

Collecting 17th-century Dutch art in the United States: the current boom

• SEYMOUR SLIVE •

Fig. 1

FRANS HALS, *Portrait of a man* (probably Tieleman Roosterman), 1634. Oil on canvas, 117 x 87 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (after the restoration of 2000).

Seventeenth-century Dutch art collecting in the United States is exceptionally strong at the dawn of the 21st century. Consider some recent acquisitions. Think of Frans Hals' 1634 life-size, three-quarter length *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 1), probably a likeness of the extremely rich Haarlem linen and silk merchant Tieleman Roosterman.¹ It recently has been determined that the coat-of-arms on the portrait which was used to identify Hals' patron is a later addition, calling his identity into question.² Early this year (2000) the coat-of-arms was painted over in easily removable paint. Thus, today the portrait appears without it. This is not the occasion to discuss the pros and cons of the decision to hide the addition. What is unarguable is that the sitter's cock-sure expression could hardly be more direct or achieved with simpler means.

The masterwork was acquired last summer by the Cleveland Museum of Art at a sensational London sale.³ It is no secret that the underbidder for the portrait was another American museum, Toledo's Museum of Art. The sale included more than 250 works that had been confiscated by the Nazis from the Austrian collections of Alphonse Rothschild and his brother Louis only a few days after the Third Reich's *Anschluss* of Austria on

12 March 1938.⁴ The brothers' best works were earmarked by the Nazis either for Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, or for Hitler's proposed museum at Linz. After the defeat of Germany by the Allies in 1945, merely a few were returned to Louis Rothschild, who had immigrated to the North American continent, and to Alphonse's widow (Alphonse died in 1942).

What happened to the vast majority? The answer is shocking. They were kept by the new Republic of Austria, and distributed by it to seven Austrian museums and the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Only in 1998 and 1999 were all of them recalled by Austria's Minister of Culture, and returned to their rightful heirs. Frans Hals' probable portrait of Roosterman, which was owned by Alphonse, was released from the Kunsthistorisches Museum where it had been displayed for 52 years.

When Cleveland purchased the painting, it was building on strength. The museum already had Frans Hals' life-size, half-length *Portrait of a woman* (fig. 2), a sympathetic portrayal acquired in 1948.⁵ Like the probable Roosterman, it too had belonged to Alphonse Rothschild, and was one of the few paintings returned and then sold in the United States. It appears



Fig. 2
FRANS HALS, *Portrait of a woman*, 1638. Oil on canvas, 69.7 x 54 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

along with the so-called Roosterman and other works from Alphonse's collection in an inventory found in Hitler's library at Berchtesgaden as a work destined for the Vienna museum.⁶

An outstanding Dutch painting that Louis managed to bring to the United States is Jacob van Ruisdael's fresh panoramic view of a *Wooded river valley with a footbridge* (fig. 3), which was acquired by The Frick Collection in 1949, almost forty years after the death of Henry Clay Frick.⁷ It surpasses by far the quality of the same collection's interesting but less than well-preserved *View of the Dam and Damrak at Amsterdam* by Ruisdael, which was purchased by Frick himself in 1910.⁸

Returning to recent acquisitions, consider the addition the Getty Museum made to its Dutch holdings just five years ago when it acquired

Rembrandt's delicious 1632 *Abduction of Europa* [53] from the collection of Paul Klotz in New York. The work is an example of the exquisite refinement of a group of young Rembrandt's history paintings which are uncommon in the States where powerful early collectors showed little interest in the artist's subject pictures of any phase. They had a distinct preference for Rembrandt's portraits of sitters in severe black costumes and white collars. Perhaps they fancied that these could pass as ancestor portraits.

It is not news that curators can have the best of two worlds. On the one hand, they can honestly tell their directors, acquisition committees, trustees and potential benefactors that they are eager to acquire works to build on strengths; on the other hand, they can plead to fill gaps. The former proposition was operative when curators at the Morgan, the Metropolitan, the National Gallery at Washington and the Getty made their recent acquisitions of impressive Dutch drawings. And the latter was at work when Maida and George Abrams made a stunning gift last year of 110 of their prime Dutch drawings to the Fogg Museum.⁹ At one fell swoop this munificent couple, who formed what is acknowledged as the best and most comprehensive collection of Dutch drawings assembled in our time, made the Fogg the preëminent center for the enjoyment and study of them in the Western Hemisphere.

Not that the Fogg's collection of Dutch drawings was poor before receipt of the gift. On the contrary. It had considerable strengths; for instance, Rembrandt's superlative *Winter landscape*.¹⁰ But its strengths were spotty. Its new power is formidable, and provides a new consistency, range and depth (fig. 4).¹¹

Turning to Dutch decorative arts and sculpture, they have not been neglected by contemporary North American curators and collectors.

Of singular merit is the gilded silver *Nautilus cup*, a joint effort by God and Jan van Royesteyn (fig. 5), a Toledo Museum of Art purchase.¹² It bears Royesteyn's mark and another mark that dates it 1596. I was not astonished when I found no entry on God in Thieme-Becker, but I am perplexed that there is nothing in this standard lexicon on Royesteyn, the Utrecht silversmith who crafted the mount of a satyr riding an imaginary sea creature, the tritons and dolphins, the huge monster with gaping jaws in the shell and the tiny armed man on its head ready to battle it. Who commissioned the cup and which *Schatkamer* of wondrous natural and man-made rarities exhibited it are unknown.

Beautiful Dutch glass has been acquired by the Getty Museum as can be seen in its dark-green glass bottle with diamond-point engraving by the Leiden artist Willem van Heemskerck (fig. 6); it is datable about 1675-1685. One of the sayings engraved on the bottle, in Heemskerck's elaborate calli-

graphic hand, translates as: 'If bread and wine fail, a bit of salt can save a meal, if bread and wine don't turn the trick, is beyond me. However, puzzlement regarding the saying's meaning does not lessen one iota of the delight in the flourishes of Heemskerck's calligraphy and the bottle's rich color and sturdy elegance. Heemskerck's calligraphy can be enjoyed as well in the Rijksmuseum, where a large, clear glass plate he decorated for his son's wedding is on view [105].

The Getty also has made splendid, recent acquisitions of Dutch sculpture. Their high standard is seen in Romhout Verhulst's 1671 marble bust of Jacob van Reygersbergh, Zeeland's deputy to the States General [168B]. The bust is on display in the exhibition juxtaposed to the Rijksmuseum's painted terracotta *modello* [168B] for it. In the marble Verhulst made small improvements. With its masterly equilibrium of *gravitas* and immediacy – Verhulst suggests the sitter has just

Fig. 3

JACOB VAN RUIS-
DAEL, *Wooded river
valley with a foot-
bridge*, 1652. Oil on
canvas, 98.4 x 159.1
cm. The Frick Col-
lection, New York.





Fig. 4
REMBRANDT, *Farm on the Amsteldijk, seen from the north*. Pen and brown ink with brown wash and white bodycolour, 10.9 x 21.1 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (Mass.).



Fig. 5
JAN VAN ROOYESTEYN, *Nautilus cup*, 1596. Gilded silver, h. 28.8 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo (Ohio), inv.no. 1973-53.



Fig. 6
WILLEM VAN HEEMSKERK, *Bottle with diamond-point engraving*. Dark green glass, h. 23 cm (without stopper). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv.no. 84.DK.662.

turned his head to the right – its subtle modeling of supple flesh, its deep undercutting and convincing indication of the different weight and texture of flowing hair, lace *cravate* and smooth armour, it is a superlative example of high Baroque sculpture.

Equally impressive are Getty's two recently acquired bronzes by Adriaen de Vries: *Rearing horse* (fig. 7) and *Juggling man* (fig. 8). The Getty Museum's possession of them distinguishes it as the owner of fifty percent more de Vries sculptures than the Rijksmuseum (which owns only the bronze relief of *Bacchus discovering Ariadne on Naxos* [1]). Both Getty bronzes were in the recent eye-opening Adriaen de Vries exhibition held in Amsterdam, Stockholm and in Los Angeles.¹³ In his entry in the de Vries exhibition catalogue on Getty's man juggling plates with one foot on a bellows Frits Scholten gives cogent reasons to conclude that the bronze figure alludes to a complex alchemical allegory, an allusion hitherto unrecognized. His convincing reference to the allegory supports the Ugly Duchess' word to Alice after she ventured to tell her, while in Wonderland, that an incident didn't have a moral. The Duchess admonished: *Tut, tut, child ... Everything's got a moral, if you can only find it.*

The works just cited give little more than a smell and a lick of the quality and scope of Dutch art collecting in the United States today. How does its character differ from what happened yesteryear? The best studies on that subject are recent ones by Peter Sutton, Walter Liedtke, Susan Donahue Kuretsky and Ben Broos.¹⁴ Since it would be impossible to begin to give even a lightning quick synopsis of their findings, I would like to restrict myself to a few additional comments about current collecting.

First, it is evident that for North American curators and collectors membership in the pantheon dedi-

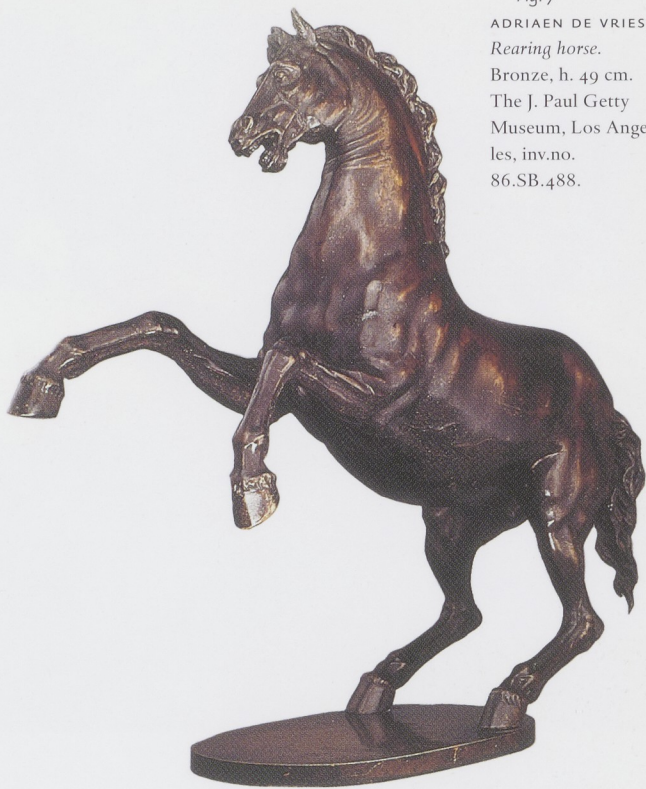


Fig. 7
ADRIAEN DE VRIES,
Rearing horse.
Bronze, h. 49 cm.
The J. Paul Getty
Museum, Los Angeles,
inv.no. 86.SB.488.

Fig. 8
ADRIAEN DE VRIES,
Juggling man.
Bronze, h. 77 cm.
The J. Paul Getty
Museum, Los Angeles,
inv.no. 90.SB.44.



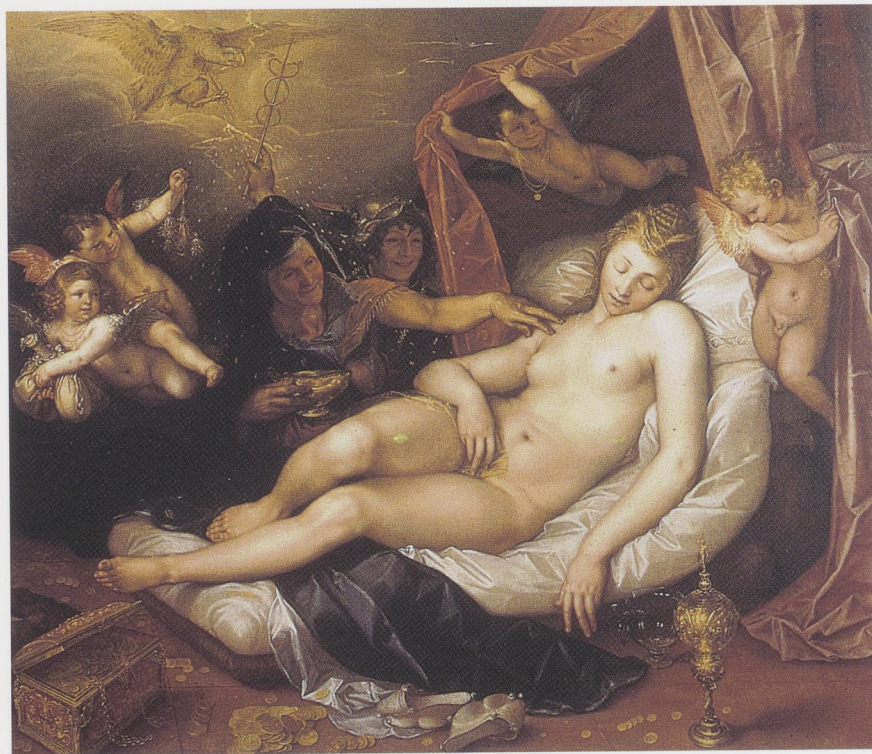


Fig. 9
HENDRICK GOLTZIUS,
*Danaë receiving Zeus
as a shower of gold*,
1603, Oil on canvas,
173.4 x 200 cm. Los
Angeles County Mu-
seum of Art, Los An-
geles, inv.no. 84.191.

cated to artists of the heroic age of Dutch art is not as exclusive as it formerly was. It is safe to say our British, Dutch and other Continental colleagues will agree that a similar expansion has occurred in their countries. I am not qualified to speak of the situation in Australia and Japan.

Virtually everyone in this audience knows the labels worn by the newly seated members. They are mannerists, *Caravaggisti*, Italianate artists and those with classicizing tendencies, as well as *fijnschilders*. A brief review of works by leading members of these groups acquired for American collections fully justifies their admission to the pantheon. Today I will limit myself to productions by Goltzius, Honthorst, ter Brugghen and Sweerts, a list that could be easily extended. I also shall show that American interest in their works predates the current boom, in some cases, by two or three generations.

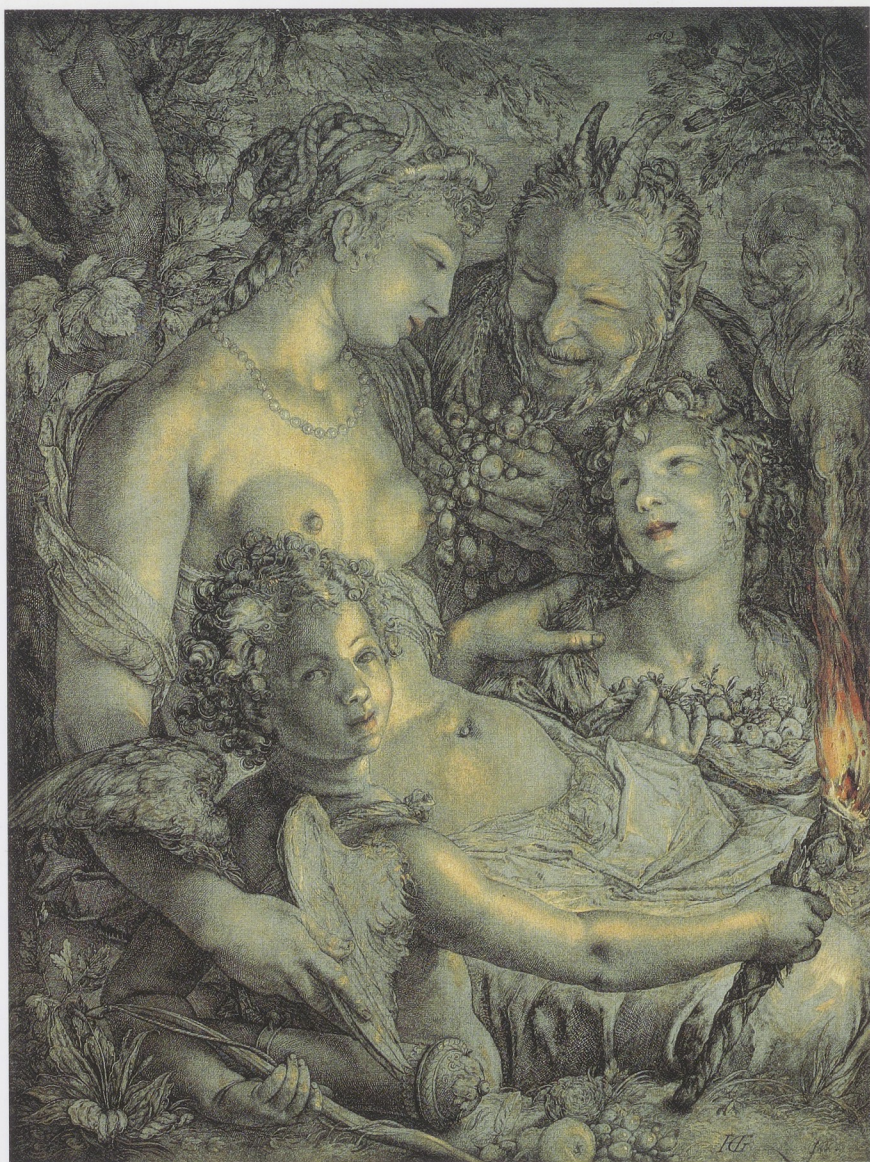
First, the recent acquisitions of works by Goltzius: in 1984 the Los Angeles County Museum bought his splendid *Danaë receiving Zeus as a shower of gold* (fig. 9),¹⁵ and in 1990 Philadelphia purchased his ravishing *Venus would freeze without Ceres and Bacchus* (fig. 10).¹⁶ But when did Goltzius' star begin to rise in the United States? Not enough is known about the New York *marchand-amate* Henry F. Sewall, active as early as the middle of the 19th century, to indicate what he thought of the brilliant Goltzius prints he owned, which were acquired as part of the lot of no less than 23,000 of his prints purchased by Boston's Museum of Fine Arts in 1897.¹⁷ And it is fair to say that Edwin B. Crocker's acquisition during the early 1870s of two drawings by Goltzius, *Judith with the head of Holofernes* and a sketch of his emblem *Eer boven golt*, were lucky accidents.¹⁸ They were among the treasures found by later

connoisseurs when they combed the collector's holdings in the Crocker Gallery at Sacramento, California. Crocker bought furiously and by the carload in Europe, probably during the span of two years from about 1870 to 1872. During this brief period he purchased roughly 700 paintings and 1300 drawings. Some are mediocre, but among the drawings there are sheets by Dürer and Rembrandt, and

Savery's sketch of *Dodo Birds*, as well as the two by Goltzius.

By the time Goltzius' more elaborate drawing of his emblem was acquired by the Fogg Art Museum in 1970,¹⁹ the artist's star had been firmly re-set in the firmament.²⁰ Goltzius' early painting of *Christ on the cold stone*, dated 1602, entered the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design's museum in 1961,²¹ the year

Fig. 10
HENDRICK GOLTZIUS,
*Venus would freeze
without Ceres and
Bacchus*. Pen, brown
ink, brush and oil on
canvas, 105 x 80 cm.
Philadelphia Mu-
seum of Art, Phi-
ladelphia.



Reznicek's seminal monograph on the artist's drawings appeared. Less than a decade later a private American collector purchased Goltzius' painting of *Repentant Mary Magdelene*.²² Subsequently, other American museums and collectors acquired his work. Among the most interesting is Goltzius' 1594 black chalk drawing of a *Reclining female nude* (fig. 11), which was added to a private collection in the mid-seventies.²³ The function of the intimate drawing and its relation to the nebulous Haarlem Academy formed by van Mander, Cornelis van Haarlem and Goltzius has not been settled.

As for Gerrit van Honthorst, Toledo acquired his tender *Adoration of the shepherds* (fig. 12) in May 1993, the very week a bomb destroyed the Uffizi's better known large altarpiece of the same subject,²⁴ and just last year the Los Angeles County Museum of Art purchased his major *Mocking of Christ* (fig. 13), done while he was still in Italy.²⁵ The life-size, nocturnal

Mocking of Christ is a worthy counterpart to the outstanding Dutch mannerist paintings Los Angeles has recently added to its collection.

Interest in Honthorst in the United States is not a recent phenomenon. It dates back to 1954 when St. Louis acquired his titillating *Courtesan* (fig. 14), who holds a medallion, with a picture of a naked woman seen from behind and inscribed: 'Who knows my arse from the rear?'²⁶ The painting was acquired two years before the first edition of Judson's groundbreaking catalogue and monograph on Honthorst appeared. Today there are about twenty works by Honthorst in American museums and private collections.

Turning to Hendrick ter Brugghen, the most inspired Dutch Caravaggist – as early as 1953, the Oberlin College museum purchased his masterpiece, *St. Sebastian tended by Irene and her maid* [7]. The sad story of how the then director of Utrecht's Centraal Museum missed the opportunity to

Fig. 11
HENDRICK GOLTZIUS,
*Reclining female
nude*, dated A° 94.
Black chalk on paper,
25.8 x 30.2 cm. Private
collection, USA.



consider its purchase has been told elsewhere,²⁷ but today, for the record, it is worth telling how Oberlin acquired it.

Charles Parkhurst, at the time director of the museum, told me he was in Manhattan lunching with two friends, the eminent medievalist Hanns Swarzenski, who had many strings to his bow, and Curt Valentin, a leading dealer of his time specializing in works by Paul Klee and the German Expressionists. At the meal's end Swarzenski slowly and dramatically produced from under the luncheon table one of those jumbo-size Rolls Royce dealer's photos of the ter Brugghen. Parkhurst was bowled over by it. When told it was with Frederick Mont, a New York dealer, he dashed to his flat cum gallery. There, he was informed that people from the Met, Boston's museum and Washington, after seeing it, had expressed some interest, but no one had taken any action. Parkhurst asked, 'Can you ship it to Oberlin on approval?' Mont agreed. Parkhurst wanted his colleague Wolfgang Stechow to see it. But at that moment Stechow was en route to Europe and could not study it until he returned. The rest of the story does not need telling. In brief, Parkhurst's decisiveness and Stechow's vast knowledge and enthusiasm brought the picture to Oberlin.

Stechow was a paradigm of what a learned art historian with a passion for works of art can do for a museum with a lean budget. He immigrated to the United States from Germany in 1936 and taught at Oberlin from 1940 until his retirement in 1963. However, he never really retired. Until his death in 1974 he served Oberlin's museum as curator without portfolio. He did the same for a score of other American museums and collectors.

The Dutch Caravagisti and mannerists were not new to Stechow. He published his first article on ter Brugghen in *Oud Holland* in 1928²⁸ and his



pioneer paper on Cornelis van Haarlem appeared in *Elsevier's maandschrift* in 1935.²⁹ I am certain his exemplary publication of Oberlin's *St. Sebastian* in the *Burlington* in 1954 helped to give other American museums and collectors the courage to acquire their ter Brugghen paintings.³⁰ In 1956, three years after Oberlin's coup, the Metropolitan Museum acquired its haunting *Crucifixion*,³¹ and Boston purchased the *Singing boy* in 1958.³² Although a ter Brugghen is not yet among the holdings of the National Gallery at Washington, the artist's works are now in the collections of eight other museums in the United States.

Stechow's name is also linked with Michael Sweerts. In 1951 he published Sweerts' *Self-portrait as a painter*, acquired by Oberlin in 1941, a year after Stechow began to teach at the college.³³ It was however not the first Sweerts to enter an American museum.

Fig. 12
GERRIT VAN HONTHORST, *Adoration of the shepherds*, 1632. Oil on canvas, 122 x 101 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo (Ohio).



Fig. 13
GERRIT VAN HONT-
HORST, *Mocking of
Christ*. Oil on canvas,
197.5 x 170.5 cm. Los
Angeles County Mu-
seum of Art, Los An-
geles.

In 1930 Detroit obtained the *Studio interior*, a painting which is testimony of Sweerts' interest in classical antiquity.³⁴ And in 1940 Hartford purchased *Boy with a hat* (fig. 15), his most beautiful portrait.³⁵ Today, almost everyone who sees it recognizes that its mild light, purity of color and clarity of forms anticipate the quiet beauty of Vermeer's mature paintings of women.

During the following decades more than fifteen of Sweerts' sensitive works became part of American museum holdings and proud possessions of private collectors. The most ambitious by far, and to many the most moving, is *Plague in an ancient city* (fig. 16), which was acquired recently by the Los Angeles County Museum.³⁶ It is understandable that the work entered the literature early in the nineteenth century as a masterpiece by Poussin. The Poussin attribution was

kept until Walter Friedländer and Otto Grautoff independently rejected it in 1914, but neither could offer a firm alternative name. Roberto Longhi first identified it as a Sweerts in 1934.³⁷ Although the author of its architectural background is still debated, Longhi's attribution of the rest of the painting to Sweerts is not.

Reference to debate brings me to my final point. Today, more highly qualified American specialists are ready to debate about aspects of the heroic age of Dutch art than ever before. The roster includes over a dozen museum directors and curators who are internationally recognized as experts in the art of the period. Let there be no mistake. In some cases, but not all, ample budgets played an important rôle in the current American boom in collecting Dutch art. But, in all cases, knowledge, passion, ability to cajole the powers that be and an understand-



Fig. 14
GERRIT VAN HONT-
HORST, *Courtesan*
holding a medallion,
1625. Oil on canvas,

82 x 64 cm. St. Louis
Museum of Art,
St. Louis (Ohio),
inv.no. 53.1954.



Fig. 15
 MICHAEL SWEERTS,
Boy with a hat. Oil
 on canvas, 37 x 29.2
 cm. Wadsworth
 Atheneum, Hartford
 (Conn.), inv.no.
 1940.193.

ing of high quality were crucial elements in the acquisitions. None of these directors and curators are ignorant specialists. They freewheel with ease through the art of other countries and epochs. Conversely, there are American museum people who are not Dutch specialists who can distinguish superior Dutch works from less good ones and have tried to procure the best for their collections. There also are numerous academics and indepen-

dent scholars with outstanding expertise in Dutch art who frequently work with colleagues based in museums. Well-informed collectors and dealers also have helped the cause.

This small army eagerly explores new avenues, shows a laudable concern for the state of preservation of objects on the market, and finds it prudent to consult with conservators and study the results of technical examinations before making final

judgements. The small army also is prepared to question long accepted attributions. Like the American expansion of its Dutch pantheon, this is not a spanking new phenomenon in the United States.

As a bit of proof I can offer a limerick by an unidentified American rhymester I learned as a graduate student at the University of Chicago in the late 1940s:

*As the picture got cleaner and cleaner,
The painting looked meaner and meaner,
Said Rembrandt van Rijn,
I'm glad it's not mine,
But for Bode and Valentiner.*

Skepticism expressed in the United States more than a half-century ago, which increased during the course of the following decades, helped American museum people and collectors look more critically and intently at works attributed to well-established Dutch masters as well as by artists whose reputations were being resuscitated. Visits to museums and private collections in the United States and to selected works in the *The Glory of the Golden Age* show that their efforts have been rewarded.

NOTES

- 1 S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, London/New York 1970-74, vol. 3 (3 vols.), p. 54, no. 93.
- 2 K. Groen and E. Hendriks, 'Frans Hals: a Technical Examination', in: S. Slive *et al.*, exh.cat. *Frans Hals*, Washington/London/Haarlem 1989-90, pp. 121, 127, pl. VIII. They note the coat-of-arms includes Prussian blue over a varnished background; Prussian blue only became available to artists c. 1720.
- 3 Sale, The Collection of the Barons Nathaniel and Albert von Rothschild, London (Christie's), 8 July 1999, no. 219.
- 4 For an account of the expropriation of the Austrian Rothschild collections and their fate after World War II see T. Trenkler, *Der Fall Rothschild. Chronik einer Enteignung*, Vienna 1999, *passim*. Gregory Martin kindly called my attention to the study.
- 5 Slive, *op.cit.* (note 1), vol. 3, pp. 64-65, no. 121.
- 6 The pertinent page from the inventory (*Verzeichnis der von den Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen erbetenen Gemälde aus der Sammlung Alphons Roithschild*) is reproduced in Henry S. Francis' publication of the portrait in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 35 (1948), p. 168.
- 7 B.F. Davidson with E. Munhall, *The Frick Collection. An Illustrated Catalogue*, New York 1968, vol. 1 (2 vols.), pp. 277-279, no. 49.1.156.
- 8 *Ibidem*, pp. 280-82, no. 10.1.110.
- 9 W.W. Robinson, 'Abrams Dutch drawings given to the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.', *Apollo* 150 (dec. 1999), no. 454, pp. 14-16, gives an account of the rich gift. The same author's exh.cat. *Seventeenth-Century Dutch Drawings. A Selection from the Maida and George Abrams Collection*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/Vienna (Albertina)/New York (Pierpont Morgan Library)/Cambridge (Fogg Art Museum) 1991-92, catalogues and reproduces all of the Abrams drawings cited in note 11.
- 10 O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt. Complete edition*, enlarged and edited by E. Benesch, 6 vols., London/New York 1973, IV, no. 845.
- 11 The stellar gift includes:
 - Rembrandt's brown ink and wash *Farm on the Amsteldijk, seen from the north* (fig. 4), a treasure formerly at Chatsworth. Identification of the site was published by B. Bakker *et al.* in exh.cat. *Landscapes of Rembrandt. His favourite walks*, Amsterdam (Gemeentearchief)/Paris (Institut Néerlandais), 1998-99, pp. 290-295, with a discussion of other Rembrandt drawings of the same farmhouse from other viewpoints.
 - A comprehensive group of sheets by Dutch landscapists, including a remarkable one by Cornelis Vroom, in brown ink over graphite. The stunning sheet virtually avoids all traditional compositional schemes.
 - Outstanding works by more than a half-dozen artists associated with Rembrandt's circle; among them are Jacob Backer's *Nude*, in black and white chalk on blue paper, and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout's lovely *Woman sewing*, in brown wash.
 - Two stunning figure drawings by Buytewech.
 - An imposing 1591 *Portrait of a man* by Goltzius in black and red chalk and grey wash. It is the kind of portrait drawing that makes one ache to find a Frans Hals drawing - it would be equally monumental; alas, not a single one by Hals has been discovered.
 - Three sketches by de Gheyn II, the early 17th-century Dutch draughtsman who gives the best foretaste of Rembrandt in spiritedness of line and vivacity of characterization.

- A 17th-century *album amicorum* in its original binding of 41 drawings on vellum by at least twenty-eight different hands, including one of *Medusa* in black chalk by Emanuel de Witte, best known as an architectural painter. It is de Witte's only known drawing. If it weren't signed, to whom would it be attributed, or would it simply defy attribution?
- Finally, and arguably the most rare and precious of all, a mid-16th-century sheet: Pieter Bruegel's 1554 *Wooded landscape with a distant view toward the sea*, in brown ink and wash and white gouache on blue Venetian paper, a peerless propylaeum to the distinguished series of 17th-century landscapes from the Abrams collection.
- 12 See A.L. den Blaauwen *et al.*, exh.cat. *Nederlands zilver/Dutch Silver: 1580-1830*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/Toledo (Museum of Art)/Boston (Museum of Fine Arts) 1980, pp. 16-17, no. 7.
 - 13 F. Scholten *et al.*, exh.cat. *Adriaen de Vries (1556-1626)*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/Stockholm (Nationalmuseum)/Los Angeles (J. Paul Getty Museum) 1999-2000: *Rearing horse*, no. 21; *Juggling man*, no. 32.
 - 14 For their contributions see: P.C. Sutton, *Guide to Dutch Art in America*, Grand Rapids-Kampen 1986; W. Liedtke, 'Dutch Paintings in America. The Collectors and Their Ideals', in: B. Broos *et al.*, exh.cat. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, The Hague (Mauritshuis)/San Francisco (Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco) 1990-91, pp. 14-59; S. Donahue Kuretsky, 'Dutch Art in Academia. Observation on College and University Collecting', *ibidem*, pp. 79-103; B. Broos' comments are in the introduction to the The Hague/San Francisco 1990-91 catalogue and its entries. To that list can be added the epilogue in the exh.cat. *Glory of the Golden Age – Painting, sculpture and decorative art*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2000, pp. 293-307.
 - 15 See P.J.J. van Thiel's discussion of the painting in G. Luijten *et al.*, exh.cat. *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art: 1580-1620*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1993-94, no. 215.
 - 16 L.W. Nichols, 'The "pen works" of Hendrick Goltzius', *Bulletin Philadelphia Museum of Art* 88 (1991), pp. 4-57, is an exemplary study of the picture and works related to it.
 - 17 For H.F. Sewall see F. Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, Amsterdam 1921, nos. 1309, 1310. C.S. Ackley, exh.cat. *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, Boston (Museum of Fine Arts)/Saint Louis (Saint Louis Art Museum) 1980-81, catalogues three of Sewall's Goltzius prints (nos. 5, 6, 7).
 - 18 E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*, Utrecht, 1961, 2 vols.: *Judith*, vol. 1, p. 243, no. 20 and vol. 2, pl. 138; *Eer boven golt*, vol. 1, p. 316, no. 197, vol. 2, pl. 428.
 - 19 *Ibidem*, vol. 1, no. 198, vol. 2, pl. 439.
 - 20 It is noteworthy that Wilhelm von Bode does not cite Goltzius' name in his numerous publications on Dutch art, in his *Mein Leben* or in his unpublished manuscripts written from 1910 until 1929. *Mein Leben* and the manuscripts were recently exhaustively edited by Thomas Gaetgens, Barbara Paul and their équipe: T.W. Gaetgens and B. Paul eds., *Wilhelm von Bode. Mein Leben*, Berlin 1997, 2 vols.
 - 21 Inv. no. 61.006, monogrammed and dated 1602; see *A Handbook of the Museum of Art. Rhode Island School of Design*, Providence, Rhode Island, 1985, p. 182, no. 98.
 - 22 Monogrammed and dated 1610. First published in exh.cat. *Dutch Mannerism: Apogee and Epilogue*, Poughkeepsie (Vassar College Art Gallery) 1970, pp. 41-42, no. 48.
 - 23 E.K.J. Reznicek, 'Drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Thirty Years Later. Supplement to the 1961 catalogue raisonné', *Master Drawings* 31 (1993), pp. 267-268, no. K.442a.
 - 24 J.R. Judson & R.E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst: 1592-1656*, Doornspijk 1999, no. 24.
 - 25 *Ibidem*, pp. 349-350, no catalogue number; in the addendum to the catalogue raisonné of paintings by J.R. Judson.
 - 26 *Ibidem*, no. 215.
 - 27 The tale is told by M.E. Houtzager, 'Opmerkingen over het werk van Hendrick Terbrugghen', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 6 (1955), pp. 144-146. She states that the Centraal Museum was unable to consider the purchase because the dealer's letter offering it was addressed to the 'Conservateur' of the Centraal Museum and was wrongly sent to Utrecht's Conservatorium, where it lay unnoticed for six weeks before being sent to the correct address. By the time it arrived at the Centraal Museum it was too late to take action.
 - 28 W. Stechow, 'Zu zwei Bildern des Hendrick Terbrugghen', *Oud Holland* 45 (1928), pp. 277-281.
 - 29 W. Stechow, 'Cornelis van Haarlem en de Hollandse laat-maniëristische schilderkunst', *Elsevier's geïllustreerd maandschrift* 90 (1935), pp. 73-91.
 - 30 W. Stechow, 'Terbrugghen's "Saint Sebastian"', *The Burlington Magazine* 96 (1954), pp. 70-72.
 - 31 B. Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, London 1958, no. A49.
 - 32 *Ibidem*, no. A27. Nicolson read the date as '162...'; cleaning revealed the date is 1627.
 - 33 W. Stechow, 'Some Portraits by Michael Sweerts', *Art Quarterly* 14 (1951), p. 211; R. Kultzen, *Michael Sweerts: Brussels 1618 – Goa 1664*, Doornspijk 1996, no. 89.
 - 34 Kultzen, *op.cit.* (note 33), no. 7.
 - 35 *Ibidem*, no. 98.
 - 36 *Ibidem*, no. 63.
 - 37 R. Longhi, 'Zu Michiel Sweerts', *Oud Holland* 51 (1934), pp. 271-277.



Fig. 16

MICHAEL SWEERTS,
Plague in an ancient city. Oil on canvas,
120 x 172 cm. Los
Angeles County Mu-
seum of Art, Los An-
geles.