

Title	Hendrick ter Brugghen's "King David harping surrounded by four angels"
Sub Title	
Author	小林, 頼子(Kobayashi, Yoriko)
Publisher	三田哲學會
Publication year	1986
Jtitle	哲學 No.82 (1986. 5) ,p.101- 129
JaLC DOI	
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Notes	
Genre	Journal Article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00150430-00000082-0101

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Hendrick ter Brugghen's "King David Harping Surrounded by Four Angels"

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In Japan, where considerations of seventeenth-century Dutch art have persistently focused solely on the three great masters Hals, Rembrandt, and Vermeer, Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629) is not a very familiar name. In the United States and Europe, however, he is highly regarded and has received much attention as the most creative and talented of the Utrecht Caravaggisti. This article will examine one of ter Brugghen's later works, *King David Harping Surrounded by Four Angels* (Fig. 1, hereafter referred to as *David*). My purpose will be to discuss its subject, iconography, and the possible circumstances behind the commission, presenting some hypotheses that have not hitherto been advanced. First, however, a brief survey of the previous research on ter Brugghen is given below.

Survey of Previous Research on ter Brugghen

Numerous treatises have been written on ter Brugghen since the beginning of the twentieth century¹⁾. However, the principal treatises and exhibitions are concentrated basically around three periods, i.e., around 1930, during the 1950s, and during the last ten-odd years.

The first scholarly work to discuss the *œuvre* of ter Brugghen in collective form (27 works) was that written by C.H.C. Backer in

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1627²⁾. However, it is actually *Caravaggio und die Niederländer* by A. von Schneider, published in 1633³⁾, that is in fact as in name, the pioneer study on Utrecht Caravaggism. This book gives a comprehensive overview of the influence of Caravaggio on the artists of the Netherlands, mostly from stylistic aspects such as *chiaroscuro*, composition (half-length figure compositions), color, and handling of space. The list of works by different artists at the end of the volume includes approximately half (39) of the works known today to be by ter Brugghen.

The foundations for the current research on ter Brugghen were almost completely laid in the 1950s. First, in 1952, the epoch-making exhibition "Caravaggio en Nederlanden", which brought together over one hundred works by Caravaggio and the Northern Caravaggisti, was held in Utrecht and Antwerp⁴⁾. Although this exhibition made somewhat ambiguous the characteristics of the Caravaggisti by including even Vermeer, we must take note of the keen insight of J.G. van Gelder, who expounded upon the classical characteristics of the Northern Caravaggisti in the introduction to the catalogue⁵⁾. Six years later, in 1958, *Hendrick Terbrugghen* by B. Nicolson was first published⁶⁾. This thorough study, which takes into account the numerous treatises that had previously been published, includes almost all the works presently recognized to be by ter Brugghen. Even today, 26 years after its publication, it remains the most important basic work of reference on this artist. In its accounts of ter Brugghen's life it unfortunately lacks accuracy, as it follows almost completely the results of the documentary studies conducted at the beginning of this century. However, the profound, detailed descriptions of the works and the chronology based on Nicolson's own treatise of 1956⁷⁾ still serve as a starting point for many scholars. For example, although L.J. Slatkes does make several new propositions in the catalogue of "Terbrugghen in America" (Dayton and Baltimore), the 1965-1966 exhibition centered around ter Brugghen's

works in American collections⁸⁾, his treatise is nevertheless much indebted to Nicolson.

In 1970, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam purchased *Adoration of the Magi*, an original work by ter Brugghen, which should rightly be added to the monograph by Nicolson. In examinations conducted thereafter, it was discovered that this work is dated 1619, which would make it one of ter Brugghens earliest known work. Based on the results of this examination, P.J.J. van Thiel presented his chronology of the early works of ter Brugghen in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*⁹⁾. Although ever since its publication in 1958 Nicolson's chronology had by and large been considered valid, van Thiel disagreed greatly in regard to some of the works. Moreover, he proposed that seven works included in the Nicolson catalogue¹⁰⁾, as well as almost all those added by Nicolson after 1958, be excluded from the list of originals.

The year 1979 saw publication of *The International Caravagguesque Movement*¹¹⁾, which may be called the complete survey of Caravaggism research. This volume is a catalogue that presents the results of Nicolson's years of research in this field in the form of a list of works. However, because it was completed by his pupils after his untimely death, it is unclear to what extent it truly reflects Nicolson's careful consideration in such aspects as attribution. In 1982, a very scholarly review of this book was published by Slatkes in the pages of the journal *Simiolus*¹²⁾.

Many of the facts concerning the life of ter Brugghen as an artist are still unclear. In 1985, however, a documentary study conducted by M.J. Bok and the author was compiled in a treatise entitled "New Data on Hendrick ter Brugghen"¹³⁾. This field of research had been left almost wholly untouched since the beginning of this century. Although this study makes but a small contribution to the elucidation of ter Brugghen's artistic career, it does examine his birthplace, religion, and reputation during his lifetime based on actual historical

documentation. We therefore feel that it succeeds in possessing the characteristics of a basic work of reference¹⁴⁾.

As mentioned above, ter Brugghen is regarded highly in the United States and Europe. As evidence of this, an exhibition entitled "Ter Brugghen en zijn Tijdgenoten" will be held in Utrecht and Brunswick from 1986 to 1987. This exhibition, which is planned to bring together over 36 works by ter Brugghen, should open new vistas in the study of this artist.

Even with all these previous scholarly works on ter Brugghen, however, none has yet presented a detailed discussion of *David* (Fig. 1), the subject of the present article. Only the above-mentioned monograph of 1958 by Nicolson¹⁵⁾, the description of works in the catalogue of the 1965-1966 exhibition in Dayton and Baltimore¹⁶⁾, and that of the 1981 exhibition entitled "God en Goden" at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam¹⁷⁾ make relatively lengthy remarks on this painting. These suggest works that may have provided inspiration for ter Brugghen, but they are unfortunately somewhat lacking in persuasiveness. Therefore, the present article intends to supplement some inadequacies and to offer some new hypotheses.

King David Harping Surrounded by Four Angels

David is a painting on panel measuring 150 by 190 cm. It was purchased in 1938 by the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw from the B. Gutnajer Collection. Its history previous to that time is unknown. Records made at the time of the purchase state that it was signed and dated 1628 at the lower left. At present, however, the signature is indistinguishable. A horizontal strip of canvas of approximately 10 centimeters in width has been added at the top, and two pieces of canvas have been sewn together side-by-side at the center to compose the main portion of the painting. Three other versions of



Fig. 1. H. ter Brugghen, King David Harping Surrounded by Four Angels, 1629, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, panel, 150×190 cm.

this *David* are known to exist, i.e., one at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, one at the Kunsthalle in Kiel, and one at the Städelsches Institut in Frankfurt. Of these, the Hartford version is generally agreed to be a replica made by ter Brugghen after his own original. When compared with the Hartford version, the *David* in Warsaw appears to have been cut at the left. The Hartford version also lacks the added 10 centimeters of canvas at the top, so that it is believed to reflect the original composition.

Wearing a crown on his head, David sits at the center and plays a harp placed on his knees. He is gray-haired and bearded, and he holds his face, showing the ugliness of age, turned slightly upwards toward the viewer. This type of head is also used by ter Brugghen

in his depiction of St. Peter in *The Liberation of Peter* (Mauritshuis, the Hague) in 1624. The red robe David wears is richly embroidered in gold, while a part of a white undergarment can be seen around his legs and below his sleeve. A carving of a lion adorns the throne, the back of which is visible below his robe. In front of this carving a thick, worn-looking manuscript lies closed, while a table covered with a tapestry is placed in front of David, with its corner pointing outward toward the viewer. Obviously, this is an interior scene. The Psalter from which David plays lies open upon the desk. The masterly depiction of the texture of the parchment is something that ter Brugghen excelled in from his earliest days. Behind the throne and table, two singing angels each have been positioned at either side of David. The two outer angels are shown as winged halffigures who keep time with one hand, while only the heads of the two inner angels have been depicted. These angels have the innocent expressions of the children who often appear in ter Brugghen's works.

All these motifs has been gathered into a shallow picture space. The light illuminates the scene from the front left, giving accent to the composition. However, except for the eye-riveting brightness of the colors of David's robe and the whiteness of the pages of the open Psalter, ter Brugghen has relied on a rather dark, muted color scheme.

History of the Depictions of David in Previous Art

The history of David, who is a direct ancestor of Christ, had very vital religious significance throughout the medieval Christian world because it was interpreted as prefiguring the deeds of Christ. In addition, the life of David, who is considered a Psalmist because he often immersed himself in music and poetry, was filled with stormy events and had a highly romantic quality. Consequently, the episodes



Fig. 2. M.M. da Caravaggio, *David with the Head of Goliath*, c. 1605-6, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, panel, 90.5 × 116 cm.

involving David in the Book of Samuel have very often been used as themes in visual art, and their iconography has shown much variety¹⁸⁾.

Among these episodes, the battle between the young shepherd David and the Philistine Goliath and the discord between David and Saul have often been the subjects of sculpture and painting from the fourteenth century on in Italy and later in the Netherlands. In particular, the story of the battle with Goliath was, along with those of Lot and his daughters and the sacrifice of Isaac, one of the favorite Old Testament subjects of the Caravaggisti. Caravaggio himself painted two known versions of *David with the Head of Goliath* (ca. 1609-1610, Galleria Borghese, Rome; ca. 1605-6, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Fig. 2). As for ter Brugghen, his depiction of this subject (1623, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh,

Fig. 3) shows David with the head of Goliath, returning to Israel with Saul¹⁹⁾. They are being greeted by women "singing and dancing," "with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of musick". This scene, which comes to be depicted mainly from the fifteenth century on, was also undertaken by Lucas van Leyden²⁰⁾, who is believed to have greatly influenced ter Brugghen. Therefore this subject cannot necessarily be considered solely from the context of Caravaggism. At the least, though, ter Brugghen's composition, which places the subjects as half-length figures close to the surface of the picture plane, reflects the characteristic features of the Caravaggesque movement.

Along with such subjects taken directly from David's life, another that is repeatedly employed in the visual arts is that of David as Psalmist. The *David* (Fig. 1) that is the theme of this present article belongs to this category. In this case, David is shown as a



Fig. 3. H. ter Brugghen, *David Saluted by Women*, 1623, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, canvas, 79.4×102 cm.



Fig. 4.

King David Harping, from Psalter of Westminster Abbey, fol. 14., 12th cent., British Museum, London.



Fig. 5

King David Harping accompanied by Four Musicians from Bible of Charles the Bald, fol. 215 v., 9th cent., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



Fig. 6

C. Sluter, King David, from the Moses Fountain between 1393 and 1402, Chartreuse of Champmol.

bearded king, wearing a crown and holding a harp or some other stringed instrument as an attribute. This type of depiction also dates back to the Middle Ages, when it was often used in illustrations of Psalters or illuminated initial. In the Psalms are found quite often Phrases such as "Praise him with the sound of the trumpet: praise him with the psalter and harp. Praise him with timbel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs." (150:3ff.)²¹⁾, and David was considered the ideal subject. In these illustrations, David is shown either seated alone on a cushioned throne playing a harp or surrounded by people playing music or dancing. An example of the former is fol. 14 in the *Psalter of Westminster Abbey* (twelfth century, British Museum, London, Fig. 4), while an example of the latter is fol. 215v. in the *Bible of Charles the Bald* (ninth century, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fig. 5). From



Fig. 7. B. Passerotti, King David, Galleria Spada, Rome.



Fig. 8. G.v. Honthorst, King David Harping, 1622, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, canvas, 83×67 cm.

the fourteenth century on, however, most of the representations of David playing a harp show him as a solitary figure, and other figures are depicted only rarely.

The theme of David as Psalmist begins to appear in sculpture as well from the twelfth century, eventually leading to the creation of such works as the *Moses Fountain* (C. Sluter, ca. 1393-1402, Chartreuse of Champmol, Fig. 6). Standing as one of the six holy men who prefigure the New Testament is David, holding a harp in his right hand (a consecutive motif of tiny harps is carved into the edge of his robe as well) and a Psalter in his left. This is an excellent example of a representation of David as Psalmist in sculpture.

Meanwhile, in painting, this theme begins to appear around the seventeenth century. Examples include works by Passerotti (Galleria Spada, Rome, Fig. 7), W. van Nieuland (after 1609, former collec-

tion Sam. Hartvelt, Antwerp, Fig. 13), and Honthorst (1622, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Fig. 8). The above are all single figures of David. An example of David accompanied by a group of figures who are dancing and playing music is a work by Candido (Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, Fig. 12). While the story of David and Goliath is found often in the works of the Italian Caravaggisti²²⁾, the depiction of David as Psalmist does not appear in any of their extant works, to the author's knowledge.

David, who was considered a Psalmist because he is said to have often played musical instruments, naturally was very closely associated with music. For this reason, he came to be thought of as the patron of the Meistersinger, as well as the Collegium Musicum, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries²³⁾, and, along with St. Cecilia²⁴⁾, came to be considered a suitable holy figure to decorate organ shutters and title pages of musical scores²⁵⁾. Actual examples of this will be mentioned below. This expansion of the significance of the theme of David as Psalmist provides us with a clue with which to explore the circumstances behind the creation of ter Brugghen's painting.

Sources of the Composition

Several hypotheses have been advanced by previous scholars as to the possible sources of inspiration for ter Brugghen's *David* (Fig. 1).

Honthorst, who was likewise one of the Caravaggisti, painted a single half-length figure of David (Fig. 8) in 1622. Nicolson has written that this work, which is said to have as its prototype *King David* (Fig. 7) by the Bolognese artist Passerotti²⁶⁾, and the painting by ter Brugghen show mutual similarities in the way David plucks the harp with his fingers and in the rendering of the embroidered robe²⁷⁾. However, the former is a single half figure, while the latter

is a large-scale composition with a full-length figure accompanied by singing angels. The way David plays the harp with both hands is a common pose that finds many other similar examples, and the richly embroidered robe is a motif that is consistently used by ter Brugghen (1619, 1625, 1628, 1629)²⁸⁾. Therefore, the similarities indicated by Nicolson are not necessarily apropos.

An interesting point is that ter Brugghen painted another work depicting David playing the harp, although this is no longer extant. On October 12, 1627, the estate of Maria Wttewael, a woman of Utrecht who had died three months before, was put up for auction. Included among her possessions were many paintings. Of these, the one that brought the highest price (90 guilders) was *David Playing the Harp* by ter Brugghen²⁹⁾. Because the *David* (Fig. 1) that is the subject of the present article is dated 1628, one year after the auction, there consequently must have been another *David*



Fig. 9. P. Lastman, *David in the Temple*, 1618, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Brunswick, panel, 79×117 cm.

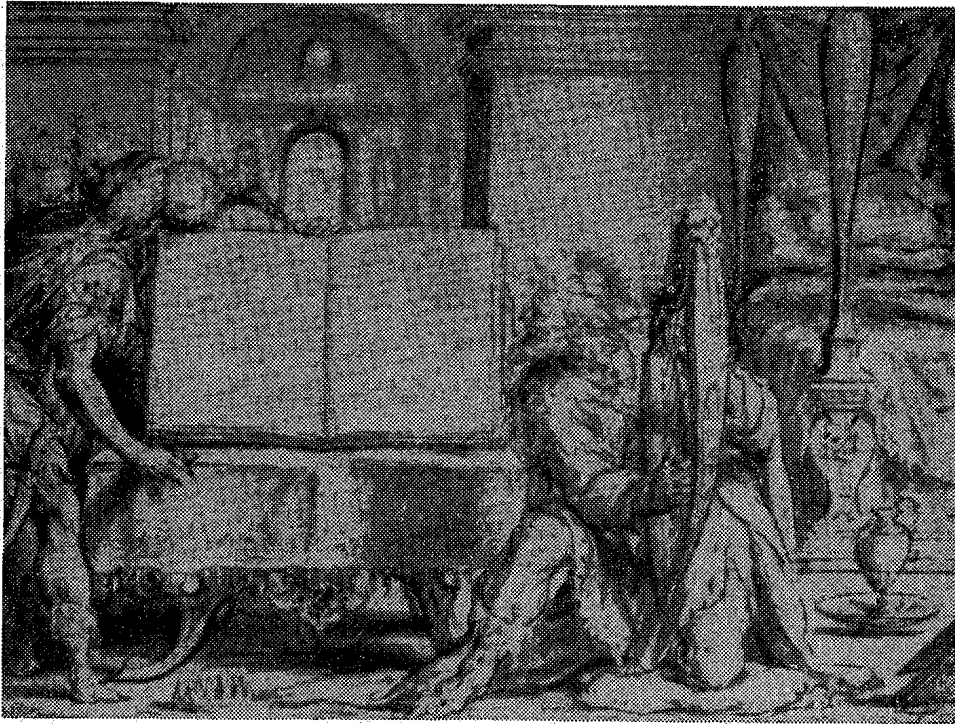


Fig. 10. D. Barendsz., *David with Harp as Psalmist*, drawing, c. 1565, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 20.4×27.8 cm.

by ter Brugghen. The simple description of the work in the records of the auction only mentions that it is “a big David playing the harp (een groten David spelende op de harp)”³⁰⁾, so that the composition cannot be determined, but there is a strong possibility that it showed David as a solitary figure. There are other instances in which ter Brugghen depicted the same subject twice, once as a relatively small-scale composition with half-length figures and the other time as a fairly large-scale composition with full-length figures³¹⁾. It is possible that in *David* as well, ter Brugghen followed a similar sequence, painting a small canvas first and then a larger one. The above-mentioned work by Honthorst (Fig. 8) shows typically Caravaggesque characteristics in its composition. This is understandable when we consider that it was painted at a time (1622) when Caravaggism was at its zenith in Utrecht³²⁾. If ter Brugghen, who was working in a similar environment, was inspired by Hon-



Fig. 11. P.P. Rubens, *King David Harping Surrounded by Five Angels Singing*, modello, c. 1626, Barnes Foundation, Merion, panel, 45 × 66 cm.

thorst, that influence would no doubt have rather been reflected in the *David* that was painted when Caravaggism was at its peak, that is, the one painted before 1627 that remains to us only as a documentary record.

Another scholar who feels that the work by Honthorst should not be identified as the prototype of the *David* (Fig. 1) is Slatkes, who instead points to similarities with *David in the Temple* by Lastman (1618, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Brunswick, Fig. 9)³⁹. He states in particular that there are certain details of the gestures of the singers that are common to both paintings. Here again, though, we fail to find more than broad, general similarities.

The catalogue of the Hartford Museum of Art, which possesses a version of *David*, mentions a drawing by D. Barenz (Rijksmuseum,

Amsterdam, Fig. 10) as having motifs similar to those in the ter Brugghen painting³⁴⁾. David playing a harp, a large, open Psalter on a table, four youths who peer into the Psalter from the left—the compositions of the two works are completely different, but the individual motifs are relatively similar.

Meanwhile, as Poorter has indicated³⁵⁾, when we look at the composition of David playing the harp surrounded by singing angels, we cannot fail to notice the similarities with the representation of David harping among the tapestries known as the *Eucharist Series* (Convent of Descalzas Reales, Madrid). The design of



Fig. 12. J. Sadeler after Candido, Hymn of Praise of King David and St. Cecilia, engraving

this tapestry is by Rubens, and it is estimated that he completed the cartoon around 1626³⁶⁾. When the modello by Rubens (Barnes Foundation, Merion, Fig. 11) and the *David* by ter Brugghen (Fig. 1) are compared, we find that although the compositions are reversed (in the completed tapestry, however, they would have the same orientation), both works depict full-length figures, with David at the center close to the picture plane, wearing an extravagant robe and playing a harp held between his knees, and singing angels at either side. Disregarding details, the main points of the compositions are almost identical. Poorter surmises that these similarities are due to the fact that ter Brugghen and Rubens were inspired by the same work of art. However, he does not suggest any specific candidates.



Fig. 13. W.v. Nieuland, *King David Harping*, after 1609, former collection Sam. Hartvelt, Antwerp, panel

An earlier example of a composition that positions angels around a harping David can be seen in the lower half of *Hymn of Praise of King David and St. Cecilia* by Candido. This composition, which is matched with the text of Psalms 148:12-13³⁷⁾, is generally known from the engraving by Jan Sadler (Fig. 12). As Poorter indicates, it is clear from his drawing presently in the collection of the Louvre³⁸⁾ that Rubens had seen this engraving. In Candido's work, the angels dance around David instead of singing to the harp. However, it is possible that the work suggested by Poorter to have been mutually referred to by Rubens and ter Brugghen had a similar

composition.

In contrast to this, we may also hypothesize that there was a direct relationship between Rubens and ter Brugghen. On May 29, 1627, Rubens set out to visit the Hague as a diplomatic emissary. On the way, probably in the evening of June 27, he stopped in Utrecht. His lodgings there were at the inn called "Het Kasteel van Antwerpen", which was for ter Brugghen the establishment managed by his brother as well as the home of his wife's mother. Furthermore, it was also at this "Kasteel van Antwerpen", which faced onto the "Oude Gracht", that the artists of Utrecht held a banquet for their illustrious foreign visitor³⁹⁾. Sandrart wrote that Rubens

met with Honthorst, Poelenburg, Bloemaert, and other artists in Utrecht. Although he did not mention ter Brugghen in particular⁴⁰⁾, ter Brugghen must naturally have had the opportunity of speaking with Rubens since he was staying at the home of his brother, with whom he was extremely close. At that time, the talk may have turned to the *Eucharist Series*, for which Rubens had recently completed the cartoons. And, although he may not have actually shown ter Brugghen anything like a modello, Rubens may have explained about the composition or the drawing by Candido to which he had referred⁴¹⁾.

Moreover, ter Brugghen, Bloemaert, Honthorst, and Baburen (who had died in 1624) had previously participated with Rubens in the production of a series of paintings of the twelve Roman emperors (Jagdschloß Grünewald, Berlin) believed to have been commissioned by Frederick Hendrick. The series itself had been finished in 1625 with the completion of *Vespasianus* by Miereveld⁴²⁾. It is conceivable that these artists, who had previously cooperated on the same project, may have taken the occasion to ask one another of their recent artistic activities.

Although the works by Rubens and ter Brugghen show such similarities as to lead us to speculate about a direct association between the two artists, they also exhibit obvious differences. The David portrayed by Rubens does not sing songs of praise for God from the earthy Jerusalem. Rather, he adores the Eucharist in heaven as an embodiment of the intended purpose of the commission itself. The person who commissioned the tapestry, the infanta Isabella, belonged to the Hapsburgs, a family who traditionally worshiped the Eucharist. Poorter offers a convincing hypothesis that the iconography of the tapestry aimed to identify the Hapsburgs with David, who is shown singing praise of the Eucharist⁴³⁾.

Ter Brugghen's composition, on the other hand, is obviously set indoors. This is also the case in the above-mentioned drawing by



Fig. 14.
R. van Zijl, *David Harping*, 1608,
Centraal Museum,
Utrecht, canvas,
153×44.5 cm.

D. Barendsz (Fig. 10) and painting by Nieuland (Fig. 13), as well as in a work by R. van Zijl (1608, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Fig. 14). Nieuland's composition (Fig. 13) is very similar to Candido's design (Fig. 12) in that a group of music-playing heavenly figures inhabit the superior portion of the picture, but, in the sense of actuality that the artist has created by placing David in a study-like interior, it is very close to ter Brugghen's painting. The work by R. van Zijl (Fig. 14) is one of a set of eight organ shutter paintings commissioned in 1608 by St. Jacobi Kerk in Utrecht. In this work, David is depicted as a still fairly young man in armor⁴⁴). Six of the eight paintings, including *David Harping*, have as their motif figures playing and singing in tune to a musical instrument. Because ter Brugghen's three children were all baptized at St. Jacobi Kerk⁴⁵), he must without doubt have noticed van Zijl's paintings. Van Zijl was one of the eleven men who founded the St. Lucas guild of Utrecht in 1611⁴⁶). He is thought to have been highly esteemed in his time. Perhaps ter Brugghen used Ruben's composition (Fig. 11) as a starting point, yet set the scene indoors as in Nieuland's or van Zijl's work, and thus conceived an extremely realistic, Caravaggesque *David* (Fig. 1).

It is obvious that the subject of ter Brugghen's work is David as Psalmist, accompanied by angels, offering songs of praise to God. This leads us to wonder if the lion carved into the back of the throne has any connection to this theme. No previous authors have offered any hypotheses concerning this motif, which is unusual in a scene of David harping.

The iconography of the lion appears in so many different forms that it defies accurate interpretation. At times, the same iconography can have completely opposite meanings. One story that is brought to mind in connection with David is "David Slaying the Lion and the Bear" (I Samuel 17: 34-35), which can also be found represented in painting. This is an episode taken from David's life when he was still young and dauntless. In this case, as in many of the phrases involving lions in the Psalms, the lion is depicted negatively as an evil creature that should be destroyed. On the other hand, in the passage in the Revelations that describes David as "the Lion of the tribe of Juda" (5: 5), the lion symbolizes the majesty of David the King.

At the present stage, I am not prepared to judge which meaning the lion in *David* (Fig. 1) embodies. If, as Tümpel indicates, the seventeenth-century Dutch artists were only able to justify the production of religious paintings by attaching a moralizing content to essentially religious subject matter⁴⁷⁾, we cannot deny the possibility that some meaning other than that of a religious vein may lie hidden beneath the surface⁴⁸⁾.

Possible Circumstances behind the Commission of David

The Republic of the United Netherlands was founded in 1581. Since that time, the Netherlands has been an officially Protestant nation. The Protestant doctrine, which rejects the worship of sacred images, deprived artists of their most supportive patron, the Church. Even as late as 1678, Hoogstraten lamented, "Ever since the iconoclasm of the last century, art has almost completely died in Holland. As a result, our best source of work, the Church, has been closed off to us. Most artists are creating insignificant trifles"⁴⁹⁾. This does not mean, however, that the production of religious works of art ceased completely in the Netherlands. In fact, many splendid

religious paintings by Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, Rembrandt among them, have come down to us today⁵⁰). In seventeenth-century Holland, religious paintings not only hung on the walls of Catholic *schuyl kerken* (refuge churches) but, laden with moralistic and symbolic meaning, decorated the palaces of statesmen, town halls, and homes of the townspeople⁵¹).

Meanwhile, with the passage of time, religious works of art gradually infiltrated the Protestant churches as well. First, they appeared as stained glass windows and then on the organ shutters and around the pulpit⁵²). For example, on August 14, 1602, two artists, S. Vredeman de Vries and A. Willaerts, were requested by Dom Kerk to paint David playing a harp and St. Cecilia playing an organ on the shutters of its organ⁵³). Other organ shutter paintings by the above-mentioned van Zijl (1608, St. Jacobi Kerk), J. van Bronckhorst (1655, Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam), and Caesar Everdingen (Grote Kerk, Alkmaar) are also extant. In addition, according to G. Schwartz, Rembrandt's *David Harping before Saul* may have been an organ shutter for Petrus Kerk in Sloten⁵⁴). In all these works, an episode involving St. Cecilia, who is considered the patron saint of music, or David is portrayed.

Slatkes proposes that ter Brugghen's *David* may also have originally been "destined to be part of the decorative scheme of an organ". He explains that the horizontal strip of 10 cm or so in width added at the top of the painting was an alteration that was made to fit it to a specific location⁵⁵). Slatkes does not present any detailed deliberations into this hypothesis, such as possible churches the work may have been made for, but, considering the above-mentioned examples, we cannot immediately reject his proposition. However, if indeed it was meant to be an organ shutter, it would presumably have been placed in an elevated position. *David*, though, lacks the *di sotto in su* viewpoint often found in such works, in which the spectator seems to "look up" at the painting.

In this way, Slatkes concluded that the particular building this painting was meant for was a church. However, there is another location where this work would have been appropriate.



Fig. 15. F. Floris, Familyportrait, 1651, Stedelijk Museum, Lier.

The integration of music into the lives of ordinary citizens from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries in Holland and their enjoyment of its pleasures are vividly reflected in the contemporary paintings (Fig. 15) and prints. In Utrecht in particular, paintings of people enjoying music came to be created extensively from ca. 1621. These were hidden allegories of the five senses, *vanitas* and harmony but, at the same time, they reflected the intensity of the people's interest in music. This is corroborated by documents as well. Records state how a certain private citizen possessed a *clavecimbel* (1580) and how people enjoyed performances of a portable organ during their meals (1594)⁵⁶. Moreover, even after all the churches fell into Protestant hands, the organ was played before and after mass, giving delight to the people⁵⁷. It is well known that Huygens, one of the foremost men of culture of the times, was a music lover who was proficient at playing numerous instruments.

As if to substantiate this interest in music, associations known as Collegium Musicum came to be organized in each city from the end of the sixteenth century. These were centered chiefly around those lovers of music in the upper classes⁵⁸. Such an organization, in which people who possessed their own musical instruments convened regularly to enjoy musical performances, was officially established

in Utrecht in 1631. In fact, though, the founding members had already been assembling in one room to conduct these musical activities even before that time⁵⁹⁾. The resolution of the Utrecht town council of September 8, 1628 states how these members would be allowed the room above the new secretary's office and gathering chairs and tables there in order to conduct musical recitals⁶⁰⁾. In other words, the official establishment of a Collegium Musicum in 1631 was simply a rendering of official status to an organization that was already in existence. Therefore, we may rightly say that its actual activities were started before 1628. As mentioned in the above section on the subject matter of the present painting, David as Psalmist was considered the patron of the Meistersinger and Collegium Musicum. Therefore, David playing a harp is a very appropriate subject for a room that the members of the Collegium Musicum were allowed to use for their activity. This leads us to propose that the *David* by ter Brugghen (Fig. 1) was a work commissioned to decorate the room newly acquired by the Collegium Musicum. In fact, *David* was painted in 1628, the very year that the above resolution was passed by the town council.

The members of the Collegium Musicum⁶¹⁾ all came from the the distinguished families and upper classes of Utrecht. One of these men, Gysbert van Hardenbroek, particularly draws our attention. His brother, Pieter van Hardenbroek⁶²⁾ is the one who commissioned Baburen to paint *Granida and Daifilo* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Belgie, Brussels, Fig. 16). In 1656, Pieter presented this painting, along with *the Hermit* by another Utrecht painter, A. Willaerts, to Gysbert's son⁶³⁾. The van Hardenbroeks must have been a family who loved not only music but painting as well. Interestingly, a document that is thought to provide a link between the van Hardenbroek family and the ter Brugghen family is preserved in the Municipal Archives in Utrecht. In 1607, Ghysbert ter Brugghen⁶⁴⁾, who was Hendrick's uncle, presented himself at the house

of Johanna van heer Jansdom, the mother of Gysbert van Hardenbroek, to act as a witness to a certain notarial deed⁶⁵). It is, then, quite possible that Hendrick ter Brugghen made the acquaintance of van Hardenbroek through his uncle. It is also possible that when the Collegium Musicum actually

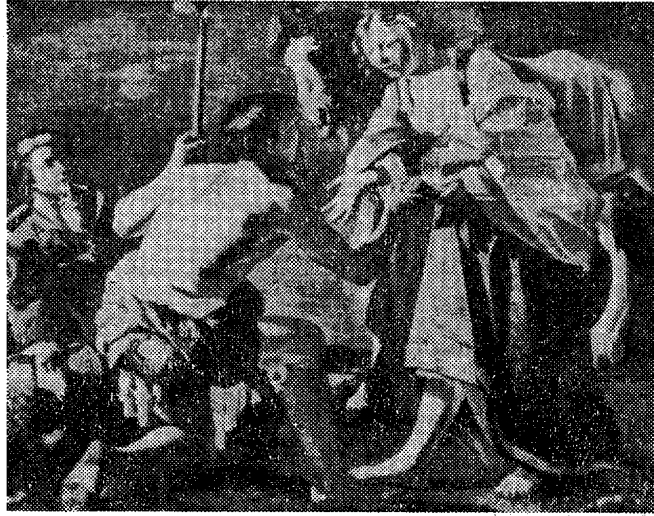


Fig. 16. D. van Baburen, *Granida and Daifilo*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, canvas, 167×209.5 cm.

started convening in 1628, the members commissioned ter Brugghen to create a painting of David, their patron, with van Hardenbroek acting as intermediary. The documents of the Collegium Musicum, however, which was officially established three years later in 1631, make no mention of this painting.

Twenty-one of the religious paintings painted by ter Brugghen (not including replicas) have come down to us today. Of these, only six paintings take their subjects from the Old Testament⁶⁶). Thus, Old Testament themes were rare for ter Brugghen. It is quite plausible that *David* (Fig. 1) was painted upon commission by an organization that had some connection with this subject and also had enough available space for such a large work—(150 by 190 centimeters)—for example, the Collegium Musicum. Moreover, we can reasonably hypothesize that ter Brugghen may have received inspiration from the composition of the *Eucharist Series* by Rubens, who had visited Utrecht the previous year.

Notes

- * This article is translated from Japanese into English by Yumiko YAMAZAKI.
- * For complete information on the articles below, see selected bibliography at the end of this article.
- 1. See selected bibliography at the end of this article.
- 2. Backer 1627
- 3. von Schneider 1633
- 4. Utrecht/Antwerp 1952
- 5. idem, p. XXII
- 6. Nicolson 1958
- 7. Nicolson 1956
- 8. Dayton/Baltimore 1965/66
- 9. van Thiel 1971
- 10. *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (Nicolson 1958 A28); *Pilate Washing his Hands*, Gemäldegalerie, Cassel (idem A13); *Christ at Emmaus*, Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci (idem A59); *Christ at Emmaus*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (idem A73); *St. John the Evangelist*, Galleria Sabauda, Turin (idem A68); *Mater Dolorosa*, Galeria Harrach, Vienna (idem A75); *Laughing Man*, Priv. Coll., New York in 1974 (idem A33)
- 11. Nicolson 1979
- 12. Slatkes 1981-2
- 13. Bok/Kobayashi 1985
- 14. Besides the articles discussed here there are some other important articles as follows: M.E. Houck, 'Mededelingen betreffende Gerard Terborch.....en Hendrick Ter Brugghen', *Verlagen en Mededelingen der Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis* (1899); Nicolson 1960; Nicolson 1973; Jong 1980
- 15. Nicolson 1958, A77
- 16. Dayton/Baltimore 1965/66, p. 42
- 17. Amsterdam 1981, p. 106
- 18. Many examples are cited under 'David' in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 1968-75
- 19. In my opinion this painting (Nicolson 1958, A50) should not be attributed to ter Brugghen because of the poor modelling and the clumsy placement of the figures. However, the composition and the type of figures remind us all the same of ter Brugghen, so that it is possible that this painting may be a copy of the lost original or painted under the supervision of ter Brugghen. See not 66.
- 20. *Triumph of David*, engraving, ca. 1513, 10.5×8.5 cm, Bartsch 26

21. Psalms 33: 1-3; 57: 7-9; 92: 1-3; 144: 9. The Biblical citations used in this paper have been taken from the *King James Version*.
22. Nicolson 1979, p. 211
23. The Städtisches Museum in Ulm possesses the chain of Meistersinger, to which a small cast of *David as Psalmist with a Harp* is attached.
24. A 'musical Patron' only because of the misinterpretation of the phrase 'organis sonantibus' describing her wedding. See Winternitz 1967, p. 136, n. 1.
25. W. Salmen, *Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert, Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Band III, Lieferung 9, Leipzig 1983, p. 192-3
26. Judson 1956, p. 85
27. Nicolson 1958, A77
28. *Adoration of the Magi*, 1619, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. See van Thiel 1971; *St. Sebastian tended by women*, 1625, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin (Ohio), Nicolson 1958, A54; the *David* discussed here; *Annunciation*, 1629, Stedelijk Museum, Diest, Nicolson 1958, A25
29. Universiteit Bibliotheek Utrecht, Collectie Familiepapieren Wttewaell. Hs 7*B3, nr. 5. I wish to thank Mr. M.J. Bok for graciously providing me with this unpublished document. The father of Maria, Johan Wttewael, was the 'burgermeester' in Utrecht, and one of his brothers was the painter Joachim Wttewael. The painting that concerns as here is mentioned in the document as follows: 'in den eersten een groten David spelende op de harp gedaen bij ter Brug. 't negentich gulden ens XCGul.....'. Besides this work, many as paintings that belonged to Maria's estate were sold at the same time. From this fact Bok supposes that her husband Geurt van Bree was an art dealer.
30. idem.
31. *Liberation of Peter*, 1624, Mauritshuis, the Hague, Nicolson 1958, A14; 1629, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, Nicolson 1958, A61
32. As I noted in my presentation at the monthly Conference of Japanese Art Historians in September 1985 (Tokyo) Caravaggism in Utrecht reached its peak between 1621-25.
33. Dayton/Baltimore 1965/66, no. 15
34. Amsterdam 1981, p. 106, no. 12
35. Poorter 1978, p. 280-1
36. idem p. 38-39
37. 'Both young men, and maidens; old men, and children: Let them praise the name of the Lord: for his name alone is excellent; his glory is above the earth and heaven'.
38. Rubens, *King David Playing the Harp and Musicmaking Angels*, drawing, Louvre, Paris
39. Swillens 1945-46

40. Sandrart p. 157
41. A portrait of ter Brugghen, an engraving by P. Bodart after G. Hoet I, is found in *Den Spiegel van de Verdrayde Wereld* by de Bie. Under this portrait is written the well-known story that Rubens praised only one painter in the Netherlands—ter Brugghen. However, because it was generally agreed that this was a tale made up by ter Brugghen's son Richard in his letter to de Bie, no special relationship between these two artists should be assumed.
42. Nicolson 1958, A9, *Emperor Claudius*, 162 (?). Concerning this series see Oldenbourg, *Die Niederländischen Imperatorenbilder im Königlich Schlosse zu Berlin, Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1917) p. 203-12; *Catalog of Jagdschloss Grünewald* 1974
43. Poorter 1978, p. 182-3
44. Hofstede de Groot 1919; *Centraal Museum-Utrecht. Catalogus der Schilderijen*, 1952, p. 169-170, no. 367: 1-8
45. Bok/Kobayashi 1985
46. S. Fz. Muller, *De Utrechtsche Archieven I. Schilderverenigingen te Utrecht*, Utrecht 1880, p. 126
47. Chr. Tümpel, 'Religieuze Historieschilderkunst', *Amsterdam* 1981 p. 45-53
48. The above-mentioned organ shutter in Jacobi Kerk painted by van Zijl consists of eight panels. The themes of six of the panels, including *David Playing a Harp* and *St. Cecilia Playing an Organ*, are related to music. On each of the other two panels, a child (putto?) is depicted. From their representation with such attributions as an hour-glass, a skull, and soap bubbles, they apparently symbolize *vanitas*, with which music was then often associated. These panels are, therefore, a good example of the moralizing religious subject.
49. S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de Hoge Schoole der Schilderkonst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 257: 'dat de konst, sedert de Beeltstroming in de voorgaende eeuw, in Holland niet geheel vernietigt is, schoon ons de beste loopbanen, namelijk de kerken, daerdoor gesloten zijn, en de meeste schilders zich deshalven tot geringe zaeken, jae zelfs tot beuzelingen te schilderen geheelijck begeeven.....'
50. Concerning the revaluation of the Dutch history painting in the seventeenth century, see Amsterdam 1981.
51. See note 46. In the note of that article Tümpel mentions that it is necessary to discuss religious painting completely apart from the conviction of its painter'.
52. idem.
53. Vente 1980, p. 114
54. Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt*, Maarssen 1984, p. 323-4

55. Dayton/Baltimore 1965/66, no. 15
56. Vente 1980, p.113-4
57. idem., p.115-8
58. The Hague 1936, p.4-5
59. Riemesdijk 1881, p.1-3
60. 'Vermaent zijnde, dat die Camer boven de nyeuwe secretarye nu verdreven ende schoon gemaectt was, ende dat die liefhebbers van de musyck versocht hadden aldaer eens ofte tweemael sweexs haer byeencomste te mogen hebben omme haer te execeren gelijk daertoe in andere anburige steden ook publycke plaetsen vergonst zijn, waertoe zijl. gepresenteerd hadden aldaer te geven elcks een spaenschen stoel met een cussen, soo is den Cameraer gelast aldaer bij provisie te stellen eene bequame uyttrekkende tafel.....'
61. Riemesdijk 1881, p.2: 'Godaert van Dael, Louis de Renesse de Baer, Frederic de Renesse de Baer, Godschakk Schuerman, Gaspar van der Borch, Isaac Fentonier, Jacob van Volberghen.....de Cleef, H.....van Nijpoort, Gisbert van Hardenbrouck en Willem Bom'
62. *Genealogie van het Oud-Adelijk Geslacht van Hardenbroek*, 1892
63. Slatkes 1965, p.12. Concerning the document of legacy, see the Municipal Archives Utrecht, Notarial deed by Notary G. Verstert, May I, 1656.
64. Bok/Kobayashi 1985
65. The Municipal Archives Utrecht, Notarial deed by Notary J.v. Herwaerden, Feb 24, 1607 (U003a017). According this deed the address of Johanna is 'aen de nyeuwe grachte tegens ouder St. Servaes'. 'In de groenstege aende Nyewe graft jegens St. Servaes', that is, at an address probably very near to this house, ter Brugghen's parents had lived until ca. 1589 and the painter himself was born in 1588 (see Bok/Kobayashi 1985). Although it is not certain since when Johanna lived there, this is nevertheless an extremely interesting concordance.
66. *Jacob, Laban and Leah* (?), Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (Nicolson 1958 A16); *Jacob, Laban and Leah*, National Gallery, London (Nicolson 1958 A40); the *David* discussed in this paper; *Esau Selling His Birthright*, Priv. Coll., Lombardy (Nicolson 1958 A39); *Esau Selling His Birthright*, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin (Nicolson 1958 A7); *David saluted by Women*, North Carolina Museum, Raleigh (Nicolson 1958 A50). Of these six paintings the attribution of the latter three is not receivable, in my opinion, from stylistic reasons, See note 19.

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- ()abbreviation
 B.M. Burlington Magazine
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- Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, *God en Goden*, 1981 (Amsterdam 1981)
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Resumé

Er bestaat een lange traditie in de iconografie van de harp spelende Koning David als Psalmist. Ook de Utrechtse schilder, ter Brugghen is daar geen uitzondering op: b.v. het schilderij in Warschau (1628; er bestaan drie versies van dit schilderij).

Onderzoekers als Nicolson, Slatkes enz. vermelden de werken van Honthorst, Lastman en D. Barendsz. als ter Brugghens inspiratiebron, wat echter niet overtuigend is. Opvallend is daarentegen de gelijkenis met de compositie die Rubens voor één van de tapisserieën van de *Eucharistie reeks* (ca. 1626) ontwierp. Poorter heeft dit eerder opgemerkt, maar meent dat hier geen sprake is van directe invloed van Rubens op ter Brugghen. Mijns inziens ontleende ter Brugghen zijn compositie direkt aan Rubens die Utrecht bezocht in 1627, één jaar na de voltooiing van het tapisserieontwerp en één jaar voor het bedoelde werk van ter Brugghen.

Slatkes meent dat het schilderij bedoeld kan zijn geweest als onderdeel van een orgelversiering. Het lijkt ook aannemelijk dat ter Brugghen opdracht van het Utrechtse Collegium Musicum zou hebben gekregen om de patroon van het Collegium Musicum, Koning David als Psalmist, te schilderen. Men kan namelijk het bestaan van het Utrechtse Collegium Musicum tot 1628 terugvolgen, het jaar waarin ter Brugghens Warschau versie ontstond, hoewel dit Collegium pas in 1631 officieel is opgericht.