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SCULPTURE IN THE RIJKSMUSEUM A COLLECTION HISTORY

BY FRITS SCHOLTEN

Any visitor to the newly built Rijksmuseum in the late nineteenth century would have encountered a collection chiefly dominated by paintings. Even during this nascent period in the museum's existence, however, the same person would also have seen a significant number of sculptures, dispersed throughout the building's halls and galleries (FIG. 1). At this time, the Rijksmuseum's collection of sculpture represented acquisition efforts spanning a period of just a little over 100 years. Like the museum's painting collection, the collection of sculpture was limited to works that served the national interest, i.e. sculpture specifically produced in the Northern Netherlands. One person cognisant of this



FIG. 1 The Rijksmuseum's east entrance hall. Postcard published by A. Vigevano, c. 1900. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum RMA-SSA-F-00383-5

narowness of the museum's collection was Adriaan Pit (1860–1944), the then director of the Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst (Netherlands Museum of History and Art; a collection physically housed within the confines of the Rijksmuseum and only later formally integrated into the museum). In his collection catalogue of 1904, Pit duly observed that: 'The collection of sculpture, of which the catalogue is presented here, is so much primarily a Northern Netherlandish [collection], that in this introduction, I have the liberty of sketching our own national history of sculpture.'¹ In that year, the sculpture collection of the Nederlandsch Museum comprised a total of 222 works, each with its own designated place in the galleries around the east inner courtyard (FIG. 2). Just as in the beginning, sculpture of the fifteenth and sixteenth



FIG. 2 View of the Gothic gallery in the Nederlandsch Museum, c. 1905. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, HA-0015524

centuries formed the vast majority, with sculptures from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – exactly forty-five in number – forming a second, smaller group.

Pit's 1904 catalogue marks the first complete documentation of the Rijksmuseum's collection of sculpture. This concise, non-illustrated work was followed in 1912 by an elaborate publication covering part of the collection, compiled by Pit's colleagues, Willem Vogelsang (1875–1954), later a professor of art history at the Universiteit van Utrecht, and Marinus van Notten (1875–1955), who in 1918 succeeded Pit as director of the Nederlandsch Museum. Entitled *Die Holzskulptur in Den Niederlanden; Band II: Das Niederländische Museum zu Amsterdam*, this large-format plate portfolio contained thirty-five loose-leaf

reproductions of all the museum's sculptures, preceded by a brief introduction.²

CHAOTIC BEGINNINGS: THE KONINKLIJK KABINET VAN ZELDZAAMHEDEN

In these early years the museum's collection of sculpture was as yet scarcely cohesive. This was in contrast to many of the national museums in other countries across Europe, whose collections were commonly derived from a princely *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* or art gallery, built up over centuries.³ The basis of the Rijksmuseum's sculpture collection, on the other hand, consisted of only approximately fifty sculptures – ivories and bronzes – preserved at the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden (Royal Cabinet of Rarities), founded in 1816 in The Hague.⁴ Some of these works had originated from the collection of the Dutch stadholders, including Emanuel Bardou's bronze *Frederick the Great on a Horse* (BK-NM-8339)



FIG. 3 Follower of Simon Troger, *Two Beggars*, c. 1740–50. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. BK-NM-7531 and -7532

and John Michael Rysbrack's terracotta portrait bust of Queen Caroline of England (BK-NM-5760). Yet there were also other, more curious pieces, such as a group of thirteen male and female *Beggars* produced in the circle of Simon Troger (BK-NM-7529 to -7541), described in the Rijksmuseum's 1888 *Visitors Guide* as a 'detestable German work from the previous century, which one formerly deemed as having value' (FIG. 3).⁵ Presented to the Royal Cabinet in 1817 by a private citizen, this 'collection of Italian *Lazzaroni* and kindred rabble carved from ivory, bone and wood, that would surely have been denied admission to the Museum[s] collection] had they not already been held for years [in the Royal Cabinet] in The Hague' was a former possession of the Frisian stadholders.⁶ In fact, a majority of the sculptures in the Royal Cabinet of Rarities had been acquired in the early phase of its existence. For many years, they also constituted the sole international works in the collection of the Nederlandsch Museum. The Royal

Cabinet's absolute masterpieces were two unique objects dating from the eleventh century: an ivory hunting horn (BK-NM-602) from the Chapter House of Sinte Marie in Utrecht (dissolved five years before their acquisition); and a Scandinavian reliquary carved from walrus ivory (BK-NM-621), originating from the Brussels collection of the idiosyncratic 'Ridder-Primaat' (Knight of the First Order) Joseph Desiré de Lupus (1766–1822). After acquiring this early and uniquely varied collection of medieval art in 1819, the Dutch government presented it on a loan basis to the Musée Lupus in Brussels. As a result, the collection remained fully intact for an additional three years, up until the museum's closure coinciding with the death of its director – De Lupus himself – in 1822. At this time, the collection was divided between Belgium and the Netherlands, with the paintings remaining in Brussels and the rest transferred to The Hague, including an exceptional group of 170 early manuscripts.⁷

Two years before, the Dutch government had acquired Artus Quellinus's imposing bust of Burgomaster Andries de Graeff (BK-18305) at the auction of the estate of the Amsterdam banker Paul Iwan Hogguer (1760–1816) and his art-loving wife, Anna Maria Ebeling (1767–1812).⁸ This was to be the last acquisition of an important work of sculpture for quite some time, chiefly due to a lack of funds, but perhaps also for want of a sufficient level of knowledge and taste. It was therefore with a heavy heart that the then director of the Royal Cabinet, Reinier Pieter van de Kastele (1767–1845), saw an opportunity to acquire the Van Hattem collection – comprising approximately 140 high-quality ivories from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – pass right before his eyes.⁹ Under the directorship of Pieter's son, Abraham van de Kastele (1814–1893), who assumed his father's position in 1840, nine statues from the estate of Jan Jacob 'Graaf' Nahuys (1801–1864) were purchased in 1864. An Utrecht attorney and herald pursuivant of King William I, Nahuys possessed a highly varied collection of antiquities, including numerous excavated fragments of Roman and 'Germanic' ceramics and several 'Middeneeuwsche' (medieval) objects. When exhibited in Amsterdam in 1858, the renown of the Nahuys collection became much greater. Most important was the fifteenth-century, polychromed stone *Gnadenstuhl* (Throne of Mercy, BK-NM-31), a sculpture possibly originating 'uit eene der kerken te Utrecht' (from one of the churches in Utrecht).¹⁰ The Dutch government's acquisition of these pieces was likely the direct consequence of the 'Commissie tot het opsporen, het behoud en het bekend maken van overblijfsels der vaderlandsche kunst uit vroegere tijden' (Commission for the Tracking, Preservation and Publication of Remnants of National Art from Earlier Times). This institution was established in 1860 with the aim of preserving Dutch national heritage, under the directorship of the Leiden archaeologist Conrad Leemans (1809–1893). Although destined to survive no more than ten years, this commission undoubtedly helped to create a greater awareness of the need for a systematic



FIG. 4 *The Meeting of Joachim and Anne* on an old photograph, c. 1875

approach to art preservation. At the same time, it cleared the way for the targeted acquisition of collections (or parts thereof) for the Dutch national art collection.

It was only at the last minute that the Royal Cabinet of Rarities managed to purchase the collection of the archaeologist David van der Kellen (1827–1895) – as well as a co-founder of the Amsterdam Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap (Royal Antiquities Society) – saving it from the hammer in 1873. Planned to be sold at the famous French auction house Drouot, the collection had already arrived in Paris. Among the most important artworks acquired was a small, intimate oak-carved group that would very soon emerge as an icon of late-medieval Netherlandish sculpture: the *Meeting of Joachim and St Anne* (BK-NM-88) (FIG. 4). This work lends its name to an anonymous sculptor dubbed the ‘Master of Joachim and St Anne’, and likewise forms the core piece in a small, but impressive oeuvre. Initially situated in the Northern Netherlands, this master is today thought to have been active in the Duchy of Brabant. Acquisitions like the Van der Kellen collection did little to conceal the fact that, under the directorship of Van der Kastele Jr, the situation at the Royal Cabinet had grown more dire, with the collection reduced to little more than random *curiosa* and contemporary applied arts of inferior quality.¹¹

TURNING POINT: THE NEDERLANDSCH MUSEUM VOOR GESCHIEDENIS EN KUNST

The years 1874–75 would signal a turning point, however, with new initiatives that ultimately shaped the profile of what would become the sculpture collection of the later Rijksmuseum. Responsible for this shift was the creation of an official *Rijkscommissie voor de Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst* (National Committee for the Monuments of History and Art) in 1874, meant to succeed the earlier committee overseen by Leemans.¹² In the ensuing years, members of this newly established *College van Rijksadviseurs* (Board of National Advisors) would take definitive steps to acquire important works of Dutch cultural heritage. For medieval sculpture, the beneficial role played by these newly appointed *rijksadviseurs* was immediately apparent: one point on the committee’s agenda at its very first gathering on 9 April 1874 was to discuss the coming sale of the collection of the deceased Roermond notary Charles Guillon (1811–1873), to be held in December of that same year. Among the national advisors on the committee was Pierre Cuypers (1827–1921), architect of the later Rijksmuseum (FIG. 6).¹³ A Roermond native himself and a fiery advocate of (neo-)Gothic art, Cuypers was well acquainted with the Guillon collection. Fervently supported by his likeminded friend and compatriot, Victor de Stuers (1843–1916) (FIG. 5), Cuypers undoubtedly exercised tremendous influence in acquiring five sculptures at the Guillon sale on the state’s behalf, including an *Anna-te-Drieën* (Virgin and Child with St Anne) by the Master of Elsloo (BK-NM-1278).¹⁴

One year later, in August 1875, the *Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst* (Netherlands Museum of History and Art) was founded in The Hague, with part of the Royal Cabinet’s collection – i.e. pieces of historical importance – also integrated into the collection. With Van de Kastele Jr relieved of his position in 1876, David van der Kellen was chosen as the new museum’s first director – a move that essentially placed the *Joachim and St Anne* in the care of its previous owner.¹⁵

Run by a director with flair, and with Victor de Stuers acting in the background as an influential ‘bureaucrat of the arts’,¹⁶ the existence of the recently created *Nederlandsch Museum* provided an important impetus for new acquisitions. Noteworthy is the purchase of two major sculptural ensembles, both decidedly Brabantine in nature. The very first month of the museum’s existence marked the acquisition of a collection of medieval art assembled over a period of about ten years by A.P. Hermans-Smit (1822–1897).¹⁷ This Eindhoven goldsmith and dealer had been a member of the Board of National Advisors since April 1875. In a display of uncanny timing, Hermans-Smit’s first act as regional correspondent was to negotiate the sale of his own collection to the new *Nederlandsch Museum*, ultimately resulting in the purchase of approximately 800 objects for an amount in excess of 14,000 guilders. Included in the sale were thirty-four medieval sculptures of varying quality, with

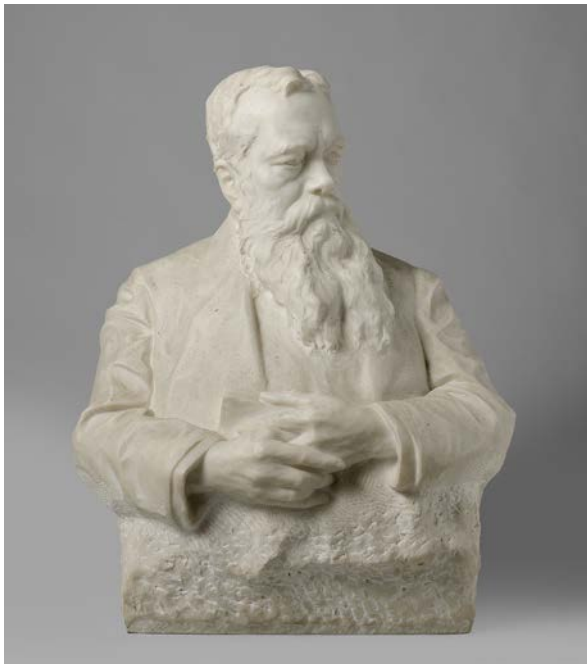


FIG. 5 Toon Dupuis, *Bust of Jonkheer Victor de Stuers*, 1914. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-B-116
Gift of the Vrienden en vereerders van V.E.L. de Stuers

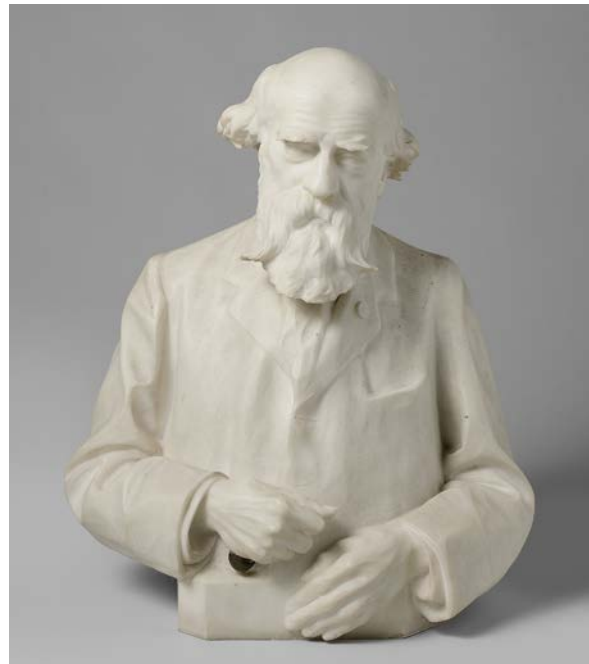


FIG. 6 Toon Dupuis, *Bust of Dr Pierre Cuypers*, 1912. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-B-113
Gift of the Feestcommissie Jubileum Cuypers 1897

the indisputable masterpiece being a French ivory crozier from the fourteenth century (BK-NM-2306).

Prior to this time, in the summer of the year before, another interesting medieval ensemble in Brabant had been brought to the national advisors' attention by the municipal archivist in Den Bosch: the art holdings of the financially troubled Bridgettine sisters of the abbey of Maria Refuge in Uden were under threat of being sold.¹⁸ When approached by the nuns themselves shortly thereafter, the government seized upon the opportunity to acquire circa fifty works of medieval art – including a Gothic pulpit, choir book covers, textiles and twenty-eight sculptures, all of considerably high quality – for the amount of nearly 2,200 guilders. With this second acquisition, also in the year 1875, the new museum was enriched with the art possessions of the once-flourishing monastery Mariënwater in the town of Koudewater near Den Bosch, a collection boasting an exceptional provenance.¹⁹ Forming the core of the abbey's 'disfigured antique sculptures'²⁰ were three impressive works by an anonymous sculptor, dubbed in 1958 as the 'Master of Koudewater' by the then curator of the Rijksmuseum's department of sculpture, Jaap Leeuwenberg (BK-NM-1195 to -1197).²¹ Significantly, the state failed to acquire all of the sculptures from the Uden monastery: several works were kept by the Bridgettine nuns for their own devotion, including a large seated statue of Bridget of Sweden, the order's saint. In the end, this statue was also sold. It was acquired, not by the Dutch government but instead the American collector J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), via whom it entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1916.²²

In addition to these en bloc acquisitions, a standing *Virgin and Child* (BK-NM-3888) was also purchased in 1877 at the ministry's instigation. This oak sculpture was produced by an anonymous fifteenth-century sculptor whose identity was only revealed some seventy years later: Adriaen van Wesel, a woodcarver active in Utrecht. As such, the *Virgin and Child* became the first sculpture by an important late-medieval woodcarver from the Low Countries added to the Dutch national collection. Today, the Rijksmuseum holds the majority of the works in Van Wesel's currently known oeuvre.

To the extent that a focused collection policy existed, the emphasis during these years was on medieval sculpture, a veritable testament to the influence of Cuypers and De Stuers and their Roman Catholic affinity for Gothic art.²³ By no means, however, was sculpture from later periods disregarded. In 1876, five masterpieces of cabinet sculpture were purchased from the impressive collection of the Leiden entomologist Samuel Constantius Snellen van Vollenhoven (1816–1880), including ivories by Frans van Bossuit (BK-NM-2931 and -2933) and Gerard van Opstal (BK-NM-2934), and boxwood sculptures by Ambrosius van Swol (BK-NM-2926) and Adriaen van der Werff (BK-NM-2927). This last piece, Van der Werff's chess pawn in the form of a laughing soldier, signalled an unorthodox move into the domain of sculpture by a renowned painter. In 1828, a complete chess set by the same artist had previously been offered to Van de Kastele Sr, at the time faced with no other choice but to pass.²⁴ In fact, much of Snellen van Vollenhoven's collection had been built by his great-grandfather, the Rotterdam sugar refiner and merchant Jan Snellen (1711–1787), in the eighteenth century – an era marked by the sale of old art collections and fine pieces of cabinet sculpture, then surfacing regularly on the art market.²⁵

In 1877, the collection of the Nederlandsch Museum was further enhanced with a terracotta portrait bust by Hendrick de Keyser (BK-NM-4191), most likely depicting the painter Joachim Wtewael, followed five years later by the acquisition of three seventeenth-century terracottas by Pieter Xaveri, an Antwerp sculptor active in Leiden (BK-NM-5155, -5666 and -5667). This latter trio of sculptures was a welcome addition to Xaveri's *Young Lady with a Lapdog* (BK-NM-827), held since 1825 in the collection of the Royal Cabinet.

THE RIJKSMUSEUM

In 1885, the collection of sculpture received a truly new impulse with the transfer of the Nederlandsch Museum from The Hague to Amsterdam. There the collection would find a new home, preserved together with the national painting collection and five other partial collections in the newly built Rijksmuseum, which opened its doors to the public in the summer of 1887.²⁶ The Nederlandsch Museum would remain independent for another forty years, having in its own separate rooms inside the newly built museum. In 1927, the collection was divided into three separate departments: the Department of Sculpture, the Department of Applied Arts, and a historical department.²⁷ The creation of the new Rijksmuseum also led to a redistribution among the various departments. Sculpture 'before 1800' was transferred to the

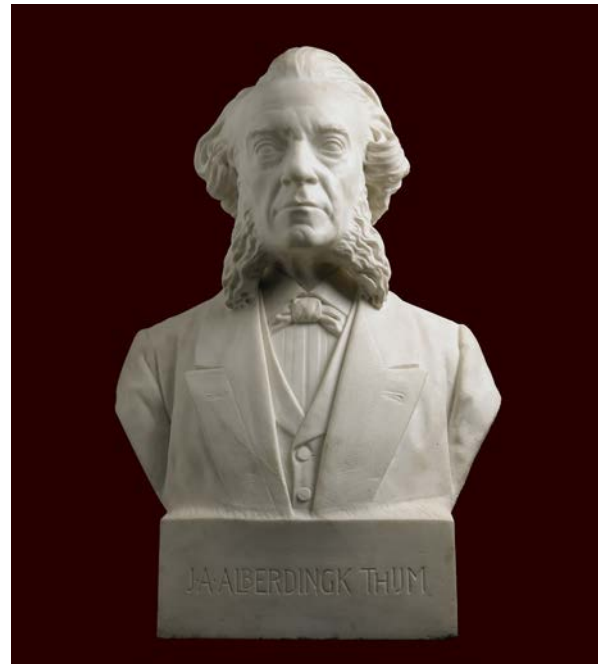


FIG. 7 Hein Maessen, *Bust of Joseph Alberdingk Thijm*, in or before 1909. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-B-93 Gift of P.J.H. Cuypers

collection of the Nederlandsch Museum,²⁸ with sculpture of the nineteenth century relegated to the



FIG. 8 View of the Rijksmuseum's garden around 1910 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RMA-SSA-F-07489-1



FIG. 11 View of the Rijksmuseum's west inner courtyard, c. 1900
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RMA-SSA-F-04417-2



FIG. 9 Jan Borman and Renier van Thienen, *Ten Weepers from the Tomb of Isabella of Bourbon*, c. 1475–76. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-AM-33, On loan from the City of Amsterdam

Rijksmuseum voor Schilderijen (Rijksmuseum of Paintings). In the early decades of the museum's existence, this last category was also expanded with portrait busts of prominent Dutchmen, including depictions of the triumvirate responsible for the founding of this new national institution: De Stuers, Cuypers, and the man of letters Joseph Alberdingk Thijm (FIG. 5–7).

Around the turn of the century, various statues and ornaments were also acquired to decorate the Rijksmuseum's gardens (FIG. 8). Sculptures by Rombout Verhulst, vases by Jan Pieter van Bourscheit, lead-cast emperors' busts by Bartholomeus Eggers, and a bronze cast made after Adriaen de Vries's *Mercury and Psyche* in the Louvre were installed in the historicizing 'period gardens' with the accompanying *lapidarium* designed by the architect Cuypers along the museum complex's south and west sides. To complement these historicizing 'outdoor galleries', several works by essentially modern sculptors were added to the collection as a contemporary accent: the bronze *Biblis* and *Mercury* by Ferdinand Leenhoff (BK-18753 and -18758), the *Titan* by Abraham Hesselink (BK-B-110) and Mathieu Kessels's *Disc-Thrower* (BK-18754).

Shortly before its opening, the museum received a number of important sculptures on loan from the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, a historical society founded by private citizens in Amsterdam in 1858.²⁹ Noteworthy are Jan van Schayck's early-sixteenth-century sculpted organ panels from the Sint-Vituskerk in Naarden (BK-KOG-669), a voluptuous *St Ursula* (BK-KOG-659) and two marble portrait medallions by Artus Quellinus, depicting Burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff and his wife (BK-KOG-1458-A and -B). In subsequent years, the society regularly loaned other objects to the Rijksmuseum, such as Adriaen van Wesel's charming *St Agnes* (BK-KOG-1732) and a terracotta pendant pair of seventeenth-century portraits in the guise of Mars and Venus, attributed to Rombout Verhulst (BK-KOG-1644).³⁰ During this period, the city of Amsterdam also contributed

to the collection's formation: numerous objects presented on loan in 1887 greatly expanded the museum's sculpture collection, including prized works such as the ten bronze *pleurants* (then erroneously described as counts and countesses of Holland) from the tomb monument of Isabella of Bourbon, Countess of Burgundy (FIG. 9),³¹ and the unique ensemble of terracotta sketches and models made in the years 1650–65 by Artus Quellinus and his assistants for the sculptural decoration of the seventeenth century Amsterdam Town Hall, today the Royal Palace on the Dam Square.³²



FIG. 10 Gerrit Lamberts, *The Garden of the Trippenhuys*, 1845. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, image no. 010097001635

With the transfer of the Rijksmuseum voor Schilderijen, housed in the Trippenhuys on the Amsterdam Kloveniersburgwal until 1883, to the newly completed building of the Rijksmuseum, the sculpture collection was enhanced with a half-round relief kept in the rear garden of the same monumental canal house at least since 1842: the twelfth-century dedication tympanum from the abbey of Egmond (BK-NM-1914) (FIG. 10). Four years later, in 1887, the collection was additionally expanded with the acquisition of two Romanesque altar posts from the town of St.-Odiliënberg (BK-NM-8438 and -8439). As such, the newly built Rijksmuseum boasted a very modest

ensemble of the earliest Netherlandish sculpture. Also noteworthy in these years is the purchase of three polychromed sculptural groups from the collection of J.P. Six in 1891, initially rather optimistically described as ‘School of Tilman Riemenschneider’ (BK-NM-9380 to -9382). Today this trio of sculptures is identified as ‘Frankisch’, a broader interpretation that in no way belies their high quality. An authentic work by this prominent German master woodcarver was acquired by the museum in 1960.

Following in step with large museums around the world and on De Stuers’s instigation, the museum began to systematically collect and exhibit plaster casts of famous monumental sculptures. At first largely limited to plaster copies of sculptures produced in the Netherlands, these works were eventually complemented with several casts of foreign and classical sculptures.³³ Although intended for use in drawing classes, this collection of reproductions was also meant to augment the number of authentic sculptural works on display at the museum. Under the supervision of the *Rijkscommissie ter Vervaardiging en Ruiling van Reproductiën van Kunstvoorwerpen* (National Committee of the Production and Exchange of Reproductions of Art Objects), this collection of plaster copies quickly grew to approximately 500 pieces,³⁴ with all works prominently displayed in the west inner courtyard (FIG. 11).

ADRIAAN PIT: A NEW DIRECTION

With Adriaan Pit’s appointment as director of the *Nederlandsch Museum* in 1898, a fresh wind was about to blow through the museum (FIG. 12).³⁵ His assistant director during these years was Willem Vogelsang, a specialist in late-medieval Netherlandish sculpture who would later become the first professor of art history

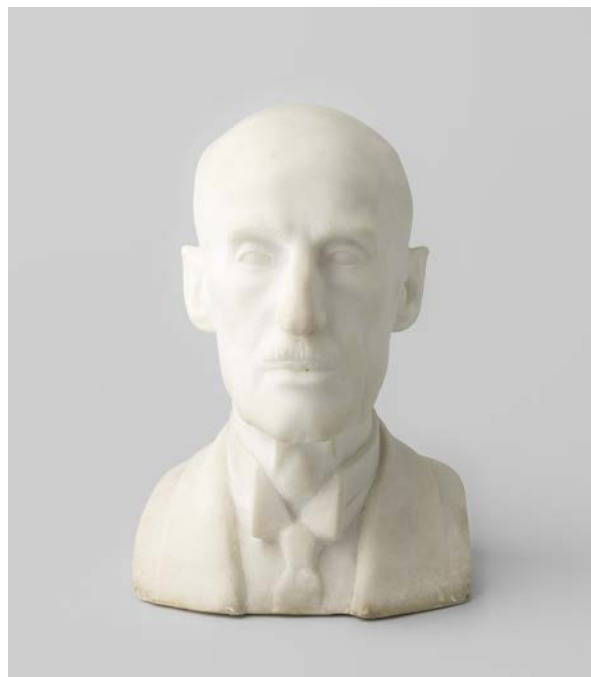


FIG. 12 Unknown sculptor using the pseudonym ‘Apartes’, *Bust of Dr Adriaan Pit*, 1898–1917. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-2001-14, Gift of the Kröller-Müller Museum

in the Netherlands. Pit himself, who studied in Paris at the *École du Louvre* from 1886 to 1894, also possessed a thorough knowledge of the history of sculpture. There he was a pupil of Louis Courajod (1841–1896), curator and later head of the Louvre’s department of sculpture who propagated a highly object-focused approach.³⁶ As Pit described him: ‘Contrary, one can say, to the vast majority of art historians, [Courajod], with [his] love for the artwork, was capable of bestowing greater priority on the monument, above the written document, the archival piece, both in terms of [the monument’s] art historical and evidential value.’³⁷

Pit had devised a broad, international and above all modern aesthetic vision of art history all his own. His museological views were opposed to those of the *Rijksmuseum*’s founding fathers, and particularly those of Victor de Stuers. This very soon led to major confrontations between the two men regarding the policy and presentation of the collections. Pit’s purer art historical and aesthetic approach clashed with De Stuers’s by then outdated culture-historical vision.³⁸ For this reason, as early as 1900 he created a special room in which works of sculpture were displayed in series, thus providing a good impression of the development of sculpture in the Netherlands from the Renaissance to the onset of the twentieth century. This approach of presenting objects in chronological sequences was one of Pit’s main principles: ‘... from the series of objects exhibited in the museum, the history of the artistic handiwork must be able to be reconstructed; – with the Netherlandish artistic handiwork taking precedence, but ... also that of the foreign artistic handiwork, with which the national [artistic handiwork] was continually in contact.’³⁹ With this modest presentation of sculpture arranged serially, Pit hoped to create a greater public eye for the importance and nature of the Dutch sculptural tradition as a typical form of national artistic expression: ‘It’s time that this misrepresentation is replaced by proper appreciation Because, while our painting school is typically a national one, a continuous national character can also be observed in the evolving sculpture in our provinces, of which the most manifest expressions can be seen as early as the Middle Ages, a movement that somewhat fades in the sixteenth century due to the then prevailing Italian influences, [and] which again strongly re-emerges at the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century.’⁴⁰

Together, Pit and Vogelsang devoted their efforts to achieving an ‘aesthetic purification’ of the collection, the separation of historical artifacts (‘stuff’) and especially the deaccessioning of the rapidly growing collection of plaster casts, which Vogelsang disparaged as ‘white characterless things’, ‘lifeless monsters’ and ‘effective spoilers of taste’.⁴¹ Pit expressed his views on the latter in more diplomatic terms: ‘It will certainly be considered desirable by all that only authentic pieces are exhibited in a Museum, trustworthy documents, from which the



FIG. 13 View of the Rijksmuseum's Great Hall with a plaster cast of Claus Sluter's *Well of Moses*, 1934
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RMA-SSA-F-00604-1

art of previous generations can be learned, or that at least imitations, which can serve as supplementary teaching material, made recognizable as such, are displayed separately so as not to confuse that aspect.⁴² Sensing that part of his life's work was about to be eradicated, Victor de Stuers vehemently protested against such critical stirrings in a venomous article entitled *Professor Vogelsang*, written in 1915, one year prior to his death.⁴³ By this time, however, it was a lost cause: thirteen years later, under Rijksmuseum director Frederik Schmidt-Degener, it was decided that the plaster cast collection be removed from the museum's west atrium.⁴⁴ Only one cast was spared the fate of destruction: the enormous plaster copy of the famous *Well of Moses* at Champmol by the renowned Haarlem-born sculptor Claus Sluter (FIG. 13).⁴⁵

Pit's intuitive sense of artistic quality became highly apparent, when, together with Vogelsang, he acquired several exceptional sculptures from the Musée van den Bogaerde, a large art collection built by André Baron van den Bogaerde (1787–1855) at Castle Heeswijk in Brabant, part of which had been sold in 1901. An essential element of the baron's collection of religious art were 235 medieval woodcarvings.⁴⁶ Among the works Pit and Vogelsang purchased were two exquisite sculptures by Adriaan van Wesel. Only many years later was it finally determined that both had once belonged to Van Wesel's large Marian retable of circa 1477, made for the Illustre Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap (Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Lady) in Den Bosch (BK-NM-11647 and -11713).⁴⁷

Inspired by these acquisitions, Vogelsang devoted an article to several other works by the as yet unidentified sculptor, whom he dubbed the 'Master of the Death of the Virgin'.⁴⁸ These successes stood counter to Pit's decisive refusal – even if a sound decision on quality grounds – to procure a large sculpted Antwerp Passion retable, originating from a small Brabantine church and held since 1835 in the Van den Bogaerde collection. This altarpiece had been acquired by the Vereniging Rembrandt – an association established by private individuals in 1883 to promote the preservation and expansion of the national artistic heritage – at the same 1901 sale, on the premise that it would later be incorporated in the collection of the Rijksmuseum.⁴⁹ Even pressure exerted by the minister at the time failed to alter Pit's position, with the altarpiece consequently ending up in the Sint-Janskathedraal in Den Bosch (FIG. 14).⁵⁰ Pit's principled refusal on this matter proved to be a missed opportunity with long-lasting consequences – even today, a monumental medieval retable remains one of the major lacunae in the museum's sculpture collection.

Pit was vocally critical of many of his predecessors' acquisitions. De Stuers, among others, experienced this as a personal attack: 'One used to acquire an object because, for reasons that were hard to explain, they found it interesting, and given that foreigners had carried off the best long before, one purchased mostly rubbish, or, disarmed by personal opinion as one was, allowed oneself to be enticed by fakes.'⁵¹ Pit himself would



FIG. 14 *Passion Altarpiece*, Antwerp, c. 1510–20. Den Bosch, Sint-Janskathedraal, Photo: Ton van der Vorst, Den Bosch

unfortunately encounter the same pitfall, particularly in his efforts to give the collection of sculpture a more international profile.

A MORE INTERNATIONAL PROFILE

The paucity of quality examples of foreign sculpture in the museum's collection was a problem for Pit, even if that number was greater than his words suggested in 1904. In fact, works originating from abroad comprised approximately one quarter of the collection. Yet the majority of these were small-scale ivories and bronzes. Pit himself was a great supporter of comparative art history, explaining why he saw the inclusion of foreign



FIG. 15 Pit's *Virgin and Child* on view in the Rijksmuseum (Nederlandsch Museum) around 1920

works of art, alongside works from the Southern and Northern Netherlands, as a necessity. His aim was therefore to create a more international profile for the Rijksmuseum's sculpture collection, as professed in a 1910 article in the Dutch literary and cultural periodical *De Gids* and elsewhere.⁵² Even when plagued by a limited acquisition budget, Pit still put his words into practice. In 1901, he enriched the museum's collection with two of his own sculptures, initially presented on a loan basis: a possibly central-German alabaster *Pietà* (BK-NM-11667), which he donated to the museum three years later, and a Cologne reliquary bust, permanently acquired by the museum in 1918 (BK-NM-11666). More significant was Pit's 1906 loan of an exquisite French *Virgin and Child* (BK-NM-11912) in the Parisian court style circa 1400 to the museum, a work he likely acquired

during his study year in Paris and a clear example of his intuitive sense of quality (FIG. 15). In 1940, this sculpture – today seen as a core work of French Gothic – was added to the Rijksmuseum's permanent collection thanks to the Edwin vom Rath bequest.

In his policy of international acquisitions, however, Pit focussed chiefly on southern Europe. Inspired by his contact with Prof Dr Otto Lanz (1865–1935), a Swiss surgeon living in Amsterdam since 1902, he cautiously began to purchase Italian art of the Renaissance.⁵³ A fanatic collector of early-Italian art, the flamboyant Lanz characterized himself as 'the best art connoisseur among surgeons and the best surgeon among art connoisseurs'.⁵⁴ The interior of his monumental villa, located directly behind the Rijksmuseum, was furnished in the spirit of the influential Berlin museum director Wilhelm Bode (1845–1929) with Italian-Renaissance-style *Festräume* aimed to evoke the atmosphere of an Italian palazzo. 'Casa Lanz' soon emerged as a small centre of Italian art-lovers thriving in the shadow of the 'Dutch Dutchness of our Rijksmuseum of paintings'.⁵⁵ In 1906, Pit offered to exhibit a selection of Lanz's Italian works, primarily sculptures, in one of the museum's spaces (FIG. 16). Even at this early stage, the Swiss Amsterdammer's collection had taken on serious forms (ultimately growing to comprise more than 400 pieces). Six years later, in 1912, the same initiative was repeated.⁵⁶ In an article on Lanz's collection, published in the same year, Pit underscored the great importance of this new area of sculpture for the Dutch museum-going public. He also cited Lanz's help in realizing his own ambitions in acquiring international works for the museum: 'The Lanz Collection has a very special significance for the author of these lines. After all, it contributed to acquainting the Dutch public with sculpture of the Italian Early Renaissance at a time when purchases in this area were on the agenda of the directorate of the Nederlandsch Museum. The exhibitions, which Professor Lanz's beneficence has twice made possible in a small exhibition room of the Rijksmuseum, supported in no small measure what little I was able to acquire as director of the existing collections.'⁵⁷

Pit's words underscore the fact that his own acquisitions in the area of Italian Renaissance sculpture, even by his own estimation, were disappointing. This stemmed partly from the museum's modest acquisitions budget, but also from the declining number of exceptional pieces available on the art market – an unavoidable state of affairs '... given that the best had long been carried off by foreigners'.⁵⁸ Yet Pit also faced stiff competition from the large museums, institutions with access to far greater funds, and wealthy collectors. There was also the problem of the numerous fakes circulating on the art market. Pit still turned to international art dealers for specific acquisitions, but at this stage in the game, such practices were a highly rare occurrence at the Rijksmuseum. Pit was assisted in this endeavour, certainly via his own

international network, but especially via Otto Lanz's close contacts in the Italian art market. Occasionally, acquisitions were coordinated in consultation between the two men, such as two stucco 'portrait' busts then attributed to Jacopo della Quercia, subsequently discussed by Pit in a 1907 article.⁵⁹ In the end, the Rijksmuseum acquired a substantial portion of Lanz's collection in 1952. This included a total of eighteen Italian sculptures, one German sculpture after Michelangelo (BK-17242), and a delicate, Italianized marble relief (BK-18016) today described as 'Paris, circa 1570'. Ironically, the museum passed on one of Lanz's self-reported crown jewels: a terracotta portrait bust over-optimistically attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. Written off by most experts as a fake, the bust was offered together with other less important pieces in 1951, selling for a mere 35 guilders only to be bought back by Lanz's family for sentimental reasons.⁶⁰ Years later, however, the same bust was shown to be an authentic work by Gian Christoforo Romano circa 1500, and identified as a possible portrait of Isabella d'Este. Since 2004, it has been preserved at the Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth).⁶¹ A marble relief portrait of Isabella's mother, Eleonora of Aragon, today preserved in the Rijksmuseum, has recently been attributed to the same sculptor (BK-16977).

With only limited means, Pit had no choice but to focus on plaster copies directly cast from the inventions of the great sculptors of the Renaissance, or small-scale sculptures such as bronze plaquettes and statuettes. Most of these acquisitions – almost two dozen works – were from Florentine dealers in the years 1905–1907 and 1911–1913.⁶² Chief in importance was the Martelli *Stemma* (BK-NM-11094) from the Della Robbia workshop. In 1908, the museum also obtained a group of Italian bronzes – sculptures erroneously collected as works of classical Antiquity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century – via the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden. This transfer of works included a unique all'antica bust of a man attributed to Severo Calzetta da Ravenna (BK-NM-12080).

Pit underscored his international collecting campaign furthermore with the acquisition of several French sculptures, including a large fifteenth-century stone *Virgin and Child* (BK-12371) in 1914, and a small fourteenth-century walnut *Virgin and Child* (BK-NM-11861) purchased directly from Émile Molinier (1857–1906), a both renowned and reviled curator at the Louvre.⁶³ Pit's departure from the Rijksmuseum in 1917 introduced an extended



FIG. 16 View of the exhibition of the Collection Lanz in 1906
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RMA-SSA-F-05461-1

period during which relatively little sculpture was acquired. Nevertheless, his efforts to expand the collection and to modernize its presentation set a precedent for a collection policy more international in orientation. Not until after the Second World War, however, would this new orientation begin to actually reap fruits.

During this interbellum period of few sculptural acquisitions, two exceptional donations and a bequest are particularly noteworthy: the seated *Virgin and Child* by Sandro di Lorenzo, formerly known as the ‘Master of the Unruly Children’ (BK-NM-12996), donated by the Vrienden van het Rijksmuseum (Friends of the Rijksmuseum) in 1922, followed seventeen years later by Adriaen de Vries’s relief *Bacchus and Ariadne op Naxos* (BK-14692), donated by the N.V. Internationale Antiquiteitenhandel. In 1941, the museum’s collection was additionally enriched with the bequeathal of the art collection of Edwin vom Rath (1863–1940). In character, this modest Amsterdam sugar merchant and philanthropist was entirely the opposite of Lanz, in whose circle he moved.⁶⁴ His collection, though comprising many Italian artworks, was less exclusively Italian than his Swiss counterpart. Vom Rath’s bequest included a total of sixteen sculptures, several of which even today belong to the core collection of the Rijksmuseum: noteworthy are a thirteenth-century statuette of the *Virgin and Child* (BK-NM-12384) – a seminal example of French Early Gothic ivory carving – and the aforementioned courtly *Virgin and Child* previously acquired from Pit. In the 1950s, capital bequeathed by Vom Rath facilitated the acquisition of three Italian bronzes, including Desiderio da Firenze’s *Perfume Burner* (BK-1957-3), an object originating from the collection of the French minister Colbert via Horace Walpole.⁶⁵

THE POST-WAR YEARS: JAAP LEEUWENBERG

Both during his own directorship and in the ensuing decades, few of Adriaan Pit’s collection ambitions were ever realized. Rapid change would come in the post-war years, however, with the appointment of Jaap Leeuwenberg (1904–1978) as the new curator of sculpture in 1948 (FIG. 17), followed by the Dutch government’s transfer of the superior Mannheimer collection in 1960. Leeuwenberg’s arrival on the scene marks the onset of a period of concerted acquisition on a far more active and broader scale. Almost without exception, this renewed effort centred on pieces of international, high-quality sculpture.⁶⁶ Under Leeuwenberg’s curatorship, a career that encompassed twenty years, the Rijksmuseum’s collection of sculpture grew by almost one-quarter of what it had been before. He also maintained contacts with a broad international network of associates in the field,⁶⁷ while at the same time honing his vision and expertise via numerous sculpture expeditions across Europe, from Spain to Scandinavia. Leeuwenberg’s international travels allowed him to build a large photographic database for the museum and to further enrich his exceptionally retentive visual memory.

Leeuwenberg’s favour lay with late-medieval sculpture, a field in which he had been conducting groundbreaking research since 1941 and had actively been collecting himself. In his role as curator, however, he was obliged to broaden his scope to encompass new terrain. The organization of the large and successful 1955 exhibition *De triomf van het Maniërisme (The Triumph of Mannerism)* (FIG. 18) inspired the acquisition of bronzes and other high-quality sculptures in the years leading up to this event. Around Adriaen de Vries’s relief, a unique nucleus of sculpture began to form produced by *fiamminghi*, artists from the Low Countries and Germany who made a name for themselves while working in Italy. The first of these works, acquired in 1950, was a large south-German *Neptune* group (BK-16430).⁶⁸ Leeuwenberg’s rapidly growing expertise in the area of European mannerist sculpture is perhaps best illustrated by Willem van Tetrode’s exquisite bronze *Hercules Pomarius* (BK-1954-43). Although acquired in 1954 as an anonymous Netherlandish work, Leeuwenberg linked the bronze to Goltzius’s famed print of Hercules, a finding that laid the basis for Radcliffe’s convincing attribution to Van Tetrode thirty years later.⁶⁹ A substantial number of ‘Leeuwenberg’s’ bronzes were also included in the standard reference work *Europäische Bronzestatuetten* (1967) by Hans Weirauch, with whom the Rijksmuseum curator had regular contact. Not included, however, was one of Leeuwenberg’s earlier acquisitions: a pair of robust, escutcheon-bearing bronze *Lions* (BK-16546) purchased in 1952 for 5,900 guilders as Venetian works



FIG. 17 Jaap Leeuwenberg looking at Nicolaes Gerhaert van Leyden’s *Funeral Monument to Empress Eleonora Helena of Portugal* in Wiener Neustadt, 1970



FIG. 18 View of the exhibition *The Triumph of Mannerism*, 1955
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, HA-0009501

from the early fifteenth century. In 2015, the discovery of two identical lions revealed that the two Rijksmuseum bronzes were in fact produced one century later, not in northern Italy but in northern Germany, and originally functioned as supporting elements of a baptismal font or memorial plaque in the monastery church of Bordesholm.⁷⁰

It was in this sculpture-friendly climate that the first exhibition ever devoted to Italian sculpture – *Italian Bronze Statuettes* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1961) – was shown at the Rijksmuseum under the title of *Meesters van het brons der Italiaanse Renaissance*. Leeuwenberg retired from his post as curator of sculpture in 1969. Even long after his departure, his legacy would still be tangibly felt in two major exhibitions: *Adriaen de Vries* (1998–99) and *Willem van Tetrode* (2003) (FIG. 25). Nevertheless, from this time forward, the Rijksmuseum acquired sensational bronze sculptures only sporadically, e.g. *Van der Schardt's intriguing Sol* (BK-1977-24) and *Adriaen de Vries's Bacchant* (BK-2015-2).

As might be expected, Leeuwenberg's acquisition policy was strongly influenced by his own specialization: late-medieval sculpture from the Low Countries, and especially Utrecht and the region of the Lower Rhine. Almost

immediately after his appointment, wood-carved elements from a dismantled Antwerp retable were purchased, signalling a first step – even if on a modest, somewhat distorted scale – in rectifying the issue of the museum having no major Late-Gothic sculpted ensemble in its collection. Undoubtedly, it was the same motivation that led to Leeuwenberg's acquisition, in 1962 and 1964, of three caisses from a Southern Netherlandish passion retable with individual groups (BK-1962-33 and BK-1964-2). Also acquired in 1964 was a *Christus Salvator* statuette by the Master of the Utrecht Stone Female Head, an anonymous sculptor working in the wake of Adriaen van Wesel, the Utrecht sculptor convincingly identified by Leeuwenberg himself. Back in 1958, Leeuwenberg had published an article on a small group of sixteenth-century Brussels travel altars, a fine example of which he managed to acquire for the Rijksmuseum (BK-1958-40). Even if on a small scale, this piece conveyed the essence of a fully sculpted, polychromed retable. One year later, in 1959, the museum received a boxwood prayer nut (BK-1981-1), initially presented as a long-term loan but officially acquired by the museum in 1981. In this case, the provenance could be traced back to the very first owners, a Delft burgomaster and his wife living in the early sixteenth century. In 1969, Leeuwenberg was subsequently inspired to write a ground breaking article in



FIG. 19 View of the Rijksmuseum's medieval gallery in 1962

which he attributed the newly acquired prayer nut and a large group of stylistically related boxwood micro-carvings to an otherwise unknown woodcarver, Adam Dircksz.⁷¹ A major addition to the museum's collection in the area of lower-Rhenish sculpture came with the controversial purchase in 1956 of Master Arnt's *Lamentation*, a group originating from a small roadside chapel in the Limburg village of Boukoul (BK-1956-31).⁷² Leeuwenberg had previously acquired an *Angel with the Arma Christi* (BK-16383) by the same sculptor in 1949.

With respect to medieval sculpture produced outside the Netherlands, acquisitions were made in response to the new installation of the museum's galleries, carried out in the 1950s under the directorship of Jonkheer David Röell in collaboration with the architect Frits Eschauzier (FIG. 19).⁷³ Inspired by Carlo Scarpa's acclaimed museum installations at Palermo and Verona, a number of imposing works – e.g. a *St Vitus* from Ulm (BK-1956-8) – were purchased, intended as eye-catchers in the new, relatively small galleries reserved for medieval art. Under Leeuwenberg, the collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Baroque sculpture from the Low Countries – the logical context for the unique Amsterdam ensemble of works by Artus Quellinus – was given a more definite profile, with works by Artus Quellinus II, Jan-Baptist Xavery, Pieter Scheemaekers I, Jacob Cressant, father and son Van Logteren, and others. Among these acquisitions, the absolute masterpiece was Matthieu van Beveren's majestic ivory *Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon* (BK-1962-5).



FIG. 20 Liesbeth Messer-Heybroek, *Portrait of Dr C.M.A.A. Lindeman*, 1933–34. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2012-68
Gift of C.M.A.A. van Leer-Lindeman, Zeist

Unfortunately, Leeuwenberg failed to realize a long-cherished plan to write a comprehensive overview of medieval sculpture in the Northern Netherlands.⁷⁴ By the time of his retirement in 1969, however, he had managed to essentially complete his life's work: an art historical compendium of the collection of sculpture in the Rijksmuseum, a task first begun by his predecessor, C.M.A.A. Lindeman (1883–1965) (FIG. 20).⁷⁵ Four years later, in 1973, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum* (Sculpture in the Rijksmuseum) made its publishing debut. This impressive and exemplary work was highly lauded – the second complete catalogue of the Rijksmuseum's collection to appear after Pit's 1904 publication.⁷⁶ In the seventy years that had since passed, the collection had grown from approximately 220 to more than 920 works. By this time, it had also garnered an international reputation, particularly as the most important collection of Dutch sculpture in the world.⁷⁷

FRITZ MANNHEIMER

The international reputation of the Rijksmuseum's collection of sculpture arose chiefly from the incorporation of the outstanding art collection of the German-Jewish banker Fritz Mannheimer (1890–1939). Consigned to the Dutch government in 1952 when recuperated from Germany after World War II, much of this vast collection of paintings and other works was transferred to the museum in 1960, including a group of more than forty sculptures, many of the very highest quality. Before the war, Mannheimer left his native Germany and relocated in Amsterdam, where he became a naturalized citizen of the Netherlands in 1936.⁷⁸ As the director of a private bank with virtually unlimited funds to acquire art, he was active in the top segment of the international art market, competing with collectors the likes of Mellon and Gulbenkian. Mannheimer's diverse collection comprised chiefly works of German Gothic and Italian Renaissance sculpture and applied art as well as French and German



FIG. 21 Hanna Elkan, *View of the Stairway in Fritz Mannheimer's Villa*, c. 1928–32. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, B-F-1963–426-10



FIG. 22 Hanna Elkan, *View of the Interior of Fritz Mannheimer's Villa*, c. 1928–32. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, B-F-1963–426-24

applied art from the eighteenth century. All were housed in a villa located directly behind the Rijksmuseum, in close proximity to the 'Casa Lanz' (FIG. 21–22).

In the 1920s and '30s, Mannheimer purchased sculptures and other artworks directly from various parties: the Russians, for example, were engaged in the selling of large quantities of art, including works from the Hermitage in St Petersburg, in exchange for Western assets.⁷⁹ From them, Mannheimer acquired one of his top pieces in 1933: Falconet's *Amour menaçant* (BK-1963–101), a sculpture previously in the possession of Madame de Pompadour. As recorded in a letter from the archive of the renowned French dealer Duveen: 'RE: Mannheimer. This man has bought recently from the Russians the Falconet "Cupid" – Garde a Vous – for a million and a quarter francs The Russians now have a shop in Paris where they show their goods to clients direct. ... I know from Gulbenkian and Mannheimer that they often show them fine things there.'⁸⁰ Another former possession of the Russian state was Houdon's gilded bronze statuette *Voltaire assis* (BK-16932) – a personal gift from the sculptor to Catherine the Great – and the fascinating romanesque *Antler* (BK-16990) from the burial chapel of Louis the Pious at Metz.⁸¹ Mannheimer also benefitted from the sale of pieces held in German museums, i.e. works converted into cash in the years 1933–35 to secure a portion of the

Welfenschatz for Germany.⁸² In this manner, he procured the most important Renaissance bronze in his collection – Verrocchio's monumental candelabra (BK-16933), made for the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence in 1468 – and the aforementioned ivory *Crozier* from Liesborn Abbey (BK-16991), an object formerly preserved at the *Kunst-kammer* in Berlin.

Via Mannheimer's collection, Italian Renaissance sculpture in the Rijksmuseum was enriched with several exquisite bronzes – e.g. Antico's *Cupid* (BK-16936) and Bastiano Torrigiani's bust of Pope Gregory XIV – as well as a delicate marble relief portrait attributed to Pietro Lombardo – possibly depicting the painter Giovanni Bellini (BK-16976) – and Buglioni's monumental majolica altarpiece from 1502 (BK-16978). Standing on a gilt-wood pedestal, this latter work was formerly the main attraction in one of Mannheimer's own salons (FIG. 22). By means of an exchange with Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1843–1940), a fellow banker-cum-collector from Frankfurt, Tilman Riemenschneider's exceptional alabaster *Annunciation* (BK-16986) came to Amsterdam in 1934.⁸³ Before this, Mannheimer had obtained another gem of late-gothic German woodcarving: a *Nativity* (BK-16985) from Strasbourg, today attributed to Hans Kamensetzer, a close follower of Niclaus Gerhaert van Leyden. Not until many years later, in 2016, did a

masterpiece of Venetian Renaissance sculpture follow: Antonio Rizzo's marble tondo of the *Virgin and Child* (BK-2016–101), a 'forgotten' Mannheimer piece unearthed in the depot of the State Art Collection. Another recuperated work of great importance, obtained at the time of the transfer of Mannheimer's collection in 1960, was the monumental *Annunciation* by the Sienese sculpture Francesco di Valdambrino (BK-17224) originating from the San Francesco in Pienza. These new additions and others – made within a period of twenty-five years after the war – transformed the Rijksmuseum's collection of sculpture into an international ensemble, just as Adriaan Pit had envisioned at the century's onset at a time when this was unachievable due to limited financial means.

ADRIAEN VAN WESEL AND FLEMISH BAROQUE

Writing in the Dutch art historical journal *Oud Holland* in 1948, Leeuwenberg clarified matters in the heterogeneous oeuvre of the anonymous Utrecht 'Master of the Music-Making Angels'. However astute, his views were overshadowed by an article in the very same issue, in which P.T.A. Swillens identified the anonymous fifteenth-century woodcarver as Adriaen van Wesel.⁸⁴ Leeuwenberg later returned to the discussion of Van Wesel. In the end, however, it was his successor as curator of sculpture at the Rijksmuseum, Willy Halsema-Kubes (1937–1992),⁸⁵ who – together with the Nijmegen art historians Gerard Lemmens (1938–2021) and Guido de Werd (a Leeuwenberg adherent) – ultimately recognized Van Wesel's rightful place in art history among the leading woodcarvers in the Low Countries. This she achieved by acquiring two major works for the Rijksmuseum and subsequently organizing an outstanding monographic exhibition devoted to this Utrecht sculptor in 1980.⁸⁶ In 1977, Halsema-Kubes acquired *The Meeting of the Three Magi* (BK-1977-134), a group originating from one of Van Wesel's seminal

works, the aforementioned Marian retable made for the Illustre Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in Den Bosch, which also housed the two groups previously acquired by Pit back in 1901 (BK-NM-11647 and -11713). This was followed two years later, in 1979, by the acquisition of *Three Equestrian Knights* from a Crucifixion scene (BK-1979-94).⁸⁷ The addition of these two pieces to the collection formed the motivation of the ground-breaking exhibition held at the Rijksmuseum one year later, curated by Halsema-Kubes, where five individual fragments preserved in the museum could now be shown in a tentative reconstruction of the Den Bosch retable (FIG. 23).

With her interest in late-gothic Netherlandish sculpture, Halsema-Kubes proceeded where Leeuwenberg left off, as evidenced by acquisitions such as a 14th-century *Enthroned Christ* from a Liège *Coronation of The Virgin* (BK-1978-40) – with the accompanying *Virgin* preserved at the Victoria and Albert in London – and a highly delicate, polychromed limestone retable from the Southern Netherlands (BK-1985-41). These additions were followed in 1987 by a large *Virgin* (BK-1987-21) by Arnt van Tricht, a sculpture identified in 1980 by De Werd – its whereabouts then unknown – as the pendant of the *St John* acquired by Pit back in 1898 (BK-NM-11155).⁸⁸ In 1975, Halsema-Kubes succeeded in obtaining an exquisite *St Ursula* by Henrik Douverman, a contemporary of Van Tricht's active in the same region, from the estate of Sir Conan Doyle's father (BK-1975-70).⁸⁹

A second area of emphasis in Halsema-Kubes's collecting endeavours during these years was the systematic expansion of Flemish Baroque sculpture – the southern counterpart of northern Baroque sculpture – and its sixteenth-century roots. Despite having obtained some form in the 1960s, this sub-collection was



FIG. 23 View of the exhibition *Adriaen van Wesel*, 1980

under-represented. This situation greatly improved in the 1970s, with the acquisition of a polychromed *St Sebastian* (BK-1971-50) produced in Mechelen circa 1525, an Italianized alabaster *Sleeping Nymph* by Paludanus (BK-1979-7), and an array of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sculptures, including Faydherbe's terracotta *Portrait of Caspar de Craeyer* (BK-1977-22) and his boxwood *Joseph with the Christ Child* (BK-1976-16), Pieter Scheemaekers's boxwood *Archangel Michael as Dragon-Slayer* (BK-1978-35), and a house altar attributed to Theodoor Verhaegen (BK-1978-161). Halsema-Kubes's interest in Flemish Baroque also coincided with a new perspective on the work of Artus Quellinus, resulting in an exhibition at the Royal Palace on the Dam Square in 1977.⁹⁰ Under her supervision, a sizeable number of sculptures purchased by the museum in 1875 from the abbey of Maria Refuge in Uden were returned to their place of origin, when presented almost one century later on long-term loan to the new Museum voor Religieuze Kunst (now Museum Krona) founded in the former abbey. Sadly, Halsema-Kubes's untimely death would prevent her from realizing her 'dream exhibition' on Adriaen de Vries, the sculptor of the bronze *Juggling Man*, which the museum had attempted to acquire in 1989 without success.⁹¹

RECENT DECADES: 'NOBLESSE OBLIGE'

Since the 1990s, the acquisition policy of the Rijksmuseum's Department of Sculpture has aimed to seek more actively beyond Dutch national borders, while ensuring the high quality and international allure of the sculptural works from the Mannheimer collection. Whereas in the past the museum typically had very limited means, greater access to funding has facilitated the acquisition of works on the international art market. The proven support of the Vereniging Rembrandt has been supplemented with the yearly support of the BankGiroLoterij, numerous private funds, and donations via the Rijksmuseum Fonds. Regular appeals can now be made to the Mondriaan Fonds, and on an incidental basis, the Nationaal Fonds Kunstbezit. With their generous support, a number of formidable non-Netherlandish sculptures have been successfully acquired that today form striking international counterpoints anchored in the collection. Special attention has also been given to procuring new works by the *fiamminghi* – in addition to those previously acquired by Leeuwenberg – and monumental sculptures. The majority of these new pieces have been incorporated in the renewed presentations of the permanent collection, making their debut with the reopening of the Rijksmuseum in 2013.



FIG. 24 View of the Rijksmuseum's atrium with two lead sculptures, Francesco Righetti's *Bacchus and Amphelos*, and a 17th-century cast of the *Laocoon*, 2022

Naturally, relevant sculptural works produced in the Netherlands and Flanders remain a focus, even if afforded less priority given the existing abundance of objects in this area. Noteworthy are three sculptures representing late-medieval private devotion: a silver-mounted *Prayer Nut* (BK-2010-16), a Gothic *Christmas Cradle* attributed to the workshop of Jan II Borman (BK-2013-14), and a touching, lifelike *Mater dolorosa* (BK-2011-31), likely made by Pietro Torrigiani in the years 1507–1510 when residing in Flanders. Sculpture of the early fifteenth century has been considerably enriched with an expressive core piece from the oeuvre of the Master of Hakendover (BK-2011-3), thus somewhat compensating the absence of Claus Sluter and his Burgundian world in the collection. This situation was fortunately remedied in 2021 with the acquisition of a boxwood *Calvary* (BK-2021-16) attributable to Sluter, a superb work that introduces a decidedly new facet to the Haarlem master's limited oeuvre of monumental stone-carved sculpture.⁹² Representing early Dutch Baroque is an exquisitely carved, boxwood *Crying Boy Stung by a Bee* (BK-2007-24) by the Amsterdam municipal sculptor Hendrick de Keyser, which entered the collection of the Rijksmuseum thanks to a private donation. The classicist aspect of Roman Baroque is today represented in the museum thanks to the acquisition

of delicate marble *Eight Child Bacchantes with a Goat* (BK-2014-28) by François du Quesnoy, the Flemish-Roman teacher of Artus Quellinus who inspired generations of artists, particularly in the Netherlands and France.

In recent decades, sculptures with a more pronounced international character were also acquired: Giovanni Caccini's restrained *Bust of Christ* (1598) (BK-2000-8), made for an altar-cum-tabernacle in the Santa Maria Novella in Florence; Tommaso della Porta's terracotta *modello* for *Balaam*, one of the prophets adorning the Santa Casa in Loreto (BK-2010-11); Ammannati's wax model for the *Genio medico* (BK-2018-6); a bronze Baroque group by Lespingola (BK-2008-93); two early neoclassicist reliefs by Louis-Simon Boizot produced during the sculptor's time in Rome (BK-2008-92); the monumental *Carità educatrice* (BK-2008-5) and the impressive portrait of Charlotte Bonaparte (BK-2007-9), both by Lorenzo Bartolini; lastly, the ensemble of six large statues (BK-2006-7 to -12) ordered from Francesco Righetti for Henry Hope's Haarlem country estate Welgelegen, each directly cast in lead from classical originals in Rome.⁹³ These latter works have welcomed visitors in the Rijksmuseum's atrium since its reopening in 2013 (FIG. 24).



FIG. 25 View of the exhibition *Adriaen de Vries 1556–1626: Imperial Sculptor*, 1998. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, HA-0011860

Finally, in recent years the Rijksmuseum's already exceptional group of works by Dutch sculptures active in Italy has been augmented with two dream acquisitions. First and foremost is the penetrating, timeless *Self-Portrait* of Johan Gregor van der Schardt (BK-2000-17). Originating from the Nuremberg collection of Paulus Praun, the purchase of this work in 2000 was described in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in the following terms: 'Naturalistischer, ja radikaler is auch die Moderne nicht' (More naturalistic, more radical even than Modernism).⁹⁴ Next, in December 2014, the almost impossible was achieved with the sensational acquisition of Adriaen de Vries's *Bacchant* (BK-2015-2), in fulfilment of a long-held wish that had only grown stronger following the major exhibition of this sculptor's work organized at the Rijksmuseum in 1998-99. Like De Vries's *Juggling Man* in 1989, this exceptional bronze – the very last signed and dated work by the master – broke a world record when sold for more than 24 million dollars (FIG. 26).⁹⁵ These two spectacular acquisitions – both on the cutting edge of art produced in the Low Countries and that of the artistic world outside the Netherlands – are perfect examples of the qualities with which the Rijksmuseum's collection of sculpture aims to distinguish itself. This has not been achieved by creating an illusion of a totality, as with an encyclopaedic *Kunstkamer*, or serially exhibiting works to suggest an evolutionary history in the spirit of Pit and his contemporaries. Instead, the Rijksmuseum seeks to present a broad-scoped and intriguing display of beautiful and important 'fragments', collected like pearls from the limitless depths of the seabed of the past.⁹⁶



FIG. 26 Adriaen de Vries's *Bacchant* at auction in New York on 11 December 2014

ENDNOTES

1

'De verzameling beeldhouwwerken, waarvan de catalogus hier wordt aangeboden, is zoozeer in hoofdzaak eene van Noord-Nederlandsche, dat ik mij in deze inleiding mag bepalen tot het schetsen eener geschiedenis der vaderlandsche beeldhouwkunst'; A. Pit, *Catalogus van de beeldhouwwerken in het Nederlandsch Museum voor geschiedenis en kunst te Amsterdam*, coll. cat. Amsterdam 1904, p. 1. One year before, Pit had published a luxury loose-leaf catalogue containing more than forty sculptures. Entitled *La sculpture hollandaise au Musée National d'Amsterdam*, the accompanying text was in fact an elaboration on two previous Dutch-language articles regarding Dutch sculpture in the Rijksmuseum, with emphasis placed on the 15th and 16th centuries. An illustrated reprint of the 1904 catalogue followed in 1915. For Pit, see J.F. Heijbroek, 'Adriaan Pit, directeur van het Nederlandsch Museum: Een vergeten episode uit de geschiedenis van het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 33 (1985), pp. 233–65.

2

W. Vogelsang and M. van Notten, *Die Holzskulptur in den Niederlanden*, vol. 2, *Das Niederländische Museum zu Amsterdam*, Berlin/Utrecht 1912.

3

For a first overview of the history of the Rijksmuseum's collection of sculpture – gratefully consulted for the writing of the present overview – see W. Halsema-Kubes, 'Geschiedenis van de verzameling', in J. Leeuwenberg with the assistance of W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum*, coll. cat. Amsterdam 1973, pp. 12–19 (with an English translation entitled 'History of the Collection' on pp. 20–26). For the history of the Rijksmuseum and its precursors, see Braat et al. 1985; G. van der Ham, *200 Jaar Rijksmuseum: Geschiedenis van een nationaal symbool*, Zwolle/Amsterdam 2000. My thanks to Bieke van der Mark and Guido de Werd for their critical review and commentary.

4

T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden en zijn betekenis voor het Rijksmuseum', *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek* 13 (1946), pp. 50–67 and T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Het Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden en zijn betekenis voor het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 9 (1956), pp. 269–308.

5

'walchelijk Duitsch werk uit de vorige eeuw, waaraan men vroeger nog al waarde hechtte'; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1946 (note 4), esp. p. 46.

6

'verzameling Italiaanse lazzaroni en dergelijk gespuis uit ivoor, been en hout gesneden, aan welke ongetwijfeld geen toegang tot het Museum zou verleend, zoo ze niet voor jaren reeds een onderkomen in het Koninkl. Kabinet van zeldzaamheden te 's Hage hadden gevonden'.

7

For De Lupus, see for example B. Kruijzen, *Verzamelen van middeleeuwse kunst in Nederland 1830–1903*, Nijmegen 2002; E. van der Vlist, 'De verwerving van Zuid-Nederlandse handschriften in Nederland', in A.M.W. As-Vijvers and A.S. Korteweg, *Zuid-Nederlandse miniatuurkunst: De mooiste verluchte handschriften in Nederlands bezit*, Utrecht/The Hague/Zwolle 2018, pp. 11–19, esp. pp. 12–13.

8

Catalogus van het uitstekende kunstkabinet van kostbare schilderijen, teekeningen, prenten, beeldwerk ... alles bijeenverzameld door vrouwe Anna Maria Ebeling, in leven echtgenoot van wijlen Jonkheer Paul Iwan Hagguer, Burgemeester dezer stad, enz. enz., Amsterdam (Philippus van der Schley, Cornelis Sebille Roos and Jeronimo de Vries), 18 August 1817.

9

Halsema-Kubes 1973 (note 3), p. 12.

10

Kruijzen 2002 (note 7), pp. 100–02. A St Roch and two seated Bishops, all originating from the Lower Rhine region (BK-NM-24, -27 and -28) were also acquired from the Nahuys collection.

11

David van der Kellen came to the same negative conclusion in his report to the minister of Interior Affairs regarding the situation he encountered in the Royal Cabinet in 1875.

12

Kruijzen 2002 (note 7), pp. 103–05.

13

G. van der Ham, *200 Jaar Rijksmuseum: Geschiedenis van een nationaal symbool*, Zwolle/Amsterdam 2000, pp. 133–36.

14

J. Leeuwenberg with the assistance of W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum*, coll. cat. Amsterdam 1973, p. 13 and no. 122.

15

For Van der Kellen, see F. Grijzenhout, 'Vaderlandse oudheden', in idem (ed.), *Erfgoed: De geschiedenis van een begrip*, Amsterdam 2007, pp. 109–32, esp. pp. 109–13 and 129–32.

16

Van der Ham 2000 (note 3), p. 159.

17

Kruijzen 2002 (note 7), pp. 326–28.

18

Kruijzen 2002 (note 7), pp. 215–26.

19

L.C.B.M. van Liebergen, *Beelden in de abdij: Middeleeuwse kunst uit het noordelijk deel van het hertogdom Brabant*, exh. cat. Uden (Museum voor Religieuze Kunst) 1999.

20

'verminkte antique beelden'; from a letter dated 16 January 1875 written by the rector of the priory Maria Refugie to the bishop of Den Bosch, Mgr. Zwijsen, see Van Liebergen (note 19), p. 59.

21

J. Leeuwenberg in R. van Luttervelt et al., *Middeleeuwse kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1958, nos. 272–75.

22

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 16.32.197 (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916).

23

M. Erkelens, *De collectieopstelling van de Middeleeuwen in het Rijksmuseum*, 2013 (unpublished thesis, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam).

24

Lunsingh Scheurleer 1956 (note 4), p. 278.

25

Te Rijdt 1997, pp. 34–36.

26

J. Bos, "'De geschiedenis is vastgelegd in boeken, niet in musea": van planvorming tot realisatie. Het Nederlands Museum voor Geschiedenis in het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 45 (1997), pp. 262–309; Van der Ham 2000 (note 3), pp. 167–84.

27

Van der Ham 2000 (note 3), p. 245; for an overview of the manner in which artworks were displayed in the rooms, see *Description de la Décoration des salles du Musée Néerlandais d'histoire et d'art au Musée national à Amsterdam*, coll. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1887.

28

Halsema-Kubes 1973 (note 3), p. 14.

- 29**
J.F. Heijbroek, 'Het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig genootschap (1858–1995): Een historisch overzicht', *Voor Nederland bewaard. De verzamelingen van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig genootschap in het Rijksmuseum (Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 10)*, Leiden 1995, pp. 9–32.
- 30**
F. Scholten, 'Mars en Venus: De transformatie van een klassiek liefdesthema', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 10* (1995), pp. 65–72.
- 31**
J. Leeuwenberg, 'De tien bronzen "plorannen" in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam, hun herkomst en de voorbeelden waaraan ze zijn ontleend', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis 13* (1951), pp. 13–59; Frits Scholten, *Isabella's Weepers: Ten Statues from a Burgundian Tomb*, Amsterdam 2007, pp. 51–56.
- 32**
In 1975, a number of works in this latter group were transferred to the newly renovated Amsterdams Historisch Museum (now Amsterdam Museum), housed in the former Burgerweeshuis (Amsterdam's first municipal orphanage).
- 33**
M. Meurs, 'De gipscollectie van het Rijksmuseum: opkomst en verval van een hulpmiddel voor het Nederlandse kunstonderwijs', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 48* (2000), pp. 200–37 and Idem., 'De gipscollectie van het Rijksmuseum II: opkomst en verval van een hulpmiddel voor het Nederlandse kunstonderwijs', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 50* (2002), pp. 264–93.
- 34**
A. Pit, *Catalogus van de beeldhouwwerken in het Nederlandsch Museum voor geschiedenis en kunst te Amsterdam*, coll. cat. Amsterdam 1915.
- 35**
J.F. Heijbroek, 'Adriaan Pit, directeur van het Nederlandsch Museum: Een vergeten episode uit de geschiedenis van het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 33* (1985), pp. 233–65; J.F. Heijbroek, 'Pit, Adriaan (1860–1944)', in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, entry from 12 November 2013, see <http://resources.huysens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/pit>.
- 36**
G. Bresc-Bautier and M. Lafabrie (eds.), *Un combat pour la sculpture: Louis Courajod (1841–1896) historien d'art et conservateur*, Paris 2003.
- 37**
'Met die liefde voor het kunstwerk kon hij [Courajod] in tegenstelling met, men kan wel zeggen de overgrote meerderheid der kunsthistorici, het geschreven document, het archiefstuk en als kunsthistorische waarde en als bewijsmateriaal achterstellen bij het monument.'; Heijbroek 1985 (note 35), p. 236.
- 38**
Van der Ham 2000 (note 3), pp. 203–04.
- 39**
'... uit de seriën van voorwerpen in het museum tentoongesteld, moet de geschiedenis van het kunsthandwerk kunnen worden opgemaakt; – in hoofdzaak van het Nederlandsch kunsthandwerk, maar ... ook van het buitenlandsche kunsthandwerk, waarmede het vaderlandsche voortdurend in contact is geweest'; Pit in *Bulletin Nederlandsch Oudheidkundigen Bond 1* (1899/1900), p. 1, quote taken from Heijbroek 1985 (note 35), p. 243.
- 40**
'Het wordt tijd, dat deze miskenning voor behoorlijke waardeering plaats maakt Want is onze schildersschool een typisch vaderlandsche, ook in de zich ontwikkelende beeldhouwkunst valt in onze provinciën een doorlopend nationaal karakter waar te nemen, waarvan men de duidelijkste uitingen reeds in de middeleeuwen aantreft, een strooming welke in de zestiende eeuw eenigszins verwatert door de toen heerschende Italiaansche invloeden, welke zich weer krachtig vertoont aan het einde der 16e eeuw en in de 17e eeuw.' Quote taken from Heijbroek 1985 (note 35), pp. 243–44.
- 41**
'witte karakterloze dingen', 'wezenlooze monsters' and 'doeltreffende smaakbedervers'; Quotes taken from W. Vogelsang, 'In memoriam Dr. A. Pit', *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond 1947*, no. 1, pp. 2–5, esp. p. 4; Van der Ham 2000 (note 3), p. 203; W. Vogelsang, 'Naar aanleiding van een catalogus van pleisterafgietsels', *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond 8* (1915), pp. 190–208. See also Meurs 2002 (note 33), pp. 270–73.
- 42**
'Het zal toch wel door een ieder wenschelijk worden geacht, dat in een Museum slechts authentieke stukken worden tentoongesteld, betrouwbare documenten, waaruit de kunst van vorige geslachten kan worden geleerd, of dat althans navolgingen, die als aanvullend leer materiaal kunnen dienen, als zoodanig kenbaar gemaakt, afzonderlijk worden opgesteld om het aspect niet te verwarren.' Pit's letter to Van Riemsdijk, chief director of the Rijksmuseum, dated 17 June 1904. Quote taken from Heijbroek 1985 (note 35), p. 242.
- 43**
Victor de Stuers, *Professor Vogelsang*, The Hague 1915.
- 44**
G. Luijten, "'De veelheid en de eelheid"; Een Rijksmuseum Schmidt Degener', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 35* (1985), pp. 429–531; Meurs 2002 (note 33), pp. 266–69; F. Scholten, 'Claus Sluter in the Rijksmuseum', *Maelwael Van Lymborch Studies 2* (2021), pp. 110–25.
- 45**
For the motivation behind Schmidt-Degener's wish to exhibit the cast of the *Well of Moses* in the Rijksmuseum's Great Hall erected on the same axis with Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* mounted on the wall at the opposite end, see F. Scholten, 'Claus Sluter eindelijk in Nederland', *Bulletin van de Vereniging Rembrandt 31* (2021), no. 2, pp. 26–29, and Scholten 2021 (note 44); See idem for Schmidt-Degener's burning wish to acquire an authentic work by Sluter for the museum and his failed efforts to do so in the case of two alabaster *pleurants* from the tomb of the Burgundian Duke Philip the Bold that surfaced on the New York art market in the years 1939–40.
- 46**
Sale Den Bosch (Frederik Muller), 24 September 1901. Kruijssen 2002 (note 7), pp. 281–312.
- 47**
W. Halsema-Kubes, 'Het Maria-altaar voor de Illustre Onze Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch', in W. Halsema-Kubes et al., *Adriaen van Wesel: Een Utrechtse beeldhouwer uit de late middeleeuwen (ca. 1417–ca 1490)*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1980–81, pp. 34–44.
- 48**
W. Vogelsang, 'Noord-Nederlandsche beeldhouwwerken: De Meester van het Sterfbed van Maria', *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek V* (1925), pp. 185–200.
- 49**
P.A. Hecht, *125 jaar openbaar kunstbezit: met steun van de Vereniging Rembrandt*, Zwolle 2008.
- 50**
E. van der Weijden, 'Behouden voor het land: De strijd om het Antwerpse passie-altaar uit kasteel Heeswijk', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 53* (2005), pp. 300–15; E. van der Weijden, 'Venijn uit de "Hollandschen koker": De nasleep van de veiling Heeswijk', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 56* (2008), pp. 466–73.

- 51**
A. Pit, 's Rijks Kunstnijverheid-Museum', *De Gids*, 4th series, 28 (1910), pp. 470–82, esp. p. 472 ('Vroeger kocht men een voorwerp omdat men het, om moeilijk te verklaren redenen, interessant vond, en aangezien al lang het beste door buitenlanders was weggehaald, kocht men veelal prullen, of liet men zich, ongewapend door onder-vinding als men was, verlokken door vervalschingen.').
- 52**
Pit 1910 (note 51), p. 470.
- 53**
H.W. van Os, 'Otto Lanz en het verzamelen van vroege Italiaanse kunst in Nederland', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 26 (1978), pp. 147–74; F. van 't Veen, *Het Nederlandse palazzo. Verzamelingen van vroeg-Italiaanse kunst*, Amsterdam 2008.
- 54**
Van 't Veen 2008 (note 53), p. 17.
- 55**
Van 't Veen 2008 (note 53), pp. 21–28. ('Hollandsche Hollandsheid van ons Rijksmuseum van schilderijen'). Quote taken from Van Os 1978 (note 53), p. 157.
- 56**
Van Os 1978 (note 53), p. 157.
- 57**
'Für den Verfasser dieser Zeilen hat die Sammlung Lanz eine sehr besondere Bedeutung. Hat sie doch dazu beigetragen, das holländische Publikum mit der Plastik der italienischen Frührenaissance bekannt zu machen, und zwar zu einem Zeitpunkt, als Ankäufe in dieser Richtung auf dem Programm der Direktion des Niederländischen Museums standen. Die Ausstellungen, welche die Liberalität von Professor Lanz in einem kleinen Saale des Ryksmuseums schon zweimal möglich machte, unterstützten in nicht geringem Masse das Wenige, was ich als Direktor für die bestehenden Sammlungen zu erwerben vermochte.'
A. Pit, 'Quattrocento-Plastik der Sammlung Lanz-Amsterdam', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 1912, pp. 1–19, esp. p. 1.
- 58**
'aangezien al lang het beste door buitenlanders was weggehaald'.
- 59**
Adriaan Pit, 'Twee portret-bustes door Jacopo della Quercia', *Het huis oud en nieuw* 5 (1907), pp. 65–70; Van 't Veen 2008 (note 53), pp. 36, 37.
- 60**
Sale Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), *Collecties Otto Lanz, S. F. van Oss, Adolf Krijn, Fam. Van Hoorn*, 13–19 March 1951, no. 312.
- 61**
F. Scholten, 'Bedriegelijke beelden' *Kunstschrift* 51 (2007), no. 2, pp. 18–23; Van 't Veen 2008 (note 53), p. 47.
- 62**
Including the dealers Bardini, Brauer, Costantini, Palotti and Salvadori in Florence, but also Grandi in Milan, Heilbronner and Trotti in Paris, Drey in Munich, and Löwengard and Durlacher in London. Among the less fortuitous acquisitions made by Pit are a bronze pastiche in the style of Donatello (BK-NM-12030), a marble head of a young woman in the style of Antonio Rossellino (BK-11940), and a French head of an apostle in 14th-century style (BK-NM-12403). See also F. Scholten, 'Bronze sculpture in the Netherlands', in F. Scholten, M. Verber et al., *From Vulcan's Forge: Bronzes from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 1450–1800*, exh. cat. London (Daniel Katz Ltd.)/Vienna (Lichtenstein Museum) 2005–06, pp. 13–21, esp. pp. 18–19.
- 63**
A. Bos, 'Émile Molinier, the "incompatible" roles of a Louvre curator', *Journal of the History of Collections* 27 (2015), no. 3, pp. 309–21.
- 64**
P. van der Kamp, *Familie Vom Rath-Bunge te Amsterdam: en de nalatenschap van J.W.E. vom Rath (1863–1940)*, Amsterdam 1998; Van 't Veen 2008 (note 53), pp. 53–67.
- 65**
Inv. nos. BK-1958-39 (*Roman She-Wolf*), BK-1957-3 (*Perfume Burner* by Desiderio da Firenze) and BK-1954-44 (*Ink Well*, attributed to Tiziano Minio).
- 66**
Information on Leeuwenberg was obtained in a conversation with Guido de Werd, 7 March 2017, and from *Ter herinnering aan Jaap Leeuwenberg 18 juni 1904–10 februari 1978*, Amsterdam (Museum Amstelkring) 1978; A. Puyn, 'Mittler zwischen den Grenzen. Zum Tod des Amsterdamer Kunsthistorikers Jaap Leeuwenberg', *Rheinische Post* 23 February 1978; K.G. Boon, 'In memoriam Jaap Leeuwenberg (1904–1978)', *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 30 (1978), no. 2, pp. 1–2; W. Halsema-Kubes, 'Lijst van publicaties van Jaap Leeuwenberg', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 26 (1978), pp. 27–30; H. Defoer, 'Bouvy en Leeuwenberg, telkens in de clinch over de middeleeuwse beeldhouwkunst', *Catharijebrief* 86 (June 2004), pp. 9–12, and I. Ippel, 'Jaap Leeuwenberg (1904–1978): Brede blik, scherp oog/Jaap Leeuwenberg (1904–1978): Broad Vision, Sharp Eye', *RKD Bulletin* 2017, no. 2, pp. 3–13.
- 67**
Including Max Hasse in Lübeck, Friedrich Gorissen in Kleve, Paul Pieper in Münster, Hans Weihrauch and Theodor Müller in Munich, Seymour Slive (Harvard University) in Boston, John Pope-Hennessy and Terence Hodgkinson (Victoria and Albert Museum) in London.
- 68**
R. van Luttervelt et al., *De triomf van het maniërisme: Een Europese stijl van Michelangelo tot El Greco*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1955. Works by or attributed to Giambologna (BK-16502), Johan Gregor van der Scharde (BK-1955-5), Willem van Tetrode (BK-1953-19, BK-1954-43 and BK-1959-3), Hubert Gerhard (BK-1957-8 and BK-1959-2, both today attributed to Campagna), two bronzes after models by Adriaen de Vries (BK-16503 and BK-1957-2), Caspar Gras (acquired as De Vries, BK-16508), Hendrick de Keyser (BK-1959-61), and Arent van Bolten (BK-16127).
- 69**
A. Radcliffe, 'Scharde, Tetrode, and Some Possible Sculptural Sources for Goltzius', in G. Cavalli-Björkman (ed.), *Netherlandish Mannerism, Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, September 21–22, 1984*, Stockholm 1985, pp. 97–108, esp. pp. 100–01.
- 70**
B. van der Mark, 'Four North-German Bronze Lions from Bordesholm', *The Burlington Magazine* 157 (2015), pp. 749–57.
- 71**
J. Leeuwenberg, 'De gebedsnoot van Eewert Jansz van Bleiswick en andere werken van Adam Dirksz.', in J. Duverger, *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger: Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 2, Ghent 1968, pp. 614–24.
- 72**
F. Scholten, 'Daar krijgen we 'n hoop gedonder mee, de affaire van de beelden-groep uit Boekoel', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 54 (2006), pp. 460–68.
- 73**
J. van der Werf, 'Vormgeven in dienst van de beschouwing, de herinrichting van het Rijksmuseum 1945–1959', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 51 (2003), pp. 191–226.
- 74**
Oral communication Guido de Werd, 7 March 2017.
- 75**
Leeuwenberg's successor, Willy Halsema-Kubes, was responsible for the final editing and introduction, with Mart Kempers responsible for the publication's concise, visually austere design.

- 76**
The catalogue was praised in Charles Avery's review in *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), pp. 442–44 ('... the catalogue is a monumental work of scholarship, ranging with assurance over a number of heterogeneous fields ... the best-balanced catalogue of a general collection of sculpture anywhere in the world.'), as well as by Desiré Bouvy, director of the Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum in Utrecht (now Catharijneconvent) and an age-old opponent of Leeuwenberg, in *Simiolus* 7 (1974), pp. 103–06. For the difficult relations between Leeuwenberg and Bouvy, see the rather one-sided account in Defoer 2004 (note 66). Leeuwenberg's final academic article regarding a group of circa one-hundred 14th-century ivories, which he believed to be fakes from the early 19th century, created quite a stir. In the end, his conclusion proved unfounded: C14-dating research showed that at least a few of the core pieces cited in his arguments were in fact carved from ivory in the 14th century, including a group in the Rijksmuseum (BK-11156). See J. Leeuwenberg, 'Early Nineteenth-Century Gothic Ivories', *Aachener Kunstblätter* 39 (1969), pp. 111–48; further P. Williamson and G. Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings, 1200–1550*, 2 vols., coll. cat. London (Victoria and Albert Museum) 2014, vol. 1, pp. 128, 328, 498, and 529, and vol. 2, p. 876.
- 77**
'... eine europäische Skulpturensammlung von höchstem Rang, aber mit deutlichen Schwerpunkt in den Niederlanden' (Theodor Müller in a letter dated 13 February 1974, written to Willy Halsema-Kubes in response to the catalogue's publication).
- 78**
M.D. Haga, 'Mannheimer, de onbekende verzamelaar', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 22 (1974), pp. 87–95; Van 't Veen 2008 (note 53), pp. 69–71.
- 79**
W.M. Bayer, 'A Past That Won't Pass': Stalin's Museum Sales in a Transformed Global Context', *Journal for Art Market Studies* 2 (2018), no. 2; R. Gafifullin, 'Sales of Works From the Leningrad Palace Museums, 1926–1934', in A. Odom and W.R. Salmond (eds.), *Treasures into Tractors: The Selling of Russia's Cultural Heritage, 1918–1938*, Washington (D.C.) 2009, pp. 137–65.
- 80**
Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Special Collections & Visual Resources, Duveen Brothers Records, acc. no. 960015, no. 271, Duveen Folder 22, letter from Edward Fowles, Paris, to Bertram Boggis (?) in New York, 7 November 1933. My thanks to Mark Henderson, Los Angeles (written correspondence, 23 February 2005).
- 81**
J. de Hond and F. Scholten, 'The Elk Antler from the Funerary Chapel of Louis the Pious in Metz', *The Burlington Magazine* 155 (2013), pp. 372–80.
- 82**
P.M. de Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs*, Cleveland 1985.
- 83**
As stated in a letter of Hans Bräutigam, Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild's personal secretary and later his testamentary executor, addressed to Alfred Wolters, director of the Städtische Galerie in Frankfurt am Main, dated 6 July 1946 (Städel Museum Archive).
- 84**
J. Leeuwenberg, 'Het werk van den Meester der Musicerende Engelen en het vraagstuk van Jacob van der Borch opnieuw beschouwd', *Oud Holland* 63 (1948), no. 5/6, pp. 164–79.
- 85**
A.e Vels Heijn, 'In memoriam Willy Halsema-Kubes (1937–1992)', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 40 (1992), pp. 135–37.
- 86**
Halsema-Kubes 1980a (note 47).
- 87**
W. Halsema-Kubes, 'Twee onbekende retabelfragmenten van Adriaen van Wesel', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 28 (1980), pp. 155–66.
- 88**
G. de Werd, 'De pendant van Arnt van Trichts Johannes-beeld', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 28 (1980), pp. 118–24.
- 89**
W. Halsema-Kubes, 'Een Ursula-beeld door Henrik Douvermann', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 23 (1975), pp. 63–66.
- 90**
K. Fremantle and W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beelden Kijken: De kunst van Quellien in het Paleis op de Dam/Focus on Sculpture: Quellien's Art in the Palace on the Dam*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Royal Palace) 1977.
- 91**
De Vries's *Triton* has been preserved in the Rijksmuseum since 1977, on long-term loan from the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.
- 92**
Scholten 2021 (note 45).
- 93**
In 2013, the Province of North-Holland presented a marble mantelpiece by Piranesi (BK-15449), also originally from Welgelegen, to the Rijksmuseum on a permanent basis, after it had previously been held by the museum as a long-term loan for more than fifty years.
- 94**
F. Scholten, 'Johan Gregor van der Schardt, *Zelfportret. Een nipte verwerving*', in A. de Vries and F. Bijl de Vroe-Verloop (eds.), *Vereniging Rembrandt, verrijkend & verreikend*, s.l., 2009, pp. 15–18.
- 95**
Sale New York (Christie's), *The Exceptional Sale*, 11 December 2014, no. 10; F. Bijl de Vroe (ed.), *Het wonder van Adriaen de Vries*, The Hague 2015; *Going Once: 250 Years of Culture: Taste and Collecting at Christie's*, London 2016, no. 69; F. Scholten, *The Bacchant and Other Late Works by Adriaen de Vries*, Amsterdam 2017.
- 96**
H. Arendt, 'Introduction. Walter Benjamin: 1892–1940 (vol. 3 The Pearl Diver)', in W. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, London 2015, pp. 42–55, esp. pp. 54–55. J. Emerling, 'An Art History of Means: Arendt-Benjamin', *Journal of Art Historiography* 1 (December 2009), pp. 1–20; The pearl metaphor was also applied with the realization of the plans for the Rijksmuseum's new exhibition installation in the period 2003–2013, during which the new collection presentation was compared to a string of pearls.



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