

Hendrick de Keyser as a sculptor of small bronzes

his Orpheus and Cerberus identified

The fact that Hendrick de Keyser¹, the celebrated architect and sculptor of Amsterdam, produced works on a small scale has been known for about a century. For it was in 1871 that a scholar published a payment of 25 guilders made to him in 1604 for a group, probably in wood, of *St. Martin and the Beggar*². This was intended as a model for the lid of a ceremonial beaker for the Guild of St. Martin (the Brewers) in Haarlem (Figs. 1, 2). Reliefs round the sides showing four scenes from the life of the saint were designed by Hendrick Goltzius and the whole was executed in silver by two goldsmiths, Ernst Jansz. van Vianen and Jacob Pietersz. van Alckemade. This intriguing beaker is, happily, one of the rare survivals from the figurative silver of the period and is today in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem³. The implications of the figures on the lid for the style of Hendrick de Keyser on a small scale have never been properly appreciated. The interest of contemporary gold- and silversmiths in his works of cabinet size is attested by the appearance of several among the studio effects of Thomas Cruse of Delft, an otherwise unknown craftsman. On 23 October 1624 Cruse had an inventory of all his stock in trade drawn up in order to offer it as security against a loan of 200 Karolus-guilders which he wished to raise⁴.

Mingled haphazardly with models and piece-moulds of works by Giovanni Bologna⁵ and Willem van Tetrode⁶ we find references to two horses, an *Orpheus and Cerberus*, an *Apollo*, an 'Annatamey' (i.e. an écorché), a *Mercury* and five unspecified reliefs, all by *Mr H. K.* or *Mr H. de Keiser*. That these pieces were small is likely not

only in view of their owner's craft but also because the identifiable sculptures by Giovanni Bologna can only have been bronze statuettes, or plaster casts taken from them. The majority of Cruse's stock in trade were piece-moulds ('form'), which would be necessary in casting statuettes in gold, silver, bronze or even plaster. There is thus a strong implication that some, if not all, of the compositions by De Keyser owned by Cruse started life as bronze statuettes. The third document that may be interpreted, particularly in the light of the other two, as alluding to statuettes is a will drawn up on 15 November 1621 by the widow of Hendrick de Keyser, after his death earlier in the year⁷. She left to her son Pieter *alle de modellen, patroonen, papieren, teyckeningen ende bootseersels* [models (: architectural); patterns; papers; drawings and sketchmodels (: sculptural)] and full rights to certain sculptures. Some are patently connected with the famous tomb of William the Silent in Delft, which Pieter was required to bring to completion, and may be identical with models today in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam⁸. Others are probably independent pieces: *Cupido met de Psyche* (Cupid and Psyche); five models of children; *Mercurius* (Mercury); a little horse; *Laochoon* (Laocöon); and three *gebootseerde Anathomien van Menschen* (i.e. écorchés). These data, available for so long, understandably evoked no more than passing interest in the absence of anything that could be identified with them, apart from the beaker of the Guild of St. Martin. In 1948 two bronzes in the Rijksmuseum were tentatively attributed to Hendrick de Keyser not on the basis of the documents, but



because of their stylistic affinity with his authentic portraits⁹: the statuette of a nobleman (Fig. 3) dressed in the costume of the 1580's and striding majestically along is one of the very rare small bronzes that depict a contemporary subject. The facial features strongly resemble those of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and this may be a posthumous portrait related in some way to the project for his tomb. The realism and attention to detail are indeed characteristic of De Keyser and the statuette may well be by him. However a comparison with the statuettes since identified with certainty as his does little to confirm his authorship, owing to the wide differences imposed by contemporary costume and portraiture on the one hand and classical nudity and mythological subject matter on the other. Less convincing is the attribution to Hendrick of a miniature bronze bust of a man, again in contemporary costume, wearing a distinctive cross upon his breast (Fig. 4)¹⁰. Admittedly its style is superficially like that of the statuette of a nobleman, but the rather plain curve of the truncation is unlike the convoluted Mannerist shapes, springing from a grotesque mask, that characterise Hendrick's two famous full-scale busts in Amsterdam (Fig. 21). The stylization of the folds and wrinkles in the drapery of the sleeves is in fact unmistakably that invented by Giovanni Bologna in Florence. It so happens that the features of the face correspond closely with the known portraits of Giovanni Bologna himself, notably with the chalk drawing of 1591 by Hendrick Goltzius in the Teyler Foundation, Haarlem¹¹. The cross attached to the tunic over the sitter's left breast is that of the Knights of Christ, a Papal order to which the sculptor was admitted in 1599. So proud was he of this honour that he added the cross to the coat of arms awarded him in 1588 by the Emperor Rudolf II, as one can see from the shield set in the



◀ Fig. 1. Ernst Jansz. van Vianen and Jacob Pietersz. van Alckemade. Beaker of St. Martin's Guild. Silver, 1604. H. 45 cm. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.

Fig. 2. Detail of Fig. 1. St. Martin and the Beggar, ▶ after Hendrick de Keyser. H. 9 cm.





Fig. 4. Giovanni Bologna or a follower (formerly attributed to Hendrick de Keyser). Portrait of Giovanni Bologna. Bronze, ca. 1600. H. 9 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

centre of the façade of his house in Borgo Pinti, Florence¹². Recently a small bronze bust of a man wearing a hat and a ruff in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Budapest has been attributed to Hendrick de Keyser on style (Figs. 5a, 5b)¹³. The costume suggests a date around 1600 and the general character of the bust is consistent with De Keyser's authentic portraits (Fig. 21). The line of the truncation is not typical of his developed style, but may be paralleled in the early medal of A. van Goorle, signed and dated 1599, as may the zig-zag ribbing of the tunic worn by both sitters. The chiselling of the details on the face is not absolutely consistent with that on the *Striding Nobleman*, but it should be remembered that we

◀ Fig. 3. Attributed to Hendrick de Keyser. *Striding Nobleman* (? William the Silent). Bronze. H. 35 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

are here comparing one attribution with another and not with a documented work. For the time being it is justifiable to include both in the group of work that is connected in style with Hendrick de Keyser, until the stage is reached when more precise distinctions may be made. The *impasse* over the problem of Hendrick de Keyser's small sculpture was finally resolved in 1959, when a bronze statuette of a nude man, recognisable from the winged helmet as *Mercury*, was submitted for opinion at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 6). A monogram HDK on the base, in conjunction with the date 1611 (Fig. 7), was deciphered as that of our sculptor, by comparison with one on a bust in the Rijksmuseum¹⁴. The opportunity to purchase the piece was ceded to the Rijksmuseum as it was of such importance for the documentation of Hendrick de Keyser. In the first place, it corresponded with the *Mercury* in the will of his widow (1621) and in Thomas Cruse's inventory (1624), thus proving conclusively that some at least of the items mentioned in those documents were bronze statuettes, or at any rate models for or after them. The obvious merits of the vivacious, well-proportioned *Mercury* immediately established Hendrick as a brilliant exponent of that branch of sculpture so highly regarded in the Renaissance, the bronze statuette. Secondly, its style was so individual that it provided a touchstone for the recognition of other pieces by the same hand. As might have been expected, the style is close to that employed subsequently in his monumental statuary, for example the bronzes on the tomb of William the Silent¹⁵ or the allegorical figures in sandstone for the gallery of Frederiksborg Castle in Denmark¹⁶. Nevertheless, the *Mercury* is Hendrick's earliest known rendering of the male nude and constitutes a landmark in the development of Late Mannerist sculpture in northern Europe. Despite the clues offered by the *Mercury* little progress has been made since, apart from the recognition of a second example of the same composition, but without a signature, in the Herzog Anton-Ulrich-Museum in Brunswick (Figs. 8, 14)¹⁷, and a third one, adapted by the addition of a sword and the head of Argus as a



Fig. 5 a, b. Attributed to Hendrick de Keyser. Bust of a Man. Bronze, ca. 1600. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

Perseus, in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (Fig. 9)¹⁸. A diligent search in the standard literature on bronzes and an examination of some of the outstanding public collections proved fruitless. In the event it was the perpetual motion of fine pieces through the art market that finally cast up a candidate for inclusion in the *œuvre* of Hendrick de Keyser. An impressive bronze group of *Orpheus and Cerberus* (Figs. 10, 11, 13, 15), obviously in the Netherlands Late Mannerist style and accordingly attributed to Adriaen de Vries (the generic name traditionally applied to such pieces), appeared in London¹⁹.

In the light of recently published work and the better focus thus imparted to connoisseurship it was possible to distinguish the bronze because of certain stylistic idiosyncracies from authentic statuettes by De Vries²⁰. Actually, the sensuous ripple of skin over muscle that gives the nude anatomy its appeal is not unlike De Vries's treatment, but the careful chiselling of details, as in the face and hair and the finger- and toe-nails, is absolutely atypical. This is pronounced enough to prove the presence of another artistic personality. A comparison with the *Mercury* by Hendrick de Keyser shows unmistakable similarities. The size



Fig. 6. Hendrick de Keyser. Mercury. Bronze, 1611. H. 32,3 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

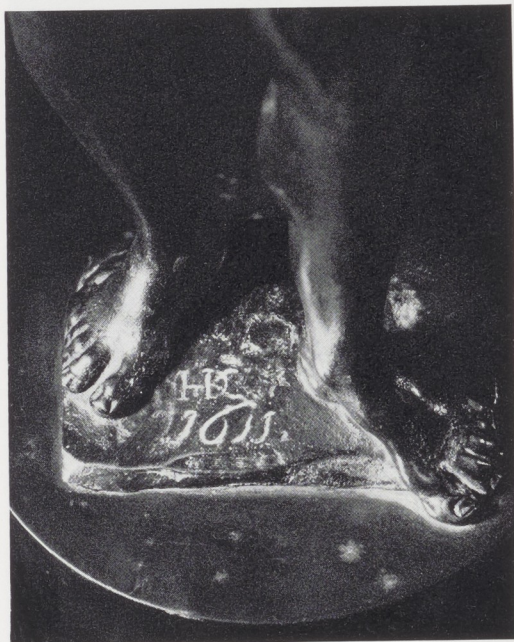


Fig. 7. Detail of fig. 6. Mercury. Base with inscription.

is virtually the same²¹ and so is the surface treatment, with a translucent reddish-gold lacquer which allows the subdued yellow colour of the bronze to show through on the high points. The surface of the metal has been carefully treated with a wire-brush²², so that slight scratch-marks follow the lines of the limbs, subtly accentuating

the modelling and rendering the texture of skin. The emphasis on sensuous tactile values invites the spectator to caress the cold metal.

The nude bodies of the *Mercury* and the *Orpheus* are of the same build, their sturdy torsos and wide, square shoulders set off by long, lithe limbs. The physical similarity of type is accentuated by a peculiar, mannered pose, which up to the chest is virtually identical: the left leg is thrust forward but relaxed, its foot almost at right angles to the other foot, which bears the weight of the figure (Figs. 6, 7, 10). This causes considerable *déhanchement* in the hips (Figs. 13, 14). The axis of the torso

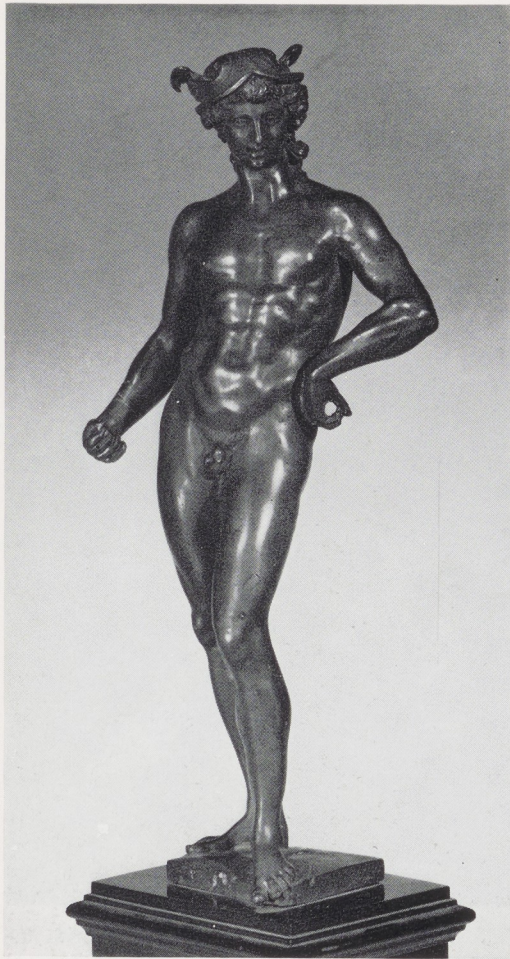


Fig. 8. Hendrick de Keyser. Mercury (cf. fig. 14). Bronze, after 1611. H. 32 cm. Herzog Anton-Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick.



Fig. 9. Hendrick de Keyser. Perseus. Bronze. H. 33 cm. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

then curves upwards until the shoulders are nearly level. In fact it is chiefly the unclassical character of the traditional *contrapposto* that marks both statuettes as late Mannerist works.

Their heads are small in comparison and their features delicately made (Fig. 15). The eyes are large and almond-shaped; the noses straight with pointed tips; the lips small and slightly protuberant. The hair curls luxuriantly around the face and neck, freely modelled with a stylus in the wax before casting.

Such stylistic congruity provides ample evidence for an attribution of the anonymous *Orpheus and Cerberus* to the author of the *Mercury*. But when one recalls Thomas Cruse's inventory of 1624, this attribution is strengthened into a matter of certainty:

(14) *Een Orveus met een hont met drie hooftten van Mr. H. K.*

(26) *1 form mit de hunt mit 3 houdden mit den Orpheus by Mr. d. K.*



Figs. 10 and 11. Hendrick de Keyser. Orpheus and Cerberus (cf. fig. 13). Bronze, ca. 1610. H. 35,8 cm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (A. 5-1972).

Only a few numbers later in this very list the *Mercury* features:

(31) *Noch ein form van den Marcurys van de Keyser*. Unfortunately this document does not indicate the date of the *Orpheus*, but its striking similarity to the *Mercury* of 1611 suggests a date *circa* 1610-15. Indeed they may have belonged to a series of mythological statuettes with the *Apollo*, recorded as No. 27 in Cruse's inventory, and the *Cupid and Psyche* and *Laocöon* mentioned in the will. An additional ground for such a dating is the

close relationship between the three-headed Cerberus and the dog symbolizing fidelity and wakefulness which lies at the feet of the effigy of William the Silent on his tomb, which was commissioned in 1614²³. The bronze Cerberus is a ferocious mutation of the Prince's perfectly normal dog, the positioning of his three heads being calculated so as to give a suggestion of movement.

It is interesting that Hendrick turned to sculpture in bronze at this late stage of his career, when he



Fig. 12. Pietro Francavilla. Orpheus and Cerberus. Marble, 1598. H. 250 cm. Louvre, Paris.

was nearing fifty. Of course his earliest known sculpture, the enigmatic medal of A. van Goorle dated 1599²⁴, was cast in bronze but until 1611 we have no record of any further work in metal. Most of his work for the city of Amsterdam and elsewhere was architectural sculpture and tended to be in stone or alabaster. One wonders whether the statuettes were not the result of experiments in the technique of modelling in wax preparatory to casting which Hendrick might have performed in connection with the bronze statues for the tomb



Fig. 13. Hendrick de Keyser. Orpheus and Cerberus. Bronze, ca. 1610. H. 35,8 cm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (A. 5-1972).

of William the Silent. These may have been projected as early as 1611, the date on the *Mercury*. Both Baccio Bandinelli and Benvenuto Cellini had produced some bronzes on a small scale when preparing their monumental commissions²⁵. We know that the actual casting of the figures for the tomb was carried out by Jan Aelten van Meurs of Utrecht, who was head of the foundry in Amsterdam between 1619 and 1624, but we do not know if he had any part in producing the earlier statuettes²⁶.

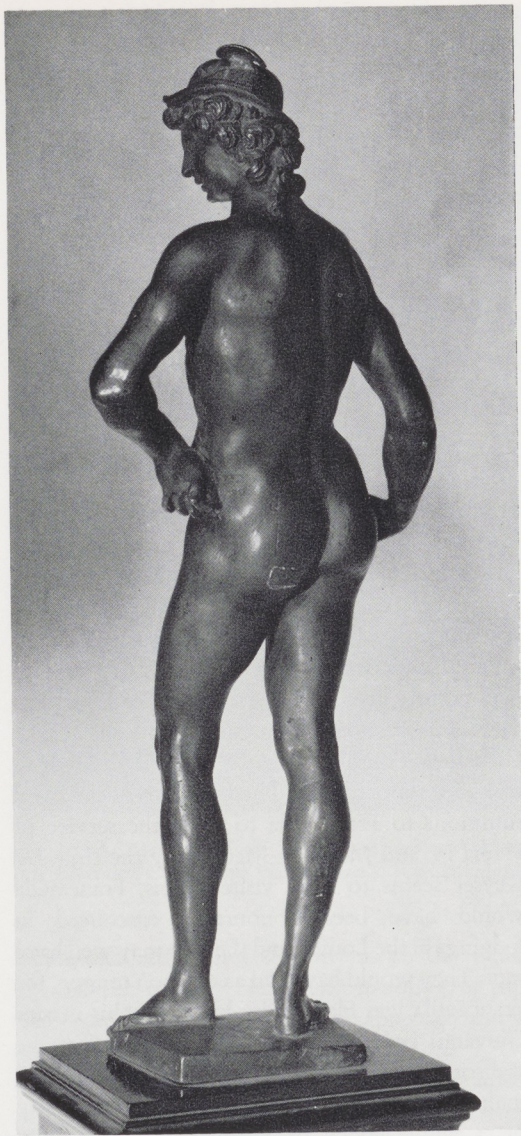


Fig. 14. Hendrick de Keyser. Mercury (cf. fig. 8). Bronze, after 1611. H. 32 cm. Herzog Anton-Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick.

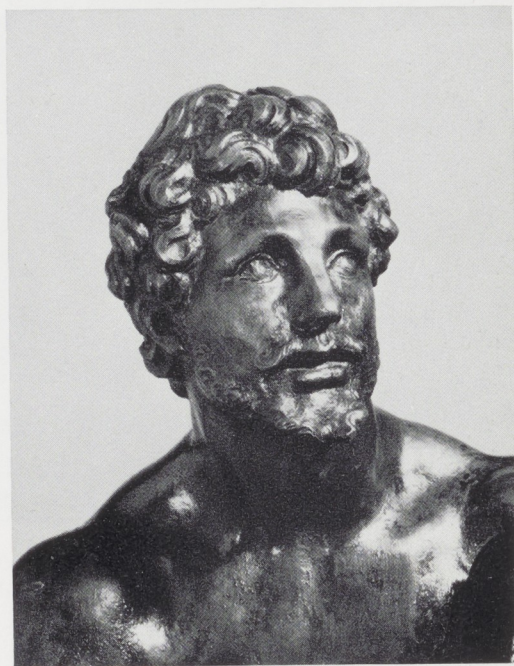


Fig. 15. Detail of fig. 10, Orpheus' head.

Another important reason for associating the statuettes with preparations for the tomb figures is that they all betray a strong influence from recent sculpture in Paris, not visible in De Keyser's sculpture of the first decade of the 17th century. This suggests that Hendrick visited the city, perhaps about 1610, though we have no documentary or other evidence. He had, however,

undertaken just such a journey for the purpose of artistic research in 1607, when he had travelled to London to see the new Exchange, before beginning work on one for Amsterdam²⁷.

French influence on the conception and design of the tomb has long been recognised as paramount, for it owes such an obvious debt to the marvellous tomb of Henri II in St. Denis, executed to the designs of Philibert de l'Orme by Pilon, Primaticcio and Ponce Jacquio²⁸. The four allegorical female statues set diagonally at the corners and

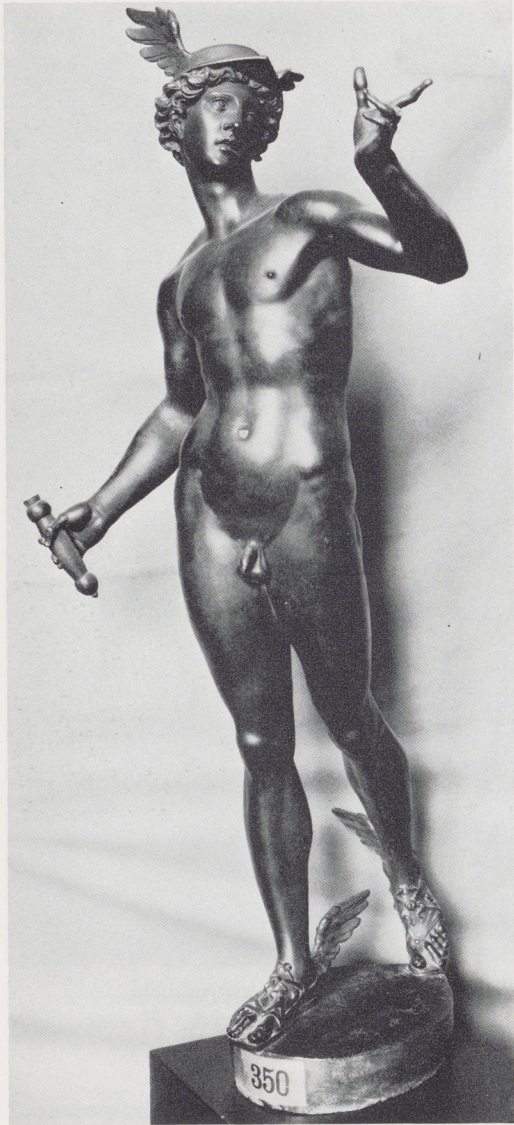


Fig. 16. Johann Gregor van der Schardt. Mercury. Bronze. H. 115 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

their sensuous character patently inspired Hendrick de Keyser. He did not however confine his observations to the royal monument, but looked at Pierre Biard the Elder's triple tomb begun in 1597 for the Foix-Candalle family. This included the nearly life-size bronze *Renommée* flying and

trumpeting over the deceased, which is now in the Louvre²⁹. Biard's imaginative addition to the traditional iconography was a tribute to Giovanni Bologna's universally acclaimed *Mercury*, but the female anatomy is heavier and rather lumpy, so that the movement suggested by her contours is disconcertingly jerky. From this idea, however, sprang the life-size bronze that is probably Hendrick's masterpiece, the *Fame* on the Delft tomb. This is frequently underestimated because it is obscured by the architecture and is difficult to see or photograph. Hendrick de Keyser, with the help of the characteristic 'waxen' drapery which he derived from an observation of Germain Pilon's treatment, welded Biard's graceless composition into one of the most exciting evocations of movement that had ever been seen in northern Europe.

The *Orpheus and Cerberus* reveals another source of direct inspiration, a life-size marble of the same subject signed and dated in 1598 by Pietro Francavilla, now in the Louvre (Fig. 12)³⁰. This had recently been brought from Florence to form the centrepiece of a fountain in the garden of Girolamo Gondi's residence in Paris. Its success had been immediate and had occasioned the royal summons to Francavilla to enter the service of Henri IV and Marie de Medici. By the time De Keyser seems to have visited Paris, Francavilla would have been honourably ensconced in lodgings in the Louvre and the two may well have met. They would have had a common tongue, for Francavilla was Flemish by birth, like his master Giovanni Bologna. Francavilla was in effect the stylistic representative at the French court of the sculptural genius who had imposed his personality on a whole epoch of European sculpture. De Keyser's *Orpheus* is directly copied from Francavilla's and yet it embodies as many refinements as does his *Fame* when compared with Pierre Biard's *Renommée*. Of course the radical differences in scale, destination and material make a direct comparison between the two sculptures invidious, but in the last resort there is an appreciable qualitative distinction. Incidentally, it may be as well to observe that it is this that rules out any



Fig. 17. Adriaen de Weert. Venus, Jupiter and Mercury, Engraving, 1574, after statues in Cologne by Willem van Tetrode ('Guglielmo Fiammingo'). Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

attempt at attributing the bronze to the same hand as the marble. Hendrick's handling of the nude betrays a far more sensitive approach and a defter hand in nuances of modelling.

It is interesting to see in the *Mercury* how little connection there was between De Keyser and Giovanni Bologna. This bears out the traditional idea that Hendrick never undertook the usual study tour of Italy. His interest in Paris reflects its significance as an alternative to Italy in the art world of northern Europe at the turn of the century. Nevertheless one should not underestimate the influence on him of Netherlandish sculpture simply because it is hard to assess after the grievous losses caused by the Wars of Religion. Apart from Jacques Dubroecq and Cornelis

Floris who, with their famous rood-lofts at Mons and Tournai, had set the tone of stone carving in the middle third of the 16th century, there were several other sculptors of note whose work Hendrick may have known better than we do. Jacques Jongheling (1530–1606), known hitherto primarily as a medallist and collaborator of Leone Leoni, appears to have been the principal native sculptor in bronze active in Antwerp and Brussels during the second half of the 16th century³¹. In 1570 Jongheling executed a series of lifesize bronze statues representing the *Seven Planets*, which may have been known to Hendrick, in spite of the Wars of Religion that sundered the South from the North Netherlands³². These, together with Jongheling's statue of the Duke of



Fig. 18. Here attributed to Hendrick de Keyser. Crying baby. Bronze. H. 32 cm. With Cyril Humphris, London.



Fig. 19. Here attributed to Hendrick de Keyser. Crying baby (in profile; cf. fig. 18). Bronze. With Cyril Humphris, London.



Fig. 20. Here attributed to Hendrick de Keyser. Crying baby (*à trois quarts*; cf. fig. 18). Bronze. With Cyril Humphris, London.

Alva (1571– destroyed) and his bust of the same patron (Frick Collection, New York³³), were the most recent examples of large bronzes in the region. Also in Antwerp Guglielmus Paludanus (Willem van den Broeck) of Malines (1530–1579) was active alongside Cornelis Floris on the town-hall and Jongheling on the Alva monument³⁴; principally a worker in stone, Paludanus is beginning to emerge as a modeller of bronzes too and he may have influenced Keyser in either medium.

From Hendrick's native North Netherlands came a number of brilliant sculptors who spent most if not all of their careers in the less troubled atmosphere of Italy, South Germany or the Prague of Emperor Rudolf II. Insofar as most of them chose to contribute to the fashionable field of the bronze statuette, it is perfectly possible that De Keyser knew their styles, even though they may never have returned to the Netherlands in person. The eldest of them, Johann Gregor van der Schardt from Nijmegen (b. 1530; d. post-1582)³⁵ had been active in the 1560's in Bologna, perhaps in collaboration with his near contemporary Giovanni Bologna (b. 1529), who was at the time working on his Fountain of Neptune there. In 1570 he entered the service of the Emperor Maximilian II, working in Nuremberg, while subsequently he produced portrait-busts and a monumental bronze fountain for the King of Denmark. His only surviving statuettes about which there can be no mistake are a number of bronzes of *Mercury*, the biggest of which, in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, bears his initials, 'I.G.V.D.S.F.' (Fig. 16)³⁶. The relationship of this model to Hendrick's *Mercury*, which may be some forty years later, is quite close and suggests that it may have been a prototype for his variant composition with its more ponderous build and less classical anatomy.

Of virtually the same generation as Van der Schardt and Giovanni Bologna was Willem van Tetrode of Delft, who had worked in Italy between 1549 and 1562 under the pseudonym Guglielmo Fiammingo as an assistant of Cellini and Guglielmo della Porta³⁷. Tetrode's master-



piece in his native land was a High Altar in the Oude Kerk at Delft, executed between 1568 and 1573³⁸. A characteristic Late Mannerist complex, constructed with many differently coloured stones, it included twenty four statues. Though widely praised in the literature of the next few decades, it seems to have been dismantled almost immediately, for the church was Reformed in 1574. The sculptures were saved at the behest of the Roman Catholic Prince of Orange, but were dispersed. How far they could have been known to the young De Keyser is a matter for conjecture. At the moment all we have of Tetrode's work are some engravings made after his sculptures in Cologne, whither he evidently fled after the demolition of his masterpiece in Delft (Fig. 17)³⁹. These show a figure style compatible with that subsequently evolved by Hendrick de Keyser. What is more intriguing in the present context is that Tetrode was famed for producing bronze statuettes, not surprisingly in view of his training in Italy with masters like Cellini and Della Porta⁴⁰. Indeed, a more or less equal number by him are listed alongside those by Giovanni Bologna and De Keyser in the inventory of Thomas Cruse in 1624⁴¹. Apart from the attribution of two statuettes forming part of a group of the *Flagellation of Christ*⁴², none of Tetrode's statuettes executed in northern Europe has been identified. However, titles such as *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Leda* and a *Satyr* among Cruse's collection suggest that Tetrode may well have exerted some influence on the formation of Hendrick's style in secular, mythological pieces. Our last record of Tetrode is in 1587 and it may be assumed that he died soon afterwards. This being so, it is possible that Hendrick was encouraged to venture into the field of the bronze statuette precisely because of a vacuum left in the United Provinces after Tetrode's death.

Any influence on Hendrick de Keyser of the two most celebrated Netherlanders of his own generation, Hubert Gerhard⁴³ from Amsterdam (b. ca.

1550; d. 1622/3) and Adriaen de Vries from the Hague (b. 1545; d. 1626), could only have come indirectly, through their statuettes, as they both spent their lives abroad. Both, however, betray the influence of Giovanni Bologna, under whom they had worked, in rather different ways and this influence, as we have noted, was almost entirely lacking in our sculptor. His style is more obviously indebted to Paris on the one hand and the native traditions of the Netherlands on the other, as exemplified by Jongheling, and closer to home, Tetrode.

Not long after the *Orpheus* had been recognised another bronze arrived in London that immediately called to mind Hendrick de Keyser (Figs. 18, 19, 20). This was a bust of a *Crying Baby*, about half life-size, whose author was unknown and whose land of origin was uncertain⁴⁴. The image is striking for its uncompromising realism: here is no idealised Renaissance *putto* but a vigorous human baby shouting with all its might in rage or pain. This accurate record of physiognomic distortion under the stress of emotion has the same elements of quasi-scientific observation, humorous caricature and sheer grotesqueness as the work of Franz Xavier Messerschmidt.

Nevertheless, the facture and the shape of the bust point to a much earlier date. The contour of the truncation, which allows the stumps of the arms to protrude below the shoulders but draws the almost shield-shaped chest into a neat termination covered by a cartouche is most unusual. It finds a parallel, however, in the two famous male busts by Hendrick de Keyser in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Fig. 21)⁴⁵. They are cut in just this way and terminate in grotesque strapwork framing masks with grimacing, open mouths. In the little bronze bust the subject itself provides the grotesque expression and the cartouche below is relatively simple. The tousled hair of the baby radiates in deeply modelled curls from the crown of the head, just like the hair in the *Orpheus* statuette. Further stylistic confirmation of De Keyser's authorship is to be found in one of the mourning *putti* which decorate the top of the tomb of William the Silent in Delft (Fig. 22)⁴⁶.

◀ Fig. 21. Hendrick de Keyser. Vincent Jacobsz. Coster. Marble, 1608. H. 75 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 22. Hendrick de Keyser. Baby torch-bearer. Bronze (detail of the Tomb of William the Silent), ca. 1615. Nieuwe Kerk, Delft (Photo: Dr. Katharine Fremantle, Utrecht).

This is a little boy seated on the cornice who weeps silently as he holds aloft two funeral torches. Exactly the same degree of observation has been exercised in catching the facial expression of grief as in our bust: the brows are knitted, the nose and cheeks are puckered and the corners of the mouth drawn down. This is the last tense, silent moment that precedes tears, as every parent knows to his cost. The next phase is described in the little bust – the mouth opens wide to emit an appallingly loud cry.

The square facial type of both babies is identical: their foreheads are high and domed, their hair is curled well back from their temples but grows forward in the centre in a curly lock. This type is derived from Giovanni Bologna's *putti* and in particular from a head which Hendrick must have known, the wind-god puffing upwards that forms the precarious base of Bologna's large statues of *Mercury* (Fig. 23). That this image was in De

Keyser's mind is proved by the appearance of a quadruple head supporting in exactly the same way his statue of *Fame* on the Delft tomb. Once again, one wonders whether the bust is not derived from one of a series of studies from the life made during his preparations for that critical commission.

It would be interesting to know if the careful rendering of physiognomy is actually based on contemporary medical observation or theory. Artists (including De Keyser himself, as we know from the documents cited above) had utilized up-to-date anatomical research in their studies for paintings or statues, ever after the publication of Vesalius' illustrated treatises in the mid-16th century had popularised this branch of science. No source has so far been discovered, though more or less contemporary interest in physiognomy is attested by the four mad faces that decorate the base of the statue of a raving woman

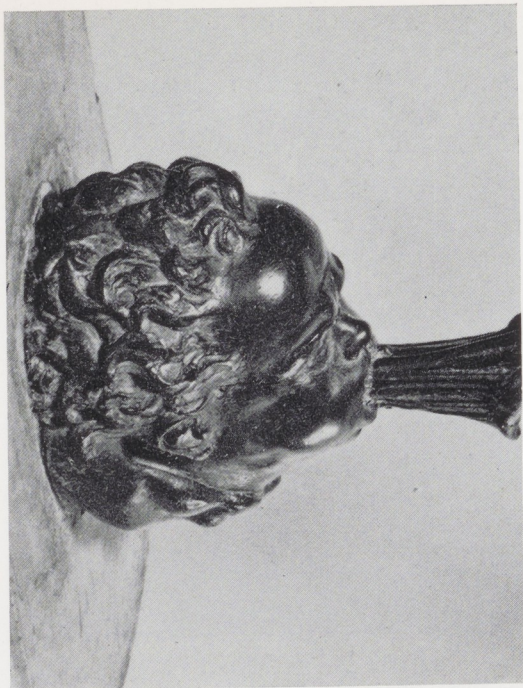


Fig. 23. Giovanni Bologna. Baby wind-god (base of a statue of Mercury). Bronze. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

in the Rijksmuseum, as well as the face of the central figure itself.

It can hardly be a coincidence that in a painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* dated 1619 (recently rediscovered and now in the Rijksmuseum⁴⁷) Hendrick ter Brugghen introduced as the Christ-Child an uncompromisingly realistic new-born baby, its skin still in loose folds and its face like a wizened old man (Fig. 24). The shape of its skull, the bulging forehead and wrinkled eyes and cheeks are strikingly like the babies on the tomb and the one depicted in our bust. Ter Brugghen was trained and later worked in Utrecht, the native town of Hendrick de Keyser, and it is therefore highly likely that they were aware of each other's work. The painter's style of Caravagist luminism is used to advantage in modelling the three-dimensional form of the head and shoulders of this Christ-Child and it is quite possible that he studied it from a sculptural model

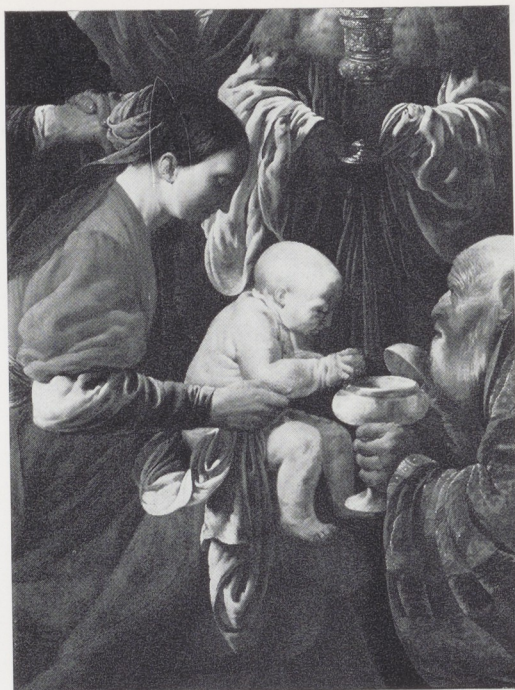


Fig. 24. Hendrick ter Brugghen. *Adoration of the Magi* (detail), 1619. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

carefully illuminated, perhaps with a candle (cf. Tintoretto or Poussin).

A palm-wood high relief of a crying baby, now known only from photographs (Fig. 25), was sold in Amsterdam in 1897 under a foolish attribution to Michelangelo⁴⁸. It was much the same size as the bronze bust and was closely related in physiognomy and expression. A bee on the baby's right temple has been introduced to explain the cry as one of pain and the hair literally stands on end, in a frankly unnaturalistic fashion. The ears have been spread sideways to facilitate their inclusion in the relief and this increases the ugliness of the image. It is difficult to assess the age of the piece from a photograph, but its relationship to our bronze appears to be derivative. A third small bronze, superficially the most obviously associable with Hendrick de Keyser, has also appeared in the London art market (Fig. 26)⁴⁹. It is a miniature, gilded portrait-bust of William



Fig. 25. Perhaps after Hendrick de Keyser. Crying baby stung by a bee. Palmwood. H. 17 cm. Present whereabouts unknown.



Fig. 26. Perhaps after Hendrick de Keyser. William the Silent, Prince of Orange. Gilt bronze. H. 30,5 cm (with socle). With Cyril Humphris, London.

the Silent, based on the marble effigy in Delft and inscribed 'AET 51' on the cartouche. The shape of the bust conforms with that used by Hendrick, with the addition of a spiralling volute-like motif springing from the shoulders instead of arms. Unfortunately, the workmanship of this bust is far less refined than one expects of De Keyser: all the details in the face and clothing are harshly chiselled or punched, as is the inscription. Nevertheless, we probably have here a workshop version of a model made by Hendrick from his own studies for the effigy of the Prince. The continued popularity of the martyr-hero of the Dutch Republic in the 17th century would be sufficient explanation for the production of small 'souvenir' portraits such as this for decorating furniture or collectors' cabinets.

On the evidence now before us it is safe to say that Hendrick de Keyser was a veritable master in the field of small bronzes and was as successful as, for example, the better known Adriaen de Vries.

In fact, he represents the apogee of this particular tradition in the Netherlands, for after his death few bronze statuettes were made there and the initiative passed to Paris and Italy.

Notes

- ¹ E. Neurdenburg, *Hendrick de Keyser, beeldhouwer en architect van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1930, gives the best general account of the artist, with earlier literature. See also E. Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1948, chapter III, for a more recent account of his sculpture.
- ² A. van der Willigen Pz., in *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1871, p. 410; anonymous review, 'Kunstgewerbliche Ausstellung in Amsterdam', in *Kunstchronik* (Leipzig), Nov., 1873, p. 102.
- ³ See *De Triomf van het Maniërisme*, catalogue of exhibition held in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1955, 2 no. 443.
- ⁴ Known to J. Six, 'Hendrick de Keyser als Beeldhouwer', annual report Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, 1909-1910, pp. X-XI; published in extenso by A. Bredius, *Kunstler-Inventare*, IV, The Hague, 1917, pp. 1456-8.
- ⁵ See E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels, 1956.
- ⁶ See E. W. C. Six, 'Willem Danielsz. van Tetrode', in *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, X (1917) pp. 125-132.
- ⁷ A. D. de Vries Azn., 'Biographische Aanteekeningen betreffende voornamelijk Amsterdamsche schilders, plaatsnijders, enz. en hunne verwanten', in *Oud-Holland III* (1885), pp. 75-6.
- ⁸ Neurdenburg, 1930, pl. XXVIII; idem, 1948, pls. 16-17.
- ⁹ Jaap Leeuwenberg, 'Drie werken met meer of minder zekerheid aan Hendrick de Keyser toegeschreven', in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, XXIV (1948) pp. 294-303.
- ¹⁰ Three examples are known: a) Rijksmuseum, R.B.K. 15117, H. 9 cm.; b) Musée de Dijon (ex-Collection Jehannin de Chamblanc, 1799), H. 9 cm.; c) Collection Sir John Pope-Hennessy, London, H. 9 cm. The author is preparing an article on the sculptural portraits of Giovanni Bologna.
- ¹¹ Repro. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels, 1956, fig. C.; E. K. J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius*, Utrecht, 1961, cat. no. 263, pls. 200-201. Cf. J. Bruyn, 'Een portrettekening door Hendrick Goltzius', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, IX (1961), p. 139.
- ¹² The cross was previously regarded as that of Der Deutsche Orden ('Teutonic Knights'), to which it is rather similar. The fact that Giovanni Bologna was not a member of that order naturally prevented the identification of the subject in the bust with him, until it was discovered that the Knights of Christ used precisely the type of cross on the bust. Both the coat of arms on the sculptor's house and the miniature busts celebrate his new dignity. It remains to be seen whether the bust was modelled by Giovanni Bologna himself or by a close follower, such as Pietro Tacca: in either case it presumably dates from soon after 1599, the year of his election, but before 1608, when he died.
- ¹³ E. Szmodis-Eszlary, 'Sculptures Néerlandaises, Hollandaises et Flamandés en Hongrie: III, Un petit bronze

inconnu de Hendrick de Keyser', in *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 34-5 (1970) pp. 93-102.

- ¹⁴ The so-called Vincent Jacobsz. Coster, inv. no. N.M. 11452, cf. E. Neurdenburg, op.cit., 1930, pl. XXV; idem, op.cit., 1948, pl. 11. J. Leeuwenberg, 'Een bronzen Mercurius door Hendrick de Keyser', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, VIII (1960), p. 96.
- ¹⁵ E. Neurdenburg, op.cit., 1930, pls. XXII-XXIV; idem, op.cit., 1948, pls. 22-25; 27.
- ¹⁶ See E. Neurdenburg, 'Hendrick de Keyser en het beeldhouwwerk aan de galerij van Frederiksborg in Denemarken', in *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, IV, vol. 12 (1943) pp. 33-41.
- ¹⁷ H. R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten*, Brunswick, 1967, pp. 361-2, fig. 436.
- ¹⁸ Inv. no. Gr. 62; H. 33 cm. H. R. Weihrauch, op.cit., p. 361.
- ¹⁹ With Cyril Humphris, 1971, ex-Basner Collection, Danzig-Zopot, whence it was sold by Lepke, Berlin, Nov. 19, 1929, cat. no. 98 - 'Italienisch, Ende 16. Jahrhundert', repro. Stated to have come from the collection of Lord Swansea. Purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum, no. A. 5-1972.
- ²⁰ L. O. Larsson, *Adriaen de Vries*, Vienna/Munich, 1967.
- ²¹ Mercury: H. 32.3 cm.; Orpheus: H. 35.88 cm.
- ²² See M. Baxandall, 'Hubert Gerhard and the altar of Christoph Fugger: the sculpture and its making', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XVII, 1966, p. 133, for this means of finishing analogous bronzes.
- ²³ Repro. E. Neurdenburg, op.cit., 1948, pl. 16.
- ²⁴ *Ibidem*, pl. 3; for a convincing attribution of another medal see J. Leeuwenberg, loc.cit., 1948, pp. 296-7.
- ²⁵ Bandinelli's bronze statuettes in the Bargello, Florence, were made in preparation for casting a series of monumental bronze statues for Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome that were in fact never executed (Vasari, *Vite*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1881, VI, p. 153; for repro. cf. C. Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1970, fig. 145). Cellini cast in bronze a model for the group of Perseus and Medusa: C. Avery, op.cit., pl. 151.
- ²⁶ E. Neurdenburg, op.cit., 1930, p. 92.
- ²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 8.
- ²⁸ J. Babelon, *Germain Pilon*, Paris, 1927, *passim*.
- ²⁹ S. Lami in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, s.v. Biard; *L'École de Fontainebleau*, cat. of exhibition, Grand Palais, Paris, 1972/73, p. 416 - 'Addenda'.
- ³⁰ R. de Francqueville, *Pierre de Francqueville, sculpteur des Médicis et du roi Henri IV, 1548-1615*, Paris 1968, pp. 66-7, fig. 27.
- ³¹ J. Simonis, *L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique*, Brussels 1904; Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, s.v. Jonghelinck.

- ³² See catalogue of an exhibition 'Médailleurs et Numismates de la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas', Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 1959, p. 94.
- ³³ J. Pope-Hennessy & A. Radcliffe, *The Frick Collection, Vol. IV: Sculpture - German, Netherlandish, French and British*, New York, 1970, pp. 28-33.
- ³⁴ J. Duverger and M. Onghena, 'Beeldhouwer Willem van den Broecke alias Guilielmus Paludanus', in *Gentse Bijdragen V* (1938), p. 75 ff.
- ³⁵ R. A. Peltzer, 'Johann Gregor von der Schardt (Jan de Zar) aus Nymwegen, ein Bildhauer der Spätrenaissance', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst X* (1916-18), pp. 198-216; L. L. Möller, 'Über die florentinische Einwirkung auf die Kunst des Johann Gregor von der Schardt', in *Heydenreich Festschrift*, Munich, 1964.
- ³⁶ Peltzer, *loc.cit.*, p. 210, figs. 5,5a: H. 115 cm.
- ³⁷ E. W. C. Six, 'Willem Daniëlsz. van Tetrode', in *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond X* (1917), pp. 125-133; XI (1918), pp. 207-214; K. G. Boon, 'Vier tekeningen van Willem Daniëlsz. Tetrode', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXX, 1965, p. 205 ff.; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, X, *La Scultura del Cinquecento*, part II, Milan, 1936, pp. 548-552; M. Devigne, 'Le Sculpteur Willem Daniëlsz. van Tetrode, dit en Italie Guglielmo Fiammingo', in *Oud-Holland*, LVI, 1939, pp. 89-96.
- ³⁸ A. Berendsen, *Verborgenheden uit het oude Delft, een stille en rijke stad*, Zeist, 1962, pp. 53-58.
- ³⁹ K. G. Boon, *loc.cit.*; G. Galland, *Geschichte der Holländischen Baukunst und Bildnerei*, Frankfurt a.M., 1890, pp. 143-6; J. Six, 'Een Werk van Willem Daniëlsz. van Tetrode', in *Onze Kunst XXVII* (1915), pp. 69-74.
- ⁴⁰ For Tetrode's connection with Cellini, see Piero Calamandrei, *Scritti e Inediti Celliniani*, ed. Carlo Cordié, Florence, 1971, p. 340; and with Guglielmo della Porta, Vasari, *Vite*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-81, VII, p. 549 ff.
- ⁴¹ A. Bredius, *op.cit.*
- ⁴² H. R. Weihrauch, *op.cit.*, pp. 343-5, pls. 417-419.
- ⁴³ See H. R. Weihrauch, 'Gerhard, Hubert', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie VI* (1964), pp. 278-81. M. Baxandall, 'A Masterpiece by Hubert Gerhard', in *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin I*, 2 (April 1965), pp. 1-17; *Idem*, 'Hubert Gerhard and the altar of Christoph Fugger: the Sculpture and its Making', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst XVII* (1966), pp. 127-144.
- ⁴⁴ With Cyril Humphris, 1972, by whose kind permission the bust is published here. H. 32 cm. Ex-Collection David-Weill, Sale Drouot, Paris, 16 June 1971, no. 94. *Repro. in Connaissance des Arts, Numéro Spéciale: Le Guide 1972 des Ventes Publiques à Paris*, p. 164: another version in private hands recorded.
- ⁴⁵ Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. N.M. 11452; N.M. 4191: cf. E. Neurdenburg, *op.cit.*, 1930, pp. 107-8, pls. XXIV-XXV.
- ⁴⁶ Photo. Dr. Katharine Fremantle, Utrecht, to whom I am grateful for permission to reproduce.
- ⁴⁷ P. J. J. van Thiel, 'De aanbidding der koningen en ander vroeg werk van Hendrick ter Brugghen', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 19* (1971), pp. 91-135. The relationship of the Christ-Child in this painting to the bronze bust was brought to my attention by William Middendorf II, U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands, to whom I am most grateful.
- ⁴⁸ J. A. Josephus Jitta Sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, 9.XI.1897, no. 250. H. 17 cm. Kindly brought to my attention by Mrs W. Halsema-Kubes, Keeper of Sculpture, Rijksmuseum, who supplied the old photograph reproduced here.
- ⁴⁹ With Cyril Humphris, 1972, by whose kind permission the bust is published here. Another version in the Lugt Collection, Paris, is recorded by H. R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten*, Brunswick, 1967, p. 362.