



Gerard ter Borch Repeats

On Autograph Portrait Copies in the Work of Ter Borch

(1617-1681)*

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On 12 April 1701 a painting credited to Gerard ter Borch was sold at auction in the Heerenlogement in Amsterdam. This was nothing out of the ordinary in itself, but the ensuing dispute tells us that the attribution was the subject of some ‘discourse and wagers’. The collector and art dealer Jan Pietersz Zomer and the artist Jan van Hugtenburch were called on to judge whether this work from the holdings of the Antwerp collector Constantinus Francken had been painted by Ter Borch or was a copy by another artist. To reach a verdict, a ‘similar work by said Ter Burgh’ was brought to the sale room from another town for comparison. The confrontation revealed that not one, but both paintings had to be originals by Ter Borch.¹

There is no indication of which works sparked this debate, but the anecdote touches on an interesting phenomenon in Ter Borch’s oeuvre: the question as to whether the artist painted repetitions of his portraits and genre works himself. At the sale in 1701, the experts who were called in believed that they were dealing with two autograph versions of a painting, but the authenticity of a replica of a composition by Terborch has often been called into question in the art historical literature. Sturla Gudlaugsson, the author of the

Detail of fig. 13

standard monograph on the artist, regards the majority of these works as copies made by other artists.²

It has been argued more recently that among the copies, partial copies and free variants in Ter Borch’s current oeuvre, there may be paintings made by pupils as part of their training or as a product for the market.³ This position is difficult to maintain when there are a number of high-quality versions. In the immediate circle of Ter Borch, who is not known for his numerous pupils and followers, there were no artists who could equal the master’s standard.⁴ Caspar Netscher, who was apprenticed to him in 1654, was his most talented pupil, but his hand is markedly different from his teacher’s.

While the question as to whether Ter Borch often made replicas himself may remain open to debate, a thorough examination of the stylistic and technical evidence does point to his authorship in two instances of portraiture. In this article we shall examine two versions of the *Portrait of Godard van Reede (1588-1648)*⁵ (figs. 1, 2) and two of the *Portrait of Jacob de Graeff (1642-1690)*⁶ (figs. 13, 14) and attempt to detect from the materials and techniques used how Ter Borch set about making a replica. Divining the method of duplicate production that was followed is often



Fig. 1
GERARD TER BORCH II,
Portrait of Godard
van Reede (1588-1648),
c. 1646-48.
Oil on brass,
14.8 x 11 x 0.1 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3842.



Fig. 2
GERARD TER BORCH II,
Portrait of Godard
van Reede (1588-
1648), c. 1646-48.
Oil on copper,
14.4 x 10.9 x < 0.1 cm.
Oud-Zuilen,
Stichting Slot Zuylen,
inv. no. s 190.
Photo: Cees de Jonge.



a matter of tracing clues in all the available images. Close scrutiny of the construction of each composition with the naked eye and through a microscope, and interpreting available X-radiographs, infra-red reflectograms and cross-sections of the paint layers may provide enough clues to deduce the method.⁷ Working from the material

Figs. 3a, b
GERARD TER BORCH II
OR HARMEN TER
BORCH, *A Man in
Three Positions*, in
or after c. 1640-45,
recto and verso.
Black chalk; paper
blackened on
verso for transfer,
110 x 175 mm.

Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1887-A-810;
purchased with
the support of
the Vereniging
Rembrandt.

evidence, it is sometimes possible to determine the development of each composition individually and then even, by means of comparison, the relationship of one version to another. We hope this will contribute to the discussion surrounding Ter Borch's replicas.⁸

Identical Portrait Manufacture

An artist could tackle a commission for two identical paintings of the same sitter in a number of ways. He could, for instance, make a drawing from life and then copy it on to both panels using a transfer method. We know that copying drawings from life on to different compositions was customary in Ter Borch's practice. The gleaming satin dresses for which the artist is famed are not all unique creations – he often re-used exactly the same design. His oeuvre is full of repetitions of figures and parts of them, which he usually executed himself, although some were done by his pupils. The woman's dress in Ter Borch's *Galant Conversation*; known as the 'Parental Admonition' (c. 1654) in the Rijksmuseum, for instance, appears in no fewer than six compositions, among them a painting by his pupil Caspar Netscher.⁹

The numerous drawings and prints by the artistic Ter Borch family with

material evidence of transfer techniques attest to their facility in mechanical transfer. In the Ter Borch Family Estate drawing collection in the Rijksmuseum, the blackened versos of some drawings are evidence of the regular practice of transferring the image on the front to a new support (figs. 3a, b). The back of the sheet is blackened with chalk, and the drawing is placed face up on a new support.¹⁰ The design is transferred by tracing the original drawing lines with a hard, blunt instrument, pressing the chalk on to a prepared canvas or panel. The drawing could also have been copied free hand to both supports. Free-hand copying was something the well-trained Ter Borch family had also practised repeatedly. Gerard Jr was even able to decrease or increase the size of a motif he was copying while keeping the parts in proportion (fig. 4), or depict it from different angles (fig. 5).

If there was no separate drawing, another method was to make a drawing from life directly on to a prepared support. The second version would then either have been copied from the first free hand or by means of a transfer method such as tracing, pouncing or using a counter.¹¹ Less likely, but possible, would be that a sitter was asked to pose for two drawings.

Fig. 4
GERARD TER BORCH II,
*Three Studies of a Sleigh
Drawn by a Horse*, 1631.
Pen and brown ink over
traces of black chalk,
80 x 180 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1887-A-789;
purchased with the
support of the
Vereniging Rembrandt.





Why a Replica?

It was not usually artists themselves who took the initiative when it came to making replicas, copies or second, perhaps modified versions of portraits; they were mostly undertaken at the request of the person who owned or commissioned the work.¹² Not infrequently, of course, such a commission was prompted by an event in the sitter's private life. There are, for example, many known replicas and workshop copies of Michiel van Miereveld's 1612 portraits of the Delft burgomaster Paulus van Beresteyn, which were given to each of his children, presumably on the occasion of their marriage.¹³ Rembrandt's 1640 portraits of Herman Doomer and his wife Baertje Martens had to be copied after their deaths, according to a clause in Baertje's will of 1668, so that their son Lambert could keep the originals and his sisters could have copies.¹⁴

There is usually no such documentary evidence to explain the second version of a portrait, however, so the context of the creation of such a painting can only be reconstructed. In the case of a specialist portraitist like Michiel van Miereveld we know more about the great importance of

repetitions in his practice: replicas or copies account for some fifty percent of his work.¹⁵ Van Miereveld made high-quality replicas of the most sought-after works – the 'principals' – in his oeuvre, often portraits of famous figures like Stadholder Frederick Henry, Amalia of Solms or Elizabeth Stuart. He also produced more affordable workshop copies, on commission and for the open market.

Ter Borch's portrait production was not professionalized in such a manner or scale – there are in any event far fewer known copies by him. His working method – a consistent build-up with two or more drawing steps and a high degree of refinement in the finishing – was essentially unsuited to volume production for the open market. Beyond this, small, finely painted portraits were usually more expensive than larger ones.¹⁶ It would have been too great a risk to make replicas for the open market without the assurance of reasonable sales.¹⁷ In Ter Borch's case it is likely that he would not spend time on a second version of a particular composition unless he could be certain that he could sell it. This emerges from a correspondence in 1676 between Apollonio



Fig. 5

GERARD TER BORCH II,
*Four Studies of a
Horse and Sleigh*, 1631.
Pen and brown ink,
brown wash,
74 x 325 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-T-1887-A-788;
purchased with
the support of the
Vereniging Rembrandt.

Bassetti, secretary to Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Giochino Guasconi, the grand duke's dealer and agent in Amsterdam. The grand duke had set his heart on a Ter Borch self-portrait for his gallery of artists' portraits in Florence, for which Guasconi negotiated with the artist in Amsterdam. Ter Borch had let it be known that he needed at least four months for a painting 'della qualita desiderata', implicitly indicating that time and quality did not come cheap. In the end the commission was not awarded because the fee Ter Borch was asking for his work was too high.¹⁸

Sometimes there was a more practical reason for making a replica, as a story about the painting of a portrait of Stadholder-King William III by Ter Borch suggests. Weyerman follows Houbraken in relating that when William's portrait was still not finished after an eight-hour session, Ter Borch purportedly asked if the stadholder would sit for him again. William agreed, provided Ter Borch would go to The Hague, 'but fearing that something of the likeness might be lost in the repainting, Ter Borch made a copy of it and took that with him to The Hague'.¹⁹ According to this anecdote

he made the copy because he was afraid of spoiling the first version during a second session. He cherished the 'principal'. The sitting in The Hague went well, however, which meant that the artist could keep one of the portraits for himself.

On 5 September 1680, Ter Borch signed a contract in Haarlem for a portrait of Elias Trip, which specifically stipulated that it was to be painted 'in the same manner as that of His Highness'. Trip was referring here to the portrait of William III that Ter Borch evidently had with him and used to demonstrate his skill to prospective clients.²⁰ It is clear from the inventory of Michiel van Mierevelt's workshop that this was by no means an unusual practice. This court painter kept replicas of the portraits of his most illustrious patrons; those he could sell, but also those he could show to potential customers to illustrate his abilities.²¹

Portraits of Godard van Reede

Godard van Reede (1588-1648), scion of an illustrious family and Lord of Nederhorst, Vreeland, Kortenhoeft, Overmeer and Horsterweerd, was a canon of Utrecht Cathedral from 1600 to 1618. In that year he was admitted to

the Utrecht knighthood, took a seat in the States of Utrecht on behalf of the aristocracy and became the Utrecht delegate to the States General. Van Reede was involved in land reclamation, while his ownership of copper mills meant he had significant interests in the arms industry. He attained his greatest fame, however, in his post as governor in the Province of Utrecht, from which capacity he took part in the peace negotiations in Münster in

1646-48. He was an Orangist and fervently pro-French, and stubbornly tried to force peace with Spain on condition that France was involved. In January 1647 Godard was the only member of the Dutch delegation who refused to sign the wording of the treaty. On 21 April 1648, however, he appeared in Münster to support the peace treaty. He was seriously ill by then, and died two months later.²²

Fig. 6
STEVEN VAN
LAMSWEERDE,
Portrait of
Godard van Reede
(1588-1648), 1649.
Engraving,
297 x 221 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-1903-A-23550;
gift of Baron van Tuyll
van Serooskerken.



According to Gudlaugsson, Ter Borch's first portrait of Van Reede was probably painted in Münster in the last months of 1646, but technical findings described below tell us that it could have been painted anywhere between 1646 and 1648 (or even posthumously).²³ During this period Ter Borch made a group of small oval portraits of men involved in the historic event. Altogether there are now seven surviving portraits of participants, all painted between 1646 and 1648 on a metal support.²⁴ Although the oval shape of the support and the portrayal *en buste* generally correspond, the dimensions are so varied that there is no question of a uniform series. Heights range from 10.8 to 21.5 cm and widths from 8.8 to 15.5 cm.

Some of these portraits served as models for reproductive engravings by Pieter Holsteyn (a print of Adriaen Pauw and his wife), Wenceslaus Hollar (a print of Casper van Kinschot) and Paulus Pontius (a print of Count Hugo Eberhard Kratz von Scharfenstein). In 1649 Steven van Lamsweerde published an engraving after Ter Borch's portrait of Van Reede (fig. 6). All these prints are roughly the same size as the painted originals. Ter Borch included almost all the delegates at Münster in his group portrait on copper of *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster* in January 1648.²⁵ Only Van Reede was missing, most probably because he was terminally ill when the treaty was signed. It has been suggested that the small oval works served as preparatory studies for the group portrait,²⁶ but this seems unlikely, given that the portraits in the group portrait differ markedly from the individual likenesses.

We do not know why Ter Borch made a replica of this portrait. As early as 1692 the two portraits of Van Reede were described together in the estate inventory of Hendrik Jacob van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1642-1692) as 'two small painted portraits of the old Lord of Nederhorst in black

frames'.²⁷ These original black frames have survived. He had in all likelihood inherited the paintings through his wife, Anna Elisabeth van Reede (1652-1682), Godard's granddaughter. Both portraits of Godard van Reede remained in the possession of the Van Tuyll van Serooskerken family until one of them was sold to the Rijksmuseum in 1952. Neither painting is signed.²⁸


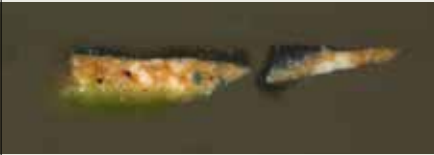

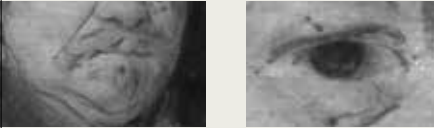



The Metal Supports and Grounds

Despite stylistic similarities between the two finely painted, small oval portraits and their frames, the versions do differ in the materials and techniques used. The portrait in Oud-Zuilen was painted on a hammered copper support measuring 14.4 x 10.9 cm, with two intersecting incised compass circles on the back, which would have been used to determine the size and shape of the oval plate (fig. 7, Slot Zuylen, support). These are absent from the Rijksmuseum portrait's plate, which tells us that the Oud-Zuilen plate, once cut, most probably provided the template for the other. The Rijksmuseum plate is some millimetres larger, and this makes sense when one considers that when an outline is traced around an object it is inevitably larger. The Rijksmuseum's portrait is executed on a rather thick brass plate (approximately 1 mm).²⁹

Both plates were sanded in preparation for the paint layers, and a thin ground layer consisting of finely ground white pigment particles with a touch of iron oxide for a warm tinge was applied (fig. 7, Slot Zuylen, ground).³⁰ The Rijksmuseum's portrait was then given an additional beige ground layer of coarsely ground white particles, scattered iron oxides, and black and glassy turquoise particles (see fig. 7, Rijksmuseum, ground). Given the additional ground layer on the Rijksmuseum painting, we can conclude that the portraits were begun at different times.

Fig. 7

Comparison of the Van Reede portraits.

CONSTRUCTION	RIJKSMUSEUM	
SUPPORT	Size: oval, 14.8 x 11 cm Material: hammered brass (copper:zinc 3:1) Shape copied, no compass indications	
GROUND	2. Upper ground: beige 1. Lower ground: warm white with green tinge of corrosion Application: diagonal, pastose strokes, sandy texture	
COMPOSITION	Virtually identical to Zuylen	
UNDERDRAWING/ INTERMEDIATE DRAWING (IRR)	Very thin, for contours Variable, dark, spontaneous redrawing Possible registration line above left eye	
UNDERMODELLING	Transparent brown	
LAST GLAZES/ SHADOWS	Transparent brown	
PENTIMENTI (CHANGES)	1 <i>Pentimento</i> : Painted hairline covers different underdrawn/undermodelled locks of hair visible in IRR image (at right)	
SIGNATURE AND/OR COAT OF ARMS	No signature No coat of arms	




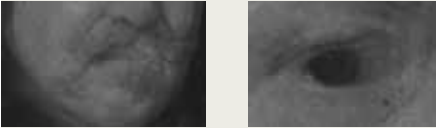




SLOT ZUYLEN		CONSTRUCTION
	<p>Size: oval, 14.4 x 10.9 cm Material: hammered copper Compass incisions verso indicate calculation of plate size and shape</p>	SUPPORT
	<p>i. Warm white, with green tinge of corrosion Application: diagonal, pastose strokes, smooth texture</p>	GROUND
	Virtually identical to Rijksmuseum	COMPOSITION
	<p>Variable, short, contour lines of facial features follow final version Rijksmuseum In the lower features, given as double, parallel lines Possible registration line above left eye</p>	UNDERDRAWING/ INTERMEDIATE DRAWING (IRR)
	Transparent brown wet-in-wet with an opaque pink	UNDERMODELLING
	Transparent red	LAST GLAZES/ SHADOWS
	<p>No <i>pentimenti</i>: Contour of hair at forehead as in IRR (at right), follows Rijksmuseum final contour</p>	PENTIMENTI (CHANGES)
	<p>No signature Coat of arms present</p>	SIGNATURE AND/OR COAT OF ARMS



Fig. 8

GERARD TER BORCH II,
Moses ter Borch,
Drawing, 1650-55.
 Pen and brown ink
 over traces of black
 chalk, 103 x 100 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-T-1887-A-1202;
 purchased with
 the support of the
 Vereniging Rembrandt.

The Underdrawings

As his drawings reveal, Ter Borch usually began by introducing the composition with short, thin, faint contour lines in graphite or black chalk, or a light tracing. He then deftly reinforced or improved the composition with sure, fluid and variable strokes in pen and ink, as we see in his drawing of *Moses ter Borch* (fig. 8). In his paintings, a second drawing phase sometimes came only after an intervening paint layer of translucent modelling.³¹ Infrared reflectography makes the underdrawing readily visible (figs. 9a, b). The darker appearance of the picture in *Oud-Zuilen* is due to the abundant use of charcoal black in the background and to its thicker paint layer. A few extremely thin, light, black lines of a dry medium serve to mark the outlines of both faces and collars.

The underdrawing on both *Van Reede* versions is clearly different. In the Amsterdam portrait, rather wider, more abundant, black undulating lines applied with variable pressure serve to mark the features and the curls of hair, to correct the scant initial lines and to modulate the contour of the face. This is best exemplified by the single, alternately thin and light then darker, heavier line used to indicate the upper chin. Given the number of drawings and other paintings by Ter Borch with evident wet, second-phase drawing lines, these could very well have been applied wet, although they look more like drawn lines in the IR reflectogram.

The combination of the sensitive modulation of pressure and the loose spontaneity of an irregular angular line, such as that forming the jowl



A



B

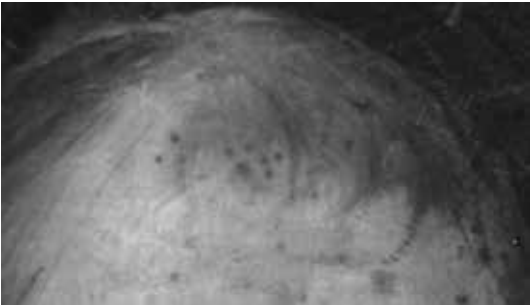
Figs. 9a, b
IRR and normal light
images of the *Portrait
of Godard van Reede*
(a: Rijksmuseum, fig. 1;
b: Slot Zuylen, fig. 2),
detail of face.

Figs. 10a-d
IRR and normal light
images: close up of
Godard van Reede's
forehead (a and b: Rijks-
museum, fig. 1; c and
d: Slot Zuylen, fig. 2).

along the lit side of the face, is strongly reminiscent of Ter Borch's drawings (see for example the variable lines forming the hand and sleeve in the drawing of Moses Ter Borch, fig. 8). Though the initial short, light lines in the face could indicate Ter Borch's usual cautious start, or the use of a transfer method, the confident lines of variable pressure were certainly applied free hand. These spontaneous lines are creative lines drawn from life

rather than made in a mechanical process of copying.

Drawn and undermodelled strands of hair found at the forehead, which were not followed in the final painted hairline, remain as the single visible *pentimento* or change by the artist. The Oud-Zuilen portrait shows no evident *pentimenti*. In fact, the Oud-Zuilen hairline follows the final painted hairline of the Rijksmuseum painting (figs. 10a-d). From the mouth



A



B



C



D

on down in the Oud-Zuilen IR reflectogram, one can also make out two short, faint parallel lines which indicate a double register of the lines between upper and lower lips, the upper chin and upper jowl (fig. 11b). The lines were thus probably shifted up very slightly (2-3 mm) before the artist moved on to the painting phase, as an intentional shift of a mechanical transfer technique.³²

One line is boldly applied in both paintings, marking the eyelid of the right eye and visible in both of the IR reflectograms, as well as on the final surface (see fig. 7, both Rijksmuseum and Slot Zuylen, underdrawing). Since it is visible on the surface, it may not reflect a drawing line below the surface. The interpretation must therefore remain ambiguous – however, if it were also a drawing line, then it could have figured instrumentally as a ‘register’ for the copy to fix the location of that portrait in the background precisely as on the other plate. A traced outline of the composition of the Rijksmuseum painting (using a transparent overlay) matches that of the Oud-Zuilen painting perfectly.

The adherence to the adjusted painted hairline and the painted features of the jowl of the Rijksmuseum picture indicate that the Oud-Zuilen picture was begun after the painting of the Rijksmuseum portrait was complete. In fact, most of the underdrawing lines in the Oud-Zuilen portrait follow the

fleshy, more rounded painted phase of the Rijksmuseum portrait rather than the scant first underdrawn lines of that portrait or its more spontaneous second drawing phase. We see this, for example, in the IR reflectogram of the unmodulated line of the chin and jowl of the Oud-Zuilen picture, as seen on the lit side of the face (figs. 11a, b). This indicates that the Oud-Zuilen plate was set aside, having served as a template for the Rijksmuseum plate, and that the actual painting did not begin until the Rijksmuseum portrait was finished.

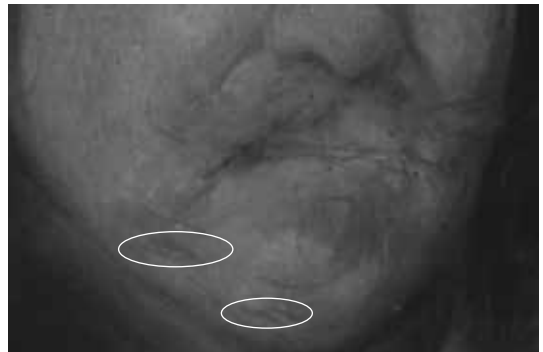
The Compositional Paint Layers

Once the underdrawing was in place, the first layer of the background was quickly filled in with thin dark brown paint, leaving a reserve for the figure. This standard procedure was followed in both paintings. The faces of the portraits were also built up using this dilute, transparent brown as undermodelling, primarily in the shadows and in the hair. It can be found left uncovered in the thinly executed Rijksmuseum portrait: in the vertical line delineating a shadow in the collar and the deep brown along the shaded side of the nose (fig. 7, Rijksmuseum, last glazes/shadows). The opaque paint used for the flesh is carefully and smoothly applied, at times leaving the underdrawing visible, with the beige tone of the ground alongside. The flesh tones are applied in blended wet-in-wet

Figs. 11a, b
Detail of Godard van Reede's face (a: Rijksmuseum, fig. 1) and IRR image of the same detail (b: Slot Zuylen, fig. 2).



A



B



Fig. 12
IRR image of
the *Portrait of
Godard van Reede*
(Rijksmuseum, fig. 1).

strokes and contain vermilion, earth colours and much black. Where the black underdrawing and brown undermodelling is covered with increasingly translucent, thin flesh tones through time, an ever more prominent optical grey tone of the flesh prevails.

Infrared examination reveals fluid strokes of dark paint containing carbon, half a centimetre wide, forming a bold zigzag vertical on the far right below the current unremarkable background

paint of the Rijksmuseum picture. The same dark paint creates a 'halo' around the head. Though the purpose of the horizontal hatching or zigzag strokes on the right is not known, the application of such a halo of dark paint beyond the hair reserve was an illusionistic trick of the trade to increase the optical dimensionality of the head during modelling (fig. 12). This is emphasized along the contour of the shaded side of the face. Such modelling was probably

applied during the sitting, as soon as the underdrawing was complete. The oil paint of the undermodelling would have been left to dry before the subsequent paint layers were built up.

The costume was prepared in wet-in-wet tones of dark grey and covered with a black design. A second layer of dark background paint was applied around the figure. The lace pattern of the collar was applied in pastose white paint. Finally, a dark brown glaze was used to deepen the shadows, modelling the features for a most convincing illusion of three-dimensionality.

Although much of the same build-up of the paint layers and the meticulous and cautious brushstrokes typical of Ter Borch can be found on the Oud-Zuilen picture, indicating Ter Borch's hand, there are four significant differences. To start with, the dark undermodelling here (seen most clearly in the gap between the two halves of the collar) is tinged with an opaque pink. Secondly, there is no evident 'halo' or zigzag of dark paint beyond the hair reserve in the underlayers. Thirdly, the flesh tones are somewhat lighter in colour and thicker, more pastose and more smoothly blended. And finally, the glazing of the shadows of the features is done with a deep red lake over dark brown (see fig. 7, Slot Zuylen, last glazes). The overall effect of these differences is to leave the Oud-Zuilen painting much pinker, and hence even more lifelike than the Rijksmuseum portrait. The differences in tonality and texture of the pinker, smoother Oud-Zuilen portrait were perhaps meant as a subtle improvement over those features in the Rijksmuseum painting.

To sum up, we know that the Oud-Zuilen copper plate probably served as the template for the Rijksmuseum portrait's brass plate since the former has incised lines on the back that were used to create the oval. Then, in a surprising reversal of order, the finished

Amsterdam painting provided the template for the composition of the Oud-Zuilen picture. Given how faithfully the latter adheres to the final version of the altered Amsterdam painting, the differences in the underdrawing are the result of the process of transferring the finished Rijksmuseum painting to the primed Oud-Zuilen plate, possibly with the help of a transfer drawing. This presents us with a major puzzle concerning the order in which the two portraits were made. If we accept the evidence that the Oud-Zuilen portrait was painted second, we are left with the inconsistency of its plate having been cut first. The choice of brass is also puzzling given that the plates for the other miniature portraits of the delegates were most probably all copper.³³ Van Reede may even have had a hand in suggesting or providing the brass plate, as he owned copper mills and thus, possibly, brass foundries. It is not possible to ascertain the length of time that elapsed between the application of the initial ground layers to both supports and the subsequent application of the second ground layer to the Rijksmuseum plate, nor between the finishing of the Rijksmuseum portrait and the continuation of the Oud-Zuilen painting. The initial preparation of two plates with a thin ground may have been intended for two commissioned copies of Van Reede's portrait or perhaps, given their different metal supports, for Van Reede and another treaty delegate. It is in any case clear that the Oud-Zuilen composition was not begun until the Amsterdam version was finished and, given the precision of the copy, that it was painted in close proximity to the 'principal' picture. This tells us that the artist worked on them side-by-side, yet consecutively, not simultaneously.

Portrait of Jacob de Graeff

In the early 1670s Ter Borch, who had settled in Deventer in 1654, was briefly

active in Amsterdam, where he made a series of portraits for the De Graeff family in 1673 and 1674. Whereas Ter Borch generally portrayed his clients in Overijssel in full-length small portraits, patrons in Amsterdam preferred the conventional three-quarter length small portraits. The Deventer portraits are sober and restrained, while the more fashionable dress in his Amsterdam portraits attests to the aristocratic pretensions of his clients there. As well as the likeness of Jacob de Graeff (1642-1690), Ter Borch also painted the portrait of Jacob's uncle Andries de Graeff (1611-1678), his son Cornelis de Graeff (1623-1678), Jacob's brother Pieter de Graeff (1638-1707) and his wife in this period.³⁴ There are two virtually identical versions of Jacob's portrait on panel: one in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the other in the Saint Louis Art Museum (figs. 13, 14).

On 22 July 1673, Jacob de Graeff's brother Pieter de Graeff recorded the commission for Jacob's portrait in the almanac of the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch East India Company: 'A commission to Gerard ter Borch, to be paid for by my brother [Jacob], to paint his portrait, for which he will pay the same as uncle Andries de Graeff paid for the likeness of his son, Cornelis de Graeff.'³⁵ On the same day Pieter de Graeff wrote that he had bought 'two oval-topped wooden panels' for one guilder.³⁶ It would thus seem likely that the client wanted to order two identical autograph versions of Jacob's portrait from the outset, and the panels were specifically purchased for the purpose (fig. 15, both Rijksmuseum and Saint Louis Art Museum, support). The use of an arched top is exceptional in Ter Borch's oeuvre. This shape was probably chosen to go with the portraits of Pieter de Graeff and his wife Jacoba Bicker of 1663 (figs. 16a, b) painted by Caspar Netscher (Ter Borch's student in Deventer from 1654 to 1658), which were already in Pieter de Graeff's collection.

The Circumstances

It is possible that one of the two paintings was intended for Pieter and the other for his brother Jacob.³⁷ Neither of the portraits in St Louis and Amsterdam by Ter Borch is dated,³⁸ and only the latter is signed with Ter Borch's initials 'GTB' (see fig. 15, both Rijksmuseum and Saint Louis Art Museum, signature). The question of their method of production is intriguing. How did Ter Borch actually paint the two panels: simultaneously (back and forth) or consecutively? And if the latter, which was first?³⁹ It may even be possible to work out which one was intended for Jacob himself, who, after all, paid for the commission. A 1709 inventory of the Grand Salon, which looked out on to the canal in Jacob's brother Pieter de Graeff's fashionable new house at 573 Herengracht in Amsterdam, lists a portrait of Jacob de Graeff by Ter Borch.⁴⁰ The room was hung with paintings by renowned artists of the time, and at least three of them, the aforementioned pendant portraits by Caspar Netscher and a Ter Borch, were virtually identical in size and shape (with rounded, arched tops). Given the similar dimensions, it has always been assumed that the portrait of Jacob referred to in the inventory was the version in St Louis,⁴¹ however the painting in the Rijksmuseum has until now been published with incorrect, smaller measurements.⁴² In fact, they are virtually identical in size. This means that the size is of no help in determining which painting Pieter de Graeff owned. The current physical condition of the version in the Rijksmuseum, on the other hand, may well provide a clue. It is tempting to conjecture that it was the Rijksmuseum picture that caught the sun as it hung in the Grand Salon opposite the large, south-facing windows, since the organic reds in the painting are now irreversibly faded. The dramatic bleaching must, in any case, be the result of long,








Fig. 13
GERARD TER BORCH II,
Portrait of Jacob de Graeff
(1642-1690), c. 1673.
Oil on panel,
51.6 x 35.6 x \pm 0.5 cm,
thinned and cradled.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3963.



Fig. 14
GERARD TER BORCH II,
Portrait of Jacob de Graeff
(1642-1690), c. 1673.
Oil on panel,
51.6 x 35.4 x 0.5-1.2 cm.
St Louis,
Saint Louis Art Museum,
inv. no. 139:1916.

Fig. 15
Comparison of the De Graeff portraits.

CONSTRUCTION	RIJKSMUSEUM	
SUPPORT	Size: halfround top, 51.6 x 35.6 cm Oak panel Condition: thinned and cradled Inscription removed	
GROUND	Lower two layers: 2. Pinkish-beige, smooth 1. White chalk	
COMPOSITION	Virtually identical to St Louis	
UNDERDRAWING/ INTERMEDIATE DRAWING (IRR)	Comparable: few visible outlines: only short, thin drawn lines and broader lines applied with a brush (former for the face and latter for the clothes)	
UNDERMODELLING	Dark, transparent brown shadows prepare facial features Ochre and grey under-modelling beneath clothing	
DETAIL BRUSHWORK	Fine attention to detail, laborious	
LAST GLAZES/ SHADOWS	Overlying brown for facial features Olive green shadows (sleeves)	
PENTIMENTI (CHANGES)	Many small alterations (IRR and normal light) Salmon color beneath sleeve	
SIGNATURE AND/OR COAT OF ARMS	Monogram Coat of arms: a later addition Identical to that on St Louis	

SAINT LOUIS ART MUSEUM		CONSTRUCTION
	Size: halfround top, 51.6 x 35.4 cm Oak panel Condition: original	SUPPORT
	No sample taken Ochre coloured layer at surface, applied in pastose, diagonal brushstrokes	GROUND
	Virtually identical to Rijksmuseum	COMPOSITION
	Comparable: also variable, short, contour lines of facial features (possibly wet)	UNDERDRAWING/ INTERMEDIATE DRAWING (IRR)
	Dark, transparent brown shadows prepare facial features and background No ochre or gray left visible	UNDERMODELLING
	Fine attention to detail, fluid	DETAIL BRUSHWORK
	Overlying brown for facial features Olive green shadows (sleeves)	LAST GLAZES/ SHADOWS
	Many small alterations (IRR and normal light)	 PENTIMENTI (CHANGES)
	No signature/monogram Coat of arms: a later addition Identical to that on Rijksmuseum	SIGNATURE AND/OR COAT OF ARMS



A



B

cumulative exposure to strong sunlight. The damage makes the picture relatively subdued, as is evident in the faded red tablecloth, the once purple, now brown curtain and even in the flesh tones, which are quite pale, especially in comparison to the ruddy flesh of the St Louis painting. This accounts for many of the current differences between the two pictures.⁴³

An old photograph of the reverse of one of the two paintings shows a handwritten inscription in dark ink, concerning the life and death of Jacob de Graeff, on a bevelled panel with a rounded top (fig. 17). Gudlaugsson describes this biographical information as having been on the back of the Amsterdam painting before it was thinned and cradled.⁴⁴ Since the inscription was put on long after the commission of the portraits, and it is known that other paintings with similar inscriptions originated in

Pieter de Graeff's collection, it is most probable that the Rijksmuseum painting hung there as well.⁴⁵ This seems to be supported by the unaltered state of the St Louis panel, which shows no trace of an inscription.⁴⁶

Indications of provenance such as inscriptions, coats of arms, labels and even frames of paintings are often valuable clues in tracing previous relationships with other paintings in various collections over time. The original frame of the Rijksmuseum portrait has long since been replaced, but the St Louis painting retains its original ornate gilt frame (fig. 18). It is not identical in motif and form to the frames of the two other rounded arched-top paintings listed in the room: the portraits of Pieter de Graeff and his wife Jacoba Bicker by Caspar Netscher (see figs. 16a, b). In fact, although the male pendant of these is dated 1663, their 'compo' frames are

Fig. 16a
CASPAR NETSCHER,
*Portrait of Pieter de
Graeff (1638-1707),
Lord of Zuid-
Polsbroek, Purmerland
and IJpendam. Sheriff
of Amsterdam, 1663.*
Oil on panel,
51.2 x 35.8 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3977.

Fig. 16b
CASPAR NETSCHER,
*Portrait of Jacoba
Bicker (1640-1695),
Wife of Pieter de
Graeff, 1663.*
Oil on panel,
51.3 x 35.6 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3978.

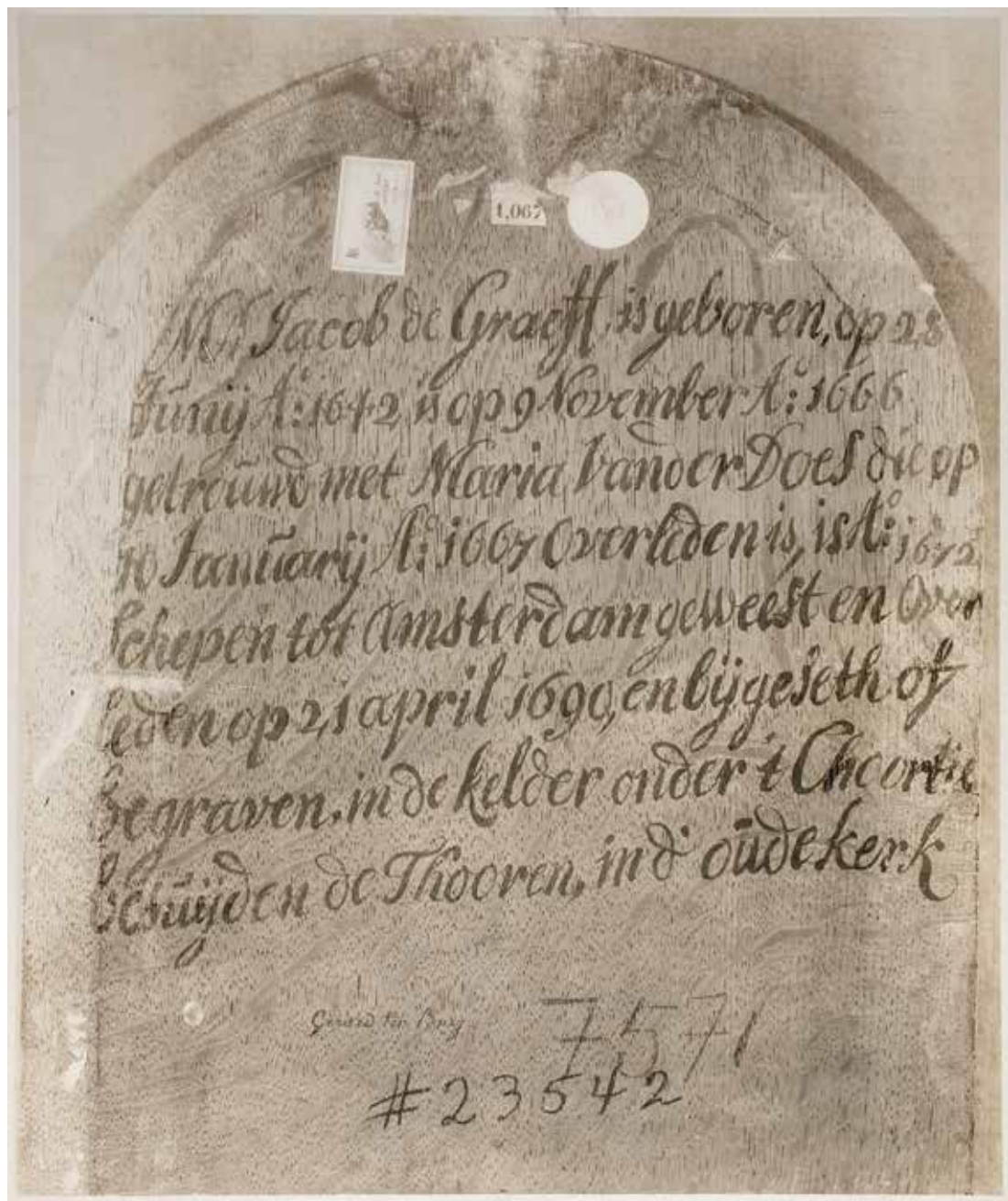


Fig. 17
 Inscription formerly
 on the reverse of
 the Portrait of
 Jacob de Graeff
 (Rijksmuseum, fig. 13).
 Photo: RKD.



Fig. 18
Portrait of Jacob de
Graeff in the original
frame (Saint Louis Art
Museum, fig. 14).

most likely from after 1700, perhaps even contemporary with the new house with its Grand Salon. The carved frame on the St Louis picture is older. This, taken together with the earlier suggestions regarding the physical state of the Amsterdam picture and the former inscription on its reverse, corroborates the theory that it was the Amsterdam painting which hung, facing the windows, in Pieter de Graeff's house and that Jacob de Graeff owned the St Louis version.⁴⁷

The Panel – Supports and Grounds

The St Louis portrait is in a remarkably good state of preservation. As we have said, there is no fading, the oak panel is still the original thickness (a quarter-sawn panel varying in thickness between 0.5 and 1 cm) and hardly suffers from a single age crack. Regrettably, the Rijksmuseum's oak panel, though of the same dimensions and arched-top form, has been thinned and cradled (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum, support), and the paint is irreversibly faded and has been abraded during restorations.

The Rijksmuseum picture has a double ground comprising an initial

thin white layer and a smooth, beige upper layer (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum, ground). The St Louis picture has a coarser, warm ochre-coloured ground, visible here and there at the surface, applied in diagonal pastose strokes.⁴⁸ Beige or ochre is customary for Ter Borch.⁴⁹ Although the grounds of these two paintings are similar in that they are both light coloured, the fact that they are not identical means that they were probably not prepared at the same time. Given that both panels were commissioned at the same time, and that a panel-maker often applied the ground as well as making the panel, it is puzzling as to why the panels were not prepared together. It is therefore likely that it is only the upper layers that were applied at different times. It seems that one panel was begun before the other, but which?

The Underdrawings

Unlike the grounds, the method used to begin the actual compositions of both pictures is quite similar. Infrared reflectography reveals a faint underdrawing in black, reinforced with broader black brushstrokes, in the St Louis picture, as it does in the

Figs. 19a, b
IRR images of
the Portrait of
Jacob de Graeff
(a: Rijksmuseum,
fig. 13; b: Saint Louis
Art Museum, fig. 14),
showing the face.



A



B

painting in Amsterdam (figs. 19a, b).⁵⁰ Broader dark, wet brushstrokes can be seen with the naked eye through the translucent light areas of clothing (particularly in the sleeves) and in the proper right glove.

It is possible that the faint, short sketched lines seen in both pictures are indeed the initial, tentative placement of compositional elements drawn in with dry black chalk or perhaps graphite, much as we have seen in the Van Reede portraits. In neither picture do we find hard evidence of the remnants of a transfer technique, but the cursory lines could easily be the result of such and sufficed to establish an almost identical placement of features and head on both versions. Neither underdrawing impresses us as having been drawn from life, which suggests the use of a transfer technique from a drawing from life.

The Weightiest Article in Our Family

A letter written by Jacob de Graeff to his brother a week after the panels were sent to Ter Borch describes the progress the artist had made so far: 'Concerning my portrait, looks very accurate and the head is almost finished, which has always been the weightiest article in our family, so that the rest shall follow.'⁵¹

It is unknown whether this note was made after the first, the only or the last sitting, or even whether it was about a drawing or a painting, but given that the sitting was within a week of delivery of the panels, a drawing would have been less trouble. Yet 'the head is almost finished' is a rather puzzling statement if it was related to a drawing whose main purpose would have been to capture a likeness for transfer to a panel – one would expect a drawing to have been finished in one sitting. If he is referring to a painting then at least one of the panels was already prepared with ground layers, perhaps even the undermodelling, and dry on time. 'The

head is almost finished' sounds more like working the composition up in full colour rather than simply completing the monotone undermodelling. In order to produce a painting in a week, Ter Borch could have made an initial drawing from life earlier. Sparse lines could then have been transferred on to at least one of the prepared panels from such an initial drawing prior to the sitting – as, even, could a thin undermodelling in oil. This would mean that one portrait could have been begun directly on one of the prepared and dry panels during the sitting on that day and immediately worked up in paint. If we infer from De Graeff's remark 'so that the rest shall follow' that he was referring to a painting, it would appear that the head was practically complete at the beginning of the painting process, rather than that the portrait was filled in on an otherwise completed picture as was sometimes the case.⁵² Or, more likely, given the order of painting from back to front, the background was presumably partially finished before the sitting for the portrait, leaving the costume as last, much as in an unfinished painting currently attributed to Gonzales Coques (Antwerp 1614/18-1684), and formerly to Ter Borch.⁵³ Technical analysis shows that both compositions were, in fact, built up from background to foreground, reserving the costumed figure and hair, following the scant lines of drawing or transfer.

Undermodelling

As in the Van Reede portraits, a dark, warm transparent brown paint was used to underpaint the shadows of the facial features in both De Graeff portraits. The background of the St Louis version was also painted in brown, and although it is quite possible that the brown undermodelling also served as an underlayer in the background of the Amsterdam painting, an opaque, dark greyish-green is now visible on the surface.

Slight shifts made in both eyes of the Rijksmuseum painting, visible under infrared examination, are revealing: it is clear that the sitter's right pupil and iris were lowered and that the black lines of his left eyelid were adjusted. The alteration of the eyes may have occurred during the sitting. No such alterations were found in the St Louis head (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum and Saint Louis Art Museum, *pentimenti*). Since the eyes in the St Louis picture match the final eye placement of the Amsterdam portrait, the latter must have been copied. However, Ter Borch also adjusted the shape of the shaded side of the face in the St Louis version and so did not copy the Rijksmuseum version slavishly. The presence of a thick dark brushstroke of undermodelling along the left contour, used to increase the volume of the St Louis face (much like the 'halo' in the undermodelling of the Rijksmuseum's Van Reede portrait), which was not exactly followed in the working up, could on the other hand indicate a live sitting.

A glimpse of a preparatory layer for the clothes, very like that noted as ochre and grey undermodelling beneath costumes in other portraits by Ter Borch, is present in the Amsterdam picture in the proper right sleeve.⁵⁴ No such 'gap' in the upper paint layers was found in the St Louis painting to be able to determine its presence or absence there (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum, undermodelling).

Back and Forth

Both paintings often reveal shared alterations or *pentimenti*, which means that although they seem not to have been prepared with ground at the same time, the pictures were indeed painted simultaneously, side by side, with the artist working back and forth between the two. Vibrant tones of deep orangey-pink are evident in both pictures beneath the white and black sleeves, the silver-threaded waistcoat and the silver sash. The colours beneath are due to an

actual change in costume in both pictures (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum, *pentimenti*).

There is another clear example of a shared colour *pentimento* in the paint layers of both paintings, namely the repainting of a small area in the bottom left corner of the pictures just to the right of the table, under the flap of the coat. Obviously, if one portrait were a later copy of the other, the artist would have copied only the upper layer of the earlier picture. However, if he was painting back and forth, working both pictures up at more or less the same time, the same alterations can occur. Other *pentimenti* give further indications of this simultaneous work-up and also alternate copying from one picture to another, as seen in details of the proper left gloves and the variable use of reserves for the hats and the right gloves on both. The numerous examples of the order of execution reversing between the two, lead us to believe that the copying of alterations was most likely done free hand rather than using a series of intermediary transfer drawings. Allowing for at least a few initial transferred outlines would, however, explain the precision of the likenesses in the portraits. Indeed, just as in the Van Reede portraits, a traced outline (using a transparent overlay) of the composition of the Rijksmuseum painting matches that of the St Louis painting almost perfectly.

Yet another shared characteristic supports this theory of simultaneous creation. Both paintings exhibit signs of the use of a similar paint medium for the black paint of the pattern of the lower part of the diagonal sash. It pearls up in a resist pattern, indicating a lack of adhesion to the dried oil paint substrate below. Glazing with the same deep colours to strengthen shading, such as the dark olive-green paint for the deep shadows of the folds of the white sleeves, reminds us that the same palette – literally – must have been used (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum and Saint Louis Art Museum, last glazes).

In both pictures, the artist worked in general from darker to ever lighter parts like the collar and sleeves, ending with fine, highlighted details. Final details exhibit precise brushwork built up in small strokes (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum and Saint Louis Art Museum, detail brushwork), and the last flesh tones on both are composed of delicately blended wet-in-wet brushstrokes.

All the same, there are some remarkable differences. With the naked eye, the most striking difference between the two, aside from the condition, is that the St Louis picture is more freely executed with loose, fluent strokes where, for example, the edges of the initial reserves are not as carefully closed as in the Amsterdam version. The portrait in St Louis appears more rapidly and spontaneously painted in general and this difference is also evident on a microscopic level. Through the microscope, a wet-in-wet, 'marbled' swirl is visible between the left cuff of the glove and the sleeve, like that of the swirled paint of the sash. In the Amsterdam painting, however, no evidence was found of the artist having worked wet-in-wet other than in the softly blended flesh tones, and the entire picture appears instead a result of meticulous labour. The evidence of small, short, laborious strokes, conscientiously produced – perhaps the most characteristic feature of Ter Borch's work and visible in the Rijksmuseum portrait – are not evident in the St Louis version. The difference is in fact so apparent that one might suspect another hand, were it not for the evidence of the shared *pentimenti*, the shared creation, and the knowledge that Ter Borch never had a student who surpassed his skill. In the St Louis picture he seems to have surpassed himself, or perhaps deliberately varied his painting style.

The Amsterdam painting is signed on the stone at right, *GTB*. (see fig. 15, Rijksmuseum, signature), whereas

the St Louis picture is not. Although neither Ter Borch's personal conventions nor those of the period regarding the signing of pictures and the duplication of images have been thoroughly established,⁵⁵ it seems logical that if the artist set out to paint two versions and began with one portrait for the sitting, that he himself might consider that one as the 'original' or 'principal' and the other as the 'reproduction'.

If one accepts this hypothesis, then the original would probably carry more of the weight of the act of invention, whereas the copy might reflect the rewards of greater certainty in design and pure relish in the art of painting. The evident sureness of touch in the St Louis painting, in stark contrast to the more laboured brushwork of the Rijksmuseum portrait, could thus be explained if the artist had had a sense that the latter was the 'principal'. The position of the eyes in the Amsterdam version was altered at an early stage and the final placement was copied to the St Louis picture, a fact that further supports this notion. However, this theory is far too black and white to allow for the numerous shared *pentimenti* in both paintings and the fact that the St Louis picture was given to Jacob as the commissioned work. Evidently the artist worked with due consideration for his 'reproduction' and considered it an equal, perhaps – as we surmised in the case of Van Reede – even an improvement. In fact, even without comparing, it is difficult to fathom any explanation for the remarkably fluid technique of the pristine St Louis version, given all the minor *pentimenti* present in that version alone. This remains a conundrum and further debate is most welcome.

Conclusion

The comparison of the technical construction of each portrait makes it possible to conclude with certainty that the two versions of the portraits were painted side by side. The Van

Reede portraits were painted more or less consecutively, the De Graeff portraits evidently simultaneously. Both the Rijksmuseum versions bear evidence of the actual sitting or sittings, yet both second versions are improvements. It is highly likely that all four portraits were painted by Ter Borch, in view of the strong similarities in construction and materials, the *pentimenti* and the high quality of the works. The materials and techniques used also correspond to the findings of the technical research for the comprehensive catalogue on the other Ter Borch paintings in the Rijksmuseum. It remains to be seen whether such

in-depth study of all the replicas in Ter Borch's oeuvre can shed more light on Ter Borch and his studio. Though close observation and archival research could resolve many questions in the two cases presented here and bring us closer to understanding the means of construction, the inexplicable and uncanny similarity between the two versions of each composition is due to Ter Borch's own close observation and consummate craftsmanship.

NOTES

- * This article results from the research undertaken for the Rijksmuseum's catalogue of seventeenth-century paintings (by artists born between 1600 and 1620), forthcoming.
- 1 A.C. Steenis-Muntjewerf, 'Een weddenschap over een Terburch', *Oud Holland* 69 (1954), pp. 123-24.
 - 2 S. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard ter Borch*, 2 vols., The Hague 1959-60 (vol. 1, 1959; vol. 2, 1960), vol. 2, passim.
 - 3 E. van de Wetering, 'Een reisbrief van Ernst van de Wetering: Gerard ter Borch en zijn atelier', *Kunstschrift* 3 (2005), pp. 16-27. On the making of copies by Leiden fine painters see E.J. Sluijter et al. (eds.), *Leidse fijnschilders. Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630-1760*, exh. cat. Leiden (Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal) 1988, pp. 34-36.
 - 4 Documented pupils in Deventer were Caspar Netscher (c. 1635/39-1684), Antoni Jordens (1664-1715) and the otherwise unknown Bartholt Berentsen. It is generally accepted that Pieter van Anraedt (before 1640-1678) and Roelof Koets (before 1650-1725) worked in Ter Borch's studio.
 - 5 Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 2, p. 78, no. 47a, calls the work in Slot Zuylen a seventeenth-century copy. It is included as an original in H.R. Hoetink et al. (eds.), *Gerard Ter Borch: Zwolle 1617-Deventer 1681*, exh. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis)/Münster (Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte) 1974, pp. 74-75, no. 11; K. Schaffers in A. van der Goes and J. De Meyere (eds.), *Op stand aan de wand: vijf eeuwen familieportretten in Slot Zuylen*, Maarssen 1996, p. 70; and A.M. McNeil Kettering in A.K. Wheelock Jr et al. (eds.), *Gerard ter Borch*, exh. cat. Washington (National Gallery of Art)/Detroit (The Detroit Institute of Arts) 2004-05, p. 66, all regard it as an authentic Ter Borch.
 - 6 Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 2, pp. 227-28, nos. 265 I (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and 265 II (Saint Louis Art Museum), both as authentic.
 - 7 Unfortunately the x-radiographs of Ter Borch's compositions are often too faint and even in tone to provide much information.
 - 8 There are other multiple versions of compositions by Ter Borch aside from those discussed in this article. These are primarily genre pieces for the open market. Most famous is the *Parental Admonition* (1654) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and a second version (1654/55) in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. A third very similar version, *A Singing Practice* (1654/55), is in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh. *A Glass of Lemonade* (early to mid-1660s) can be found in the Hermitage in St Petersburg; the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, and sale London (Christie's), 3 July 2012, no. 26. *The Music Lesson* (c. 1668) in the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio is repeated in

- the *Duet* (1675) in The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust), Waddesdon. Though only one version is extant, he purportedly also made two identical portraits of Philip IV, King of Spain, in the late 1630s. Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 1, p. 184; vol. 2, pp. 58-59, no. 9.
- 9 A. Wallert, 'The Miracle of Gerard ter Borch's Satin', in Wheelock Jr et al., op. cit. (note 5), p. 35.
- 10 Black chalk is listed in the inventory of a trunk filled with art supplies sent to Ter Borch in England by his father in 1635 (Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Collection Frits Lugt, reproduced in Wheelock Jr et al., op. cit. (note 5), pp. 188-89). This was most likely chalk blackened with carbon, though graphite carbon sticks were also available at the time in England.
- 11 Tracing: using a blackened or whitened verso, the drawing lines (recto) are retraced dry with the paper laid over a new support. Pouncing: charcoal or chalk powder is pushed through tiny pinpricks made along the lines of a drawing while it is placed over a new support. Counterproof: a mirror image of the drawing is made by pressing the face of a wet (or powdery) original on to a new support.
- 12 M. Franken, 'Learning by Imitation: Copying Paintings in Rembrandt's Workshop', in E. van de Wetering et al., *Rembrandt: Quest of a Genius*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (The Rembrandt House Museum) 2007, p. 167.
- 13 R.E.O. Ekkart, 'Portraiture in Practice', in R.E.O. Ekkart and Q. Buvelot, *Dutch Portraits: The Age of Rembrandt and Frans Hals*, exh. cat. London (The National Gallery)/The Hague (Mauritshuis) 2007-08, p. 60.
- 14 I.H. van Eeghen, 'Baertjen Martens en Herman Doomer', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 43 (1956), pp. 133-37.
- 15 A. Jansen, 'Atelier en atelierpraktijken aan de oude Delft', in A. Jansen et al., *De portret-fabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)*, exh. cat. Delft (Museum het Prinsenhof) 2011, p. 51.
- 16 Ekkart, op. cit. (note 13), p. 59.
- 17 J.M. Montias, 'Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art', *Art History* 10 (1987), p. 462.
- 18 Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 1, pp. 29-30.
- 19 'doch bevrees dat 'er iets van de gelykenis mogt uytraaken door het overschilderen, maakte hy 'er een Kopey na, en nam die mee na 's Gravenhage'. J. Campo Weyerman, *De levens-beschrijvingen der nederlandsche Konst-schilders en Konst-schilderessen, met een uytbreyding over de schilder-konst der ouden: verrijkt met de konterfeytselfs der voor-naamste konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen, in koper gesneden door J. Houbraken*, 4 vols., The Hague/Dordrecht 1729-69 (vols. 1-3, 1729; vol. 4, 1769), vol. 2, p. 370.
- 20 'manier van gemelte Sijne Hoocheyt', Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 2, p. 30.
- 21 Jansen, op. cit. (note 15), p. 51.
- 22 For a biography of Van Reede see P.C. Molhuysen et al. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 10 vols., Leiden 1911-37, vol. 3, 1914, cols. 1025-26; and H. Duchhardt et al. (eds.), '*... zu einem stets währenden Gedächtnis: die Friedenssäle in Münster und Osnabrück und ihre Gesandtenporträts*', Bramsche 1996, pp. 230-31. For his role in the peace negotiations see R. de Bruin and D. Faber, *Tegen de vrede! Utrecht en de vredesonderhandelingen in Münster*, exh. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum/Domkerk) 1998.
- 23 Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 1, p. 58. Godard's son Gerard van Reede (1624-1670) may have commissioned the second portrait. He inherited the manor of Nederhorst and after his father's death in 1648 took his seat in the first rank of the States of Utrecht. Godard's death is a conceivable reason for having a second version made, so that the first could remain in the possession of Godard's second wife, Catharina van Utenhove (1598/99-1656).
- 24 The supports of most may be copper (this has not been verified for three of the paintings), however, the Van Reede portrait in the Rijksmuseum collection is painted on brass. The other six portraits (and two additional pendant portraits) are as follows:
- *Portrait of Adriaen Pauw* (1585-1653) and *Portrait of Anna van Ruytenburgh* (1590-1648), c. 1646. Copper, 15.7 x 11.7 cm. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, inv. nos. os 92-195, 196; private collection on long term loan. Virtually identical portraits of Pauw and his wife are incorporated in a large painting by Ter Borch, *Entry of Adriaen Pauw and Anna van Ruytenburgh into Münster*, 1646. Oil on canvas, 98.5 x 159 cm. Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, inv. no. 210.
- *Portrait of Adriaen Clant van Stedum* (1599-1655), 1646-48. Supposedly oil on copper (the frame is covered on the reverse with marbled paper and has not been opened for inspection), c. 14 x 10 cm. Groningen, Groninger Museum, inv. no. 1964.0265; from C. Martins, 19 June 2013.

- *Portrait of Caspar van Kinschot (1622-1649)*, 1646-47. C. Pottasch reports a note made by Sandra R. Blackard on 3 June 1983, 'copper scratched prior to ground application 11.9 x 8.8 cm, oval back is blackened'. The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. no. 1050.
- *Portrait of Eleazer Lootius (1595-1668)* and *Portrait of the Wife or Daughter of Eleazer Lootius*, 1646. Supposedly oil on copper, 21.5 x 15.5 cm. Private collection.
- *Portrait of Don Caspar de Bracamonte y Guzman, Count of Peñaranda (1596-1676)*, 1647-48. Red copper (according to R.E.O. Ekkart, *Nederlandse portretten uit de 17^e eeuw | Dutch Portraits from the Seventeenth Century*, exh. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) 1995, no. 4), 10.8 x 9.1 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 2529.
- *Portrait of Count Hugo Eberhard Kratz von Scharfenstein (1610-1663)*, 1646-48. Supposedly oil on copper, 17 x 12.5 cm. Private collection.
- 25 Namely Adriaen Pauw, Adriaen Clant van Stedum, Caspar van Kinschot, Eleazer Lootius, Jacob van der Burgh (c. 1600-1659; known only from an engraving by Pieter Holsteyn) and Don Caspar de Bracamonte y Guzman.
- 26 A.M. McNeil Kettering, *Gerard ter Borch en de Vrede van Münster*, exh. cat. The Hague (Mauritshuis) 1998, p. 37.
- 27 'twee kleine geschilderde pourtraitjes van de oude heer van Nederhorst in swarte lijfsjes'; Rijksarchief Utrecht (RAU), Archief Huis Haarzuilens, inv. no. 959. Quoted by R.E.O. Ekkart in Van der Goes and De Meyere, op. cit. (note 5), p. 14.
- 28 The portrait in Oud-Zuilen bears a family coat of arms painted over the background upper right. None of the Münster portraits by Ter Borch bear such a coat of arms, yet this appears upon examination to be part of the original paint applied by the artist, which suggests it was requested with the commission.
- 29 An alloy of copper and zinc, in the ratio of approximately 3:1. XRF analysis was performed using an Arttax x-ray tube: Mo 40kV, 498 µA, 60 sec. Sanding grooves found on the surface (visible at the site of losses) formed a preparation for the paint layers.
- 30 This layer has a green tinge in the Rijksmuseum cross-section (see fig. 9, Amsterdam, ground), probably due to corrosion products from the brass plate.
- 31 The lines revealed by infra-red examination show the two drawing phases simultaneously and it is only on close inspection that it becomes clear whether they are separated by a layer of paint forming separate under-drawings and 'intermediate' drawings. It was also seen during microscopic examination of Ter Borch's portraits of Anna van Ruytenburgh (Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, inv. no. OS 92-196; private collection on long term loan) and of Helena van der Schalcke (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-1786). In personal communication with Melanie Gifford she confirmed the presence of a 're-sketching' phase in Ter Borch's *The Suitor's Visit* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection, inv. no. 1937.1.58).
- 32 Or they may have been double lines applied simultaneously to indicate shadow as suggested by Jorgen Wadum in relation to his infrared examination of a Rembrandt School portrait. See J. Wadum, 'Rembrandt under the Skin: The Mauritshuis Portrait of Rembrandt with Gorget in Retrospect', *Oud Holland* 114 (2000), p. 166.
- 33 See note 24.
- 34 Andries: signed GTB, US, private collection (illustrated in N. Middelkoop (ed.), *Kopstukken: Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600-1800*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Amsterdams Historisch Museum) 2002-03, p. 134, no. 33). Cornelis: signed GTB, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. no. 883. Pieter: Germany, private collection (illustrated in Middelkoop, op. cit. (this note), p. 135, no. 34). Pieter's wife: whereabouts unknown.
- 35 'Voor rekening van mijn broeder [Jacob] aen Gerard ter Borch aenbesteedt sijn pourtraict om dat te conterfeijten en soo veel daervoor te betaelen als oom Andries de Graeff voor 't conterfeijtsel van sijn soon Cornelis de Graeff betaelt heeft.' S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'In Presentie van de Heer Gerard ter Borch', *Essays in Northern European Art: Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Doornspijk 1983, p. 67.
- 36 'twee boven ovale houten peneeltjes', in *ibid.*, p. 67. The 1673 dating of the portraits conforms not only with the order dates for the panels, but also with archival information regarding Jacob de Graeff's military service as a volunteer in the service of William III from 29 July 1673 to 19 September 1674 as noted in Jacob de Graeff's letters (Amsterdam, City Archives, archive 76, inv. no. 131). In fact, Jacob mentions in his first letter to his brother on 29 July 1673 that he has purchased boots from 'Meester Harmsen van misseven' and further that he is dressed in a black raincoat from the town of Naarden ('Naarder regenrok (engelse

- zwarte)'), in a letter dated 16 September 1673, just as he is portrayed in the paintings.
- 37 N. Middelkoop in Middelkoop, op. cit. (note 34), p. 136.
- 38 Dendrochronological dating carried out by Peter Klein on 9 September 2010 came up with 1657 as the earliest possible creation date for the painting. Analysis has not been undertaken on the St Louis picture.
- 39 The family coat of arms found on both paintings were added much later, probably by a descendant.
- 40 Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 227-28.
- 41 Dudok van Heel, op. cit. (note 35), p. 67, note 9.
- 42 The erroneous dimensions of 45.5 x 34.5 cm appeared as early as sale De Ridder (Villa Schönberg, Kronberg im Taunus), Paris (Galerie Georges Petit), 2 June 1924, no. 78. The actual dimensions of 51.6 x 35.6 cm are virtually identical to those of Netscher's portraits of Pieter de Graeff, 51.2 x 35.8 cm, and Jacoba Bicker, 51.3 x 35.6 cm (see figs. 16a, b).
- 43 A.W. Wallert, 'Ter Borch's Materials and Methods of Painting: The Glass of Lemonade', *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 18 (2004), no. 2, p. 384, notes 10 and 11, reveal the existence of a recipe for a cochineal red lake known as 'Root Lac van Cochenielje van Geerart ter Burg van Swol' in a seventeenth-century unpublished manuscript in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem (Ms. 93-94) as well as in W. Beurs, *De Grootte Waereld in 't klein geschildert*, Amsterdam (J. and G. van Waesberge) 1692.
- 44 'Jacob de Graeff was born on 28 June 1642. On 9 November 1666 he married Maria van der Does, who died on 10 January 1667. In 1672 he was Sheriff of Amsterdam. He died on 21 April 1690 and was interred or buried in the crypt beneath the Choir to the south of the Tower, in the old church.' (Mr. Jacob de Graeff is geboren op 28 Juny A^o: 1642 is op 9 November A^o 1666 getrouwd met Maria van der Does die op 10 January A^o: 1667 overleden is, is A^o: 1672 Schepen tot Amsterdam geweest en overleden op 21 April 1690 en bijgeseth of begraven in de kelder onder 't Oortie besuijden de Thooren, in de oude kerk.) Quoted from Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 2), p. 228. Robbert Jan van der Maal discovered a photograph of the inscription in the RKD Explore database and shared this with the authors.
- 45 For example on the anonymous *Portrait of Jan Oom Jacobsz alias Noom Pompemaker, 1600-1700* (Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 3011) and the anonymous *Portrait of Andries Boelen (1455-1519)* (Amsterdam, private collection). Personal communication
- Robbert Jan van der Maal. No such inscriptions or traces of them have been found on the pendants of Pieter de Graeff and Jacoba Bicker by Netscher in the Rijksmuseum (see figs. 16a, b).
- 46 Thanks to research by Paul Haner, Claire Walker and Rachel Aubochon and their communication with the authors, we know that the St Louis panel retains its original thickness and bevelling at the edges. No trace of such an inscription could be found either with the naked eye or using IR examination, though there is paint covering the reverse.
- 47 The dating of the frames is based on the expert opinion of the frame conservator, Hubert Baija, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (personal communication).
- 48 Cross-section numbers SK-A-3963/1 and SK-A-3963/2. As no cross-section was taken from the St Louis painting, it is not known whether the ground is composed of one or two layers.
- 49 Of the twelve other paintings examined for the technical entries of the forthcoming *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*, vol. 2, six have beige or ochre-coloured upper grounds, five have varying shades of grey upper grounds, and one is brown.
- 50 Near-infrared photograph was taken on 16 September 2013 with a converted Nikon D300S (internal filter removed) with a Peca 910 filter.
- 51 'Wat aengaet mijn conterfeijtsel, lijkt seer wel en is het hoofd bijnae gedaen, hetwelck altijd het meest wegende artikel in onse familie is geweest, soodat de rest wel sal volgen.' See Dudok van Heel, op. cit. (note 35), p. 67.
- 52 A. Blankert, 'Invulportretten door Caspar en Constantijn Netscher', *Oud Holland* 81 (1966), pp. 263-69.
- 53 A.K. Wheelock Jr, 'The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch', in Wheelock Jr et al., op. cit. (note 5), pp. 12-13, fig. 10.
- 54 Personal communication with Melanie Gifford, research conservator for painting technology, National Gallery of Art, Washington, regarding her examination of Ter Borch's *Portrait of Gerhard van Suchtelen* (Washington, Corcoran Gallery of Art, inv. no. 26.174).
- 55 See on this for example N. De Marchi and H.J. van Miegroet, 'Pricing Invention: "Originals," "Copies," and their Relative Value in Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Art Markets', in V.A. Ginsburgh and P.M. Menger (eds.), *Economics of the Arts: Selected Essays*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 27-70. See also Jansen, op. cit. (note 15), pp. 47-49.

