothing but unsawn statues:

Had he shaped them so,

Heaven would not have unleashed the fury of a storm upon the earth.

Come, help honour this creator.

A skilful statue can overcome the woes of the centuries

Op de Beeldekas van G. Flück.

Dit is geen beeldekas:

Ik vindt my hier op 't hoogst' van 't dubbele Parnas.

De wereldt, heel verdrongen,

Is 't water, door 't gebodt der Tritons, weêr ontsenken.

Men ziet hier, nu het ebt,

Hoe dat Deukalion den mensch van steenen schept,

Om 't aardtrijk weêr te bouwen.

Het schijnt dat hy de borst een hart van steen laat houwen.

Hoe! mist mijn oog het vuur?

Ik staa daar Flück de Doodt en d'eedele

Natuur

Durft tarten, door zijn verven:

Want hy bezielt zijn verf en hoedtze voor het sterven.

De kunst wil eeuwich zijn.

Dit zijn de schepsels die de geestige Quellijn

Door zijne beitel teelden.

Deukalion schiep niet dan onversaagde beelden:

Hadt hy ze dus gevormt,

De hemel wierdt zoo dol van 't aardtrijk niet bestormt.

Op, help deez' schepper eeren.

Een kunstig beeldt kan 't woên der eeuwen overheeren.

Vos 1662, vol. 1, p. 524.

42 'modellen van 't Stathuijs'; Bredius 1910, p. 285.

43 There are two versions of both Flück's painting and Quellinus's little figure. In Flück's case, there is one dated 1652 (Potsdam, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, inv. no. GK I 50916) and one dated 1654. There is a signed version of Quellinus's work dated 1641 in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (inv. no. 71.393) and an unsigned and undated version in the Rijksmuseum (BK-2002-19-1). Scholten 2010, p. 8; Van der Mark 2003.

44 Blankert 1982, p. 116.

Ferdinand Bol in Italy - Tom van der Molen and Norbert Middelkoop

1 See Jacobsen 1896 and Moes 1908.

2 The identification appears to be based on the mention of the painting in the Mansi Collection in 1920; see Krempel 2000, p. 310, no. A 140.

3 Three other children were baptized in the Roman Catholic clandestine church 't Boompje: Willelma (1 May 1648), Wilhelmus (9 September 1650) and Jacobus (10 April 1654); SAA, DTB, no. 316, *Baptismal Registers R.C. Church 't Boompje, 1628-1680*. f. 35, 39 and 48, respectively. Anna Maria, a record of whose baptism has not been found, but who gave her age as twenty-five in the notice of her marriage in 1675, was therefore probably born in 1649.

4 ACA, DTB, no. 678, *Marriage Registers of the PUI*, 678, f.198, 4 May 1646.

5 ACA, accession no. 5062: *Magistrates' Archive: Remittance Registers* no. 55, 'Old no. O2, 1667-1670', f. 140v0-141, 30 May 1668.

6 ACA, accession no. 5062: *Magistrates' Archive: Remittance Registers*, no. 67, 'Old no. F2, 1688-1693', f. 19-19v0, 13 April 1690.

7 ACA, DTB, no 690, 'Marriage Registers of the puy, 1674-1677', f. 97, 15 August 1675.

8 'Parenzis Eedel bloed deed naar den Ystroom spoën: / Daar moet hy Beurs, en Bank, en Waag, een zuil-styl strekken / Eer hem de Min-Godes, kan tot de Min verwekken.' Dirk Schelte, *De Rijmwerken, etc. van Dirk Schelte* [...]. Amsterdam 1714, pp. 594-98.

9 Romein de Hooghe, *Print on the Occasion of the Marriage of Francisco Mollo and Anna Maria Ooms*. Etching and engraving, 470 x 383 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1903-A-23614; ACA, DTB, no. 689, 'Marriage Registers of the puy, 1672-1674', f. 250, 30 August 1674.

10 ACA, DTB, no. 316, 'Baptismal Registers R.C church 't Boompje, 1628-1680', f. 195, 15 September 1676.

11 ACA, DTB, no. 391, 'Baptismal Registers O.C. church Sint Nicolaas, 1628-1680', f. 149, 29 November 1677.

12 Ibid, f. 155, 22 May 1679.

13 ACA, DTB, no. 1056, 'Burial Registers Nieuwe Kerk and English Church, 1669-1687', f. 235, 5 June 1682; *ibid.*, f. 277, 8 November 1684; *ibid.*, f. 333, 4 November 1687; *ibid.*, no. 1057, 'Burial Registers Nieuwe Kerk and English Church, 1688-1713', 4 November 1687; f. 11v0, 28 July 1689.

14 The information about the members of the Parensi family in Lucca comes from the records of the Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi. A family tree dated 1695 mentions another Paolo and a Gisberto, presumably sons who died early.

15 ACA, accession no. 5062: *Magistrates' Archive: Remittance Registers*, no. 67, 'Old no. F3, 1688-1693', f. 24, 21 December 1689.

16 In a record of 1730 in the Archivio di Stato of Lucca (derived from the documentation of the Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Mansi) of a payment by Parensi to portraitist Domenico Brugieri for four portraits, a portrait of 'Gaspar Van Diemen, Zio Maderno' (maternal uncle) is mentioned, probably the oval portrait in the Museo di Palazzo Mansi, inv. no. 1638. Although the description suggests that this is a brother of Anna Maria van Diemen, the only reference in the Amsterdam archives is to a son of that name, born in 1677. If the surname is correct, on the basis of the man's clothes and the style of the portrait it could be a copy of an unknown portrait of her father, Gijsbert van Diemen, dating from around 1655.

Out of Rembrandt's Shadow: Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol as History Painters - Eric Jan Sluijter

1 See Sluijter 2015a, *passim* (summary pp. 385-400). The most important painters to come from elsewhere were Rembrandt (Leiden 1606 - Amsterdam 1669), Jacob Backer (Harlingen 1608/09 - Amsterdam 1651), Govert Flinck (Cleves 1615 - Amsterdam 1660), Ferdinand Bol (Dordrecht 1616 - Amsterdam 1680), Joachim von Sandrart (Frankfurt a.M.

1606 - Nuremberg 1688). Already working in Amsterdam were Adriaen van Nieulandt (Antwerpen c. 1586 - Amsterdam 1658), Claes Moyaert (Durgerdam c. 1591 - Amsterdam 1655), Isaac Isaacs (Amsterdam 1598 - Amsterdam 1649). From around 1640 there were Salomon Koninck (Amsterdam 1609 - Amsterdam 1656), Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (Amsterdam 1621 - Amsterdam 1674), Jan Victors (Amsterdam 1619 - Indonesia after 1676). Around the mid-forties they were joined by Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 - Amsterdam 1674), Jan Gerritsz van Bronckhorst (Utrecht c. 1603 - Amsterdam before December 1661), Jacob van Loo (Sluis 1614 - Paris 1670), Cornelis Holsteyn (Haarlem 1618 - Amsterdam 1658), Nicolaes van Helt Stockade (Nijmegen 1614 - Amsterdam 1669).

2 Van Mander 1603-'04, *Leven*, fol. 190v: 'eenen genuelijken strijdt' and 'eenen brandenden ijver'

3 Sluijter 2015a, pp. 52-59; see also Sluijter 2008, pp. 13-16.

4 Carlo Cesare Malvasia wrote of Guido Reni's pupils (1678): 'The fact that they had had such a famous teacher was enough in itself to give Reni's pupils a great advantage.' Quoted by Spear 1997, p. 225. The same would have applied to Rembrandt's pupils.

5 Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 3, p. 206 (in the biography of Aert de Gelder): 'De Konst van Rembrandt had als wat nieuws in haar tyd een algemeene goedkeuring; zoo dat de konstoeffenaren (wilden zy hunne werken gangbaar doen zyn) genoodzaakt waren zig aan die wyze van schilderen te gewinnen, ... Waarom ook Govert Flinck ... en anderen meer zig tot de school van Rembrandt begaven.' See also Flinck's biography (Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, p. 21).

6 Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 175, with reference to Horace and Cicero. See also Junius 1641, p. 29.

7 Sluijter 2017.

8 See Erna Kok in this catalogue and Kok 2013, pp. 59-79.

9 See among others Crenshaw 2006, esp. pp. 29-40. Renowned art dealers known to have

handled works by Rembrandt include Claude Vignon (Paris), Hendrick Uylenburgh, Johannes de Renialme, Gerrit Uylenburgh and Lodewijk van Ludick. We find none of Bol's and Flinck's work with art dealers, except from Flinck's early period. See Sluijter 2017.

10 Van Hoogstraten 1678, pp. 175-76. Van Hoogstraten uses this word when he contrasts different painting styles, esp. Rembrandt's manner as against what we would now call classicism. On this passage see Sluijter 2015a, pp. 88, 387 and 407 (note 86) and below, note 20. On Joachim von Sandrart's fine characterization of Rembrandt's style, see Sluijter 2015a, pp. 59-62 and Sluijter 2015b.

11 On 'houding', see Taylor 1992; on Rembrandt's use of colour and tone see Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 251-57 and Sluijter 2015a, pp. 59-65.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 102-04.

13 On Rembrandt's thinking about art, particularly his 'from life' ideology, see Sluijter 2006, pp. 195-219 and Van de Wetering 2011, pp. 129-40.

14 In a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton; see Heinen 2004, pp. 28 and 146.

15 Sluijter 2015a, pp. 336-43.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39.

17 See Van de Wetering 2015, cat. nos. 78-80, pp. 519-650, all three dated 1632. One of these paintings may have been listed in Lambert Jacobsz's inventory drawn up in 1639 (Van de Wetering 2015, p. 519).

18 *Girl with a Pearl Necklace*, private collection. See Van den Brink and Van de Veen 2008, cat. no. 19, pp. 128-29.

19 Tom van der Molen convincingly argued, on the basis of information from the conservator Martin Bijl, that the background to the little painting (which was originally oval and subsequently made into an octagon) was probably overpainted by Flinck himself when the shape was changed. There is a copy of the painting in the National Museum in Prague that is the original oval shape with a dark background and an elbow 'coming out of the picture plane' over the bottom edge.

20 'het bedwang der lichten en schaduwen'.

Van Hoogstraten uses this concept in the same passage in which he mentions 'een gedwongener ordre door schikschaduw' (see above, note 10). Cf. also Philips Angel's 'een-drachtelijcke goede ordenen der 'tsamen-voeginghe van licht en schaduwen' (Angel 1642, pp. 39-40) and Sandrart's description referred to in note 10.

21 Dudok van Heel 1980, pp. 119-21, and Van der Veen 2006, p. 174.

22 For this type see for example Van Dyck's *Tribute Money* in Genoa, Palazzo Bianco (c. 1623-24). For versions of *Christ Holding the Cross*: Genoa, Palazzo Rosso, c. 1619, and Aschaffenburg, Staatsgalerie, c. 1613-14.

23 On the civic guard portraits for the Arquebusiers' Guild by Sandrart, Rembrandt and Flinck see Sluijter 2015a, pp. 90-99.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

25 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1024, no. 631.

26 Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 2, fig. 336, cat. no. 222 (vol. 2, p. 190).

27 The term 'koppeling' (the linking of figures and objects in space) comes from Van Hoogstraten (Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 193: 'de zwier van koppeling en sprong'). Engravings of different versions of *The Assumption of the Virgin* (by Paulus Pontius and Hans Witdoeck, for instance) would have served as examples; see Van Hout (ed.) 2004-05, figs. 44 and 45.

28 On Flinck's painting see Lunsingh Scheurleer 1969, pp. 52-54, and Blankert in Blankert et al. 1999, pp. 168-71. For the work of Willemboirts Bosschaert see Heinrich 2003, vol. 1, pp. 202-06, cat. no. A 36.

29 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 203.

30 The angel gestures towards the divine light with one hand and with the other to Phoenix rising from its burning nest, which is placed atop a tomb in the background with a recumbent figure in armour, undoubtedly William II.

31 The iconography of the room must have been very carefully thought out. Pieter Verelst painted the *Cardinal Virtues* on the six doors (three of them false doors): the seventh, Hope, was missing. She was given

her place in Flinck's painting (with her attributes of an anchor and orange blossom). See Lunsingh Scheurleer 1969, p. 52.

32 See Sluijter 1993, *passim* (English translation Sluijter 2000b, pp. 161-97). This is a Dutch tradition that began with Goltzius.

33 On Rembrandt's etching and the pastoral tradition see McNeil Kettering 1977, *passim*.

34 Cf. an illustration for a pastoral play written by Harmen Krul in 1639: McNeil Kettering 1977, p. 35, fig. 20. On Krul's (very virtuous) pastoral plays see Smits-Veldt and Luijten 1993, pp. 72-73.

35 See McNeil Kettering 1977, pp. 41-42.

36 On the group with whom Flinck drew at life drawing sessions see Manuth 2001, pp. 50-53 and Sluijter 2006, pp. 322-24. This group, described by Dirck Bleker as a 'society of painters' ('collegie van schilders'), was active in 1648 (the date on a drawing Flinck did at one of these sessions) and probably began a few years earlier.

37 See Sluijter 2006, pp. 292-309 and Noorman 2016, *passim*.

38 For my interpretation of Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* in the context of countless other depictions of Bathsheba, see Sluijter 2006, pp. 333-68, esp. the work of Flinck on pp. 365-66. Willem Drost's *Bathsheba* (1654) also played a role in Flinck's conception of this work. They all show a Bathsheba contemplating the letter, aware that she is observed.

39 Sluijter 2015a, pp. 343-45; on images of Vertumnus and Pomona from this period see Sluijter 2000a, pp. 69-75 and 152-53.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 116-22. Cf. esp. Backer's large painting in Sibiu, dated 1641 (*ibid.*, fig. II-44; Van den Brink and Van der Veen 2008, cat. no. 81 and fig. 5). On scenes from the *Pastor Fido*, see McNeil Kettering 1983, pp. 107-13 and Van den Brink (ed.) 1993, pp. 18-21.

41 On Van Loo's rather mysterious early training see Sluijter 2015a, pp. 374-79.

42 Sluijter 2000a, pp. 75-78 and p. 141.

43 For drawings, see e.g. Noorman and De Witt 2016, cat. nos. 25, 26, 28-32, Blankert et al. 1999, p. 162, fig. 25a; for paintings: Blankert 1982, cat. no. 29 (the Bol), Blankert in Blan-

kert et al. 1999, pp. 160–62, cat. no. 25 (Backer) and Mandrella 2011, cat. nos. P. 52, 55, 56 (Van Loo); no known painting by Flinck. Cf. esp. the paintings of *Venus and Adonis* by Backer and Bol and Van Loo's *Cimon and Iphigenia* (*ibid.*, P. 56); these all appear to be based on the same life drawing session.

44 A later *Venus and Adonis* by Bol dated 1661, with Venus in virtually the same pose (reversed), is a much more classical type, with broader shoulders, full, round breasts, a defined waist and sturdier legs (Miami Beach, Bass Museum); Blankert 1982, cat. no. 31). Van Loo used both this type and a more classical type of nude, as Judith Noorman argued in her unpublished MA thesis (University of Amsterdam, 2006).

45 See e.g. a *Virgin and Child with the Archangel Gabriel and John the Baptist* by Sandro Botticelli (c. 1470) in Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

46 Hendrick Snayers after Anthony van Dyck, engraving, after c. 1642–44 (the grisaille after which the engraving was made is in an English private collection; this is a variant of the painting in the Royal Collection in Buckingham Palace). The position of Bol's infant Christ bears a remarkable resemblance to Van Dyck's famous *Madonna and Child with Two Donors* in the Louvre, Paris, of which drawings or copies undoubtedly existed. A year earlier, Bol had painted a *Charity* (Moscow, Pushkin Museum) in which he almost literally repeated a composition by Van Dyck that was in Amalia of Solms-Braunfeld's collection (see Blankert 2011, pp. 284–86, figs. 8 and 9).

47 For the commissions for all the decorations in the town hall see Van de Waal 1952, pp. 215–19, with further references. For the works by Bol and Flinck in the town hall see Blankert 1975 (English translation Blankert 2004).

48 For this term, see above, notes 10 and 20. The coherence within the composition is also upset because the light on the dominant foreground figure comes from the right to give it high relief (as in the print after Rubens

in reverse), whereas the rest of the scene is lit and held together by the divine light from above.

49 The true circumstances were only recently reconstructed by Margriet van Eikema Hommes and Emilie Froment during the restoration in 2007–09; see Van Eikema Hommes and Froment 2011a.

50 Flinck was to deliver two a year at 1,000 guilders each; see Van de Waal 1952, p. 222.

51 On the problematic situation with the lighting see Van Eikema Hommes and Froment 2011b, pp. 50–52. They rightly suggest that had Van Campen still been in charge, the decorations would have been much better geared to this situation. They also note the irony of the fact that Rembrandt, whose work was removed, was the only one who did take the lighting into account.

52 On the technique of the watercolour decoration see *ibid.*, pp. 149–53.

53 On Ovens's intervention see *ibid.*, pp. 153–56.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 156–58.

55 It has always been assumed that Flinck made these drawings first, but in view of, among other things, the fact that Flinck's watercolour decoration is much closer to the composition of Tempesta's print, I am convinced that Flinck made them as designs for the later, final versions.

56 1661–62, oil on canvas, 196 x 309 cm., Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, on loan from the Royal Academy of Sciences.

57 See Van de Waal 1952, pp. 229–34.

58 In the eventual painting by Jacob Jordaens we likewise see a personification of Peace between them (fig. 149). This suggests either that the motif was specified in the commission or that Bol made his work after Jacob Jordaens's painting had already been installed.

59 Elmer Kolfin is preparing a study on the Batavian series and Jordaens's role in particular.

60 On this series see Van Eikema Hommes's masterly study 2012, *passim*.

61 Vasari describes this as 'di rilievo fuor della opera loro'; see Puttfarken 2000, chap.

5, esp. pp. 148–53.

62 Sandrart 1678, vol. 2, book 3, p. 328 (in the biography of Rembrandt): 'he could effectively depict the artlessness of nature... by using colour with natural strength, advancing forcefully' ('der Natur Einfalt ... mit natürlichen Kräften in Colorten und starken Erheben zu zieren gewust').

63 On 'kenlijkheid', as Van Hoogstraten called this, another means of bringing things forward strongly, see Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 179–90.

64 See N. Middelkoop in coll. cat. Amsterdam 2008, pp. 122–23.

65 Bol appears to have used a print in the anatomy book for artists by Jacob van der Gracht (Van der Gracht 1634, plate 1) for Neptune's pose, or, more probably, made a drawing of a model in the pose of the anatomical example in the well-known book. The pose of the figure of Adonis in the Rijksmuseum's *Venus and Adonis*, like the one in the Bass Museum, Miami Beach (note 44 above), is virtually identical.

66 The engraving by Pieter Nolpe is based on an oil sketch that I believe has to be attributed to Jan Baptist Weenix (Sluijter 2015a, pp. 162–65, figs. II–30, 31). Sea-horses like these also appear on Artus Quellinus's tympanum for the town hall (see fig. 120 in this book), but the print seems to be a more direct source. Needless to say, this motif is part of a long tradition stretching back into antiquity.

67 Similar groups of ships lying at anchor in calm weather occur in a type of painting that Van de Velde developed at precisely this time; the vessels do not appear to have been copied from a particular work. Van de Velde expert Remmelt Daalder confirmed that this area could have been painted in by Willem van de Velde the Younger, because of the expertise with which the becalmed ships are painted.

68 On the painting in the Utrecht set and the work for the Zuiderkerk see Van Eikema Hommes 2012, pp. 121–29.

69 Blankert described the subject as *Solomon Bringing Gifts to the Temple* (Blankert 1982, pp.

95-96, cat. nos. 12 and 13, pp. 95-96). Before that it was called *Joseph's Cup Discovered in Benjamin's Sack of Corn* and *Joseph Distributes Corn in Egypt*. However, Margriet van Eikema Hommes convincingly identified the subject as the story of King Cyrus.

70 See *ibid.*, p. 123-25 and 164. The subject was previously pictured in a church window for the same church to a design by Pieter Lastman, given by the goldsmiths in 1611.

71 See Middelkoop 1999, pp. 184-87, who at the same time convincingly links Minerva to the Trip family's arms dealings. However, the peacock as a symbol of vanity, as Middelkoop suggests, seems to me out of place here. To my mind, it functions as an attribute of Juno, along with the dolphin, an attribute of Venus, and Minerva herself. Together the three goddesses represent all the good qualities of a woman (as we find in marriage poems, e.g. Vondel: 'Drye godtheën smilt in dit eenigh schoon in een'; see Sluijter 2000a, p. 128), essentially, therefore, comparable to the Three Graces in Rubens's painting of the *Education of Marie de' Medici* See note 73).

72 In devising the composition, Bol probably had in mind an etching of *Grammatica* by Rubens's Antwerp-born pupil Cornelis Schut; see Diels 2009, pp. 50-51, fig. 13.

73 C. 1622-25. Oil on canvas, 394 x 295 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1771.

74 See E.J. Sluijter in exh. cat. Enschede 2016-17, pp. 36-46, esp. 41-42. It is very probable that they knew one another personally; both were in touch with the poet and playwright Andries Pels. Ilona van Tuinen will publish on this in the context of Bol's painting of the *Death of Dido*, a work that has to be dated to 1668-69.

75 See Sluijter 2017.

76 See note 8 above.

77 Both Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 2, pp. 23-24, and Baldinucci 1681-1721 (ed. 1974-75), vol. 5, p. 322, mention this trip. We do not know when it took place, but the early sixteen-forties seems the most likely.

78 De Lairese 1707, II, p. 325. See also Van de Wetering 1997, pp. 265-68 and Sluijter 2017.

79 See among others Paul Crenshaw 2006, esp. chap. 6. See also Sluijter 2015a, pp. 56-57.

80 See Sluijter 2015a, p. 109.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 74. Kok 2013.

Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck in the Burgomasters' Cabinet - Eric Jan Sluijter

1 For the commission, subject matter, meaning and composition of the works by Flinck and Bol see A. Blankert in exh. cat. Amsterdam 1975, pp. 11-23 and Blankert 1975 / 2004, pp. 49-64; for Bol, see also N. Middelkoop in coll. cat. Amsterdam 2008, pp. 116-17; for Flinck, see also Sluijter 2015a, pp. 96-99.

2 Vlaardingerbroek 2011, pp. 137-39.

3 All that remains of this mural, apart from a few fragments, is a nineteenth-century watercolour drawing; Heinrich Hess, copy after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Manius Curius Dentatus Refuses the Gifts of the Samnites*, 1817, Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung. This drawing has already been noted by Blankert; see exh. cat. Amsterdam 1975, fig. 10, and Blankert (1975) 2004, fig. 45.

4 See, for example, his *Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard*, c. 1629, oil on canvas, 158 x 174 cm., Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 1999.4.1.

5 C. 1610, oil on panel, 80 x 57 cm., Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 92.3

Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol: The Portraits - Rudi Ekkart

1 For an overview of Amsterdam portraiture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see R. Ekkart in exh. cat. Amsterdam 2002-03, pp. 28-45.

2 See J. van der Veen in exh. cat. London / Amsterdam 2006, pp. 117-205, esp. pp. 160-69.

3 For the identification as a self-portrait see De Bruyn Kops 1965, pp. 20-29.

4 Previously described as a portrait of Jonas Jacob Leeuwen. The correct identification

was published by Dudok van Heel 1980, pp. 105-23.

5 Coll. cat. The Hague 2004, pp. 145-48, no. 32.

6 See exh. cat. Birmingham 2015-16.

7 Exh. cat. Rotterdam 1995, pp. 85-87, no. 17; Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 133, no. 14.

8 The sitter has also been identified as Augustijn Wittenbogaert on the grounds of the likeness to the governor in Bol's painting of governors (fig. 221). For the identification see Dudok van Heel 1978, p. 146 and Bikker 2006, pp. 190-95, esp. 194.

9 Blankert 1982, pp. 57 and 184, no. R 200.

10 See P. van Thiel in exh. cat. Berlin / Amsterdam / London 1991-92, pp. 322-327, no. 63, and Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 5, pp. 3084-3085, no. 2016.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 137, no. 120 (c. 1644); Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, p. 310 no. 158 (c. 1642-44).

12 Oil on canvas, 115 x 90.5 cm, Bruxelles, Royal Museum of Fine Arts Bruxelles, inv. no. 155. Two copies of Rembrandt's portraits of Bambeeck and his wife Agatha Bas dated 1641 are attributed to Bol; cf. Amsterdam (Sotheby's) 15 November 2005, no. 74; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 5, p. 3086, nos. 2019-20.

13 See also Blankert 1982, nos. 101, 104, 123, 133, 143, 149, 150, 151 and 152.

14 Bruyn 1994, pp. 214-18.

15 Yapou 1983, pp. 58-61 and Lootsma 2007-08, pp. 235-36, argued, solely on the basis of a certain likeness, that here Flinck portrayed himself and his first wife.

16 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 17, figs. 6 and 7, as possibly Jan van Hellemont and Margaretha van Raephorst.

17 Blankert 1982, nos. 149 and 150.

18 For the identification by Frans Grijzenhout and Erna Kok see Dickey (red.) 2017, chapter 6.

19 Exh. cat. Rotterdam 1995, pp. 54-57, no. 3; Exh. cat. Haarlem / Antwerp 2000-01, pp. 237-39, no. 64.

20 Exh. cat. Cleves 2015-16, p. 139, no. 26.

21 The new identification was persuasively argued by Van der Molen 2012, pp. 319-24.

22 See also the portraits of Davidt de Wildt and Elisabeth van der Voorde dating from

1667, the last set of pendants by Bol that we know of. Oil on canvas, both 122 x 102 cm, Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. nos. SA 23614 and 23615; Blankert 1982, nos. 165 and 166.

23 For the tradition of the deathbed portrait see exh. cat. Haarlem 1998.

24 Blankert 1982, no. 126-1. Blankert puts a question mark beside the identification, referring to the indications confirming the old tradition collected by Ronald de Leeuw. Lucia Thijssen suggested that Ferdinand Bol visited Poland between 1645 and 1648 and painted this portrait at that time; see Thijssen 1992, p. 197 and P. Sutton in exh. cat. Greenwich / New York 2008-09, pp. 160-65, no. 19.

25 For the identification of this portrait see Ekkart 2002.

26 Fock and Ekkart 1981, p. 195, no. 10.

27 Snoep 1983, pp. 205-06.

28 Van Gendt 2011, cat. nos. 93 (with pendant 94), 119, 131, 150 and 151 (with pendant no. 152).

29 Blankert 1982, nos. 76-79; Coll. cat. The Hague 2004, pp. 42-46, no. 5.

30 See also exh. cat. Amsterdam 1984, pp. 219-20, no. 54 and Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, pp. 265-66, no. 54. Some of the variants also have carved frames; see Blankert 1982, nos. 82, 82Add and 86.

31 Ibid., nos. 76-82Add.

32 The existence of the painting was noted by Prud'homme van Reine 2001, pp. 333 and 446, note 42. Our thanks to Johan Bosch van Rosenthal, who put the exhibition curators in touch with the owner of the painting.

33 This is a map of the southern North Sea area by Pieter Goos; see Koeman 1970, vol. 4, pp. 196-97, as Goos 1B no. 6. My thanks to Willem van Kinschot and Kees Zandvliet for their identification of the map.

Flinck and Bol: The Group Portraits - Norbert Middelkoop

1 This essay arises out of my doctoral rese-

arch into the Amsterdam group portraits, concluded in 2017.

2 See among others Dudok van Heel 2009, p. 17, Colenbrander 2013 and Sluijter 2015a, pp. 90-95.

3 The men in the painting served together in this position from 1636 onwards, so it makes sense to conclude that it was they who initiated the decoration campaign; see Schaep 1653, f. 51r., whose list of governors before 1636 is very incomplete.

4 *The Governors of St Elisabeth's Hospital*, 1641. Canvas, 153 x 252 cm. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, inv. no. OS 1-114; For the Governors by Flinck and the preliminary drawing, see my entry in exh. cat. Perth / Adelaide / Brisbane 1997-98, pp. 83-85, no. 29.

5 See Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, p. 327 no. 106 (Burgh), p. 420 no. 141 (Willekens) and p. 402 no. 131 (Van Vlooswyck).

6 This horn, made in 1547 and attributed to Arent Jansz Coster, survived and is in the Rijksmuseum (inv. no. BK-AM-12, on loan from the City of Amsterdam). We do not know how the ceremonial toasts were made but the governors may have ratified the decisions they made by taking a draught from the horn after the content of flute on the table had been poured into it.

7 Dudok van Heel 2008, vol. 1, pp. 290-91 and Hell / Van Gent 2013, p. 299-300. He is shown as an ordinary militiaman in Cornelis van der Voort's *Civic guardsmen of the Company of Jonas Cornelisz Witsen and Lieutenant Volckert Overlander*, c. 1610-12 (Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 7433).

8 See Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, pp. 260-61.

9 Sluijter 2015a, pp. 96-99.

10 Bikker/Tauber 2015/16, pp. 263-64.

11 Ibid., p. 263. See further Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, p. 414, no. 137 (Bas) and p. 510 no. 185 (Reael).

12 *The Governors of the Nieuwezijds Almshouse*, c. 1650/51. Canvas, 272 x 312 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (on loan from the City of Amsterdam), inv. no. SK-C-442.

13 With regard to Van der Helst, Van Gent 2011, p. 199, mentions an eighteenth-century

drawn copy with 'voltrocken 1650' (completed 1650) on the back. The painting by Flinck is dated '1650' in Schaep 1653.

14 For the Oetgens Van Waveren brothers, see Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, p. 332.

15 Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, pp. 384-85 no. 126.

16 Vos 1662, pp. 540-41: 'Hier trekt van Maarseveen de eerst' in d'eeuwge vreed / Zoo trok zijn vaader d'eerst' in 't oorlog voor de Staat / Vernuft en Dapperheid, de kracht der vrye steede' / Verwerpen d'oude wrok, in plaats van 't krijgsgewaadt / Zoo waakt men aan het Y na moorden en verwoesten / De wijzen laten 't zwaardt wel rusten, maar niet roesten'. (Here Van Maarseveen leads in eternal peace / As did his father lead in the war for the sake of the State / Wit and bravery, the strength of free cities / Reject the old resentment, instead of the armour. This is how they keep watch at the IJ after murder and ruin / The wise let the sword rest, but not rust.)

17 Schaep 1630-53, nos. 24 and 25.

18 The commission may have been prompted by the extension of the Leper Hospital in 1640, completed under the watchful eyes of the men portrayed by Bol; see Wagenaar 1760-68, vol. 2 (1765), p. 312.

19 See in brief Blankert 1982, pp. 155-56, no. 177.

20 A 1769 engraving after the painting by Reinier Vinkeles shows an extended composition on all sides (Hollstein 1949-2010, vol. 2 (1954), p. 35, no. 30), as if the painting had originally been larger, however, the present edges of the canvas do not appear to indicate a reduction in size.

21 He was preceded by the physicians Marten Jansz Coster, Sebastiaen Egbertsz and Nicolaes Tulp; see Dudok van Heel 1998, pp. 55-57, about the practice of appointing *doctores medicinae* to the city council.

22 Bikker 2006, p. 194.

23 See Middelkoop 2013b for an illustrated overview.

24 Information about the social functions can be derived from NN, *Lijsten van de heeren van regeeringe der stad Gouda (...)* [1600-1794], Gouda 1705. As well as being a lieutenant (1649-51) and captain (1652, 1653, 1657, 1664,

1665), Jan Jansz van Immerseel (?-1671?) was a governor of the House of Correction from 1643 to 1671; Adriaen van Groenendijk (?-1704?) was a lieutenant (1651-52) and captain (1653, 1654, 1657, 1658, 1661, 1662) and governor of the Leper Hospital from 1649 to 1704 and secretary from 1666 to 1704; Hendrick Herberts (?-?) was a lieutenant (1641-42, 1649, 1650-51) and captain (1652-53, 1656-57) and governor of the hospital from 1648 to 1652 and from 1656 to 1658. Johan Herberts (?-?) is only named as a captain in 1648 and 1649; evidently Dirck Cant (?-1670?) is not portrayed, although he was a captain of the militia in 1652 and 1653, after serving as a standard bearer (1642 to 1646) and lieutenant (1650-51); he was also a governor of the hospital from 1646 to 1669.

25 Ibid., Suys (Rotterdam c. 1610-1671?) was a lieutenant in 1647-48, captain in 1649 and colonel from 1650 to 1653; he was a councillor from 1649, frequently sheriff between 1655 and 1670 and burgomaster in 1671; governor of the Heilige Geesthuis 1650-52 and 1654, church warden 1654, 1657, 1658, governor of the hospital 1660 and chief of police 1657, 1660, 1662, 1665.

26 See Blankert 1975/2004, pp. 78-81 and my entry in coll. cat. AHM 2008, pp. 122-23. According to the volume with the coats-of-arms of governors of the Lepers' Asylum (SAA 369, *Archief van het Sint Jorishof, Leprozenhuis en Oude Mannen- en Vrouwen-gasthuis* nr. 320 'Register houdende de namen en wapens van de regenten, 1567-1860', started 1675/76), the then governors were Claes Baltensz van de Wiele (1595-1672, in office 1655-72†), Reynier de Blocq (1603-1666, in office 1655-66†), Hans Auxbrebis (in office 1656-66†) and Gijsbert Pietersz van Wieringen (1607-1664, in office 1660-64†).

27 Blankert 1975/2004, pp. 41-46 and 78-81.

28 Blankert, in coll. cat. AHM 1975/79, pp. 47-48, no. 59, suggested that the canvas was painted around 1666, because a date of 1668 would have meant that two governors would have been depicted twice, that is to say also in the later group portrait by Ochtervelt of

1674 (R. 23). Dudok van Heel 1978, p. 158 note 2, postulated a date in the second half of 1667 or the first half of 1668.

29 Oil on canvas, 163 x 197 cm. London, The National Gallery, inv. no. NG 1459.

30 From l. to r. Gillis Hens (1640-1675, in office 1667-75†), Anthony de Haes (1622-1676, in office 1667-76†) and Gerrit van Ruytenburgh (1638-1686, in office 1667-68).

31 Chimney Breast from the Governesses' Chamber in the Leper Hospital, c. 1667. Wood, 30 x 258 x 98 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (on loan from the City of Amsterdam) inv.nr. BK-AM-22; see my entry in exh. cat. Rome 2003-04, p. 109, no. 30.

32 Remarked upon for the first time by Gregor Weber (Rijksmuseum), oral communication on 20 December 2012.

33 SAA 5015, *Genealogie Handschriften*, no. 422, 'Naamlijst van de regentessen van het Leprozenhuis over de periode 1624-1847', by A(?). Zürcher, 1826.

34 Blankert 1982, p. 22-24.

35 Email G. Weber, 28 January 2013: Albert Blankert and Gregor Weber suggested Pieter van Anraedt as the maker, although Pieter Roelofs believes it was Nicolaes Maes. However, cf. Adriaen Backer's group portraits for the Surgeons' Guild of 1670 and for the Walloon Orphanage of 1671, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 2000 and Amsterdam, Hospice Wallon, respectively.

36 Oldewelt 1942, p. 14; SAA 347, *Archief van het Spin- en Nieuwe Werkhuis*, no. 224, 'Registers van ontvangsten en uitgaven 1654-1681', s.f.

37 Blankert 1982, pp. 54 and 106, no. 40. It would imply that the painting, which has been in Berlin since around 1700, clearly left its original location very quickly.

38 See Bikker 2011, whose identification of the governors is confirmed by the coats of arms on the panelling he did not remark upon (Amsterdam Museum, inv. nos. KA 14254 and 14255). In 1765 Wagenaar, vol. 2, p. 267, saw 'aan den schoorsteenmantel de wapens van eenige Regenten, ter wederzyde van een' spiegel en schilderstuk, in 't graauw'

(the arms of some of the governors on the chimney breast on each side of a mirror and painting, in grisaille) in the governors' chamber. This could mean that the surviving vertical uprights with two or three coats of arms of the governors portrayed by Bol came from this chimney breast, and were still there in 1765, separated from the accompanying painting.

39 He is named as head of the Confrérie in 1629, 1630, 1633, 1634 and 1638; This can be deduced from the annual accounts signed by the governors in SAA 366/52, *Archief van de Gilden en het Brouwerscollege, Wijnkopergilde*, no. 1645, 'Kasboek 1621-1659' (incomplete), passim; Blankert 1982, pp. 20, 21 and 157, no. 180 (without mention of source), states that he served as head in 1629, 1631, 1635 and 1639.

40 The names of five governors who could have been portrayed by Bol appear in the annual accounts for 1659: Christoffel Croesen (Utrecht 1590/91-?), Hendrick Kreijvanger (1607/08-?), Willem Simonsz Moons (Amsterdam 1603/04-?), Tijmon Cornelisz Pondt (Amsterdam-?) and Marijnus Harmansz Faber (?-?); See SAA 366/52, no. 1645 (see previous note), f. 60.

Flinck and Bol: The Black Presence - Imara Limon

1 Blakely 1993, p. 103.

2 The catalogue of the same name (Kolfin and Schreuder 2008) includes a bibliography of research into themes relating to the black presence in Dutch art and society.

3 Already remarked upon by N. Middelkoop in mus. cat. Amsterdam 2008, p. 117.

4 See Otte 1987.

5 Geeraardt Brandt's *Leven en bedrijf van den heere Michiel de Ruiter*, Amsterdam 1687, includes a portrait print of De Ruyter based on a combination of two portrait types by Bol, one with a black page; my thanks to Tom van der Molen for this observation.

6 Cf. also Flinck's *A Young Archer* of c. 1639-40 in London, The Wallace Collection, oil on

panel, 66.2 x 50.8 cm., inv. no. P238.

7 My thanks to Norbert Middelkoop for this suggestion.

Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol: Drawings – Peter Schatborn

1 Special thanks to Holm Bevers and Marleen Ram for their comments.

2 Bredius 1917, vol. 4, p. 1255; exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014, under no. 54.

3 Coll. cat. Paris 1950, no. 493; exh. cat. Paris/Ajaccio 2012-14, no. 24.

4 Benesch 1973, no. 178; Exh. cat. Berlin 2006, no. 16.

5 Benesch 1973, no. 81; exh. cat. Dresden 2004, no. 67; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 5.2 (Flinck); Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 251*; Schatborn 2010, no. 34, verso (Bol).

6 New Hollstein 2013, no. 159.

7 Pen and brown ink, 173 x 155 mm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 2313, verso; Benesch 1973, no. 100, verso; Coll. exh. Berlin 2006, no. 9, verso; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 5.1.

8 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014, pp. 11-12. On the back of Bol's drawing is *The Appearance of the Angel to Hagar in the Wilderness*, a subject he depicted quite often; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 250*; Schatborn, 2010, no. 34, recto

9 Oud 1992.

10 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 126*.

11 Ibid., no. 127*; Coll. cat. London 2010, Bol no. 1.

12 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 128*; Royalton-Kisch 2010, Bol no. 2.

13 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 87.

14 Schatborn 2010a, p. 7, fig. 1; Robinson 2015, fol. 46, pp. 47-48, fig. 43.

15 New Hollstein 2013, no. 110.

16 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 861.

17 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, no. 643.

18 C. 1638. Red chalk, 208 x 179 mm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 5431; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4

(1981), no. 896; Schatborn 2010a, p. 7, fig. 2

19 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 895; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 3.2.

20 C. 1638. Red chalk, heightened with white, 247 x 137 mm., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty museum, inv. no. 81.GB.27; Benesch 1973, no. 137; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 3.1.

21 C. 1638. Black and white chalk, 198 x 234 mm., Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. no. 33/1956; Benesch 1973, no. 193A; Stockholm 1992, no. 132; Schatborn 2010, pp. 7-8, fig. 4, previously attributed to Flinck by Von Moltke 1965, no. D 215, where the attribution by Frits Lugt is also mentioned

22 C. 1638. Black chalk, 283 x 175 mm., Paris, Fondation Custodia, F. Lugt Collection, inv. no. 5218; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 155*, as Ferdinand Bol; Schatborn 2010a, p. 8, fig. 5.

23 Black chalk, 121 x 105 mm., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Koenigs/Van Beuningen Collection, inv. no. R 81; Benesch 1973, no. 376; Giltaij 1988, no. 12; exh. cat. Rotterdam 2005-06, no. 10; Schatborn 2010a, p. 10, fig. 6.

24 For the view that Rembrandt only began on this later, see exh. cat. Amsterdam 2016.

25 Benesch 1973, no. 128; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 4.1.

26 Benesch 1973, no. 79, as Rembrandt; Plomp 1997, no. 322, as Rembrandt; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 4.1 and fig. 4c; Schatborn 2010a, p. 25, fig. 14.

27 Benesch 1973, no. 70; Schatborn, 2010a, p. 15, fig. 16; Coll. cat. London 2010, Flinck no. 7.

28 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 951*; exh. cat. Brunswick 2006, no. 13; Schatborn 2010a, p. 29, fig. 31.

29 C. 1638. Pen and brown ink and black chalk, on blue paper, 245 x 181 mm., Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1923, inv. no. 1278.12.2-3; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 948*; Schatborn 2010a, p. 13, fig. 11.

30 'Godefredo Flinck da Cleves, scolaro di Rembrandt in Amsterdam; nella facilit[à] del dipingere oltrepass[ò] il Maestro Orlandi' (Godefredo Flinck of Cleves, pupil of Rem-

brandt in Amsterdam; he surpassed Master Orlandi in his skill as a painter). Giovanni Orlando worked in Rome and Naples from 1590 to 1640.

31 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1981), no. 89.

32 Benesch 1973, no. 99; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 8.1

33 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1981), no. 180*; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 8.2.

34 Benesch 1973, no. 537; Schatborn 1985, pp. 94-95; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 12.2.

35 Benesch 1973, no. 538; Schatborn 1985, pp. 94-95; exh. cat. Los Angeles 2009-10, no. 12.1.

36 Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash over a sketch in black chalk, 92 x 153 mm., The Hague, Royal Library, *Vriendenalbum van J. Heyblock*, fol. 153; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 889.

37 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 862; Coll. cat. Rotterdam 1988, no. 71; Coll. cat. Rotterdam 2005-06, no. 57; Schatborn 2010a, p. 10, fig. 9.

38 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 866.

39 Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 165 x 148 mm., Paris, Fondation Custodia, F. Lugt Collection, inv. no. 7368. Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 865; Schatborn 2010, no. 80.

40 Graphite, brown wash, 600 x 470 mm., Montpellier, Musée Fabre, inv. no. 864-2-395- G. de Crayer; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 888.

41 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 910*; exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014a, no. 29.

42 There is a drawing of a flute-playing shepherd that is somewhat similar to the shepherd in the painting in the Maida and George Abrams Collection in Boston; exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014, under no. 21, fig. 21a.

43 For an overview of preliminary studies for paintings, see Blankert 1982, pl. 198-204. *David on his Deathbed*, 1643, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 158 x 217 mm., Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. D. 2756; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 5, no. 1277, as Gerrit Willemisz Horst, can be added to it; it is a preliminary study for Bol's painting in Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. no. 47; oil on canvas, 79 x 101 cm., signed *F. Bol fecit 1643*; Coll. cat.

- Dublin 1981, p. 13.
- 44 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 204*. This is also evidenced by a copy with the original composition in Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design; Benesch 1973, under no. 492, with ill.
- 45 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 101; Coll. cat. Hamburg 2011, no. 122.
- 46 Ferdinand Bol, attributed, *Joseph Interprets the Dreams of the Baker and Cupbearer in Prison*, c. 1640. Oil on canvas, 165 x 212 cm. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, inv. no. 65. The attribution of this work to Bol has been called into question, although various characteristic elements of early paintings by Bol occur in it.
- 47 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 97; exh. cat. Munich / Amsterdam 2001-02, no. 79.
- 48 See e.g. Rembrandt's preliminary study for a print dated to c. 1639, *Artist Drawing from Life*; Benesch 1973, no. 423; Coll. cat. London 2010, no. 24.
- 49 Cf. e.g. Rembrandt's drawing *Joseph Interprets the Dreams of the Baker and Butler in Prison*, (verso of the sheet referred to in the previous note) and Bol's study of a *Standing Virgin* for the 1644 painting. Pen and brown ink, 157 x 115 mm., Wrocław, Ossolineum, inv. no. 8721; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. I (1979), no. 98.
- 50 Benesch 1973, no. 475; Sumowski 1979, vol. I, no. 93.
- 51 Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, no. 96; exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014, under no. 54.
- 52 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 235*; Coll. cat. Rotterdam 1988, no. 42.
- 53 Oil on panel, 16 x 21 cm. Private collection. Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6 (2015), no. 208.
- 54 Blankert 1982, p. 77, no. 42.
- 55 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 273*.
- 56 See coll. cat. Berlin 2006, pp. 198-99.
- 57 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 249*.
- 58 Ibid., vol. 1, no. 261*.
- 59 Ibid., vol. 1, no. 211*.
- 60 After 1641. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, black chalk, 185 x 172 mm., formerly London, J.P. Heseltine Collection; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 189*.
- 61 1640s, pen and brown ink, 155 x 122 mm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 4313; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 237*, and mid-1650s, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 195 x 167 mm., Mainz, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. GS/o/770; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 275*.
- 62 See also the *Scholar at a Table with a Globe and Books*, late 1640s, oil on canvas, 122 x 98 cm., St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. cat. 1958, no. 767; Blankert 1982, no. 69; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, no. 124.
- 63 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 102.
- 64 Ibid., no. 109; Blankert 1982, under cat. 26, p. 201, fig. B; the painting is in the building of the Upper House of the Dutch parliament in The Hague (on loan from the Cultural Agency of the Netherlands). For two versions of the same composition (in pen and ink), see Benesch 1973, no. C 43. In a lecture presented at the conference *Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol: Rising Stars in Rembrandt's Amsterdam*, Queen's University, Bader International Study Centre, Herstmonceux Castle, United Kingdom, 16-19 July 2015, Jan Leja attributed the drawing, with reservations – and erroneously – to Rembrandt (not published).
- 65 C. 1642. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 215 x 182 mm., Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 2626; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 92.
- 66 C. 1655. Pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 308 x 401 mm., Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. 25113; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 118.
- 67 C. 1655. Oil on canvas 115.5 x 133 cm., Graz, Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, inv. no. 151; Blankert 1982, no. 30; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, no. 91.
- 68 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 898.
- 69 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 899 (Flinck) and ibid., vol. 1, no. 54* (Backer); exh. cat. Amsterdam / Aachen 2008/09, cat. nos. 54A and B.
- 70 Dudok van Heel 1982, p. 71 and pp. 74-75.
- 71 Two nudes included by Sumowski, vol. 1, nos. 119 and 155*, under 'Bol' are now attributed to Jacob van Loo and Flinck respectively, see exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014, nos. 54 and 20.
- 72 Bredius 1917, vol. 4, p. 1255.
- 73 C. 1655. Black and white chalk on blue paper, 373 x 244 mm., Amsterdam, Private collection; exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014, no. 54.
- 74 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 873; exh. cat. Washington / Paris, 2016-17, no. 80.
- 75 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 877; exh. cat. Paris / Ajaccio 2012-14, no. 23, and Bolten 1965, no. 63; Sumowski 1979, vol. 1, no. 878, respectively.
- 76 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 884; Plomp 1997, no. 156.
- 77 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 900; exh. cat. Paris / Ajaccio 2012-14, no. 23.
- 78 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), nos. 975* and 976*; Stefes 2011, vol. 1, nos. 333 and 334; exh. cat. Amsterdam 2011, p. 60, figs. 31 and 32.
- 79 Jan Lievens, *Brinio Raised on the Shield*, 1661. Oil on canvas, 546 x 538 cm, arched at the top. Amsterdam, Royal Palace; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 3, no. 1213; exh. cat. Amsterdam 2011, p. 62, fig. 40.
- 80 See note 40.
- 81 Cf. Amsterdam (Christie's) 4-XI-2004, no. 63; Blankert 1982, no. 45; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, no. 114.
- 82 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 120, and Blankert 1982, no. 46; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, under no. 115.
- 83 C. 1654-55. Pen and brown ink, brush in grey, black chalk, 605 x 452 mm., Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 1744; Blankert 1975, p. 24, fig. 21; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 114; exh. cat. Munich / Amsterdam 2001-02, no. 44.
- 84 1655. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 675 x 467 mm., Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 1741; Sumowski 1979, no. 113; exh. cat. Munich / Amsterdam 2001-02, no. 45.
- 85 C. 1643. Black chalk, grey wash, 109 x 98 mm., Leiden, University Library Print Room, inv. no. PK-T-AW-387; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 868.

- 86 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 867.
- 87 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 106.
- 88 Pen and brown ink, 122 x 95 mm., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 23.008; Lugt 1933, no. 1300; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 107.
- 89 C. 1667. Pen and brown ink, 209 x 169 mm., formerly Bremen, Kunsthalle, inv. no. 1710; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 121.
- 90 C. 1667. Pen and brush, brown and grey wash, 495 x 415 mm., Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 2031; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1981), no. 122.
- 91 The 1652 portrait is known from a copy in the Siegerlandmuseum in Siegen; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 2, p. 1006, note 10.
- 92 1658. Black chalk and brown and grey wash, 309 x 272 mm., Turin, Biblioteca Reale, inv. no. 16500; Sumowski 1981, 4, no. 887; B. van Sichem in coll. cat. Turin, 2006-07, no. 26. Cornelis van Dalen also drew a copy of the drawing by Flinck; black chalk, 320 x 275 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1898-A-3953.
- 93 Hollstein 1949-2010, vol. 5, no. 137; B. van Sichem in coll. cat. Turin, 2006-07, no. 26, fig. 26.1.
- 94 C. 1645. Black and white chalk on greyish blue paper, 252 x 273 mm., Dresden, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no. C 1894; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 871.
- 95 1646. Black and white chalk on blue paper, 246 x 190 mm., Paris, Fondation, Custodia, F. Lugt Collection, inv. no. 9107; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 870; Dudok van Heel 1980, pp. 4-5; Schatborn 2010a, no. 81.
- 96 Etching, 250 x 204 mm.; New Hollstein 2013, no. 172.
- 97 See note 38.
- 98 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 869.
- 99 Brush and pen and black ink, heightened in white, on blue paper, oval, 170 x 133 mm., whereabouts unknown; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 872; exh. cat. Amsterdam 1993, no. 45.
- 100 Technique and dimensions unknown, formerly in the collection of the Grand Duke of Weimar; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 94.
- 101 Blankert 1982, p. 77, nos. 60-64.
- 102 Elias 1903-05, vol. 1, p. 401; with thanks to S.A.C. Dudok van Heel.
- 103 *Portrait of a Man*, 1647, pen and brown ink, brown wash, red chalk, heightened in white, 116 x 82 mm., Wrocław, Ossolineum, inv. no. 8742; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 100; cf. *Portrait of a Man*, 1647, oil on canvas, 88.2 x 76.5 cm., Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, inv. no. 2433; Blankert 1982, cat. 99; Sumowski 1983-94, vol. 1, no. 163; *Woman Playing a Lute, Allegory of Hearing*, c. 1654, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 109 x 68 mm. Mettingen, Liberna Collection, inv. no. D 35. Sumowski 1972-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 272*; cf. *Woman Playing a Lute, Allegory of Hearing*, 1654, oil on canvas, 100 x 82 cm., Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. no. 1430; Blankert, 1982, no. 132; Sumowski 1983-94, I, no. 128; P. Schatborn in Mettingen 2012-13, no. 107; *Woman in a Window*, c. 1642, pen and brown ink, 100 x 80 mm., Besançon, Musée des Beaux-arts, inv. no. D 573; Blankert 1982, under no. 144. Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 185*; the painting after this drawing is not known.
- 104 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 904. Van Eeghen/Van der Kuil, 2015, no. 35.
- 105 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 903. Schatborn 2010, no. 79.
- 106 Pen and brown ink, 189 x 193 mm., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. MB 181; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 4 (1981), no. 902; coll. cat. Rotterdam 1988, no. 74; coll. cat. Rotterdam 2005-06, no. 58.
- 107 Sale Huquier, Amsterdam, 14 September 1761, no. 1581; Schatborn 2010, no. 79, note 11.
- 108 1655. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 605 x 452 mm., verso: *Fight Scene* (?), black chalk. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 1744; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 114; Blankert 1982, pl. 202 C.
- 109 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 278*; Royalton-Kisch 2003, p. 140ff. Royalton-Kisch sees a link with a *River Landscape* from the 1650s, black chalk, pen and brown ink and watercolour, heightened with white, 144 x 198 mm., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. no. I 176; Turner 2006, no. 36.
- 110 See note 67.
- 111 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 280*.
- 112 C. 1651. Black chalk, brush and brown and grey ink, 147 x 292 mm., Paris, Fondation Custodia, F. Lugt Collection, inv. no. 6009; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 281*; Schatborn 2010, no. 35.
- 113 Blankert 1982, pp. 32-33.
- 114 Rembrandt, *View of Haarlem with the Saxenburg Estate in the Background*, c. 1651. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, white body-colour, 89 x 152 mm., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. R 130; Benesch 1973, no. 1259. Coll. cat. Rotterdam 1988, no. 21; coll. cat. Rotterdam 2005-06, no. 20.
- 115 Rembrandt, *Landscape near Bloemendaal with Haarlem in the Distance*, 1651. Etching, 12 x 31.9 cm.; New Hollstein 2013, no. 257.
- 116 Royalton-Kisch 1992, pp. 127-34.
- 117 Lugt 1933, no. 1200; Benesch 1973, no. 848; for the attribution to Bol see Royalton-Kisch 1992, pp. 131-32.
- 118 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1935; Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6 (2015), no. 165. The pen-and-ink technique is meanwhile similar in the *Landscape with a Bridge*, but worked up more extensively and rather irregularly with a brush.
- 119 The attribution to Bol of the *Landscape with a Lift Bridge*, sixteen-forties, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 156 x 286 mm. Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. L 174; Benesch 1973, no. 851; Royalton-Kisch, 1992, pp. 132-33, fig. 39, seems less secure; the sheet and several other drawings fit better in the oeuvre of Carel Fabritius because the handling of line is more powerful and more uniform than Bol's; cf. Fabritius's *Tobias with the Angel and the Fish*, c. 1642-45, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 155 x 208 mm., John and Marina van Vlissingen Art Foundation, inv. no. 2010/03; Benesch 1973, no. 496; Royalton-Kisch 1992, p. 127, fig. 30; exh. cat. Amsterdam / Paris, 2015-16, no. 44; and *St Jerome in a Landscape*, c. 1642-45, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 170 x 161 mm., Brno, Moravská Galerie, inv.

no. B 2154; Benesch 1973, no. A 29; Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 212*; Royalton-Kisch 1992, p. 127, fig. 31; note 13 mentions the similarity to a drawing attributed to Fabritius in Schatborn 1985, nos. 61-66. Carel Fabritius, *Landscape with a Bridge in the Distance*, c. 1652-45, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 115x159 mm., Wrocław, Ossolineum, inv. no. 8731; Benesch 1973, nos. 793 and 792; Royalton-Kisch 1992, p. 132, fig. 38. The style is similar to that of a drawing previously attributed to Fabritius that is also held in the Ossolineum (inv. no. 8712): *Tobias with the Angel and the Fish*, c. 1642-45, pen and brown ink, white heightening, 166 x 278 mm.; Benesch 1973, no. 479; Schatborn 2006, pp. 135-36.

Ferdinand Bol, The Etcher - Leonore van Sloten

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1 See Hollstein 1949-2010, vol. 3 (Bol) and exh. cat. Amsterdam 2000. In *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 51, which is being published in the summer of 2017 by Abaris, George C. Kenney sets out his findings about Bol's graphic oeuvre (hereafter referred to as Kenney 2017). In this essay, the references to the states of Bol's prints follow Kenney 2017 (abbreviation for references to specific prints: K.). With thanks to the author and publisher for providing a preprint.

2 Of all the students trained by Rembrandt over a period of four decades, we currently know around forty of them by name.

3 Flinck must have known Rembrandt's prints extremely well, but he appears to have had no interest in practising the art of etching. In cases where prints can be linked to Flinck's oeuvre they are primarily reproductive prints that were produced from

copper plates made after Flinck's painted works by professional engravers.

4 The students who etched were Gerrit Dou, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Ferdinand Bol, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Willem Drost, Constantijn van Renesse, Johannes Leupenius, Philips Koninck, Salomon Koninck, Johannes Ruyscher, Pieter de With and Karel van der Pluym. For an overview of their graphic oeuvres see the various volumes of Hollstein 1949-2010.

5 It should be noted that Van Renesse was not a professional artist but he took drawing lessons from Rembrandt in (at least) 1649 and 1651. Ruyscher (c. 1625-after 1675) must have been apprenticed to Rembrandt in the mid-1640s. Interestingly his drawings are Rembrandtesque in style, whereas his prints were very strongly inspired by the work of Hercules Segers – to such a degree that he had already earned the nickname of 'the young Hercules' in the seventeenth century and his work was long mistaken for Segers's. See exh. cat. Amsterdam 2014, pp. 125-27 and exh. cat. Amsterdam 2016-17, pp. 36-41.

6 Willem Drost, *Self-Portrait, Drawing*, 1652. Etching, only state, 64 x 50 mm; Hollstein 1949-2010, dl. 6 (Drost); Constantijn van Renesse, *Self-Portrait, Drawing*, 1651. Etching and drypoint, only state, 80 x 70 mm.; Ibid., vol. 20 (Renesse).

7 See exh. cat. Amsterdam 2015, pp. 25-29 for an overview. The drawn self-portraits were by Nicolaes Maes, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Heyman Dullaert and Arent de Gelder. There may also have been similar drawn portraits by other students, but they have been lost. Since we know of other etchings by Van Renesse dating from 1651 they also could have been made during his time with Rembrandt.

8 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2015, pp. 25-29.

9 New Hollstein 2013, text I, Introduction.

10 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2015, pp. 67-71. Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2016, pp. 87-88.

11 'Hy had ook een eige wyze van zyne geëtste platen naderhand te bewerken en op te maken: 't geen hy zyne Leerlingen nooit liet zien; 't is ook niet te bedenken op wat wyze

't zelve gedaan is; dus is die vinding ... met den uitvinder ten grave gedaalt.' Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 1, p. 271.

12 'mit fast unzählbaren fürnehmen Kinder zur Instruction und Lehre erfüllet [war], deren jeder ihm jährlich in die 100. Gulden bezahlt, ohne den Nutzen welchen er aus dieser seiner Lehrlinge Mahlwerken und Kupferstücken erhalten der sich auch in die 2 bis 2500 Gulden baares Gelds belaufen, samt dem, was er durch seine eigne Hand-Arbeit erworben'. Von Sandrart 1675, vol. 2, book 3, p. 326.

13 Amsterdam 2011, pp. 175-76 and Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 5, pp. 262-69.

14 Kenney 2017, K22.

15 The second state has 'F Bol f' in the left foreground in angular letters that may have been inscribed with a drypoint; this could explain the character of the letters.

16 Cat. tent. Amsterdam 2000, pp. 13-15.

17 In 1646 Bol completed a large painting of the same subject (p. 101,afb. 121), which he based amongst others on another painted version of *The Sacrifice of Isaac* by Pieter Lastman, painted in 1616 (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. R. F. 920).

18 This was a reason for Blankert to doubt the attribution; see Blankert 1982, p. 14, note 4 and p. 91, cat. 4. Rovinski, Bartsch, Hollstein and Kenney, however, include the print as autograph in their overviews of the oeuvre.

19 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2011, p. 175.

20 Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 395. Bol's etching hand shows similar – albeit more skilful and more refined – ways of depicting particular pictorial elements. He would have known the prints by Van Vliet and studied them to hone his etching skills. We know that Rembrandt had examples of the prints in his collection from his estate inventory of 1656: 'A box of prints by Van Vliet after paintings by Rembrandt' ('Een kas met printen van Van Vliet naer schilderije van Rembrandt'). Amsterdam City Archives, archive no. 5072, inv. no. 364, fol. 36, no. 277.

21 Rembrandt, *Susanna and the Elders*, red chalk, Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no.

KdZ 5296; Cat. coll. Berlin 2006, pp. 82-85, no. 18; The inscription reads:

Verkoft syn vaendrager synde 15. - . - .

een floora verhandelt 4. 6. - .

Fardynandus van syn werck verhandelt

Aen ander werck van syn voorneemen

Den Abrahama een floora

Leenderts floora is verhandelt tegen 5 g

22 The drawing on the recto is dated to 1636, because the sketch of Lastman's composition of *Susanna and the Elders* served Rembrandt as the example for his 1636 painting of *Susanna*, now in the Mauritshuis (inv. no. 147). Cat. coll. Berlin 2006, pp. 82-85 (cat. 18).

23 The impression of the first state in the Rijksmuseum's collection (inv. no. RP-P-BI-1984) bears a watermark of a multi-rayed sun (observation Erik Hinterding, communication by email on 2 May 2017). This watermark appears similar to the watermarks that have been found in impressions of prints by Rembrandt dating from 1633 and 1639 (Hinterding 2006, vol. 2, p. 181). Unfortunately, these marks were not photographed, and in the case of the Rembrandt prints do not relate to first states. Yet it is not out of the question that paper with a similar watermark dates from the 1630s, which makes a dating of the print by Bol in that period one of the possibilities.

24 See Hollstein 1949-2010, vol. 3 (Bol) and Kenney 2017.

25 Borrowing parts of a composition from work by an admired predecessor was common practice. Artists also entered into artistic competition with one another by taking each other's inventions and improving them (emulation). See for example exh. cat. Amsterdam 2013-14.

26 Erik Hinterding, 'Rembrandt and Van Vliet: The Watermarks', in exh. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 24-26.

27 Corpus 1982-2015, vol. 6 (2015), pp. 568-70.

28 Schatborn 1986, pp. 3, 8-9.

29 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), nos. 95, 143x and 105.

30 Around 1652 when Rembrandt adapted

Hercules Segers's etching plate of *Tobias and the Angel*, he replaced the figures with a fleeing Joseph and Mary. While Segers, interestingly, had based his composition on a print of *Tobias and the Angel* by Hendrick Goudt after Adam Elsheimer, Rembrandt likewise based his adaptation of Segers's etching plate on Goudt, but on the engraving that Goudt made of Elsheimer's *Flight into Egypt* in 1613.

31 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 46-47.

32 Jan Lievens played an important role in Rembrandt's earliest development as a printmaker. He had an aptitude for the technique and encouraged the young Rembrandt to take up the etching needle; Lievens based his etching of St Jerome on an oil sketch (Leiden, Museum De Lakenhal). See exh. cat. Amsterdam / Washington 2008-09, pp. 126-27.

33 Amsterdam City Archives, archive no. 5072, inv. no. 364, fol. 36: '(274) Noch een gesneeden boeck met printen sijnde de wercken van Jan Lievensz. en Ferdinando Bol'.

34 Krul 1644, p. 11.

35 Rembrandt, *The Ship of Fortune*, 1633. Etching, 111 x 165 mm (New Hollstein, 123), in Herckmans 1634, third book, p. 97. See among others Van de Grind 2016, pp. 41-49.

36 Jan Six's tragedy *Medea* was published in 1648. Rembrandt etched an illustration of the wedding of Jason and Creusa (New Hollstein, 241) for this publication. In 1655 Rembrandt supplied four small etched illustrations for the mystical treatise *Piedra Gloriosa o de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar* by Menasseh den Israel on the coming of the Messiah (New Hollstein, 288).

37 For the iconographic interpretation of this print see exh. cat. Amsterdam 2015-16, p. 79, no. 53. For more window works see Blankert 1982, p. 140-141, nos. 131-136.

38 Prague, Národní Galerie, inv. no. DO-4288.

39 See exh. cat. Kingston 1996, p. 44-45 no. 9 and p. 74-75, no. 29.

40 Sumowski 1979-92, vol. 1 (1979), no. 143x. The current whereabouts of the sheet is unknown (former Mount Kisco Collection New

York) and we do not know whether the sheet was indented for transfer.

41 The impression with inventory number RP-P-2008-83 has a foolscap with seven points and the monogram MG.

42 Laurentius et al. 1992, pp. 353-84; E., Hinterding in exh. cat. 1996, pp. 24-37.

43 Inv. no. RP-P-BI-1990. Observation of the paper also reveals that it looks somewhat thinner than the *gampi* Rembrandt usually used (Erik Hinterding, oral communication on 22 March 2017).

44 Observation by Erik Hinterding, oral communication on 22 March 2017.

45 In addition to the print in the Rijksmuseum there is also an impression on Japanese paper in the British Museum, inv. no. F.6.175.

46 There may also be an impression on Japanese paper of Rembrandt's etching *St Jerome in a Study* of 1642, which Bol took as an example for his print. Rembrandt may have reprinted his own plate when he had the exotic paper at his disposal. See Hollstein 2013, New Hollstein, 212, text section p. 106, state II, Florence (Uffizi) (6085 ST SC), where there is a question mark because the circumstances in which the paper had to be assessed were difficult. The identification of the support as Japanese paper could therefore not be made with certainty.

47 Rembrandt, *Portrait of Jan Six Leaning on a Window Ledge*, 1647. Etching, drypoint and burin, 245 x 191 mm, New Hollstein 2013, no. 238.

48 Exh. cat. Amsterdam 2017, pp. 22-36.

49 Rembrandt, *Christ Preaching (The Hundred Guilder Print)*, c. 1648. Etching, drypoint and burin, 278 x 388 mm, New Hollstein 2013, no. 239.

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info@rembrandthuis.nl
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info@amsterdammuseum.nl
www.amsterdammuseum.nl

EDITED BY
Norbert Middelkoop

COPY EDITORS
Norbert Middelkoop, Leonore van Sloten
and Patrick Larsen

TRANSLATION
Lynne Richards, Philip Clarke

IMAGE EDITORS
Joyce Edwards and Véronique van Stokkom
Photo Department Amsterdam Museum

DESIGN
Marinka Reuten

LAYOUT
Marinka Reuten and Tjeerd Dam

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Something over four hundred years ago, Govert Flinck (1615-1660) was born in Cleves and Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680) was born in Dordrecht – they were contemporaries. After their initial schooling as painters, when they were about twenty, the two talented artists moved to Amsterdam, where they finished their training under Rembrandt, who at that time was at the height of his fame. Even though Flinck and Bol soon ranked alongside the most successful painters in Amsterdam, and even surpassed Rembrandt in that regard, they remained in their famous teacher's shadow in the centuries that followed. To honour Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, the Rembrandt House Museum and the Amsterdam Museum came together to produce a major double exhibition and this book, in which the two artists are portrayed and compared.

As advanced students, they took part in the production process in the workshop and in so doing mastered Rembrandt's style. After they had set themselves up as artists in their own right, Flinck and Bol still worked in Rembrandt's style for some years, before adopting a different, more classicist approach. Flinck emerged as a true virtuoso who worked in different painting styles, depending on the commission. Bol stuck to what Rembrandt had taught him for longer and did not develop a brighter palette and a smoother style until around 1650. Bol, moreover, was the only one of Rembrandt's pupils to produce a substantial graphic oeuvre, amounting to twenty or so skilfully etched prints.

This book chronicles the latest insights into Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, in longer essays and focus contributions on individual themes that present a fascinating insight into their life and work: from their training with Rembrandt to their great successes as independent artists excelling at large history paintings and elegant portraits. The essays explore their exceptional artistic talent and examine the family connections and social networks that were crucial to their success. Bol and Flinck were awarded prestigious commissions – from private individuals and rulers, and from city institutions including the civic guard and the town hall. Fifteen paintings by Bol and Flinck were restored especially for the exhibition. Words and images combine to make this book a valuable addition to art-lovers' libraries.

