

JOHN MICHAEL
MONTIAS

Art at *Auction*
in *17th Century*
Amsterdam

AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

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IN 17TH CENTURY AMSTERDAM

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JOHN MICHAEL MONTIAS

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For my wife Marie Agnes Montias

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Archival References	8
Monetary Equivalents	8
Notice	8
Part I - The Auctions	
Introduction	11
1 Orphan Chamber Auctions in Amsterdam	15
2 How Auction Sales of the Orphan Chamber Were Conducted	20
3 Extant Records of Auction Sales in Chronological Perspective	27
4 Aggregate Statistics of Sales and the Owners of Goods Sold	33
5 The Buyers at Auction Sales	41
6 The Wealth of Buyers	52
7 Clusters of Private Buyers	57
8 Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants	77
9 What Did They Buy and at What Prices?	87
10 Attributions	93
11 Echoes	100
12 Concluding Words on Auctions	108
Part II - Profiles of Selected Buyers	
Introduction	113
13 Art Dealers I: Artists and Merchants in the Trade	114
14 Art Dealers II: Johannes de Renialme	130
15 Art Dealers III: The Story of a Merchant Who Thought He Could Sell Paintings to a King	144

16	Art Collectors and Painters I: Rubens's Promise to Hans Thijsz.	153
17	Art Collectors and Painters II: Jacob Swalmius and Rembrandt	164
18	Art Collectors and Painters III: Marten van den Broeck and Rembrandt's Losses at Sea	180
19	Art Collectors and Painters IV: Jan van Maerlen and His Extended Family	188
20	Art Collectors and Painters V: Jean le Bleu, François Venant and Rembrandt's "Feast of Belshazzar"	204
21	A Collector with Connections to Major Cultural Figures: Robbert van der Hoeve and the "Muiden Circle"	209
22	What Santa Claus Brought to the Youth of Amsterdam	220
23	When Sellers and Buyers Were Related: Elbert and Cornelis Symonsz. Pool, Jeltge Claes, and Pieter Claesz. Codde	226
24	A Collector Who Held On to His Purchase for Over Fifty Years	234
25	An Afterword on <i>Mentalités</i>	243
	Bibliography	249
	Published Sources	251
	Notes	259

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John Michael Montias
New Haven, June 2002

References to Archival Sources

The archival references in this book, unless otherwise specified, are to manuscript sources preserved in the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam (*Gemeentearchief Amsterdam*, abbreviated GAA, but generally omitted). Within the GAA, I make use exclusively of three archives: notarial (abbreviated NA), Orphan Chamber (*Weeskamer*, abbreviated WK) and Bankruptcy Chamber (*Desolate Boedelskamer*, abbreviated DBK).

Monetary Equivalents

17th century prices and values, throughout this book, are either expressed in gulden (abbreviated *f*), stuivers (20 to the gulden, abbreviated st.), and penningen (16 to the stuiver, abbreviated pen.), or in Flemish pounds (6 gulden to a pound). Prices are usually expressed as in the following example: *f* 10: 5: 3. This should be read as 10 gulden, 5 stuivers, 3 penningen. In some tables, to save space, the stuivers have been converted to fractions of a gulden, rounded off to the second decimal. Thus, *f* 10.26 is equal to *f* 10: 5: 3. Occasional reference is also made to *schellingen*, worth 6 st. and to rijksdaalders (or ryxdaalders), worth 2 *f* 10 st.

It is useful to remember that a semi-skilled carpenter was paid about 1 gulden a day and that a typical merchant's house in Amsterdam cost anywhere from *f* 5,000 to 13,000 *f* (which was the price for which Rembrandt bought his large house on the Breestraat).

Notice

A reasonable attempt has been made to write the proper names in this book in a consistent manner. This means choosing one variant of each name as it was written in the 17th century and sticking through it. This standard has not systematically been achieved. However, the main variants of the “standard spelling” have been inserted in the index in parentheses wherever such minor inconsistencies have been detected.

Part I **The Auctions**

Introduction

In the economic development of Western Europe, urbanization, markets, and the commercialization of art followed parallel trends. In the course of time, when markets became fairly developed, auctions of general merchandise and of art works emerged –in ancient Rome, in early 15th century Venice,² in 16th century Antwerp and Amsterdam³– as a quick and efficient way to dispose of goods.

Amsterdam in the late 16th and 17th centuries was primarily a trading city. Almost everyone had things to sell, from the master craftsman to the merchant engaged in international trade. Already from the mid-1580s, after Antwerp had fallen to Spanish troops and its port on the Scheldt had been blocked by the Dutch insurgents in their war of liberation against Spain, Amsterdam had become the premier emporium and entrepôt of Europe, the place where merchants in the rest of Europe could most conveniently and economically purchase all manner of staples, from cannon shot to mercury. Many of these staples reached the market *via* agreements freely negotiated among competitive buyers and sellers on Amsterdam's stock market – its *beurs* – and in other places where traders met and dealt. But, as we shall see presently, auctions also played a significant role in making a market for a number of commodities, including lumber, leather, peat, spices, tulip bulbs, imported porcelain wares and ship's equipment. The “law of one price, one market” was already so well established by 1585 that weekly price lists were printed for most staples traded on the *beurs* which served as reference points for the rest of Europe.⁴ This commercial culture extended to trading in works of art. For a merchant or a successful craftsman who had attended auctions of spices or ship's equipment or who had traded on the *beurs*, buying works of art at an auction held by the Orphan Chamber or by the Bankruptcy Chamber (*Desolate Boedelskamer*) must have seemed like a natural extension of his business activity. Ever since the beginning of the 16th century paintings had been sold at auction as part of the estates of deceased citizens, along with their clothes, their furniture and their pots and pans. But for those who were too busy to attend these mixed sales, specialized auctions of works of art had been held in Amsterdam at least as early as 1608.⁵

The efficiency of Amsterdam's markets was enhanced by their volume and depth, which in turn depended to a major extent on the population of the city. This was of course a self-reinforcing mechanism: the larger and more capacious Amsterdam's markets became, the more they attracted traders and craftsmen from other parts of Europe, who settled in the Netherlands and contributed to the capacity of these markets. When Amsterdam's population numbered only 30,000 inhabitants in 1567, the

capital assets of its inhabitants were very limited. The town specialized in North-sea fishing and in importing grain and lumber from the Baltic regions, hardly the sort of high value-added trade on which it battered in later years. Starting around 1585, Flemish and German immigrants, some of whom came to the Dutch Republic because they were Protestants, others because they were attracted by its religious tolerance, by its relatively mild political regime, or by its prosperity began to inundate the city. Population rose explosively: from 60,000 inhabitants in 1585 to 105,000 in 1622, to an estimated 175,000 in 1650, and to 200,000 by the end of the century.⁶ Many of these immigrants, particularly from the Southern Netherlands, but also from Cologne, Hamburg, Dantzic, and Frankfurt in Germany and from Portugal (mainly Jews) brought capital with them. The immigrants brought valuable information – about foreign markets, emergent technologies, novel ways of doing business – which added to the local stock of knowledge. Information flowed freely through Amsterdam’s highly porous economy.⁷ The simultaneous accretion of population and capital, which continued to fructify in a propitious social and political environment, brought Amsterdam to its commercial eminence in 17th century Europe.

In any given historical context, some human activities are reflected in and commented on in contemporary writings, some are not. In 17th century Holland, for example, public preaching, military operations, and dancing were frequently cited in published and unpublished writings, from books, letters, sermons, and diaries to consistory records. Auctions, with very few exceptions, were not.⁸ They were not sinful; but neither were they edifying. They represented the sort of ethically neutral social mechanism that people took for granted and never commented on, at least in the writings that have come down to us. There are, to my knowledge, no contemporary representations of art auctions, as there are occasionally of raffles and lotteries.⁹ As an economist with an interest in social history, I could not have written this book on the basis of the occasional mentions of sales scattered in archival sources. That would have been like reconstructing the sociology of today’s stock market or of gambling casinos from odd stock market quotations or daily proceeds. Fortunately, I disposed of a trove of source material to work on, consisting of 29 thick Notebooks of auction records conducted by the Orphan Chamber of Amsterdam, which somehow escaped the ravages of time. These records, dating from 1597 to 1638, contained not only the bare-bones description of things sold – from bodkins to Dürer prints – and the prices they brought but, even more important to my purpose, the names of most of the buyers. (Only 17 percent of the buyers paid in cash and remained anonymous). These 2,000-odd buyers in 524 sales, along with the names of the owners of the goods sold, form the core of the present study. While I concentrated my efforts on sales of works of art (separately or as part of mixed sales with other goods), I also took an occasional look at sales of jewelry, porcelain, flower bulbs, and frames, to see whether the buying public for those goods was similar to or differed from that for works of art.¹⁰

In the first part of the book, I apprehend the auctions recorded in these Notebooks

chiefly from a “macro” perspective: I study the way auctions were organized and conducted, the wealth of owners and buyers, the subjects of works of art sold, the artists to which they were attributed (for a minority of the works sold), their prices, and so forth. In chapter 7, I begin to delve into the family, guild and business links among buyers. This descent into the “micro” sphere is essential to my purpose of moving from a bland, lifeless description to at least a partial reconstruction of auctions as a social activity. In part II, devoted to “selected buyers”, I trace the life trajectories of various individuals who are known to have bought at auction and insert them into a social and economic framework. The careers of the most prominent art dealers (and buyers) are traced in chapters 13 to 15. Four chapters are given over to the links between buyers and major artists, including Rembrandt, who was himself a buyer of art at auction. The activities of buyers who were immersed in the cultural life of Amsterdam are studied in chapters 21 and 22. One chapter toward the end of the book brings together some anecdotal evidence about a few buyers that may throw at least a slanting light on their *mentalités*. The “micro” material in parts I and II is more suggestive than probative. It is especially inadequate in explaining why buyers bought particular works of art at auction or, for that matter, from other venues. At a distance of nearly four hundred years, we can only make an occasional guess at their motivation. Nevertheless, I believe that this kind of detailed, prosopographic work is an indispensable step toward an understanding of the workings of the art market.

Orphan Chamber Auctions in Amsterdam

Auctions were held by the Orphan Chamber (*Weeskamer*) of Amsterdam at least as early as 1507. Auction sales of bankrupt estates, conducted by the “concierge” of the Town Hall, are first mentioned in 1544. These “executive sales” were taken over by the Bankruptcy Chamber (*Desolate Boedelskamer*) after about 1622. Ships and other merchandise were sold separately by the Chamber after 1637. In the 17th century, auction sales of goods brought from overseas territories were held under the auspices of the Orphan Chamber, by the United East Indies Company (V.O.C.), and by the West Indies Company (W.I.C.). All these, of course, were officially approved sales.¹¹ There were also unauthorized (“wild”) sales that the artists’ Guild of St. Luke, in particular, tried hard to interdict, but with only limited success. For merchandise that was not subject to guild control, such as flower bulbs, auction sales took place in inns without municipal or other supervision.

The records of executive sales and of all other sales held outside the jurisdiction of the Orphan Chamber are irremediably lost. We are exceptionally fortunate that the detailed records of auctions held by the Orphan Chamber have been preserved for a number of years between 1597 and 1638 in the 29 Notebooks already cited.¹² How precious and rare these records are may be judged from the following considerations. We have no actual records of other auction sales held in Amsterdam until the 18th century, and certainly no records containing the names of buyers.¹³ Only very few records of auction sales held in other cities of the United Provinces have survived for which buyers’ names are available.¹⁴

This book systematically exploits the information about the nature of the art objects sold in these auctions – paintings, drawings, prints, textiles with designated subjects, and so forth – the subjects they represented, their prices, and the attributions set down by the clerks in the Orphan Chamber notebooks. But it concentrates especially on the buyers whose names were recorded. As it turns out, four out of five buyers did not pay for their purchases in cash, and their names (as well, often, as their addresses) had to be set down by the clerk recording the sale in case they had to be traced if they failed to pay up. Many of these were professionals: art and print dealers, painters and sculptors utilizing the paintings and prints they bought in their ateliers or in their stock in trade. A majority were ordinary collectors, of whom most, we may suppose, were just intent on furnishing their homes. A significant minority, however, were art lovers (called *liefhebbers* in Dutch). These had a real interest in the quality of the works of art they bid on, as we may judge from the high prices they sometimes paid and from occasional notarial documents in which their collecting ac-

tivities were mentioned. I have also assembled all the information that I could find on the owners of the estates that were sold and of the individuals at whose request certain “voluntary” sales were held. Not all this information on buyers and sellers at my disposal is explicitly reproduced in this book: much has been aggregated in large groups (all buyers, all estates) or in subgroups (taxpayers, signers of the Remonstrant petition of 1628, artist-buyers, and so forth.) The detailed information can be retrieved from my database, available at the Frick Art Reference Library in New York. More information about the works of art collectors purchased is provided in the appendices to the chapters in part II of this book, which focuses on selected buyers.

In addition to man-made works of art, I have taken note from time to time of the “naturalia” – the products of nature, from ostrich eggs to dried lizards – that were included in certain sales and even of the artist’s materials – from frames to sacks of mineral earths from which paints were made after they were ground – in the post-mortem sales of artists. These “naturalia” and artists’ materials are generally included in the “total value of the works of art” of the sales where they appear.

The dates of sales covered by the Orphan Chamber notebooks – 1597 to 1638 – are of course due to the chances of the individual notebooks’ survival. If only one more notebook had been preserved, it would have comprised the most important art sale held by the Orphan Chamber that took place in the first forty years of the 17th century. This was the sale of goods brought by ship from Italy by Lucas van Uffelen, the total value of which amounted to 59,546 *f*. This sum amounted to nearly 60 percent of the total value of the works of art I have extracted from the Orphan Chamber notebooks during the entire period 1597 to 1638. What appears to have been the most expensive painting in the Van Uffelen collection – the portrait of Baldassare Castiglione by Raphael – sold for 3,500 *f*, which was equal to almost five times the value of the most expensive work of art sold in the previous 41 years (an album of prints or drawings by Lucas van Leyden). What we know about this sale comes from a sketch that Rembrandt made of the Castiglione portrait on which he jotted down the auction price of the portrait and the total value of the Van Uffelen shipment (*cargaison*) and from some scattered notes that Joachim von Sandrart made about the paintings sold in his book, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*.¹⁵

The Orphan Chamber of Amsterdam dates back at least to 1500 when three former aldermen and members of the Amsterdam Council (*Raad*) were appointed to serve as Masters of the Chamber (*weesmeesters*).¹⁶ In 1624, the number of Masters was increased to four and later to five or six. They were named by the Burgomasters on February 2nd of each year. The regulations stipulated that they had to have been citizens of Amsterdam for at least seven years and to be “forty years of age or thereabout”.¹⁷ Most of the Masters were present or past members of the *Raad* of Amsterdam, from among whom the burgomasters and aldermen who ran the city were chosen. Masters were frequently appointed at the end of their political career or as a consolation prize for having been denied a more important political post.

The Orphan Chamber was administered on a daily basis by a secretary and by one or more “delegates” (*boden*) who were also the auction masters in charge of sales. The *boden* had to put up a sizeable security (*borgstelling*) of 10,000 *f* to hold their job (raised to 15,000 *f* in 1637).¹⁸ The expanding scope of the Orphan Chamber sales is perhaps reflected in the growing number of *boden*: there was only one *bode*, until 1617; there were two from 1617 to 1636; and three from that year on. Gerrit Jansz. Block was in office from 3 June 1597 to May 1603; Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh, from June 1603 to 1637; Jan Dircksz. van Beuningen, from 1617 to 1627; Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen, the son of Jan Dircksz., from 1627 to 1648, a period that overlapped in part with the stewardship of Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh. A third *bode*, named Abraham Jansz. (Croonenburgh) was added in 1636 (whose records are entirely lost).

The Masters and their staff were essentially responsible for disposing of the estates of deceased residents – not necessarily citizens of Amsterdam – who had left heirs of minor age (less than 25 years old and unmarried). Each week, the gravemakers of the churches and the cemeteries of Amsterdam were obligated to hand over to the Orphan Chamber the names and addresses of men or women who had died leaving heirs of minor age. Whereupon the surviving husband or wife (or if neither had survived, the nearest relative) was summoned by the *bode* of the Chamber in order to show evidence of the estate. This had to be done within six weeks of burial, except in the case of death from the plague where delays were allowed. It was apparently at this point that the testament of the deceased was read. If the testament formally excluded the Orphan Chamber from administering the estate,¹⁹ the Chamber handed over responsibility to the heirs. But if it had not, the oldest heir had to make an inventory of the entire estate, which was to be shown to the nearest relatives. It was then determined whether the estate showed a positive or a negative net worth, that is, if the value of the movable goods, real estate and other valuables in the estate exceeded its outstanding debts.²⁰ If both parents were dead, the estate was sold at auction, and the proceeds were deposited in the “drawers” (*laden*) of the Orphan Chamber.²¹ Whether or not the estate was immediately sold, the Orphan Chamber took over the administration of the estate until the heirs reached majority age.

In the 1620s, between 200 and 300 heirs and guardians made an appearance before the Orphan Chamber each year.²² This was only a small fraction of the total number of Amsterdam inhabitants who were buried each year – an average of approximately 5,000 per year from 1617 to 1630.²³ Even assuming that the number of adults leaving heirs of minor age only amounted to 30 to 40 percent of the number of burials, or about 1,500 to 2,000 per year, this would still imply that a mere 10-15 percent of those adults made an appearance on behalf of the heirs of minor age before the Chamber. The rest of the “estates” were so small (or negative in value) that there was little or nothing for the heirs to collect in the Chamber. These poor people, who made up the overwhelming majority of the population of Amsterdam, were generally buried *pro deo*, for God’s sake. Interestingly enough, the percentage of the adults making an appearance on behalf of heirs of minor age before the Orphan Chamber is

roughly equal to the percentage of households paying a tax of 5 *f* or more in the records of the 0.5 percent tax on assessed wealth for Amsterdam in 1631. In subsequent chapters, I shall frequently advert to these tax records for 1631, which are unique for the period under consideration (1597-1638).

There is evidence that many rich citizens tried to avoid the involvement of the Chamber in their succession. In 1603, the masters of the Chamber complained that people disposing of means (*vermogende lieden*) excluded the Chamber with the consequence that the Chamber was left burdened with “less productive” inventories. This was the reason the Masters gave in 1603 for raising the “benefit of exclusion” (the charge on estates that had excluded the Chamber) from 4 stuivers to anywhere between 10 and 20 stuivers, at the discretion of the Chamber. This modest charge probably had little effect in discouraging better-off citizens from excluding the Chamber. It was also on this occasion that the Masters of the Chamber redefined the orphans under its jurisdiction to include “all persons who had lost one or both of their parents”.²⁴

A primary responsibility of the Chamber was to appoint guardians for the orphans. Normally, these were blood relatives, but the Masters could also choose other persons if there were no close relatives or, in case there were, if these relatives were thought unsuitable. Relatives who were named as guardians had to accept the responsibility, unless they had good and sufficient reason (absence, illness, age, or other impediments) to escape it. Guardians received 2.5 percent of the proceeds of sales of estates and 1.5 percent of any rent-yielding obligations deposited with the Chamber on behalf of the heirs.

A complaint that was sometimes expressed was that the relatives did not have sufficient influence on the choice of guardians, which made the Chamber “unpopular”.²⁵ The guardians who were not blood relatives were called *suppoosten* (aids or suppliants). They were bound to the Orphan Chamber during their entire life. They received the same emoluments as guardians who were blood relatives. These could amount to substantial sums for the estates of wealthy citizens, and there was apparently no lack of candidates for the job of *suppoost*.²⁶ As we shall see in chapter 8, many buyers at auction were recruited from the milieu of the Orphan Chamber’s administration, including the auction masters (*boden*) themselves, but also from among the secretaries of the Chamber and the *suppoosten*.

Did the sales of the movable goods in the estates under the custody of the Orphan Chamber comprise all the goods that these inventories contained? Some sales appear reasonably complete, as may be inferred from the presence at the sale of close family members who bought lots which they might otherwise have obtained privately before the sale took place. However, there is no doubt that family portraits were generally retained by the family. Very few were auctioned off. We also know of a few instances where family members bought items from the estate before the Orphan Chamber held the sale. One clear instance of a sale that did not comprise the entire estate of a deceased citizen occurred in the case of the 1629 inventory of the estate of the

wine dealer Garbrant Claesz. van Hooren and Trijn Pieters.²⁷ The clerk writing down the inventory added the following note: “Household items, including paintings and the wine-dealer’s equipment, were sold to various persons, including the son Pieter, whose debts have been listed among the debtors to the estate, and the rest was sold by the servant of the Orphan Chamber, which brought a sum of 845 *f*, after deduction of all costs.” Many sales comprised no clothing. I have systematically omitted these patently incomplete estates from my calculations of the percentage value of works of art in the total value of estates sold at auction (although I am well aware that many of the estates that I did include were probably incomplete as well).

How Auction Sales of the Orphan Chamber Were Conducted

Normally, estates were divided among the heirs either in accord with the provisions of the testament of the deceased or, in the absence of a testament, according to the laws and regulations of the States of Holland and West Friesland.²⁸ However, the rules of the Orphan Chamber allowed an exception to the division rule at the request of the surviving parent. He or she could request that “an act of sale (*uytkoop*)” be passed by the Chamber. By holding a sale, the surviving parent could make sure that the children would have enough money to pay for their wedding or for their coming of age.²⁹

Even if we include all the voluntary sales, only some of which were made at the request of guardians, there is only a record, in the Notebooks that have been preserved, of some 80-90 sales per year or about a third of the appearances before the Chamber (in the 1620s). This implies in turn that only 3 to 5 percent of the estates of inhabitants leaving minor heirs were put up at auction. We do not know whether this low proportion was due mainly to the will of testators to exclude the Orphan Chamber from handling their estate, to the poverty of most deceased persons who simply did not have enough assets to warrant a sale, to the decision of surviving parents to divide the estate among the heirs without resorting to a sale, or, in certain years, to the loss of records. There is some evidence that estates with numerous heirs, especially of different ages and marital status, were more likely to be sold at auction than those with one or two direct heirs (like a son and a daughter). Clearly, apportioning a sum of money among several heirs was easier than dividing up a large number of objects left in the estate among them.

Guardians, as we have seen, could request that the goods of their wards be sold at auction. In such cases, they could also bid at the sale, and they often did so. The value of their purchases was then generally subtracted from the net proceeds of the sale. This is the meaning of the clerk’s notation, in lieu of the buyer’s name, of the expression “at whose request” (*tot wiens versoeck*), which was sometimes accompanied by the name of a relative of the deceased owner.³⁰

Whether or not the estates to be sold were appraised by sworn appraisers prior to a sale and the estimates used as points of departure for setting the prices at the sale, as has been argued by the respected archivist Isabella van Eeghen, is not altogether clear.³¹ In her account, which is not supported by any examples from archival records,³² appraisers first set firm prices based on their appraisals for all the items

that were to be sold at a sale (*vastgestelde prijzen*); these prices then served as a starting point for the bidding process, whether by *opslag* (English auction) or by *afslag* (Dutch auction).³³ In the case of English auctions, Van Eeghen suggested, the auctioneer was not supposed to accept bids lower than these prices. I have seen no evidence confirming the existence of these minimum prices, which I am inclined to believe did not exist or, if they did, were not enforced. The Notebooks contain the records of a few sales that were made precisely at the prices set by appraisers, but then these were not auctions at all. For example, in a sale that took place in the first days of September 1618 of some of the goods belonging to the rich merchant Albert Symonsz. Jonckheijn (his other goods were sold at auction), some items were sold by the sworn appraisers Barbara Jacobs and Reym Thijs. “at the prices that had been set” (*zijn vercocht voor de prijzen daerbij gestelt*). It was furthered specified that the goods were to be sold “with and to the persons hereby present” (*met ende aen de neffens staende personen*). From the list of buyers, I interpret this to mean that only family members, guardians or other relatives were authorized to buy at such a sale.³⁴ In any case, if minimum auction prices at regular auctions had been enforced, one would have expected that many items would have remained unsold. In fact, I found only 13 lots³⁵ (out of nearly 13,000 in my sample) that were withdrawn from sale (*opgehouden*) and one of those was withheld “for the children”.³⁶ If minimum prices had been imposed, we would have expected that hundreds, if not thousands, of lots would have remained unsold.³⁷ It is also noteworthy that most of the pre-sale inventories of the Orphan Chamber that have survived do not contain prices at all.³⁸

I now begin a discussion of the two types of auction that were in common use in Amsterdam for household goods, including art works. In auctions of the English type, bids for a lot went up until no bidder was willing to bid a higher price. In Dutch-type auctions, the bidding for a lot started at a higher price than anyone was willing to pay. The lot was then offered for successively lower prices until, at some price, someone put out his or her hand and said “mine”, thereby signifying his or her willingness to buy the lot at that price, and the bidding stopped. The auctioneer awarded the lot to the first person to “*mijnen*” (literally, say “mine”).

According to the 18th century historian Jan Wagenaar, the goods in the estates of orphans, both of whose parents had died, that were sold by auction by the Orphan Chamber went “to the highest bidder” (*aan de meest biedende*).³⁹ I know of only one document dating from the period of the extant Notebooks that states explicitly that a painting was sold to the highest bidder. On 14 August 1634, an Amsterdam notary, acting at the request of the painter Frans Hals, called at the house of the *bode* Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen to lodge a complaint regarding a painting by (Hendrick) Goltzius which he, Hals, had bought at auction for 86 *f*. The sale had been held the preceding Thursday at the house of Emanuel Colijn, a bookseller and frequent buyer at auction, on the Dam (probably a voluntary sale at Colijn’s request). It had been advertised by handbills (*biljetten*) as a sale to the highest bidder (*meest biedende*). After several inquiries as to whether anyone wished to bid more, the painting had been

knocked off to Hals. Since he had no money with him, he had gone to get some, leaving the painting in the care of Van Beuningen.⁴⁰ When he had come back with the money, Van Beuningen had refused to deliver it to him. The notary lodged the protest with the wife of Van Beuningen in his absence. Eventually Van Beuningen himself announced that the painting was “with the doctor” (perhaps an underbidder who offered the auctioneer a higher price after the sale) and suggested that Hals should speak to him.⁴¹ Unfortunately, the record of this sale has not been preserved, and we have no way of knowing who the “doctor” was, or whether Hals ever got his painting.

We also have indirect evidence that lots were sold to the highest bidder at the Lucas van Uffelen sale of September 1639 that I cited in the first chapter: Joachim Sandrart informs us that he bid 3,400 *f* for the Raphael portrait of Castiglione, which was finally sold for 3,500 *f* to Alphonse Lopez.⁴² We know, besides, that spices, almonds, and spice-dealer’s equipment were sold to the highest bidder in an Orphan Chamber sale in 1625.⁴³

Nevertheless, it would seem that the auction masters could choose whether they wished to sell goods in a Dutch-type auction if they wished.⁴⁴ There were often disputes among the second-hand dealers (*uitdraagsters*) as to who had said “mine” first.⁴⁵ Although I could find no specific reference in the Notebooks of the Orphan Chamber about the auction master’s resort to this method, I am inclined to believe that the smaller auctions attended chiefly by second-hand dealers were of the Dutch type.⁴⁶

As already said, there are no contemporary descriptions of Orphan Chamber sales. The closest thing to a description of any auction sale that I can provide is the following deposition about an auction of porcelain that took place under the auspices of the United East Indies Company (V.O.C.) On August 22, 1624, a woman named Anthonyntje Willems, 50 years of age, declared at the request of Maria Abrahams that Maria, in the last sale of porcelain in the Boshuys (where V.O.C. sales were conducted), had turned over to her twelve large cups which she, Maria, sitting at the table (*aende taefel sittende*), had bought for 18 stuivers a piece and which she let her, Anthonyntje, have for 20 stuivers a piece. Anthonyntje had immediately paid Maria 20 stuivers per piece. She had seen how Maria had taken her profit (*bate*) and placed the money for her purchase in the spoon or ladle (*lepel*) and paid.⁴⁷ The deposition was probably made because Maria Abraham’s payment in the *lepel* had been questioned. This *lepel* was presumably a receptacle at the end of a handle, similar to those that are still used in Dutch churches to collect the offerings of the faithful.⁴⁸ Why was Maria Abrahams sitting “at the table” while Anthonyntje Willems was not? In modern auctions, men and women “sitting at the table” are usually taking bids for other people or recording transactions. Did certain *uitdraagsters* or *taxeersters* have privileged access which permitted them to make exclusive bids and turn the goods over to resellers for a quick profit? In this instance, it is clear that Abrahams was expected to pay almost immediately, in contrast to Orphan Chamber sales where most buyers, including *uitdraagsters*, were given six-weeks credit.⁴⁹

Were auction sales organized by the Orphan Chamber competitive, and therefore “efficient” in the economic sense? Sources of inefficiency might be of two types: 1) collusion between or among different auction houses to maintain high charges on buyers and sellers and 2) collusion among buyers to purchase lots at lower than competitive prices.

Although there was little competition among different auctioneers in Amsterdam – each type of auction specialized in different goods – the charges levied, as we shall see presently, were so modest that they cannot have been a major source of inefficiency. Buyers paid no premium whatsoever (compared to contemporary auctions by major auction houses in New York where they pay 15 to 20 percent of the auction price, depending on the value of their purchase, plus sales taxes). Five percent of the proceeds were retained for “salary”, which the *bode* and the secretary of the Chamber shared equally.⁵⁰ This division, as we shall see presently, sometimes led to disputes. There were, in addition, some minor expenses incurred by the auctioneer in organizing the auction that were deducted from the proceeds of the sale before the money was turned over to one of the guardians or the persons at whose request the sale was held. These expenses are unrecorded for most years. Exceptionally, in late 1602 and 1603, they were itemized for most sales.⁵¹ They included either 2 or 4 stuivers to the individual who went around town proclaiming the sale, probably with the accompaniment of a drum (*omroepen*); 12 stuivers to 1 gulden 10 stuivers for one to three days work in “setting up the table” (*taeffel setten*); and in some, but by no means all, of the sales, a sum that could go as high as 10 *f* for “opleggen”, which apparently referred to the costs of collecting the goods to be sold, any storage costs that may have been incurred, and the expenses in stacking up the goods.⁵² This charge, too, was sometimes accompanied by a notice of the number of days involved, normally one to three. Finally, in the case of more wealthy estate owners, whose inventories contained significant amounts of silver and gold, a few stuivers were charged for weighing these precious metals.

As we have just seen, the only charges we know about are those for relatively small auctions that took place in 1602-1603. These auctions were not important enough to justify the distribution of catalogues of their contents. However, for some very important auctions, even in the period covered by the Notebooks, catalogues were printed. None of these catalogues has survived. The only evidence we have of them is an occasional marginal inscription of a catalogue number, as in the case of the Gommer Spranger sale of February 1638.⁵³ I will discuss the second potential source of inefficiency – collusion among buyers – presently.

In principle, according to a regulation of the Orphan Chamber dating back to 1507, goods bought at Orphan Chamber sales were paid in cash, but, in most years, the *bode* gave buyers six-weeks credit to pay.⁵⁴ Buyers wishing to obtain credit had to get an individual known as a surety (*borg*) to guarantee payment in case he or she failed to pay. The name of the *borg* was supposed to be recorded in the register of the sale.⁵⁵ This regulation was still in effect a century later. In fact, the *borg* was rarely cit-

ed by the clerk in any of the preserved notebooks for purchases of works of art.⁵⁶ It was much more common in sales where expensive jewels or other precious objects were sold.

Because the *boden* of the Chamber did not always make sure that someone would guarantee the purchase, and buyers, especially *uitdraagsters*, frequently accumulated arrears, the *boden* sometimes were unable to pay the owners of the goods sold. In such cases, they were solely responsible – i.e., they did not in principle share the loss with the Chamber’s secretaries – for these payments. In March 1625, the male *uitdraagster* known as Groen Ridder declared bankruptcy. The *boden* Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh and Jan Dircksz. van Beuningen requested that the secretaries share in the loss. The question was submitted to arbitration. The “good men” decided that Haringh would get a rebate of 200 *f* on the amounts he owed, but Van Beuningen would get none because he had already received a rebate of 212 *f* on a previous occasion.⁵⁷ If the *boden* advanced money to consigners *before* the auction, as we know they sometimes did, their exposure to financial risk becomes all the more obvious.⁵⁸ We have already seen that the *boden* themselves, in order to hold their job, had to put up a sizable guarantee to make sure that sellers of goods would be paid. In at least one instance – that of Gerrit Jansz. Bock, who was *bode* from 1597 to 1603 – the financial difficulties faced by a *bode* forced him to give up his appointment.⁵⁹

In modern auctions of art works, dealers and other specialists in the trade frequently buy lots on behalf of clients. This was also probably the practice in the 17th century, but the evidence of its occurrence is very thin. In the Notebooks of sales that have survived, 22 lots were sold to individuals who acted on behalf of other buyers. Nine of these were lots bought by the painter François Venant for (*voor*) Isack van der Putt (or Putten) in a sale of 1635. Isack van der Putt seems to be identical with the young man of that name who was baptized on 3 August 1618 and would have been 17 years old in 1635.⁶⁰ I have found other buyers who were as young as 16 or 17, including Leendert van Beyeren, the Rembrandt pupil, who apparently bought lots on his own account. Yet it seems likely in this case that Van der Putt was Venant’s pupil or his ward and that the older man was obligated to act in his stead. I was only able to find one instance of an *uitdraagster* explicitly buying for another person. This was Mary Andries who paid half a gulden in 1602 for a print of “Daniel in the Lion’s Den” which she had bought “for another”. Other instances concern relatives (a brother, a brother-in-law) buying for each other. In one instance, Van der Veene (no first name indicated) bought a lot for Vranck Coningh, whom I have not been able to identify. If I may judge from his apparent absence in the Amsterdam archives, Coningh may have been living out of town. It is quite possible that *boden*, who were fairly frequent buyers, in spite of the prohibition against the practice, purchased lots for clients, but I could not find a single instance where this was specifically mentioned.

Isabella van Eeghen, by carefully examining the records of the Jan Basse sale of March 1637, detected an instance where a buyer – it happened to be Rembrandt –

turned over lots that he apparently had in surplus (above his needs or his financial capacity) to other buyers.⁶¹ I will briefly summarize the evidence at this point, leaving the details for chapter 17. The auctioneer for the Jan Basse sale of 1637, Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen, had jotted down in back of the Notebook recording the sale some notes on three lots. The three lots – the first consisting of miscellaneous prints, the second of two prints, and the third of shells or volutes (*borens*) – had been purchased by Rembrandt on March 14 (the first two lots) and on March 19 (the last lot). They were apparently turned over to Guillaem van Neurenburgh⁶² (the first and the third lot) and to the silversmith Adriaen ter Haer (the second lot), who were now responsible for payment (Van Neurenburgh owed 8 gulden, Ter Haer 5 gulden). The phenomenon of buyers cooperating with each other in the purchasing of lots brings to mind the possibility of collusion, the second source of inefficiency to which I have alluded. Already at the end of the 16th century, the regulations of the Orphan Chamber sought to prevent *uitdraagsters* from banding together to keep down prices and, for those taking part in these “rings”, from holding secondary auctions among themselves afterwards.⁶³ It is significant in this connection that *uitdraagsters* dominated the small estate sales, usually held at the house of the deceased owner. When only a few of them (four or five) who knew each other well were present, it must have been easy to come to an agreement to hold down prices. This may be the reason why at least some of these small sales were (perhaps) conducted *bij afslag* (according to the Dutch principle of downward bidding). In such an auction, any “spoiler” by putting out his or her hand when a price lower than the going market price for an item has been announced (but not as low as the price that members of the “ring” are trying to bring it down to) will stop the auction process for that item. In so doing, the spoiler obtains most of the difference between the going price and the final-bid price. This does not work so well in an English-type auction. For here, the would-be spoiler cannot stop the auction by “sudden death”. The designated buyer of the ring can bid up the item until the competitive price has been reached, thus depriving the spoiler of his or her spoil.

Isabella van Eeghen also thought she had uncovered some instances of collusion in the Gommer Spranger sale of February 1638.⁶⁴ All but one of her examples are open to alternative explanations, but, as we shall see in chapter 17, a fairly compelling case can be made for the sale of a series of prints of the engraving of “*De dromer*” (“The Dreamer”) (now called “Temptation of the Idler”) by Albrecht Dürer. My conclusion, however, is that if there was collusion here it was on a very small scale.

This example of a mild type of collusion is an exception that proves the rule: in important sales where there were many buyers who did not necessarily know each other, collusion was difficult to achieve.⁶⁵

The instance from the Jan Basse sale was one where prices were (apparently) held down. It was widely believed in the 17th century that there were also attempts to puff up auction prices above the competitive value of the objects sold. One famous instance involves Rembrandt who was said to have been paid 2 gulden 10 stuivers to attend the sale of the paintings of Jan Jansz. Uijl to raise their prices.⁶⁶ But the entry in

the accounts of the attorney Trojanus de Magistris, who was dispensing the income available to Arent Jansz. Uijl and to his brother the still-life painter Jan Uijl, merely reads: “On 7 October 1637, paid to Jan Jansz. Uijl to go and attend the sale of his paintings with Rembrandt a *rijcxdaelder* f 2:10:--.”⁶⁷ This says nothing about Rembrandt being rewarded for bidding up Jan Uijl’s paintings.⁶⁸ There were also reports that Rembrandt bid up the prices of rare impressions of prints (leading to the large sums he paid for Lucas van Leyden prints),⁶⁹ but there is no clear evidence that these prices were artificially high, in the sense that the underbidders would have been unwilling to pay prices close to those bid by Rembrandt. I am more impressed by a deposition of December 1668 (thus beyond the period of the Notebooks) in which the painter Gerrit van Battem made a declaration at the request of the painter Philips de Koninck concerning an auction of the prints and drawings left by the Rembrandt pupil Johannes Furnerius.⁷⁰ According to Van Battem, De Koninck, who held a procuration from the heirs of Furnerius (and from Van Battem himself), had done everything in his power and in keeping with his obligation, to his cost and disadvantage, to bring the highest prices for the works that were sold.⁷¹ Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear what these words mean. Suppose De Koninck had bid up the prices of the prints and drawings. Why should this have been “to his cost and disadvantage”? Did he make bids that were so high that he was forced to acquire lots that he did not want? That would, in and of itself, imply that “puffing up” was a hazardous enterprise.

My impression, over all, is that collusion among buyers to keep prices down or to keep them up was rare, if it occurred at all, and that the auctions held by the Orphan Chamber were reasonably competitive.

In this chapter, I have had numerous occasions to distinguish the small estate sales, generally held at the house of the deceased, from the important estate and voluntary sales, which were held at the “*Drie Hammetjes*”, an inn on the Dam, or in the house of the auctioneer of the Orphan Chamber. Those that were held at the house of the deceased were attended more or less exclusively by *uitdraagsters* and the relatives of the late owner or owners; those that were held in the “*Drie Hammetjes*” and some of those held at the house of the auctioneer were attended by a broad public, consisting of art and book dealers, artists, and private buyers with some means.

After a summary of the extant records of auction results in the next chapter, I present in Chapter 4 a quantitative analysis of the relative importance of these different categories of buyers in my sample of 524 Orphan Chamber sales.

Extant Records of Auction Sales in Chronological Perspective

A few sales records dating to the years 1530-1534, written on loose sheets of paper, have been preserved. Works of art – some of which were fairly expensive, in terms of the much lower prices that prevailed in those times⁷² – were included among household goods in these sales. But the only available corpus of data consists of the records of the 1597-1638 auction sales, which are consigned in the 29 Notebooks preserved in the Amsterdam archives. Of these, all but one was said to contain the results of estate sales (*erfhuizen*). The exception is a Notebook of “voluntary sales” (*willige verkopen*) for the period 1608-1610. In point of fact, the Notebooks of *erfhuizen* actually contained numerous voluntary sales, and it is not certain that other notebooks of voluntary sales ever existed.⁷³ Some of the Notebooks recording estate sales that occurred between 1597 and 1638 have been lost: there are no records of estate sales held by Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh covering the period July 1604 to June 1605 or February 1615 to May 1616 or from December 1617 to February 1620. There is a gap in the estate sales organized by *bode* Jan Dircksz. van Beuningen running from February 1623 to the end of November 1624; in the estate sales organized by Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen, the gaps run from August 1630 to May 1635 and from September 1636 to January 1637. The records of the sales held by Abraham Jansz. (appointed as a third *bode* in 1636) are entirely lost.⁷⁴

I have found a few references to sales that were apparently held under the auspices of the Orphan Chamber whose records have been lost. On 19 May 1607, the servant of the goldsmiths’ guild circulated an announcement addressed to all the prominent jewelers of Amsterdam in which he informed them that an auction sale of a large quantity of pearls was going to be held at the house of Anna Vrancken, called “*de drie Morianen*”, on the Nieuwendijk.⁷⁵ There is no record in the surviving notebooks that such a sale was ever held by the Orphan Chamber. On 26 November 1619, Pieter de Wit, merchant in Amsterdam, declared at the request of the painter Jacob van Nieu-landt, representing Franchoy Seghers living in Antwerp, that “about two years ago, the precise time unrecalled”, at the public sale held in the house of the late Abraham Vinck, painter, of the heirs of the late Louys Vincon, painter, he had bought a painting, being the crucifixion of St. Andrew, which the sellers claimed to be a painting by Michael Angelo Caravaggio.⁷⁶ Louys Vincon was the painter Louis Finson (or Ludovicus Finsonius).⁷⁷ It should be noted that Abraham Vinck died in 1619 and that the sale, which was held at his house, was that of Finson’s estate. If the memory of the

witness was more or less reliable, “two years ago” would place the sale in late 1617, in the gap cited in the text in the records of Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh (December 1617 to February 1620).

Another, even more specific reference was found in the papers of the Orphan Chamber relating to the estate of Catalyne van Coninxloo, the daughter of the painter Gillis van Coninxloo and the widow of the painter Jonas van Meerlen (alias van Maerlen). According to this source, all the movable goods of Catalyne van Coninxloo were sold on 8 January 1618 at a public sale “by Gerrit Jacobsz. the servant of the Orphan Chamber” for 289 *f* 1 st. All the items sold, including a few inexpensive works of art, were recorded in this accounting, along with their prices, but with the omission of the buyers’ names.⁷⁸ The records of this sale have also been lost.

Finally, from a notarial document dated 7 June 1618, we learn that the art dealer Michiel le Fort had received an advance of 550 *f* from *bode* Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh for paintings that were to be sold at auction “as quickly as possible.”⁷⁹ The record of this sale has also disappeared. The sales of Catalyne’s estate and of the paintings consigned by Le Fort were probably included in the same missing Notebook of 1618-1619 as the sale of the Finson estate.

I have already alluded to an Orphan Chamber auction of August 1634 where Frans Hals was a buyer, the records of which fell in the missing gaps between Notebooks.

Isabella van Eeghen found references to a notebook, dated from 28 February 1618 to 27 April 1619, containing “executive sales” (sales of bankrupt estates), which Jacobus Noordkerk consulted in the Town Hall in the 18th century but which later disappeared.⁸⁰ (I have checked this source and found no more information on the sales of the Desolate Boedelskamer than she did). Isabella van Eeghen also noted the total proceeds of a few sales held by the *boden* Abraham Jansz. (appointed in 1636) and Hartman Hartmans (appointed in 1646), including the sale of Susanna de la Vigne, held in 1647, which brought a total 16,000 *f*. It is not known what portion of this total was represented by works of art. There is also some evidence, including a printed handbill, relating to the sale of art works from Rembrandt’s bankrupt estate. In general, the inventories of bankrupt estates under the Desolate Boedelskamer (ordinarily unassessed) that are dated from 1643 on have been preserved, but not the records of the corresponding auction sales.⁸¹

The Van Uffelen sale took place in September 1639, a year after the last record entered in a preserved Notebook. As we have already seen, the total proceeds of the auction, which seem to have consisted mainly or entirely of works of art that had been shipped from Italy, came to 59,456 *f*.⁸² Among the most expensive works of art at the Van Uffelen auction were the portrait of Baldassare Castiglione by Raphael which sold for 3,500 *f* (bought by Alphonse Lopez) and a painting of the Virgin Mary by Titian, for 3,000 *f* (bought by Joachim Sandrart). The most expensive lot recorded in the notebooks of the Orphan Chamber that *have* been preserved was a *konstboeck* containing drawings by Lucas van Leyden which sold for 637 *f* 10 st. in

the Jan Basse sale of 1637 (bought by Leendert van Beyeren, a pupil of Rembrandt). It is not clear whether the Van Uffelen sale was a harbinger of large international sales to come or an “outlier”, a sale that was much larger and featured much higher prices than both those that preceded it and those that followed it. In any case, it already had the earmarks of a sale of genuine international importance. The principal buyers, Alphonse Lopez and Joachim Sandrart, were both foreigners, in contrast to the sales recorded in the Notebooks where there were no foreign buyers and few out-of-town buyers of any sort.⁸³ The Amsterdam auctions at that time were still essentially a local phenomenon.⁸⁴

One (tenuous) indication of the local character of these early auctions is that there was no overlap whatsoever in the set of known buyers at Amsterdam auctions and of the hundreds of buyers identified at a major auction of paintings by artists domiciled in The Hague that took place in 1647.⁸⁵ To be sure, nine years separated the end of the period for which we have auction records in Amsterdam from the date of The Hague auction, but many of the same buyers must have been active in Amsterdam in 1647 as in 1638, so that, if there had been a great deal of overlap, we should have expected to observe some sign of it.

I begin now my statistical analysis of the contents of the sales. In my near-exhaustive selection of sales recorded in the Notebooks, I have included all the sales that comprised at least one work of art that sold for more than 5 *f* or that contained works of art that sold for a total of at least 12 *f*.⁸⁶ These were arbitrary limitations: I have in fact included many sales that were well within these limits, that is, that contained no work of art that sold for more than 2 or 3 gulden or that sold, in total, for less than 12 *f*.

How important were the Orphan Chamber sales relative to the Amsterdam market as a whole? I can provide only an order of magnitude to answer this question. Consider the year 1609 when the notebooks of both estate sales and voluntary sales have been preserved. There were 571 paintings in the sales in my sample for that year (which, as we saw, included all the sales in the notebooks containing any but the cheapest and most inconsequential works of art). This would seem to be a small fraction – perhaps of the order of 3-5 percent – of the total market for paintings in Amsterdam.⁸⁷ Even in 1625 when, due to some important sales, some 1,170 paintings were auctioned, the fraction represented by the auction sales of the Orphan Chamber probably did not rise above 5 percent of the capacity of the market, which had become substantially greater than in 1609. An indication that purchases at auction in the preserved Notebooks did not represent a very high proportion of the paintings acquired by Amsterdam burghers comes from the evidence of notarial inventories, from subsequent post mortem auction sales, and in a few cases from the inventories of bankrupt individuals (*Desolate Boedelskamer*). An analysis of inventories or sales of individuals who are known to have bought at Orphan Chamber sales earlier shows that their purchases at these sales, when they can be recognized, represent only a small percentage of their subsequent inventories or post-mortem sales.⁸⁸ It would

appear that most collectors bought the greater part of the works of art in their collections from art dealers (including small-time operators at fairs), from the artists themselves, or from private transactions, rather than at auction. A relevant fact to consider in this connection is that the overwhelming majority of the buyers at the auction sales whose records have been preserved (other than dealers or other professionals related to the art trade) bought only at one or two auction sales in the preserved Notebooks in the entire period 1597-1638 (or the part of this period when they were active).⁸⁹ This relative lack of importance has not been, nor should it be, a deterrent to the study of the Notebooks that have survived. They are, after all, a virtually unique record of the prices that were actually paid for works of art, in contrast to notarial inventories and the inventories preserved in the archive of the *Desolate Boedelskamer*, the art works in which, if they were assessed at all, were only estimated, in most instances, by sworn appraisers, who were not necessarily familiar with the market value of rare paintings. And, of course, the Notebooks supply us with a set of names of collectors beyond the scope of any other source.

Because most sales of the Orphan Chamber contained either no works of art or only a few inexpensive ones, the 524 sales in my database represent only about 20-25 percent of all sales conducted by the Orphan Chamber in the period 1597-1638. Yet the value of the art works they contain probably exceeded 95 percent of the value of art works sold in those years.⁹⁰

The names of the buyers of nearly 10,000 of these lots were recorded by the clerk of the Orphan Chamber. In the case of the remaining 3,328 lots that were sold for cash, we can still learn the names of 428 buyers, whose names were inscribed and then crossed off. These buyers, who were initially given six-weeks credit, are presumed to have brought in their cash payment at the end of the sale at which their names were inscribed, or soon thereafter.⁹¹

The Orphan Chamber sales for which we have records got off to a slow start. In the years 1597 to 1600, almost all the lots that were sold were either for cash, to immediate members of the deceased owners of the goods sold, or to *uitdraagsters*. Prices of paintings, mainly *bortgens* (little boards), were exceedingly low, almost all of them under 2 gulden. To be sure, prices in general were lower at the end of the 16th century than in 1607, when really high auction prices for works of art were first recorded; nevertheless, making all possible allowance for inflation, the prices of these early years were much lower in real terms than those attained in the best sales of later years.

In this early period, art dealers, artists, and jewelers who had a professional interest in the art market, bought only very occasionally and, when they did, at low prices. The silversmith Felix van der Hoeve, the brother of the painter Varlerius van der Hoeve, bought a lot for 3 gulden in 1598 at the sale of the unidentified Anne van Moerenturffs. At this same sale, the painter Hans Rem bought five lots, all for prices under 1 gulden, except for a *bortgen* that went for 4 *f* and another representing a maidservant (an unusual subject for this early period) for 3 *f* and 4 *st*. The first inde-

pendent, non-professional buyer who ventured into a sale conducted by the Orphan Chamber in the house of the deceased was a merchant named Antony Fouace, who, to judge by his name and by his known business contacts, was probably of South Netherlandish origin.⁹² He only purchased a painting for 18 stuivers (0.9 gulden), at the same Moerenturffs sale. The first sale that attracted a more distinguished clientele was that of the estate of the Antwerp-born merchant Hans van Geel (or Gheel) on 15 February 1601. The total value of the goods sold came to slightly more than 5,589 *f*, of which works of art amounted to 405 *f*. The buyers in that sale were either family members (some of whom, like Maximiliaen and Pieter van Geel, the sons of the deceased, were quite wealthy), and artists and art dealers (Lucas Luce, Jan Basse, Pieter Pietersz. I), but also a few merchants with no known family relation to the late owner (Wouter Woutersz., originally from Gouda; Guillam Bert, from Dornik; Jan Tronquoy, from Namur; Andries de Graeu I, from Antwerp; and Marten Spil, of South Netherlandish origin). With the exception of Wouter Woutersz., these merchants were all immigrants from the South. Some of these Southerners, related and unrelated to the late Hans van Geel, may have been introduced to auctions in Antwerp, where they were already highly developed in the 16th century. The prices at this auction were already much higher. Maximiliaen van Geel paid 33 *f* for one lot and 22.5 *f* for another; Pieter van Geel paid 51 *f* for one painting.

Nevertheless, neither the clientele nor the prices at the Van Geel sale bear comparison with the first really successful sale held by the Orphan Chamber, which took place on 1 March 1607 when the estate of the landscape painter Gillis van Coninxloo was brought under the hammer (if hammer there was). The proceeds of the sale, almost of which consisted of works of art, came to 3,557 *f* and 17 st. The Coninxloo sale attracted the cream of the artistic and merchant community, “*le tout-Amsterdam*” of its time. The highest-priced lot was paid by Hendrick van Os, a merchant and rentier of Antwerp origin, who bid 350.0 *f* for a Tower of Babylon (probably by Pieter Bruegel). Van Os also purchased a Fire scene by the “young Bruegel” for 58 *f*. Other high bidders included the painter Barent Theunisz. (56 *f* for a lot), the Haarlem-based painter Frans de Grebber (32.5 and 30.5 *f*); Philips Thijsz. (40 *f*); the merchants Laurens Charles (57.5 *f*), Willem Jacobsz. (probably Van Rijn) (90, 31.25, and 28 *f*), and Rombout Jacobsz. bidding with Nicolaes Colyn (90 *f* and four smaller lots); the merchants Gerrit van Veelen (56 *f*), Hugo van der Mast (60 *f*), and Denis Bave (47 and 44 *f*); the painter Hans van Cleef (38 *f*), the merchant Hans Martensz. (86 and 25 *f*); the art dealer Lucas Luce (48 *f*); Harmen Huysman (26 and 42.5 *f*); Mr. Joost (56 *f*); the painter David Colyn (40 *f*); the merchants Jacques Rombouts (44 *f*), Symon Root (38 *f*), and Gregorius van den Broeck (42 *f*); the cyther-maker Nicolaes Coop (40.75 *f*); and Hendrick de Haes (82 *f*). These merchants and artists were mainly of South Netherlandish origin (Hendrick van Os, Laurens Charles, Rombout Jacobsz., David and Nicolaes Colyn, Harmen Huysman, Hans van Cleef, Hans Martensz., Gregorio van den Broeck, and Hendrick de Haes), but some were “pure” Hollanders (Philips Thijsz., Frans de Grebber, Willem van

Rijn, as well, probably, as Gerrit van Veelen, and Hugo van der Mast, who was born in Delft).⁹³ Based on these fragments of evidence, I have come to the tentative conclusion that immigrants from the South played a dominant, although far from exclusive role, in the gradual ascent of Orphan Chamber sales from a local, neighborhood phenomenon to a major Amsterdam institution.

From 1607 on, one or two important sales were held each year. None probably exceeded in importance the Claes Rauwart (or Rauwert) sale of 1612, at which the works of art that had belonged to his father Jacob Rauwart, the friend of Karel van Mander, were dispersed. This sale attained the unprecedented sum of 14,411 *f* and 5 *st*. This and other important sales will be discussed in later chapters.

The number of works of art per sale increased about 50 percent from 1597-1619 to 1620-1638, but this was entirely due to the much larger number of prints sold per sale in the second period (especially in the great Jan Basse, Van Someren and Spranger sales of 1637 and 1638).⁹⁴ The median number of art objects per sale stated virtually constant (14 in the first period, 15 in the second). The average number of paintings per sale actually fell by 25 percent (from 24 paintings per sale in the first period to 18 in the second). This was in marked contrast with the significant increase in the number of paintings per notarized inventory in a random sample of notarized inventories that I collected for the first four decades of the 17th century.⁹⁵ The arbitrary mix of estate and voluntary sales, the elimination in my sample of very small sales, and the dominance of a few sales with very large numbers of works of art help explain these differences.

Aggregate Statistics of Sales and the Owners of Goods Sold

In this chapter I present aggregate statistics of Orphan Chamber sales by types of art objects sold (paintings, drawings, and others), divide the data between estate sales and voluntary sales, and compare a sample of estate sales with a sample of notarial inventories. Finally, I analyze the occupational distribution of the deceased owners of the estates from which movable goods were sold and of the individuals at whose request voluntary sales were held.

Altogether, in my sample of 524 Orphan Chamber sales, which probably comprises over 95 percent of the art objects auctioned off in the period 1597 to 1638 (at least in the sales whose results were consigned in the surviving Notebooks), over 13,000 lots were sold representing nearly 20,000 distinct objects.⁹⁶ I have divided these sales results into two periods, 1597 to 1619 and 1620 to 1638, which show clearly marked differences.

The sample analyzed in table 4.1 covers 240 sales from 1597 to 1619 and 275 sales from 1620 to 1638 (it excludes nine very small sales included in the full sample). The art objects sold in both these periods are shown in this table.

In the first period (1597-1619), paintings predominated both as a percentage of all lots sold (77 percent) and even more of the total value of lots sold (92 percent). In the second, the importance of drawings and prints increased significantly. They amount-

Table 4.1

Distribution of Objects Sold (1597-1619 and 1620-1638)

1597-1619

Type of Object	Number of Lots	Number of Objects	Value (gulden)	Percent Total Value	Value per Object (gulden)
Paintings	3,833	5,162	51,029	92.2	9.9
Drawings	268	390	1,362	2.5	3.5
Prints	465	652	1,402	2.5	2.2
Maps	57	80	161	0.3	2.0
Statues	127	168	326	0.6	1.9
Alabaster slabs	40	67	178	0.3	2.7
Accessories etc.	179	184	897	1.6	4.9
Total	4,969	6,703	55,355	100	8.3

Type of Object	Number of Lots	Number of Objects	Value (gulden)	Percent Total Value	Value per Object (gulden)
Paintings	3,490	4,715	34,617	72.6	7.3
Drawings	1,095	556	2,283	4.5	4.1
Prints	2,481	4,766	4,715	9.9	1.0
Maps	176	134	305	0.6	2.3
Statues	273	514	599	1.3	1.2
Alabaster slabs	78	160	252	0.5	1.6
Accessories etc.	275	1,432	4,916	10.6	3.4
Total	7,868	12,277	47,687	100	4.1

Notes: Paintings include "little boards" (bortgens), which may actually be prints or drawings, and grisailles. Drawings include watercolors and sketches but exclude all lots that may contain prints as well as drawings. Prints include lots that may comprise drawings and maps. Maps include atlases and globes. Statues include sculptures, carvings, cast-metal objects, and crucifixes. Alabaster objects are included in statues if they are stated to be such (beelden) but among the alabaster slabs if they are designated as boards (bort or bortgen). Accessories include painters' and sculptors' equipment (mineral earths, easels etc.), textiles with a designated subject, engraved and unengraved copper plates, wood blocks, "naturalia", and miscellaneous objects.

ed to 4.5 and 9.9 percent of the total value respectively as compared to 2.5 for both drawings and prints in the first period. The total value of paintings fell from approximately 92 to 73 percent of the total from the first to the second period. Another remarkable difference between the two periods was that the value per painting and print sold declined significantly (paintings, from 9.9 *f* to 7.3 *f*, prints, from 2.2 *f* to 1 *f*). In the case of paintings, these decreases in the value per object apparently resulted, at least in part, from the changes in technique that reduced costs of production as Dutch painters sought to meet the competition of cheap paintings imported from the Southern Netherlands.⁹⁷ In the case of prints, the decline was probably due mainly to the massive supply brought to the auction market in the years 1637 and 1638, which must have depressed the market.⁹⁸ I will have more to say about the evolution of prices of art objects in the first half of the 17th century in chapter 9.

As I mentioned in chapter 1, there were two general types of Orphan chamber sales: the estate sales of defunct citizens and the voluntary sales organized by artists, art dealers, and, in a few instances, by merchants. The total value of goods sold, including art, came to approximately 490,000 *f* for the estate sales but only 71,000 *f* for the voluntary sales, for which we have an incomplete record. Taking both types of sales together, the total value of art objects sold came to just under 100,000 *f*. The value per object or per lot sold was nearly the same in both periods for the two types of sale, which differed mainly in the greater percentage of paintings sold (by number

and by value) in the voluntary than in the estate sales. Summary data for estate and voluntary sales are shown in table 4.2.⁹⁹

Table 4.2

Estate and Voluntary Sales (1597-1638)

	No. of Sales in Sample	Total Value of Art Works Sold (gulden)	Number of Lots Sold	Number of Objects Sold
Estates	386	78,831	10,268	16,096
Voluntary sales	129	21,149	2,763	3,828
Total	515	99,980	13,031	19,924

There are about three times as many estate sales as voluntary sales in my sample of sales. Both average about 8 gulden per lot sold. With the available data, it is possible to test the proposition that larger sales contained, on the average, more expensive paintings. The data for estate and voluntary sales combined are shown in the following table.

Table 4.3

Average Prices in Sales Containing Various Numbers of Works of Art (gulden)

Number of Works of Art per Sale	Price per Work	Price per Lot	Number of Lots (total)	Paintings only Price per Work
1 to 5	4.1	6.0	270	4.5
6 to 10	2.9	3.8	754	2.5
11 to 15	3.7	3.7	858	4.1
16 to 20	5.2	7.2	729	5.8
21 to 25	5.0	6.9	560	5.7
26 to 30	7.6	10.4	614	9.1
31 to 35	6.7	9.7	516	7.3
36 to 40	8.8	13.3	212	13.0
41 to 50	9.7	13.1	429	12.2
51 to 60	8.6	12.4	475	9.5
61 to 80	9.6	12.7	734	11.7
81 to 100	6.1	7.2	351	10.0
101 to 150	15.7	21.3	572	23.5
151 to 200	14.2	27.3	177	18.5
201 to 300	3.2	4.9	465	5.4
301 to 500	0.6	1.3	1254	16.7
501 to 700	6.3	9.3	2406	12.5
701 to 1000	0.4	1.7	162	no ptgs
1501 and over	2.9	3.4	2272	2.1

Prices per work of art and per lot increased, albeit irregularly, from the smallest sales to sales with about 200 works of art (which was perhaps as many as a private home can contain), and then declined dramatically. Further analysis reveals that, of the 21

sales containing in excess of 201 works of art each, almost all belonged to artists, including Cornelis van der Voort, Barend van Someren, Cornelis van der Blocke (sculptor), Crispiaen Colijn, and Jan Basse. These artists' sales contained many inexpensive paintings, prints, and, in the case of sculptors, plaster casts. By contrast, the largest "private" sale was that of Claes Rauwart. It comprised 692 works of art, which sold for an average of 20.3 gulden per lot. But even if we ignore the sales of the estates of artists and art dealers and the sales carried out at their request, we find that prices per lot sold increased much more slowly, as the number of works of art per sale rose, than did the number of works of art in each sale. Thus, the average price per work of art in sales ranging from 101 to 200 works of art (17.5 gulden) was only six times as great as the average price per work of art in sales ranging from 1 to 10 works of art (2.9 gulden), even though the average number of works of art in the first group was about 30 times as great as in the first. This implies that the increase in the value of collections was determined far more by the increase in the number of works they contained than by the higher prices of these works.¹⁰⁰

About a fifth of all estate sales in the sample were clearly incomplete inasmuch as they omitted clothing or household goods or comprised only works of art. In the following comparisons with notarial inventories, such incomplete sales have been left out. The remaining estate sales are not necessarily complete either, but we have no way of determining, in cases where certain classes of goods appear to be underrepresented, whether the goods that were apparently omitted were sold separately or distributed among the heirs (they may not have been present in the inventory in the first place!)¹⁰¹

Many of the incomplete inventories consisted mainly or exclusively of works of art. Among them may be mentioned the sales of Gillis van Coninxloo, painter (1608); Hans van Coninxloo, art dealer (1608); Anthonie Boonhoff, goldsmith (1613); Barcman Claesz. Dob, merchant (1611); Andries de Graeuw I, merchant (1617); Jan Basse, painter (1637); Cathalyn Biscops, widow of the painter Pieter Hesemann (1624); Cornelis van der Blocke, sculptor (1629); Pieter Isaacksz., painter (1626); Jan Jansz. I, painter (1621); Michiel Kuijpers, engraver (1636); Louis Rotcourt, art dealer (1627); Christoffel van Sichem, engraver (1625); Barend van Someren, painter and art dealer (1635); Abraham Vincx (Vinck), painter (1621); Cornelis van der Voort, painter (1625); and Pieter van der Voort, painter (1625).

In table 4.4 below, I show the average total value and the value of the works of art contained in apparently complete estate sales and in a random sample of notarial inventories in the periods 1597-1619 and 1620-1638.

Because the samples of randomly selected notarial inventories are small and are subject to substantial random fluctuations, no significance should be attached to the differences between the average values (the total value of goods or the value of works of art only) in the two sources. However, the more detailed analysis of sales based on table 4.5 below suggests that the increase in the average value of sales from the first period to the second is probably significant. In this table, I break down the total value

Table 4.4

Average Total Value and Value of Works of Art per Estate Sale and per Notarial Inventory
(1597-1619 and 1620-1638, in gulden)

	1597-1619			1620-1638		
	Average Total Value	Art Works	Ratio %	Average Total Value	Art Works	Ratio %
Estate sales	1,298.4	115.2	8.9	1,581.0	139.5	8.8
Notarial inventories	1,463.1	107.7	7.4	894.7	59.5	6.7

Notes: The notarial inventories based on a random selection in the Amsterdam Gemeentearchief's notarial archives are dated, in the first period, 1600-1619 (29 inventories) and, in the second, 1620-1638 (49 inventories). The estate sales, which include only those in the sample that comprised at least household goods and clothing and were considered reasonably complete, numbered 142 in the first period and 160 in the second. The ratios are computed from the total of the value of art works sold divided by the total value of all goods sold. Percentage ratios computed as the average of ratios for individual inventories or sales are slightly lower.

Sources: J.M. Montias, "Works of Art in a Random Sample of Amsterdam Inventories" in *Economic History of the Arts*, M. North ed., Cologne and Weimar, 1996, p. 74; and Notebooks of Orphan Chamber sales (WK 5073/946 to 962).

of sales in eight class intervals, for each of which I have calculated the ratio of the value of art works to the total value of sales in that class. I show these ratios for successively higher value-of-total-sales classes in the periods 1597-1619 and 1620-1638. The data in table 4.5 also omit sales that do not cover all the main types of movable goods.

In the partial sample of 302 sales in table 4.5, the class of total-value-of-sales in which more inventories were found than in any other in both periods was between 500 and 999 *f*. They amounted to about 30 percent of all sales in the sample in both periods. Seven percent of the estate sales were valued in excess of 3,000 *f* in the first and 14 percent in the second. There was a drop from 27 percent in the first period to 21 percent in the second in the percentage of estate sales below 499 *f*. On the whole then, there seems to have been a scaling up in the total value of estates from the first period to the second, which is probably significant.¹⁰²

Due to the great dispersion of the ratios of the value of art works to the total value of sales in each class¹⁰³ and to the fairly small number of sales in the higher classes, the tendency of the ratios to decline as we move up from higher to lower total-value-of-sales classes is not quite regular: in both periods, for example, the percentage ratio for

Table 4.5

Value-of-total-sales Classes and Percentage of Art Works in Each Class**1597-1619**

Total Value	No. of Sales	Average Percent Art to Total Value
Above 4,000 f.	7	13.8
3,000-4,000 f.	3	12.0
2,500-2,999 f.	5	8.6
2,000-2,499 f.	9	8.8
1,500-1,999 f.	14	6.1
1,000-1,499 f.	22	6.3
500- 999 f.	43	4.7
100- 499 f.	39	4.1
All Sales	142	5.9

1620-1638

Total Value	No. of Sales	Average Percent Art to Total Value
Above 4,000 f.	12	9.7
3,000-4,000 f.	10	11.7
2,500-2,999 f.	7	5.8
2,000-2,499 f.	8	8.0
1,500-1,999 f.	11	7.4
1,000-1,499 f.	26	6.2
500- 999 f.	49	4.5
100- 499 f.	34	5.7
All Sales	157	6.2

Note: The average percentage ratio of art works to total sales is a weighted average of ratios. It is smaller than the ratio of the total value of art works to the total value of sales in table 4.4 because the smaller percentages, corresponding on the whole to the smaller total sales, are more numerous than the larger sales.

Source: Notebooks of Orphan Chamber sales (WK 5073/946 to 962.)

the total-value-of-sale class 2,500 f to 2,999 f falls below trend. Nonetheless, the fact that the percentage ratios in the two highest classes (above 3,000 f) are about twice as great as in the lowest (below 499 f) in both periods can hardly be due to chance. As I have observed before, in the case of Delft and Amsterdam inventories,¹⁰⁴ the “wealth elasticity of works of art purchased” appears to be (slightly) greater than unity in all samples. This means that, on average, a given increase in the total value of sales (say, 10 percent) is associated with a larger increase (more than 10 percent) increase in the value of the art works that these sales comprised.

My sample of “voluntary sales” from 1597 to 1638 covers 129 sales. Of these, on-

ly 91 are reasonably complete (i.e. do not omit any major category of movable goods). Among the incomplete sales, we find a number that consist more or less exclusively of works of art, sold at the request of painters, art dealers, and *uitdraagsters*. Among these voluntary sales may be listed the sales made at the request of the following individuals: the painter (and art dealer?) Govert Govertsz. (1607); the art dealers Felix van Lun (1609), Jaques van der Lamem (1608), Hans van Coninxloo (II) (1607), and Lucas Luce (1610); the painter (and art dealer?) Jan Artsen (1608); the book seller (and print dealer?) Pieter Lodowycksz. (1609); the painters Valerius van der Hoeve (1608 and 1609), Pieter Isaacksz. (1607), Claes Eewouts (1609), Cornelis van der Voort (1610), and Jan Porcellis (drawings only, 1626); the *uitdraagster* Mary d'Arras (1624); and the (painter and art dealer?) Salomon Pietersz. (*de Schilder?*) (three sales in 1620, one in 1622 and one in 1624). A few voluntary sales consisting chiefly of works of art were made at the request of merchants and other individuals not apparently connected with the art trade, including the attorney François Schot (1626), the merchants Cornelis and Jan Witsen (1628), Jan Gansepoel (1625) and Marten Hendricksz. Spiegel (1621). These perhaps consisted of paintings and other works of art that were pledged against loans made by these individuals to debtors who could not reclaim them.

In the next chapter, I make a detailed comparison of the occupation of the previous owners of estate sales and of the buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions. At this point, I will confine myself to a few summary statistics on the occupation of owners.

As I mentioned before, my sample was comprised of 386 estate sales (complete and incomplete) between 1597 and 1638. In almost every instance, the sale was introduced by a couple of sentences noting the name (often only limited to the first name and patronymic) of the deceased, the place where the sale was held, and the credit terms to which buyers were subject. (As we have already seen, they normally were given six weeks to pay.) The introduction to estate sales also regularly noted that the sale was held at the request of the masters of the Orphan Chamber. The name of the wife or husband of the deceased was sometimes, but by no means always, noted (it was more frequently noted when both husband and wife had died more or less at the same time, as commonly happened during plague years.) Knowing the name of both husband and wife and their address frequently helped to identify the owners, even when the names were limited to first names and patronymics. When, in a minority of instances, the clerk also noted the occupation of the owner (or of her husband), identification, using the baptismal, marriage and burial statistics of the GAA became fairly routine. I found the occupation of just over half of the late owners of the goods that were sold in these auction sales. There were two major obstacles to finding more. About half the owners were identified only by their first name and patronymic; if both the first name and patronymic of such owners were fairly common, then, unless the clerk provided additional information about the occupation of the husband, the chances of identifying him were very slim. In the case of women-owners (of whom there were about 30 percent in the sample),¹⁰⁵ there was no way to identify them from

their patronymic, unless, in a minority of instances, their (late or current) husband's name was cited in the introduction to the sale.¹⁰⁶

In the following breakdown by occupations, I include women (usually widows) whose husband had a known occupation. Out of 191 owners for which I have occupational data for the period 1597 to 1638, 58 (30 percent) were merchants (both at the wholesale and distribution or retail levels.) This does not include *uitdraagsters* of whom I counted 7 (4 percent). The art crafts (painters, sculptors, engravers) made up 8 percent of the sample in the entire period; jewelers and goldsmiths, 5 percent; other high-skill occupations, 2 percent; and "other craftsmen" (tailors, shoemakers, carpenters and other low-status crafts), another 12 percent.¹⁰⁷ Individuals engaged in manufacturing (textiles, dyeing, leather-tanning, beer-brewing, soap-boiling, sugar-refining, etc.), not including their *knechten* (worker-employees), made up 5 percent of the sample of known occupations of buyers. The broadly defined liberal professions, including doctors, lawyers, surgeons, notaries, and school masters, came to 9 percent of the total.¹⁰⁸ Intermediaries, such as brokers and "envoys" (*boden*), employees of the V.O.C., the W.I.C. and the Wisselbank, regents (not already classified with merchants), and individuals making their living from water transportation made up the remaining 30 percent. We shall see in the next chapter that the occupational distribution of owners was biased toward the more skilled and higher-paying occupations, as compared to a more representative sample of Amsterdam inhabitants, though much less so than that of the buyers.

The Buyers at Auction Sales

Overall Statistics

The names of the individuals who made winning bids at Orphan Chamber auctions, which are inscribed in our 29 Notebooks, are at the heart of the broad investigation of the art-buying public in Amsterdam in its golden age, which is central to this book. The dry facts about the age, the occupation, the geographic origin, and the other characteristics of the buyers in the following pages will be fleshed out in subsequent chapters (and especially in the second part of this book) where we will examine small groups of buyers and the individuals within them in much closer detail.

In the entire period 1597 to 1638, some 83 percent of the lots sold were bought by buyers who were identified by the clerk recording the sale. This percentage was approximately the same in the period 1597 to 1619 and 1620 to 1638. The rest of the lots were sold for cash.¹⁰⁹

Altogether I identified 2,048 buyers who bought about 13,000 lots of art objects at Orphan Chamber auctions between 1597 and 1638.¹¹⁰ I was able to identify with some confidence 72 percent of these buyers. This percentage masks a significant difference between individuals with and without a family name, at least as the clerk recording the sale wrote down their names. The clerk recorded the family names of 60 percent of the buyers. In most, but by no means all, the other cases, he wrote down the first name and patronymic. But in some instances, he only noted the first name of the buyer (Fijtge, Abigael), the relation of the buyer to the owner of the goods sold, or even only the place where the buyer lived (e.g., “*In het Soutvat*”). Among individuals with a recorded last name, the percentage of identification was 84 percent.¹¹¹ Among those without a family name, the percentage fell to 54 percent. This percentage would have been lower still, if the clerk had not recorded in many instances the street, the canal or the sign of the house where the buyer lived or his (rarely her) occupation.¹¹² When individuals known only by their relation to the owners of the goods sold (“the widow”, “Abraham the son”, the “guardian”, the “godmother of Trijntje”) are added to the “identified set”, the number of identified buyers rises from 72 to 80 percent.

Both in the period 1597-1619 and in the period 1620-1638, almost exactly 87 percent of the buyers were men and 13 percent women. The overwhelming majority of the woman-buyers were *uitdraagsters* or close relatives (widow, sister, godmother of the orphaned children) of the deceased owners of the estates sold.

Biographical Data

I now proceed to analyze the age, occupation, and geographic origin of buyers for whom I have been able to collect biographical information.

I found the approximate year of birth of 708 buyers (over one-third of my total sample).¹¹³ Their average age at the time of their first recorded purchase was almost exactly 35. This average held for both the period 1597-1619 (309 buyers) and the period 1620-1638 (399 buyers). An analysis of the age distribution of buyers in both periods shows that there was a nearly uniform distribution of individuals aged 20 to 40, with a peak between 31 and 35 years of age. Above the age of 40, the percentage of buyers dropped sharply.¹¹⁴

Because the burial records of the Amsterdam Archive are incomplete, I could only find the year of death of 221 buyers in the first period and 269 buyers in the second. The sample of individuals for whom had birth and death dates was still smaller (169 in the first period). The average age of these buyers at death was almost exactly 59 years in both periods. In the first period, 6.1 percent and, in the second period, 11 percent of the buyers for whom burial dates are available died before they were less than 40 years old, most of them, presumably, of the plague or of other contagious diseases. Their numbers clearly influenced the overall averages. In the first period, buyers, on average, had 22.2 years ahead of them after they made their first purchase after auction. But this average conceals a great deal of variance: 20 percent of first-time buyers had less than 10 years of life ahead of them; nearly a third had thirty or more years. The results were very similar for the second period.

In table 5.1 below, I have assembled data on the number of years separating a buyer's first marriage and his or her first purchase.

Table 5.1

Number of Years Separating Buyer's First Purchase from His/Her First Marriage

	-2+ Years	+/-1 Year	+2 Years	+ 3 / 4 Years	+ 5 to 9 Years	10 + Years	Total Number
1597-1619							
Number of buyers	38	31	12	23	59	38	201
Percent	18.9	15.4	6.0	11.5	29.3	19.0	
1620-1638							
Number of buyers	47	60	24	40	75	144	390
Percent	12.1	15.3	6.2	10.3	19.2	36.9	

Sources: Notebooks of Orphan Chamber sales cited in the sources of above tables and DTB files of GAA.

About 15 percent of buyers made their first purchase of a work of art within one year of their first marriage. If we include those individuals who made their first purchase two years after their first marriage, the percentage rises to about 21 percent. These were presumably mainly young people furnishing their new house. But approximately half the first-time buyers in my sample—precisely 48 percent in the first period and 56 percent in the second—had already been married over five years in both periods. Many of these buyers were presumably collectors who already had a home and were seeking to expand or upgrade their collection, although some of them may have been new collectors who were furnishing a new home after a second or third marriage. More research needs to be done on the nature and prices of the objects both types of buyers were acquiring at auction.

The Occupation of Buyers

Next I consider the occupational distribution of buyers. I first segregate the entire set of 2,048 buyers in my sample, including those with an unknown occupation, into four general categories: 1) Art dealers; 2) *uitdraagsters*; 2) professionals close to the art trade (painters, engravers, sculptors, book-sellers) who may also have resold some of the objects they bought; and 4) all other buyers, who may be considered to be “private buyers” (although, a few may actually have belonged to the first three categories).

In the period 1597-1619, I came across 8 art dealers and 61 *uitdraagsters*, who at least began their buying activities in this period.¹¹⁵ Some of the art dealers and many of the *uitdraagsters* continued to buy lots in the period 1620-1638. But I also found 11 art dealers and 35 *uitdraagsters* who began to buy or were mostly active in this second period.¹¹⁶

Needless to say, some of the painters and practitioners of other art-related trades were also dealers. But in the absence of direct evidence to that effect, I have included even suspected dealers in the second category of “professionals”. In the period 1597-1619, I counted 85 “professionals”, of whom 66 were primarily artist-painters, including apprentices, 3 were sculptors, 9 were printmakers or illuminators, and 7 were printers or book-sellers.¹¹⁷ Of 91 “professionals” who were active primarily in the period 1620-1638, 47 were painters, 17 sculptors, 12 printmakers, and 14 printers, bookbinders, or booksellers, and one architect.¹¹⁸

Table 5.2 summarizes some basic statistics of auction purchases for art dealers, *uitdraagsters*, art-trade professionals, and “private buyers”. As the table shows, there were relatively few full-time art dealers, and they accounted for only 2.4 percent of the art lots sold.¹¹⁹ However, they did skim some of the best paintings offered for sale, purchasing 3.8 percent of the total value of lots sold. They paid 12.0 *f* per lot (21.9 *f* per lot if only paintings are included).¹²⁰

The *uitdraagsters*, who accounted for 11.4 percent of the lots but only 7.5 percent of the value of art works sold, clearly operated at the lower end of the quality scale. They purchased mainly inexpensive “boards” (presumed to be chiefly paintings but

Table 5.2

Basic Statistics for Four Categories of Buyers (1597-1638)

	No. of Individuals	No. of Lots	Value of Lots Bought (gulden)	Average Price per Lot (gulden)
Art dealers	19	318	3,827.4	12.0
Uitdraagsters	96	1,480	7,496.1	5.1
“Professionals” (other)	176	2,226	13,241.7	6.0
“Private buyers”	1,757	8,987	75,414.8	8.4
Total	2,048	13,011	99,980.0	7.7

Note: “Private buyers” is a residual category, which includes buyers with an unknown occupation. A few of the latter may be unidentified art dealers, *uitdraagsters* and “professionals”.

Sources: Notebooks of Orphan Chamber sales cited in tables above.

probably also including prints tacked on to a wooden support)¹²¹ and alabaster slabs, but comparatively few drawings and engravings. They accounted for nearly two-thirds of the lots sold in estate sales with fewer than 10 works of art in the sample, but only about half the total value of the lots sold in these sales. They bought works of art (as well as of course as every other type of object) at many sales but, for the most part, only one or two works of art at each sale. The woman known as Graeffin (“the Countess”), whose actual name was Hendrickgen Gerrits¹²², bought 123 lots of art at 88 sales spread from 1598 to 1628. Schaerwacht bought 60 lots at 46 sales between 1609 and 1636. In the single year 1625, her purchases of works of art are recorded in 13 sales. Although they mainly operated as “clearers” of small estates and of the cheaper works of art in larger estates, *uitdraagsters* occasionally bought more expensive paintings: Graeffin, for instance, made a winning bid of 134 *f* for a painting in 1618;¹²³ Lazarus (Weteringh?) paid 35 *f* for a painting and Fem Schoen (alias Schoemackers), 37.5 *f* for another. However, these were unusually high prices, and the top prices paid by *uitdraagsters* ordinarily did not exceed 15 *f*.¹²⁴ It is not known whether they sold these more expensive paintings in their shops or whether they bought them on commission for clients.¹²⁵ From these statistics, it emerges that *uitdraagsters* played a significant role as redistributors of art works, a role that was perhaps greater than had hitherto been suspected.

As I have already pointed out, many artist-painters and other professionals were also resellers. This is very likely in the case of painters such as Adriaen van Nieulandt, Barend van Someren and Jan Basse, but I have not classified them in the category of art dealers because I suspect that many, if not most, of their purchases were for their workshop. These other “professionals” accounted for 17 percent of the lots and 13 percent of the total value of lots sold (in my recorded sample). The relatively low average prices per lot that professionals acquired (6.0 *f*) may be explained, in part, by

the fact that they bought numerous cheap engravings. Sculptors, in particular, bought virtually only engravings and plaster casts. Rembrandt purchased mainly prints and a few drawings. Altogether, he bought 95 lots (at four sales) for a total of 415.5 *f* or 4.4 *f* per lot.

“Private buyers” (a residual category), who represented 86 percent of all buyers, accounted for 69 percent of the lots sold and 75 percent of the total value of art objects sold. On average, they paid 8.4 *f* per lot, which was 65 percent more than the average paid by *uitdraagsters* and 40 percent more than that paid by painters, sculptors, and other “professionals” but 31 percent less than the average paid by art dealers.¹²⁶

Few “private buyers” are known to have attended and bought at many sales. In my extensive sample, 70 percent of the buyers bought at only one sale, 18 percent at two sales, 3 percent at three sales, and the rest (9 percent) at four or more sales. It is not clear to me whether this low rate of repetition is a statistical phenomenon – due to the disappearance of records of many auction sales, organized either by the Orphan Chamber or the Desolate Boedelskamer – or whether it reflects some real sociological phenomenon. One explanation may be that private buyers bought mainly at the estate sales of relatives and other people they had known and that the occurrence of such sales was a rare event in their lives. I will have more to say about the relation between buyers and sellers in the next chapter.

Altogether we have more or less reliable data on the occupation of 1,088 buyers, or a little over half of the 2,048 buyers I was able to identify. These occupations are summarized in table 5.3.

Table 5.3

The Occupation of Buyers (1597-1638)

	1597-1619 Number	Percent	1620-1638 Number	Percent
Trade (large-scale)				
Cloth, silk	19	3.6	29	5.2
Wine, brandy	14	2.7	17	3.0
Other merchants	154	29.2	116	20.7
Retail				
Art dealers	9	1.7	9	1.6
Book dealers	7	1.3	11	2.0
Uitdraagsters	61	11.6	35	6.2
Apothecaries	3	0.6	10	1.8
Other retail	11	2.1	20	3.6
Art crafts				
Artists	79	15.0	79	14.1
Goldsmiths	23	4.4	31	5.5
High-skill crafts				
	10	1.9	7	1.8

	1597-1619		1620-1638	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Other crafts	18	3.4	34	6.1
Manufacturing				
Textiles, leather	6	1.1	10	1.8
Dyers	9	1.7	13	2.3
Sugar refining	4	0.8	2	0.4
Soap boiling	4	0.8	5	0.9
Beer brewing	3	0.6	5	0.9
Other	7	1.3	10	1.8
Food preparation	10	1.9	8	1.4
Services				
Performance	5	0.9	5	0.9
Transportation	2	0.4	5	0.9
Warehousing	2	0.4	6	1.1
Barbers, surgeons	5	0.9	7	1.2
Notaries	7	1.3	1	0.2
Teachers	6	1.1	5	0.9
Brokers/factors	4	0.8	12	2.1
Envoys ("boden")	1	0.2	4	0.7
Tax farmers	4	0.8	3	0.5
Other services	3	0.6	7	1.2
Employees				
City, Admiralty	11	2.1	10	1.8
Orphan Chamber	4	0.8	6	1.1
Menial	3	0.6	6	1.1
Employees (other)	5	0.9	3	0.5
Medical doctors	3	0.6	7	1.2
Lawyers	4	0.8	7	1.2
Preachers	1	0.2	2	0.4
Regents	5	0.9	7	1.2
Other and unknown	1	0.2	7	1.2
Total	527		561	

Notes: Individuals exercising the various occupations in the table have been classified in the period 1597-1619 or in the period 1620-1638 according to the date in which they first occurred as buyers. Many of the merchants and uitdraagsters who were first recorded in the first period continued to buy in the second. Merchants include both those dealing in general merchandise and dealers specialized in buying and selling wine, spices, hops, dairy products, faience ("porcelain") and so forth, all presumably at the wholesale level. Merchants engaged in retail trade include art dealers, booksellers (not known as engravers or printers), uitdraagsters, apothecaries, retail merchants, operators of market stands, and small-scale distributors of wine and beer (wijnverlaters, bierbeschooiers). It should be noted that the book dealers are included among "professionals" in table 5.2

and in retail trade in the present table. Artists include painters, sculptors, printmakers, and architects. One broad-brush painter and one painter of ships have been classified among the artists. Goldsmiths include silversmiths and jewelers. High-skill crafts include diamond cutters and polishers, gold-thread drawers, gilded-leather makers, ivory and enamel workers, balance- and clock-makers, makers of musical instruments, and armor- and gun-makers. Other crafts include carpenters, masons, plumbers, coopers, shoemakers, tailors, sail-makers, and other less skilled occupations. Other manufacturing includes salt-, sugar- and copper-refining, soap-boiling, and rope-making. "Textiles and leather" includes spinners and weavers, cloth finishers and tanners. Food preparation includes bakers (bread, pastry) and butchers. Performance services include actors and musicians. Brokers who at one time or another were called merchants in a document are classified as merchants. Other services include innkeepers, comforters of the sick, and undertakers (*dodenaenspreckers*).

Merchants, as in the case of owners of goods sold, represented by far the most important occupation in which buyers engaged. Of buyers who made their first purchase at Orphan Chamber sales in the period 1597-1619 or in 1620-1638, nearly one out of three was a merchant. Most of these merchants were engaged in international trade: they freighted ships to the North sea and the Mediterranean carrying salt, tobacco, lumber, spices and a variety of other goods. The most frequently encountered specialty among these buyer-merchants, however, was trade in textiles: at least 19 out of 187 merchants sold woolen cloth, silks or linens in the first period (29 out of 162 in the second period). The second most numerous category consisted of wine and brandy dealers (14 in the first period, 17 in the second). The category of merchants, as it is defined in the table, does not include market vendors and resellers – *kramers*, retailers of all sort, and, most importantly for our sample of buyers, *uitdraagsters*, distributors of wine and beer (*wijnverlaters*, *bierbeschooijers*), booksellers, apothecaries and art dealers. We should keep in mind that many goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewelers, classified below among the crafts, were also merchants. If we were to classify as merchants all those who engaged mainly in trade including all retailers and, say, half the goldsmiths and jewelers and one artist out of four who are suspected of being at least part-time dealers, merchants as broadly constituted would represent a little more than half of all the individuals whose occupation has been ascertained in both periods.

On the other hand, if we classify painters, sculptors, printmakers, goldsmiths, jewelers, instrument makers, enamel workers, ivory carvers, clock makers, gold thread drawers, diamond polishers, and armorers as high-skill craftsmen, we find that they represented about one-fifth of all the buyers with a known occupation. Among the high-skill craftsmen may be cited the following makers of musical instruments: Filbert de Luyt (almost certainly Philiberto Pellicare), lute maker; Hans van Granen and Claes Coop, cyther makers,¹²⁷ and Herman Geerdincx (son of Artus, carillon player), clavecin maker (born in 1604). Other highly skilled individuals were

Hans Brodijn, Andries Putte, and Hendrick Verstraten, diamond cutters and polishers; Claes Jansz. Lichthart, enamel worker (born in 1583); Hendrick Verstegen (brother-in-law of the painter Adriaen van Nieulandt), clock-maker (born in 1595); Gerrit Brandt (father of the historian of the same name), clock-maker; Jan van Belle (born in 1593) and Schelte Dirricxsz. (born in 1606), ivory turners;¹²⁸ Jacob Schimmel, armorer and swordmaker (born in 1591), and Volckert Roeremaecker, pistol-maker. There was only one faiencier or maker of tin-glazed tiles and dishes (Hans van den Bosch, born in 1584), a master in the craft, who was presumably highly skilled. Nevertheless, I have classified him in “other manufacturing”, on the assumption that his operation must have employed several workers. The skilled craftsmen whose work made use of silver or gold were Abraham, Jacques and Pieter le Fevre, Pieter Gaillard, and Samuel Hespel who were all gold-thread drawers; Jacob Calaber, gold-beater; and Willem van Heuvel and Hans Lemeer, gilded-leather makers.

Lower-status crafts, such as tailors, shoemakers, box-makers, joiners, carpenters, tin-smiths, basket-makers, and so forth represented 3.4 percent of the total in the first period and 6.1 percent in the second.¹²⁹ Most of these, as far as I have been able to ascertain, were masters in their craft (several of them were, at one time or another, headmen of their guild or received municipal contracts). It may be remarked in passing that box-makers (*kistemaeckers*), house carpenters, and other woodworkers were the most numerous group (7 in the first period, 15 in the second) in the “other crafts” category. Many of these were frame-makers with a special interest in the art market. Masons, on the other hand, who might otherwise have been expected to be about as numerous among the buyers as woodworkers, were virtually absent (none in the first period, one in the second). It should be kept in mind, of course, that lower-status craftsmen were less likely to be identified – if only because most of them had no family name – than, say, merchants or notaries.

The buyers classified in the manufacturing sector were a rather mixed lot. Most of the dyers, beer brewers, sugar-, salt-, and copper-refiners were fairly well-off (though not as wealthy, by and large, as the rich merchants). On the other hand, most of the buyers working in the textile and leather industries (spinners, weavers, finishers) were not. Even the buyers engaged in food preparation exhibit some diversity: the pastry bakers, who were nearly twice as numerous among buyers as the ordinary bakers, belonged to more prominent families and were better off than their bread-baking colleagues. The services also bring together a rather heterogeneous group, whose common denominator is a low to moderate level of wealth. The “performance” category comprises musicians and actors, including Arthur Geerdincx, carillon player; Mr. Jan Pietersz. Sweelinck (brother of the painter Gerrit Pietersz.), organist and composer; Symon Engelbrecht, actor and theater director; Cornelis Betsen, theater director; and Bartel Philipsz., town player (*stadtspeeler*). The transportation workers (bargemen, sailors, pilots, skippers) and the various carriers and servants whom I have lumped together as “menial” were the poorest suppliers of services. We shall see below that they were greatly underrepresented as buyers, com-

pared to their relative importance in the Amsterdam population as a whole. The brokers (*maeckelaers*) and factors (or merchants' representatives), some of whom later became merchants themselves, were probably the best off among the buyers engaged in service occupations. Little is known about the wealth of envoys (*boden*), who may have represented a rather mixed group.¹³⁰

Liberal professions (doctors in medicine, attorneys and preachers) numbered 8 in the first period and 16 in the second, of whom seven were lawyers, seven were doctors in medicine and two were *predikanten* (Jacobus Laurentius and Thomas Mau-rois).¹³¹ The number of regent-buyers (5 in the first period, 7 in the second) was greater than those counted in the table because many of them were primarily merchants and have been classified as such. I have included in the count several masters of charitable institutions (City Orphanage and so forth), who may also have been merchants but about whom I had no other information. At the highest level of Amsterdam society, burgomasters and aldermen were somewhat underrepresented as buyers.

In table 5.4, I compare, in less detail than in the previous tables, the occupational distribution of owners and buyers for the two periods combined with the occupational distribution of a sample of 415 randomly selected individuals drawn from the Inbrenregister of the Orphan Chamber between 1624 and 1635. This source comprises all the men and women who died leaving children of minor age, except if the parents had specifically excluded the Orphan Chamber in their testament from handling their estate after their death. For each such appearance before the Orphan Chamber of a surviving parent (or relative), I record the occupation of the father, whether he had died or survived (and appeared before the Chamber as the father of one or more "orphans"). Because more rich people than poor excluded the Orphan Chamber in their testament, there is probably some downward bias in this sample (poorer people are overrepresented, at least among the fathers of orphans who left enough wealth to justify an appearance before the Orphan Chamber), but it still contains many wealthy people, and it provides a useful offset to the two other distributions.¹³² Note that, since the Orphan Chamber sample only mentions the occupation of men who left orphans, the female *uitdraagsters* included in table 5.3 have been excluded from the occupation of buyers to make the numbers comparable.¹³³

My focus on the buyers of works of art, selected from all the buyers who bought all sorts of different goods at auction, makes for a rather special distribution of these buyers. It is not surprising that the percentage of painters and other artists among buyers of works of art should be nearly twice as large as among owners. Even though my sample of owners is fairly small, the greater percentage of merchants (including those engaged in retail trade) among buyers than among owners and the larger percentages of transportation and menial services among the former than among the latter are probably significant statistically. These differences point to a somewhat lower occupational status, on the average, of owners than of buyers. On the other hand, it

is difficult to interpret the relatively large number of medical doctors and other members of the liberal professions among owners (which may be a statistical fluke). There

Table 5.4
Occupational Distribution of Owners, Buyers, and Fathers of Orphans
(Summary Statistics) (1597-1638 and 1624-1635) (Percentages)

	Owners	Buyers	Orphan Chamber Sample
Merchants	27.6	34.6	7.7
Retailers/other	4.7	9.6	2.8
Artists	8.9	15.7	2.8
Goldsmiths	4.2	5.4	1.4
High-skill crafts	2.1	1.7	0.6
Other crafts	11.5	5.2	35.1
Manufacturing	5.2	7.7	11.9
Food preparation	2.1	1.8	3.3
Transportation	4.7	0.7	20.4
Brokers/factors	0.5	1.6	2.2
Menial services	1.6	0.9	7.2
Other services	8.9	5.8	2.2
Employees	5.7	3.9	1.1
Liberal profs.	5.7	2.5	1.1
Other	6.6	2.9	0.3
Total	100	100	100

Note: To make the three samples comparable, only the occupations of male owners and buyers have been included. On the definition of the occupations listed, see the notes to table 5.3. Note, however, that “retailers/other” includes, in addition to retailers, apothecaries and booksellers. Employees include city, admiralty, and Orphan Chamber employees, which are shown separately in table 5.3.

is little question, in any event, that the occupational distributions of both owners and buyers differed significantly from that in the sample of occupations of the fathers of orphans, as they were reported to the Chamber of Orphans. In this sample, nearly two out of three practiced low-status crafts or were engaged in menial occupations.¹³⁴ The percentage of merchants of all sorts in this sample was only about a fourth of what it was among buyers (somewhat more than a third in the case of owners). The ratio of high-skill crafts (from diamond polishers to clavecin-makers) to other less-skilled crafts was one to five among owners, approximately one to three among buyers, and less than one to 60 in the Orphan Chamber sample. Transportation (especially sailors and skippers of barges) and menial services (peat- and gain-carriers, servants, etc..) represented a very small percentage of buyers and owners (0.9 and 1.6 percent respectively) but a large percentage of the men in the Orphan Chamber sample (20.4 percent). Far more owners and buyers at auction were en-

gaged in high-status occupations than in the Orphan Chamber sample, let alone the population as a whole.

To summarize the statistics in this chapter: Most buyers were relatively young (a majority less than 35) and, when they first purchased at auction, had 20 to 25 years of life ahead of them. Even though a significant fraction of buyers bought within a year or two of their first marriage, the majority spread their purchases through their lifetime, probably in keeping with their increasing wealth. Far more buyers originated in Southern Netherlands than might have been expected, especially in the period 1597-1619, when they acted as pace-setters (and perhaps as taste-makers). After 1620, buyers born in Amsterdam predominated. The typical buyer was a merchant engaged in external trade, but a substantial minority of all buyers were artists, jewelers, re-sellers, or other people with a professional interest in attending auctions. Employees of the city, the admiralty, and the Orphan Chamber, barbers/surgeons and the liberal professions, were overrepresented among buyers, as compared to their importance in the population. On the other hand, transportation folk and the menial professions were very much underrepresented in comparison with the occupation of buyers and of the fathers of orphans, let alone of the population of Amsterdam as a whole. It should be born in mind that the individuals who appeared before the Orphan Chamber were themselves a minority of the population of Amsterdam, with a higher than average wealth to pass on to their heirs. Buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions were much better off, on average, than the individuals in the Orphan Chamber sample. In the next chapter, we will use the taxes paid by a fairly large sample among these buyers to get some notion of how wealthy they really were.

The Wealth of Buyers

A certain level of wealth was clearly a pre-condition for buying at auction, at least for individuals who did not make their living from buying and reselling works of art. But, of course, it was not a sufficient condition. Much more than an individual's wealth must be known to predict whether he or she will be a buyer at auction. Still, individuals in high tax brackets and those scoring high on the level of their investments in the V.O.C. (United East Indies Company) and on the sums left after their death to their heirs were much more likely to have been buyers of works of art at Orphan Chamber auctions than other Amsterdam citizens.

My three indicators of wealth – buyers' investments in the first and second subscriptions for V.O.C. shares in 1602 and 1612 respectively, the Orphan Chamber records of the assets that buyers or their wives left to their orphans, and the taxes buyers paid on their assessed wealth in 1631 – all have their positive and negative aspects. The published list of investors in the 1612 subscription for V.O.C. shares is incomplete: it only includes those investors who bought more than 10,000 *f* worth of shares. Also, because the dates of the V.O.C. subscriptions fall early in the period covered by the auction notebooks, before many buyers began to frequent the Orphan Chamber sales, only a small percentage of the buyers are covered in these records (about 7 percent of the total number of buyers who were first active in the period 1597-1619). On the other hand, they do give us an idea as to who the buyers were among the richest merchants in Amsterdam in this early period. The Orphan Chamber registers are, of course, incomplete since, as we have seen, many citizens excluded the Chamber from handling their estate. Yet the information they provide about the occupation of the overwhelming majority of the fathers of orphans (never of the mother) is an invaluable source for matching occupation with wealth. The tax records for 1631 comprise a fairly large number of buyers, at least of those active relatively late in the period covered by the notebooks. Yet, because many names of the taxpayers were not carefully recorded and because their occupation is very seldom specified, problems frequently arise in pairing the names of buyers and taxpayers.

Seventy-six buyers at auction invested in the first subscription for V.O.C. shares. This number represented just under 7 percent of the total number of investors in this first subscription. In table 6.1 below, I have listed the names of all the buyers who were subscribers to either the 1602 or the 1612 offering (in excess of 10,000 *f*), together with the amount of their subscription, the number of lots of art objects they purchased at auction (in the Notebooks that have survived), and the total value of their purchases.

Table 6.1

V.O.C. Investors in 1602 (I) and 1612 (II) and their Purchases of Works of Art at Auction

Name	V.O.C. I (000 f)	V.O.C. II (000 f)	Number of Lots Purchased	Total Value of Lots (gulden)
Hendrick van Os	47.0	11.7	13	547.7
Jan Jansz. Carel I	15.0	58.5	3	36.3
Elias de Raet	30.0	18.3	3	68.0
Maximiliaen van Geel	19.2	33.7	11	178.7
Marcus de Vogelaer's widow	-	20.0	1	50.0
Jasper Coymans	18.0	-	1	5.4
Pierre Dupont	18.0	-	1	10.5
Denijs Bave	14.4	50.3	7	184.3
Jan van der Straeten	13.8	27.0	1	1.8
Hans van den Eynde I	12.0	14.4	12	876.6
Hendrik de Haes	12.0	12 (w)	4	129.5
Jacques Mercier	10.2	-	1	7.5
Jan de Bisschop	18.0	18	4	21.0
Geurt Dircksz.	15.0	-	1	20.3
Jan Hellincx	13.0	17.1	1	8.8
Syvert Sem	12.0	-	2	7.3
Frans Boudewijnsz.	-	45.2	1	10.5
Jacques Verbeeck	-	37.1	7	15.0
Heirs of Hans van Baerle	-	14.4	9	500.0
Daniel van Geel II	-	10.2	11	137.3

Notes: The first subscription for V.O.C. shares of Maximiliaen van Geel was made with his brother Pieter and his cousin Elias, the second by himself alone. The second subscription for V.O.C. shares of Hendrick van Os was made with his brother Dirck van Os. The widow of Hendrick de Haes (denoted w) invested in the second subscription for V.O.C. shares. The purchases at auction of "the heirs of Hans van Baerle" combine those of David van Baerle and of his brother Jan van Baerle (II).

Sources: J.G.. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague, 1958, pp. 61 and 259. The Notebooks of Orphan Chamber auctions (WK 5073/946-962).

There is no evident correlation between the V.O.C. investments of the rich merchants listed in table 6.1 and their purchases of works of art at Orphan Chamber auction. This is due in part to the gaps in our Orphan Chamber auction data and our total ignorance of the auctions held by the Desolate Boedelskamer. But, more generally, purchases of works of art for this group of individuals represented a very small part of their total wealth. Their current income, which was closely related to their wealth, only acted as an overall constraint on their expenditures, which they could distribute

among different categories in arbitrarily desired ways depending on their tastes, the size of their house or other circumstances.

Table 6.2 supplies an overview of the sums brought to the Orphan Chamber on behalf of the heirs of buyers and of buyers' purchases at auction by four occupational groups.

Table 6.2

Sums Brought to the Orphan Chamber on Behalf of Heirs of Buyers and Buyers' Purchases of Art Works (1597-1638)

Occupation	Number	Average Sum Brought (gulden)	Average Number of Lots per buyer	Average Purchase (gulden)
Merchants	24	9,137	2.1	42.1
Goldsmiths	7	4,594	4.7	23.2
Art crafts	10	2,208	3.9	19.7
Other crafts	5	1,280	1.8	8.9
Intermediaries and liberal profs.	5	3,979	11.8	102.3

Notes: The gold- or silversmiths were Dirck Belle, Augustijn Pas (or Pars), Hans Jansz., Geurt ten Acker, Louis de Baudoes, Elias Eliasz. (the brother of the painter Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy), and Jacob de Grebber. The buyers engaged in arts crafts consist of five painters (Pieter Isaacksz., Gillis Hondecoeter, Pieter Dircksz. Santvoort, Thomas de Keyser, and Barent Poelman), three sculptors or stone carvers (Jan Jansz., Adam Goosensz., and Cornelis van den Blocke), and three engravers or mapmakers (Hessel Gerritsz., Dirck Lons, and Jacques Carpentier). "Other crafts" consist of one leather tanner, two boxmakers (kistemaeckers), one smith, and one pastry baker. Intermediaries and liberal professions consist of one Orphan Chamber bode (Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen), two attorneys or "procureurs", one notary and one schoolteacher.

In the table I have only retained groups of buyers engaged in occupations for which I had five or more observations on the sums left for their heirs. Even in these small samples, there was a good deal of heterogeneity. For example, considering the individuals engaged in art crafts, we find that the children of four out of five of the painters inherited fairly large sums of money (2,000 to 8,000 *f*), which was much more than the sums left to their children by the three sculptors or stone carvers (2,200 *f*, 600 *f* and 57 *f*) and the three engravers (600 *f*, 600 *f*, and 400 *f*). However, one of the artist painters, Barent Poelman, left only 200 *f* to his children after his death. Among the intermediaries and members of liberal professions, Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen, the *bode* of the Orphan Chamber, accounted for 42 of the 59 lots bought by this group and 318.7 *f* out of a total of 519.5 *f* purchased.¹³⁵ In general, the number of lots purchased fluctuates widely within and among occupational groups. The value per lot purchased seems to be better correlated with wealth.

Finally, in table 6.3, I have brought together all the buyers who paid a tax on their assessed wealth in 1631 (as far as they could be identified in the tax records). The tax amounted to 0.5 percent of estimated wealth. The minimum tax paid was 5 *f*, which corresponded to an estimated wealth of 1,000 *f*.

Table 6.3

Buyers in Various Tax Brackets in 1631

Tax paid	No. of taxpayers	No. of buyers	Percent
over 1,000 <i>f</i>	20	7	35.0
700-999 <i>f</i>	21	5	23.8
500-699 <i>f</i>	43	16	37.2
400-499 <i>f</i>	46	12	26.1
300-399 <i>f</i>	95	28	29.5
200-299 <i>f</i>	178	33	18.5
100-199 <i>f</i>	434	95	21.9
50- 99 <i>f</i>	545	73	13.4
5- 49 <i>f</i>	2,733	180	6.6
Total 5-1,000 +	4,115	449	10.9

Note: The number of taxpayers for the lowest tax bracket (5 to 49 f) was obtained by subtracting the numbers in higher categories from the total.

It may be estimated that the percentage of taxpayers in the population of Amsterdam in 1631 (about 115,000 inhabitants), counting just over four persons per household, was a bit less than 15 percent. Many citizens seem to have escaped taxes altogether even though their wealth probably exceeded the taxable minimum of 1,000 *f*. Many also paid much less than the amount one would have expected from an independent estimate of their wealth. The sugar refiner and merchant Nicholaes van Damme, for instance, brought 18,000 *f* to the Orphan Chamber on behalf of his children when his wife died. This was probably only a part of his assets (as only one parent had died).¹³⁶ Yet he was only taxed 25 *f* in 1631, which would correspond to a wealth of 5,000 *f*. The same observation applies to the merchant Dirck Joosten, who left 30,000 *f* to his heirs but paid only 30 *f* tax, corresponding to an assessed wealth of 6,000 *f*. The coefficient of correlation between the two measures of wealth (derived from inheritance data and from taxes), based on a sample of 30, is 0.6, which is positive and significantly in excess of zero, but still leaves a great deal of variation unexplained in the amount of taxes paid when inheritance is used as an explanatory variable.

The percentage of buyers among taxpayers decreases significantly but irregularly as we move down the tax brackets. Among the wealthiest taxpayers in Amsterdam who paid a tax in excess of 1,000 *f*, 35 percent were buyers at Orphan Chamber auction. Among taxpayers who paid between 500 *f* and 999 *f*, the percentage of buyers was almost one-third. These are the highest percentages that I have found for any samples of taxpayers selected according to one or another criterion.¹³⁷ Among tax-

payers who paid less than 50 *f* in taxes in 1631, only 6.6 percent could be identified as buyers at Orphan Chamber auction.

Table 6.4 supplies the names of the taxpayers-buyers in the highest tax bracket, along with the value of the works of art they bought at auction, the prices they paid per lot and the highest price they paid.

Table 6.4

The Taxpayers-buyers in the Highest Tax Brackets in 1631 and Their Purchases of Art Works at Auction

Name	Tax(gulden)	Value of Lots Purchased (gulden)	Price per Lot (gulden)	Highest Price Paid (gulden)
Gerrit van Schoonhoven	1,350	236	118	168
Marcus de Vogelaer	1,500 (w)	50	50	50
Nicolas Sohier	1,200	96	96	96
Cornelis van Campen	1,125	94	94	94
Hans Rombouts	1,050 (w)	1050	60	280
Jan van Straeten	1,000 (h)	1.8	1.8	1.8
Sijvert Sem	1,000	7.3	3.7	5
Hans van Soldt II	800	166	28	102
Hendrick Hudde	775	13	136	136
Jan van Wely II	750 (h)	570	44	225
Reynier van Buren I	750	3.6	3.6	3.6
Dirck Wuytiers	700	72	24	40

Note: The letters w and h in parentheses after the tax paid denote, respectively, the widow and the heirs of the taxpayer.

Among the 12 buyers who paid a tax in excess of 700 *f* (corresponding to an assessed wealth of 140,000 *f*), three bought only inexpensive works of art. The remaining 9 bought at least one work of art costing more than 36 *f* (corresponding to the price of a master painting of some quality). The highest prices paid by members of this group were 280 *f* for a painting of a church by the merchant Hans Rombouts at the sale of his late father Jacques Rombouts in 1609; 225 *f* for a “Last Supper” (*Avontmael*) at the sale of Jacob Rauwart¹³⁸ in 1609 by the jeweler and art lover Jan van Wely II;¹³⁹ 180 *f* for “The Destruction of Troy” at the 1618 sale of Albert Symonsz. Jonckheijn by the merchant Gerrit van Schoonhoven; 102 *f* for a landscape by merchant Hans van Soldt II also at the 1609 sale of Jacques Rombouts; and 96 *f* for a “Vase of Flowers” by the merchant, art- and music-lover Nicholas Sohier at the Anthonie Boonhoff sale of 1613. These individual prices, which were all paid for works of art that came up at auction before 1619, were indeed among the highest paid during the entire period covered by the Notebooks of the Orphan Chamber.¹⁴⁰ In general, the wealth of buyers was more closely reflected in the highest prices they paid at auction than in the number of lots they bought.

Clusters of Private Buyers

A cluster, by which I mean a set of interacting individuals, may be strong – when the individuals in the set interact frequently and significantly – or weak – when the interactions are only slight or occasional. My criterion of “significance” is that the interaction is likely to be intense enough to suggest that the individuals in the set had some influence (or power) over one another, of the kind that might have an impact on their decision to purchase works of art at auction.

Nuclear families make up strong clusters. When in-laws, godparents, and witnesses to the children’s baptisms are added to the nuclear family, the cluster is weakened but its coherence is still stronger than it is in most other groups – such as business partnerships, signatories to petitions, members of militia units, guilds and other civil associations and so forth, that I will deal with in this chapter. This was surely the case in the 17th century when even distant relatives (*vrunden*) mattered more than they do today.¹⁴¹

In this chapter we shall examine all sorts of clusters of very different degrees of coherence, some with high proportions of buyers of works of art at auction, some not. I will study, in addition to extended family clusters, the complete list of subscribers who bought shares in the United East Indies Company (V.O.C.) in 1602, the list of signatories of a 1608 petition to rescind a regulation that prohibited private deposit banking, freighters of ships in overseas trade, and several other groups of various sizes, some of which yielded relatively high numbers of buyers and some relatively low. I conclude with a digression on the affinity between two clusters – amateurs of art and purchasers of tulip bulbs – on the basis of documents collected during the “tulip mania” of 1636-1637. I postpone until the next chapter an analysis of the cluster formed by signatories of the Remonstrant petition of 1628, a group of like-minded Amsterdam citizens that I wish to examine in the context of the religion of buyers.

A large number of buyers were relatives (husband, wife, brother, sister, uncle, nephew, or in-law) or guardians of the children (or both) of the deceased owners whose estate was sold at auction. I noted 118 instances of such a relation in the period 1597-1619 and 175 in the period of 1620 to 1638.¹⁴² In many such cases, nothing else is known about the buyer, who is often identified only by his or her first name, accompanied or not by a patronymic (e.g., “Trijntje *de suster*”, “Willem Reyersz. *de soon*”, “*de weduwe*”). Widows, brothers, sisters, sons and daughters very frequently bought back the art objects that had belonged to their relatives.¹⁴³ We will see below that members of the guild to which the late owner of goods sold by the Orphan Chamber belonged were also frequent buyers.

If many buyers were relatives of sellers, they were also frequently related to each other. Among buyers active in the entire period 1597-1638, I found 85 fathers or sons, 156 brothers or sisters, and 185 in-laws (brother-, father-in-law, etc.) Thus at least 20 percent of the buyers (and a larger percentage of the identified ones) were closely related. More generally, there were 404 cross-linkages of all sorts among buyers in the first period 1597-1619 and 491 cross-linkages in the second. In other words, (nearly) every other buyer is known to have had some sort of family, business, guild or other social tie to another buyer.

Many auction-frequenting families were tied by blood or marriage to artists. We shall see in the second part of this book (Chapter 17) how the Van Maerlen family – several of whose members were prominent jewelers – produced, or intermarried with, artists through several generations of the 17th century. Among many others, we may also cite the brothers Abraham and Cornelis de Bruijn, both merchants and buyers at auction. Cornelis was married to Catharina Savery, the daughter of the painter Jacob (Jacques) Savery, the older brother of the better known Roelandt Savery. Catharina's sister Maria married another buyer at auction the printmaker Hendrick Lambertsz. Roghman. The children of Hendrick and Maria were the painter Roelant Roghman and the printmakers Geertruyd and Magdalena Roghman.

For a particularly rich example of an extended family with many auction buyers – but with only one tenuous connection with the artistic world – we may consider the Van Valckenburgs, the Cobbauts, and the Van Welys, who were all related by marriage. Jan van Valckenburg, born in Antwerp, had migrated to Amsterdam by 1585, where he ran a very successful silk cloth business. When he died in 1603, he and his wife Elisabeth Verlaer left eight children: Anna, married to the merchant Aernout Cobbaut (II); Margerita, married to the merchant Marcus de Vogelaer; Elisabeth, married to the poet and pensionary Jacob Cats; Maria, married to the jeweler Willem van Wely; Susanna, married to the attorney Fabiaen van Vliet; Lucas, married to Susanna Coymans; Marcus, married to Catharina Quingetti; and Matheus, married to the English woman Isabelle Eyre. Five out of eight of the children (or their husbands) were buyers at auction (Arnout Cobbaut II; Margerita, after the death of her husband Marcus de Vogelaer; Willem van Wely; Lucas and Matheus Valckenburg). One more relative by marriage, Guillian van Eyndhoven, also a buyer, declared in a deposition that he had very well known Jan van Valckenburg, who had migrated to Amsterdam in 1585 and had died in 1603, leaving eight children.¹⁴⁴ Aernout Cobbaut II, born in Oudenaarde in the Southern Netherlands in 1555, who was married to Anna van Valckenburg, also left numerous children: Elisabeth, married to the merchant Pieter de Schilder; Judith, married to the sugar refiner Hans de l'Hommel; Arnout (III), married to Anna Cruyppenninck; Barbara, married, first, to Balthasar van der Veecken, and, second, to Toussain Blanche; Susanna, married to Pieter Stas; Anna, married, first, to Michiel Verbeeke and, second, to the merchant (and probably part-time art dealer) Gillis Smissaert; Sara, married to the merchant Balthasar de Visscher; and Gillis “innocent” (simple-minded). Of these, Pieter de Schilder, Gillis Smissaert,

and Balthasar de Visscher were buyers. We have seen that Willem van Wely had married Maria van Valckenburg. Of his two brothers, the jeweler Hans (Jan) van Wely II, was, like Willem, an important buyer; the other, Thomas van Wely, who was not himself a buyer, married Anna Maria Isaacks, the daughter of the painter Pieter Isaacksz. on 9 November 1634.¹⁴⁵ She, like her father, was a buyer at auction (actually, at the auction of her father's estate.) Jan van Wely III, the son of Jan van Wely II, who was assassinated in The Hague in 1616,¹⁴⁶ was also a buyer. Finally, it may be mentioned in passing that Anna van Wely, the sister of Jan van Wely III, married Kilian van Rensselaer, a director of the West Indies Company, and a founder of the colony of New Amsterdam.¹⁴⁷ {Kilian van Rensselaer, as far as we know, never bought at auction}. Altogether then, in the three related families we have examined, over half – 13 out of 23 members (not including the simple-minded Gillis Cobbaut) – were buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions. This is a far greater proportion than the average for individuals with this level of wealth (25 to 35 percent, as we saw in table 6.3).

The Colijn family and the families that it was linked to by marriage also constituted a rich pool of buyers. Jan Colijn, a glove maker and merchant, born around 1548, bought several lots at auction in 1601. After his death in 1607, an auction was held of his possessions that was attended by several of his numerous children. At least two sons (Michael and Emanuel) were booksellers and were friends of poets.¹⁴⁸ Michael married the daughter of the well-known book dealer Jan Evertsz. Cloppenburg, who was himself a buyer. David Colijn/Colyn became a painter with a long and fairly successful career. The siblings Michael, Giertge, Emanuel, Hendrick and David Colijn all acquired works of art either at the auction of their father's estate or at other auctions. As is often the case with families whose members frequented auctions, a painter was brought into the fold through marriage: Hendrick's daughter Elsie married the painter Adriaen Backer, the nephew of the better known Jacob Adriaensz. Backer. Jan Colijn's sister Clara married Rombout Jacobsz. de oude. Not only he but his son Pieter Indische Raven I and his grandsons Pieter Indische Raven II and Christoffel Indische Raven were all buyers. Interestingly enough, Christoffel Indische Raven married the daughter of the Orphan Chamber auctioneer Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh. This gave him entrée into another cluster of buyers: Gerrit Jacobsz.'s cousin Jacob Huygh Thomas, who was auctioneer of the Desolate Boedelskamer, was a buyer. So was Gerrit Jacobsz.'s other son-in-law Jan Hendricksz. Admiraal (who married his daughter Dorothea). Admiraal was an important tulip grower whose name will appear again in the present chapter. Jacob Rombout's daughter Clara, married to Artus Kemp, was the mother of Henrick Aertsz. Kemp, another important buyer. Rombout's other daughter Catharina married Rochus Pietersz. van der Capelle, also a buyer. At a minimum, the interrelated Colijn, Indische Raven, Haringh, and Cloppenburg families yielded sixteen buyers.

The reader may readily assume that buyers were fairly evenly scattered throughout Amsterdam's wealthy families, but this is not so. There are many distinguished

families living in the first half of the seventeenth century who seem not have generated a single buyer at auction, at least among their closest relatives. These auction-isolated families include the Hasselaers, the Hinloopens, the Quingettis, the De Graeffs, the Bartolottis, the Van Vlooswycks, the Jacots, the Van Weesicks, the Dronckelaers, the Van Geelvincks, and the Van Heemskercks, among many others. Some of their members may have bought works of art at Desolate Boedelskamer sales or other auctions, but we have no knowledge of these purchases. Buyers were also rare among the top regents. Only one burgomaster in office, Hendrick Cromhout, is known to have bought at Orphan Chamber auctions. Very few aldermen did so. Of course, we must keep in mind that the regents in the first half of the 17th century were almost all Holland-born, among whom, as we have seen, there were relatively fewer buyers than among Southerners, at least until 1620.

From all this we may conclude that the chances of buying at auction if your father, your older brother, or one of your in-laws had already been a buyer were far greater than a random incidence would lead one to predict.

Family links were frequently strengthened by business ties. While I have not made a systematic study of the latter, I can cite two typical instances. Symon Willemsz. van der Does (alias Verdoes) was the son of Willem van der Does, the sheriff (*schout*) of Amsterdam, whom he succeeded in 1621. He was in business with Hans Bultel, who was apparently his brother-in-law (he was married to Maria Bultel). At the 1617 sale of the goods left by Jacob Huygh Thomas, the “concierge” of the city in charge of executive sales of bankrupt estates, Hans Bultel bought a little landscape for 8 gulden. His business partner, Symon van der Does, bought the next lot consisting of two paintings of robberies (*roverijen*) for 38 *f* and 5 *st*. Robberies, of course, were a most appropriate subject for the future sheriff. My second instance concerns two individuals who were almost certainly not related. Jacob Schaep, a member of the Reformed community, and Jan Stuver, a Roman Catholic, appeared together and apparently on the same side of a dispute in a deposition of 1602. They were probably doing business together. Seven years later they made their only known purchases of works of art at auction. Schaep, who was 49 years old in 1609, bought a painting of the prophet Elias for 3 *f* and 16 *st*. The next lot in the sale, a portrait of the Emperor Charles V was knocked off for 4 *f* and 5 *st*. to Jan Stuver, who was 37 years old at the time. Were these coincidences? I am more inclined to think that Bultel and Van der Does in 1617 and Schaep and Stuver in 1608 were sitting next or close to each other and were quite aware of one another’s bidding.

The clusters I will now discuss were made up of individuals who, in one way or another, were connected with each other, possibly through blood or marriage ties, but also through business dealings, joint notarial depositions, and other social-economic activities.

We first examine a cluster around the central figure of the painter and broker Adriaen van Nieulandt, who was very densely interconnected with other buyers.¹⁴⁹ The network of his connections is reconstructed from three sources: the baptisms of his

children in the presence of numerous witnesses of different social status; his signature in the *Album amicorum* of the fencing master Gerard Thibault, along with 15 other Amsterdam citizens who must have been fellow-pupils of Thibault; and two depositions. I counted 17 direct connections with buyers,¹⁵⁰ 23 connections with one degree of separation,¹⁵¹ and 24 connections with two degrees of separation, all, I repeat, with other buyers at auction (without duplication).¹⁵² It is remarkable that Gerrit van Schoonhoven, one of the richest men in Amsterdam; Margriete Reynst, the daughter of Gerrit Reynst, who became governor general of the Dutch East Indies; and the clock-maker Hendrick Verstegen were all members of the same set of fairly closely connected individuals. Clockmaking, the trade in which Adriaen van Nieulandt's brother-in-law was engaged, was no doubt a highly skilled occupation, but it was far down the social scale from the status of a Van Schoonhoven or a Reynst. Artists such as Van Nieulandt forged links between very wealthy citizens and the middle- and lower-middle classes to which they themselves belonged.¹⁵³

It should not be surprising to learn that the network of known Rembrandt connections with other buyers was denser than that of Adriaen van Nieulandt, since, for nearly 150 years the archives of Holland have been combed through for mentions of his name. There are so many direct contacts of Rembrandt with buyers that, to keep the search manageable, I will first look at a single degree of separation and count each individual buyer who was known to have had a direct or indirect contact with Rembrandt only once. I also restrict myself to the following relationships: 1) portraits of known individuals (Nicolaes Ruts, Johannes Wtenbogaert, Samuel Wallens, Jan Pellicorne, Thomas Jacobsz. Haringh, Samuel Smijters, Pieter de la Tombe, Jeremias de Decker); 2) pupils or fellow-collectors (Lendeert van Beyeren, Jacob Swalmius,¹⁵⁴ Govaert Flinck, Guilliaem van Neurenburgh)¹⁵⁵; 3) artist colleagues known to have been in direct contact with Rembrandt (Pieter Lastman), and 3) business or other professional contacts (Hendrick van Uyenburgh, Marten Kreter, Abraham Anthonisz. Recht, Johannes de Renialme, Marten van den Broeck,¹⁵⁶ Adriaen Hendricksz. de Wees, Dirck Dircksz. Grijp, Cornelis Gysbertsz. van der Goor, Jacob van Beeck, Cornelis Abba, Pieter Cloeck). These direct contacts involved a total of 24 buyers. The buyers portrayed yielded only seven buyers at one degree of separation.¹⁵⁷ The Rembrandt pupils who bought lots at auction added even fewer – only four: Leendert van Beyeren was of course in contact with his father Cornelis Aertsz. who bought at auction, Jacob Swalmius lodged with the painter Gillis de Hondecoeter and the ivory carver Schelde Dirricx; and Govaert Flinck is known to have had dealings with the patrician-buyer Cornelis Bicker. The contacts of Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman tap into a veritable reservoir of artist-buyers: Adriaen van Nieulandt, Jacob van Nieulandt, Louis du Prée, Willem van Bundel, Barend van Someren, and François Venant, in addition to his brother the goldsmith Zeger Pietersz. and his mother the *uitdraagster* Barber Jacobs – eight buyers in all. Some of Rembrandt's direct business relations were in contact with a fair number of buyers: Hendrick Uyenburgh was in contact with Claes Moyaert, Hans van Coninxloo III,

Jan Hendricksz. Admiraal, and Anthony Auckema; Abraham Anthonisz. Recht with Pieter Ruttens, Willem Kemp, Dr. Anthonijs Bruijn, Daniel van Kerckhoven, Melchior Bouwer, Pieter Coningh, Christoffel Barentsz., Dr. Daniel Arminius, and Abraham van der Sluijs; Marten van den Broeck, with Gregorius van den Broeck and Abraham Soolmans; Cornelis Gysbertsz. van der Goor with Jan van Baerle II, Cornelis Martsz. Pronck, Abraham de Ligne, Jean (de la) Court, Jeronimus de la Croix, Abraham de Decker, and Salomon de Vogel. Altogether, Rembrandt's business and professional contacts led to 41 buyers with one degree of separation. To the 65 names of buyers who were either in direct contact with buyers or separated from him by only one degree may be added 15 names of buyers who were linked directly to non-buyers with whom Rembrandt was in direct contact: Willem Six, Hans le Meer, and Pieter le Febre linked to Rembrandt *via* Ann Wijmer, portrayed by Rembrandt; Gillis Dodeur and Hans Barentsz. Bontemantel, *via* Paulus van Schoonhoven who was portrayed in the Night Watch; Louys Victor, *via* his son, the Rembrandt pupil Jan Victor; Abraham de Decker *via* his son the poet Jeremias de Decker, portrayed by Rembrandt; Abraham de Goyer (with important links to other buyers through his activities in the tulip trade) *via* the painter Paulus Hennekin, who was a co-signer of a deposition with Rembrandt; Outgert Pietersz. (Spiegel) who was the father-in-law of Louijs Crayers, the guardian of Rembrandt's son Titus van Rijn; Willem Claesz. Leydecker, *via* his brother Jan Claesz. Leydecker, portrayed in the Nightwatch; Hendrick Hooft I linked to Rembrandt through his son Hendrick Hooft II, the commissioner for marital affairs before whom Rembrandt was summoned to appear; Pieter Belten I, *via* Christoffel Thijsz. who was Rembrandt's long-term creditor; Paulus van Hertsbeeck (paint dealer), *via* his brother Isaack van Hertsbeeck, likewise Rembrandt's creditor; Sieuwert Pietersz. Sem *via* his business partner Jan Rijcksen, portrayed by Rembrandt;¹⁵⁸ and the out-of-town buyer Cornelis Boissens *via* Rembrandt's pupil Isaack Jouderville.¹⁵⁹

Clearly then, the set of Rembrandt's direct and indirect contacts with one degree of separation included more individuals than Adriaen van Nieulandt's (83 versus 65), but this difference may be due at least in part to the more intensive canvassing of Rembrandt's name in known contemporary sources. There is also a qualitative difference between the two networks. One is struck by the minimal role that family connections played in the case of Rembrandt and the major role that these connections played in the case of Van Nieulandt. None of the witnesses (godparents and other) at the baptisms of Rembrandt's children were even remotely connected with buyers, whereas most of Van Nieulandt's were so connected.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the difference is rooted in the fact that Van Nieulandt was born in Amsterdam while Rembrandt was an immigrant from Leiden. Another possible explanation, suggested by Paul Crenshaw, was that Van Nieulandt understood the importance of networking for his career, whereas Rembrandt generally neglected this means of advancement.

A common geographic origin could forge social ties that influenced buying decisions. I was able to find the origin of 263 buyers who made their first purchase at auc-

tion between 1597 and 1619 or about one-third of all the buyers in this period. Of these, 54 percent (141 buyers) came from the Southern Netherlands, including 98 (31 percent) from Antwerp alone. There were only 82 buyers (31 percent) born in the Dutch Republic (42 in Amsterdam and surroundings, five in Haarlem, four in Rotterdam, the rest scattered throughout the Republic). Finally 16 came from Germany (three from Hamburg, two from Cologne, Dantzic and Emden, the rest scattered). Some of the buyers born in Germany were of South Netherlandish origin. No doubt, there is a selection bias in that many of the buyers without last names whom I have not been able to identify (perhaps one-third of all buyers) were of Northern Netherlandish origin. If we restrict ourselves to merchants who were buyers at auction, we find, in this first period, that 83 were born in the Southern Netherlands out of a total of 139 (60 percent). Thanks to Gelderblom's research, this percentage can be placed in a more general context. In the years 1590 to 1609 (a period that begins just a few years earlier than the period of my own investigation), 30 percent of the merchants identified in a more or less random sample of notarial acts in Amsterdam were of South Netherlandish origin. Of 764 merchants who opened an account at the *Wisselbank* when it was founded in 1609, 32 percent were of Southern origin.¹⁶¹ Thus, the proportion of merchants of Southern origin among merchant-buyers was nearly twice as high as among all merchants.¹⁶² After making every allowance for the biases in the available data, we can still conclude that, in this early period in the history of Amsterdam auctions, the Southern Netherlandish origin of buyers in the first period of this study (1597-1619) was overwhelming.¹⁶³ These statistics confirm my preliminary analysis of the first years of the recorded Orphan Chamber sales in Chapter 3.

The picture changes radically in the second period, 1620 to 1638. Here, out of 357 buyers of known origin whose first purchase occurred in this period, only 78 (22 percent) were born in Southern Netherlands (48 in Antwerp, 30 in other localities). 209 buyers were born in Amsterdam or other towns in the Dutch Republic (59 percent). Of these, 125 were born in Amsterdam and 84 in the other provinces of the Republic. There is also a marked increase in the number of buyers born in Germany: 39 compared to 16 in the previous period (11 buyers from Cologne, 10 from Aachen, 5 from Hamburg, 4 from Emden, and 9 scattered throughout Germany). Four were born in England. Virtually all the buyers from Germany and England were merchants of South Netherlandish origin: their parents had left Flanders or Brabant in the 1580s in the great diaspora of those years and spent some time in German and English cities before migrating to the Dutch Republic. Finally I found four Sephardim among the buyers in this period, including Bento Osorio, the richest Jewish merchant in Amsterdam at the time, who bought several landscapes at auction, Abraham Pina, who collected, among other subjects, portraits of French kings and queens and of princes of the House of Nassau, and a mysterious "Portuguese with one eye" named Joris Thomas. The marked decrease in the percentage of buyers of Southern Netherlandish origin (54 percent in the first period and 22 percent in the second) and the corresponding increase in buyers of North Netherlandish origin was not only due, in my opin-

ion, to the decline in migration from the South after war with Spain was resumed in 1621.¹⁶⁴ This decline was much more pronounced than that observed by Gelderblom for the category of merchants as a whole (who were of course heavily represented among buyers).¹⁶⁵ It looks very much as if Southerners initiated the trend for buying art at auction but that, starting in the 1620s, native-born Dutch men and women, or at least those among them with some means, followed their example and gradually caught up with them.

This conclusion holds, by the way, even if all the buyers born in Holland but whose parents had immigrated from the Southern Netherlands are included in the Southern contingent. I found 37 of these sons of immigrants. If we add this number to the number of buyers who were actually born in Southern Netherlands during this second period, we obtain 115 buyers in the first and second generation of immigrants, or 32 percent of the sample of buyers of known origin. This is still a good deal less than the 54 percent I estimated earlier for buyers of direct South Nethelandish origin in the first period.

The immigrant buyers frequently cohered in groups with family, business or religious ties. Many immigrants from German cities like Hamburg and Bremen, for example, tended to be Lutheran (perhaps because they had elected to migrate to Lutheran Germany in the first place.) They frequently appeared as godparents and witnesses at the baptisms of each other's children in the Lutheran Church. The buyers from Cologne, some of whom were Calvinists, also married each other and formed business links. Among the 11 buyers from Cologne in the second period may be mentioned Gillis and David Ruts, Pieter and Carel (de) Latfeur, Nicholaes Sohier, Bernard and Hendrick Omphalius.

Membership in a merchants' or craft guild was another form of social relation, which, even though it was much looser than the family ties and business associations we have already considered, also affected the behavior of individuals, including their decision to attend, and possibly buy at, auction. Three illustrative examples will give an idea of these relations. At the auction sale of the jeweler Jan van Maerlen of 1637 that I have already mentioned, many valuable jewels belonging to the estate were offered for sale. A fairly large number of jewelers, goldsmiths, and silversmiths – no doubt, fellow guild members of the late Van Maerlen – were present for the occasion, most of whom bought jewelry. Six of them stayed to buy paintings at the sale: Adriaen and David ter Haer, Johannes de Renialme, Thomas de Kemel, Adriaen Van Breen and Jan van Maerlen's son-in-law Gerrit van Rijssen. But the attraction of a specialized sale of interest to colleagues was not a necessary condition for the presence of fellow-members of the guild. At the distinguished sale of the goods that had belonged to the wine dealer Elbert Martsz., there was no wine sold. Nevertheless, four of his wine-dealing colleagues bought paintings at the sale, not counting Elbert Martsz.'s son Witmer Elbertsz. who was also a wine dealer. The buyers who were wine-dealers were Anthony de Lange, Frederick Leecker, Wouter van Lennip, and Gerrit Luls. Similarly, at the January 1628 sale of the late Willem van Ghys, skipper on a boat to Leiden, five

skippers bought lots (none of them works of art). It would appear that buying goods at a colleague's post mortem auction sale was akin to attending his funeral – which was a guild obligation. Such purchases were a favor to the widow and the orphans of the late colleague who eventually received the net proceeds of the sale.

Close neighbors – sometimes living “next door” to the deceased owner – were often cited as buyers at sales. To cite only one example, in the sale of the late Abraham Lefebvre, which was held in his house on the Rokin on 18 April 1637, the buyers other than family members were three neighbors of the defunct seller.¹⁶⁶ We know about them because all three appeared in a deposition of 30 July 1638, in which they testified, at the request of the Substitute Sheriff, about “loose women” (*ontuchtige vrouwen*) who plied their trade in a couple of inns in a little alley off the Rokin familiarly referred to as the “Whores’ Path”.¹⁶⁷

I will cite one last social relation that may have influenced the decision to buy at auction. Many members of militia companies (*schutters*) were buyers. I noted 54 *schutters* for the entire period 1597 to 1638 – many of them captains and lieutenants of companies – but I suspect that there were many more. In Thomas de Keyser's group portrait of the *korporaalschap* of Captain Allart Cloeck, for example, four out of 16 of the individuals portrayed were buyers at auction.¹⁶⁸

In general, merchants, fellow guild members, and the officers of militia companies represented overlapping sets. All three categories also overlapped with the inhabitants of richer neighborhoods (the Warmoesstraat, the Rokin, the Fluweele Burgwal, the Herengracht). But the different categories of buyers must be studied separately because the overlap was never complete.

From this point on, my study of clusters of buyers will follow a related but distinct strategy. I shall select various groups (individuals sharing an occupation, merchants freighting ships, signers of a petition, the inhabitants of a certain street, the members of a literary or other circle) to ascertain what fraction in each group consisted of buyers at auction.

In Chapter 6, we already examined the purchases at auction of the largest investors in the first and second subscriptions for V.O.C. shares. We now consider all 1,143 investors in the first subscription for shares of the United East Indies Company (V.O.C.) in 1602.¹⁶⁹ Note that this great group of people formed only a loose cluster. I would warrant that most of them did not know each other, especially if they lived in towns other than Amsterdam, as many did (see below), or if they did not belong to the top layer of Dutch merchant society. But, lacking any other wealth data for this early period, I plan to use the acquisition of shares, inscribed in the great ledger of the V.O.C., as a proximate indicator of wealth.

First, some remarks are in order about the inscriptions. Because the plague raged in the year 1602, many subscribers had fled Amsterdam to a country place or to another town when the subscriptions were collected and had a relative or friend subscribe on their behalf. More relevant to our inquiry, many subscribers lived in towns that had no chamber of the V.O.C. and had little choice but to subscribe in Amster-

dam.¹⁷⁰ These towns included Utrecht, Leiden, Dordrecht, Gouda, Deventer, Alkmaar, and Haarlem whose citizens contributed substantially to the total sums gathered. It may be supposed that most of the subscribers living out of town were not acquainted with subscribers in Amsterdam or, for that matter, in other cities but their own. I also recall that very few buyers at auction lived in towns other than Amsterdam during the period covered in my investigation so that the chances of finding buyers among out-of-town subscribers were close to nil. Including everyone on the list, 8 percent of the subscribers were buyers of works of art at Orphan Chamber auction, a fairly feeble fraction. When out-of-towners are excluded, the proportion of buyers rises to 10.7 percent. This is a minimum, considering that I have not excluded from the list many subscribers who, I suspect, were probably residents of other towns but who were not identified as such in the great ledger.

The proportion of out-of-towners was not spread evenly throughout the list: all but 6 of the 81 biggest subscribers (7.4 percent), who bought shares for 10,000 *f* and more, lived in Amsterdam. The proportion of out-of-towners rose to about 30 percent for subscribers who bought shares for less than 1,000 *f*. If we exclude these minimum numbers of external residents, we find the following proportion of buyers in the different subscription classes: 19.1 percent of subscribers for over 10,000 *f*, 15.1 percent of those from 5,000 to 9,999 *f*, 13.7 percent of those from 1,000 to 4,999 *f*, and 6.4 percent of those subscribing for less than 1,000 *f*.¹⁷¹ The overall proportion, as already mentioned, was 10.7 percent. Assuming a statistically significant correlation between the wealth of subscribers and the total value of the shares they bought in the subscription,¹⁷² we find that these figures confirm our earlier finding, based on the tax records for 1631: the proportion of auction buyers among Amsterdam citizens increased substantially in higher wealth categories.

We now come to a real cluster, the members of which must have known each other, if not directly – meeting at the stock market, at the notary’s office, when signatures to the petition were gathered – then indirectly, at one or at most two degrees of separation. This cluster consisted of 75 signatories to a petition by Amsterdam merchants addressed to the municipal authority of Amsterdam (*Vroedschap*) in 1608, six years after the first subscription for V.O.C. shares was opened. The background of the petition is of considerable interest for the economic history of Holland. In 1604, the *Vroedschap* had issued an ordinance prohibiting merchants from accepting deposits in gold or silver, in bullion or specie, and effecting debt transfers on the basis of these deposits. At a time when a Bank of Exchange had not yet been created, this taking in of deposits amounted to private banking. The authorities objected to various shady practices that these merchants/changers engaged in, including the practice of hoarding “heavy” money (with a full-value gold or silver content) and sending it to illegal (private) mints, which then issued money with a smaller gold or silver content. They then helped circulate this “light” money in the market, through letters of credit and other monetary instruments.¹⁷³ On 12 July 1608, the acceptance of deposits and the money transfers that accompanied the practice, which had apparently been taking

place despite the prohibition, was again forbidden.¹⁷⁴ Less than two weeks later, 75 Amsterdam merchants addressed their petition to the *Vroedschap* calling for the revocation of the prohibition on depositing money with cashiers (*kasiersbedrijf*). They claimed, with some justification, that, in the absence of a bank of exchange, the taking in of deposits and the money transfers – to extinguish debt and for other reasons – greatly facilitated commerce, especially in a large city where creditors could not always collect debts in person that they were owed.¹⁷⁵ The Amsterdam *Vroedschap*, which must have been impressed by the number and the quality of the petitioning merchants, responded almost immediately by mitigating – in fact, virtually rescinding – the prohibition. Less than six months later a bank of exchange (the *Wisselbank*) was created, which essentially monopolized deposit banking and bank transfers. This bank facilitated money transfers and the extension of credit but ruled out the underhand practices that had given rise to the 1604 regulation in the first place.

Of the 75 petitioning merchants, 25, exactly one out of three, were buyers of works of art at Orphan Chamber auctions. This was an astonishingly high proportion since the petitioners, as a group, did not belong to the top echelon of the merchant class of Amsterdam, at least as far as we may judge from the subscription for V.O.C. shares in 1602. The buyers among them represented an even less wealthy subgroup.¹⁷⁶ Among the 13 petitioners/buyers who had invested in the first subscription for shares of the V.O.C. six years before, only two (Pieter van Geel and Jasper Coymans) were among the investors who had bought shares for more than 10,000 *f*. Counting a total of 36 petitioners who had invested in the V.O.C. but were not necessarily buyers at auction, we find that 12 (one-third) had bought shares for over 10,000 *f*, nine had bought shares for 5,000 to 9,999 *f*, 13 for 1,000 to 4,999 *f* and two for less than 1,000 *f*. If the percentages of buyers in each bracket had been the same as among investors in V.O.C. shares as a whole (excluding, as far as possible, out-of-town investors), we would expect that 19.1 percent of the 12 petitioners/investors in the highest bracket (above 10,000 *f*) would have been buyers, which comes to 2.3 buyers. (Fractions of buyers are of course meaningless as such, but they acquire meaning when several fractions add up to unity). Rounding off the expectation to 2, our expectation was realized, considering that there were two buyers in this bracket. In the next bracket, from 5,000 to 9,999 *f*, we would have expected 15.1 percent of the nine petitioners/investors to be buyers, or 1.4. There were actually 4 buyers in this bracket, a surplus of 2.6. In the bracket of petitioners/investors from 1,000 to 4,999 *f*, we would have expected 13.7 percent to be buyers or 1.8. There were actually 6 buyers in this bracket, a surplus of 4.2. Altogether, a total of 5.6 buyers were expected, and there were 13, or more than twice as many. These are small numbers and the discrepancies between expected and actual numbers may be due to chance, but they are quite suggestive.

To what factors can we attribute the relatively high fraction of buyers (one third) among the signatories of the 1608 petition? Gender differences are one significant factor. All the petitioners were males. Many of the investors in V.O.C. were widows

seeking to get a return on the money they had inherited. Relatively few women (other than *uitdraagsters*) bought works of art at auction. Investors in V.O.C. shares included numerous instances of fathers buying for their children, each of whom I counted as a separate investor. Few of these children bought works of art at auction. There were probably many more out-of-town investors than I have estimated, of whom only a negligible number bought at auction. Women and under-age investors and uncounted out-of-towners depressed the percentage of buyers, thus reducing the statistical expectation, in each bracket. On a more speculative note, I would argue that the petitioners represented a group of dynamic merchants, many of them engaged in overseas trade, with a higher-than-average propensity – given their level of wealth – to buy at auction.

In table 7.1 I have assembled data from several samples containing relatively high numbers of buyers – freighters of ships in overseas trade, members of a chamber of *rederijkers* (rhetoricians), members of a fencing club, a circle of amateurs of poetry – and relatively low numbers – soap-boilers, wine distributors, tanners, and residents of poor neighborhoods. Some of them are groups rather than clusters (freighters, inhabitants of certain streets, guardians of orphans) but I have listed them because they make for an interesting comparison with true clusters like the members of an association or club or the wine distributors, soap boilers, and leather tanners who met regularly to administer matters of importance to the “trade”.

Table 7.1
Groups of Individuals and the Proportion of Buyers Among Them

	Number	Of Which, Buyers	Percent
Freighters of ships			
1601-1608	291	47	16.2
1609-1616	284	40	14.1
1617-1625	224	43	19.2
<i>Rederijker</i> members of “de Egelantier” 1616	23	7	30.4
Signatories <i>Album amicorum</i> of Gerard Thibault (c.1615)	37	11	29.7
Friends of the poet Jan Jansz. Starter	21	5	23.8
Soap boilers in 1607-1608 (owners of works)	15	1	6.7
Soap-boilers in 1615-1631 (exercising the <i>nering</i>)	16	2	12.5
Wine distributors (<i>wijnverlaters</i>) in 1625	19	0	0
Master chamois-leather tanners (<i>seemleerbereiders</i>)	7	0	0
Inhabitants of the Bloemstraat, ca. 1613-1625	205	3	1.5
Orphan Chamber sample	415	6	1.4

Notes: Only buyers identified with near-certainty have been included. The percentages should be considered a minimum. Freighters of ships who signed contracts in more than one period are counted only in the first period in which they occurred. A few of the individuals who promised to provide a subsidy for Jan Jansz. Starter were probably not from

Amsterdam. But because of the uncertainty of determining which ones these were, all signatories have been counted. In the case of the Album amicorum of Gerard Thibault, only Amsterdam residents are included in the count (since most of the inscriptions in the album are accompanied by the place where it was made, the out-of-town signatories were conveniently excluded.) The Orphan Chamber sample is based on the Inbrenregister of the Chamber. Three samples of 105 individuals and one sample of 100 individuals were taken, all in the years 1624 to 1626.

Sources: Freighters of ships (signatories of freighting contracts), 1601-1625: P.H. Winkelman, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse oostzeehandel in de zeventiende eeuw*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, pp. 184-186 (1983); members of "de Egelantier": A. Worp, "Varia uit de Amsterdamsche toneelwereld" *Oud Holland* 22 (1904), pp. 40-42; signatories of *Album amicorum*: H. de la Fontaine-Verwey, "Gerard Thibault en zijn 'Academie de l'espée'", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 69 (1977), pp. 52-54; friends of Jan Starter: Abraham Bredius, "Iets over Jan Jansz. Starter", *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p.54; soap-boilers (*zeepzieders*) 1607-1608 and 1625-1631: S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Een grote concentratie van zeepzieders aan het Damrak", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 83 (1991), pp. 47 and pp. 92-3; wine distributors: buyers at the sale of wine-distributors' equipment, Orphan Chamber sale of 2 January 1625 (WK 5073/951); master *seemleerbereiders*: J. Z. Kannegieter, "De Elandstraat in haar eerste stadium ...", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 55 (1963), pp. 81, 91, 96; inhabitants of the Bloemstraat: J.Z. Kannegieter, "De Bloemstraat en haar zijstraten c. 1613-1625", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 54 (1962), pp.98-102; *Inbrenregister* of the Orphan Chamber: (WK 5073/789).

A glance at the table should convince the reader that the incidence of buyers in different groups was far from random. Clearly, wealth had something to do with the percentages. Merchants who freighted ships were much more likely to be buyers than wine distributors (*wijnverlaters*), the inhabitants of a relatively poor neighborhood such as the Bloemstraat and its surroundings, or a random sample of the fathers of orphans.

Yet this cannot be the whole story. The *rederijkers* were not particularly wealthy.¹⁷⁷ Nor were the signatories of the *Album amicorum* (and presumed disciples) of the fencing master Gerard Thibault, although some of them undoubtedly belonged to the *jeunesse dorée* of Amsterdam.¹⁷⁸ The friends of the poet Jan Jansz. Starter who each promised to give him two Flemish pounds as a subsidy,¹⁷⁹ on the condition they would have first access to his poems, came from prosperous families, but they were certainly not as rich as the men who pledged to invest 10,000 *f* or more in V.O.C. shares. Being part of a literary circle or a fashionable fencing club undoubtedly raised the likelihood that an individual might buy at auction. A wine distributor, a soap boiler, a master chamois-leather tanner, even though he might be relatively prosperous, was a less likely buyer.¹⁸⁰

There is one low-yielding group that deserves to be commented on. I did not find a single buyer among the eminent poets, men of letters, and playwrights of the period (Jacob Cats, Constantijn Huygens I, Joost van den Vondel, Samuel Coster, Jan Jansz.

Starter, Mattheus Tengenagel, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, Casper van Baerle, Jan de Vos etc.).¹⁸¹ Most of these were men of some means, who were clearly capable of buying art at auction. I find it hard to believe that this “empty set” is just the result of random selection among cultivated people in Amsterdam of certain means. I can think of only one explanation. Many of these men of letters had painter friends. They wrote laudatory poems on their friends’ paintings which had been ordered by wealthy patrons. Their artist friends may have given them at least small paintings in appreciation. This dispensed them from spending their hard-earned money at auction.¹⁸²

The last cluster in this chapter consists of auction buyers who were also involved in the business of growing and trading in tulips and other flower bulbs. The story of the tulip mania has been told a number of times,¹⁸³ but, to my knowledge, it has not so far been linked with the art trade, let alone with the buyers at Amsterdam auctions.

Tulips, imported from Turkey, had been grown in Holland since the last years of the 16th century, most probably in the University of Leiden’s botanical garden. They at first attracted chiefly amateur horticulturists. By the second decade of the 17th century, trade in tulip and other bulbs had grown into a serious business in the hands of professionals. It is worthy of note that Emanuel (or Manuel) Sweerts, the author of the first widely circulated book on horticulture, with numerous illustrations of tulips, published in 1612, was himself a buyer of art at auction, where he acquired several paintings and a number of prints (all without titles). His book, *Florilegium*, published in Frankfurt, was a catalogue of the rare flowers he offered for sale. Born in 1552 in Zevenbergen, he died in Amsterdam in 1612.¹⁸⁴ Emanuel Sweerts was connected with several distinguished Antwerp/Amsterdam families. His brother Lenard Sweerts I, an attorney, was first married to Anna Rombouts, the sister of Hans and Jacques Rombouts, prominent merchants of Antwerp origin. Lenard’s son Willem (a buyer at auction) was married to Janneken du Pire, whose sister Marie had married into the important De Wilde family. But Emanuel was also connected with the world of artists and artisans. His son Jeronimus (also a buyer) became a still-life painter. His daughter Marie married the gilder Cesar Winnen. Another daughter named Elisabeth married the printer and publisher Pauwels van Ravesteyn. Emanuel Sweerts, whose family reached out to the mercantile and artistic worlds, played the same pivotal role in a wide network of connections at disparate social levels as the painter Adriaen van Nieulandt, whose “degrees of separation” from other buyers we examined earlier.

Tulips and other bulbs were regularly auctioned in an inn called “The Mennonite Wedding” (*De Menniste Bruyloft*) on the Oude Brugsteeg, next to the Warmoestraat, on the Old Side of Amsterdam. The records of these auctions, if they were ever kept, have long been lost. The only auction of bulbs in Amsterdam that has left a record was that of the stock in the estate of the florist Pieter Pietersz., which was held by the Orphan Chamber on 25 September 1625.¹⁸⁵ Pieter Pietersz. had been in business with another garden-man named Marcus Cornelisz. since 1619 when the

two men had contracted to buy and sell nursery products and flowers in places as far distant as Prussia and Poland.¹⁸⁶ Fourteen out of 21 of the buyers at this auction – 67 percent – were buyers of works of art at other Orphan Chamber auctions. This proportion, I need hardly stress, was extraordinarily high.¹⁸⁷ Among these buyers of bulbs and works of art may be noted the merchants Abraham Casteleijn, Abraham de Schilder, Abraham van der Sluijs, Adam Bessels, and Mathijs Gerritsz., who were all engaged, in one way or another, in the tulip trade in subsequent years.¹⁸⁸

Two weeks after the Pieter Pietersz. sale, Isaack Casteleijn, a buyer of art at auction who was probably the cousin of Abraham Casteleijn who had bought bulbs at the Pieter Pietersz. sale, sent a notary to the house of seigneur Marcus Cornelisz. (Flora) to notify him of the following complaint. Casteleijn claimed that, in June and November of the preceding year, he had sold to Marcus Cornelisz. 200 flowers (probably bulbs) for 20 gulden for which he had only been paid 10 and one half gulden. Marcus Cornelisz. told the notary that the flowers were not what they were supposed to be. However, he was willing to pay for two of the Admirals (tulip bulbs) and return the rest.¹⁸⁹ I cite this “insinuation” for the modesty of Casteleijn’s claim. In later years, after the speculation started in earnest, no one would have mobilized a notary for such a small sum.

Even in this early period certain rare tulip bulbs were offered at prices that were as high or higher than the most valuable paintings traded in the market (and much higher than the highest auction prices of the period for which the Orphan Chamber notebooks have been preserved). In 1625, 1,200 gulden were asked for a bulb of *Semper Augustus*, one of the most desirable tulips grown in this period.¹⁹⁰ But it is by no means certain that the bulbs actually changed hands at this very high price.

Before the frenzy in trading started, trade was still confined mainly to professional growers and relatively wealthy amateurs. As the fever heated up, more and more people who knew nothing about the tulip business were pulled into the vortex of the market. Speculation was fed by the increasing tendency, from 1634 on, to sell the bulbs in the ground, for delivery at the beginning of the summer and by the resale of buyers’ I.O.U.’s for bulbs that stood to be delivered some months hence.

On 17 May 1633, an auction of tulip bulbs took place in Amsterdam, apparently under the auspices of the Orphan Chamber, which gives us an idea of the problems auctions could give rise to. My guess that it might have been an Orphan Chamber auction – the records of the Chamber auctions for 1633 are lost – rests on the conditions of the sale, which, word for word, are those spelled out in the introductions to most voluntary sales of the Orphan Chamber.¹⁹¹ In this notarial notification (*insinuatie*), all three of the men cited were buyers of art at auction. At the 1633 auction, two tulip bulbs had been sold at the request of Abraham de Schilder to Abraham de Goyer (1 “*Paragon Schilder*” for 50 *f* and one “*Paragon dito [Schilder]*” for 41 *f*). Abraham de Schilder, merchant in Amsterdam, from Middelburg, was 27 years old when he was betrothed on 2 May 1623 to Cathalina Metsu, the daughter of Philips Metsu, also cited in the document.¹⁹² Abraham de Goyer, who was 53 years old when the

auction took place, was initially a retail merchant in silk cloth, but, by the 1630s, he seems to have been made his living chiefly in the tulips trade and in dealing in garden land.¹⁹³ On 19 December 1634, Abraham de Goyer lodged his complaint against Philips Metsu, the father-in-law of Abraham de Schilder, who had given Metsu power-of-attorney. De Goyer alleged that the tulips he had bought at the 1633 sale were similar in color but “quite unequal in value” to “Paragon Schilder” tulips. De Schilder had promised, via his father-in-law, that he would make it up (*sou’t effenen*) to De Goyer, but he hadn’t. De Goyer stated that he would keep the bulbs but would hold De Schilder responsible for any losses (in resale) or damage that he might suffer, “it being that the tulips have been paid in full to the auctioneer”. Abraham de Goyer, of all the buyers at auction who bought or sold flower bulbs or were in any way connected with the tulip trade, is the only one who is known to have bought a painting of flowers at auction.¹⁹⁴

If we can trust a very realistic-sounding poem about “the wonderful year of the flower-growers, anno 1637”¹⁹⁵ by Gerret Kock, who claims to have bought various tulips (probably in bulbs) from Abraham de Goyer for 60 to 72 *f* a piece, De Goyer’s tulip business was extremely profitable. Kock tells us that De Goyer was “a great flower grower who owned a very large flower garden on the Singel near the Regulierspoort”. In a single year – presumably 1637, “the wonderful year of the flower-growers” – he had sold 20,000 *f* worth of tulips. From the proceeds, he had spent 10,000 *f* on a fine manor (*hofstede*) in Maarssen. The remaining 10,000 *f* he had invested in the purchase of more tulips. He claimed to Kock that he had himself spent 1,200 *f* on a single tulip (bulb). As we shall see in chapter 13, none of the art dealers about whose affairs we have information made that kind of money.

How outsiders were prompted by professionals to engage in the nascent speculation in tulip bulbs is illustrated by the following story. Reymont de Smith (a buyer of art at auction) was a tulip dealer, who was on friendly terms – perhaps in business – with Jeronimus Victorij, a well-known horticulturist, whose name has already been mentioned.¹⁹⁶ On 21 March 1635, Francoijs Heldewier declared that he had come some time ago to Amsterdam from Brussels with no means of his own. He had gone with his wife and sister to Reymont de Smith, who was a family member (probably, a rather distant one). De Smith had lent him 1,800 *f* to start a tulip business of his own. Heldewier also received clothing and lodging, all of which were to be paid from the proceeds of the business.¹⁹⁷ The story is reminiscent of a passage in the dialogue between Waermont and Gaergoedt “on the rise and fall of Flora”, a famous pamphlet published in 1637, where Gaergoedt, an ardent speculator, had told a sceptical Waermont about the great profits that one could earn, even while one slept, in the highly profitable tulip trade.¹⁹⁸ In 1644, Heldewier had to acknowledge that he still owed De Smith 1,800 *f* for one loan and 4,455 *f* for another, for tulip bulbs that De Smith had given him. De Smith retained the rights to all the bulbs and their eventual buds or outgrowths.¹⁹⁹

The famous amateur (*liefhebber*) of art Marten Kretser, whose collection was

sung by the poet Lambert van den Bos, was another one of those outsiders who could not resist the lure of speculation in tulip bulbs. Significantly, he had chosen as his supplier of bulbs Jan Hendricksz. Admiraal, a professional grower, who, as we have already seen, was himself a buyer of works of art at auction and an art collector.²⁰⁰ On August 17, 1635, toward the beginning of the bull market, Admiraal had a notary notify Kretser of the following complaint. Four days earlier, a decision had been made by arbiters about a dispute the two men had submitted to them. The decision was that Admiraal would deliver certain tulip bulbs plus 180 *f* to Kretser, who in turn would give Admiraal 11 paintings by various masters and a print by Lucas van Leyden. Admiraal had delivered the bulbs, but Kretser had only handed over one painting. Admiraal was willing to pay Kretser the money as soon as Kretser had delivered the remaining paintings. Kretser responded to the complaint by saying that he was ready to hand over the paintings but Admiraal would first have to show that the tulips conformed to the arbiters' decision.²⁰¹ By this Kretser probably meant that the bulbs, which were still in the ground, would have to be precisely the same, when they were dug up, as the arbiters had described in their decision.

Exactly a month later, on September 17, Jan Hendricksz. Admiraal, from Amsterdam, 28 years old, contracted with the florist Jeronimus Victorij to deliver a very valuable bulb, named "*de Generaal Gouda*" to Victorij on the following conditions. If the fortress of Schenckenschans, now in enemy hands, were to be retaken within six months, Victorij would have to pay Admiraal 650 *f* for the bulb. If not, Victorij could have it free.²⁰² Bets of this type were fairly common in 17th century Holland. Those who made them evinced a certain "risk preference", which speculators in tulips may have shared with buyers at auction. Another dispute arose in 1636 between Admiraal and Simon van Poelenburgh, an etcher, brother-in-law of the famous print-maker Jacob Matham. Van Poelenburgh was born in Haarlem but had lived in Amsterdam at least since his marriage in 1625.²⁰³ On April 24, Notary Van Zwieten, at Van Poelenburgh's request, went to the house of Sr. Cornelis van Breugel to notify him of the following "insinuation". Van Poelenburgh alleged that, according to a contract dated 6 December 1635, he had bought three bulbs from Admiraal, namely, an "English Admiraal", a "General Veryck", and an "Admiraal Liefkens", all planted in Van Breugel's garden. Van Poelenburgh now requested, in a friendly manner, that the bulbs be delivered to him or at least that they should not be handed over to Admiraal except in his presence. Cornelis van Breugel responded to the notary by saying that Admiraal did not possess the bulbs "which belong entirely to me", claiming that Admiraal had sold to Van Poelenburgh tulips that neither belonged to him in part or in whole (*die hem in't geheel noch deel toebehoren*).²⁰⁴ A couple of weeks later Van Poelenburgh addressed a new complaint, this time directly against Admiraal. He repeated Van Breugel's contention that the three bulbs belonged to him. To which Admiraal answered non-committally "I hear and I see".²⁰⁵ This was evidently a time when prices were still going up: sellers procrastinated or equivocated to delay or cancel delivery as buyers tried to force them to deliver.

The bubble burst on the third of February 1637. After that a deluge of notarial complaints came down on buyers who refused to take delivery of bulbs and their buds at previously agreed upon prices now that the market prices for bulbs had come down. Finally, ordinances had to be issued in various towns releasing buyers from the obligations they had incurred or permitting them to pay only a portion of the agreed upon price. Among the buyers of works of art who were involved in tulip speculation we find both sellers (Jan Hendricksz. Admirael, Abraham van der Sluijs) and buyers (Jan Pietersz. Neckveelt and, probably, Hans Coninxloo III) who incurred losses in the wake of the crash.

An “insinuation” lodged on 11 February 1637, a few days after the turnaround in the market, cites a certain Jaques de Poer, who is probably identical with Jacques de Pours, whose bankrupt inventory was sold after his death on court order on 14 November 1657.²⁰⁶ The document gives us a glimpse of how tulip bulbs were actually auctioned in Amsterdam’s inns at the time. (This, together with the vignette of the porcelain auction cited in chapter 3 is about as close a description of an event at an auction in the first half of the 17th century as I have come across.) The auction took place in the previously mentioned “*Menniste Bruyloft*” on the Oudebrugsteeg. The auctioneer, Jan Jeuriaensz. de Meyer, 24 years old, who was the deponent in this act, had placed on the table various bulbs that he had been requested to sell to the highest bidder (*aen de meest biedende*). The deposition was made at the request of the otherwise unknown David van de Cruys, who had asked De Meyer to sell a pound of tulip bulbs, called “*Switsers*”. De Meyer had stipulated that the person who would call out the highest bid for the pound of tulips would get a *schelling* (six st.) as “draw-money” (*treckgelt*).²⁰⁷ After various florists, bid after bid, had raised the bidding to 1,060 gulden, the bulbs were sold at this price. Whereupon, Jaques de Poer had gotten up on a bench and made a bid of 1,065 gulden. Van de Cruys, the seller, had approved the sale and congratulated De Poer, who had taken the *schelling* (in recognition that the deal had been consummated).²⁰⁸ This was the first known complaint made after the crash against a buyer who had failed to pay up on a purchase.

Yet the crisis had not damped all hope of profit. It appears from a later document that, on May 9, 1637, Jan Hendricksz. Admirael had lodged a complaint against Paulus de Hooghe, the future father of the print-maker Romeyn de Hooghe (II),²⁰⁹ probably because De Hooghe had not paid for certain bulbs that Admirael had sold him. It would appear Admirael had promised De Hooghe that he could earn a 20 percent return on the bulbs within a year. Six days later De Hooghe dispatched a notary to Admirael to notify him that he had accepted to pay for the bulbs and to take delivery on that condition but that Admirael had not fulfilled his part of the bargain.²¹⁰ A month later Admirael “insinuated” De Hooghe again, claiming that De Hooghe, last January (just before the crisis), had bought from him various tulips planted in his garden. Apparently, the agreement proposed in May had not gone through, and Admirael was now urging De Hooghe to collect the bulbs in his garden, “since it was now dry time and very necessary to get the tulips out of the ground.”²¹¹

Our last document featuring Jan Hendricksz. Admiraal refers to his efforts to collect money from a customer, probably again for tulips delivered. The customer, Hans van Coninxloo III, is of special interest to us because he was both a painter/art dealer and a buyer of art at Orphan Chamber sales.²¹² On 13 May 1639, Admiraal signed an agreement with Van Coninxloo in the wake of a dispute concerning the repayment of several debts that Van Coninxloo owed him.²¹³ Admiraal claimed that a court had awarded him two judgements against Van Coninxloo calling for the latter to pay him 740 *f* plus interests and court costs. In addition the two men, pursuant upon the mediation of “good friends”, had agreed that Van Coninxloo should pay Admiraal another 340 *f*. Van Coninxloo undertook to pay Admiraal “without appeal”. The art dealer Hendrick van Uylenburgh²¹⁴ was expected to oversee the repayment of the debts, until Admiraal had expressed his satisfaction (*contentement*). The nature of the debts was left unspecified. It is very probable that the transactions between Admiraal and Van Coninxloo involved the exchange of tulip bulbs for paintings or other works of art. This speculation is based on Admiraal’s known transactions, including the exchange of tulips against paintings with Marten Kretser in 1635, and the presence of Uylenburgh as an arbiter in the dispute. That Van Coninxloo now had to deliver paintings to Admiraal to acquit himself of his debt is apparent from another document, drawn up a little more than a year later, on 24 October 1640.²¹⁵ Admiraal now acknowledged having received 625 *f* in capital and interest from the merchant Hans van der Putte, corresponding to the debt that Van Coninxloo owed him.²¹⁶ He thereby discharged Van Coninxloo from any further obligation and transferred to Van der Putte all the paintings, drawings, prints and other furniture that Van Coninxloo had ceded to him. The appendices to the act, one of which was signed as early as 26 July 1639, listed works of art and other furniture that were being held by Admiraal. Ten of the paintings and drawings and one *kunstboeck* had been evaluated by Hendrick van Uylenburgh and Frans Kaersgieter (for 239 *f*). These included a drawing by Willem Buytewech (5 *f*), a painting by Jan van Bylert (40 *f*), another by Dirck Hals (12 *f*), and a *tronie* by Lucas Cran (probably Cranach) (10 *f*). The *kunstboeck* consisted of prints by Aldegraver, Sebald Beham, and Georg Pencz (altogether 280 sheets for 20 *f*). To make up the principal sum, many other works of art had been thrown in, including a copy after Pieter Claesz. (10 *f*), a little *tronie* by Flinck (10 *f*), a piece by Pieter Aertsen (8 *f*), a copy of Rembrandt’s Samson (15 *f*),²¹⁷ a judgement of Mydas (20 *f*), a seascape (25 *f*), a painting of a lady after Rembrandt (25 *f*), and 35 or 36 paintings, “copies and otherwise”, and unpainted and dead-painted panels (all for 100 *f*). There was also some exotic material (Japanese canes, sticks of ebony wood, Brazilian boughs, for a total of 118 *f*), and miscellaneous art works (40 *f*). The sum of all these items amounted to 635 *f*, which was more or less the amount of the debt. But there were also many other prints and paintings that were not evaluated at all, including Rembrandt’s etching of *Ecce Homo*, Italian drawings, a *tronie* after Rembrandt, and many prints by Lucas van Leyden, Beham, and others. Van Coninxloo had apparently turned over these items

as collateral for the debt he owed to Admiraal. In an appended act of 19 November 1639,²¹⁸ Van Coninxloo's wife, Sara de Vogelaer, acknowledged that she had received from Admiraal a bed with its pillows (included in the furniture that had been transferred to him), which she could keep at his discretion (*in precario*). This acknowledgement makes it more than likely that Van Coninxloo had turned over all his worldly possessions, including his dealer's stock, to Admiraal as a pledge for his debt. The pawning of the couple's furniture, including their bed, must have been particularly hard on Sara de Vogelaer, who came from a distinguished family of Emden jewelers.

From this small sample of documents, it emerges clearly that the set of buyers of art at auction and the set of buyers and sellers of flower bulbs intersected in significant ways. But there is also a tantalizing relation between artists (and individuals with a close relation to the artistic world) and the tulip trade. We have seen that the etcher Simon van Poelenburgh was a bulb buyer, as was the father of Romeyn de Hooghe. I mentioned earlier that the brothers Abraham and Cornelis de Bruijn had married daughters of the painter Jacob Savery and were the brothers-in-law of the print-maker Hendrick Roghman. Cornelis de Bruijn lodged a complaint in May 1637 against Abraham Wachtendonck who had bought bulbs from him but had not taken delivery.²¹⁹ The *drogist* Govert van der Hoeven (a buyer of art at auction), who was the brother of the painter Felix van der Hoeven, bought bulbs at the Pieter Pietersz. sale in 1626. Abraham de Goyer, who played a major role in the tulip speculation of 1637, was the guardian of the painter Paulus Hennekin, whom he assisted on the occasion of his betrothal in December 1636.²²⁰ His son, Barend, is said to have become a painter. Finally, Hans van Coninxloo III, who, if my speculation is valid, appears to have been ruined by the tulip speculation, was a painter as well as an art dealer (as the dead-painted panels he turned over to Admiraal testify).

Was the affinity between buyers of tulip bulbs and buyers of art at auction a matter of taste or was it a common attitude toward risk? I suspect that it was a little of both, although I have no evidence to confirm this – aside from the bet on the liberation of Schenckenschans made by Jan Hendricksz. Admiraal, tulip grower and buyer of art at auction.

In the next chapter, I introduce one final cluster – the signatories of the Remonstrant petition of 1628 – which is so interwoven with the early history of Dutch society that I thought it deserved separate treatment.

Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants

By July 1610, the dispute between the more orthodox Calvinists, known as Gomarists, and the followers of the more liberal theologian Jacob Arminius had been festering for at least 15 years. In that month, 44 Reformed preachers submitted a Remonstrance to the States of Holland, with the support and participation of the Advocate of Holland, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. The Remonstrance's assertion of the authority of the State over the Church and its reaffirmation of Arminius's theses on predestination incensed the partisans of Gomarus, who soon became known as Counter-Remonstrants. For the next few years, many towns of Holland, including Rotterdam and The Hague, were ruled by regents who were Remonstrants themselves or were sympathetic to their cause. Many of these regents, called libertines (*libertijnen*), were more concerned with the peace, order, and prosperity of the towns they ruled than with religious controversy. By contrast, Amsterdam was governed by a Council (*Raad* or *Vroedschap*) with a majority of Counter-Remonstrants, including the opportunists who supported them. The Counter-Remonstrant camp in Amsterdam was led by Burgomaster Reynier Pauw. Two broad generalizations about the people who sided with one or the other of these two factions are often invoked. First, that merchants engaged in foreign trade, who were in favor of the truce in the war with Spain signed in 1609, generally supported the Remonstrant faction or some sort of Erasmus-like position tolerant of dissent. Second, that many of the poor craftsmen in the textile and leather trades, who had immigrated from the Southern Netherlands, tended to be fiery Counter-Remonstrants. It was said to be among these people, collectively referred to as "the rabble" (*het graauw*) by their opponents, that crowds of activists who heckled Remonstrant preachers, attacked Remonstrant conventicles, and eventually sacked the homes of prominent Remonstrants were recruited. By early 1617, as Jonathan Israel recently capsuled the political situation, "there was an unmistakable note of rebellion in the air."²²¹ On 30 January of that year seventeen members of the Remonstrant party petitioned to have a Remonstrant preacher appointed in Amsterdam, where only Counter-Remonstrants had hitherto been allowed to preach. One of these was Abraham Anthonisz. (later in life named Recht), dealer in fats and candlemaker (1588-1664),²²² remembered in art history for having commissioned Rembrandt to paint the portrait of the famous Remonstrant preacher Johannes Uytenbogaert in 1633. He was married to Baefje Willems, a niece of Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop, also a prominent Remonstrant, and the brother of the Remon-

strant preacher Simon Episcopius. His sister Maria Anthonis would marry Daniel Arminius, the son of the Ur-Remonstrant Jacob Arminius, in 1634.²²³ Abraham Anthonisz. plays a major role in our subsequent story, as a minor functionary in the Orphan Chamber and as an influential buyer at auction. Among the other signatories to the letter, we find Henrick Henricksz. Eeckelboom (also a buyer), Pieter Joosten,²²⁴ Jan and Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop (the brothers of Episcopius), Arend de Bisschop (Rem Egbertsz.'s father-in-law), Jacob Lourensz. Reael, and the prosperous merchant Henrick Henricksz. (a buyer), all members of prominent Remonstrant families. On February 5, 250 people came to the house of Willem Sweerts to hear the Remonstrant *predikant* Sopingius preach. The house having been found too small, the crowd moved to a warehouse owned by a prominent merchant named Herman Rendorp,²²⁵ which could accommodate a thousand auditors. The warehouse was attacked by a crowd of Counter-Remonstrants who broke the glass rondels and smashed the wooden windows. Sopingius took refuge in the brewery of Pieter Evertsz. Hulft (a buyer). Jakob Lourensz. Reael and Esaias Hioler (a buyer),²²⁶ who was actually a member of the Walloon community, helped secure the warehouse from further depredations. Nevertheless, "the rabble" continued its assaults and threw out the chairs and the books they found in the warehouse. The entire house would have been destroyed if the *Schout* (the head of the city police) had not finally shown up and dispersed the crowd. Soon thereafter the house of Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop, which was located in a rich neighborhood, near the houses of several members of the Amsterdam *Vroedschap*, was attacked. Rem Egbertsz. sought the help of the *Schout* Willem van der Does (himself a staunch Counter-Remonstrant), who lent him grudging support with his soldiery. The books of Rem Egbertsz. were torn, his paintings were cut to pieces (*in stukken gesneden*).²²⁷ The attackers pursued Abraham Anthonisz. and a biscuit-baker who had apparently attended a conventicle in the house. They climbed on the roof and fled for their lives, taking refuge in separate houses. The Amsterdam *Vroedschap* laid the blame on the Remonstrants for holding prohibited meetings. A fraudulent, anti-*Vroedschap* Pasquinade was prominently posted, which was supposed to have been written and signed by Abraham Anthonisz., but in fact had been concocted by a Counter-Remonstrant schoolmaster. In the aftermath, Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop and Jacob Lourensz. Reael, who still belonged to the Reformed Community, were ex-communicated, that is, were banned from attending evening Communion.²²⁸

The political situation became increasingly tense in the summer of 1617. A heated debate over the convening of a National Synod finally resulted in a bare majority of Holland towns voting to call a Synod in May 1618, against bitter Remonstrant opposition. On August 4, the States of Holland, led by the pro-Remonstrant Oldenbarnevelt, passed the "Sharp Resolution", vehemently opposed by Amsterdam and other towns governed by Counter-Remonstrant majorities, authorizing towns that wished to do so to levy mercenaries (*waardgelders*) to defend them against Counter-Remonstrant disorders. Prince Maurits declared the Resolution "an affront to the

True Religion.”²²⁹ Even though he kept in close touch with Counter-Remonstrant regents, including Reynier Pauw of Amsterdam, he did not intervene until July 1618 when he oversaw the disarming of the *waardgelders* in Utrecht. Finally, on 28 August, the States General passed a resolution authorizing Maurits to “take necessary action for the security of the state”. Oldenbarnevelt, Hugo de Groot and some other prominent members of the Arminian faction were arrested the next day.²³⁰ On 2 November 1618, Prince Maurits visited Amsterdam where he was received by the entire *Vroedschap*, which he proceeded to disband. When the *Vroedschap* was resurrected a few days later, seven old members had been dismissed, including Harmen Gysbertsz. van de Poll, Jacob de Graef, Pieter Thijsz. (Schrijver), Dierick de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn, and Dr. Sebastiaen Egbertsz.,²³¹ all five of whom we shall again meet as masters of the Orphan Chamber. The seven new members were either Counter-Remonstrants or opportunists sympathetic to their cause. One of them was Simon van der Does, the son of the *Schout* who had somewhat reluctantly defended the house of Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop. Oldenbarnevelt was judged summarily, found guilty of treason on 12 May 1619 and executed the next day.

Already in the first months of 1617, political turmoil left an apparent mark on the auction market. Soon after the death of a well-off merchant named Andries de Graeuw (I), the Orphan Chamber ordered an inventory of his movable goods, which was taken on 30 January 1617 and in the next two days. The paintings in the inventory were appraised by the painters Abraham Verwer and Guillaume Basse. The appraisals took place either the same day as the house of Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop was sacked or within the next two days. The evaluations presumably did not yet reflect the ongoing turmoil. On 17 April of the same year, fourteen lots representing the more valuable paintings belonging to De Graeuw were sold at auction by the Orphan Chamber.²³² Of these, 13 lots corresponded to 15 paintings in the January 1617 inventory (Appendix 8A). The 13 lots sold at auction brought 273.5 *f*. Their counterparts in the January inventory were evaluated at a total of 482 *f*. The auction total came to 56.7 percent of the sum of the evaluations. Every lot that I have been able to identify was sold below its evaluation. As far as I am aware, such a systematic and wide deviation of auction prices from their evaluations is without precedent. I conclude, at least tentatively, that the deteriorating political situation had scared away potential buyers.²³³

The year 1619 marked a low point for the Amsterdam Remonstrants, whose conventicles were banned on July 3rd. Burgomaster Reynier Pauw, the leader of the Counter-Remonstrant party in Amsterdam, hedged in his opponents at every opportunity. The Remonstrants continued to hold illicit meetings, although they were at times disrupted by spies who alerted the police. A letter by Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop to the Remonstrant preacher Paulus Stochius, who had been in prison since 1618, was intercepted, in which Bisschop had written that “the fishing was fairly good here.”²³⁴ This transparently referred to the collection of funds for the support of the Remonstrant cause, including the payment of preachers. When he was interrogated about

the letter, Stochius pretended that he had indeed received 25 pounds of fish from the North Sea fisher and fish-dealer Adriaen Jacobsz. van Noord (who happened to be a fervent Remonstrant²³⁵ as well as being a frequent buyer at auction.) Rem Egbertsz., sought by the police, escaped but his wife Lysbeth was captured. She claimed that her husband was not at all a Remonstrant. She refused to disclose his whereabouts. On January 30, 1619, the police, after searching through Bisschop's papers, summoned Abraham Anthonisz., Hendrick Eeckelboom, and Pieter Joosten, who had all taken part in Remonstrant gatherings in the past, and questioned them before the aldermen about the sums of money they had gathered. Eeckelboom conceded that he had collected 100 gulden which he had distributed to orphans and members of the Walloon community. Abraham Anthonisz. was defiant: "You can do with me what you wish. I am in your power."²³⁶ Pieter Joosten refused to acknowledge that he had been present at Remonstrant meetings. The three men, nevertheless, were released.

Another Remonstrant who was sought by the police and had to go into hiding about this time was the *predikant* Dirck (Didericus) Camphuijsen, the father of the painter Govert Dircksz. Camphuijsen.²³⁷ After being dismissed from his pastoral position in 1619, he fled to Amsterdam and took refuge with a box- and frame-maker named Heere Jansz., who was himself a Mennonite but had broken with the Old Flemings faction of the Anabaptists and refused to ally himself with any church.²³⁸ Heere Jansz. was the father-in-law of the painter Jan Jansz. (I) who, if we may judge from the works of art in the sale that took place after his death, must have been fairly successful. Both Heere Jansz. and his son-in-law Jan Jansz. (I) were buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions. After he was denounced to the police by an informer, Camphuijsen left the box- and frame-maker and sought refuge with Willem Jansz. Blaeuw, the famous publisher and cartographer, who was also a "libertine" Mennonite without a church affiliation. Needless to say, Blaeuw bought works of art at Orphan Chamber auctions. The preacher succeeded in eluding the police. He was appointed in Dokkum where he died toward the end of 1623.²³⁹

In 1620, the balance of power in the Amsterdam *Vroedschap* began to shift against the "True Calvinists" of Reynier Pauw's party as some of Pauw's more opportunistic allies defected to the Libertine camp or became neutral in the controversy. Toward the end of the year the struggle in the *Vroedschap* turned on the election of a new *Schout* to replace the elderly Willem van der Does. Pauw supported his own son, Dr. Reynier Pauw. The liberal faction canvassed votes for Dr. Jan ten Grootenhuys, who was actually elected on December 21, 1620.²⁴⁰ In February 1621, Reynier Pauw's mandate as burgomaster ended. From that time on, although he continued to serve as a master of the Orphan Chamber, his influence in the *Vroedschap* waned. A year later, three new men were elected to the *Vroedschap*, two of whom – Geurt Dircksz. van Beuningen (a signatory of the 1628 Remonstrant petition and a buyer at auction) and Andries Bicker – were open partisans of a moderate course toward the Remonstrants.²⁴¹

Nevertheless, public displays of pro-Remonstrant sentiment were still repressed.

Abraham Anthonisz., “through his lack of thoughtfulness and his imprudent behavior” (Wagenaar), got into trouble with the police in 1622. He was building a new house on the corner of the Warmoesgracht and had decided to have some decorative figure carved in the keystone of an arch over the cellar of the house. The contractor, a carpenter, told the stone-carver that he should sculpt the head (*tronie*) of Oldenbarnevelt. The stone-carver related this suggestion to Abraham Anthonisz. who said he had no objection and gave him a print that he could use to model the head of Oldenbarnevelt. The head was sculpted. It stayed in place half a day, after which a crowd of angry Counter-Remonstrants pelted it with stones and forced its removal. The display of Oldenbarnevelt’s *tronie*, it should be said, was an extraordinary provocation on the part of the candlemaker, and it was only thanks to the milder political circumstances which now prevailed that he did not suffer any serious consequences from his act.

The death of stadholder Maurits in April 1625 and his succession by the more liberal Prince Frederick Hendrick furthered the cause of moderation in Amsterdam. So much so that the liberal regent Albert Coenraadsz. Burgh, who was alderman in that year, could prompt a hesitant Joost van den Vondel to publish his tragedy *Palamedes*, which was a transparent apology for Oldenbarnevelt.²⁴² Pursued by the enmity of Dr. Reynier Pauw (the son of the burgomaster Reynier Pauw), who had sat in judgement over Oldenbarnevelt, Vondel was summoned to appear before judges in The Hague. Burgomaster Dirck Bas, supported by Harmen van de Poll, who was said to be popular among the Regents even after his dismissal from the *Vroedschap* in 1618, upheld his cause.²⁴³ Despite the support he enjoyed among the liberal regents, Vondel deemed it prudent to take refuge in the house of his sister Clementia and of his mother Sara Cranen, but they refused to get involved, blaming him for neglecting his trade (as a silk merchant) and admonishing him to stop the scrivenering that was getting him in trouble.²⁴⁴ He then went to the house of Laurens Joosten Baeck (another buyer at auction), who received him warmly and protected him.²⁴⁵ Vondel finally had to pay a fine of 300 gulden but was not otherwise prosecuted. He published a poem not long afterwards in which he praised “Poll’s steadfast courage” (*Pols oprechtigheid heel braef*).

In 1627, the political prospects of the Remonstrants improved further. In a letter to Holland from his exile abroad, the prominent Remonstrant intellectual Hugo de Groot, welcomed the election of Simon de Rijck and of Jacob Jacobsz. Vinck to the *Vroedschap*. In his opinion, the four new Burgomasters elected in that year (Geurt Dircksz. van Beuningen, Dirck Bas, Antoni Oetgens, and Andries Bicker) were “the best that one could wish.”²⁴⁶ The liberal party finally won a decisive majority of the *Vroedschap* at the beginning of 1628. On 25 July of that year, 242 notables (*aensienlijke luijden*) signed a petition to the *Vroedschap* for permission to found a church for the Remonstrants.²⁴⁷

I now turn to a central concern of this chapter, the analysis of the buyers of works of art at auction among the 242 signatories of the 1628 petition. To help in this analy-

sis, I make use of the data on the taxes on wealth levied in 1631, only three years after the petition.²⁴⁸ The *Kobier*, I recall, constituted a record of the 0.5 percent tax on the estimated wealth of tax on all Amsterdam residents with taxable assets in excess of 1,000 *f* (shown in table 6.3 above). I shall match this wealth distribution against the list of signatories of the Remonstrant petition of 1628 with the aim of ascertaining whether the relatively high percentage of buyers in this list can or cannot be explained by their wealth.

Of the 242 signatories of the 1628 petition to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam pleading for the tolerance of the Remonstrant faction in the Reformed Church, I have identified 65 who were buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions (including their widows), or 26.9 percent. I have also found 137 signatories who paid taxes on their assessed wealth in 1631. Of these, 50 were also buyers at Orphan Chamber auction. Table 8.1 shows, in each tax bracket, the actual and the expected number of buyers, where the expectation is based on the overall distribution of table 6.3. The technique is the same I used in the analysis of the 1608 petition, which I compared to Amsterdam residents who had bought shares in the 1602 subscription for the V.O.C.

Table 8.1

Actual and Expected Number of Buyers/Signatories on the Basis of 1631 Tax Records

Tax paid	Number of Taxpayers	Expected Number of Buyers	Actual No. of Buyers/Signatories
over 1,000 <i>f</i> .	3	0.9	1
500-999 <i>f</i> .	8	2.7	3
400-499 <i>f</i> .	7	1.8	3
300-399 <i>f</i> .	6	1.8	5
200-299 <i>f</i> .	17	3.1	6
100-199 <i>f</i> .	25	5.5	8
50- 99 <i>f</i> .	22	2.9	11
5- 49 <i>f</i> .	49	3.2	13
All tax brackets	137	14.9	50

*Example of method used: There were 22 taxpayers in the 50-99 *f* bracket who signed the 1628 petition. If they were representative of all taxpayers in this bracket, 13.4 percent of them or 2.9 should have been buyers (cf. table 6.3). There were actually 11 buyers in this tax bracket.*

The number of actual buyers was not widely off the expected numbers in the tax brackets above 400 *f* but in the lower brackets, it was appreciably greater than expected: the actual number was almost twice as great as expected for buyers who paid 200 to 399 *f*, 1.5 times the expected number for those who paid 100 to 199 *f*, 3.8 times the expected number for those who paid 50 to 99 *f*, and four times the expected number in the lowest bracket. For the distribution as a whole, the actual number (50) was 3.4 times the expected number (14.9).

Unfortunately, I do not have a comparable sample for a sample of Counter-Remonstrants. All I can offer is a sample of 63 households (114 individuals) who were invited to a wedding in 1630, most of whom seemed to be in or close to the Counter-Remonstrant camp. The wedding guests included Domini Jacob Triglandius, Rudolph Petri, Hendrick Geldorpius, and Adriaen Smoutius ("Amsterdam's most fervent Orthodox preacher" according to Israel).²⁴⁹ Ten out of 63 of the guests (counting one guest per household), or 15.8 percent were buyers at auction. The average tax paid per guest was 353.6 gulden (sample of 54), compared to 189.2 gulden per signatory of the petition.²⁵⁰ One would therefore have expected, other things equal, that the percentage of buyers would have been greater in the sample of guests than in the sample of signatories (I recall that 27.3 percent of the signatories were buyers, compared to 15.8 percent of the wedding guests). The evidence seems to bear out the proposition that a disproportionate percentage of Remonstrant and Remonstrant sympathizers were buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions.

What can we conclude from all this? Were Remonstrants and their allies more inclined to buy works of art than strict Calvinists and other religious groups, perhaps because they were more tolerant of art? This is quite possible but I would be hard pressed to find evidence for this proposition.²⁵¹ I can, however, cite some socio-political factors that probably played a role in this matter.

I begin with the former alderman and member of the Amsterdam *Vroedschap* Harmen Gijsbertsz. van de Poll, who had been removed by *Stadhouder* Mauritius from that august body in 1618. As far as I am aware Van de Poll never joined the Remonstrants in any public way. In particular, he was not a signatory of the 1628 petition. But his sympathies in this regard were evident. And it was probably because of his Remonstrant leanings that Mauritius had removed him from the *Vroedschap* in 1618. This did not prevent him from being appointed as a master of the Orphan Chamber in 1625 after Reynier Pauw's political power had begun to ebb. He was Master of the Chamber from 1625 to 1627 and again from 1635 to 1637. In 1629, Van de Poll's prudence in not signing the petition of 1628 was awarded: he was reinstated to the *Vroedschap* in that year.

Van de Poll's daughter Catharina married the wine dealer Anthony de Lange, who did sign the petition of 1628 (and was a buyer at auction). De Lange is known to have bought a parcel of land on the Keizersgracht in 1630 on behalf of the Remonstrant Church, on which parcel the Remonstrant Church was erected soon thereafter.²⁵² Jan, the son of Harmen van de Poll, signed the petition and had one of his children baptized in the Remonstrant Church.

We saw earlier that Harmen van de Poll was dismissed from the *Vroedschap* in 1618 but was reappointed as Master of the Orphan Chamber in 1625. Appendix 8B gives the names of all the Masters of the Orphan Chamber from 1618 to 1638, the last year for which auction records of the Orphan Chamber have been preserved. In the critical years 1618 to 1620 when the strict Calvinist Reynier Pauw dominated the *Vroedschap*, two out of three of the masters of the Orphan Chamber were either

moderately or overtly liberal (only Roelof Egbertsz., who was a Master in 1618, was a strict Calvinist.) I could only find three years, 1623, 1624, and 1630, when the Calvinists may have been in a majority (for the first two of these years, depending on whether Dr. Dominicus van Heemskerck did or did not side with Reynier Pauw.) In 1629 and in 1631-1632, the two sides were about equally balanced (De Vry and Schellinger were strict Calvinists; Hasselaer and De Rijck were liberal.)

In addition to the masters of the Orphan Chamber, the *boden* must have exerted some influence on the appointment of guardians and other matters that may have influenced the clientèle of the auctions. We saw earlier that the Remonstrant Van Beuningen family had played a key role in the Orphan Chamber since 1617 when Jan Dircksz. had been appointed *Bode* of the Chamber and had been succeeded by his son Daniel Jansz. in 1627.

Thus, in most of these years, the liberal or pro-Remonstrant masters, including Harmen van de Poll, who was in office in 1618, 1619, 1625-1627, and 1634-1638, Pieter Thijsz. Schrijver, Jacob Poppe, Andries Bicker, Sijmon de Rijck, and Albert Coenraadsz. Burgh, who were probably most sympathetic to the Remonstrant cause, supported by one of the *boden* who was himself Remonstrant, could easily name Remonstrant guardians for orphaned children (who either did not have a guardian chosen in their parents' will or needed one or more additional guardians.)²⁵³ We saw in Chapter 1 that regularly appointed guardians (the *suppoosten* already cited), were named for life by the Orphan Chamber. They received 2.5 percent of the sums brought to the Orphan Chamber on behalf of the orphaned children, which was a sufficiently attractive emolument to attract applicants. Three men seem to have received a disproportionate share of the guardianship appointments. The first was the merchant Nicolaes Cocqu (or Cocques), whose religious affiliation is unknown to me. The second was the Remonstrant *bode* Jan Dircksz. van Beuningen. The third, who was appointed far more often than Cocqu or Van Beuningen, was none other than the militant Remonstrant Abraham Anthonisz. Recht. My (partial) count, from 1615 to 1635, shows that he was appointed guardian on 22 occasions. Other Remonstrants who were appointed guardians of one or more orphans included Adolf Forckenbeeck, Jan van den Wouwer, Dr. Anthony Bruijnsz., Adriaen Jacobsz. van Noordt, and François Finson. All but Adolf Forckenbeeck were buyers at auction.²⁵⁴

My tentative conclusion is that Remonstrants and their sympathizers came to the auctions of the Orphan Chamber in relatively large numbers because the Chamber offered them a congenial atmosphere where they met among friends and relatives. They were likely to know the *bode*, who belonged to their community, and many of the guardians, who, for one reason or another, tended to buy at the auctions of the parents of the orphans they were responsible for guarding.²⁵⁵ It is possible also, but hard to prove, that they were more favorably inclined toward art than their Calvinist opponents.

APPENDIX 8A

Evaluations and Auction Prices of Paintings Owned by Andries de Graeuw (January and April 1617)

Evaluated (January 1617)		Sold at auction (April 1617)	
Landscape of Emaus	f 60:---	Landscape of Emaus	f 40:---
A temple by Paulus de Vries	f 66:---	A temple	f 20:---
Repentence (<i>de boetveerdicheyt in den rou</i>)	f 30:---	Repentence (same)	f 18:---
Venus and Vulcanus	f 18:---	Venus and Vulcanus	f 9:15:--
The predication of St. John	f 20:---	The predication of St. John	f 6:10:--
Image of Maria with the child ²⁵⁶	f 36:---	The child with Maria	f 17:10:--
A peasant bride and bridegroom	f 24:---	A peasant bride	f 17:---
Susanna	f 48:---	Susanna	f 39:---
A Christ Mass (<i>kersnacht</i>) (adoration of the sheperds)	f 66:---	Christ Mass	f 41:---
The raising of Lazarus	f 36:---	The raising of Lazarus	f 31:---
Danae	f 18:---	Danae	f 10: 5:--
A tronie of Mercurius	f 10:---	Mars and Mercurius	f 11:---
A man's <i>tronie</i>	f 10:---		
A man's <i>tronie</i>	f 10:---	A man's and a woman's <i>tronien</i>	f 12:10:--
A woman's <i>tronie</i>	f 10:---		

Notes: The first man's tronie in the evaluated inventory seems to have been recognized by the clerk of the auction as a head of Mars. The second and third tronien, which were evaluated separately, were apparently sold as a lot at the auction.

Sources: WK 5073/968, 30 and 31 January and 1 and 2 February 1617; WK 5073/947, 27 April 1617.

Appendix 8B

Masters of the Orphan Chamber and Their Political Inclination (1618 to 1638)

- 1618 - Roelof Egbertsz. (C) • Harmen van de Poll (L) • Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)
- 1619 - Harmen van de Poll (L) • Pieter Vlaming van Oudtshoorn (L) • Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)
- 1620 - Jan Jacobsz. Huydecoper (L) • Jacob Poppen (L) • Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)
- 1621 - Dr. Sebastiaen Egbertsz. (L), who died in that year and was replaced by Frederick de Vry (C)
 - Jacob Poppe, replaced after he became burgomaster by Volckert Overlander (L)
- 1622 - Bartholt Adriaensz. Cromhout (L) • Frederick de Vry (C) • Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)
- 1623 - Reynier Pauw (C) • Frederick de Vry, replaced by Dr. Dominicus van Heemskerck (?)
 - Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)
- 1624 - Reynier Pauw (C) • Dr. Dominicus van Heemskerck (?) • Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)
- 1625 - Reynier Pauw (C) • Harmen Gysbertsz. van de Poll (L) • Pieter Jansz. Reael (L)
 - Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)

- 1626 - Reynier Pauw (C) • Harmen Gysbertsz. van de Poll (L) • Pieter Jansz. Reael (L)
 • Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L)
- 1627 - Reynier Pauw (C) • Harmen Gysbertsz. van de Poll (L) • Pieter Jansz. Reael (L)
 • Pieter Gerritsz. Ruytenburgh (L) • Dirck de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn (L)
- 1628 - Reynier Pauw (C) • Pieter Mathijsz. (Thijsz.) (Schrijver) (L)
 • Dirck de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn (L) • Pieter Jansz. Reael (L)
- 1629 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Dirck de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn (L) • Pieter Jansz. Reael (L)
 • Claes Jacobsz. Harencarspel (C)
- 1630 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Dr. Andries Bicker Gerritsz. (L) • Hillebrand Schellinger (C)
 • Claes Jacobsz. Harencarspel (C) • Pieter Pietersz. Hasselaer (L)
- 1631 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Hillebrand Schellinger (C) • Pieter Pietersz. Hasselaer (L)
 • Sijmon de Rijck van den Gracht (L)
- 1632 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Hillebrand Schellinger (C) • Pieter Pietersz. Hasselaer (L)
 • Sijmon de Rijck (L)
- 1633 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Hillebrand Schellinger (C) • Sijmon de Rijck (L) • Laurens Reael (L)
- 1634 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Harmen van de Poll (L) • Sijmon de Rijck (L) • Pieter Jansz. Hoofd (L)
- 1635 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Harmen van de Poll (L) • Sijmon de Rijck (L)
 • Dr. Albert Coenraadsz. Burgh (L)
- 1636 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Harmen van de Poll (L) • Sijmon de Rijck (L) • Cornelis Bicker (L)
- 1637 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Harmen van de Poll (L) • Sijmon de Rijck (L)
 • Albert Coenraadsz. Burgh (L)
- 1638 - Frederick de Vry (C) • Harmen van de Poll (L) • Sijmon de Rijck (L)
 • Jacob Pietersz. Hoogkamer ("fencesitter")

Note: The masters of the Orphan Chamber in this list have been divided into two basic groups denoted in parentheses: C for strict Calvinists, L for liberals or pro-Remonstrant. One, Jacob Pietersz. Hoogkamer, belonged to neither camp but was said to be a "waggelmus" (fencesitter) in 1627.

Source: Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyn opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel...*, Amsterdam, 1760, vol. 1, p. 492, vol. 2, pp. 497-49; John E. Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, passim.

What Did They Buy and at What Prices?

In this chapter, I resume the analysis of the contents of the Orphan Chamber Notebooks, beginning with the subjects of the paintings sold.

Table 9.1 below shows the distribution by subjects of paintings in Orphan Chamber sales from 1597 to 1619 and from 1620 to 1638. The percentages are based on paintings with known subjects, which made up only 44.3 percent of all paintings sold in the first period and 67.8 percent in the second period. The percentage of untitled paintings in the first period was somewhat greater than in my random sample of notarial inventories (about 50 percent in the first two decades of the 17th century) and roughly the same in the second period.

Table 9.1

Numbers and Percentage Distribution of Paintings By Subject in Auction Sales (1597-1619 and 1620-1638)

Subject category	1597-1619		1620-1638	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Old Testament	260	11.6	367	11.8
New Testament	304	13.6	494	15.8
Other religion	120	5.4	143	4.6
Mythology	104	4.7	198	6.4
Classical history	91	4.1	130	4.2
Allegory (secular)	57	2.6	87	2.8
Perspectives	12	0.5	37	1.2
Seascapes	48	2.1	128	4.1
Landscapes n.o.s.	361	16.2	568	18.2
Family portraits	11	0.5	91	2.9
Polit. portraits	78	3.5	119	3.8
Still lifes	188	8.4	276	8.9
Genre	136	6.1	182	5.8
Heads n.o.s.	328	14.7	184	5.9
Animals n.o.s.	55	2.5	52	1.7
Other subjects	82	3.7	62	2.0
Total	2235	100	3118	100

Notes: Wherever a subject fell into two categories (e.g., a Flight into the Land of Egypt in a snowy landscape), it has been included only in the first of the two categories listed in the first column (e.g., New Testament). Perspectives include depictions of churches of all

sorts. Seascapes include beachscapes (very rare in either of the two periods). *n.o.s.* means “not otherwise specified”. Still lifes include “kitchens”. Other subjects include contemporary literature, battle scenes, religious portraits, nudes *n.o.s.*, children *n.o.s.*, dead persons *n.o.s.*, and subjects that could not be identified.

The percentage breakdown of subject categories in both periods differs in important respects from the comparable distribution in my random sample of notarial inventories.²⁵⁷ The most salient difference is the near-absence of family portraits in the first period and their relatively low incidence in the second in auction sales: they represented 21.5 percent of paintings with known subjects in the 1600s, 17.1 percent in the 1610s, 23.8 percent in the 1620s, and 15.3 percent in the 1630s in my random sample of notarial inventories, but only 0.5 percent in the period 1597-1619 and 2.9 percent in the period 1620-1638 of the paintings with known subjects at auction. Some of these portraits may have been described by the clerk of the Orphan Chamber as “heads” (*tronies*), which appear to be greatly in excess in the sales compared to notarial inventories in the first period. But even if all the excess “heads” are reclassified as portraits, there would still be a deficit of portraits in both periods. I conclude that some family portraits were withdrawn from auction sales, either because they had no market value or because the heirs wanted them or for both reasons.²⁵⁸ The percentages of religious and mythological subjects appear somewhat low in the auction sales relative to the notarial inventories and the percentages of seascapes, landscapes, and still lifes somewhat high. Contrary to the evidence from notarial inventories, there was no decline in the percentage of religious paintings from the first period to the next or any significant increase in the percentage of landscapes. The very high proportion of untitled paintings in the first-period sales may obscure the trends noted in notarial inventories.

It may be recalled that many of the art works in auction sales were not contained in estates but originated in the atelier of painters or the stock-in-trade of art dealers. When the paintings sold at the request of artists and art dealers are segregated from the rest, the breakdown of those with a known subject (854 in the first period and 665 in the second) does not seem to differ significantly from those originating in estates, with the exception of *tronies*, which represent 20 percent of all known subjects in both periods in the artists’ and art dealers’ sales, a percentage much in excess of their proportion in estate sales (13 percent in the first period and 2.0 percent in the second).

In table 9.2 the distribution of the prices that paintings brought at Orphan Chamber sales is shown for the periods 1597-1619 and 1620-1638.

Prices of paintings clustered around 1 gulden for *bortgens* of insignificant value (some of which may actually have been prints, as will be discussed below) and between 5 *f* and 19 *f* in both periods for more substantial paintings. Roughly a quarter of all lots in the first period sold for over 10 *f* in the first period and one fifth in the second. For this price, one could get a painting by an average guild master or a copy of

Table 9.2

The Distribution of Prices of Paintings in Auction Sales (1597-1619 and 1620-1638)

Price range (gulden)	1597-1619		1620-1638	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 0.5	919	17.8	707	14.9
ca. 1	1,095	21.2	928	19.5
ca. 2	495	9.6	709	14.9
ca. 3	321	6.2	400	8.4
ca. 4	267	5.2	314	6.6
5-9	687	13.3	773	16.3
10-19	729	14.1	493	10.4
20-49	468	9.1	317	6.8
50-99	130	2.5	74	1.6
100-199	38	0.7	28	0.6
200-299	9	0.2	3	0.1
300-399	5	0.1	1	0.0
400-499	1	0.0	0	0.0
500-599	1	0.0	0	0.0
total	5,165		4,747	
Average price	9.8		7.6	

good quality. Making allowance for years during which no auction records have been preserved, some 60 to 70 paintings per year were sold at Orphan Chamber auction at prices in excess of 10 *f*.

The low number of paintings sold above 10 *f* also brings into relief the relatively modest role played by the Orphan Chamber in the Amsterdam market. Some time ago I estimated the number of master painters in Amsterdam in 1650 at around 175.²⁵⁹ The number of these painters in 1630 may have been about 20 percent less or about 140. If they produced 20/30 paintings a year that they could sell for more than 10 *f*, this would come to 3,000/4,000 per year. Auction sales for the Orphan Chamber alone would then amount to 2 to 3 percent of this total, which is in the ball park of my earlier estimate based on the turnover in paintings.²⁶⁰

The number of paintings sold above a certain price matters less than the relative importance of these paintings in the total proceeds of the sales. In the period 1597-1619, paintings sold above 10 *f* represented 83 percent of the value of all paintings sold. For the period 1620-1638, they represented 73 percent. If these proportions hold even approximately for the first-hand market, they show how critically dependent artist-painters must have been on the sale of originals and good copies. Clearly, the average prices for the entire distribution (9.8 *f* in the first period and 7.6 *f* in the second) were greatly influenced by prices in the higher brackets.

The distributions by subjects in the two periods are not really comparable because, as we have already seen, there was a much higher percentage of paintings unidentified by subject in the first period than in the second, and a high percentage of

such paintings (about one-half in the first period and two-thirds in the second) were valued at 1 gulden or less. A more meaningful comparison can be made of prices subject-by-subject, as illustrated in table 9.3 for all religious subjects and for landscapes.

Table 9.3

Distribution of Prices of Religious Paintings and Landscapes (Percent) (1597-1619 and 1620-1638)

Price(gulden)	Religious Subjects		Landscapes	
	1597-1619 Percent	1620-1638 Percent	1597-1619 Percent	1620-1638 Percent
Less than 0.5	2.9	1.4	0.8	2.3
ca. 1	19.2	9.0	8.9	7.1
ca. 2	9.2	11.5	9.5	9.4
ca. 3	10.8	12.0	7.2	10.2
ca. 4	7.6	11.4	3.8	8.5
5-9	18.7	25.8	20.9	25.9
10-19	17.4	15.0	25.5	19.6
20-49	9.2	10.7	19.6	13.3
50-99	3.2	1.9	2.7	2.7
100-199	0.6	1.1	0.6	1.1
200-299	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
300-399	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
400-499	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
500-599	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total number	684	1004	474	784
Average price	12.9	11.3	14.0	12.0

Notes: Religious subjects include Old Testament, New Testament, and Other Religious. Landscapes include seascapes, beachscapes, cityscapes, and riders on horseback. Contrary to table 9.1 above, no attempt has been made to avoid duplication where a painting has been classified in more than one category. Thus, there is some (minimal) overlap between religious paintings and landscapes of all sorts.

The percentage distributions for both broad subject categories look similar in the two periods, with the exception of the lowest prices of religious paintings (below 1.5 *f*),²⁶¹ which are about twice as numerous, relatively, in the first period as in the second. I suspect that many, if not most, of these cheap lots were actually prints rather than paintings. The average price of all religious prints was 0.62 *f* in the period 1597-1619 and 1.5 *f* in the period 1620-1638. These averages fit comfortably into the two lowest price categories for religious paintings. The overlap of prints with paintings of religious subjects, particularly in the first period, must have affected average prices. If the price distributions are truncated below 1.5 *f* in the above table, the average price of religious paintings rises to 15.4 *f* and that of landscapes to 15.5 *f* in the first period and to 12.4 *f* and 13.5 *f* respectively in the second period. From this I conclude

that prices of paintings representing religious subjects and landscapes of all sorts, above a certain minimum, did not differ significantly.

The average prices of both religious paintings and landscapes declined by about 12 percent from the first to the second period. This is broadly in line with my hypothesis about the growing productivity of artist's labor in the first 40 years of the century.²⁶² What is somewhat unexpected is that the decline should be as great for religious paintings as for landscapes, for which productivity changes are better documented. (It is of course possible that the prices of religious paintings may have been adversely affected by a relative decline in their demand). These results should still be treated as preliminary because they may be affected by sampling fluctuation.

A similar analysis comparing prices of *tronien* and perspectives reveals very salient differences, which seem to be statistically significant. In both periods, nearly 9 *tronien* out of 10 sold for 3 *f* or less. Their average price was 2.7 *f* in the period 1597-1619 and 2.3 *f* in the period 1620-1638. There were only 14 perspectives sold in the first period, but 9 of them sold for 10 *f* or more (average price for all 14, 48.5 *f*). In the second period, where a more respectable sample of 43 paintings is available, 34 perspectives, or 79 percent, sold for 5 *f* or more (average price for all 43, 25.6 *f*). The disjunction between the price distributions for *tronien* and for perspectives was almost complete. Besides perspectives, the only other category that sold for average prices that were higher than for religious paintings and landscapes of all sorts was genre (averaging 16.6 *f* in the first period and 17.9 *f* in the second). Still lifes sold at prices that were more or less on the same level as landscapes of all sorts in both periods (14.6 *f* versus 14.0 *f* in the first period, 11.8 *f* versus 12.4 *f* in the second.)

Our last table shows the most expensive lots sold in the entire period 1597 to 1638 and the buyer of each lot.

Table 9.4

Fifteen Most Expensive Lots Sold (1597-1638)

Date	Attribution	Title	Buyer	Price (gulden)
1637	L. van Leyden	<i>Konstboeck</i>	L. van Beyeren	637.5
1612	Anonymous	7 works of mercy	B. van Someren	505
1612	Anonymous	Fall of the angels	B. van Someren	455
1607	Anonymous	The hay cart	Willem Jacobsz.	396
1627	P. Aertsen	Beggars	Elbert Joosten	368
1612	P (P. Aertsen)	Crippled bishop	B. van Someren	360
1607	P. Bruegel I	Tower of Babel	H. van Os	350
1612	Anonymous	Birth of Christ	H. Coninxloo	325
1614	Anonymous	Banquet of the gods	M. le Fort	317
1612	LK (Cranach?)	Untitled	H. van den Eynde	295
1612	A. Dürer	21 plates, Life of the Virgin	C. Danckertsz.	288.5
1637	I. Meckenem	<i>Konstboeck</i>	M. le Blon	280
1609	Anonymous	Church	Hans Rombouts	280
1609	A. Dürer	<i>Konstboeck</i> and saints	Corn. Aertsz.	265
1627	(Jan) Pynas,	Joseph	Thomas Pietersz.	235

Note: The anonymous “Fall of the Angels” may be the work of Frans Floris. The “Tower of Babel” by Pieter Bruegel I was not attributed in the auction sale. The attribution is taken from the pre-sale inventory of the goods of Gillis van Coninxloo (Oud Holland 3 (1885), p. 44). There was a famous painting of a haycart (a sort of ship of fools) by Hieronymus Bosch and another by Gillis Mostaert.

It is remarkable that four of the most expensive lots sold at auction were either books of drawings or copper plates. These were all bought by art dealers or artists, including the well-known engraver Cornelis Danckertsz. The lumber dealer Cornelis Aertsz. who purchased the Dürer *konstboeck* for 265 gulden was the father of Leendert van Beyeren, the young Rembrandt pupil.

Of the 15 most expensive lots, six were bought by artists or dealers (Leendert van Beyeren, Barend van Someren, Michiel le Fort, Hans van Coninxloo III, Michiel le Blon, and Thomas Pietersz.). From the fact that Elbert Joosten, whose primary occupation was cloth-finishing, guaranteed a purchase by the dealer Isaack van Coninxloo, with whom he seems to have had a business connection, I infer that he was at least a part-time dealer.²⁶³ This leaves only four “private” buyers: Willem Jacobsz. (van Rijn), Hendrick van Os, Hans van den Eynde, and Hans Rombouts. Of these art lovers, three – Willem Jacobsz. (van Rijn), Hendrick van Os, and Hans van den Eynde – owned paintings that were mentioned by Karel van Mander.²⁶⁴ Hans Rombouts, born in the Southern Netherlands about 1562, married Susanna Nicquet, the daughter of the very rich merchant and collector Jean Nicquet. His widow paid one of the highest taxes in 1631 (1,050 *f*).

Attributions

Attributions are the meat and potatoes of art historians, at least of those concerned with Western art since the Renaissance. Whether they study the evolution of styles or the meaning of paintings, the identity of the artist who made them are of paramount importance to them. Viewed in this light, it is not surprising that the first – and the only more or less systematic study – of the preserved Notebooks of the Orphan Chamber auctions was devoted almost entirely to the attributions they contained.²⁶⁵ But even the Dozy study of the 1880s deviated from the main trend in art history, to the extent that it analyzed the attributions of objects that were no longer in existence or, at least, could not be identified. The sad reality is, as we shall see presently, that only a small fraction of all the works of art recorded in the Notebooks were attributed and that, of that fraction, an even smaller fraction can be identified or traced in later times, let alone, to the present day.

The first attribution in any recorded auction sale was made in 1601. It was not a painting, a drawing, or a print, but a map by (Pieter) Plancius. This is curious because, with the exception of two atlases by (Abraham) Ortelius, no other maps were attributed in any subsequent sale. The next attributions – this time of paintings – came only with the post-mortem sale of the landscape painter Gillis van Coninxloo in March 1607.

In the 524 auction sales in my sample, I found one or more paintings attributed in 52 sales (original or copy), one or more drawings attributed in 12 sales, and one or more prints attributed in 16 sales. (Recall that all sales containing works of art valued above 5 *f* were included in the sample, including every sale containing at least one attributed work of art.) Most sales contained only one or two attributions.

Table 10.1 lists all the sales containing at least five attributed objects (paintings, drawings or prints).

The sales containing at least five attributed objects, including works after designated artists, shown in the above table, represented 88 percent of the total number of attributed paintings in all Orphan Chamber sales,²⁶⁶ 98 percent of all attributed drawings, and 96 percent of all attributed prints. The Crispiaen Colijn and Claes Rauwart sales alone made up 38 percent of all attributed paintings. The Gillis van Coninxloo and Gommer Spranger sales made up 71 percent of all attributed drawings. The Spranger sale alone accounted for 63 percent of all attributed prints.

Claes Rauwart, as I have already mentioned, was the son of the great collector Jacob Rauwart, who died in 1597. From the absence in the sale of any artist represented in the sale whose period of activity began after the death of Jacob Rauwart (with

Table 10.1

Sales Containing at Least Five Attributed Objects

Name of Owner or Individual Requesting Sale	Date	Attributed Paintings	Number of Drawings	Prints
Gillis van Conincxloo	1607	20	84	0
Govert Govertsz. etc.*	1607	5	0	0
Hans van Conincxloo II*	1607	6	0	0
Crispiaan Colijn	1612	50	0	1
Claes Rauwart	1612	117	9	21
Jacques Verbeeck	1613	12	0	0
Cornelis van der Voort*	1614	42	0	0
Paulus Bisschop	1620	7	0	0
Albert Martsz.	1621	11	1	2
Jan Jansz. I	1621	0	0	14
Christoffel Sichem	1621	0	0	18
Jan Gansepoel*	1625	0	0	134
Dirck van Nes (widow of)*	1625	0	0	62
Hendrick Hoeffslager	1625	26	6	0
Cornelis van der Voort	1625	19	0	31
Pieter Isaacksz.	1626	14	0	1
Jacob Poppe	1627	5	0	0
Louis de Rotcourt	1627	22	0	0
Cornelis van der Blocke	1629	0	22	9
Barend van Someren	1635	0	28	67
Jan Basse	1637	2	10	5
Nicolaes Bas	1637	7	0	0
Jan van Maerlen	1637	11	2	2
Gommer Spranger	1638	4	38	698
Total		380	200	1,065
Total, all sales		431	205	1,111

Note: An asterisk has been placed after the names of individuals at whose request a sale was held. All other sales are of estates. Prints include engraved plates. Lots consisting of "diverse prints" have been counted as single prints. Konstboecken, which may consist of drawings or prints, have been classified among the drawings. Copies or works after designated artists are included among the attributions.

the possible exception of Jan Nagel), I tentatively conclude that the son inherited the collection from his father and did not add anything of great significance to it. The sale consisted of 500 lots (331 of paintings, 70 of drawings, and 99 of prints). 117 of the paintings and 9 of the drawings were attributed. But most of the artists to whom these paintings and drawings were attributed were designated only by a monogram. Some of the monogrammed attributions are easily interpreted: KM, for instance, must be Karel van Mander I (22 paintings); CC, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (10 paintings); GP, Gerrit Pietersz. (7 paintings); DB, Dirck Barendsz. (one painting); and

JN, Jan Nagel (one painting). Mr. C occurs 6 times and *C tout court* once. This monogram may possibly refer to Cornelis Ketel, but, if the clerk was not systematic in his records, it may also designate Cornelis van Haarlem, as did the monogram CC.²⁶⁷ The monogram P (13 paintings) is likely to be that of Pieter Aertsen (Lange Pier). The argument speaking for this attribution rests on their subjects: one represented an ox's head and another a kitchen, which are typical of Lange Pier. The high prices of the paintings monogrammed P (including a "Crippled Bishop" for 360 *f*, one of the highest prices recorded in any of the 29 Notebooks of auction sales) also support the attribution. The single most frequently used monogram is S (or possibly a Greek sigma),²⁶⁸ which is used in connection with 26 paintings and 7 illuminations or water-colors. The eighth of these water colors in the inventory is attributed to Steenwijck, who is most probably the Antwerp-based painter Hendrick van Steenwijck I. It is tempting to attribute the 7 others to the same artist. But Steenwijck is unlikely to be the creator of the 22 lots of paintings monogrammed S. The subject of only four of these lots is specified: three represented fires (*brantges*) and one a pair of *tronies*. A surprising number were said to be of round format, including one of the fires. These are hardly formats or subjects typical of Hendrick Steenwijck, who painted chiefly rectangular church interiors. Of the more famous painters whose family name begins with the letter S, I also exclude Bartholomeus Spranger, not only because the subjects and formats are atypical but because the prices of the lots were bunched around 10 *f*, which would be too low for Spranger. I also exclude Roelandt Savery, because Jacob Rauwart is unlikely to have collected so many paintings by this artist so early in his career (he was only 21 years old when Rauwart died). My best guess is that the monogram refers to Roelandt's elder brother Jacob (or Jacques) Savery I, who became a citizen of Amsterdam in 1591 and died in 1603.²⁶⁹ In the Crispiaen Colijn sale of 20 March 1612, 6 out of the 10 paintings attributed to Jacob Savery were round. These were moderately priced (1.5 to 2.5 *f*), a level that is somewhat lower than that of the prices recorded in the Rauwart sale but of the same order of magnitude.²⁷⁰ Finally, it should be said that several of the monograms could not be identified at all, including 7 paintings by N²⁷¹ and one painting each by A, M, C, and LK (possibly Lucas Cranach). Of 71 paintings in the Rauwart sale that can be attributed with some confidence (omitting paintings designated by unidentified monograms), only 26 were painted by artists who were alive at the time of the sale. The rest, nearly two-thirds, were painted by old masters.²⁷²

Table 10.2 summarizes the information available about attributed works of art in the Orphan Chamber sales for which we have detailed information.

In both periods the percentage of lots sold by artists who were still alive at the time of the sale in which their paintings came up at auction was under 50 percent (one-third in the first period, 48.4 percent in the second). In notarial inventories, on the other hand, calculations made for the same two periods show that they were slightly in excess of 50 percent (53 and 52 percent, respectively). The difference in the first period can be explained by the preponderance of the Rauwart sale, which consisted, as

Table 10.2

Characteristics of Artists to Whom Paintings Were Attributed (by Lots) (1597-1619 and 1620-1638)

Paintings:	1597-1619		1620-1638	
	Number of Lots		Number of Lots	Percent
By living artists	80	33.9	59	48.4
By old masters	134	56.8	63	51.6
Unknown	22	9.3	0	0
Total	236	100	122	100

Paintings:	1597-1619		1620-1638	
	Number of Lots		Number of Lots	Percent
By Southern Neth. Artists	38	16.1	13	10.7
By Southern Neth. Immigrants	90	38.1	30	24.6
By Northern Neth. Artists (other than Immigrants)	72	30.5	78	63.8
Unknown	36	15.3	1	0.9
Total	236	100	122	100

Notes: "Living artists" were still alive (not necessarily active) in the year of the auction at which the lot was sold. Thus a "living artist" in the first period may be an "old master" in the second. The unknown category includes unidentified monograms, unidentified artists, and artists whose date of death or country of origin is unknown. "Southern Neth. artists" refers to artists active in the Southern Netherlands who did not migrate to the Dutch Republic. "Southern Neth. Immigrants" are South Netherlandish artists who emigrated to the Dutch Republic. Dutch artists were either born in the Dutch Republic or began their artistic activity there. As explained in the text, paintings by P, KM, CC, JN, DB, and GP have been attributed, respectively, to Pieter Aertsen, Karel van Mander, Cornelis van Haarlem, Jan Nagel, Dirck Barendsz., and Gerrit Pietersz. However, paintings designated by the monogram S (Jacob Savery I?) and by other unidentified monograms cited in the text have been classified as unknown.

I have argued, more or less entirely of paintings that had been collected in the 16th century. The difference in the second period is probably not significant statistically. The percentage of paintings attributed to living artists in notarial inventories rose subsequently and then diminished drastically from the 1670s on, after the end of the Golden Age. The proportion of lots sold by artists who either were born in the Dutch Republic or began their activity there underwent an enormous increase from the first period to the second. The decline in the percentage of paintings by artists born in the Southern Netherlands was due in roughly equal parts to the relatively smaller num-

ber of lots by artists who never left the South and of lots by immigrants to the North. My impression is that this change in the origin of artists represented in auction sales was even more rapid and profound than that in the origin of buyers.

Of the 35 artists who were alive at the time the sale of one of their works took place, any time between 1597 and 1638, 15 were themselves buyers at one sale or another (Hendrick Avercamp, Francesco Badens, Gerrit de Bucq, Gillis de Hondecoeter, Pieter Isaacksz., Govert Jansz. (Mijnheer), Pieter Lastman, Jan Hermansz. Muller, Adriaen van Nieulandt, Jacob van Nieulandt, Jan (or Jacob) Pynas, Rembrandt van Rijn,²⁷³ Hercules Segers, Werner van der Valckert, and Pauwels de Vries). Most of the other artists who were not buyers lived in other cities. Some frequent artist-buyers (Cornelis van der Voort, Crispiaan Colijn, David Colyn, Jan Basse) had no paintings attributed to them in any sale.

There were relatively few paintings sold in either period that were said to be copies after named masters. (Many more, of course, are presumed to have been sold without being identified as such.) In the period 1597-1619, there were only 9 such designated copies—after Blocklandt, Bloemaert, Bruegel (Jan I?), Gillis Congnet, Cornelis van Haarlem, Hendrick Goltzius, Jan Nagel, and Gerrit Pietersz. In the period 1620-1638, there were 12 copies, all but two in the post-mortem sale of the painter Cornelis van der Voort. Of the 10 copies in this inventory, 7 were after Cornelis van Haarlem and one after Titian (one of the few occurrences of an Italian master cited in the Notebooks). From the multiple occurrence of copies of the same subject (especially “Mopsius” by Cornelis van Haarlem, of which there were five examples sold at different prices) and from the fact that the originals were also sold (for more than twice the average price of the copies), I infer that assistants and apprentices in the workshop of Cornelis van der Voort engaged in the systematic execution of copies for the market.

Table 10.3 lists the artists who were represented by 5 or more paintings in the entire period 1597-1638.

The samples on which table 10.3 are based are often so small that they should not be taken as representative of the popularity of the artists listed. On the high end, Hans Flerdyn, an obscure Antwerp artist, for example, has 13 paintings to his credit, but these were all contained in one lot of 12 Apostles and one Salvator. On the low end, a number of important and popular painters did not make the cut. Only one of Hendrick Goltzius's paintings came up at any of the sales recorded in the extant Notebooks.²⁷⁴ The pre-Rembrandtists are only very weakly represented, with the partial exception of the Pynas brothers. There were three paintings by Pieter Lastman, all sold in the 1620s (for *f* 5.0, 26.5, and 36.5), one by François Venant (*f* 27), and one by Jan Tengnagel (*f* 30). There were two paintings by Jacob Pynas (*f* 42 and *f* 59) and four by Pynas *tout court*, who is likely to have been the Amsterdam-based Jan Pynas (*f* 25.5, 89, 40, and 235).²⁷⁵ Their paucity aside, the fact that the few paintings sold by these masters fetched quite respectable prices suggests that they enjoyed some contemporary reputation. Finally, it may be noted that no painting by

Table 10.3

Painters Whose Paintings Were Most Frequently Sold (1597-1619 and 1620-1638)

Painter	1597-1619		1620-1638		Total Ptgs.
	No. of Ptgs.	No. of Sales	No. of Ptgs.	No. of Sales	
Mander, K. van	33	5	3	3	36
S (J. Savery?)	26	1	0	0	26
Aertsen, P.	16	3	6	5	22
Coninxloo, G.	13	4	6	4	19
Nagel, Jan	13	2	2	2	15
Momper, J. de	10	3	4	4	14
Flerdyn, Hans	0	0	13	1	13
Jansz., Govert	2	1	9	5	11
Haarlem, C. van	8	1	2	1	10
Savery, R.	3	3	7	6	10
Jordaens, Hans	7	3	3	3	10
Heemskerck, M. van	5	3	2	2	8
Stalpaert, P.	6	3	2	2	8
Pietersz., Gerrit	7	1	0	0	7
Vroom, Hendrick	2	1	4	3	6
Avercamp, Hendrick	5	4	0	0	5
Barendsz., Dirck	3	2	2	0	5
Bol, Hans	5	3	0	0	5
Floris, Frans	5	3	0	0	5

Note: Only originals are listed. The paintings designated by the monogram KM, GP., P, and JN in the Rauwart sale have been attributed to Karel van Mander, Gerrit Pietersz., Pieter Aertsen and Jan Nagel respectively. Hans Jordaens is the Antwerp painter who moved to Delft early in the 17th century and died in Delft in 1631.

Claes Moeyaert – who was perhaps the most famous pre-Rembrandtist in this period – was recorded in any of the extant sales.

Needless to say, attributed paintings (and drawings) were more expensive on average than anonymous ones. Attributed religious paintings of all sorts, for example, sold on average for 44.2 *f* in the period 1597-1619 (sample of 18) and 41.9 *f* in the period 1620-1638 (44). The comparable averages for unattributed paintings were 13.1 *f* (590) and 9.9 *f* (868). In the case of landscapes, attributed paintings sold on average for 25.1 *f* in the first period (sample of 36) and 41.1 *f* (52) in the second; the unattributed averages were 14.4 *f* (323) and 10.6 *f* (553), respectively. For genre paintings, the average was over 10 times as great for attributed than for unattributed paintings in both periods.

There were 34 lots of attributed drawings in four inventories sold in the period 1597-1619 and 56 such lots plus 7 *konstboecken*, expensive enough to consist of drawings rather than prints, in the period 1620-1638. In the first period, the absolute

majority of lots consisted in landscape drawings by Gillis van Coninxloo that were sold after his death. In the second period, drawings by Adriaen Brouwer were most frequently sold (12 lots, all in the Barend van Someren sale of 1637). The *konst-boecken* were attributed to Aldegraver, Sebald Beham, Lucas van Leyden, Georg Pencz, Johannes Collaert, and Etienne Delaune (Stephanus).

There were only 11 lots of attributed prints in the first period (6 by Dürer). Their number jumped to 308 lots (most of them consisting of several prints) in the second period. Dürer was by far the most frequently represented artist with 166 lots, consisting of at least 998 prints. The second most represented artist was Goltzius with 38 lots, the third, Antonio Tempesta, with 25 lots. Most of these prints came up at the sales of the merchant Gommer Spranger and of the painters Jan Basse and Barend van Someren. There were a few prints by or after Raphael, Michel Angelo, Polidoro, Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), Francesco Villamena, Etienne Delaune (Stephanus), and Jacques Callot, a majority of which were bought by artists or by dealers (Rembrandt bought prints by or after Raphael and Polidoro da Caravaggio.)

Echoes

What happened to all the works of art that private collectors bought at auction? Did they keep them until they died and pass them down to their heirs? Or did they resell them when they needed to raise money or when they were pursued by their creditors? In this chapter I draw on the inventories of buyers, sometimes drawn up years after their purchases at auction, to see whether they can throw light on these questions. Wherever I am able to identify a work of art in an inventory with an earlier purchase at auction, I refer to the later incidence as an “echo”. My results, based on small samples, show that only about a third of the works that can be so identified turned up in later inventories. In the latter part of the chapter I discuss some of the reasons for the apparent instability of Amsterdam collections.

To construct my sample, I proceeded as follows. I first collected a sample of inventories or auction sales of individuals who are known to have made purchases at auction at some earlier time. Most of these were drawn up after the buyer had become insolvent (inventories of the Desolate Boedelskamer) or after his or his wife’s death (notarial probate inventories). I was able to find 34 such cases in these inventories. I then selected among the purchases that these individuals (or their husbands) had made at auction, all the works of art that were described with enough precision to be matched with some corresponding work of art in the inventory. I reasoned that matching would be possible (but might or might not occur) in case one or more of the characteristics of the works of art purchased was present: the work of art was attributed; its subject was fairly well defined; its format was recorded (oblong, square, round, oval). In certain cases, I used as corroborative evidence, the (high or low) price at which the object was sold. In the case of the subject, I considered a “history” (“Susanna”, “Lazarus”, “Woman at the Well”, “Venus”) in the work purchased at auction a sufficient criterion for a potential identification with a work in the subsequent inventory.

My sample of more or less precisely described works of art purchased at auction that I tried to match with items in the buyers’ subsequent inventories consisted of 92 items. The next step was to find works of art matching any of the items in the “well-described sample” of works purchased by an individual in his or her subsequent inventory. Clearly, reasonable judgement had to be exercised, and the matching of works purchased and recorded in inventories was subject to a certain margin of error. There were, in fact, two mutually offsetting sources of error. A painting of a certain subject (say, a “Susanna”) could be bought at auction in 1612, sold or otherwise discarded in 1622, and another one bought of the same subject in 1627, which would fi-

nally end up in the auction buyer's inventory in 1635. This would of course create an upward bias. The downward bias would be due to my failure to match some pairs because the works of art initially purchased and/or those in the subsequent inventories were not described with enough precision to allow me to match them. For example, a "landscape", not otherwise specified, might have been bought at auction in 1608 and a "landscape with a peasant's house" might have been recorded in a 1635 inventory. This would not be sufficient information to call the pair a match, especially if there were several landscapes bought or recorded in the subsequent inventory.

The following examples illustrate the method. My first example is straightforward and unambiguous. Jan du Gardijn, the son of the dyer Marten du Gardijn, is known to have bought only three lots at auction, all at the same sale of 19 December 1623. These were three maps or prints: one of the city of Prague (bought for 2 *f*), one of the city of "Civilje" (Seville) (2 *f* 15 st.), and one of the city of London (2 *f* 3 st.) He must have attended the sale within a day or two of his marriage, considering that he was betrothed on the 30th of November, 20 days before the sale took place (three weeks normally elapsed between the act of betrothal and the marriage ceremony).²⁷⁶ Both he and his wife died, presumably of the plague, which raged in 1624 and 1625, before 11 March 1625, when their death inventory was recorded.²⁷⁷ Among the goods that were said to have been contributed by Jan du Gardijn to the marriage were three maps, listed precisely in the same order as the clerk had recorded them at the 1623 Orphan Chamber sale.²⁷⁸ They were each estimated at 2 gulden, which was within striking distance of the prices they had been paid in 1623. Less than one year and three months had elapsed since the maps had entered Jan du Gardijn's possessions.

Samuel van Swol, who was the chief bookkeeper of the United East Indies Company, is another collector who died shortly after he made his only known purchases at auction in October 1637. He was buried on 21 February 1639, a year and a half after that sale. Two out of three of the lots he purchased at auction can possibly be matched with similar works in his widow's inventory of 15 April 1639.²⁷⁹ We can place an unusual degree of confidence in the estimates in the inventory, which were made by the painter and art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh, Rembrandt's former business partner. Swol had bought a vase of flowers for 103 *f* and another for 73 *f* in the 1637 sale.²⁸⁰ I have tentatively matched these two lots with a vase of flowers by (Jan) Bruegel (I) appraised 150 *f* in his widow's inventory and a painting of the same subject by (Roelandt) Savery, appraised 90 *f*. If these two pairs are correctly matched, they represent the only instances where estimates made in an inventory subsequent to a sale were significantly higher than the original purchase prices. Finally, a pair of paintings of Venus and Paris, offered at the 1637 sale as a single lot, had no counterparts in the inventory.

Next I consider four cases with an intermediate holding period. The broker Abraham Oostens bought five paintings at two separate sales in 1628, of which four were described with enough precision to provide potential matches in a subsequent inven-

tory: Christ walking on the sea (15 *f*), a portrait of the Admirant (prince of Aragon) (3 *f*), Pilate washing his hands (21 *f*), and a landscape with the history of Emaus (3.5 *f*). He died before his wife Jacomijntje Tejaerts (or Tajerts). On 12 February 1637, an inventory was taken of the late widow's possessions.²⁸¹ In this inventory, three out of four of the identifiable paintings bought at auction eight years earlier were recorded: the Admirant of Aragon, Pilate washing his hands, and the Emaus. I consider that the fourth – Christ walking on the sea – was not matched by any painting in the later inventory, although it might possibly be the seascape recorded in the Inner Room.

Hendrick Verburgh was a Delft-born merchant who divided his time between his native city and Amsterdam. He is known to have bought six lots at the auction of Jacob Poppe in Amsterdam on 13 April 1627. One, a “masquerade by night”, was a good potential match. Four were borderline: a little winter (*winterken*), a (painted) portrait of Prince Maurits, and a print of Prince Maurits. One (a pair of women's portraits) was too vaguely described to be matched. The “masquerade by night”, which Verburgh bought for 23 *f*, was most probably identical with the “masquerade” in his death inventory, taken in Delft, at the end of July 1640.²⁸² The *winterken* bought at auction was matched by a *winterken* in the death inventory as were the portraits of Prince Maurits in painting and in print. However, all three represented such common subjects that the matching should be considered only tentative.

Daniel de Bisschop, who was born in 1598, bought many lots at auction, starting in his 25th year (1623) and ending with 1638, the last year for which auction records are extant. After he died in 1654, his widow, Joanna Schonevelts, had his inventory drawn up on 3 December 1654.²⁸³ Even though frequent purchases of art works at auction sales are often an indication that an individual was an art dealer, in this case I hesitate to believe that De Bisschop was anything but a private collector. Of the 92 lots that he bought from 1623 to 1638, 42 consisted of prints. Even though some of these were attributed in the auction sales (to Stradanus, Bloemaert, and Dürer), they cannot individually be matched with any item in De Bisschop's death inventory, where all the prints, including some by Dürer, were written up as a single batch. So we are left with the potential matches written up in the following table (11.1).

By a generous count, five out of ten lots purchased at auction could be matched with similarly described items in De Bisschop's inventory, which, unfortunately was not assessed.

Jan Adriaensz. (or Arentsz.) Delff also made his purchases at auction shortly after his marriage took place in June 1626.²⁸⁴ At a 1627 sale, he bought a “Calling of St. Peter” (*Roeping van Petrus*) for 6 *f* and a “Venus (sic) with the Golden Rain” for the same price. In his death inventory of June 1637,²⁸⁵ there was a painting of “Jesus and St. Peter”, estimated only 2 *f* 10 st., and a painting of Venus in an oval, on copper, which was not appraised. I took the first as a plausible match, but I rejected the identification of the Venus on copper in the inventory with the “Venus with the Golden Rain” because I thought it unlikely that a Danae could be mistaken for a Venus for a second time. Thus my count was one out of two possible matches.

Table 11.1

Daniel de Bisschop's Purchases at Auction and His 1654 Inventory

Date of Purchase	Title	Title of Possible Match in 1654 inventory
1623	an image of Mary f 8: 5	an image of Mary
1623	a tabula of the birth of Jesus f 20	the nativity by Lange Pier
1625	2 <i>tronien</i> of farsightedness and innocence f 17:10	2 <i>tronien</i> on copper
1626	1 painting of faith, charity, and hope f 40	no match
1625	12 emperors in lead f 2:1:--	no match
1626	a vase of flowers f 31	no match
1626	a painted ten commandments f 1: 4:--	a piece (probably a painting) of the ten commandments
1626	the three kings f 33	no match
1635	a little woman (<i>vroukje</i>) f 4	no match
1635	a perspective f 36	a perspective, staffage by Nieulandt

The merchant Paulus Bisschop, whose post-mortem sale of 1620 is analyzed in Chapter 24 of part II, bought seven lots at auction, of which only two provided potential matches. These were a sheepstall bought in the Gillis van Conincxloo sale of 1607 for 30 *f* and 10 st. and an Antwerp fish market bought in the same sale for 20 *f*. The first is very likely to have been the Christ in the Sheepstall, in the 1620 sale of Bisschop's possessions, which sold for 31 *f*, almost exactly the same price as 13 years earlier. The Antwerp fish market that sold for only 5 gulden in the 1620 sale is also likely to be identical with the painting of the same subject which Paulus Bisschop had bought for 20 gulden in 1607.

Sara Berwijns, who was formerly married to Guillaume de Wijs, had her inventory drawn up and appraised shortly before she remarried with the spices merchant Pieter Mercijs. It was a moderately rich inventory (with a total value of 2,830 *f*), although it contained only a few works of art.²⁸⁶ After Sara died in 1617, Pieter Mercijs remarried. Shortly after his own death in 1624, the Orphan Chamber held a sale of his goods on 17 February 1625. There were three works of art in Sara Berwijns's inventory that were described with sufficient precision that they might have found a match in the sale of 1625: a fishing scene (*visserij*), appraised at 12 *f*; a fire (*brant*), appraised at 6 *f*; and a triumphal car (*triumphwagen*), appraised at 18 stuivers (it may have been a print). The only match was the painting of a fire, which sold for 6 *f* and 10 st. in the Mercijs sale of 1625.²⁸⁷ So, the count here was one out of three.

My last example refers to two paintings that were kept in the same collection for a longer period than any others in my sample of "echoes". The buyer was David van Baerle, a wealthy merchant who was the brother-in-law of Constantijn Huygens, a leading statesman of the age. Van Baerle's purchases at auction were also, as far as we know, limited to a single sale. He bought four lots at the 1620 sale of Paulus Bisschop, with whom he was related by marriage.²⁸⁸ These were: 1) "a landscape of a plunder-

ing” (*een lantschap van een plunderij* (50 f); 2) “Christ preaches on the edge of the sea” (*Christus aen de oever preeckt*) (52 f); “a skull” (*doodshoofd*) (12 f); and a “landscape of the man of God” (*lantschap van de man gods*) (30 f). I considered all four to be sufficiently well described to be candidates for matches with paintings recorded in Van Baerle’s death inventory, which was taken 51 years later, on 23 December 1671.²⁸⁹ The inventory, which consisted of 48 lots, all works of art with titles, actually contained two paintings representing a plundering or highway robbery, one (*een spolieeren van een koetswagen*) that was estimated at 58 f and the other (*een lantschap daerin eenige karren werden gespolieert*) at 52 f.²⁹⁰ Either could have been the one bought in 1620. I counted these two possible pairs as a single match. The second match was (almost) unambiguous: The preaching of Christ by the sea of Galilea purchased in 1620 corresponded very closely with “The preaching of Christ in the little ship, done by Vingboons” (*een stuck van de predicatie Christi in ’t scheepgen gedaen van Vingboons*), estimated at 60 f, slightly in excess of the 1620 price (52 f).²⁹¹ This was of course counted as a match. No works of art in the 1671 inventory came even close to matching the remaining paintings bought in 1620, the landscape of the man of God or the death head (which was presumably a vanitas painting). The upshot of all this was that I estimated that two out of four of the original purchases had been preserved for over a half century, and the other two had disappeared.

I will not go into further detail about other matching and non-matching pairs. Suffice it to say that, altogether, I found 37 matches out of 92 potential matching pairs in 35 inventories or sales with at least one potential echo. Of the 35 inventories, 16 had no matching pairs at all.

One might conjecture that the longer the span of years separating a sale from an inventory in which the purchased item might be found, the lower would be the proportion of actual to potential matches. I attempted to test this conjecture by comparing samples of sales-and-inventories that were separated by less and by more than ten years. I found 14 actual matches out of 24 possible matches in the subsample of paintings held less than ten years (58.3 percent) and 23 out of 68 (33.8 percent) in the subsample of paintings held in excess of ten years. A Chi square test showed that the difference was statistically significant at the 95 percent level.²⁹² This is of course what we would expect, but it was comforting to find that it was so, even with such small samples.

The tentativeness of my results should not confuse the reader regarding my main conclusion: the data at my disposal clearly point to the rapid turnover of collections. This instability has two aspects. One, which I did not emphasize so far, is that the risk of death, frequently from the plague, within a few years after a work of art had been bought was substantial. (We saw how Jan du Gardyn and Samuel van Swol died within two years of their first and last known purchase at auction). The other, of course, is that intractable financial problems, often issuing in bankruptcy, frequently forced collectors to part with the works of art they possessed. Wars – particularly the (resumed) war with Spain from 1621 to 1648 and the three Anglo-Dutch wars of

1652-1654, 1664-1667, and 1672-1674 – were often precipitants of these problems.²⁹³ Most auction buyers were merchants, who were especially vulnerable to the vicissitudes of unprotected markets. The situation was radically different from what it was in England and France where land was still the chief source of wealth. There it was not unusual for paintings to hang for centuries on end in stately country houses. Primogeniture, moreover, kept paintings in the same family for generations, in contrast to the Netherlands, where division of estates among the children of the deceased was more or less equal (at least as far as their “legal share” was concerned). The first modern markets for art, first in Antwerp and later in Amsterdam, were also the most fluid that the world had witnessed up to this point.

As a conclusion to this chapter, I can make a modest contribution to a subject that has given rise to much speculation without any but the most slender reliance on facts. I refer below to the speculative motive for holding works of art in the expectation of price increases.

Table 11.2
Pair-wise Comparisons of Prices over Time

Name of Collector	Date of Sale	Item	Price (gulden)	Date of inventory	Item	Price
Jan du Gardijn	1623	Map of Prague	2.0	1625	Map of Prague	2.0
		Map of Seville	2.75		Map of Seville	2.0
		Map of London	2.15		Map of London	2.0
Nicolaes Bas	1635	Adam and Eve	8.25	1637	Adam and Eve	6.0
Samuel Swol	1637	Vase of Flowers	73.0	1639	Vase of Flowers	90.0
		Vase of Flowers	103.0		Vase of Flowers	150.0
Charles Cooren	1614	Kitchen	37.0	1617	Kitchen	20.0
		Kitchen	24.0		Kitchen	17.0
		Banquet	205.0		Banquet	111.0
Jan Delff	1627	Calling of Peter	6.0	1637	Christ and Peter	2.5
Anthony Marinisz.	1614	Woman's <i>tronie</i>	4.0	1625	Woman's <i>tronie</i>	4.0
Sara Berwijns	1613	Fire	6.0	1625	Fire	6.5
Michiel Hoppesack	1612	Two <i>tronien</i>	4.25	1625	Two <i>tronien</i>	1.5
Paulus Bisschop	1607	Sheepstall	30.5	1620	Christ in the sheepstall	31.0
		Christ preaches at the edge of the sea	52.0		Christ's predication in the little ship	60.0
David van Baerle	1620	Plundering	50.0	1671	Robbery of Coach	52.0

Notes: For the exact title of David van Baerle's paintings, see the text above.

A side benefit of the matching game that I have played in tracing works of art through time is that it gives us some idea of the price changes that occurred between the time that a work of art was bought at auction and the time that it turned up in a later sale or an inventory, at least to the extent that it was evaluated in this later inventory.

We must keep in mind, however, that most of these “echoes” were found in inventories that were assessed rather than in auction sales, so that any bias in the assessment (under- or over-estimation) would affect the comparison. The preceding table shows all the pair-wise comparisons of prices I have been able to assemble, as well as the number of years separating the auction from the later sale or inventory. The “echoes” are ordered according to the length of time elapsed between purchase at auction and location in an inventory.

Not all the matches, even in this miniscule sample, are fully satisfactory. The two “vases of flowers” in Samuel Swol’s inventory, the two “kitchens” in Charles Cooren’s, the two vases of flowers and the woman’s *tronie* in Anthony Marinisz.’s, and the two *tronien* in Michiel Hoppesack’s, in particular, may be identical with the same subjects in paintings they had earlier bought at auction, but again they may not. The results are at best indicative, a notch better than illustrative. A much larger sampler is needed, with more secure matches, which can perhaps be assembled in the course of time, as more inventories of Amsterdam’s notarial archives and of the Desolate Boedelskamer are screened. However tentative the present comparisons may be, they do suggest that the upward movement in prices of works of art over time, if it occurred at all, was quite moderate. In fact, the most pronounced change, at least among the more expensive works, was the apparent decrease in the prices of three of Charles Cooren’s paintings from 1614 to 1617. I believe that this decrease can be ascribed to the tense political situation of 1617.²⁹⁴ If we take into account that some of the observed price differences were due to differences between auction results and estimates (in the case of inventories), it is hard to imagine that there was room for intensive speculation, either *à la hausse* or *à la baisse*, in objects whose prices were so sluggish.

Some concluding remarks may be in order about the wider import of the tentative results that we reached in this chapter on the instability of collections. I had hoped that they would provide a means of estimating the net “discards” in the stock of paintings in Amsterdam, which in turn would help one to calculate the approximate gross yearly demand for paintings. One could estimate, for instance, the gross yearly demand for paintings in Amsterdam each year as the sum of net “discards” for the year, plus the increase in the number of households, plus the increase in the number of paintings per household. Unfortunately, even if we knew for sure that one-third of the paintings in Amsterdam collections was discarded or otherwise disappeared over, say, 20 years – numbers that are roughly compatible with our results – this would not be much help. Because these losses in individual collections are not losses for the ensemble of Amsterdam holdings. Many of the paintings that disappeared in the course of time from the collections of wealthy citizens were resold to less fortunate fellow-citizens. Some were exported to other cities in the Netherlands or even to other countries. Calculated losses in individual collections say very little about the net losses in the entire system. I suspect, generally speaking, that net losses were very small – perhaps limited to the effects of fire and water damage – and that most of the

paintings discarded from collections in one year ended up – many of them through the agency of the *uitdraagsters* – hanging in some houses or other in Amsterdam, or elsewhere in the country, in the same year. But that is not the whole story. If discarded paintings were downgraded in the process of migrating to poorer households – if they fell in price below, say, 5 gulden for an average-price painting – their disappearance from the collections of better-off citizens may still have contributed to an increase in the demand for paintings by local and out-of-town artists. The quantification of this complex process raises problems that may be insuperable nearly four centuries after the fact.

Concluding Words on Auctions

While this study encompasses only about 15 percent of the auction sales of the Orphan Chamber whose records have been preserved, it covers over 95 percent of the value of the lots sold and, I believe, all the attributions cited in the 29 Notebooks. The vast majority of the lots omitted were cheap untitled little boards (*bortgens*) or little prints (*printgens*) that sold for cash. For the first time since these sales records have been studied, the emphasis has been laid on the buyers: their age, wealth, geographic origin, and connections with each other and with the owners, alive or deceased, of the goods sold. Of the 2000-odd buyers, some information has been uncovered about nearly two-thirds (detailed information on over half). Very few buyers whose family name was inscribed in the notebooks remain totally unknown.²⁹⁵ We found that many, if not most, of the buyers were linked by family, business, guild, neighborhood, or other ties with other buyers. One gets the impression that buying at auction was a highly social activity that helped to knit together the society or, perhaps one should say, the various societies in which the better-off burghers of Amsterdam – representing perhaps 15 percent of the population – intermingled. Such conviviality applied of course to attendance at the higher-class sales: the sales of the estates of poorer citizens, consisting more exclusively of inexpensive clothing and household goods, attracted chiefly the *uitdraagsters*, of whom there seem to have been at least one hundred active at one time or another in the entire period 1597-1638. These women, and a few men who also belonged to the trade, contributed to the circulation of works of art, mainly, we suppose, from the higher to the lower strata of the population.

We have seen that a certain amount of wealth was a necessary condition for buying at auction, except for *uitdraagsters* who turned over their small capital rapidly by reselling the goods they bought as soon as they could. But it was not a sufficient condition. Even among the highest purchasers of shares in the United East India Company (V.O.C.) and the taxpayers who paid the highest taxes on wealth, at least two-thirds are not known to have made purchases at Orphan Chamber auction. For those who did, other factors clearly played a role: a family relationship with the late owner of the goods sold; a common origin in Antwerp, Hamburg, or Cologne; membership in a guild, a chamber of *rederijkers*, a group of fellow practitioners of the art of fencing, a literary circle, or a militia company; living in a certain neighborhood; and belonging to a religious group politically connected with the Orphan Chamber were factors that apparently contributed to the probability that an individual with a certain amount of wealth would be a buyer at auction. A certain proclivity toward risk and the thrill of buying at auction – perhaps even of outbidding rivals – may also have played a role.

Few out-of-town buyers and, as far as I can tell, no foreigners attended these auctions. Virtually all the paintings sold were by Dutch and Southern Netherlandish masters. The relative parochialism of Amsterdam auctions perhaps enhanced their social character: the majority of buyers at the more important sales probably knew each other and, often, knew personally the painters whose works they bought. In any case, the situation changed drastically within a year after the last preserved Notebook of the Orphan Chamber, when foreigners (Alphonso Lopez, Joachim Sandrart) paid the highest prices – for Italian paintings – at the Lucas van Uffelen sale (at which prices were several times greater than the highest recorded prices in the preserved notebooks.) It is still not clear whether the Van Uffelen sale was truly exceptional or whether more sales took place in its aftermath of comparative scope and depth.

As it was, even in the period covered in this study, there were enough wealthy burghers whose estates were handled by the Orphan Chamber (including the former burgomaster Jacob Poppen, Albert Jonckheijn, Jacques Rombouts, Jacques Verbeeck, Gommer Spranger and Jan van Maerlen), as well as successful artists and art dealers (Gillis van Coninxloo, Crispiaan Colijn, Paulus Bisschop, Cornelis van der Voort, Barend van Someren and Jan Basse) who had works of art sold, either in voluntary sales or from their estates, to supply the auction market with a wide assortment of paintings, drawings and prints at prices that ranged from a few stuivers to hundreds of gulden. The highest auction prices (nearly) matched the top prices occasionally encountered in notarial inventories, contracts or depositions.²⁹⁶ Thus, auction records could serve to anchor dealer's prices, the prices in private transactions, and the estimates made by guild members and professional appraisers for comparable works. Orphan Chamber auctions constituted a small but a very significant part of the rapidly growing market for art in Amsterdam.

“A small part”, to be sure, for neither the auctions held by the Orphan Chamber auctions nor those held by the Desolate Boedelskamer could satisfy the growing demand of the public for the finest art. Even the slim evidence we have at our disposal from dealers' inventories and from notarial documents where dealers' transactions are recorded strongly suggests that dealers met a specialized demand that auctions could only rarely accommodate. The inventory of Johannes de Renialme of 1657,²⁹⁷ which constitutes the most complete stock-in-trade of a dealer that has come down to us, at least for Amsterdam in its Golden Age, shows that Italian paintings were a distinct and important part of a dealer's offerings. So were 16th century paintings by famous painters. Both were virtually absent from auctions (prior at least to the Van Uffelen auction of 1639) and from the bankrupt inventories that have been preserved. The paintings exchanged by Marten van den Broeck against ship's equipment in 1647 (which is the subject of chapter 18) were so different in character from those one would have expected to see in a privately owned inventory that I tentatively concluded that they constituted a dealer's stock. This was also true of the paintings belonging to Johannes de Renialme that had been deposited in an attic belonging to Lambert Massa in 1640 (chapter 14). Very few private collections owned Italian

paintings and works by famous 16th century masters, and the chances that they would come up at auction were slim. My guess is that a rich merchant like Samuel Godijn, whose probate inventory of 1633 contained numerous Italian paintings, including some by Palma Giovane and Guido Reni,²⁹⁸ and a *tronie* by Jan van Eyck, had bought them from a high-class dealer like De Renialme.

In addition to offering a more rarefied assortment, dealers had other advantages in competing against auctions. They saved buyers time, which was probably very valuable to the richest and busiest merchants. In most sales, paintings were mixed with other household goods. Buyers often had to wait for hours before they could bid on a coveted item. The time factor may have been critical in differentiating the collecting behavior of the merchant brothers Hendrick and Dirck van Os. Hendrick bought ten lots at three sales; Dirck is not known to have bought at any sale at all. Of the two, Dirck was the active partner in their joint business. Hendrick did little besides managing the brothers' joint capital and occasionally helping Dirck out when the latter had to go out of town.²⁹⁹ The opportunity cost of time was evidently higher for Dirck than for Hendrick van Os who could more easily while away hours at auction.

Still another advantage dealers possessed stemmed from the convivial nature of auctions such as I have described at some length. If a relative, a neighbor, a fellow guild-member, or even a friend was inclined to bid at auction for what might be called sentimental reasons, the prices they paid must have been higher than amateurs would have bid strictly on the basis of intrinsic quality. The highest-quality dealers also bought at auction, but they tended to concentrate on occasional specialized sales – especially the so-called “voluntary sales” – where the “conviviality factor” did not play a major role. Wealthy collectors who could not attend these sales paid a moderate premium to dealers for the chance of getting choice items. As in the case of the present-day world, private buyers may also have been willing to pay dealers an extra margin for a guarantee of authenticity.

Part II **Profiles of Selected Buyers**

Introduction

In the first part of this book, I focused on aggregates – the value of works of art sold, the number of buyers in certain occupations or of various origins, the relative importance of different subjects represented – rather than on the lives and careers of individuals, even though I cited many names who in one way or another illustrated overall trends and tendencies. In the second part, I have selected a number of buyers for detailed treatment who, for one reason or another, were deserving of attention. The idea of this sharper focus is to give the reader some notion of who these people were: their family background, their business connections, their links to artists or poets, in the hope that, if these buyers did not exactly come alive – an ideal that I will return to in the last chapter of the book – they could at least be assigned a place in a clearly recognizable milieu. I begin with three chapters on merchants and artists who became art dealers. In the next five chapters, I investigate the connections of some private collectors to artist-painters: in chapter 16, I follow the trail of a painting that Rubens had promised to the jeweler Hans Thijsz.; in chapter 17, I develop the conjecture that Jacob Swalmius, the buyer of numerous works of art at auction, was a pupil of Rembrandt; in chapter 18, I look into a possible business relation between the merchant Marten van den Broeck and Rembrandt; in chapter 19, I show how the rich merchant/jeweler Jan van Maerlen was linked by marriage to various artist-painters, both in his own generation and in that of his children and grandchildren until the early 18th century; in chapter 20, I use an inventory “find” – an anonymous painting of the Feast of Belshazzar – to forge a link between a merchant named Jean le Bleu, the nephew of the Pre-Rembrandist François Venant, and Rembrandt. I then turn to buyers who were linked to major cultural figures or played a role themselves on the cultural scene: Dr. Robert van der Hoeve and the “Muiden Circle” in chapter 21, Pieter van den Broeck and Jacob Valcksz., amateur poets and the authors of a lampoon on the cultural elite of Amsterdam, in chapter 22. My last three chapters are eclectic: chapter 23 deals with an interesting case of a painting by Pieter Lastman that went through two auction sales but remained in the extensive family of the first buyer; chapter 24 is about a collector who bought a painting at an auction in 1620 then kept the painting, which had been seen by Karel van Mander in the early 1600s, until his death 51 years later; the painting is still extant today. The last chapter briefly recounts a few stories about buyers, culled from notarial archives, that throw at least a glancing light on their *mentalités*. I also single out for close analysis the auction sales in which these selected buyers participated.

Art Dealers I: Artists and Merchants in the Trade

In accord with Adam Smith's famous dictum about specialization and the size of the market, most artists in the course of Holland's spectacular development in the course of the 17th century chose to concentrate on increasingly specialized subjects. Still life, to take the most conspicuous example, developed as a separate subject toward the end of the 16th century. At first, specialization was limited to flowers, fruit, vanitas and "banquets". Later, painters began to explore narrower subjects: fish, game, live and dead poultry, medallions enclosed in wreaths of flowers or fruit, and so forth. There also emerged within the artists' community a group of individuals, perhaps not sufficiently talented to earn a living from their craft, who developed a side-trade in paintings and other objects of art.³⁰⁰ Some of these artist/dealers visited the yearly or biannual fairs and the estate auctions held in the various towns of the Republic to scout for paintings that were in demand in Amsterdam but that would-be buyers might not have had the time or the inclination to visit themselves. Some had direct contacts with artists in out-of-town communities from whom they bought works of art that could be sold at a profit in Amsterdam. "Arbitrage" of these various sorts was probably a mainstay of their activity. A few had the connections in municipalities to co-ordinate special projects, like the decoration of the Amsterdam town-hall in the late 1650s.³⁰¹ Another category of dealers consisted of merchants endowed with capital who branched out into trading works of art and competed with the artist/dealers for the favor of rich clients. Both artist/dealers and merchant/dealers benefited from the expansion of the market in two ways: first, there was the increasing demand for art goods which lifted all boats; but there were also more opportunities for arbitrage, as a consequence of the growing specialization of artists, than there would have been if all artists had been painting more or less the same subjects. That is, there were more gains to be had from seeking out the works of specialized artists and reselling them to buyers who did not have the time, or perhaps the necessary information, to find the paintings they liked themselves.³⁰² And, if the supply was not there to begin with, dealers could help augment it by setting painters and other artists to work to produce subjects and manners-of-painting that were in demand. This supply-augmenting function was itself a specialized branch of the trade.

In Amsterdam, we find artist/dealers from the 16th century on, the most important of them being the various members of the Coninxloo dynasty. Merchant/dealers emerged in the 1630s, some of them, like Johannes de Renialme and Jan le Thoor (the

subjects, respectively of chapters 14 and 15), who graduated from trading in jewels and precious stones to trading in paintings. With the possible exception of Jan Antonio Romiti, a merchant/dealer,³⁰³ and of Louis Rotcourt and Joris Kaersgieter, both artist/dealers,³⁰⁴ all the important Amsterdam-based art dealers are known to have bought at Orphan Chamber auctions.³⁰⁵ The painter Cornelis van der Voort, in whose studio copies of works by well-known masters were executed, was perhaps the first supply-augmenting artist/dealer in Amsterdam.³⁰⁶ The best known of these, however, was Hendrick Uylenburgh, for whom Rembrandt himself worked in the early 1630s. Merchant/dealers are difficult to identify with certainty because we can never be sure that a transaction in works of art that they are known to have engaged in was part of a regular activity or was just an occasional opportunity. To cite just one example, we have only one document clearly referring to an art-dealing transaction of the sugar refiner Jan Thivaert; we have to rely on circumstantial evidence to infer that this transaction was part of an ongoing practice. Jan Thivaert's career will be traced out in some detail in the present chapter. As to other merchants (Michel le Blon, Michel le Fort, the brothers Cornelis and Abraham de Bruijn, Abraham de Goijer, Marten Kretser,³⁰⁷ and many others) who also at least occasionally traded in paintings, I prefer to leave them out of detailed consideration at this point in my limited knowledge.

The Coninxloos

The first known painters of the Coninxloo dynasty were the brothers Hans van Coninxloo I and Gillis van Coninxloo, the famous landscape artist. Both were born in Antwerp, in 1540 and 1544, respectively. The first migrated to Emden (in present-day Germany), the second traveled to France, later to Frankenthal, and finally reached Amsterdam in 1595. Hans van Coninxloo I, noted in Emden in 1592, was a painter of classical allegories in the mannerist style. As far as we know, he did not become an art dealer. Hans van Coninxloo II, the son of Hans van Coninxloo I, born and married in Emden, joined the Guild of St. Lucas there. He migrated to Amsterdam in 1598, shortly after his uncle Gillis. He had become at least a part-time art dealer by 1604, when, according to Karel van Mander, he commissioned a couple of paintings from David Vinckboons. One of these paintings, which turned up at auction in 1620 and again in a private collection in 1671, will be discussed in chapter 24. We first encounter him as a buyer at auction in March 1607, when he attended the sale of the estate of his uncle Gillis van Coninxloo. There he bought many lots, most of them drawings and artists' materials, including a grinding stone. With the exception of a couple of landscape paintings (which he bought for *f* 17: 5:– and *f* 8:14:–, respectively), his purchases seemed to be more oriented toward his work as an artist than as a dealer. On March 5 and 6, he organized two separate sales. The latter specified that the paintings belonged to him. The first consisted of prints, alabaster slabs,

and paintings, 47 lots in all, most of which went for 3 to 5 gulden. Only two exceeded 20 gulden, one of them a painting of an *Ecce Homo* for 24 gulden. The second sale consisted of paintings only, some of which were quite expensive: an *Andromeda* for 84 *f*; the seven virtues by *Crispiaan van den Broeck*, 90 *f*, and an *Ecce Homo*, 97 *f*. If at least the second sale unloaded a part of his stock in trade, as it probably did, we may infer that he was also operating somewhere between the middle and the high level of the quality scale. A year later, in 1608, he made his testament with his wife. From a sentence inserted in the testament to the effect that the art trade “belonged to his daily commerce and affairs”,³⁰⁸ we may conclude that he was already seriously engaged in the business. It was not until 1612, at the sale of *Claes Rauwart*, the son of the *Jacob Rauwart* whose valuable collection had been repeatedly cited by *Karel van Mander*, that he first bought really expensive paintings, including an unattributed *Birth of Christ* for 325 *f* and a *Kitchen Scene* (by *Pieter Aertsen*?) for 101 *f*. He was joined at this sale by his son *Hans van Coninxloo III* (born in *Emden* in 1589) who made a winning bid on a tondo “by S” for 7:10:-- *f*.³⁰⁹ (*Hans III*’s activities as a dealer are traced later on in this chapter.) The *Rauwart* sale is the last one – as far as we know – that was attended by *Hans van Coninxloo II*. In 1618, he returned to *Emden* where he died on 14 June 1620.³¹⁰ This paucity of information leaves us little ground for speculation, but the upward trajectory of the prices he paid at auction suggests that he may have plunged more deeply in the market around 1612. This was of course the first year of the Twelve-year Truce in the war with Spain when trade resumed on a large scale with the Southern Netherlands. This expansion of the market, needless to say, was propitious to specialization, both by artists and dealers.

The landscape painter and art dealer *Isaack van Coninxloo* was the younger brother of *Hans II*. Born in *Emden* about 1580, he migrated, like his older brother, to *Amsterdam*, where he was first noted in 1600. He apparently moved to *Antwerp* where he was noted as a member of the *St. Luke’s* guild in *Antwerp* between 1607 and 1614. By 21 June 1614, he was back in *Amsterdam* where he was betrothed to *Reymsghe Cornelis*, the widow of *Ysbrand Danckers*.³¹¹

Reymsghe was the daughter of the prominent silversmith *Cornelis Sybrantsz*. Her sister *Marijtghe* married the silversmith and art collector *Anthony Boonhoff* (whose important collection was sold at auction in 1613). *Isaack van Coninxloo* was the only witness named at the baptism of the painter *Adriaen van Nieulandt*’s daughter *Barber* (the first of that name) in 1618. He was probably her godfather.³¹² In 1626, *Isaack* issued an interest-bearing obligation with the *Orphan Chamber* for 650 *f*, which was eventually acquired by the merchant *Jacob Jansz. Fortuijn*. (*Fortuijn* tried to collect on the obligation after *Isaack*’s death in 1634). This was perhaps to finance his art-dealing business.³¹³ We have only two records of *Isaack*’s purchases at auction, both in 1627, at the sales of the wealthy merchant *Jacob Poppe* and of the dealer *Louis Rotcourt*. At the former, he bought a market scene for 192 *f* and at the latter, a landscape for 14 *f*. There were, of course, other auction sales beside those of the *Orphan Chamber*, including principally those of the *Desolate Boedelskamer*, the

records of which have been lost. He may have been a more assiduous attendant at those sales.

In 1631, Isaack was cited as one of the headmen of the St. Luke's Guild in Amsterdam.³¹⁴ In the same year, when he was living in the St. Janstraat, he paid a wealth tax of 40 *f*,³¹⁵ which implies that his wealth was estimated at 8,000 *f* (not much more than the value of his house, which was valued at 5,000 *f* after his death).

In early 1634, Isaack van Coninxloo, "weak in body but still standing and sitting", drew up his testament. He had no children. He left 100 *f* to the Reformed Community (Calvinist) and named his sister Cathalina living in Emden and the children of his brother Hans (II) as his universal heirs. He died in June of that year, at the age of 55.³¹⁶

Except for his purchases at auction, all we know of Isaack van Coninxloo's business comes from the notarial record of the accounting of his estate, which was requested by his heirs on 13 June 1635.³¹⁷ His widow Reymsge Cornelis declared that the accounting was a true statement of the possessions that she and her husband had owned in common. The paintings that had been sold, apparently at auction,³¹⁸ brought 1,382 *f* 6 st. The records of that auction have not been preserved. These paintings were owned outright by the late Coninxloo. There were also paintings of which he owned a third share, which were also apparently sold at auction. His share came to 316 *f* 13 st. Unfortunately, the entry does not say with whom he might have collaborated.³¹⁹ His household goods (*imboel*), perhaps also sold at auction, came to 541 *f* 2 st. This was a very modest sum, but it perhaps can be explained by the decision of his widow to keep most of these goods. His paints, prints (*kunst*), panels, and other painter's equipment were appraised at only 160 *f*. His "shop" (*winckelcraem*) yielded 762 *f* 2 st. It is not clear what these consisted of, if the paintings were sold separately and the painter's equipment was already appraised. The debts due to the estate came to only 27 *f* 14 st. His house, as we have already seen, was valued at 5,000 *f*. But he was also owed 6,009 *f* on a house on Lelijsluijs, which had apparently been sold. His cash holdings amounted to a mere 50 *f*. He owned a number of interest-bearing obligations, totaling 3,590 *f*, which had been issued by craftsmen and other obscure individuals. Altogether his assets were booked at 19,878 *f*, a substantial sum. The liabilities were small. The auctioneer (*afslager*) was owed 58 *f* 15 st., in addition to 22 *f* 13 st. for the hiring of the hall where the paintings were sold.³²⁰ The rest were miscellaneous small debts. Reymsge was allotted 14,607 *f* plus the usufruct of 2,320 *f*. The silversmith Cornelis Sybrantsz. (Isaack's father-in-law), the painter Hans van Essen (his brother-in-law), and Jacob Symonsz. (unidentified) appeared before the notary to guarantee the execution of the estate.

What can we conclude from these figures about the scale of Isaack's operations? Perhaps the best way to put his business in perspective is to compare the value of the paintings sold, including his one-third share – a total that came just short of 1,700 *f* – with the value of Johannes de Renialme's stock in trade as it was assessed after his death in 1657, which was assessed at 36,512 *f* (including some jewelry). It is fair to say that

Isaack van Coninxloo was a moderately successful dealer who left his widow comfortably well off but who operated at a much lower level of activity than De Renialme.

Our last representative of the dynasty is Hans van Coninxloo III, the younger brother of Isaack, born in Emden in 1589. He, too, was trained as a painter. Some of his works, in the manner of the landscape and animal artist Gysbrecht de Hondecoeter, have survived. We already saw that, in 1612, when he was only 23, he bought a lot at the Rauwart sale. He was back in Emden with his father in 1618. Shortly after his return, he married Sara de Vogelaer, the daughter of the prominent Emden goldsmith Isaack de Vogelaer.³²¹ In 1619, he became a master in the painters' guild of Emden. Five years later he offered 30 gulden for a painting of a Madonna and Child hanging in the library of the Church Council (reformed) of Emden, but the offer was declined. The painting was probably burnt—a late manifestation of iconoclasm. Also in 1624, he was appointed as deacon of the “Impoverished Foreigners” (*Fremdlingen-Armen*) of Emden. From a document dated nearly 20 years later, we learn that he was discharged after seven years for having “betrayed the trust” of the office.³²² He moved back to Amsterdam about 1635. He appeared as a buyer at auction in 1637, at the Jan Basse sale, and in 1638, at the Spranger sale, at both of which he bought inexpensive drawings and prints, with the exception of a single drawing by Lucas (van Leyden), at the first sale, which he acquired for 18 *f*. He was noted as a “dealer in paintings” (*koopman van schilderijen*) in 1639.

Hans III apparently did not fare well after his return to Amsterdam, despite his attempt to branch out into the porcelain trade. On 26 November 1636, Hans van Coninxloo, who now called himself a dealer in porcelain, acknowledged that he owed his cousin Hans van der Putte 1,435 *f* for money that he had borrowed from him and to cover the losses that his cousin had incurred when he had stood surety for him. Hans van der Putte was the husband of Sara de Vogelaer, who was probably the cousin of Hans's wife, also named Sara de Vogelaer.³²³ To settle “as much as possible of this debt”, he turned over to Van der Putte various porcelain goods, listed in an inventory (which has disappeared).³²⁴ His money troubles were not over. On April 8, 1639, his landlady summoned him to abide by the terms of his rental contract which he had signed for four years, starting in May 1639. She claimed that he had told her that, since his wife had gone away from him,³²⁵ he was no longer inclined to live in the house.³²⁶ The next document has already been discussed in detail in chapter 7. We recall that, on 15 May 1639, Jan Hendricx Admiraal had declared that he had obtained two sentences from the Amsterdam magistrates ordering Van Coninxloo to pay him 740 *f* plus interest. As a result of the mediation of “good friends” (arbiters), it had been agreed that Van Coninxloo would pay him an additional 370 *f*. The agreement was made under the supervision of Hendrick Uylenburgh. I suggested in chapter 7 that the debt Van Coninxloo had incurred was for tulip bulbs and that Uylenburgh had been approached to evaluate the works of art that Van Coninxloo was about to supply to settle the debt. On 24 October 1640, Hans van Coninxloo and Jan Hendricx Admiraal signed a complicated agreement, in connection with the same affair.

Admirael acknowledged having received from Hans van der Putte the sum of 625 *f*, which Van Coninxloo owed Admirael. In turn, Admirael had delivered to Van der Putte various goods and furniture which he had received from Van Coninxloo. These, as we have already seen, included works by Willem Buytewech, Jan van Bylert, Brouwer, and Dirck Hals, copies after Rembrandt, many prints, and Japanese exotica. In an annex to the document, signed on November 24, Admirael had permitted Hans's wife Sara to keep the bed whereon she slept, at his discretion.³²⁷ If the works of art and the exotica Hans turned over to Admirael represented his remaining stock in trade, as appears likely, this stock did not amount to much. In any case, it looks as if the transaction with Admiral had left him and his wife quite destitute.

It was probably soon after this episode that Hans left for Emden, where he was noted in 1642. In the protocols of the Church Council of Emden of 1 and 29 August 1642 (from which we already drew the information that he had been dismissed as deacon), we learn that he was accused of having lived an "eccentric life" and of having committed blasphemy. He was quoted as having said that "there was no God, Devil, or Hell and that the preachers were devils".³²⁸ He died there after December 1645.³²⁹

Lucas Luce

The painter and art dealer Lucas Luce led a long life and had a successful career. He was born in Antwerp about 1575, the son of Lucas Luce I (*de oude*) and of Elisabeth van Roy, who migrated to Amsterdam about 1587, where they settled in the Kalverstraat. The younger Lucas Luce spent some of his life in Utrecht where he married Elisabeth van Rhenen, the daughter of Willem Jacobsz. van Rhenen and Hendrickge Wtewael, probably in 1598. His mother-in-law was the cousin of the painter Joachim Wtewael. In the same year he became a member of the Reformed (Calvinist) community in Utrecht.³³⁰ In 1605, his sister Elisabeth married the painter Gerrit de Buck (or Bucq) who was a frequent buyer at Orphan Chamber auctions in Amsterdam.

Lucas Luce began to buy art at these auctions as early as 1601 (two untitled and unattributed paintings for *f* 2:10:-- and 7:--:-- , respectively) apparently the first dealer who is known to have done so. The extant notebooks show that he bought intermittently at auction from that time on (in 1608, 1609, 1612, 1623, 1625, 1627, 1628, and 1637, 21 lots in all). His purchases were relatively inexpensive, in the *f* 15 to *f* 25 range. The most he ever paid was *f* 48 for an unattributed painting in a sale of 1608. The top prices in an auction sale that was held at his request in 1610 were much higher: eight lots sold in excess of *f* 63; the highest price attained was *f* 97 (three of them kitchen scenes).³³¹ The sale – all paintings and watercolors sold in 127 lots – brought a total of *f* 3,530, a very large sum for the period. It is not known precisely why such "voluntary sales" were held, but it is at least possible that these works of art were part of his stock in trade, perhaps inventory held in excess of his current sales.³³²

There are occasional traces in archival records of Luce's purchases from private individuals. In 1619, Lucas Luce, painter, and Nicolaas Hardere, merchant, paid an Amsterdam notary *f* 30 for a little winter by Avercamp ("de Stomme").³³³ Nearly 20 years later, he gave a procuration to the painter Anthoni Kentelingh in Deventer to try to obtain delivery of an Annunciation by Ter Bruggen which he had bought for *f* 240 from a widow in Deventer.³³⁴ Although the evidence is very thin, I think it is likely that he practiced intercity arbitrage: buying works of art in one place to sell them in another at a higher price, most probably in Amsterdam where the market was most buoyant. He could also export abroad: in 1607, the agent of the King of Denmark (featured in the next chapter) bought 6 works of art from him, presumably for his master.³³⁵ In 1636, his business brought him to London where he was given power-of-attorney to buy books from the estate of a London merchant.³³⁶

In addition to painting an occasional portrait, landscape, "banquet", or battle scene – he continued to practice his art at least intermittently throughout his very long life – and his art dealing, Luce was also active in the affairs of the Guild of St. Luke in Amsterdam. On 8 November 1619, when the truce in the war with Spain was still in effect, he testified at the request of the headmen of the Guild, together with two other painters, a gilder and a sugar refiner,³³⁷ concerning an illegal sale of paintings that a dealer named Guilliam Wittebrood had brought to Amsterdam, some of which he had already sold. Such depositions were presumably entered in court suits against the violators of guild rules, most frequently to block the import of Flemish paintings. Luce was also frequently called upon to appraise the paintings in rich collections, on several occasions with Hendrick Uylenburgh.

One revealing act shows that Luce was well connected socially. On 7 December 1617, he witnessed the baptism of Salomon, son of Gerrit van Schoonhoven and Anna Munx in the Old Church.³³⁸ Schoonhoven was one of the richest merchants in Amsterdam. In 1631, he was taxed *f* 1,350 on a fortune of *f* 270,000, the tenth highest assessment in that levy.³³⁹ Whether or not Luce was invited to the baptism as godfather or just as a guest – he does not seem to have been a family member – this was a distinct honor.³⁴⁰ Lucas Luce paid only a *f* 40 tax in 1631, corresponding to a wealth of *f* 8,000.³⁴¹ His fortune greatly exceeded this sum, at least in later years. It is worthy of note that his younger brother Louis Luce, who was a blue dyer and merchant, paid a larger tax than he did -- *f* 90.³⁴² Louis was well connected too. He married Elisabeth Deijl, the niece of Dionys de Maistre, a socially prominent merchant of South Netherlandish origin, cited in chapter 16 below.

Lucas Luce was 77 years old when he drew up his testament with his wife Elisabeth on 23 October 1642. The couple, who had been married over a half century, had five daughters, two of whom were married.³⁴³ They left the considerable sum of *f* 4,600 to each of the unmarried daughters, a total of *f* 13,800. The married daughters had to content themselves with the dowry and outsetting they had received at the time of their marriage. Two months later a codicil added to the testament provided a bequest of a small portrait by Poelenburg to each of the unmarried daughters.³⁴⁴In

a new testament, written five years later, Lucas Luce, widower of Elisabeth Willems van Rhenen, again assigned his entire inventory to his unmarried daughters, each of whom was slated to receive the paintings that had been designated with her first name's initial.³⁴⁵ Lucas Luce was 81 years old in 1656 when he signed a portrait and added his own age to the signature. He died shortly before 30 November 1661 when his death inventory was taken.³⁴⁶ The inventory was full of unevaluated paintings. The stock in trade was stored in the back room, which contained "83 paintings of all sorts". These paintings were said to be listed in detail in "the books held by the deceased".³⁴⁷ There was *f* 3,000 in cash in the house (recall that Isaack van Coninxloo left only *f* 50 in cash after his death). Among the "accounts receivable" were *f* 6,000 outstanding for paintings sold. Luce owned three houses: one on the South side of the Hartestraat was assessed at *f* 12,000; one on the South side of Reestraat, *f* 7,500; and the house called "Appelles" in which he had lived for many years and died, on the Rozengracht, near where Rembrandt had come to live after his bankruptcy, which had cost him *f* 5,000 in 1649. It is worthy of note that he lived in the least expensive of the three houses he owned, presumably to economize on capital.³⁴⁸ The entire inventory was divided into five equal parts, of which two were received by the married daughters. Lucas Luce may have lacked a son, but he was otherwise blessed with all the bounties that life in an interesting business could afford.

Hendrick Uylenburgh

With the possible exception of Jan Thivaert, Hendrick Uylenburgh is the only dealer of the group that I am focusing on who was "supply augmenting" in the sense that he put artists to work and marketed their products. Given his importance in the Amsterdam art market of the second quarter of the 17th century and his close relation to Rembrandt, it is unfortunate that we know so little about his operation. We (almost) have to take Filippo Baldinucci's mention of Uylenburgh's "famous academy"³⁴⁹ at his word since we have very little information about the scope of Uylenburgh's enterprise.³⁵⁰

Uylenburgh came from a family that was divided between a Calvinist branch residing in Leeuwarden and a Mennonite branch, some of whose members had migrated to Poland where the followers of Menno Simonsz. flourished. Hendrick himself was born some time between 1584 and 1589 (he is somewhat inconsistent in the age he gave in depositions), probably in Krakow in Poland. He was the brother of Rombout Uylenburgh who was an official painter at the court of King Sigismund of Poland. In 1610, Rombout moved to Dantzig where the king elected to hold his court. Hendrick may have been baptized as an adult in the Mennonite community in 1612.³⁵¹ He is first noted in Amsterdam, living near the Zuiderkerk, on 27 July 1626.³⁵² His address "near the Zuiderkerk" may actually be the same as the one he gave a few months later – the St. Anthoniesluis – when he bought some porcelain at

an Orphan Chamber sale in October 1627. He would live in this neighborhood, on or near the Breestraat, for many years.³⁵³ S.A.C. Dudok van Heel has recently advanced the attractive hypothesis that Uylenburgh rented the house on the Breestraat that had formerly been occupied by the painter Cornelis van der Voort.³⁵⁴ The house was located literally “next door” to that of Pieter Belten I, which Rembrandt bought in 1639.³⁵⁵ We shall see below, from the records of the tax register, that Uylenburgh was renting premises in 1631 that were next door to those rented by Balthasar Visscher from the heirs of Pieter Belten I.

H. *f* Wijnman, nearly fifty years ago, noted the name “Abraham Ulemburch”, next to that of Balthasar Visscher, in the register of the taxpayers for 1631, living on the Breestraat, near the St. Anthoniesluis. This Ulemburch paid a tax of 15 *f* (on an assessment of 3,000*f*); Visscher paid 50 *f* (on an assessment of 10,000 *f*).³⁵⁶ We know that Visscher at this time was renting the house of Pieter (II) and Magdalena Beltens, which was later bought by Rembrandt.³⁵⁷ Actually, the painter Abraham Uylenburgh was Hendrick’s son, probably from his first marriage.³⁵⁸ This identification, coupled with the above arguments, supports Dudok van Heel’s hypothesis: The house on which the 20 *f* tax was assessed was the one next door to Pieter Belten and Magdalena Belten’s that had formerly been occupied by Cornelis van der Voort and was now rented by Hendrick Uylenburgh.

If we recall that both the art dealers Isaack van Coninxloo and Lucas Luce had paid a tax of 40 *f*, then we come away with the impression that Uylenburgh’s wealth, which was assessed at 3,000 *f*, could not have been very large or at least that the tax assessor had not found it very imposing.³⁵⁹ Still, we should always keep in mind that there was not a precise correspondence between tax-assessed wealth and actual wealth, especially in the case of tax-payers, like Uylenburgh, who rented the premises in which they lived and worked. (Note that Van Coninxloo and Luce owned their houses).

In a deposition dated 8 March 1628, Hendrick Uylenburgh, merchant in Amsterdam, appeared in Leiden, on behalf of his brother’s widow, to block the executive sale of some of his brother’s paintings, apparently ordered by one of the creditors of the estate.³⁶⁰ A month later, an individual in Leiden declared that he had ordered paintings from Hendrick Uylenburgh in Amsterdam.³⁶¹ The first act documenting Uylenburgh’s long-term relationship with Rembrandt is dated 20 June 1631. Here Uylenburgh, called for the first time “art dealer” (*kunsthandelaer*), acknowledged owing Rembrandt, living in Leiden, the sum of 1,000 *f* that Rembrandt had lent him.³⁶² A year later, Rembrandt was living in Uylenburgh’s house on the Breestraat, near the St. Anthonisluis, when he told a representative of a “Tontine” that, thanks to God, he was in good health.³⁶³ Uylenburgh was renting this house – presumably the one which had once been occupied by Cornelis van der Voort – from Nicolaes Seys Pauw, the son of Adriaen Pauw, knight and pensioner of Amsterdam.³⁶⁴

That Uylenburgh was acting as Rembrandt’s publisher and business agent about this time emerges from the inscription “Hendrickus Ulenburgensis Excudebat” on

the third state of Rembrandt's etching, "Descent from the Cross", the second state of which was dated 1633.³⁶⁵ In February 1635, when Rembrandt bought a wooden mannequin of a little child at the Barend van Someren sale, he was said to be "*tot Uylenburgh*", which means that he was living in the house of Uylenburgh and/or, possibly, that Uylenburgh had guaranteed the purchase. Since Rembrandt had been living in the house in 1631 and (almost surely) in 1633, the hypothesis that he was still living (and working) there in 1635 appears very probable.

The only thing we know about Uylenburgh's marketing of the paintings that were produced in his workshop is that he utilized for this purpose his connection with the Mennonite painter and art dealer Lambert Jacobsz. in Leeuwarden. Lambert Jacobsz. was related to Uylenburgh *via* his niece Hendrickje Uylenburgh (1602-c.1680), from the Calvinist side of the family, who was married to the painter Wijbrant de Geest (1592-after 1667).³⁶⁶ Lambert Jacobsz.'s stock, as it was recorded a year after his death in 1636, contained paintings which undoubtedly originated in Uylenburgh's shop. There was one original by Rembrandt (an old man's *tronie* with a long, broad beard), plus six copies after Rembrandt, including a *tronie* in Oriental guise which was a portrait of Uylenburgh's wife Maria van Eyck.³⁶⁷

By the time Rembrandt entered the guild – his "funeral guild medal" dates from 1634, which was probably the year that he joined the organization – he was already married (or about to be married) to Hendrick's cousin Saskia Uylenburgh, which event took place on June 22 of that year. Saskia, the daughter of a burgomaster of Leeuwarden in Friesland, belonged to the Reformed branch of the Uylenburgh family. Rembrandt and Saskia seem to have lived in Uylenburgh's house for about a year after their marriage, after which both Rembrandt and Uylenburgh moved to new residences. By 1636, Rembrandt had moved temporarily to the Nieuwe Doelenstraat, while Uylenburgh rented a house on the North West corner of the St. Antoniesluis, which had formerly been owned by the painter Pieter Isaacksz.³⁶⁸

Who else worked with or for Uylenburgh? Govaert Flinck apparently joined Uylenburgh's workshop on the St. Antoniesluis after Rembrandt's departure. Or so, at least, it may be deduced from the notice that he was "*tot Uylenburgh*" when he bought a lot at the Jan Basse sale in 1637. The Danish painter Bernard Keil (or Keilhau), who provided information on many details of Rembrandt's life and on Uylenburgh's "Academy" to Philippo Baldinucci many years later, was probably an habitu . Other plausible co-workers include the Mennonite Jacob Backer and the Haarlem-based Willem de Poorter and Jacob de Wet (who turned up as one of Uylenburgh's creditors some years later, as will be shown below),³⁶⁹ but these claims are based on the career patterns and styles of these artists rather than on any documentary evidence. A document establishing the presence in Uylenburgh's shop of one more artist, the virtually unknown Volckert van Lier, will be presented below.

Uylenburgh's purchases of art works at Orphan Chamber auctions are limited to two sales: that of Barend van Someren in 1635³⁷⁰ and that of Gommer Spranger in 1638. At the first, he bought 12 lots for *f* 18: 7:-- , at the second 17 lots for *f* 61: 7:--.

Curiously enough, virtually all these lots consisted of prints and drawings. At the Spranger sale, for instance, he acquired 160 impressions of a print of St. John and 96 impressions of an image of the Virgin Mary. His most expensive purchase, again at the Spranger sale, was a drawing by Raphael for *f* 25:10:-- . He must have dealt in these paper goods, although it cannot be excluded that some of the prints and drawings were used as models in his workshop.³⁷¹

In April 1639, Uylenburgh borrowed 1,600 *f* from Gilbert de Flines and Pieter Sey at 6 percent interest. As a guarantee, he pledged “all his paintings” as well as such as those he might acquire. The creditors were free to bring the paintings to their houses for further reassurance. Gilbert de Flines was a wealthy Mennonite merchant, the father of the well-known collector of paintings and naturalia of the same name. Pieter Sey was probably a member of the Seys family, related to Uylenburgh’s former landlord Claes Seys Pauw.³⁷²

Less than a year later, on 16 January 1640, Uylenburgh made a widely encompassing acknowledgement of his debts. He stated before a notary that he had borrowed “a good sum of money to benefit and advance his occupation and commerce”³⁷³ from a number of artists and merchants. He recognized that these creditors had done him a good service and favor. Accordingly, in order to satisfy these creditors and to guarantee repayment, he now wished to pledge and mortgage, in proportion to the debt he owed each creditor, his entire stock of paintings, prints, and drawings (*winckel van schilderijen ende kunsten*), including any accounts receivable from them, from which these creditors, in case of need, could reimburse themselves. Unfortunately, the document supplies neither the total amount of money owed nor its breakdown among the creditors. These creditors were: Pieter (Gerritsz.) Hooft and his son Jan, Mennonite merchants; Pieter Belten II (*de jonge*), co-owner of the house that Rembrandt bought in 1639; Jan (Jansz.) Carels (*de jonge*), owner of Amsterdam’s glass factory, for the merchant Jasper van Tongerlo; the painters Claes Moy-aert, Symen de Vlieger, Johannes Staveren, Jacob de Wet, Jan Coelenbier, Rembrandt van Rijn, and Jan Jansz. Treck; the widows of Jacob Liewen³⁷⁴ and of the painter Pieter de Neijn, and the heirs of the painter Lambert Jacobsz.; the ebony worker Wybrant Claessen (see below); the merchants Nicolaes van Bambeek and Claes Ar-entsz. van Neerden; and the totally unknown Jacob Hero.³⁷⁵ At least two of the debts were still outstanding years later. After the wife of the successful and prosperous ebony worker Wybrant Claessen had died, an inventory of the goods she had owned in common with her husband was drawn up on 3 April 1651. Among the debts due to the estate were 70 *f* due by “Signeur Oulenburg”, living on the Dam in “de Bril”.³⁷⁶ This debt, if it was the one that Uylenburgh had owed Claessen eleven years earlier, was so small that it is more likely to have been incurred for frames delivered than for any genuine investment in the Uylenburgh business. It may also have been the residual portion of the debt after Uylenburgh had repaid a part of the loan.³⁷⁷ In any case, it can hardly be compared in magnitude with the debt he owed to Van Bambeek. On the 3rd of November 1655, Hendrick Uylenburgh and his son Gerrit, who was also by

then an art dealer, promised to repay Nicolaes van Bambeeck a sum of *f* 2,251:15: 8 that they owed him in installments, ending in 1660.³⁷⁸ So, at least, of the debts we know something about, we have one to a framemaker for 70 *f*, one to Rembrandt for *f* 1,000 and one to Van Bambeeck for over 2,000 *f* – a very mixed bag. One would dearly wish to know what sorts of debts Uylenburgh had incurred with the painters other than Rembrandt. Where they unpaid bills for paintings delivered, or did they really invest in Uylenburgh's enterprise? In either case, it bears notice that the only cities where these painters resided, other than Amsterdam, were Haarlem (Jacob de Wet, Pieter de Neijn, Jan Coelenbier) and Leiden (Johannes Staveren).

But this wasn't the end of Uylenburgh's debts. On 22 April 1641, he borrowed another *f* 1,000 from the Waterland (Mennonite) Community, against which he pledged 125 copper plates (presumably engraved or etched).³⁷⁹

It was probably to save on capital that Uylenburgh took paintings on consignment. We learn from an inventory of a cloth merchant, drawn up in 1645, that a small debt was owed to the estate by "our nephew Volckert": the money according to a marginal note was to be sought from "Hendrick Oulenberch, painter, who has several paintings on hand that Vockert has given him to sell."³⁸⁰ The cloth dealer, named Watse Laurensz., was born in Lier about 1595.³⁸¹ His nephew was very probably the painter Volkard Adriaen van Lier, known to have been of Dutch origin, who was active in Vienna from 1651 to 1676.³⁸²

In or about 1647, Uylenburgh had moved to a new house on the Dam, which he rented from the municipality for *f* 700 a year. He soon fell into arrears on his rent. The house he was renting, named "de Bril", was the one where he was living when his debt of *f* 70 appeared in the accounting of the joint possessions of Wybrand Claessen and his wife. By 1654, when the house was slated to be demolished to make room for the new Town Hall, he was two years behind on his rent. He settled the debt for *f* 1,000 with the Burgomasters, which was *f* 400 less than he owed the city.³⁸³ We also know of a debt recorded in 1653, but which may have been incurred some time earlier, that he owed for canvases and frames: in the death inventory of Pieter de Meldert, who sold artist's supplies as well as paintings, an entry among the debts due to the estate showed that Uylenburgh owed 105 *f* 10 st., the second highest debt in the accounts.³⁸⁴

Uylenburgh in those years may have struggled hard to secure the capital needed for his business and to pay his rent, yet he seems to have enjoyed a good reputation in the trade. I judge this, in part, from the numerous occasions on which he was called upon to appraise paintings and from the fact that he was engaged at least twice to arbiter disputes that had arisen among his friends and colleagues: in 1640, as we have already seen, he had acted as "good man" in the settlement of claims that Hans van der Putte had against the dealer Isaack van Coninxloo. About two years later, around 1642, the future burgomaster Andries de Graeff and Rembrandt had again named him as "good man" in arbitrating their dispute concerning payment for a portrait that Rembrandt had painted "for De Graeff". (This is presumed to have been

the portrait of De Graeff, now in the Gemäldegalerie in Cassel, that Rembrandt painted in 1639). According to Hendrick Uylenburgh's own deposition, made in 1659, the parties to the dispute had agreed that Rembrandt would be paid 1,500 *f* for the painting.³⁸⁵ Another aspect of Uylenburgh's reputation, which also testifies to his excellent connections with the city magistrates, is that he was given a contract in 1657 to clean and restore paintings for the city (for 1,130 *f*) and that he seems to have been given some responsibility for the decoration of the Town Hall in the late 1650s.³⁸⁶

In 1657, Uylenburgh moved again, this time to the Lauriersgracht, near Govaert Flinck's house. By this time he had presumably ceased to run his "academy" (which had perhaps already ceased to exist when he moved away from the Breestraat in 1647).³⁸⁷ He was buried on 22 March 1661.

Hendrick's son Gerrit continued in the family trade, but he seems to have concentrated his energies on buying and selling already produced paintings (including those of old masters) rather than on running a large atelier. Since his activities begin many years after the last recorded auction of the Orphan Chamber, I will not describe his career in detail. Suffice it to say that he traveled to Italy (probably to buy paintings), that he is known to have had dealings with the Grand Elector of Brandenburg, and that he bought and sold very expensive paintings in Antwerp.³⁸⁸ Like his father, he counted on the generosity of patrons to supply him with the capital necessary for his expanded operation. After the market for art collapsed in the wake of the disastrous French invasion of 1672, he could not meet the demands of his creditors and finally went bankrupt in 1674.³⁸⁹ One may wonder whether his bankruptcy resulted at least in part from the burden of old debts that he had assumed from his father.³⁹⁰

Jan Thivaert

Jan Thivaert was born in Wesel about 1575 from parents who had immigrated to Holland from the Southern Netherlands.³⁹¹ Although, in all the documents where his occupation is cited, he was said to be a *suickerbacker* or sugar refiner, he was undoubtedly at least a part-time art dealer. Of all the dealers whose career has been related in this chapter, he was the most assiduous buyer at Orphan Chamber auctions. From his first purchase in 1609 until his last in 1626, he is known to have bought at nine sales. At the great Rauwart sale of 1612, he bought 20 lots, for a total of *f* 256. The most expensive lot he ever purchased, however, was in an earlier sale, in 1609, where he bought "a painting", with no title or attribution, for *f* 132.

Thivaert first crops up in archival protocols in a document of 1618 where he was said to have rented a warehouse, which he presumably used for his sugar business, to the Sephardic community of Amsterdam to hold meetings of their synagogue. A year later the community built their synagogue next to Thivaert's warehouse.³⁹²

I have already cited the deposition made in 1618 at the request of the headmen of

the Guild of St. Luke of Amsterdam in which several witnesses reported on the (illegal) sale of paintings by a Flemish dealer. It was Jan Thivaert who had reported this violation of guild rules to the headmen of the guild.³⁹³ The only reason I can think of why he would have done so was that, as an Amsterdam-based art dealer, he wished to thwart the competition of Flemish colleagues.

The key document for interpreting Thivaert's career was found by Jan Briels in the Utrecht archive.³⁹⁴ On April 18, 1630, the famous landscape and animal painter Roelandt Savery and Jan Thivaert, living in Amsterdam, had drawn up a contract whereby Savery undertook to paint seven panels for Thivaert that the latter had given him to paint on. Savery had apparently changed his mind, perhaps because he thought he could get more for his paintings. On the 14th of September of the same year, the two men had appeared before the commissaries of the court of Utrecht, who had tried to mediate their differences. In the end, Savery and Thivaert had come to the following agreement. Savery was exempted from having to paint the panels, but he would have to pay Thivaert 33 Flemish pounds (*f* 198) plus 4 gulden for the 7 panels, which he, Savery, would be allowed to keep. It is evident that Thivaert had advanced the money which Savery was now expected to repay. Savery promised to pay Thivaert half the total sum of 202 *f* in cash and half within three months. Upon final payment, Thivaert would deliver a painting, presently in his house, which Savery had "dead-painted" (blocked out in gray or beige paint). The act was signed in the house of Jan Verriet and witnessed by the painter Hans Savery (II), the son of Jacob (Jacques) Savery (1589-1639). Jan Verriet was the son-in-law of Jan Thivaert, whose daughter Anthoinette he had married in 1625.³⁹⁵

The contract the two men had signed in 1630 was of the classical "putting out" type where the merchant/capitalist advances payment, provides the "raw materials" (in this case the panels), and then collects the product upon completion. It shows that, at least on this occasion, Thivaert acted as a dealer of the "supply-augmenting" type. But we cannot tell whether it was typical since we know of no other transaction to compare it with that Jan Thivaert might have taken part in.

In the same year 1631 that he was negotiating with Savery, Thivaert paid a tax of 40 *f* corresponding to an assessment of 8,000 *f*.³⁹⁶ If the value of his sugar-refining establishment is included in that sum, there is little left for a dealer's stock. But, of course, we must not take these assessments literally. We know too little about the way they were arrived at to draw any firm conclusions about Thivaert's wealth.

Aside from wealth, what was Jan Thivaert's place in Amsterdam's social network? One way to tell is to look at his circle of intimates, including the families of the children of minor age of whom he was appointed guardian, the attendants at the baptisms of his children, and the individuals his children married. In 1624, for instance, he was appointed guardian of the only child left by the apothecary François Penijn II, whose heirs paid a tax of 90 *f* in 1631. His co-guardian was Anthonie Thijsz. II, the son of the rich jeweler Hans Thijsz. I, whom we will meet in chapter 16. The Penijn and Thijsz. families were in the solid second rank of Amsterdam's wealth and social



1: Daniel Thivaert, “The Laborer of Gibeat Offering Hospitality to the Levite”, Canvas, 162 x 188 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

elite, several notches below the De Renialmes and the Bartolottis. When Thivaert’s son Nicolaes was baptized in 1628, the witnesses, who almost surely included the godparents, were Elssen Frans, Barend Jansz., Trijn Lamberts, and Jaapje Jans, none of whom can be identified. This in itself is significant. The fact that they either had no family names or that none was recorded suggests that the parents were not of the highest social class. All five of Thivaert’s children married while he was still alive. We have already seen that Anthonette married Jan Verriet of Utrecht in 1625. Henri (II) married Gertruyd, the daughter of the wine dealer (and auction buyer) Wouter van Lennep in 1630. Jan (III) married Sara de Penijn (II), who was the daughter (or possibly the niece) of François de Penijn in 1632. Finally, we come to the painter Daniel Thivaert, the talented son of Jan Thivaert,³⁹⁷ who, at some unknown date, married Machtelt Verniers, the daughter of Huybert Vernier.³⁹⁸ These in-laws, as far as I have been able to ascertain, were hardly in the top tier of Amsterdam society, although they were all solid burghers.

Jan Thivaert had one brother, named Henri (I), who left a trace in the archival

record. Henri may have collaborated with him in exploiting the Utrecht and Amsterdam markets for art. Like his brother Jan, Henri was a sugar refiner. He lived in Utrecht where he is known to have had contacts with painters. When the still life painter Balthasar van der Ast repudiated the inheritance he had received from his brother Johannes, for instance, Henri Thivaert was a witness. He was also in touch with the famous flower painter Ambrosius Bosschaert (I) and with Frederick van Schurman, the father of the poetess Anna Maria van Schurman.³⁹⁹

Jan Thivaert II died some time in 1634 or 1635. His youngest son Nicolaes (baptized in 1628) died shortly after him, in any case, before the first of January 1636, when Jan's surviving heirs signed an agreement about the division of his estate.⁴⁰⁰ The total gross value of Thivaert's estate came to 32,031 *f*, not including the middling and bad debts due to the estate, which amounted to 7,300 *f* (The notary did not specify whether these debts were for paintings and other works of art, for sugar, or for some other merchandise). From this gross total, the debts due *by* the estate, amounting to 11,233 *f* (again unspecified), had to be deducted to come to the net value of the estate available for distribution to the heirs. Each of the children received 1,872 *f* plus 234 *f* inherited from their dead brother Nicolaes. However, in the case of Jan III and Henri II, a deduction had to be made for paintings that they had already received from the estate: *f* 46: 5:-- in the case of Jan and 72 *f* for Henri.⁴⁰¹ Curiously enough, Daniel, the only known painter in the family, did not buy any paintings from his father's estate. The house on the Singel was valued at 4,500 *f*. A sum of *f* 60:17: 8 had been spent for a banquet following the death of the late Jan Thivaert.

Before his death, Jan Thivaert had named two guardians for his minor children in his testament. One, named Constant Bourgeois, a French-speaking master glove maker, is known only from documents in which he contracted to have his two sons apprenticed to a diamond cutter and a surgeon, respectively.⁴⁰² The other, Mr. Johannes Victorijn, is of greater interest. He was "one of the most intimate friends" of Vondel and a poet in his own right (praised by Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, Mattheus Gansneb Tengnagel, and by Vondel himself). Born about 1590, he was brought up in Amsterdam's orphanage. He received a fellowship from the Burgomasters of Amsterdam to study in Franeker, where he matriculated in law. He eventually became a successful lawyer in Amsterdam. In 1621, he married Aefje Dirckx, the daughter of the wealthy beer distributor (and buyer at auction) Dirck Stoffelsz. He signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628.⁴⁰³ When the death inventory of Maria van Ray, the widow of the insolvent painter Jacob van Nieulandt, was drawn up on 14 July 1638, Jacob's brother, the painter Adriaen van Nieulandt, and Mr. Joannes Victorijn appeared as curators of her estate, appointed by the court of Amsterdam.⁴⁰⁴ This provides one more, albeit indirect, link, between Thivaert and the painters' community.

I postpone my conclusions on the dealers discussed in this chapter until the end of chapter 15, after my more detailed accounts of the careers of Johannes de Renialme and Hans le Thoor.

Art Dealers II: Johannes de Renialme

Johannes de Renialme, who came from a distinguished family with members in Antwerp and Venice,⁴⁰⁵ may properly be called a “gentleman dealer”. As far as we know, he had no training in art. Born in Antwerp about 1600, he was a full generation younger than Lucas Luce. By the early 1620s he was noted in Middelburg, where he was still living at least as late as 1637.⁴⁰⁶ He was first married to Margriet Bartolotti, a member of that extremely wealthy family. Margriet died in or shortly before 1630. He then married Marie de Cocquel, from whom he inherited property in Ireland.⁴⁰⁷ Next he married Marie Weinrich from Delft, some time before 12 August 1640 when the couple had their son Johannes baptized in the New Church in Amsterdam.⁴⁰⁸ He was said to be “merchant in Amsterdam” in 1642.⁴⁰⁹ As his fourth and last wife, he married Catharina d’Overdaghe, widow of the rich merchant Nicolas Tristram, on the first of January 1643, in Delft.⁴¹⁰ He joined Delft’s Guild of St. Luke as an art dealer in 1644, probably to be allowed to sell art in the city.⁴¹¹ He owned a house in Delft and one in Amsterdam, and divided his time between the two. He died in Amsterdam in 1657, survived by Catharina d’Overdaghe and by his sons Johannes and Constantin.

I shall now retrace De Renialme’s career in detail, concentrating on his business relations with the Amsterdam merchant Pieter Cruijpenning and, later, with Cruijpenning’s widow, Lucretia Coymans.

In the early 1630s, if De Renialme dealt in art at all, it was as a subsidiary enterprise. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that he made his first known purchases at the Van Maerlen sale of 1637⁴¹² (even then, he bought far more jewelry at this first sale than he did art). The only works of art he bought at this sale were an untitled painting by Wtewael for the high price of 105 *f*, a “gilded man” for *f* 6:15:-- and a statue of Pallas (Athena) made of copper for *f* 7:15:--. These purchases pale in comparison with the jewelry he acquired: “34 Scotch pearls” for *f* 1,457:10:--, a diamond cross for *f* 272, 8 “*jacinten*” (perhaps rose-colored diamonds) for *f* 88, six diamonds for *f* 66, and a ring representing the four elements for *f* 115 – , a total of almost exactly *f* 2,000.

By 1637, in any event, De Renialme was not only a dealer in art but a lover of painting as we can infer from a deposition of that year in which he refused to sell a painting by the landscape painter Govert Jansz. “because he first had to have his pleasure for a while longer from the painting” (if this was not only a bargaining stance).⁴¹³

As far as we know, De Renialme’s long-standing relationship to Pieter Cruijpen-

ning went back to June 1635 when he sold Cruijpenning a large tannery, a shoe mill and a new stone house, all located in Six-mile-bridge in the County of Thou (now Dare) in Ireland for 11,000 *f*. The deal included 1,200 hides suitable for making leather for soles which were valued at 2,000 *f*. The tannery and mill were said to be “under the administration of Jacques de Cocquel and Gillis Brandis”.⁴¹⁴ I have no idea who Gillis Brandis may have been, but Jacques de Cocquel was very probably the brother of Maria de Cocquel, the second wife of Johannes de Renialme. From a document of 6 May 1637, we learn that the father of Jacques and Maria de Cocquel, also named Jacques de Cocquel, had died before 1632 when an accounting had been made of his estate. The share of De Renialme in the estate of Jacques de Cocquel *père*, which was transferred to him by Charles de Cocquel, another brother of Maria, amounted to 1,600 *f*. But there were also sizable bequests including diamonds and other precious stones, wax statues, seven (!) violas de gamba, ivory wind instruments, portraits, books, and 67 maps.⁴¹⁵ Why De Cocquel should have bequeathed such valuable objects to De Renialme when he had two sons who were presumably of adult age remains obscure. Neither was there a mention in this document of the tannery, the shoe mill, and the stone house sold to Cruijpenning in 1635.

We shall see farther in this chapter that De Renialme and Cruijpenning continued to entertain business relations until Cruijpenning's death in 1639. Before reverting to these relations, I must introduce an important stock of paintings and other works of art which was “found in the attic of the house of Lambert Massa” and inventoried on April 25, 1640, at the request of Lucretia Coymans, widow of Pieter Cruijpenning. These goods were said to belong to Johannes de Renialme.⁴¹⁶ The collection was cited by Abraham Bredius as early as 1891.⁴¹⁷ Walter Strauss and his collaborators in their *Rembrandt Documents* singled out the painting by Rembrandt (representing a priest) that the inventory contained and reproduced a part of the inventory in fac simile.⁴¹⁸ Neither Strauss *et al.* nor any other source identified Lucretia Coymans, Pieter Cruijpenning, or Lambert Massa; nor did any of these authors speculate as to why Lucretia Coymans had the inventory drawn up or what these paintings might have been doing in the attic of Massa's house. While I do not have a fully satisfactory explanation for the provenance of the paintings in this inventory, I know enough about the protagonists in the story and their relations to each other to build a circumstantial case.

The inventory consisted of 102 lots, all but three of which were valued. The total value of the inventory came to 2,700 *f*. Forty-seven of the lots were attributed, of which 16 to Jan Miense Molenaer and 10 to Hercules Seghers (33 paintings or prints).⁴¹⁹ Molenaer lived his whole life in Haarlem, with the exception of a twelve-year stay in Amsterdam, starting in 1637. The large number of his paintings in the inventory suggests that he may possibly have been working for De Renialme around the time (1640) when the inventory was drawn up. Seghers was born in Haarlem and, after his training in Amsterdam, returned to live there from 1612 to 1616. He spent much of the remaining portion of his life in Amsterdam, but he had departed the city

to live in Utrecht by 1631. The date of his death is uncertain, but he was almost certainly no longer alive by 1640. The other artists represented in the inventory received one or two attributions a-piece. Paintings by 16th century artists, unusual in the inventories of private collectors, included two examples by “Kay” (Willem or Adriaen Key), one by (Gillis) Mostaert, one by Aertge van Leyden, and one by (Jan van) Scorel. “The image of Maria with two wings” (*Mariabeeltgen met twee deurtgens*), appraised at 150 *f*, may have been work from the 16th century or even earlier. The Salvator, which may also have dated back to the previous century, as well as the Maria triptych, would have appealed to Catholic rather than to Reformed collectors like Lambert Massa and Pieter Cruijpenning. There were copies after Albrecht Dürer, Poelenburgh, and Titian. Genre subjects were overrepresented, compared to other private inventories of the period. I have encountered no other inventory where so many barn scenes occur (four barn scenes plus one pig slaughtering). Dealers were more likely to offer their clients the choice of several versions of a given subject than private collectors were to own them.⁴²⁰ The portraits by Jan Molenaer, Key, and Jacob Backer, the “portrait of a woman” and the other unattributed portraits seemed interchangeable with the numerous *tronies* in the inventory: works of art that were apparently collected for their artistic merit or the interest of the subject rather than for the persons they represented.

In sum, the features I have described are much more suggestive of a dealer’s than a private collector’s inventory. Indeed, they are strongly reminiscent of De Renialme’s 1657 inventory, which will be described below.⁴²¹ Even the taste for the paintings of Hercules Seghers (7 examples) and Jan Miens Molenaer (12 examples) in the 1657 inventory is similar.⁴²²

I begin with biographical information on Lambert Massa, Lucretia Coymans and Pieter Cruijpenning, which casts some light on the circumstances that led to the drawing up of this extraordinary inventory.

Lambert Massa was the younger brother of the famous merchant and traveller Isaack Massa of Haarlem (1586-1643). According to a document dated 6 January 1616, Abraham Dragon and Isaack Massa, merchant in Haarlem, named Lambert Massa, the brother of Isaack, as a factor in their company. Lambert was to travel to Russia with the first favorable wind, where he would act on behalf of the company. He could accept letters of credit up to 1,000 rubles⁴²³. Lambert was born about 1597, if the age he gave in a deposition of 1637 is correct.⁴²⁴ Isaack Massa, of Antwerp origin, had spent eight years in Russia, beginning in 1600. After he returned from Russia, he had written a *Short History of the Beginnings and Origins of the Present Wars in Moscow ...*, which he had presented in manuscript to Prince Maurits of Nassau. The States General awarded him a gold medal for his services in Russia. This did not prevent rival merchants from sending letters to the States accusing him of being a spy for the Tsar. In the portrait that Frans Hals painted of him in 1626 (the year after the document naming his younger brother), the landscape with pines painted in the background of the picture recalled his Russian journeys.⁴²⁵ The Massa family

was close to Frans and Dirck Hals. Beside the portrait just cited, Frans Hals may have painted another portrait of Isaack around 1635. The famous “Married Couple in a Garden” by Hals of 1622 may (or may not, this is a matter of dispute) also represent Isaack and his wife Beatrix van der Laan.⁴²⁶ In 1623, Isaack was a witness to the baptism of Hals’s daughter Adriaentje. In 1624, his sister Susanna witnessed the baptism of Hester, the daughter of Anthonie, son of Dirck Hals. More importantly, Abraham van Potterloo, the son of Susanna Massa and Jan Willemsz. Potter de Loo, had an illegitimate daughter with Sara Hals, the daughter of Frans Hals. (Poor Sara was sent to the workhouse for fornication a couple of years later and ended up marrying a humble sailor in Friesland).⁴²⁷ The Hals connection is especially important because the inventory found in Lambert Massa’s attic contained a painting of “a tobacco drinker with a tankard” by Hals.⁴²⁸ This is the earliest genre painting in my data bank attributed to (Dirck or Frans) Hals, whose works are rarely found in Amsterdam inventories.⁴²⁹ In 1620, Lambert Massa and Pieter Latfeur, the brother of Charles Latfeur, whose purchases at the Paulus Bisschop auction are discussed in chapter 24, freighted a ship to Archangelsk. From 1626 to 1644, Lambert with and without his other brother Christiaen Massa,⁴³⁰ freighted at least 14 ships to the same destination. On 7 November 1639, a notarial complaint was lodged against him for failing to insure goods that he had shipped to Russia.⁴³¹ In 1644, he had insured with Roelof Codde goods that he had sent to Archangelsk for 1,200 *f*. When the ship sank, he had been paid off by Codde.⁴³²

Lambert Massa married Constantia Dubois,⁴³³ perhaps in Haarlem, before 1622. On September 1st of that year, the couple had their son Lambert baptized in the Old Church of Amsterdam in the presence of Pieter Latfeur.⁴³⁴ It is likely that Pieter Latfeur was the child’s godfather. He was married to Clara Coymans, the daughter of Casper Coymans, a wealthy buyer at auction, and the niece of Balthasar Coymans (1555-1634), an even more wealthy merchant/banker and patron of the arts.⁴³⁵ Clara Coymans was the sister of Lucretia Coymans, the wife of Pieter Cruijpenning. Thus, Pieter Latfeur, the brother-in-law of Pieter Cruijpenning, was the business partner of Lambert Massa and the likely godfather of his son Lambert. He supplies the only known (but essential) link between Lambert Massa and Pieter Cruijpenning.

In 1631, Lambert Massa, living on the Keizersgracht, paid a moderate tax of 25 *f* on assets valued at 5,000 *f*.⁴³⁶ The house on the Keizersgracht where he was living in 1631 was the house that he had built or caused to be built about this time.⁴³⁷ Since the house was only sold on 24 May 1641, it is likely that the paintings found in Massa’s attic were actually located in the house on the Keizersgracht.⁴³⁸ Four years earlier, on 27 December 1636, Susanna Sprangers, widow of Dr. Augerius Clutius, formerly a doctor in medicine in Amsterdam, had a notary notify Lambert Massa that she wished to withdraw from a transaction whereby she had agreed to sell him some tulips that were planted in the garden of Marten Alewijn in the Diemermeer, valued at 100 *f*.⁴³⁹ (This was during the “tulip mania” of 1636-1637.) The loss of the

tulips should not have caused Massa any real problems. The sale of the house in 1641, however, may indicate some financial distress about the time the paintings and other objects were found in his attic.

Lambert Massa is known to have bought lots at only two sales, separated by a span of 12 years: a little landscape for 6 *f* 5 *st.* at the 1625 auction sale of Jacob Claesz. van Hoorn (cited in chapter 23) and two sets of prints, for 5 *f* 15 *st.* and 1 *f* 16 *st.*, a *konstboeck* for 7 *f*, and two coral chains for 16 *st.* at the Jan Basse sale of 1637. From these purchases, about all we can infer is that Massa was a collector of works on paper (the *konstboeck*) as well as of naturalia (the coral chain). But these modest purchases leave no ground for suspecting that he owned expensive prints such as the two rolls of 12 images by Hercules Seghers, valued at 288 *f* in the 1640 inventory.

Pieter Cruijpenning, born in Hamburg, was 20 years old when he drew up his testament on 16 September 1614. He named as his universal heir Arnout Cobbaut (III), who was married to his sister Anna Cruijpenning.⁴⁴⁰ Arnout Cobbaut III was the son of the rich collector and auction buyer Arnout Cobbaut II, who called himself *de jonge* until the death of his own father (about 1612). When Anna had married Arnout Cobbaut III in April 1610, she was said to be from Antwerp.⁴⁴¹ Arnout Cobbaut III died before 22 April 1616, when his post-mortem inventory was taken. On 4 May 1618, David Luls and Abraham Luls (who became leading *mont-de-piété* bankers in Amsterdam) testified that their cousin Pieter Cruijpenning, merchant's assistant (*koopgesel*), had conducted himself well both here (in Holland) and in Italy. In this same deposition, the merchant (and buyer) Albert Schuyt declared that the mother of his wife Constantia de Haes was married to Pieter Cruijpenning's father.⁴⁴² The family connections with the Luls bankers and the merchants Albert Schuyt and Hendrick de Haes already placed Pieter Cruijpenning at the nub of Amsterdam's world of international trade and banking, although he himself never became a leading participant in this world. By marrying Lucretia Coymans, the daughter of Casper and the niece of Balthasar Coymans, he reinforced these ties. His wife gave him access to the important Latfeur family *via* her sister Clara, married to Pieter Latfeur, the business partner of Lambert Massa and the (putative) godfather of one of his children. Another sister-in-law, named Isabella, was married to the merchant Jan van Heusden; still another, named Cornelia, married Abraham de Visscher, likewise a prominent merchant.⁴⁴³ His wife also gave him a foot in the Haarlem world *via* her uncle Joseph Coymans, another brother of Casper and Balthasar, who had moved his business from Amsterdam to Haarlem in 1620. Joseph Coymans and his wife Dorothea Berck, who were portrayed by Frans Hals in 1644, issued from the "the city's wealthiest and most illustrious families".⁴⁴⁴ Lucretia Coymans also gave Pieter Cruijpenning entrée in the influential Valckenburg family, *via* Lucas van Valckenburg (the merchant, not the painter!), who was married to Lucretia's sister Susanna.⁴⁴⁵ The Valckenburgs were in turn related by marriage to the pensionary and poet Jacob Cats, who married Elisabeth van Valckenburg in May 1606. In view of these family relations, it is not surprising to find that Pieter Cruijpenning, together with

Lucas van Valckenburg and his brothers Marcus and Mattheus, invested in the drying and damming of lands in England (near Lincoln) with, and probably on the advice of, Jacob Cats.⁴⁴⁶

As we have already seen, Johannes de Renialme's name was linked to Pieter Cruijpenning's as early as 1635 when he sold Cruijpenning the tannery and shoe-mill in Ireland which he may have inherited from his father-in-law Jacques de Cocquel or been asked to sell on behalf of his surviving in-laws. Less than a year later, on March 12, 1636, the silk cloth merchant Willem van Tongeren and Pieter Cruijpenning reached an agreement concerning the payment of an obligation for 563 Flemish pounds (3,378 *f*) due to Johannes de Renialme, which Willem van Tongeren had guaranteed. The borrower had apparently defaulted on the loan, for the repayment of which Van Tongeren was now responsible. Cruijpenning was now holding the obligation, which De Renialme had perhaps transferred to him. In compensation, Van Tongeren had given Cruijpenning an obligation for 2,433 *f* issued by Steven Donde in Copenhagen, a diamond ring worth 180 *f* and the value of two cargoes destined for the West Indies, altogether amounting to 3,740 *f*.⁴⁴⁷

Pieter Cruijpenning died some time in 1639. On 3 November 1639, his widow Lucretia Coymans tried unsuccessfully to collect a letter of exchange issued in her behalf in Pernambuco in Brazil for 1,160 *f*.⁴⁴⁸ In answer to her notarial protest, the debtor acknowledged that he had "no provision", that is, that he did not have the means to pay.⁴⁴⁹ On 26 April 1640, the very day after the inventory was drawn up, Lucretia Coymans, widow and heiress of Pieter Cruijpenning, issued a procuration in the name of Albert van Breugel, the bookkeeper-in-chief of the West Indian Company, allowing him to liquidate in her name any business she may have had with Seigneur Caspar van Heusden, residing in Brazil, and, in case of his death, to handle any claims she may have had on his estate.⁴⁵⁰ It seems likely that Lucretia had lost money she had invested in the Brazilian venture. She may have been pressed for cash in 1640, and this may have had something to do with her request to have the inventory appraised in that year.

Three years later, Lucretia was definitely in financial trouble. She borrowed an extraordinary amount of money from members of her family, as an interest-free loan.⁴⁵¹ Her brother Coenrad Coymans "assisted her" with a loan of 4,000 Flemish pounds (24,000 *f*); Guiliam van Hoorn, who was surely related to the widow but whose precise family relation has not been ascertained, lent her 1,000 Flemish pounds. Against these loans, Lucretia pledged her share in a very valuable, large diamond which was presently with the widow of Guiliam Bartolotti the elder (Margaretha Thibaut), her household goods, sums due to her from goods she had inherited from Hendrick Coymans (probably her uncle), and various other assets she thought might be turned into cash. Even the returns on the investments she had made with Caspar van Heusden in Brazil, which were probably worthless, were included in the collateral. The debt acknowledgement does not state why Cruijpenning's widow needed all that money. The household goods that Lucretia had pledged as security for

the loan from Guiliam van Hoorn included works of art that she had owned with her late husband and that she had inherited from Hendrick Coymans. The two collections seemed to have nothing in common with the works of art owned by De Renialme that had been found in Massa's attic.⁴⁵²

On March 18, 1650, Lucretia Coymans came to an agreement with Johannes de Renialme, in the wake of a dispute that had apparently come up before the judges in Amsterdam. De Renialme agreed to pay the widow 1,000 *f* in cash, another 1,000 *f* within six months, and 1,000 *f* within a year to settle all the claims she may have had on him in their accounts "to the present day".⁴⁵³ Some of the debts had arisen during Cruijpenning's lifetime.⁴⁵⁴

What can we conclude from all this fragmentary information, insofar as it concerns the collection deposited in Massa's attic? The most likely scenario in my view is this. In 1636, Cruijpenning had given De Renialme an obligation and other assets valued at 3,740 *f*, either as a loan or as an investment in his art-dealing business (or both). At some point, De Renialme may have been obliged to repay the loan or to give Cruijpenning a share in the profits of the business. He had deposited the paintings in the attic of Lambert Massa (a safe ally related to Cruijpenning *via* Pieter Latfeur) as security for a doubtful obligation, valued at approximately the sum he owed Cruijpenning. Once Van Tongeren had met his responsibility as surety and paid Cruijpenning the obligation (which perhaps had taken three or four years), Lucretia Coymans, as heiress of her late husband, was obligated to release the paintings. The valuation of the paintings was necessary to settle the outstanding debt. Later, in the 1640s, De Renialme may have failed to pay the widow her share of the profits of his art dealing activities. This would account for the dispute (and the liquidation of their joint accounts) that they settled in 1650. In any case, if this scenario is correct, Lucretia Coymans did not keep the works of art that had been found in Massa's attic.

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Johannes de Renialme had married his fourth and last wife Catharina d'Overdaghe, the widow of the rich brewer Nicolaes Tristram, in January 1643. There was apparently a good deal of money there, but De Renialme seems to have been embroiled in disputes with the other heirs of Tristram concerning the inheritance. He was plaintiff in one suit and defendant in another. Only the court sentences, written in the convoluted legal language of the time, have survived. In the first, dating from January 1644, a year after the marriage, he had sued the heirs of Anna Tristram, widow of Jasper le Grand, who had had to put up a sum of 4,000 *f* as security for this apparent debt. This sum had apparently been paid by 1648. In the second, dating a few months later, Abraham Tristram, living in Voorburg, sued De Renialme, merchant in Delft, and had him imprisoned for a debt of 6,205 *f* and 6 stuivers. According to the sentence of the High Court, De Renialme would have to stay in prison until he had paid up.⁴⁵⁵ It is not known how the story ended, but it may be presumed that De Renialme finally returned to Abraham Tristram a part of the contested inheritance. We at least know that, as late as 1647, De Renialme, acting as husband and guardian of Catharina d'Overdaghe, was able to

sell a warehouse, which had almost certainly belonged to Tristram, for 2,000 *f*.⁴⁵⁶ It is my guess that, family suits notwithstanding, De Renialme greatly profited from his fourth marriage.⁴⁵⁷

In the 1650s, Johannes de Renialme was forced to borrow money, not only from Pieter Cruijpenning but also from Herman Becker, a prosperous merchant, probably born in Riga, who had migrated to Amsterdam by the early 1640s.⁴⁵⁸ On 7 March 1653, De Renialme borrowed 1,485 *f* from Becker at 5 percent interest. Soon after, Becker left for Riga where he carried on business for Abraham de Visscher. Four years later, when De Renialme died in 1657, nine paintings that he had pledged to Becker, probably as collateral for the loan of 1653, were listed in his estate inventory. Among these paintings, the total value of which came to 1,500 *f*, there were three by Jan Lievens and one by Philips de Koninck. I will come back to De Renialme's estate presently. Becker, who concentrated on money-lending after his return from Riga in 1657 or 1658, was also the creditor of Rembrandt (in 1662 and 1663) and of the painters Frederick de Moucheron and Jan Lievens. It appears quite probable that he lent these artists money in the expectation of being repaid in paintings.

De Renialme was no ordinary dealer confined as most of his confrères were to a Dutch clientèle. By February 1650, he had sold paintings to the Kurfürst Friedrich, the Grand Elector of Brandenburg. In a letter to the Kurfürst of 19 August 1650, De Renialme proposed selling him a large quantity of amber stones of all sorts, which he suggested the Prince could resell at a good profit.⁴⁵⁹ He also offered the prince "three rare agathe cups". These wares belonged, of course, to the precious and semi-precious stones part of his business. But he also had three pictures to sell to the prince: one by Jan Lievens, one by Salomon de Koninck, and one by Jan Porcellis. He also referred in his letter to an earlier letter of February 1650 and to several paintings that he had sold to the Prince which he could compare to those that he now offered him.⁴⁶⁰ One was a perspective by Hercules Seghers (whose works were heavily represented in the 1640 inventory), which he claimed was as rare (or fine) and of the same dimensions as a painting of a beach scene by Porcellis that was already in the Prince's collection. He also mentioned two still lifes with oranges by Pieter van den Bosch already owned by the Prince, which were comparable to two others by the same artist that he could now offer him.⁴⁶¹ We do not know how the Prince reacted to this second offering.

At the beginning of 1654, about a year and a half after the beginning of the first Anglo-Dutch war, De Renialme was embroiled in a mysterious transaction. It originated in a verbal agreement with the Delft notary Willem de Langue over a very valuable painting on stone or slate which was at least nominally owned by the collector and amateur Lodewijck van Ludick.⁴⁶² De Langue had offered to pay for the painting with an obligation with the face value of 1,600 *f*, issued by a stone or brick merchant in Haarlem named Willem Rooclaes, who was said to be bankrupt. According to the Delft notary, De Renialme had asked the participants in the transaction to keep it secret, especially from (Jan) Six. Any one betraying the secrecy would have to pay *f* 100

if he was found out. Jan Six was of course the patrician patron of Rembrandt, to whom the artist owed *f* 1,000, which he had borrowed for one year, on March 7, 1653, and was now coming due. Van Ludick had guaranteed the loan.⁴⁶³ My conjecture is that the valuable painting, which seems to have cost about *f* 300, may have belonged to Rembrandt who was trying to sell it in secret, so that he would not have to give the proceeds to Jan Six.⁴⁶⁴

A sentence in the “Interrogatoire” which took place on 17 January 1654, at De Langue’s request, throws light on a personal circumstance of Johannes de Renialme. Van Ludick was asked whether he remembered that De Renialme had said that if his wife learned that he was buying doubtful obligations (in payment for paintings), she would say that he had squandered her dowry. Van Ludick answered that he didn’t remember, but that was true of most of the details of the transaction which he had conveniently forgotten, and it was probably true.

Later that year, De Renialme went to Haarlem to talk to the painter Hans Wils about the obligation issued by the stone or brick dealer. Wils told him that he had heard from the painter Pieter Molijn that Willem de Langue had tried to sell him an obligation issued by Willem Rooclaes, which he had refused because Rooclaes was insolvent. In the end, the painting on stone was never shipped to Delft. Willem de Langue’s widow, nearly twenty years after her husband’s death, complained about De Renialme’s failure to send the painting, in clear violation of the original agreement. De Renialme claimed that De Langue had tried to cheat him by giving him a worthless obligation. The Delft-based art dealer Abraham de Coge had tried unsuccessfully to mediate between his two friends De Renialme and De Langue. It transpired that it was Delft burgomaster Everard van Lodensteyn who had originally bought a cabinet worth about *f* 300 from De Langue, for which he had paid with the Rooclaes obligation. Since De Langue could get nothing out of it, he had tried to persuade Lodensteyn to make good on it. The burgomaster had said that he was willing to stand behind it to the extent of the cost of the cabinet, or *f* 300. De Langue had then given De Renialme the more or less worthless obligation in payment for the painting on stone. When De Renialme had been encouraged to dun Lodensteyn to get his money (or at least the value of the painting), he had refused to do so because he was on friendly terms with him and, presumably, did not want to offend him by implicating him in the affair. It is not known whether De Langue’s widow was ever able to collect money on the painting. It is abundantly clear, in any case, that the painting never reached Delft.

From this complicated affair, several facts emerge about De Renialme’s business, which are given more salience in the light of his 1657 inventory, which contained 13 paintings by Rembrandt, valued in total at *f* 3,778 (more than an average dealer’s stock). De Renialme was probably Rembrandt’s privileged dealer. If so, Van Ludick had good reason to contact him to sell a painting belonging to Rembrandt. It emerges also that De Renialme had good contacts with painters in Haarlem and was friendly with a burgomaster in Delft (where, I recall, he owned a house and had married two

of his wives). It is not surprising that he was indebted to his wife, Catharina d'Overdaghe, for financing at least a part of his extensive art business. Keeping a large inventory of high-priced paintings, as De Renialme did, required a great deal of capital. Marrying four well-endowed wives must have helped. Nevertheless, he had to borrow money (from Cruijpenning, from Becker, and perhaps from other merchants) to keep his business going. The 1654 incident reveals how vulnerable merchants like De Renialme were to interruptions in the smooth functioning of the (primitive) credit system and to the collapse in the value of debt instruments in a period of war.

Johannes de Renialme was buried on 29 April 1657.⁴⁶⁵ His death inventory was taken two months later, on June 20, 1657. The introduction to the inventory stated that Catharina d'Overdaghe, acting as widow of Johannes de Renialme and as the mother of her two minor sons, Johannes and Constantin, fathered by her late husband, had obtained a writ from a higher court giving her the "benefit of inventory". Such a writ was granted in cases where it was not clear beforehand whether an estate would have a positive net value (i.e. would have assets sufficient to cover all debts), and the widow sought to protect her dowry and any other claims she may have had on the estate. The household goods were estimated by two sworn appraisers at *f* 1,970:17:--, a rather modest sum for a man of this importance. Of this sum, the silverware amounted to 380 *f*. There were, besides, semi-precious stones appraised at 2,324 *f*. The paintings and other works of art, which were appraised by Marten Kretser and Adam Camerarius, came, as we already saw, to a total value of 36,512 *f*.⁴⁶⁶ We know that most, if not all of these, were his stock in trade from a request made by his widow to the burgomasters of Amsterdam, a couple of months after the inventory was taken. She wrote that she planned to sell at auction her husband's paintings, jewels, and other costly goods. She requested that, instead of the usual 5 percent levied at auction on household goods, she be allowed to pay only 1 percent, the normal levy on commercial goods (*koopmanschappen*). Her husband's goods, she alleged, represented "not a collection but commercial wares, and their house had all the time been used as a warehouse".⁴⁶⁷ The auction took place in September 1657. Unfortunately, neither the total proceeds nor any particulars about it have come to light.

In the inventory appraised by Marten Kretser and Adam Camerarius in June 1657, there were, in addition to the household goods and jewelry already cited, 614 lots consisting of works of art, of which 246 were attributed to identifiable artists. The paintings averaged 64.1 *f* (105.8 *f* for the attributed ones and 28.5 *f* for the unattributed).⁴⁶⁸ First listed in the inventory were several paintings by Rembrandt, including the "Woman Taken in Adultery" (almost certainly the picture in London's National Gallery), appraised at 2,500 *f*. As we have already seen, there were altogether 13 paintings by Rembrandt in De Renialme's stock which were valued in total at 3,778 *f*. Next to Amsterdam-based artists, to whom 104 lots were attributed, Antwerp artists received the most attributions (69). Leiden artists received 32, Delft,

13, Utrecht, 13, and Italian artists of all cities, 24.⁴⁶⁹ The proportion of Amsterdam-based artists, including those who had been active in other cities as well, was low (43 percent), as we would expect from a dealer who engaged in intercity arbitrage. It was significantly lower than it was in other inventories belonging to Amsterdam private collectors of the 1650s (63 percent). The proportion of Antwerp, Delft and Italian artists was about three times what it was in the 1650s sample. On the other hand, Haarlem artists were relatively underrepresented in the De Renialme inventory (7 percent versus nearly 20 percent in the 1650s sample). I ascribe the reason for this deficit to the widespread dissemination among Amsterdam collectors of inexpensive Haarlem paintings by Jan Miense Molenaer, Dirck Hals, and genre painters who did not occupy an important place in a high-class dealer's inventory. The proximity of Haarlem to Amsterdam made such pictures very easy to acquire from the artists themselves and provided less scope for profitable arbitrage by dealers. There was one more significant difference between the De Renialme inventory and private collectors' inventories of the 1650s. The proportion in the former of paintings attributed to 16th century masters (whose date of death occurred before 1600) was nearly three times as great as in the latter (19.3 percent versus 7.1 percent). These old master works were sought after by discriminating wealthy collectors, of the sort that De Renialme catered to, and were less frequently present in most of the less prestigious collections that were typically represented in the 1650s sample. We shall find a comparable, and significant, over-representation of 16th century masters in two inventories of Marten van den Broeck in chapter 19. All in all, De Renialme's stock in 1657 appeared to be of even higher quality than the paintings that had been deposited in Lambert Massa's attic in 1640. He was probably oriented to a wealthier, more discriminating clientèle by the time of his death than he had been 17 years earlier.

We do not know how Catharina d'Overdaghe fared after her husband's death. One indication that she and her family survived the wreckage is that De Renialme's son, Johannes de Renialme II (1641-1687), continued to collect and that he owned important paintings, which were sold by auction after his own death in April 1687.⁴⁷⁰

De Renialme operated on a larger scale than any other dealer in this survey. To do so, he had to have a large stock, which required him to immobilize a great deal of capital. Because he apparently had no children with any of his first three wives, and he was thus their unique universal heir, he was able to amass some of the capital he needed. His fourth wife brought him a large dowry, which he exploited to the end of his life. But this was not enough. His complex dealings with Pieter Cruijpenning and Herman Becker at least partly reveal the extent of his additional needs. While he was in financial difficulty at the end of his life, there is no evidence that the fault lay with him. It was probably due to circumstances beyond his control, including the first Anglo-Dutch war and the war in the North Sea (which began shortly before his death).⁴⁷¹ The following chapter tells the story of a dealer whose lack of experience was probably more critical than his bad luck in sealing his fate.

Table 14.1

Paintings and Other Furniture Found in the Attic of Lambert Massa Belonging to Jan (Johannes) van Renialme (1640)

no. 1	a woman scouring with many accessories (<i>veel bijwerck</i>) by Molenaer	f 60.0
no. 2	a peasant celebration (<i>boere viering</i>)	f 24.0
no. 3	a <i>tronie</i> with a feather	f 24.0
no. 4	a landscape with a lion	f 6.0
no. 5	a <i>tronie</i> after Toetsiaen [crossed out: Titien]	f 12.0
no. 6	a little piece by Molenaer being peasants	f 24.0
no. 7	a tobacco smoker (<i>toeback drincker</i>) with a tankard by Hals	f 12.0
no. 8	a landscape of Joseph and Maria	f 6.0
no. 9	a large piece of Christ where the children come to him ⁴⁷²	f 60.0
no. 10	a piece being Judith with the head of Holofernis	f 36.0
no. 11	six large pieces by Harcules Seghers, [total]	f 146.0
	three at f 30 a piece, two at f 18 and one at f 20	
no. 12	a vase of flowers by Ambrosius Bosschaert	f 24.0
no. 13	a woman spinning by Molenaer	f 12.0
no. 14	a little peasant stable (<i>schuerten</i>) by Minsen (Jan Miens Molenaer)	f 12.0
no. 15	a little image of Maria (<i>Maria beeltgen</i>) in a gilded frame	f 36.0
no. 16	a little annunciation (<i>een groeteken</i>)	f 36.0
no. 17	a little fence (?) (<i>heijcken</i>) by Van Ghoij (Van Goyen)	f 12.0
no. 18	a peasant village	f 8.0
no. 19	a priest by Rembrandt	f 100.0
no. 20	an emperor with a bishop	f 25.0
no. 21	an image of Maria with two wings (<i>beelt van Maria met twee deuren</i>)	f 150.0
no. 22	three (pieces) by Parcellus (Porcellis), each at 40 f,	f 120.0
no. 23	a landscape by Poelenburgh	f 60.0
no. 24	a little stable by Minsen (Molenaer)	f 14.0
no. 25	a “ <i>stree</i> ” (?) with a gilded lamp	f 12.0
no. 26	a little winter by the Old (Jacob?) Savery	f 30.0
no. 27	a portrait of a woman	f 36.0
no. 28	a portrait by Minsen (Molenaer)	f 24.0
no. 29	a portrait by (Jacob) Backer	f 40.0
no. 30	a peasant stable by Minsen (Molenaer)	f 24.0
no. 31	five little <i>tronies</i> by the same (Minsen)	f 25.0
no. 32	a little portrait	f 4.0
no. 33	a little image of Maria after Poulenb[urgh]	f 12.0
no. 34	the burning of Troy, very small	f 4.0
no. 35	a sheep’s pen (<i>een schaepskoy</i>) by Aertgen van Leijden (Leyden)	f 40.0
no. 36	a landscape by Mijn Heer (Govert Jansz.)	f 42.0
no. 37	a <i>postuer</i> (naked person?) by Molenaer	f 10.0
no. 38	a landscape with flowers	f 10.0
no. 39	a salvator	[price left blank]
no. 40	five little pieces by Minsen (Molenaer)	f 20.0
no. 41	Cupid and death	f 20.0
no. 42	two portraits by Kay	f 120.0
no. 43	a little portrait	f 8.0
no. 44	a little <i>tronie</i> by Quast in a copper frame	f 4.0

no. 45	a St. Paul [crossed out; St. Pieter] by van Terbrugge	f 40.0
no. 46	a little barn scene (<i>schuurtje</i>)	f 10.0
no. 47	Adam and Eve after Dürer	f 18.0
no. 48	the court (<i>'t hoff</i>) of The Hague	f 4.0
no. 49	a pig slaughtering by Minsen (Molenaer)	f 14.0
no. 50	a crucifixion	f 5.0
no. 51	a little robbery by (Hans?) Jordaens	f 3.0
no. 52	six pieces by Harculus Segers	f 60.0
no. 53	[missing]	
no. 54	12 (prints?) in 2 rolls by Harculus Segers at 4 (Flemish) pounds a piece	f 288.0
no. 55	two landscapes by the same Segers	f 36.0
no. 56	a little fire scene (<i>brandeken</i>) by (Gillis) Mostert	f 12.0
no. 57	a shepherd and shepherdess	f 6.0
no. 58	a peasant with a tobacco pipe	f 6.0
no. 59	a little <i>tronie</i> of a woman	f 6.0
no. 60	an image of Maria with Elisabeth	f 24.0
no. 61	a peasant's <i>tronie</i>	f 10.0
no. 62	two (pieces) by Harculus Segers	f 18.0
no. 63	a little <i>tronie</i>	f 6.0
no. 64	a barn	f 5.0
no. 65	a tobacco smoker (<i>toeback drincker</i>)	f 7.0
no. 66	a little barn	f 9.0
no. 67	a peasant amusement (<i>boere verdriet</i>)	f 12.0
no. 68	a little winter	f 12.0
no. 69	a horse	f 8.0
no. 70	a piece by Harcules Segers	f 18.0
no. 71	a piece with fish	f 25.0
no. 72	a little piece by Harculus Segers	f 8.0
no. 73	a meal (<i>maeltijt</i>) antique	f 18.0
no. 74	a little vase of flowers	f 10.0
no. 75	Josef and Maria and Johannes	f 30.0
no. 76	a man's <i>tronie</i>	f 12.0
no. 77	a woman's ditto (<i>tronie</i>)	f 12.0
no. 78	a little landscape by Harcules Seghers	f 14.0
no. 79	a kitchen scene (<i>keucken</i>)	f 18.0
no. 80	a Popish church (<i>papekerck</i>)	f 18.0
no. 81	a little well (<i>putgen</i>) by Harculus Segers	f 10.0
no. 82	two elks by (Roeland) Savrij	f 18.0
no. 83	little children by Mr. Cornelis (van Haarlem)	f 30.0
no. 84	a little image of Maria by Schorer (Jan Scorel)	f 30.0
no. 85	a little landscape by Harculus (Segers)	f 10.0
no. 86	a little landscape	f 6.0
no. 87	a little landscape by Savrij	f 9.0
no. 88	a ditto landscape by Minsen (Molenaer)	f 10.0
no. 89	a woman scraping carrots (<i>wortelschrapster</i>)	f 24.0
no. 90	a portrait with a red cap	f 8.0
no. 91	a portrait by Kay (Adriaen or Willem Key)	f 25.0
no. 92	an old woman with a mirror	f 8.0
no. 93	a battle scene	f 18.0
no. 94	the last judgment (<i>'t ordeel</i>)	f 60.0

no. 95	an image of Marie with a gilded cover	f	12.0
no. 96	the dead body of Christ with the Pope with two little wings	f	8.0
no. 97	a drawing of three men	f	5.0
no. 98	a little panel of Christ without frame	f	8.0
no. 99	five little panels	f	5.0
no. 100	a peasant	f	6.0
no. 101	two little landscapes sewn from silk	f	120.0
			<hr/>
			f 2,809

[no	a little statue of plaster being a <i>clapmutsgen</i> (perhaps a man		
number]	wearing a hat, called <i>clapmuts</i>)		[no price]
[no	two little portraits		[no price]
number]			

Source: GAA, NA 421, film 6438.

Art Dealers III: The Story of a Merchant Who Thought He Could Sell Paintings to a King

Hans le Thoor, also known as Jean Letoir, was a jeweler who expanded into the art-dealing business, tried to capture a royal clientèle, got in over his head, and lost his money. Born in Antwerp, he acquired citizenship of Amsterdam in 1596. He married Adriaenken Broens, from Bergen in Norway, in February 1597.⁴⁷³ Their son, Hans (or Johannes) le Thoor II, with whom he is sometimes confused, was born in 1601.⁴⁷⁴

Notarial documents supply fairly abundant information about the elder Le Thoor's art-dealing activities. In late 1617 or early 1618, he had bought at the sale of the heirs of Ludovicus Finsonius (alias Louis Finson), which had taken place at the house of the painter Abraham Vinck, where Finsonius had recently died, two paintings by Finsonius: a "Massacre of the Innocents" and the "Four Elements". Finsonius had been living in Vinck's house on 19 September 1617 when he drew up his testament, leaving all his paintings and other works of art to his nephew, the painter David Finson, who was then about 22 years old. Finsonius probably died soon after making his testament, in any case before 19 January 1618, when his heirs were cited.⁴⁷⁵ It was apparently at the same public auction sale, organized by the Orphan Chamber, that the merchant Pieter de Wit had bought a painting of the Crucifixion of St. Andrew which the sellers (i.e., the heirs of Finsonius) claimed to be by Michelangelo Caravaggio. As I have already pointed out, De Wit had sold the painting to Franchoys Seghers in Antwerp, who, because he had doubts about the painting's authenticity, had asked several painters in Amsterdam, including Jacob van Nieulandt, to make a deposition regarding its provenance.⁴⁷⁶

The rest of the story of the two Finson paintings comes from the records of a suit that was brought by Hans le Thoor against the painter Pieter Isaacksz. on 25 November 1624.⁴⁷⁷ Pieter Isaacksz., a pupil of Hans van Aachen, was "painter of the King's chamber" of Christian IV (1577-1648) of Denmark. He was also his agent abroad.

The plaintiff, Hans le Thoor, alleged that the defendant, Pieter Isaacksz., had come from Denmark to Amsterdam in the year 1618, where he visited Le Thoor who was an old acquaintance. Having looked over Le Thoor's paintings (presumably his stock in trade), he had chosen two that were suitable, namely, one very large picture,⁴⁷⁸ very artful, of Herod's "Massacre of the Children" that belonged to the

plaintiff and to Guillaume van Rensselaer in partnership, and the other of the “Four Elements” that belonged to the plaintiff alone, also very artful, but not so large, both painted by Ludovicus Finsonius. Isaacksz. had asked the plaintiff whether he would allow him to take the two paintings with him to Denmark, where he had in mind to sell them to the King or to other lords, considering that the King was a lover of paintings (*liefhebber van schilderijen*) and that the histories in the two afore-said paintings, in his opinion, were suitable to the King’s mind and humor. The price for which the two paintings would be sold was discussed, and it was agreed that the large piece should be 750 Rycxdaelders (*f* 1,875) in specie and the other 125 Rycxdaelders (*f* 312.5) also in specie.⁴⁷⁹ Whereupon the defendant had taken the two pictures to Denmark in order to sell them to the King or to others at the prices that had been agreed upon and, in the mean time, to keep and preserve them as if they were his own property. The defendant promised not to let either of the paintings be copied, unless they were already sold. But if they were copied prior to their being sold, then the two paintings should be sold at the agreed-upon prices and paid for. All this was consigned in writing and signed by the defendant. Pieter Isaacksz. also promised by word of mouth and a handshake (*hanttastinge*) that he would either return the paintings back to Amsterdam within three or four months or turn over the proceeds from their sale to Le Thoor.

Shortly thereafter, Le Thoor had written to Isaacksz. to implore him to do his utmost to sell the two paintings as he had promised. In addition, he sent Isaacksz. another large painting that he had acquired after the latter’s departure from Amsterdam. He thought this painting might also be suitable for the King or some other lords in Denmark. He also wrote that he had knowledge that there were eight beautiful and masterly (*schoone ende heerlycke*) paintings available in Brussels, which had come from the cabinet of Emperor Rudolph. He had sent to Pieter Isaacksz. the description of these paintings, with their height and breadth and the names of the masters of the same and other particulars, to wit, five pieces by Spranger and the other three by Hans van Aachen, in order for him (Isaacksz.) to inform the King of Denmark and to ascertain from him whether he might have an interest in them, in which case, he (Le Thoor) would buy all eight pieces. On 20 July 1618, Isaacksz. had written to Le Thoor that he should have written some time ago, were it not for the delay in the affair, about which nothing had been done. He wrote further that he had handed over to His Majesty the description of the eight pieces and imparted to His Majesty that he had already offered Le Thoor a thousand Rycxdaelders for them, but that the paintings were not to be had for that price. However, it was his opinion that if one were to give another three or four hundred Rycxdaelders for them, one should be able to get them. Whereupon His Majesty had said: let the paintings come; he wanted to behold them. Isaacksz. had written Le Thoor that His Majesty had said Yes, Yes, and No, No (*het zeggen van Syne Majesteyt was Ja, Ja, en Neen, Neen*⁴⁸⁰). Isaacksz. had added that His Majesty had also seen the large painting (by Finsonius?), but at the time, he (Isaacksz.) had not been at home (in Denmark).⁴⁸¹ He understood from other people

that the piece had pleased His Majesty and suited him (*was gevallende en behagende*), and he did not doubt that it would go well (*off het soude wel syn*). Isaacksz. had again written to Le Thoor on 16 February 1619 asking him to let him know what was the lowest price (*den naesten prijs*) for which he would sell the pictures that were in Denmark and the large piece in particular. While the King was at the border visiting the King of Sweden, Isaacksz., in anticipation of the King's return, had found a place where the large piece could be hung in a suitable and pleasing manner (*'t selve stuck bequaemelyck soude behagen en well passen*), as the King had not known beforehand where the painting could be hung. The King apparently expected Isaacksz., his court painter, to instruct him in the matter of hanging.

Whereupon Le Thoor had answered in his letter of 20 March 1619 that he had already written about the prices and the cost of sending the three pieces that were presently in Isaacksz.'s hands⁴⁸² but that he, Isaacksz., should not be concerned about some eight or ten Rycxdaelders per picture (*een Rycxdaelder acht off thien niejet en soude aensien*), lest they remain unsold. Le Thoor had asked 750 Rycxdaelders for the large piece, but if Isaacksz. could get more than 600 Rycxdaelders for it, he could keep half the difference, and that he should act in this matter as if the painting were his own (*biddende dat hy daerinne als zijn eygen wilde doen*). Le Thoor had then waited until 19 August 1619, at which point, not having heard anything more, he had written Isaacksz. in a friendly manner asking him, if the paintings could not be sold at all, to send them back to him at the first opportunity, so that they would not remain lying there fruitlessly and so that he could sell them somewhere else. After receiving this letter, Isaacksz. had then come from Denmark to Amsterdam during Le Thoor's absence in England and had spoken to Le Thoor's children. He had delivered to them the third painting, for which, he said, the King had no interest (*geene gadinge te hebben*). When the children had asked him about the other two paintings or the payment for them, he had "paid them off with fine words without delivering either the painting(s) or the money".

Next we hear that Le Thoor had written to Isaacksz. from London on 19 March 1620 saying that he was very puzzled about the turn of events.⁴⁸³ He had subsequently written several letters of complaint, lamenting that Isaacksz. was holding up his goods. Finally, Isaacksz. had written him on 4 May 1620 that the large piece (probably the "Massacre of the Innocents") was hanging in a country villa of His Majesty four miles from Copenhagen but that he had not received an order from His Majesty as to whether he wished to keep the painting or not. In his letter, Isaacksz. had said nothing about how much the painting might go for. If this was true, Le Thoor argued in his suit, it was Isaacksz.'s fault, since he (Isaacksz.) had offered the afore-said painting to His Majesty as if it belonged to him (Isaacksz.). He had also left the painting hanging in the chamber of His Majesty, such that His Majesty was the master of it and could see it as often as he liked. The result had been that Isaacksz. was no longer the master of the painting and could not offer it or sell it according to his promise. Moreover, Isaacksz. had quoted to His Majesty and adhered to a price that

was much higher than the one that he, Le Thoor, had given him commission to charge. Le Thoor “strongly had in mind” that the painting must already have been copied, seeing that it had been held for so long, against all reason. Le Thoor now informed Isaacksz. that he had bought the eight paintings in Brussels for *f* 2,700, in addition to what he had to pay for freight and tolls, and that the paintings were now in Dunkerk, whence they would be shipped to Copenhagen upon Isaacksz.’s order.

On 9 October 1621, Isaacksz. wrote to Le Thoor’s daughter that the King had offered 500 Rycxdaelders (1,250 *f*) in specie for the large painting by Finsonius (clearly, in view of the context, the “Massacre of the Innocents”) and wanted to know right away whether her father would accept this offer.⁴⁸⁴ Le Thoor answered that he would go along with the offer, provided that the King also buy the picture by Finsonius of the Four Elements “on which the Four Winds were depicted” at the agreed upon price of 125 Rycxdaelders (312 *f* 10 st.). Whereupon there came a report from the King that he no longer wished to pay in Rycxdaelders because the specie (the Dutch currency?) had much increased in value. As to the pictures out of Brussels, Le Thoor should bring them at Pentecost 1622 and present them for sale to His Majesty. In a letter of 12 February 1623, Isaacksz. asked Le Thoor what he should do with the large picture (the “Massacre of the Innocents”). His letter was answered by Guillaume van Rensselaer, Le Thoor’s partner, who wrote that if Isaacksz. did not turn over 500 Rycxdaelders for the large painting, Le Thoor would have his goods in Holland sequestered. He argued, moreover, that Isaacksz. was now also obligated to take the eight paintings that Le Thoor had bought in Brussels on behalf of His Majesty.

Le Thoor indeed had the goods that Isaacksz. possessed in Amsterdam sequestered against his claim for 625 Rycxdaelders for the paintings by Finsonius, plus 7 percent interest per year, as well as 2,700 *f*, plus attendant costs, for the eight paintings from Brussels.

The court of justice of Amsterdam issued its sentence, which limited Le Thoor’s claim to the two paintings by Finsonius. His claim for 2,700 *f* plus attendant costs (for the Brussels paintings) was rejected out of hand. He presumably brought the Finsonius paintings back to the Netherlands, South or North. The only one of them that seems to have survived, or at least to have been identified, is “The Massacre of the Innocents” (ill. no. 2), which ended up in the Collégiale Sainte Begge in Andenne in present-day Belgium.⁴⁸⁵ It had presumably been returned by the King, even though he had initially said he would buy it.

Isaacksz. now introduced a countersuit in the Court of Holland in The Hague (the court of appeal from the Amsterdam jurisdiction) with the result that Le Thoor was condemned to pay for the costs of the entire suit (24 November 1624).

It is fairly clear from these prolonged negotiations that Le Thoor, who probably had had no previous experience dealing with potentates, had expected too much from the vague promises of the King of Denmark and of his representative Pieter Isaacksz. Le Thoor certainly had been presumptuous when he had bought the eight paintings in Brussels in the expectation that the King would take them off his hands.



2: Louis Finson, "The Massacre of the Innocents", Canvas, 270 x 400 cm, Eglise Saint-Begge

Le Thoor, who had put too many of his eggs in the Copenhagen basket, must have been hit very hard by the verdict of the Court of Holland. On 24 December 1624, exactly one month after the higher court's decision, he was forced to borrow 1,029 Flemish pounds of six gulden each, or *f* 6,175, from the merchant Martin du Gardin. The loan was to be repaid in six months, starting on the first of January 1625. Du Gardin, who was married to Paulina (or Police) Letoir (or Le Thoor), was probably Hans le Thoor's brother-in-law. Le Thoor, it would seem, was not able to repay the loan. On 8 February 1627, Martin du Gardin, merchant in Amsterdam, and Hans le Thoor, jeweler, came to an agreement whereby, in order to dispel any disputes that might arise from the loan, Du Gardin would accept "the jewels, paintings, and other things hereafter specified" in full payment for the sum of 1,029 pounds that he had lent to Le Thoor. These jewels, paintings, and other things had apparently been pledged as collateral for the loan in 1624. The art objects that Le Thoor had turned over to his presumptive brother-in-law were these: 1) seven (sic) paintings, five by Bartolomeus Spranger and three by Hans van Aachen, genuine originals (*oprechte principaele*), which had been bought in Brussels for *f* 2,700; 2) a vase of flowers, done by Ambrogius Boschart (Ambrosius Bosschaert I), being a genuine original, as his certificate can attest (*daer sijne attestatie wijsen kan*), which had cost him 60 Flemish pounds (300 *f*) when he had bought it in Middelburg; 3) a "little paradise" (*paradijske*) done with the pen by Sijmon Severius, high German,⁴⁸⁶ bought in Amsterdam which had cost him 12 pounds flemish, or *f* 72.⁴⁸⁷ The fact that the paintings by Finsonius were not included among the works of art pledged to Du Gardin suggests that buyers for the "Massacre of the Innocents" and the "Four Elements" had somehow been found for them.

It would seem that all eight paintings (not seven as the clerk had written) that Le Thoor had bought in Brussels for *f* 2,700 were still in his hands by this time. The expensive vase of flowers by Ambrosius Bosschaert which Le Thoor had bought directly from the artist in Middelburg gives us at least a *terminus ad quem* for the purchase, since Bosschaert and his family had left Middelburg for Bergen-op-Zoom in the second half of 1615.⁴⁸⁸ Incidentally, the *attestatie* that he had received from Bosschaert is, to my knowledge, a unique instance of a Dutch artist wishing to confirm the authenticity of one of his works, at least in this early period.

One month after he had pledged the paintings and the drawing with Marten du Gardin, Hans le Thoor made his only recorded purchases at Orphan Chamber auction, all at the post-mortem sale of Christoffel Sichem de oude, on 15 January 1625.⁴⁸⁹ He acquired 11 lots of drawings and prints (including two by Goltzius) for very small sums and one painting of a woman for 10 stuivers, for a total of 9 gulden and 12 stuivers.⁴⁹⁰ Had he been chastened by his disastrous experience in dealing in high art and was he now ready to operate at a lower level? Or did he just buy prints and drawings for his jewelry business?

One curious feature of the Sichem sale is that the buyers were predominantly jewelers, gold- and silversmiths, including, besides Hans le Thoor himself, Abraham,

David, and Pieter ter Haer; Adriaen van Breen; Alexander van der Hoeve; Boudewijn Hendricksz.; Anthonis Lambrechtsz.; Jan Lambertsz.; Nicolaes de Marees; and Albert Symonsz. These practitioners of jewelry and related crafts bought 66 out of 109 lots containing works of art (*f* 78.7 out of a total of *f* 123.1). One might have expected painters and engravers to have bought heavily at this auction. But, in fact, the only artist/buyer was “Sichem”, who was probably the engraver Christoffel Sichem II, the son of the late owner of the goods sold. The only art dealers who bought at this sale were Thomas Pietersz. (who was also an *oplegger*, who set up and displayed the goods for the auctioneer) and Machtelt Jacobs, a small print dealer. It is even more curious that there were no *uitdraagsters* among the buyers, if we except Lazarus (Watering²), who was probably a second-hand dealer of some sort. One may conjecture that Christoffel Sichem I numbered mainly jewelers, gold- and silversmiths among the clients for the prints that he made and sold.

The date of death of Hans le Thoor I is not known. Marten du Gardin was buried on 9 June 1645.⁴⁹¹ His wife Police Letoir lived until some time before the end of 1650 when her death inventory was taken. It unfortunately contained neither attributions nor evaluations.⁴⁹² The only one of her paintings that may be identical with any of those that her husband had acquired from Le Thoor was a Vase of Flowers in a gilded frame, possibly the one by Bosschaert that Hans le Thoor had once owned, but the subject is too common to warrant further speculation. Hans (Johannes) le Thoor II, like his father, was a jeweler. Unlike his father, he seems not to have engaged in the art trade. At the prestigious sale of Jan van Maerlen of 30 September 1637 (discussed in chapter 19), where he had a great deal of fine art to choose from, he bought pearls but no paintings or other objets d’art. On 25 February 1650, Johannes le Thor, from Amsterdam, widower of Margaretha Itoels, living on the Koningsgracht, was betrothed to Susanna Tiellens, assisted by her mother Susanna Lestevenon.⁴⁹³ She was the daughter of the prominent silk cloth dealer Jan Tiellens (1584-1633). By the time of his death, which must have taken place shortly before 26 July 1653 when his post-mortem inventory was taken, Hans le Thoor II had become a director of the West Indies Company in Amsterdam. The inventory was signed by the painter Willem Kalf who must have just returned from Paris where he had been living. Kalf was said to be Le Thoor’s cousin, but the exact affiliation could not be ascertained. I was not able to trace any of the works of art in the inventory to his father’s collection or stock in trade.⁴⁹⁴

Conclusions on Amsterdam’s Principal Art Dealers

The evidence I have presented in these three chapters on Amsterdam’s principal art dealers is so fragmented it makes comparisons difficult. In two cases – Lucas Luce and Johannes de Renialme – we dispose of a death inventory, but only De Renialme’s was appraised. We have no information on the debts due to and by the De Renialme

estate, and still less of how their net proceeds of the sale of his goods might have been divided. In the case of Isaack van Coninxloo and Jan Thivaert, we know something about the division of the estate, but we do not have an inventory of the art that these two men left for distribution. Of Hendrick Uylenburgh's estate, we know nothing at all, although we can infer from his heavy debts that it could not have been very large. The same applies to Hans van Coninxloo III who must have left Amsterdam in impoverished circumstances. Even less is known about the success, or lack of it, of his father Hans van Coninxloo II, save that he bought expensive paintings at auction. My conclusions, based on comparisons, must therefore be very tentative.

Three of our dealers – Isaack van Coninxloo, Lucas Luce, and Jan Thivaert – appear to have been successful, though no more than merchants of the middle rank. (In the case of Thivaert, we do not even know what part his sugar-refining business might have contributed to his success). None of them did as well as the tulip-grower Abraham de Goyer, who – so it is said - made a killing in tulip speculation (a profit of 10,000 *f* in a single year). Hans van Coninxloo III seems to have been a failure, perhaps for personal reasons (he is said to have lived an “eccentric life”, and he may have been a *souse*). He may also have lost money speculating in tulips. Hendrick Uylenburgh and Johannes de Renialme were perpetually short of capital, and they were hard-pressed to repay the loans they obtained. On at least one occasion, Uylenburgh is known to have taken paintings on consignment – an effective measure to conserve his scarce capital. All of these dealers depended on connections (friends, business acquaintances, in-laws) for at least a part of such success as they may have had: Uylenburgh borrowed money from well-endowed Mennonite merchants and from successful artists; A Luce was friends with Gerrit van Schoonhoven, who, as we have seen, was one of the the richest merchants in Amsterdam in 1631; De Renialme built up his working capital from the dowries of his four wives and from the money he borrowed from Pieter Cruijpenning and Herman Becker. It was perhaps due to the downturn in business conditions provoked by the first Anglo-Dutch war that he fell into financial difficulties at the end of his life. Jan Thivaert may have profited from his acquaintance with the well-connected Joannes Victoryn: he also took advantage of his close ties with his brother Henri (I) and his son-in-law Jan Verriet in Utrecht to exploit the art market in that city. Networking was as important in making it in the art trade then as now. That and the ability to get hold of capital under advantageous conditions may have been determining factors in the success of art dealers.

Whatever the degree of their financial success (or failure), Amsterdam's dealers played a critical intermediary role between artists and wealthy collectors. They bought paintings all over the Northern and Southern Netherlands which they marketed in Amsterdam to discriminating buyers. We have also seen how they depended on Amsterdam auctions to build up their stock (and sometimes to unload a part of their holdings). They seem to have made an important contribution to the appreciation and the diffusion of 15th and 16th century German engravings and of Italian painting. We know very little about their activities in promoting major artists, al-

though De Renialme's ownership of 13 paintings by Rembrandt at the time of his death (as well perhaps as the intermediary role in the "painting on stone" that may have belonged to Rembrandt) surely suggest the possibility that at least he was a contributor to Rembrandt's marketing network. Our limited knowledge at this point does not provide any insight into a central point: whether dealers were taste-leaders or whether they were influenced by artists like Rembrandt who undoubtedly admired both northern art of the past and Italian painting.

Art Collectors and Painters I: Rubens's Promise to Hans Thijsz.

It has been known since 1912, when Abraham Bredius published a short article on the subject, that the Amsterdam jeweler Hans Thijsz. sold his house “De Wapper” in Antwerp to Rubens for 8,960 gulden, plus a painting by his own hand, and painting lessons for Thijsz.’s (unnamed) son.⁴⁹⁵ In 1976, Isabella van Eeghen devoted an article in the *Maandblad Amstelodamum* to the transaction, adding useful biographical details to Bredius’s brief account.⁴⁹⁶ In the year 2000, Oscar Gelderblom published his study on South-Netherlandish merchants in the period 1578 to 1630, which contained a great deal of new information on Hans Thijsz. and his family.⁴⁹⁷ Neither Bredius nor Van Eeghen was able to find out whether Rubens fulfilled his part of the contract, whether, in particular, he delivered the painting and supplied lessons for a son of Thijsz. Gelderblom speculated briefly on the son who may have been the recipient of Rubens’s instruction – he argued, wrongly in my opinion, that it was Anthony Thijsz. – but he did not broach the subject of Rubens’s promised painting. In the present chapter, I show that the painting was indeed delivered, but only nine years after the contract for the house was signed. I also adduce new information suggesting that it was another son, named Hans Thijsz. *de jonge*, who was slated to receive Rubens’s lessons (even though it remains unclear whether he ever received them).

A good deal is known about the jeweler Hans Thijsz. I (*de oude*) and his family.⁴⁹⁸ He was born in or near Antwerp in 1556. A Protestant of Calvinist inclination, he fled Brabant “by reason of religion”. As we have seen, he still owned an important house in his native city in 1611. He lived part of his life in Amsterdam, Elbing, and Dantzig, where two of his children (Catharina and Anthonie) were born. In 1585, when he was living in Amsterdam on the O.Z. Achterburghwal, he paid a wealth tax of 18 *f*, which was quite high for this period.⁴⁹⁹ His father Christoffel Thijsz. I was still alive when he was betrothed to Catharina Boel, from Antwerp, the daughter of Augustijn Boel, on 28 June 1594.⁵⁰⁰ Three years later, Hans Thijsz. I signed a contract to freight a ship in partnership with his father-in-law Augustijn Boel and Aert Tholinck. The merchant Aert Tholinck or Tholing (1548-1600), who was married to Anna Hermans, was the grandfather of Magdalena Belten(s), who would marry Hans’s son Anthonie in 1624.⁵⁰¹ In 1598, a certain Jan Thijsz., who may be identical with Hans Thijsz. *de oude*, bought two maps at the Orphan Chamber auction sale of Dirck Willemsz. Sparreboom.⁵⁰² In any case, it is certain that it was Hans Thijsz. I who invested 12,000 *f* in the first subscription for shares in the newly founded United

East Indies Company (V.O.C.) in 1602. He must have prospered in the next ten years, considering that his investment in the second subscription of 1612 was 34,500 *f*, the third highest on record.⁵⁰³ He had an account of two folios at the Wisselbank in Amsterdam in 1611.⁵⁰⁴ His assets at the time of his death in 1611 totaled the enormous sum of *f* 255,083, including household goods valued at *f* 6,100. On the debit side, there were various debts totaling about *f* 156,000, leaving a net worth of *f* 63,304 for himself and *f* 34,109 for the “Thijs family”.⁵⁰⁵

The truce in the war with Spain, signed on 9 April 1609, gave citizens of Amsterdam who had fled Antwerp for religious or other reasons a chance to settle their affairs in their native city. On 1 November 1610, Hans Thijsz. I, merchant in Amsterdam, signed a contract with Nicolaes Coop, acting in the place and on behalf of Pieter Paul Rubens, living in Antwerp, whereby Thijsz. sold his house and bleaching works, called “*de Wapper*”, to Rubens for *f* 8,960. The contract stipulated that, once all conditions in the contract were fulfilled, the transfer would take place in Antwerp, according to the customs of the city, in the presence of Doctor Andries Bacher, counsellor and physician of His Highness, the Duke of Brunswyck,⁵⁰⁶ and of Hans Thijsz. or his representatives. It was also agreed that Rubens would offer as a present to Thijsz. a painting by his own hand, as large or small as he would deem fit, and give lessons in the art of painting to “a son” of Thijsz., without concealing any secrets in so doing. The young man would have to pay for his own room and board: he would only enjoy free lessons from the master, but he would also have “free access”, presumably to Rubens’s atelier.⁵⁰⁷ Andries Bacher’s anticipated presence on the occasion of the transfer of the house is explained by the fact that he was Thijsz.’s brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Magdalena Thijs (1569-1622).⁵⁰⁸ Nicolaes Coop (or Cop), originally from Xanten, who became a citizen of Amsterdam in 1603, lived from 1567 to 1621. He was a cyther-maker and an inn-keeper in the Heintje Hoeksteeg, which was frequented by artists and musicians. His son of the same name (?-1631) was a painter and art dealer.⁵⁰⁹

The transfer of “*De Wapper*” to Rubens took place on 4 January 1611.⁵¹⁰ Rubens kept the house but built an entirely new atelier on the grounds, which became the famous “*Rubenshuis*”. The painting that Rubens had promised was the subject of prolonged negotiation, as I will show on the basis of the new evidence presented below. Isabella van Eeghen, who only knew of the existence of Hans’s son Anthonie, who was 16 years old in 1610,⁵¹¹ assumed that it was he who was the beneficiary of this arrangement and who received Rubens’s lessons. As we have seen, this opinion was shared by Gelderblom, who argued that Anthonie was of the right age for such an apprenticeship.⁵¹² The other sons were Augustijn, Hans, and François, who were respectively 24, 18, and 17 years old.⁵¹³

Rubens’s promise to supply a painting “large or small” by his own hand and to take on one of Hans Thijsz.’s sons as a pupil were by no means trivial concessions on his part. He already had more orders than he could handle and he was reluctant to accept new commissions. He was even more reluctant to accept new pupils. On

11 May 1611, five months after the transfer of the house, he wrote to his friend Jacques de Bie how sorry he was that he could not take the young man that De Bie had recommended as his pupil. "I cannot accommodate this young man: I am already besieged from all sides, so much so that some [aspirants] stay for years with other masters waiting for my convenience I can say with some truth, without any hyperbole, that I have had to refuse over one hundred, some of them from my own family and some from my wife's, not without incurring a great dissatisfaction from some of my best friends."⁵¹⁴ Rubens also found it easier to commit his services than to disburse cash. As he wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton a few years later, when he offered to trade some of his paintings for Roman marbles, "the reason that I am willing to barter my paintings ... is that in truth they cost me nothing: one is always more generous with the fruits from one's own garden than with those one has bought on the market."⁵¹⁵

I now revert to the extensive Thijsz. family, whose intricacies must be traced out if this story is to be understood. According to a document of 9 March 1611, lands in Brabant that had belonged to Christoffel Thijsz. I and his wife Martha Gilles were transferred on this date to Andries Bacher, medical doctor and adviser of His Highness the Duke of Brunswyck, in the wake of "hostilities and confiscations" (the entire Thijsz. family was Reformed). The properties were divided among Hans Thijsz. I, Jacques Thijsz., François Thijsz. I, Anna Thijs, and Dr. Anthonie Thijsz.⁵¹⁶, all brothers and sisters. At that time Dr. Anthonie Thijsz. was teaching Hebrew at Har-derwyck. In 1627, he became a professor in Leiden. François Thijsz. I was married to Hedwig Bacher, a daughter from Andries Bacher's first marriage. He was the father of Christoffel Thijsz. II (baptized on 30 September 1603), who, many years later, would become one of Rembrandt's principal creditors.⁵¹⁷

By the time he signed the contract with Rubens, Hans Thijsz. I was already a widower (his wife Catharina Boel was buried in Amsterdam on 13 June 1606). He himself died in Hoorn a few months after selling "*de Wapper*" to Rubens. His body was brought to Amsterdam where he was buried on 24 September 1611, "coming from the Rouaanse Kaai, where the straw is for sale."⁵¹⁸ Soon after, the Orphan Chamber appointed Denijs de Maistres and Jan (Hans) van Wely (II), together with Augustijn Thijsz., the oldest son and already of major age (at least 25 years old), as guardians of the elder Thijsz.'s minor children. Denijs de Maistres, the uncle of Hans Thijsz. I, was the brother-in-law of the very wealthy and prominent merchant Jan Ca-landrini. He invested 3,000 *f* in the first subscription for V.O.C. shares and had an account of 5 folios in the Wisselbank in 1615.⁵¹⁹ We already encountered Hans van Wely II, a buyer at auction, in part I. He was a rich jeweler, born in the Northern Netherlands in 1569. He was an important art collector, whose collection was cited by Karel van Mander. As already mentioned, he was murdered in a robbery in The Hague in 1616.⁵²⁰

The sale of the movable goods of Hans Thijsz. I took place on 22 April 1614. It brought a total of 4,242 *f* 5 stuivers. and 8 penningen, of which 489 *f* (11.5 percent)

consisted of works of art.⁵²¹ The net proceeds (the total minus 5 percent) were paid to the guardians of the children, Denijs de Maistres and Hans van Wely. Anthonie Thijsz. II, the son of Hans Thijsz. I, who was now 19 years old, signed the receipt for this sum. The ratio of the value of works of art sold to the total in the Thijsz. sale is high but not untypical for estates with a total value of 4-5,000 *f*. It is high enough to suggest that Hans Thijsz. I was a genuine collector of art. As is often the case, several of the buyers at the auction were related in one way or another to the late owner of the goods sold.

Hans Thijsz. II bought three lots at his father's sale: a painting by Karel van Mander for *f* 50, a Sacrifice of Abraham for *f* 3 and a vase of flowers for *f* 4:16:-- . Already a year earlier, at the prestigious sale of Claes Rauwart (the son of Jacob Rauwart, the great collector and friend of Karel van Mander), he had purchased four lots: a painting of unspecified subject for *f* 36, a round painting for *f* 10:10:-- , another painting of unspecified subject for *f* 61 and a piece by CC (probably Cornelis van Haarlem) for *f* 10. As we shall see presently, the younger Hans Thijsz. died in 1619.

The new evidence discussed below on the Thijs family and the Rubens connection is contained in a bound register of expenditures that the Thijs children kept from 22 September 1611 to 1619 and in loose sheets in which the assets and liabilities of the children were listed from 1612 to 1619, both of which are preserved in the Thys Archive in the Library of the University of Leiden.⁵²² The siblings' expenditures are recorded separately for those that were made for a particular brother or sister and those that were made for the "business" ("*onkosten op comenschap gedaen*"). The children cited are Catharina, Augustijn, Anthonie, Hans II, and François II (also called Franciscus). The expenditures recorded separately for each sibling cover clothing and shoes, occasional travel, and room and board, apparently outside Amsterdam. The expenses made for the "business" concerned mainly the settlement of the affairs of the late Hans Thijsz. I and the travels connected with these affairs. The estate contained vast amounts of pearls and jewelry, which the children sold in various European cities, including Amsterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Dantzig, and Warsaw. The children also sold lands that had belonged to their father in 's Hertogenbosch and other assets. There is no evidence in any of the account books that the family dealt in works of art.

As early as 19 April 1612, we learn that the oldest brother Augustijn is residing in Antwerp,⁵²³ where he has spent *f* 22:15 -- . On July 1, travel costs amounting to *f* 28 are recorded for Anthonie for *his* trip to Antwerp. On 24 August, Hans is reimbursed *f* 6 for a trip to Utrecht "to collect money".

Of greater significance to us, on 25 May 1613, Hans is credited for *f* 4: 8:-- "for a canvas to paint on".⁵²⁴ This is the only item of expenditure of this sort, but it does suggest that Hans was an amateur, if not a professional, painter, thus perhaps the potential recipient of Rubens's lessons. However, I must admit that I found nothing in the account books suggesting that he, or any of his brothers, stayed long enough in Antwerp to have received Rubens's lessons. I suspect that, after the death of his fa-

ther, Hans was needed to settle the estate and that he had no time for an apprenticeship in art.

In the summer of 1613, Augustijn and his uncle François Thijsz. departed for a long business trip to Frankfurt, Torun, and Warsaw, in the course of which they sold jewels for some *f* 5,000. On the return journey, Augustijn fell ill of the plague and infected his uncle. In a few days, both men were dead.⁵²⁵

The next reference to a painting in the account book occurs on 16 June 1615, when Anthonie was credited with *f* 57:14:-- for his expenses on a trip to 's Hertogenbosch and for the "cost of sending two paintings there" (perhaps to decorate a house that the family owned in the city).⁵²⁶ On the same day, the expenditure book shows that Anthonie spent *f* 43: 9:-- "on a trip to Antwerp and, from there to Brussels, with brother Hans, and thence to 's Hertogenbosch".

The year 1616 begins "in Amsterdam" (the previous year's accounts had perhaps been made in Antwerp or elsewhere). The following expenditures appear to have been made in common. On March 15, a joiner is paid 2 gulden "for a frame for the Susanna, 3 gulden 3 stuivers for a frame for the Andromeda, and *f* 1:10:-- for the large interior frame".⁵²⁷ Neither the Susanna nor the Andromeda can be matched with items that Hans had bought at auction (including his father's sale). The Rubensian character of the subjects at least raises the possibility they may have been bought in Antwerp. It is quite likely that the paintings of Susanna and Andromeda that turned up in the inventories of Anthonie Thijsz. after his death in 1634 and of Magdalena Belten, some years later, are the ones that had been bought in 1616.⁵²⁸

The same day the purchase of a painting of a vase of flowers for *f* 7: 6:-- is recorded. Neither the date nor the price coincide with Hans's purchase of a painting of the same subject at his father's auction two years earlier. Two weeks later an expenditure of *f* 10:18:12 is recorded "to gild and paint the frames of the three paintings".⁵²⁹ On June 25 of the same year, 9 gulden are paid to (Hendrick) Hondius for two maps, one of Europe and one of the whole world. Five days later a joiner is brought in to make frames for the two maps. He is paid 7 gulden "for the frames of the two maps and of the copper plate".⁵³⁰

On 29 October 1616, the accounts show an expenditure of 51:5:8 *f* given to a stone carver "to sculpt a tomb stone to lay on the grave of Brother Augustijn of blessed memory".⁵³¹

At last, on November 12, 1616, the matter of the painting that Rubens had agreed to deliver five years earlier cropped up. A sum of 8 *f* and 2 st. was spent on two occasions "at the place of Nicolaes Coop to speak about the painting that Rubens had promised us".⁵³² Apparently nothing came of these two attempts to induce Rubens, *via* his representative Nicolaes Coop in Amsterdam, to make good on his promise. On 10 February of the following year, 1617, 4 *f* and 6 st. were again spent at Coop's place, with Hendrick the envoy, over the Rubens matter.⁵³³ We know from auction records that "*Hendrick de bode*" was the "envoy from Antwerp", an individual who

served as an intermediary in facilitating the affairs of Amsterdam citizens in (and in handling mail from and to) Antwerp.⁵³⁴

In 1618, various items of expenditure appear in the ledger for jointly purchased household items. In view of the fact that the “*Oncosten boeck*” in the years 1613 and 1614 makes no mention of the paintings that Hans had bought in those years, it is curious that, according to an entry dated 11 February 1618, 7 gulden and 10 stuivers were paid to the auctioneer Gerrit Jacobsz. (Haringh) for six porcelain dishes “bought at an auction of the V.O.C. last September”.⁵³⁵

Approximately nine months later, on 14 November 1618, the Thijs siblings jointly purchased various household items, including “36 stuivers [one gulden and 16 stuivers] for a frame for the Rubens painting and 4 gulden 10 stuivers for gilding the frame, a total of 6 gulden and 6 stuivers”.⁵³⁶ It is not clear from the entry whether the painting has already been delivered or whether the frame has been made in anticipation of delivery.

In 1619, the accounting seems to have been done in Antwerp, where at least one of the brothers is residing (perhaps Anthonie who is known to have been there the previous year). On 4 November 1619, an entry in the ledger shows that 1 gulden and 4 stuivers had been spent “for freight from Antwerp for the painting of Pieter Paulus Rubbens”.⁵³⁷ Nine years and three days had passed since the contract for the sale of the house had been signed.

We do not know what subject the Rubens painting represented. About all that can be said about it, with any certainty, is that it cannot have been very large.⁵³⁸ The freight from Antwerp was quite modest, and the expenditure on framing even more so. Only the cost of gilding (2.5 times the price of the frame) suggests that it was a precious gift.⁵³⁹

We can perhaps narrow the range of possibilities by considering the exchange of paintings against marbles that Rubens made with Dudley Carleton that I have already referred to. A key letter that Rubens wrote to Carleton concerning this exchange is dated 26 May 1618, only six months before the Thijs brothers paid for a frame for *their* Rubens. In his letter, Rubens proposed to send Carleton, in addition to several large paintings, in order to “to close the account”, a painting on panel of the “Dismissal of Agar”, in part painted by another master (it turned out to be Jan Wildens), estimated at 100 gulden.⁵⁴⁰ This “little painting” (*quella cossetta di cento fiorini*), which ended up in the collection of the Duke of Wesminster, actually measured 102 by 71 cm.⁵⁴¹ These dimensions might then be taken as the norm for what Rubens considered a small picture.

A tempting possibility, suggested by Marten Jan Bok, is that the Thijsz. painting might have been the “Judith with the Head of Holofernes”, presently in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig (ill. no. 3), which measures 120 by 111 cm. The Judith is generally dated between 1616 and 1618 – thus right in the period during which the Thijsz. brothers were trying to induce Rubens to honor his promise. We know that the Braunschweig Judith was seen by Buchelius in Leiden in 1621, in the



3: Pieter Paul Rubens, “Judith and Holofernes”, Panel, 120 x 111 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

collection of Theodorus Schrevelius⁵⁴² and that it was acquired, probably in Amsterdam, by Duke Anton Ulrich, the grandson of Heinrich Julius who had employed Dr. Andries Bacher, some time before 1700.⁵⁴³ This by no means constitutes proof, but the idea is surely worth keeping in mind for further research.

Also in 1619, the (unlisted) books of Augustijn were sold for 302 *f*. In a loose leaf of the *Casboeck*, an expenditure of 14.5 *f*, dated 19 September 1619, reveals that Hans Thijsz. II had just died. A sculptor had been hired to sculpt his coat-of-arms on his gravestone, and a small sum had been given to a servant to bring his body from a ship in Middelburg.⁵⁴⁴ As to François II, we only know that he was still alive in 1620

when a small sum was paid to exempt him from guard duty in the militia and in 1622, when his name turned up in some family accounts, and that he probably was no longer alive in 1634 when an accounting of the assets of Anthonie, who had died in that year, revealed that a debt of 50 *f* owed by François was not recoverable.⁵⁴⁵

Catharina Thijs, the sister of the four brothers Thijsz., who was married to Constantijn l'Empereur, professor of theology at Leiden University, died in 1653, five years after her husband. Anthonie Thijsz. II and Catherina Thijs were apparently the only heirs of Augustijn, Hans, and François Thijsz., who never married. Anthonie Thijsz. was betrothed to Elisabeth de Bacher on 23 January 1621.⁵⁴⁶ On 22 June 1622, the couple had their son Joannes baptized in the Nieuwe Kerk in the presence of his uncle Dr. Anthony Thijsz., the brother of Hans Thijsz. I.⁵⁴⁷ Joannes, who died a bachelor, donated his books and papers many years later to Leiden University. The Bibliotheca Thysiana at Leiden University (in which the new documents cited above were found) is the repository of Joannes Thijsz.'s books and papers. Elisabeth Bacher died four days after Joannes's baptism. Anthonie remained a widower for five years. Finally, on 27 February 1627, Anthonie Thijsz. from Dantzig, 32 years of age, widower of Elisabeth Bacher, assisted by his uncle Anthonius Thyskens (Thijsz. I), professor of theology at Leiden University, was betrothed to Magdalena Belten(s), from Amsterdam, 27 years old, both of her parents dead.⁵⁴⁸

Anthonie died in 1634. An inventory of Anthonie Thijsz.'s paintings, made shortly after his death, has survived. So has an inventory of Magdalena's works of art, which included prints and drawings as well as paintings.⁵⁴⁹ Neither of the inventories contains valuations of the works of art. The most valuable item in both inventories was probably a large untitled painting placed above the mantelpiece attributed to Frans Floris. As I have already mentioned, the paintings of Susanna and Andromeda, which had been bought by the Thijsz. siblings in 1615, were present in both inventories. But there is no sign of any Rubens. (Since several of the paintings in the second inventory are attributed to masters less well known than Rubens, one would have expected that the Rubens painting would have been mentioned if it had been there.) Here we come to the end of the line. If the Rubens had been sold, I could find no sign of the receipt of the money in any of the accounts.

I now turn briefly to the well-known Rembrandt connection with the Thijs family. When Pieter Belten I, the father of Magdalena Belten and of Pieter Belten II, died in 1624, he left his large house on the Breestraat, near the St. Anthoniesluis in Amsterdam, to his two children. The younger Pieter Belten was betrothed to Constantia Coymans on 21 May 1627.⁵⁵⁰ She was the daughter of Balthasar Coymans, the distinguished collector and friend of Annibale Carracci.⁵⁵¹ On 3 January 1639, Christoffel Thijsz. and Pieter Belten de jonge, "sole heirs of Pieter Belten de oude", sold the Belten family house on the Breestraat to Rembrandt for 13,000 *f*.⁵⁵² Pieter died in the same year. For many years, Christoffel, who died as late as 1680, would dun Rembrandt for arrears on the house, which was never fully paid for.⁵⁵³

Table 16.1

Purchases by Principal Buyers at the sale of Hans Thijsz. I of 22 April 1614 and All Other Sales (gulden)

Thijsz. sale	Price	Purchases at other Sales (total)
Hans Thijsz. II (<i>de soon</i>):		139.3
Water color of the sacrifice of Abraham	3.0	
Vase of flowers	4.6	
Painting by C. Vermander (Van Mander)	50.0	
Franchoys Penijn:		--
A painting of Susanna	120.0	
Adriaen van Loosvelt (for Abraham)		15.9
Landscape	5.5	
Emaus	10.0	
Ships	1.0	
Engel Symonsz.:		--
Landscape (of the Moor?)	12.0	
A kitchen piece*	20.0	
A landscape*	5.5	
Anna Bosschaert:		--
Two <i>tronies</i>	0.8	
Jan Basse:		780.0
2 paintings	1.4	
1 painting	3.6	
A painting of Abraham's sacrifice	2.1	
A painting of Thamar	8.0	
A painting of Joseph	3.6	
Elbert Joosten:		620.9
Landscape by (Roelandt?) Savery	40.5	
A painting by Blommert (Abraham Bloemaert)	30.0	
Painting by C. van Mander	41.0	
Laurens Dubbelworst:		4.0
A painting	1.9	
Jan de Bisschop:		--
A landscape of Moses	21.0	
Johannes de Hel:		--
Ships	5.5	
Laurens Charles:		141.0
A map	2.4	
Gillis Bodens:		--
A <i>tronie</i>	2.4	
Another <i>tronie</i>	2.7	
Valerius van Gistel (I):		16.0
Landscape	20.0	
Children's dance	3.5	
Guilliam van Eyndhoven:		26.8
A round painting	4.5	

A water color	1.1	
Egbert (de) Wit:		--
A painting of paradise	4.0	
Trijn Harmens:		82.3
A painting of David and Abigael	10.2	
Aefge Dircx Wort:		50.5
A landscape	30.5	
Various small buyers:	16.3	
Cash:	2.1	
<hr/>		
Total:	479.5	

*Note: Some paintings were bought for cash but the name of the buyer, which was crossed out, can usually be made out. In such cases, an asterisk has been placed after the lot purchased by the buyer whose name has been crossed out. "Cash", in this and the other tables in the Appendix, means that no buyer's name was recorded. The small buyers were the *uitdraagsters* Graeffin, Martijn, Grietge Claes, and Aeltge Sieuwens, in addition to Cornelis Ariaensz., Cornelis Harmensz., and Andries Verniers, about whom I could find no information. In addition, the "table girls" (*tafel meijsters*), who may have helped the auctioneer set up the sale or executed bids for absent bidders, bought one lot for f 1: 1:--.*

Francoijs Penijn de jonge, who bought a painting of Susanna for f 120 at the Thijsz. sale, was an apothecary, born circa 1566. He died shortly before 20 May 1628, when his widow, Sara Lodewijcks, had an inventory made of his possessions. The Orphan Chamber appointed Anthonie Thijsz., the son of Hans Thijsz. I, as the guardian of Francoijs's son Augustijn (WK 5073/968). Jan Thivaert II, the son of the sugar refiner and art dealer Jan Thivaert, was the other guardian.

Adriaen van Loosvelt probably bought lots at the Thijsz. sale for his brother or cousin Abraham van Loosvelt. When Abraham, born circa 1583, sugar refiner, was betrothed to Josina Pieters de Penijn on 21 May 1611, she was assisted by her *mell* Francoijs de Penijn (who has just been discussed) (DTB 415/93).

Anna Boschert (or Bosschaert) was the sister of Paulus Woutersz. Bosschaert, pastry baker who was also a buyer at Orphan Chamber auctions. She was the aunt of Margriete Bosschaert, the daughter of Dominicus Bosschaert, who married Jasper Jansz. Vickevoort (or Wickevoort), again a buyer at auction. She was most probably the daughter of the merchant Paulus Bosschaert, who was given a power of attorney to represent Hans Thijsz. I in 1605 (see the text of this chapter).

The other buyers cannot, at the present time, be connected with the Thijsz. family. Two of them were at least part-time art dealers (Jan Basse and Elbert Joosten) and three more were *uitdraagsters* (Graeffin, Aeltge Sieuwens, and Trijn Harmens, known as Dicke Trijn), who are unlikely to have been related to Hans Thijsz. Engel Sijmons., baptized on 8 October 1587, was the son of the jeweler and money changer Sijmen Sijmenss.⁵⁵⁴ Laurens Charles was a silk merchant, born in Anwerp in 1561 who became a citizen of Amsterdam in 1587. Laurens Dubbelworst was ap-

pointed guardian over the children of minor age of the bookseller Jacob Pietersz. Paedts in 1612.⁵⁵⁵ He may himself have been connected with the book trade. Valerius van Gistel I was a prominent grain merchant and insurer. Egbert de Wit was a hat-maker. Both Van Gistel and De Wit were Lutherans. Aefge Dircx Wort, widow of the English merchant Willem Haseldijn, remarried with Robbert Wort (or Wert). She bought lots at several sales and may have been “in the trade”. Jan de Bisschop was probably the son of Philip de Bisschop, a member of a prominent Remonstrant family, who was a member of the *Vroedschap* of Amsterdam from 1584 until his death in 1623.⁵⁵⁶ Little is known about Guilliam van Eyndhoven. He was certainly a close acquaintance of the rich merchant Jan van Valckenburg, whom he had known at least since 1586, and he may have been a relative.⁵⁵⁷

Art Collectors and Painters II: Jacob Swalmius and Rembrandt

Jacob Swalmius and Guiliaem van Neurenburgh bought many lots of prints, drawings and miscellaneous objects at the sale of Jan Basse of March 1637 and of Gommer Spranger of February 1638.⁵⁵⁸ The evidence I will present shows that they were both in close contact with Rembrandt. The conjecture will be developed in this chapter that they were his pupils (the first with some probability, the second, much more tentatively).

Only 20 Rembrandt pupils are known from contemporary documents with any degree of certainty. In addition, there were seven painters mentioned by Arnold Houbraken as having been Rembrandt pupils who were not cited as such in contemporary documents.⁵⁵⁹ This total of 27 artists about whom it may be said with some confidence that they were Rembrandt pupils were presumably a small fraction of the “almost innumerable children of distinguished families” who, according to Joachim Sandrart, paid 100 gulden per year – apparently without benefit of board or lodging – for the privilege of taking lessons from the great master.⁵⁶⁰ The other possible pupils are based on affinities of style with Rembrandt or on ambiguous contemporary references. Some of those known only from their works may have studied with Rembrandt only a short time to learn his way of painting.⁵⁶¹

We first encounter Jacob Swalmius on November 17, 1635, when he witnessed the testament of Rembrandt van Rijn and his wife Saskia van Uylenburgh in Rembrandt’s house. The clerk called him Jacob van der Swalme but he signed neatly, on the same line as Rembrandt, “Jacob Swalmus” (sic).⁵⁶² Witnesses to wills, other than notaries’ clerks, who signed last wills in the house of the testators, were often friends or close acquaintances who could be trusted to keep the terms of the will confidential.⁵⁶³ The clerk wrote his name as Jacob Swalmius when he bought 8 lots at the Jan Basse auction of 1637 – 7 lots of prints, one of drawings and a “little book”. When Swalmius bought one of these lots, he was identified by the clerk of the Orphan Chamber as “*Jacob Swalmius in de Molsteegh tot Schelde Dirricxsz.*”, which probably means that he was lodging with the ivory carver (auction buyer and collector) Schelde Dirricxsz.⁵⁶⁴ The Molsteeg was situated in the ninth Wijk, near the Old Side Voorburgwal (not far from the present-day Central Station). It was within easy walking distance from the Vlooiënburgh (in the eleventh Wijk) where Rembrandt lived. Another buyer at the Basse auction who was living “*tot Scheltes*” at the very same time was Guiliaem van Neurenburgh. Both Swalmius and Van Neurenburgh also



4: Rembrandt van Rijn, Portrait of Petrus Sylvius, Etching, 96 x 82 mm, Amsterdam, The Rembrandthuis

bought at the Gommer Spranger sale of 1638. At that sale Swalmius, who by this time was said to be “*tot Hondekote*” (probably the painter Gillis de Hondecoeter),⁵⁶⁵ bought three lots of Dürer prints. In appendix 2 to this chapter I discuss the pattern of purchases of both men at the Basse and Spranger sales.

Jacob van der Swalme/Swalmius was almost certainly the son of Carel van der Swalme (1587-1640), commissioner of the Convoys and Licenses in IJzendijke and dike-reeve (*dijkgraaf*) of the Orange Polder in Flemish Zeeland (territory recovered from Spain). Carel was the brother of Henricus Swalmius (1577-1649), *predikant* in Haarlem, portrayed by Frans Hals in 1639;⁵⁶⁶ of Eleazer Swalmius, *predikant* in Amsterdam, portrayed by Rembrandt in or around 1638;⁵⁶⁷ and of Arnoldus Swalmius, *predikant* in 's Gravesande.⁵⁶⁸ He is the only one of the four brothers who kept the family name Van der Swalme. Jacob was born on 9 November 1614. There is no evidence that he ever married. On 23 June 1645, he became *baillu* of IJzendijke.⁵⁶⁹ He was still alive in 1660 when an accounting was made of the estate of Henricus Swalmius after the death of Henricus's second wife Ifje Willems van Weert. It is barely possible that he is identical with the individual named Jakob van der Swaeleme who was buried in Amsterdam, coming from the Heiligenweg, in the Leidsche Kerkhof on 28 May 1671.⁵⁷⁰

Eleazer Swalmius was born in Rhoon in 1582 and was ordained *predikant* in Poortugaal and Hoogvliet (near Rotterdam) in 1605. He sided with the Counter-remonstrants in their bitter dispute with the partisans of Arminius.⁵⁷¹ In 1612, he was named *predikant* in Schiedam, where he remained for ten years, although he was “lent out” to churches in The Hague (in 1617) and Utrecht (in 1619). He was called to Amsterdam in 1620, but because his parishioners in Schiedam refused to release him, he did not move to Amsterdam until 1622.⁵⁷² We shall see presently that the connections he made in Schiedam were an important part of his network of acquaintances. He married Eva Ruardi (or Ruardus), the daughter of Ruardus Acronius (Vinning), in Schiedam on 16 September 1606. He was buried in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam on 4 (?) June 1652.⁵⁷³

Eleazer's daughter Catharina (or Trijntje), born in Poortugaal about 1615, was betrothed to Wilhelmus Dilburgh, born in Amsterdam about 1610, on 17 March 1645. She was living, most probably with her parents, on the Herengracht. She signed the betrothal act “Catharijna van der Swalmen”. When their son Eleazer was baptized in the Oude Kerk on 17 May 1647, Hendrick Swalmius (Eleazar's brother, Henricus, *predikant* in Haarlem) and Eva Ruardus were witnesses.⁵⁷⁴

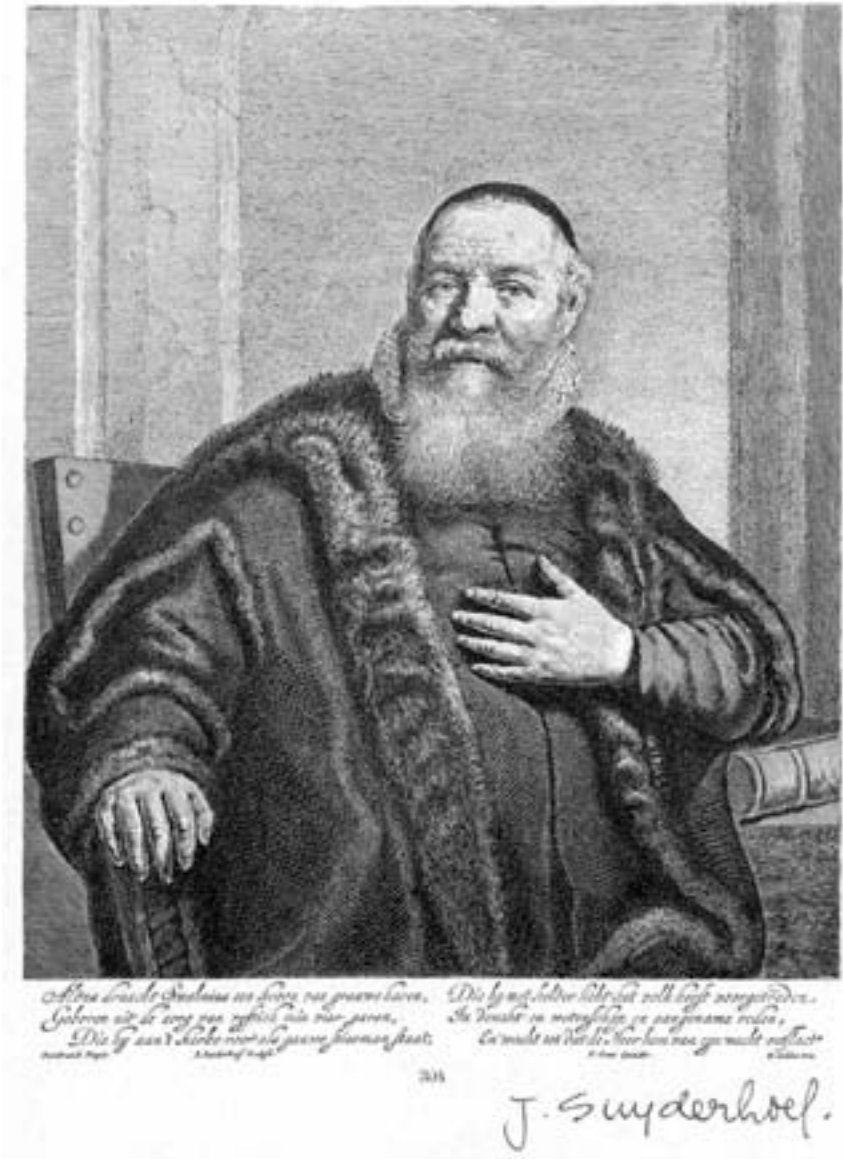
Via his sister Sibilla, Wilhelmus Dilburgh was linked to another *predikant* in Rembrandt's family circle. On 18 May 1638 Sibilla was betrothed to Petrus Joannes Sylvius (1610-1653), the son of the *predikant* Jan Cornelis Sylvius (1564-1638).⁵⁷⁵ One year previously, in a print dated 1637, Rembrandt had etched the portrait of Petrus Sylvius (ill. no. 4).⁵⁷⁶ The portrait of his father Jan Cornelis senior was twice etched by Rembrandt, once in 1633 and then, posthumously, in 1638.⁵⁷⁷ Jan Cornelis Sylvius was the husband of Alida van Uylenburgh, the cousin of Rembrandt's

wife Saskia. When the pre-nuptial contract of Petrus and Sybilla was signed on the day before the betrothal, the bridegroom was assisted by his father, the *predikant* Jan Cornelis Sylvius; Sybilla was assisted by her presumed brothers Wilhelmus and Johannes Dilburgh. To add even more density to this Rembrandtesque milieu, Romhout Kemp, one of the two sergeants depicted in Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*, witnessed the ceremony.⁵⁷⁸

Eleazer's younger daughter, named Helena (or Hilletje), baptized in Schiedam on 14 February 1618,⁵⁷⁹ was betrothed to Adriaen Banck, from Schiedam, 23 years old on 3 May 1641.⁵⁸⁰ She was assisted by her father Eleazer Swalmius and her mother Yffje (Eva) Ru(w)ardus. Jasper van Wallendael made an illegible declaration, which probably concerned the consent of one or more of Adriaen Banck's parents.⁵⁸¹ Jasper Wallendael, born circa 1589, was also from Schiedam. When he had his son Nicolaes baptized on 10 September 1629, the witness of record was Joris Aertsz. Banck, the father of Adriaen Banck.⁵⁸² Adriaen Banck's acquaintance with his future father-in-law Eleazer Swalmius must have dated from his childhood in Schiedam. When Adriaen was nine years old, his brother Cornelis was baptized in Schiedam's *Hervormde Kerk* in the presence of Dominee Swalmius, who, as the first witness named, is likely to have been the baby's godfather.⁵⁸³ Six months after her marriage to Adriaen Banck, Helena Swalmius, who had probably died in childbirth, was buried in Amsterdam's Oude Kerk (on 18 November 1641).⁵⁸⁴

Adriaen Banck, canvas dealer (*kanvashandelaar*), became a citizen of Amsterdam on 30 July 1642.⁵⁸⁵ Five years later, in 1647, Banck bought a painting of "Susanna" directly from Rembrandt, as he declared at the request of Titus's guardian Louys Crayers, 12 years later.⁵⁸⁶ Banck remarried with Maria Boll from Haarlem. The betrothal took place in Amsterdam on 22 July 1649.⁵⁸⁷ The couple made their testament on 29 March 1650.⁵⁸⁸ They named each other universal heirs. If she died first, he would be obligated to give 15,000 *f* to her surviving child or children. But if he died first, she would have to give his child or children, or heirs *ab intestato*, 30,000 *f* Banck, evidently, was comfortably well off.

After Eleazer Swalmius died in January 1652, his widow Eva Ruardus specified in her testament of 1655 that the portraits of herself, her husband, and a deceased daughter, probably painted by Rembrandt, should be kept for her grandson.⁵⁸⁹ This grandson is presumed to have been Joannes Dilburgh who was baptized in Amsterdam on 8 February 1646.⁵⁹⁰ In a second will, Eva Ruardus repeated this provision, specifying that the third portrait was that of Hilletje (the late wife of Adriaen Banck).⁵⁹¹ Eva must have died shortly before 12 March 1659 when her post-mortem inventory was taken.⁵⁹² The inventory was drawn up at the request of her two sons-in-law, Wilhelmus Delburgh (Dilburgh) and Adriaen Banck. The attorney Jacob de la Mijne and Cornelis Jansz. Slooterdijck were the executors of the late widow's testament. There were 10 portraits in the inventory, including two of the daughters Trijntje (Catharina) and Hilletje (Helena) and another of Hilletje. The other identified portraits represented "grandparents and greatgrandparents Swalmius".⁵⁹³ The



5: Jonas Suyderhoef (after Rembrandt), "Portrait of Eleazer Swalmius", Etching, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

“grandparents Swalmius” were probably Eleazer and Eva. There were also six portraits of princes and princesses of the House of Orange. The most numerous category of paintings in the inventory (none of which was attributed) consisted of landscapes (18). There were only two religious subjects (a Samaritan woman and a Maria). The portraits of Eleazer Swalmius, Eva Ruardus, and Hiletje Swalmius were

indeed left to the grandson (Johannes Dilburgh) who, in 1672, stated in his testament that he was leaving all his goods to his wife (Anna Mom) except for “the three portraits by Rembrandt”.⁵⁹⁴ The grandson, Johannes (Jan) Willem Dilburgh, who became a doctor in medicine in Amsterdam and also lived in Utrecht, was buried in his native city on 12 January 1696. On 29 May 1702, his children, Johannes, Constantia, Eleasar Swalmius Dilburgh and Dirck Dilburgh (the last two still of minor age), living in Utrecht, gave their mother Anna Mom power of attorney to collect some goods they had inherited from their greatgrandmother Eva Ruardus.⁵⁹⁵ The Rembrandt portraits may have descended to one of these children.

Some time in 1659 (the exact date is not known), Adriaen Banck, about 46 years old, made a deposition at the request of Sr. Louys Crayers, the guardian of Rembrandt’s son Titus, in which he declared that he had purchased from Rembrandt a painting of Susanna for 500 *f* in the year 1647.⁵⁹⁶

On 31 August 1660, the honorable Adriaen Banck, merchant in Amsterdam, sold a number of distinguished paintings to Adriaen Maen, a merchant in Schiedam.⁵⁹⁷ Adriaen Maen was his brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Maria Joris Banck.⁵⁹⁸ The sale may have been fictitious: it may just have been a way for Adriaen Banck to borrow money from Maen, who would be sure of repayment in case of his brother-in-law’s death. One of the paintings ceded to Maen was a Susanna by Rembrandt, presumably the one he had purchased directly from the artist in 1647, which Banck sold for 560 *f*. The other two Rembrandt works were “my portrait” (150 *f*) and a sketch of an unidentified subject (30 *f*). After the three Rembrants, the following paintings were listed: two pieces by Munix of soldiers (85 *f*), a piece by Van der Swalmen of Lucretia (85 *f*), a banquet piece by (Willem?) Heda (50 *f*), and a piece by (Ferdinand) Bol of Paris (70 *f*). The Lucretia by Van der Swalmen is presumed to have been painted by Jacob van der Swalme/Swalmius.⁵⁹⁹ The proximity of a painting by Bol, who entered Rembrandt’s studio in 1636,⁶⁰⁰ is suggestive too. There was also a large print of Eleazer Swalmius, which was probably the engraving by Jonas Suyderhoef, inscribed “Rembrandt pinxit” (ill. no. 5). Beside these works of art, the collection was graced by a large hunting scene by Rubens (300 *f*), two large landscapes by (Jacob or Salomon van) Ruisdael (130 *f*) and another piece by (Willem?) Heda (30 *f*). I was not able to trace the fate of the collection either in Amsterdam or in Schiedam after this transfer.

From these disparate pieces of information, I tentatively conclude that Jacob Swalmius was a pupil of Rembrandt, one of these “almost countless children of distinguished families” who contributed to Rembrandt’s extraordinarily high income from teaching in the 1630s and the early 1640s.

In the preparation of this chapter, I became aware of the importance of Reformed *predikanten* among Rembrandt’s contacts and in his milieu. In the literature on Rembrandt, much has been made of his relation with Remonstrants and Anabaptists (by Gary Schwartz in particular), perhaps because it was believed that Rembrandt was inclined toward one or both of these beliefs.⁶⁰¹ But the Counter-Remonstrant preach-

ers that Rembrandt dealt with or who belonged to his circle have been neglected, with the exception of Schwartz's illuminating remarks on the English preacher Johannes Elison and on his sons.⁶⁰² We have seen that Rembrandt etched the portrait of the orthodox *predikant* Johannes Sylvius, his cousin by marriage and the likely godfather of his son Rombertus, in 1633 and 1638, and the portrait of Silvius's son Petrus in 1637. Around 1637 or 1638, he painted the portrait of Eleazer Swalmius. We have also seen that Petrus Sylvius married the presumed sister of Eleazer's son-in-law Wilhelmus Dilburgh. Neither Eleazer Swalmius nor Petrus Sylvius is mentioned by Gary Schwartz or by Simon Schama. Volker Manuth, who does not cite Counter-Remonstrants in the list he provides of the religions of the individuals Rembrandt portrayed (moderate Calvinist-Remonstrants, Mennonites, Roman Catholics, and Jews), argues that "Rembrandt ... kept his distance from the Orthodox Calvinists".⁶⁰³ This assertion, which Manuth does not support with evidence, is perhaps in need of amendment, at least for the first part of Rembrandt's career in Amsterdam.

To the four Counter-Remonstrant preachers who clearly belonged to Rembrandt's milieu (Jan Cornelis Sylvius, Petrus Sylvius, Eleazer Swalmius, and Johannes Elison), I can now add a more distant fifth.⁶⁰⁴ On 14 March 1653, Rembrandt borrowed 4,200 *f* from Isaack van Hertsbeeck.⁶⁰⁵ From that date on, Van Hertsbeeck and Rembrandt are linked through many documents, mainly in the former's quality as creditor of Rembrandt's insolvent estate. By the time Rembrandt received the loan, Isaack's sister Hester had been married for nearly twenty years to the staunch Counter-remonstrant *predikant* Festus Hommius, who helped draft the resolutions of the great Dordrecht synod of 1618.⁶⁰⁶ Fifteen months after the loan agreement was concluded, on 25 June 1654, Hendrickje Stoffels was summoned by the Church Council for being unmarried and pregnant and was finally accused of committing whoredom with Rembrandt. Van Hertsbeeck may have been the last member of the Orthodox Calvinist party to do Rembrandt a favor.⁶⁰⁷ Portrait commissions by members of this group were already long past. After the confrontation of Hendrickje with the Church Council, Rembrandt could only expect animosity from that quarter.

Guilliaem van Neurenburgh and the Basse and Spranger Sales of 1637 and 1638

The circumstantial evidence for justifying the suggestion that Guilliaem van Neurenburgh was also Rembrandt's pupil rests on the pattern of Van Neurenburgh's purchases at auction and on the fact that, together with Jacob Swalmius, he lodged with the ivory carver Schelte Dirricxsz. in the Molsteeg on the Old Side.⁶⁰⁸

One difficulty with this hypothesis lies in determining whether the buyer at auction was the father or the son, both of whom went by the name of Willem or Guilliaem van Neurenburgh.⁶⁰⁹ Since the beginning of the 16th century, the Van Neurenburgh family had been well known as purveyors of natural stone (*blaeusteen*), chiefly for the construction of churches and other public edifices, in various parts of the Netherlands.⁶¹⁰

At first these builders-contractors operated out of Maastricht and Namen (Namur), but by 1585, Coenraad van Neurenburgh III had settled in Dordrecht, where he and his family became members of the (Reformed) Walloon church. He died in 1608. At least two of his sons, Coenraad IV, born about 1571, and Willem II, born *circa* 1575, followed him in the family trade.⁶¹¹ By 1624, Willem II had become the full owner of his father's business. When "Guilliaem van Neurenburgh" first emerged as a buyer at an Orphan Chamber auction in March 1637, Willem II would have been about 62, surely too old to be a pupil of Rembrandt.⁶¹² His last known delivery of stone – to the Hoogheemraadschap of Delftland in 1640 – may have taken place shortly before his death. Bruijn and Huisman, the authors of the most complete article on the Van Neurenburgh family, argue that Willem II was the collector who bought at auction in Amsterdam in 1637 and 1638.⁶¹³ This, as I shall now show, is at least disputable.

At some unknown date, Willem van Neurenburgh II married Anna Willemot. Their first son, named Joannes, was baptized on 24 February 1613. He had a fairly distinguished career as one of Dordrecht's regents, serving as a member of the city Council from 1630 on and as an alderman in various years. On 24 July 1634, he married Elisabeth Trip, daughter of Jacob Trip and of Margaretha de Geer, who, late in life, were portrayed by Rembrandt.⁶¹⁴ Another son of Willem and Maria, named Coenraat (V), was baptized on 28 June 1615; a third, named Willem (III), on 13 October 1619.⁶¹⁵ The authors of this study about the Van Neurenburgh family inform us that nothing is known about this last-named son. The absence of any information about Willem III suggests that he may have died early, that he had moved away from Dordrecht, or both. I conjecture that Willem or Guilliaem van Neurenburgh III may have been the buyer at auction at the Basse auction of 1637 who lodged, together with Jacob Swalmius, with Schelte (Schelde) Dirricxsz. on the Molsteeg. He would have been 18 years old in 1637.⁶¹⁶ By 1638, when the Spranger sale took place, he had moved out of Schelte Dirricxsz's house and was said to be lodging "next to the Lamb's brewery" on the Singel (on the new side of Amsterdam).⁶¹⁷ Since Willem van Neurenburgh senior, who was quite well off, possessed a house on the Keizersgracht,⁶¹⁸ there would have been no reason for him to lodge with an ivory carver of modest means in 1637 and 1638. It seems more probable that his son Guilliaem was living with Schelte Dirricxsz. He may have bought prints at auction for his father or for his own account *qua* artist.

I now turn to the two important sales – that of Jan Basse in March 1637 and that of Gommer Spranger in February 1638 – at which Rembrandt, Jacob Swalmius, and Guilliaem van Neurenburgh all bought numerous lots. (Selected lots sold in these two sales are shown in tables 2 and 3 of the Appendix to this chapter.)

The Basse sale took place in 17 sessions stretching into as many days. Rembrandt was present and bought lots at the sessions of March 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 19; Swalmius, at the sessions of March 13, 16, 18, 19, and 20; Van Neurenburgh, at the sessions of March 10, 11, 14, 18, 19, and 20. Isabella van Eeghen, in an important article devoted in part to these two sales, was the first to publish some notes that

the auctioneer Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen had jotted down in the back of the notebook containing the records of the sale.⁶¹⁹ These notes are only partly readable, but the inference she made from them seems correct. Under the name Smijters, the auctioneer had written:

[...]ant van Remb. Guilliaem Neurenb. 3.18.-
1 dito – David ter Haer 5.-
1 dito Guiliaem Neurenb. 4.2

Samuel Smijters, a merchant, nephew of the well-known school teacher Anthonie Smijters, published translations of religious works (by Clément Marot, Theodore de Bèze and Petrus Dathenius) and psalms (with musical accompaniment). He too, like his uncle Anthony Smijters, seems to have been a Counter-Remonstrant. He was a frequent buyer of prints at Orphan Chamber auctions, including of course the Basse sale. He must have been closely acquainted with Rembrandt, who etched his portrait.⁶²⁰ It is possible that he was the surety for Rembrandt's purchases. David ter Haer was a jeweler who also frequently bought at auction.

The inscription “[...]ant van Remb.” probably refers to Rembrandt's account (The partially illegible word is probably “Restant”). Ms. van Eeghen pointed out that Rembrandt bought prints for *f* 3:18:-- on March 14, two little prints (*printjes*) for *f* 5:--:-- on the same day, and “some volute shells” (*wat horens*) for *f* 4: 2:-- on March 19. These are very likely to have been the three lots that Daniel van Beuningen was referring to in his notes. Did Rembrandt buy these lots on behalf of Van Neurenburgh and Ter Haer because they could not attend these particular sessions of the sale? In the case of Van Neurenburgh, this possibility is excluded, seeing that he was present and bought lots on both March 14 and 19.⁶²¹ In the case of Ter Haer, it cannot be excluded: he was indeed absent – or at least he did not buy any lots – on March 14. Nevertheless, the most likely explanation, put forward by Ms. van Eeghen, is that Rembrandt ceded some lots to these two buyers and that the auctioneer Daniel van Beuningen was expected to collect the money due for the lots from them. Van Beuningen's notes at least establish a direct contact between Rembrandt and Van Neurenbergh.

Gommer Spranger, whose post-mortem sale took place in 6 sessions from 9 to 14 February 1638, was the nephew of Bartholomeus Spranger. Born in Antwerp, he first went to work for an uncle in Moscovy, then settled in Amsterdam in 1600, where he became a wealthy merchant. He was buried on 12 October 1637.⁶²² According to a deposition made by Gommer Spranger and two of his brothers ten years after the event, he had traveled to Prague in 1611, at risk of his life, to settle the estate of his uncle Bartholomeus. He had brought back with him, from Prague to Amsterdam, numerous wood blocks and copper plates that had belonged to his uncle. In the probate inventory taken after Gommer Spranger's death, there was a case with four copper plates: “the dreamer”, the “*tasvloyer*”, “the cook” (all three by Dürer), and “Sint Bartholomeus” (by Spranger).⁶²³ The full titles of the Dürer prints are “The Dream of

the Doctor” (Bartsch 76), “The Offer of Love” (Bartsch 93)⁶²⁴ (ill. no. 6), and “The Cook and His Wife” (Bartsch 84). According to Ms. van Eeghen, various copper plates after Spranger were engraved by Jan Harmensz. Muller, the Amsterdam print-maker (also a buyer at auction). All these plates and many prints taken from them turned up at the auction of February 1638.



6: Albrecht Dürer, “The Offer of Love” (*De tasvloyer*), 93 x 89.1 mm, Engraving

I will concentrate on the Dürer material which was the most abundant and expensive (at least in the total that it brought at the auction.) Twenty-eight Dürer blocks and plates were sold at the Spranger auction, some with titles, some without. Of these, 21, consisting of woodcut blocks of the Life of the Virgin, were sold to the print-maker and dealer Cornelis Danckertsz. for 13 *f* 15 st. a piece, for a total of 288 *f* 15 st. After the sale of these blocks, 73 sets of the Life of the Virgin, presumably pulled from these same plates, were sold to 28 buyers (15 were sold for cash). The more important buyers included Rembrandt (9 sets), the painter Jan Looten (8 sets), the collector Isaack Soolmans (Sollemans) (7 sets), the painter and broker Hugo Voskuijl (4 sets), the collector Abraham Alewijn (3 sets), the calligrapher and presumed print dealer Hendrick Meurs (2 sets), and the art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh (2 sets). That artists who at least occasionally dealt in art works and full-time dealers should have bought multiple sets for sale requires no explanation. It is less clear why private collectors like Soolmans and Alewijn should have done so. (Since Soolmans bought 7 sets in a row at identical prices, the quality of the paper and of the printing can hardly have been an issue). The only explanation that comes to mind is that they bought duplicates to exchange with other collectors or dealers.⁶²⁵ Jacob Swalmius and Guiliaem van Neurenburgh each bought one set (at 1 *f* 18 st. and 1 *f* 19 st., respectively, these prices being virtually identical with those paid by Rembrandt).⁶²⁶ Hugo Voskuijl and Abraham Alewijn both paid the highest price: 2 *f* 3 st. for a dozen. I go into these details because they are relevant to the issue of collusion raised by Isabella van Eeghen concerning the following plates (“The Cook”, “The Dreamer”, and “The *tasvloyer*” and the prints that were pulled from them. She argued that Rembrandt, Smijters, and Van Neurenburgh must have “spoken over” these lots before the sale – that is, conspired not to bid against each other to keep prices low.⁶²⁷

The first copper plate sold with an identifiable subject, “The Cook”, was bought by Samuel Smijters for 21 *f*. Later in the sale 8 dozen examples of the print were auctioned. Rembrandt took the first dozen for 2 *f*. Guiliaem van Neurenburgh and Jacob Swalmius both paid 2 *f* 2 st. and Hendrick Meurs, 2 *f* 1 st. per dozen (for two dozen), Abraham Alewijn and Hugo Voskuijl, 2 *f* 3 st. for a dozen each. There is no evidence of collusion in this case, even though Rembrandt did buy his lot at a slightly lower price than the others. Next came the copper plate of “The Dreamer”, bought by Van Neurenburgh for 18 *f*. Eight lots containing 12 prints of the subject were sold to Rembrandt, Smijters, Pieter de la Tombe (print dealer),⁶²⁸ Soolmans, Uylenburgh, and Herman Rendorp⁶²⁹ at exactly 1 *f* 16 st. per lot. The exception was a lot of 12 bought by Abraham Alewijn for 3 *f*. It is quite possible in this case, as Van Eeghen suggested, that the first successful bidder, Samuel Smijters, was offered six more lots of a dozen each at the same price of 1 *f* 16 st., which he accepted and then resold to Rembrandt *et al.* at the same price. This would be rigging of the most innocuous kind, perhaps even admissible to the auctioneer. The fact that Alewijn paid 3 *f* for his dozen, which was nearly twice as much as the other seven buyers paid, does not necessarily imply that this was a rigged price. After all, he could have bought the first

dozen at a price slightly in excess of 1 *f* 16 st. The set he purchased may have been exceptional, perhaps printed on special paper.

Neither Van Neurenburgh nor Swalmius bought any prints from the “Dreamer” plate. In the case of the former, the explanation is obvious: why should he buy prints from a plate that was already in his possession? None of the other buyers of plates are known to have done so. But Swalmius’s absence among the successful bidders is more interesting. He seems always to have bought prints whenever his former housemate did so. In this case, he may have depended on his friend to give him or to sell him at a low price “pulls” from the plate in his (Van Neurenburgh’s) possession.

Finally, the copper plate of “The *tasuloyer*” was sold to Samuel Smijters for 9 *f* 15 st. All sets sold at a later point in the sale consisted of one dozen prints of the plate, except for one consisting of 18 prints. Hugo Voskuijl paid 2 *f* 1 st. for a dozen. Rembrandt paid only 1 *f* 10 st. Jacob Swalmius paid 1 *f* 16 st. for his set and Guilliaem van Neurenburgh, 1 *f* 11 st. for his. Isaack Soolmans also paid 1 *f* 11 st. The remaining lots, which all went to Hendrick Meurs, sold for 1 *f* 12 st., except for the set of 18 prints which sank to 1 *f* 2 st. I can see no collusion here, although I am intrigued that Rembrandt should again have been the lowest-price buyer.

About all I can conclude from this lengthy analysis is that, whenever lots were sold that attracted a small number of buyers (unlike “The Life of the Virgin”, which was apparently quite popular), some mild degree of collusion among people who were well acquainted with each other, as Rembrandt, Pieter de la Tombe, Hendrick Uylenburgh, and Samuel Smijters undoubtedly were, is likely to have occurred. The fact that Van Neurenburgh had bought two lots from Rembrandt at the Jan Basse sale in the previous year adds to the presumption that he too belonged to this inner circle, as did of course Jacob Swalmius. But there is no clear evidence that they conspired with Rembrandt to hold down prices.

Appendix to chapter 17

Table 17.1

Selected Buyers at the Basse Sale of 1637⁶³⁰

Lot	Item Purchased	Price (gulden)	Buyer
238	uts.(a number of prints)	4.75	Guilleam van Neurenburgh
254	ibid.	1.05	Rembrandt
272	ibid.	1.25	ibid.
377	a number of prints	5.25	Rembrandt
378	ibid.	2.0	ibid.
393	ibid.	2.5	ibid.
394	ibid.	3.3	ibid.
395	ibid.	1.0	ibid.
398	ibid.	1.2	ibid.
405	ibid.	3.4	ibid.

411	ibid.	2.85	ibid.
417	ibid.	0.7	Guilliem van Neurenburgh
427	ibid.	4.3	Rembrandt
575	2 art books (<i>konstboecken</i>)	2.7	Rembrandt
637	a set of prints	1.0	ibid.
644	ibid.	0.9	ibid.
647	ibid.	2.1	ibid.
679	a little book (probably illustrated)	3.0	Jacobus Swalmius in the Mosteegh “ <i>tot Schelde Dierricx</i> ”
685	a set of prints	2.5	Jacobus Swalmius
688	a set of prints	2.0	ibid.
704	ibid.	4.3	ibid.
710	ibid.	3.8	Rembrandt
713	ibid.	3.4	ibid.
717	1 uts.(drawing)	1.05	ibid.
729	a number of drawings	1.2	ibid.
736	a number of prints	1.5	ibid.
776	ibid.	0.9	Guilliam van Neuren[ergh]
840	ibid.	1.25	Rembrandt
841	ibid.	2.5	ibid.
842	ibid.	3.9	ibid.
846	ibid.	1.0	ibid.
847	ibid.	1.15	ibid.
848	ibid.	0.8	ibid.
849	ibid.	1.05	ibid.
850	ibid.	0.4	ibid.
852	ibid.	1.0	ibid.
856	ibid.	2.5	ibid.
857	ibid.	1.95	ibid.
858	ibid.	1.9	ibid.
860	ibid.	3.4	ibid.
861	ibid.	2.2	ibid.
868	ibid.	2.0	ibid.
872	a print of Rafael	12.0	ibid.
874	two little prints	5.0	ibid.
988	some white paper	4.6	ibid.
1005	a number of prints	2.8	ibid.
1006	ibid.	4.0	ibid.
1007	ibid.	5.0	ibid.
1013	a number of prints	6.5	Jacobus Swalmius
1144	ibid.	3.7	Rembrandt
1194	ibid.	2.2	Guilliaem Neurenburgh
1198	1 empty art book (<i>constboeck</i>)	2.0	ibid.
1215	1 empty book	1.4	ibid.
1215	a number of prints	3.05	Jacobus Swalmius
1230	a few prints	1.3	Guilliaem Neurenburgh
1250	uts.(a number of drawings)	4.0	ibid.

1254	some volutes (<i>horens</i>)	4.1	Rembrandt
1258	2 volutes	2.1	Gulliaem Neurenburgh
1263	3 volutes	2.5	Rembrandt
1266	2 volutes	2.35	ibid.
1274	a few prints	3.6	solvit [crossed out: Leendert Cornelisz. disciple of Rembrandt] ⁶³¹
1290	a number of drawings	4.1	Jacobus Swalmius
1306	a cockleshell volute (<i>kockieltje horen</i>)	11.0	Rembrandt
1312	a number of drawings	5.25	ibid.
1315	ibid.	4.1	Guilliam Neurenburgh
1320	no. 138 a grisaille	13.5	ibid.
1321	two drawings	1.65	Leendert Cornelisz.
1323	no. 5 by Aertge (van Leyden)	6.25	Guilliaem Neurenburgh
1326	a few prints	0.9	ibid.
1345	prints	2.35	Jacobus Swalmius
1346	ditto (prints)	2.2	Guilliaem van Neurenburgh
1351	2 little heads (<i>hooftjes</i>)	0.15	ibid.
1352	a number of prints	2.7	ibid.
1360	drawings	2.15	ibid.

Note: The lot numbers have been added. In a couple of cases (lots 1320 and 1323), the numbers placed after the lot numbers seem to correspond to the numbers in a catalogue of the sale, no copies of which have survived. The names of buyers are spelled as in the original manuscript.

Table 17.2

Selected buyers at Gommer Spranger sale, 12, 13, and 14 February 1638

Lot	Title	Price (gulden)	Buyer
12 February			
174	A book of proportions by Albor Duer	2.5	Michiel le Blon
177	1 plate of Alborduer	6.0	Abraham Alewijn
178	1 ditto (plate of Alborduer)	10.25	Cornelis Danckertsz.
179	1 ditto (plate of Alborduer) of the Trinity	11.0	Cornelis Danckertsz.
180	a plate of Alborduer	21.5	Abraham Alewijn
181	Life of the Virgin (<i>Vrou leven</i>) woodcuts by Alborduer (21 plates) ⁶³²	288.75	Cornelis Danckertsz.
182	a copper plate of Alborduer of the purse fleecer (<i>tas vloijer</i>) ⁶³³	9.75	Samuel Smijters
183	a copper plate of Alborduer of the dreamer (<i>droomer</i>) ⁶³⁴	18.0	Guljam Neurenburgh next to the Lamb Brewery on the Singel
184	a copper plate of Alborduer of the cook (<i>de kock</i>) ⁶³⁵	21.0	Samuel Smijters

13 February

295	1 ditto (life of the Virgin, by Dürer) (tot Hondekote)	1.9	Jacob Swalmius
296	ibid.	2.0	Mr. Hendrick Meurs
297	ibid.	2.0	solvit
298	ibid.	2.35	Rembrandt
299	6 ditto (life of the Virgin by Dürer), 36 st. a piece	10.8	Isaack Sonnemans
300	96 images of Mary	2.2	Hendrick Uylenburgh
301	109 coats-of-arms	1.55	ibid.
302	60 St. Francis (<i>Franciskes</i>)	1.3	Pieter la Tombe
303	a passion by Alturff (Altdörffer)	1.35	Abraham Alewijn
304	220 Trinities	10.75	Cornelis Danckertsz.
305	140 Communion(<i>Avondt malen</i>)	4.3	Mr. Hendrick Meurs
306	a number of diverse prints	0.95	Harmen Rendorp
307	12 cooks Alborduer	2.0	Rembrandt
308	ditto	2.1	Guilliaem Neurenberch
309	ditto	2.05	Hendrick Meurs
310	ditto	2.1	Jacob Swalmius
311	ditto	2.05	solvit
312	ditto	2.05	Mr. Hendrick Meurs
313	ditto	2.15	Abraham Alewijn
314	ditto	2.15	Hugo Voskuijl
315	12 purse fleecers	2.05	Hugo Voskuijl
316	ditto	1.8	Jacobus Swalmius
317	ditto	1.6	solvit
318	ditto	1.6	Hendrick Meurs
319	ditto	1.55	Guilliaem Neurenburch
320	ditto	1.5	Rembrandt
321	ditto	1.5	Hendrick Meurs
322	18 ditto	1.1	Jan Looten
323	12 ditto	1.11	Isaack Sollemans opt Water
324	12 dreamers by Alborduer	1.8	Samuel Smijters
325	ditto	1.8	Rembrandt
326	ditto	1.8	Pieter de la Tombe
327	ditto	1.8	Isaack Soolmans
328	ditto	1.8	Pieter de la Tombe
329	ditto	1.8	Hendrick Uylenburgh
330	ditto	3.0	Abraham Alewijn
331	2 lifes of the Virgin	4.0	Jan de Raedt
332	1 ditto	1.8	Harmen Rendorp
333	12 dreamers	1.16	Harmen Rendorp

14 February

334	a print by Rembrandt	3.0	Guilliaem Neurenburch
335	ditto	5.0	David ter Haer
336	ditto	4.0	Guilliaem Neurenburch

End of sale

Note: The lot numbers have been added. The names of buyers are spelled as in the original manuscript.

Source: GAA, WK 5073/962

Notes on selected buyers at the Basse and Spranger sales:

Abraham Alewijn (1607-1679): cloth merchant; an important collector, whose wealth was assessed at 400,000 *f* in 1674. The poet Jan Vos praised the works of art in the *Saal* of Alewijn's house.

Cornelis Danckertsz. II (?-1656): Engraver and print dealer, nephew of the architect and land surveyor Cornelis Danckertsz. I.

David ter Haer (1606-c.1643): Goldsmith and diamond merchant. He paid a tax of 25 *f* in 1631, corresponding to an assessed wealth of 5,000 *f*.

Jan Looten (1618-?): Landscape painter influenced by Jacob van Ruisdael. He paid a tax of 30 *f* in 1631, corresponding to a wealth assessment of 6,000 *f*.

Hendrick Meurs (1604-c.1640): Schoolmaster, calligrapher, and probably print dealer. After his death, his widow, Judith Cotermans, appeared before the Orphan Chamber and declared that her children with Hendrick Meurs were entitled to 4,000 *f* for their father's inheritance (WK 5073/789, 3 August 1640).

Guilliaem van Neurenburgh: See text.

Jan de Raedt: Brother-in-law of the important collector Gommer Spranger (at whose sale he bought some lots). After the death of Spranger, he became the guardian of his children in 1640. He paid a tax of 300 *f* in 1631, corresponding to an assessed wealth of 60,000 *f*.

Harmen Rendorp (de jonge): When he bought a lot at the Spranger sale, he was said to be "*knecht ten huis*". He may have been a merchant apprentice in Spranger's business. His father, Harmen Rendorp I (who died in 1625), a merchant by occupation, was a devoted Remonstrant.

Samuel Smijters (?-1644): Bookseller and, probably, print dealer. He paid a tax of 15 *f*, corresponding to an assessed wealth of 3,000 *f*. In the estate of Clement de Jonghe (1679), there was an etching of Rembrandt of the portrait of Samuel Smijters, which can no longer be identified with certainty.

Isaack Sollemans (Soolmans) (1586-aft. 1646): Cloth merchant. He paid a tax of 75 *f* in 1631, corresponding to an assessed wealth of 15,000 *f*. His son Marten, who married Oopje Coppit, was portrayed by Rembrandt in 1634.

Jacob Swalmius: See text.

Pieter de la Tombe (?-1674): Book seller and print dealer. Portrayed by Rembrandt, "both in his younger and his olden days". Owned a painting of the Samaritan Woman in common with Rembrandt.

Hendrick Uylenburgh (1589-1660): See Chapter 13.

Hugo (Huijch) Voskuijl (1593-1665): Painter and, later in life, broker (*makelaar*). He was probably a pupil of Pieter Isaacksz. He signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628.

Art Collectors and Painters III: Marten van den Broeck and Rembrandt's Losses at Sea

When Rembrandt, in July 1656, applied to the High Court in The Hague for permission to assign his remaining assets to his creditors to obtain relief from their demands (*cessio bonorum*), he cited as the reason for his financial difficulties “losses suffered in business, as well as damages and losses at sea”.⁶³⁶ These alleged “losses at sea” have generally been ignored in the Rembrandt literature, presumably because they could not be connected with any known facts in the artist’s life.⁶³⁷ In this chapter, I develop a conjecture regarding the putative participation of Rembrandt in the ill-fated shipping ventures of the auction buyer Marten van den Broeck.

Marten van den Broeck, regardless of any direct connection with Rembrandt, holds an important place in the study of the artist’s patronage because he owned five paintings by Rembrandt in 1647, including the first self-portrait that has been found in any contemporary inventory. The inventory drawn up after his bankruptcy in September 1650 contained many paintings, all without attribution, some of which, I will argue, were works that may have been by Rembrandt or are more likely to have come out of his atelier. (The works of art in his insolvent inventory are listed in the Appendix to this Chapter.)

Marten van den Broeck, born around the turn of the 17th century, was the son of Gregorius van den Broeck I and of Catherina Soolmans. His mother was the sister of Isaack Soolmans, who bought prints by Dürer along with Rembrandt in the Gommer Spranger sale of 1638. Soon after Isaack’s son, Marten Soolmans, born in 1615, married Oopje Coppit in 1634, the couple had their portraits painted by Rembrandt (now in the Rothschild collection). The portrait of Marten van den Broeck’s cousin is the only explicit connection with Rembrandt. The rest is based on circumstantial evidence.

Marten van den Broeck’s known purchases at auction were limited to the Jan Basse sale of 10 March 1637, where he bought 18 lots for a total of 42 *f* 12 *st*. Most of the lots were sheaves of untitled and unattributed prints (12 lots for 21 *f* 19 *st*.), ranging in price from 9 *stuivers* to an exceptional 10 *f* 5 *st*. In addition, he bought a drawing for 6 *f* 10 *st*., two inexpensive portraits, for 1 *f* 8 *st*. and 2 *f* 4 *st*., a painting of Adam and Eve for 4 *f*,⁶³⁸ two little untitled paintings for 1 *f* 6 *st*., and one little painting, also untitled, for 5 *f* 5 *st*. Beside a certain taste for works on paper, there is little we can infer

about his collecting (or his art-dealing) proclivities from these modest purchases.

Marten van den Broeck's primary occupation was that of a merchant dealing in silk cloth. On 25 June 1643, two dyers testified concerning a dispute they had had with Van den Broeck concerning the quality of the work they had done in dyeing 55 pounds of silk cloth that he had entrusted to them.⁶³⁹ On 14 February 1645, he signed a contract with Abraham Fonseca, a Portuguese merchant, according to the terms of which Van den Broeck would deliver to Fonseca eight bolts of white *saaijen* (a type of silk cloth) a week for the next six years. Fonseca undertook to buy *saaijen* from nobody else.⁶⁴⁰ Fonseca, a merchant of the Portuguese nation (Jewish), was 38 years old at the time, a few years younger than Marten van den Broeck.⁶⁴¹

Two years later, on 28 March 1647, Van den Broeck signed another contract which was much less routine than the one he had entered into with Fonseca.⁶⁴² This time he undertook to deliver to Sr. Andries Ackersloot, under the supervision of a certain Isaack Marcusz.,⁶⁴³ various diamonds, mounted and unmounted,⁶⁴⁴ a silver cup on a silver foot, some pearls, cloth, and some valuable paintings in exchange for ship's equipment (fine rope, 27 masts now reposing in Bicker's Island, iron bars and poles). The ship's equipment that Ackersloot was to supply exceeded the considerable sum of 8,000 *f*. The counterpart in diamonds, silver, and paintings was presumably worth the same sum. The paintings were these: a large landscape representing the mountain of Monsante in Granada;⁶⁴⁵ an old *tronie* dated 1493; an Ascension of the Virgin; a lute player by Ter Burg (probably Hendrick ter Bruggen); a portrait of the priest Jan Sebetino, very fine (*heel raar*); a portrait of the wife of Rembrandt; a portrait of Rembrandt; Abraham with the three angels by Rembrandt; the wetnurse (*minnemoer*) of Rembrandt; a brothel, judged to be by Sotte Cleef (Cornelis van Cleeff); an Italian landscape; a marine by Porcellis; a woman at the well (the Samaritan woman), judged to be by Lucas van Leyden; a landscape by Rembrandt; a little Chinese painting where the Migool [Mughal] goes hunting (*ter jacht gaet*); a woman's *tronie*, very fine, judged to be by (Anthony) Mor or Holbein; a man's portrait, very fine, judged to be by Dirck Barendsz.; a large landscape by Esaias van de Velde; a woman's *tronie* by Jan Lievenssen; a man's *tronie*, very fine, judged to be by Kay (Willem or Adriaen Key); an Italian Flora; a small *tronie*, judged to be by Kay (Willem or Adriaen Key); a woman who heats diapers (*die warmt luijeren*) very fine, judged to be by Alberduijr (Dürer); an image of Maria by Hans Sibbelbeen (probably Hans Sebald Beham); a Jeronimus (St. Jerome), very fine; a Prodigal Son by Frans Hals;⁶⁴⁶ a man with armor, Italian; a Venus by Goltijus (Goltzius); a Nativity (*karsnacht*), judged to be Italian; a *tronie* by Anthony Mor; a painting where Pan is skinned alive; a Virgin Mary, judged to be by Jacques de Backer; a Nativity by Badens; all of which had been seen and inspected by Sr. Ackersloot. In addition, Ackersloot had seen and accepted some cloth, 250 pounds of *colour* (probably dyed cloth), 20 ells in length of felt, and 5 dozen rubies.⁶⁴⁷ I will say something about the paintings that Van den Broeck had undertaken to deliver when I come to analyze the works of art in his insolvent inventory of 1650.

Andries Ackersloot can most probably be identified as the son of the Haarlem burgo-master Auwel Ackersloot and of Anna de Wit.⁶⁴⁸ He and his wife Dorothea Steijn were related to some of the richest and most prominent families in Haarlem. A 1651 document refers to a loan of 45,000 *f* that Dorothea's mother, Cornelia van der Meijden, had made to her son-in-law Andries Ackersloot, at some unknown date (probably no earlier than 1645).⁶⁴⁹ This large sum of money may have been used, at least in part, to finance the transaction with Marten van den Broeck. Ackersloot died between 1670, when he was still occupying a minor post in the Haarlem municipality, and March 1672 when Dorothea Steijn was cited as his widow. Apparently the couple had not prospered. In 1679, the aldermen of Haarlem sold eleven houses that had belonged to the repudiated estate of the late Dorothea Steijn, widow of *heer* Andries Ackersloot, the former secretary of the town of Haarlem.⁶⁵⁰ So far, it has not been possible to trace the paintings acquired by Ackersloot, either in a testament or in a probate inventory. More research in the Haarlem archives may reveal what happened to this extraordinary collection.

Returning to our 1647 transaction, we may well ask why a silk cloth merchant should ever want to exchange very valuable paintings and other precious objects for ship's equipment. The answer seems to be that Van den Broeck was in the business of freighting (or possibly equipping or repairing) ships with his old partner Abraham Fonseca.⁶⁵¹ We learn from a document dated 4 May 1649 that Van den Broeck and Fonseca were joint owners of the ship "de Vergulde Pauw", which had foundered off the coast of Barbados. According to this act, the two partners gave the skipper of the "Vergulde Pauw" a procuration to sail on their behalf from Hoorn to Barbados and there take command of the ship (which had apparently been repaired) and bring it back to Amsterdam.⁶⁵² On 11 November of the same year, Van den Broeck notified the insurers of the "Vergulde Pauw" that he and his partner had not been compensated for their loss, which included 37,100 pounds of tobacco. The story of the Barbados affair stretched into 1650. On 28 January of that year, a witness declared that the Governor of Barbados had stated that the price of tobacco was 3 stuivers a pound on credit and 2 stuivers a pound in cash. This declaration of course related to the loss of the tobacco.⁶⁵³ On April 29, he submitted insurance policies that he had drawn for 9,300 *f* on the ship "De Goude Pauw", together with 4,200 *f* on the cargo and 6,600 *f* on another ship, "De Witte Leeuw."⁶⁵⁴ Whether the ships were properly insured or not, the partners apparently failed to recover their money.

Van den Broeck was still afloat, financially speaking, on 22 January 1650, when he and Notary J. van der Ven, before whom he had passed a number of acts in previous years, bought a piece of land on Staten Island near Nieuw Amsterdam.⁶⁵⁵ Whether it was the loss of tobacco on the Barbados coast, the purchase of the land on Staten Island, or another venture, Van den Broeck had lost a great deal of money by the fall of 1650, enough to become insolvent. An inventory of his possessions was taken for the Desolate Boedelskamer on 6 September 1650 (listed in the appendix to this chapter). The works of art in this inventory will be discussed along with those that Van den

Broeck traded for ship's equipment with Ackersloot.

Van den Broeck apparently did not ask for *cessio bonorum* from the High Court of Holland in The Hague, probably because his mother, Catharina Soolmans, the widow of Gregorius van den Broeck, came to his rescue.⁶⁵⁶ On 16 October 1651, she appeared before the notary, assisted by her oldest son, Marten van den Broeck, and declared that she owed Pieter Mol 2,000 *f*. Pieter Mol, born in 1614, was a sworn *proefmeester* of the College of the Admiralty of Amsterdam.⁶⁵⁷ As collateral for the loan, she transferred to him 112 paintings. This money had probably been lent to her son to pay Marten's creditors.⁶⁵⁸ On 18 April 1652, she declared that she desisted from the claim of 12,000 *f* that she held against her son Marten van den Broeck.⁶⁵⁹ Three weeks earlier, Marten had transferred to Sijmon Barckman and Jan de Wael, an important merchant, a cargaison of merchandise that had been sent to Barbados for 11,855 *f*, together with any claims that he might have had against Christoffel Vorman, the recipient of this merchandise.⁶⁶⁰ It is very probable that, with the help of his mother, Van den Broeck was able to satisfy his creditors. In any case, he did not live long enough to recover his fortunes. He was buried a year later, "in his own grave", on 28 October 1653.⁶⁶¹

The works of art that Van den Broeck had exchanged against ship's equipment in 1647 might well have come out of an artist's or a dealer's stock (or both). There were no identified family portraits, such as one generally finds in private inventories. Most of the portraits that it did contain dated back to the 15th and 16th centuries: one was dated 1493, two were attributed to "Kay" (Willem or Adriaen Key), one to Mor or Holbein. The only contemporary portraits were those by Jan Lievens and Rembrandt. In addition to the old portraits, there was a genre painting attributed to Albrecht Dürer, a brothel by Sotte Cleef (Cornelis van Cleeff), a Woman at the Well by Lucas van Leyden and an image of the Virgin Mary by Hans Sibbelbeen (probably Hans Sebald Beham), which all dated back to the first half of the 16th century. The paintings by Dirck Barendsz. and Jacques de Backer were also at least a half century old. Unusual too for a private collection of the first half of the 17th century were the Italian paintings – the landscape, the Flora, the man with an armor, the Nativity – all said to be Italian but left unattributed.⁶⁶² The emphasis on old master paintings reminds one of Rembrandt's bankruptcy inventory of 1656, the paintings in which consisted "chiefly of deceased Dutch and Flemish masters" and of Rembrandt's well-known interest in the art of Lucas van Leyden, Hans Holbein, Albrecht Dürer, Porcellis, and Lievens.⁶⁶³

Another extraordinary feature of this precious little collection consisted of the five paintings by Rembrandt and the one by Jan Lievens. The Rembrandt scholar Ernst van de Wetering has recently argued that the presence in this inventory of the self-portrait by Rembrandt, the portrait of his wife, and the portrait of the wet nurse implies that Rembrandt had produced these paintings for the market.⁶⁶⁴ This is certainly possible, although one might also argue that Rembrandt had painted them for himself or for his workshop and had been forced by financial necessity to sell them. Even more importantly, the presence of the three portraits suggests that Marten van den Broeck,

if he acquired the paintings himself, was closely acquainted with Rembrandt.⁶⁶⁵ For I doubt whether any one but a close acquaintance would have recognized the wet-nurse, or perhaps even Rembrandt's wife, as a member of the artist's household. (A person less familiar with Rembrandt might have called the portrait of the wetnurse "*een minnemoer van Rembrandt*" and the portrait of his wife "*een vrouwen tronie van Rembrandt*".) But there is also an unattributed painting among the works of art exchanged with Andries Ackersloot that may point to Rembrandt's previous ownership. This is the little painting of a "Mongol going hunting".⁶⁶⁶ Rembrandt is known to have made copies after Mughal miniatures. One album of miniatures which were perhaps Mughal turned up in his 1656 post-bankruptcy inventory.⁶⁶⁷ However, none of the 21 Rembrandt copies after Mughal miniatures that have survived represents a "Mongol going hunting". Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer in her important article on Rembrandt's copies after Mughal miniatures suggests that there may have been lost copies and illustrates her article with a miniature (now in Vienna) of a Mughal prince on horseback with a retinue, which may very well correspond to the subject depicted in the Van den Broek-Ackersloot exchange.⁶⁶⁸ If so, Rembrandt may have copied this miniature or one like it as an *aide-mémoire* before he sold it. This would put a new complexion on Rembrandt's decision to copy exotica of this type.

It is with these hypotheses in mind that I will now analyze the inventory of Marten van den Broeck prepared for the Desolate Boedelskamer.

The 1650 inventory consisted of 64 lots containing 72 works of art, including 64 paintings. It appears to have been at least in part a dealer's or an artist's stock, perhaps what was left of Van den Broeck's stock after he had exchanged the best pictures for ship's equipment in 1647. One obvious parallel with the 1647 transaction was the absence of family portraits in the insolvent inventory. Another was the unusual incidence of paintings that were very old.⁶⁶⁹ Characteristic of an artist's stock (and of some dealers' stocks) was the repetition of subjects. There were three paintings of Mars and Venus in the inventory and four old man's *tronien*. Another characteristic of an artist's or dealer's stock was the relatively high incidence in the 1650 inventory of paintings and drawings without frames (there were six of the former and one of the latter).⁶⁷⁰ The backroom (*achterkamer*) seemed to have been a repository of the less expensive paintings in the stock. It contained a total of 26 paintings (over 40 percent of the total number of paintings in the inventory). This high concentration of paintings in a back room, compared to the other rooms, would be extremely unusual in a private collection.⁶⁷¹ Of the 25 paintings in the backroom, five were without frames. Eleven represented *tronien*, including one of Christ (*tronitie uytbeeldende de gedaante Christi*),⁶⁷² several without frames. The old men's *tronien* as well as the figure of Christ were typical subjects for Rembrandt and his pupils.⁶⁷³ One painting in the backroom deserves special mention. It represented a "patriarch down on one knee" (*een oud vader op syn knie liggende*).⁶⁷⁴ This is likely to have been a copy of Rembrandt's "St. Peter in Prison" of 1631. In Rembrandt's painting, the saint leans conspicuously on one knee. This painting, as Schama has observed, is so bare of ac-

cessories – the only hint that the old man might represent Saint Peter is a set of keys lying next to him – that the clerk who drew up Van den Broeck’s insolvent inventory may easily have missed the identification.⁶⁷⁵

The sequence of events I have described leads me to advance the following series of conjectures. Van den Broeck had been engaged in overseas trade for a number of years when Rembrandt, perhaps because he was already pressed by the difficulty of financing the purchase of his house on the Breestraat, ceded a number of paintings to him in exchange for a share in his shipping ventures. Van den Broeck exchanged some of the best paintings he had acquired from Rembrandt (and possibly from other sources) for ship’s equipment in 1647. A couple of years later, two of his ships were lost. Pressed by his creditors, Van den Broeck was declared insolvent. The inventory of his possessions made for the Desolate Boedelskamer in 1650 included some of the unsold works of art that he had obtained earlier from Rembrandt. The “losses at sea” that Rembrandt suffered contributed to his mounting financial difficulties, which culminated in his bankruptcy of 1656.⁶⁷⁶

Appendix to chapter 18

Table 18.1

Works of Art in the Insolvent Inventory of Maerten van den Broeck of 6 September 1650

In the front hall (*voorhuis*):

- A painting of Cleopatra with a plain frame
- A painting of Judith with the head of Holofernes with a black frame
- Three *tronien* with fool’s caps with black frames
- A painting of a philosopher with a book in his hand and a finger on his mouth
- A painting of a Maria image (*Maria beeltje*)
- Another painting being a *tronie* with a gray vestment (*graeu cleet*)
- A painting where a woman stands and scours, with a can and a few dishes
- A painting being a fight wherein a peasant with a pitchfork with a black frame
- A small painting being a landscape with a black frame

In the inner room:

- A painting being the storming of the heavens (*storming van de hemel*) with a black frame
- A painting of the Samaritan woman with a black frame
- A painting of Coridon sitting and playing with his cattle
- A painting being a Charity with a black frame
- A painting of Abraham’s sacrifice

In the *zaeltje*

- A painting with two naked persons one of them with his hand in the tree (*d’hant in de boom*)
- A portrait of an old Holland *tronie* with a cap on (*clapmus aen*)
- A portrait of a Danish lady

A painting of a nobleman (*joncker*) and a lady (*dame*) in a black and gilded frame
A painting of a woman representing Peace
A painting representing Justice (*justitia*)
A painting representing Time

In the front room (*voorkamer*):

A painting of Mars and Venus with an ebony frame
Another painting of Mars and Venus with a plain black frame
A painting of Maria Magdalena with a black frame
A painting of Orpheus with a black and gilded frame
A painting of David and Abigail with her maids with a black frame
A painting of luxury and poverty (*de weelde en de armoede*) with a black frame
A painting of the awakening of Lazarus with a black frame
An old man's *tronie* with a black frame
A *tronie* on paper without frame
Two drawings being little ships (*scheepjens*) with white pine frames
An image of Maria on canvas, damaged, in an oak frame

Back room (*achterkamer*):

An old man's *tronie* bearing the date 1525 (*hebbende d'dat 1525*)
A painting with the Last Communion of Christ (*'t avontmael Christi*) with a black frame
A painting being a fire wherein a rider, painted dark (*doncker geschildert*)
A portrait of a man writing wearing old-fashioned clothing (*hebbende een outwets habyt aen*)
A painting being a battle on horseback with an ebony frame
A painting of a Turkish woman having a child on her arm with an ebony frame
A large vase of flowers without frame
A painting wherein a hunter in an ebony frame
A painting of the Nativity (*de geboorte Christi*) without frame
A *tronie* of a man with a flute in his hand
An old man's *tronie* without frame
A painting of a father of the church (*oude vader*) kneeling (*op syn knie liggende*)
A painting of a landscape and mountains with a few persons wherein a pillar, with a black and gilded frame
A man's little *tronie* (*tronitie*) without frame
A *tronie* representing the figure of Christ (*de gedaente Christi*)
A painting being a viol player
A round painting with a few persons, painted dark
Two small paintings being little *tronien* of children in plain frames
A small round painting with a man's *tronie*
A painting of a boy playing a *rommelpot*
A man's *tronie* with a cap on (*clapmuts aen*) with a black frame
A man's *tronie* with a black beard in an ebony frame
An old man's *tronie* without frame
An image of Maria with a black frame
A painting of the Wise Men coming from the East with an ebony frame

In the side room:

A landscape with cliffs of Tobias

A little tronie of a child of plaster

A little statue of alabaster

Three stone statues

Two portraits of a man and woman

A dead little child with an oak frame

A painting being a Venus and Mars with an oak frame

Source: GAA, DBK 5072/356

Art Collectors and Painters IV: Jan van Maerlen and His Extended Family

Of all the private buyers selected in the second part of this book, the jeweler Jan van Maerlen is the only one who was both a buyer at Orphan Chamber sales (in 1612 and 1613) and had his collection sold at Orphan Chamber auction after his death (in 1637). Our interest in the Van Maerlen family is heightened by its extensive ties with collectors and artist-painters through several successive generations. In the appendix to this chapter, I analyze the sale of the works of art he possessed by categories of buyers.

Jan van Maerlen's father, named Dirck van Maerlen, was born in Grave in the Southern Netherlands around 1540. He migrated to Antwerp in his youth and became a citizen of the city in 1567. He practiced the liberal profession of attorney. The next year, he married Christina van Mansdale.⁶⁷⁷ Many years later, one of Jan van Maerlen's daughters would marry David van Mansdaelen who certainly belonged to the same prominent Antwerp family as her grandmother. Jan van Maerlen, born in Breda around 1570, became a jeweler in Antwerp. He migrated to Amsterdam some time before December 1598 when he was betrothed in the Town Hall to Maria Sijbrechts van Ghils.

Jan's brother, the painter Jonas van Maerlen, also probably migrated to Amsterdam in the last years of the sixteenth century. On July 4, 1603, he was betrothed to Catelijne Gillis van Coninxloo, the daughter of the landscape painter Gillis van Coninxloo, who had migrated from Antwerp, first to Middelburg, then to Frankenthal, finally to reach Amsterdam in 1595. When Jonas van Maerlen bought lots at the post-mortem auction of Gillis van Coninxloo's auction in 1607, he was said to be Van Coninxloo's apprentice. At some point, however, perhaps shortly after his master's death, Jonas became a full-fledged master in the Guild of St. Luke of Amsterdam.⁶⁷⁸ A year or two after the sale, Jonas took advantage of the Truce in the War with Spain to return to Antwerp. In 1608, he sold his house on the Breesstraat to the *uitdraagster* Barber Jacobs, the mother of Pieter Lastman. This was the house in which Rembrandt would study painting with Lastman many years later.⁶⁷⁹

Jonas apparently did not do well in Antwerp. He died some time between 1609 and 1614, leaving his widow in very poor circumstances. By February 1610, Catelijne was back in Amsterdam to witness the baptism of Joannes, a son of her

brother-in-law Jan van Maerlen. On December 19, 1617, she died from the plague (the “quick sickness”), leaving two small children Dierick and Constantia.⁶⁸⁰ Virtually the only food there was in the house at the time of her death was a little barrel of butter. Besides her cousins Hans II and Isaack van Coninxloo (both of whose careers were traced in chapter 13), several artists or members of their families lent Catelijne money in the time of her need, including the Naples-born wife of Abraham Vinck, the children of Willem van den Bundel, and an unnamed “niece” of Jacob Savery (I). Most of her possessions were sold at Orphan Chamber auction on January 8, 1618.⁶⁸¹ The proceeds came to just over 289 *f*, of which 11 paintings brought the meager sum of 32 *f*. (All the paintings were untitled, with the exception of one small kitchen scene.) A note after the recorded proceeds of the auction sale in Hans van Coninxloo II’s accounting for the Orphan Chamber stated that Jan van Maerlen had given him (Van Coninxloo) 6 gulden as a profit on the paintings, with the proviso that 3 gulden should go to Catelijne’s orphan children. That sum would not have been sufficient to pay for food and boarding costs for the two children for one week. As it was, after loans and expenses were repaid, the children were left with a grand total of 73 *f*. Dierick and Constantia went back to Antwerp where they became, respectively, engraver and illuminator (*illuministerin*). Constantia died in Antwerp in 1655; Dierick, saddled with seven children, apparently died very poor, also in Antwerp, in 1659.⁶⁸²

In contrast to his sister-in-law, his nephew and his niece, to whom he had shown very limited generosity, Jan van Maerlen prospered in Amsterdam over the years. In 1631, six years before his death, he paid a tax of 135 *f* on his wealth, assessed at 27,000 *f* (it was probably underestimated for tax purposes).

The first time we encounter Jan van Maerlen at auction, he bought two paintings for 8 *f* on 3 March 1607 at a sale held at the request of the painter Pieter Isaacksz. (who was an intermediary for the amateur dealer Hans le Thoor in his dealings with the King of Denmark, as we saw in chapter 14). Then, on 28 August 1612, at the prestigious sale of Claes Rauwart, the son of Jacob Rauwart, the art lover friend of Karel van Mander, he purchased “two wings” of a triptych for 40 *f*, the “twelve months of the year” in twelve paintings for 102 *f*,⁶⁸³ and 16 other lots, including drawings and prints. His total purchases at the sale amounted to 447 *f* and 10 st. A little more than a year later, he bought five lots at the sale of the goldsmith Anthonie Boonhoff on 8 November 1613: two untitled paintings for 10 *f* 10 st. and 12 *f* each, two landscapes for 32 *f* each, and a drawing by (Jan) Muller for 1 *f* 10 st.⁶⁸⁴ Judging by their prices, these were all originals by master painters and draughtsmen, but it is clear from the records of the 1637 sale of his jewels and art works that he must also have bought numerous, more valuable works of art from other sources (from the artists themselves, from dealers, or from other auctions, of which the records have been lost).

The six children of Jan van Maerlen and Maria van Ghils whose existence we are aware of were: Christina (born in 1601); Agatha (Aechtgen), baptized on 26 December 1602; Maria, on 30 September 1604; Constantia, on 8 April 1607; Joannes, on

21 February 1610; and Lucretia, on 13 March 1616.⁶⁸⁵ Of Jan van Maerlen's five known daughters, two married buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions. Christina was 20 years old when she was betrothed to Geraert (or Gerrit) van Rijssen from Utrecht on May 4, 1621. He was said to be 30 years old at the time. He was a prominent jeweler, as was his father-in-law. Several children of this marriage are known, but the only one to whom I will have occasion to refer below was Jean (or Johannes), who was betrothed to Sara Lestevenon on 22 November 1663. His bride, born in 1642, came from a very prominent Amsterdam family.

Constantia van Maerlen married David van Mansdaelen, 27 years old, on 20 April 1638, at which time she was assisted by her sister Agatha and by her brother-in-law Geraert van Rijssen. David van Mansdaelen assisted Jean van Rijssen when he married Sara Lestevenon in 1663.

Agatha van Maerlen was 23 years old when she was betrothed to Hans van Soldt II, from Antwerp, widower of Marija de Wolff, on 30 January 1621.

Of the last two daughters, Lucretia and Maria, who both bought works of art at their father's sale in 1637, the first remained unmarried and died on 14 February 1638;⁶⁸⁶ the second, Maria, married Otto de Lange, the year after her father died, as will be related below. Johannes, the only one of the children who did not buy any lots at his father's sale, died unmarried in The Hague on 17 March 1679.⁶⁸⁷

Much is known about the Van Soldt family into which Agatha had married in 1621. Hans van Soldt I, a wealthy merchant, was born in Antwerp and spent some years in London before he settled in Amsterdam around 1600. While he was in London he was active in the Reformed church. One of his daughters, named Susanna, born in London in 1587, was a musical prodigy. At the age of 12 she produced a manuscript of psalms and dances, containing notes on keyboard instruction (probably for use on the clavecin), which were subsequently used for teaching music in Holland. This manuscript is said to contain "the first truly Calvinist music to have come out of the Neverthelands".⁶⁸⁸

Hans van Soldt I was an early investor in the V.O.C. (3,000 *f* were invested on his behalf by Lenard Sweerts de jonge at the time of the first subscription in 1602).⁶⁸⁹ He paid a wealth tax of 800 *f* in 1631, corresponding to assets evaluated at 160,000 *f*. He was buried on 20 December 1633. His son Hans van Soldt II, born about 1585, was a silk cloth merchant, who, in addition to selling cloth,⁶⁹⁰ supplied raw silk to finishers. He was living on or near the Groeneburgwal on the Old Side of Amsterdam in 1631 when he paid a tax of 90 *f* (on assets evaluated at 18,000 *f*).⁶⁹¹ One of his seven children from his second marriage to Agatha van Maerlen was named Jacobus, born in 1628. It is most likely that Jacobus van Soldt was the Italianate painter of that name (ill. no. 7).

Both Hans van Soldt I and II were frequent buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions. It was almost certainly the father who bought four paintings for a total of 65 *f* 10 st., plus prints for 13 stuivers at a sale organized at the request of Pieter Loduwycxs on 24 and 25 February 1609.⁶⁹² At the estate sale of Jacques Rombouts, exactly a month

later, the father purchased one of the most expensive lots, a landscape for 102 *f*. In this case, we can be sure that it was he, and not his son, who did so because the clerk recording the sale drew a line across the words *de jonge* that he had initially written following Van Soldt's name.⁶⁹³ At this same Rombouts sale, Hans van Soldt II bought an East Indian shield for 7 *f* 10 st. and an untitled painting for 31 *f*. At the sale held at the request of the art dealer Lucas Luce on 16 March 1610, the younger Van Soldt bought a painting for 21 *f*.⁶⁹⁴ At the famous Rauwart sale of 1612, he bought three untitled pieces by Karel van Mander for 11 *f*, 7 *f* 10 st., and 3 *f* 10 st. respectively, a *tronie* for 20 *f*, and a picture of a lion for 11 *f*.

Another sister of Hans van Soldt II, named Elisabeth, married Isaack Haeck, from Antwerp, in 1608. He owned a silk-dyeing establishment on the Bloemgracht and worked in close association with his father-in-law Hans van Soldt I. He too was a frequent buyer at auction. Like both Van Soldts, he bought paintings at the sale held at the request of Pieter Loduwycxs, at the Jacques Rombouts sale, and at the sale held at the request of Lucas Luce, where he acquired the most expensive lot, an untitled painting for 232 *f*. At the Rauwart sale, he bought 15 lots – paintings, drawings, and prints – for a total of 242 *f* 10 st., including prints by Albrecht Dürer. Finally, at the sale held at the request of the painter Cornelis van der Voort, on 7 April 1614, he bought a landscape for the high price of 59 *f*, a portrait of Jan van Leyden by (Marten) van Heemskerck for 42 *f*, a “naked personage” for 7 *f* 10 st., a still life of cabbages by Beuckelaer for the modest sum of 7 *f*, and four round *tronies* for 5 *f*.⁶⁹⁵ Three years later, he died insolvent, for reasons that are no longer apparent. The works of art in his inventory were appraised by the (totally unknown) painter François Luce, at the request of Haeck's widow, Elisabeth van Soldt. Hans van Soldt, father and son, declared themselves sureties for the widow. The total value of the works of art came to 513 *f* 10 st. This was quite a bit less than the total of his purchases at auction which came to 666 *f* 10 st.⁶⁹⁶ The discrepancy may be due to several causes, including sales effected before Haeck's death, works of art kept out of the inventory by Elisabeth van Soldt, and differences between auction prices and evaluations. With the possible exception of a “naked woman”, valued at 12 *f*, which may be identical with a “naked personage” that he had bought at the sale held at the request of Cornelis van der Voort three years before his death, none of the paintings in Haeck's death inventory can be matched with paintings he had purchased at auction.

Jan van Maerlen, Hans van Soldt, father and son, and Isaack Haeck apparently bought works of art at auction only in the period 1607 to 1613 (chiefly in the opening years of the truce in the War with Spain). Van Maerlen died on 7 August 1637; Van Soldt I died in 1633; Van Soldt II lived at least until 1650. Both Van Soldts and Van Maerlen may have depended on dealers later in life to build up their extensive collections.

Less than a month before the start of the auction sale of her father's jewels and paintings, which took place on 30 September, 27 October, and 3 November 1637, Agatha van Maerlen appeared before a notary in The Hague and named as her heirs

her brother Johannes van Maerlen and her sisters Christina (the wife of Geraert van Rijssen), Maria, Constantia, and Lucretia. She declared, without explanation, that she did not wish to be considered an heir of her deceased parents, Jan van Maerlen and Maria van Ghils. The reason for this desistance seems to be that Agatha's husband Hans van Soldt II had borrowed heavily from one or more of his sisters-in-law with the expectation of recompensing them from his wife's share of the inheritance.⁶⁹⁷ It may also be, as we shall see presently, that Agatha had already received valuable items from her father's estate.

The Van Maerlen sale of jewelery, including a few objects of art, on 30 September brought 25,120 *f*; most of the paintings and art objects, sold on 27 October, plus the pearls and gold sold on 3 November, brought 15,321 *f*. Of the grand total of 40,441 *f*, art objects valued at a total of 4,373.5 *f* represented 10.8 percent. Close family members bought nearly half of the total value of the art objects purchased at the sale. The following table breaks down the value of art objects and the number of lots sold in three categories (family members, jewelers, and other buyers).

Table 19.1
Value of Art Objects and Lots Sold at Jan van Maerlen Sale (gulden)

	Value	No. of Lots	Percent of Value
Family members	2,104.0	76	48.1
Jewelers	391.25	14	8.9
Other buyers	1,878.25	39	42.9
Total	4,373.5	129	

Among the family buyers, the greatest spenders were Geraert van Rijssen (the husband of Christina van Maerlen) who purchased 28 lots for 760.9 *f* and Maria van Maerlen with 29 lots for 759.25 *f*. Constantia van Maerlen bought 194.8 *f* in 13 lots, Hans van Soldt II (the husband of Agatha van Maerlen), 119.5 *f* in 4 lots, and Lucretia van Maerlen, only 11.25 *f* in 2 lots. Maria van Maerlen's sophistication is reflected in the Dürer print she bought for 10 *f* and the anonymous pen drawing that cost her 40 *f*. This last was an unusually high price for a drawing, of the kind that few artists other than Lucas van Leyden, Goltzius and Dürer himself attained. She acquired the only expensive portraits in the sale, unfortunately unattributed but surely by a major master, for 160 *f*. It is probable that these were portraits of Jan van Maerlen and Maria van Ghils, her father and mother. She also bought 13 landscapes, a siege, a storm (at sea), a banquet of the gods, a tooth puller, a series of 12 (Roman) Emperors, and a Hercules. All these were secular subjects. The only religious subjects she acquired from her father's collection (with the possible exception of two untitled drawings) were a painting of Maria, a Susanna (probably by Adriaen van Nieu-landt), a Massacre of the Innocents, and a (head of?) Christ. The painting of Maria and of Christ are subjects much more often found in Roman Catholic than in Reformed households. Yet the Van Maerlens, as far as we can tell, were all Reformed.⁶⁹⁸

It is possible that some of them were Lutheran, a branch of Protestantism that looked on paintings of the Virgin Mary and Christ with more favor than did Calvinists. Constantia, like Maria, liked landscapes, but she also had a distinct predilection for still lifes (she bought three vases of flowers, a wreath of flowers, and a fish banquet). Of the three religious paintings that she acquired, the one representing “Christ calling on those who are heavily laden to come to Him” is the most interesting: to my knowledge, it is the earliest depiction of this subject in Dutch painting that occurred in a sale or an inventory.

Hans van Soldt II only bought four lots at the sale. The meagerness of his purchases may perhaps be explained by financial difficulties, as I have already suggested. Still, the Pallas and June that Van Soldt paid 100 *f* for at the sale shows that he had not lost his taste for art.

Gerrit van Rijssen spread his purchases among secular and religious subjects. The most expensive he bought was a Salvator, again a typical Roman Catholic, or possibly Lutheran, subject, for 142 *f*. This may well have been a 16th century painting by Jan Gossaert, Quentin Metsys, or some other Old Master who still brought very high prices in Van Maerlen’s time. The untitled painting by Vinckboons for *f* 52 (virtually the same price as the same artist’s Christ Preaching on the Edge of the Sea that Van Baerle had bought in 1620), the Danae (“Golden Rain”) for 66 *f*, the Susanna also for 66 *f*, the *tronie* by Dürer for 25 *f*, and the untitled, unattributed drawing for 50 *f* are all evidence of a discriminating taste.

I will return to the subsequent fate of the Van Maerlen/Van Soldt family after a brief discussion of the other buyers at the 1637 sale.

I have singled out five jewelers or goldsmiths who were buyers at the sale (Johannes de Renialme, Adriaen and David ter Haer, Adriaen van Breen, and Thomas de Kemel), although their total purchases only amounted to 10 percent of the value of all art objects at the sale, because these men were colleagues and fellow guild-members of Jan van Maerlen. (Geraert van Rijssel was also a jeweler, but his motive for buying was likely to be more as a family member than as a colleague). The relative contribution of these five jewelers and of the others who attended the sale to the purchase of jewelry, gold and silver objects, and pearls was of course much greater than their share in the purchase of art objects. Most of their purchases, other than jewelry, consisted of prints, probably for use in their jeweler’s business, and, in a few instances, of drawings.

Among the numerous other buyers at the sale, there may have been other individuals who were relatives, friends, or close colleagues of Jan van Maerlen and his extended family, but our knowledge of these relations is not sufficiently detailed to identify them. We do know, however, that none of the cousins or nephews of Hans van Soldt II mentioned in his family chronicle were buyers at the Van Maerlen sale.⁶⁹⁹ The closest we can come is the notary Nicolaes Jacobsz., who was married to Margareta van Blyenbergh. Hans van Soldt II turned up as a witness, probably in the capacity of godfather, to the baptism of the notary’s son on 16 August 1611 (when Van Soldt was not yet allied by marriage to the Van Maerlen family).⁷⁰⁰ Nicolaes Jacobsz.

bought 3 lots for 34.5 *f*. These were his only known purchases at any Orphan Chamber auction.

Cornelis Bicker (1592-1645) was perhaps the richest and socially most prominent of the collectors who bought at the Van Maerlen auction. He married Aertge Witsen, the daughter of burgomaster Gerrit Jacob Witsen, in 1617. He was named *Schout* (sheriff) of Amsterdam in 1622 and master of the Orphan Chamber in 1636; he became a burgomaster nine years after the sale, in 1646. He bought only three lots, but their total value amounted to 497 *f*, which exceeded the total value purchased by any other buyer outside Van Maerlen's family. His most expensive purchase was a painting of Adam and Eve by the Antwerp-based master Hendrick van Balen for 183 *f*. This, however, was not the most expensive lot in the sale. The Receiver General of Taxes Johannes Wtenbogaert (1608-1680) made the winning bid on a single lot, a *Konstboeck* (perhaps a sketch book) of Abrecht Dürer, for 270 *f*. His was one of the most distinguished collections in Amsterdam in this period. He owned paintings by great Italian masters, including Titian, Veronese, Bandinelli, Parmigianino, Paris Bordone, and Guido Reni, as well as "extraordinary works on paper" (*uytmuntende papierkunst*), of which the Dürer *Konstboeck* must have been an outstanding example. According to Houbraken, Bicker's friend, the former Rembrandt pupil Govaert Flinck, made it a habit of visiting his collection on Sundays.⁷⁰¹ Johannes Wtenbogaert, a close relative of the great Remonstrant preacher Johannes Uyttenbogaert, whose portraits were painted and engraved by Rembrandt, was a signatory of the Remonstrant petition of 1628. His portrait was engraved by Rembrandt in 1639, perhaps in gratitude for his help in obtaining payment for the paintings commissioned by the Stadhouder Frederick Hendrick.⁷⁰²

The third largest buyer outside the family circle was Samuel van Swol, who bought four lots for a total of 235.25 *f*. The son of a director of the V.O.C. in Middelburg, he married Catharina Thijs, the niece of Hans Thijsz. I of chapter 16. The fourth most important was Jasper van Vickevoort (Wickevoort) II (three lots for a total of 146 *f*), who came from a well-known family of prosperous merchants. Jasper was only 22 when he joined a group of friends and patrons of the poet Jan Jansz. Starter to provide him with a subsidy.⁷⁰³ He married Elisabeth Rovers, the sister of Valerius Röver de oude, the father of the famous Delft collector of the same name. Jasper was the older brother of Abraham van Wicquevoort who wrote a *Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas*. Another brother, named Jochem, was a banker and a diplomat, besides being an important collector of paintings and naturalia.⁷⁰⁴ All the Wickevoorts, as far as I have been able to ascertain, were Lutherans.

Another important buyer at the Van Maerlen sale was Abraham Velters (three lots for 130.5 *f* including a Bachus for 72 *f*). He was an "outstanding merchant" with dealings in France and Spain. His collection in his house on the Keizersgracht included one painting by Rembrandt and five by Rubens.⁷⁰⁵

Among the smaller buyers, Abraham Alewijn (1607-1679) deserves to be mentioned, although he only purchased one lot, a Passion (of Jesus Christ) drawn by

Goltzius for 36 *f*. He was one of the few repeated buyers at auction – he bought 57 lots at three other sales for a total nearly 650 *f*. These were mainly prints (including a book of prints by Albrecht Dürer for which he paid 200 *f* at the Jan Basse sale of 1637) and drawings, for the most part by Goltzius and Spranger. He also collected naturalia, including rare stones. He was a very wealthy cloth merchant, with an assessed wealth of 400,000 *f* in 1631. As a regent of the Amsterdam Orphanage (since 1636), he may have had a particular interest in attending and buying at Orphan Chamber sales.⁷⁰⁶

Nicolaes Ravesteyn, who bought two lots for 27.75 *f*, was a printer and book-seller, active in Amsterdam from the 1630s to the 1650s. He was married to Elisabeth Manuel Sweerts, the daughter of the printmaker and botanist Emanuel (Manuel) Sweerts, whom we already encountered in chapter 8 as a botanist and the author of a *Florilegium* (Frankfort-am-Main, 1612).⁷⁰⁷

Arent Dircksz. Bos (born in 1581), who bought two lots for 58 *f* was a grain merchant who operated on an international scale. He freighted many ships, some of them laden with grain, between 1603 and 1627. He was assessed on the basis of assets evaluated at 30,000 *f* in 1631.

Balthasar van de Perre, who bought a single lot for 25 *f*, was the brother-in-law of the notary Nicolaes Jacobsz. He was a bookkeeper for the V.O.C. He, too, had family ties with Hans Thijsz. *via* Catharina Thijs, the wife of Samuel van Swol. His own wife, Barbara Mirou, the daughter of the goldsmith Hendrick Mirou, was the niece of the Frankenthal painter Anton Mirou.

The only craftsman among the buyers I have been able to identify was Isaack Rogge, a joiner (*schrijnwercker*), who bought a single lot for 1.5 *f*.⁷⁰⁸

Mention should also be made of the buyer “Daniel Jansz.,” who is very likely to have been Daniel Jansz. van Beuningen, the *bode* of the Orphan Chamber who was conducting the auction. The *boden* were not supposed to buy at the auctions they conducted. But this regulation was frequently violated, perhaps because they bought (or pretended to buy) for absent customers. In any case, he acquired only two lots at the Van Maerlen sale for 11.25 *f*.⁷⁰⁹

In contrast to other, less prestigious sales that we have considered so far, *uitdraagsters* and art dealers played virtually no role in this one⁷¹⁰. Either they did not attend or, if they did, they could not outbid amateurs. It is interesting, and unusual, that so few lots were bought for cash, only three out of a total 129, for a minute sum of 16.5 *f*.

I now resume the story of the Van Maerlen and Van Soldt families and of their relations to artists of the day. On 28 May 1638, Gerrit van Rijssen, husband and guardian of his wife Christina van Maerlen, Hans van Soldt (II), as husband and guardian of his wife Agatha van Maerlen, together guardians of Johannes van Maerlen, their brother, also acting on behalf of David van Mansdale, married to Constantia van Maerlen, and Otto de Lange, who had recently married Maria van Maerlen, declared that they had decided to divide among themselves the goods left in the estate of Jan van Maerlen that had not yet been sold or given away.⁷¹¹ They agreed

to draw lots for these goods after they had been evaluated by the jeweler David ter Haer (one of the buyers at the Van Maerlen sale). The lots consisted of brooches (*booten*) with rubies and diamonds, each of which was estimated between 3,000 and 3,700 *f* (The fact that these highly valuable jewels had not been included in the 1637 sale adds to our evidence of the incompleteness of many estate sales.) To cite only two examples of the division of what was left of the estate after the auction: Johannes van Maerlen received lot no. 1, consisting of a brooch with *pendanten*, evaluated at 3,000 *f*. Hans van Soldt received lot no. 4, a cross with 6 stones (probably diamonds) and two “pendants” worth in total 3,700 *f*.

Two days later, Gerrit van Rijssen, Christina van Maerlen, Hans van Soldt, and Agatha van Maerlen appeared before the same notary at the request of Maria van Maerlen, married to Otto de Lange.⁷¹² They testified that on the evening of Maria’s wedding with Otto de Lange, the brother-in-law of De Lange, named Jan Danckwaert, from Hamburg, appeared in the house where Jan van Maerlen had died and declared that he was ready to donate 2,000 Rijcksdielders (5,000 *f*) for the marriage, which was the sum his sister had received when she had got married. Asked what guarantee he could give for this donation, he answered “Our money will be our guarantee” (*Onse gelt zal onse borge wesen*). He then repeated, striking his chest, “By God, our money will be our guarantee”. He had apparently made this promise on behalf of his mother who was absent “because she had a bad leg”. This deposition apparently did not succeed in eliciting the money that Danckwaert had promised on behalf of his parents. On 28 July, Maria van Maerlen, armed with a power of attorney from her husband, named Abraham Anthonisz. (Recht), the ardent Remonstrant whom we encountered in Chapter 8, to represent her in court to obtain the 2,000 Rijcksdielders that had “verbally” been promised by Danckwaert’s parents.⁷¹³

On 30 June 1639, Hans van Soldt II, the husband of Agatha van Maerlen, appeared before the same notary who had recorded his wife’s desistance from her parents’ inheritance two years earlier and declared that he had sold certain paintings to his wife’s sister Maria (the daughter who had bought most heavily at her father’s sale), together with porcelain, a textile spread, and six upholstered chairs.⁷¹⁴ In addition to the paintings listed in the inventory, he still had in his house, on the Princengracht, a painting by (Willem I or II) Nieulandt entitled “Antiqua” and two paintings out of Ovid with black gilded frames, representing a “porridge eater” (*papeeter*) and a Pomona, which he promised to hand over to Maria van Maerlen at her request. He further specified that these items belonged to his children, born to his wife Agatha van Maerlen, and that they had been in part inherited by his wife from her father, Jan van Maerlen, and in part been bought with her own “pin money” (*met haere potpenningen*), with his approval, for the sake of the children. Maria van Maerlen also appeared before the notary and declared that she had received the paintings and other objects specified in the inventory as security for the sum of *f* 442:18:-- that her brother-in-law owed her. In fact, the prices of the works of art that she received were considerably in excess of the sum just cited. Not counting the three paintings that Hans



7: Jacobus van Soldt, “Italianate Landscape”, Copper, 16 x 24.2 cm, Formerly The Hague, Kunsthandel Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder

van Soldt still had in his house, which were not valued, the total of the paintings handed over came to *f* 830:10:-- . These consisted of two original pieces (unattributed), representing vases of flowers, for 150 *f* and 100 *f* respectively, two pairs of small *tronies* by “the son of Mr. Ritzert” for 20 *f* each, four landscapes by Willem (I or II) van Nieulandt representing Antiquities (Roman ruins) for 100 *f*, a pen drawing by (Jacob) Matham for 20 *f*, a painting of Joseph for 75 *f*, one of Rebecca for 25 *f*, a landscape by (Roelandt) Savery for 10 *f* and 5 st., John the Baptist for 170 *f*, and 2 *tronies* done, respectively, by Geldorp and (Adriaen?) van Nieulandt for 90 *f*. I have no clue about the identity of “Mr. Ritzert” or about his painter son, who were perhaps relatives of the family. The reference to objects of art that Agatha had inherited from her father again confirms that not all the household goods owned by the wealthy jeweler had been auctioned off in 1637. Some of them had evidently gone directly to Agatha and her husband. This may also help to explain why Hans van Soldt II had bought so few lots at the sale.

On 10 November 1640, Hans van Soldt II transferred a number of paintings to his

brother-in-law Geraert van Rijssen, including a landscape by Van den Hecke (perhaps Abraham van den Hecke of Alkmaar), valued at 4 *f*, two paintings of unspecified subjects by the same Van den Hecke, valued at 10 *f* and 20 *f*, respectively, and a painting of Acteon by (Adriaen?) van Nieulandt, valued at 20 *f*, together with some other unattributed works.⁷¹⁵ None of the attributed paintings can be clearly be identified with lots that Van Soldt had bought at auction in his youth or at his father-in-law's sale in 1637.

Hans van Soldt II must have died between 1650 when his name is last mentioned in any document that I am aware of and 1659 when Agatha was said to be a widow. Agatha died on 6 June 1659.⁷¹⁶ The inventory of her possessions, without evaluations, was made in The Hague on 13-15 September 1659.⁷¹⁷ Whatever may have been her husband's money troubles in the late 1630s, she died far from destitute. She still possessed numerous works of art (52 lots of paintings and prints according to Bredius's count), including two landscapes (one of them "Italian") by her putative son Jacobus van Soldt, a large painting from Ovid (undoubtedly a mythological scene from the *Metamorphoses*) by (Barend or Hendrick) van Someren, three landscapes representing antique buildings by (Willem I or II) van Nieulandt, a landscape by (Joost de) Momper and (Frans I or II) Francken, two landscapes with water by Willem van Diest, a naked Diana by van den Heck(e), a print by Goltzius, a Pomona, a porridge eater with a satyr, and numerous unattributed portraits. A curious item was "a poem in a frame" by the Old Soldt (presumably Hans van Soldt I). The inventory was signed by Hans (Johannes), David, Elisabeth, and Maria van Soldt, all children of Hans van Soldt *de jonge*.

Several paintings in Agatha van Maerlen's inventory seem to be identical with objects that Hans van Soldt had earlier "transferred" to his sister-in-law Maria van Maerlen: the Pomona, the porridge eater (the story out of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* about the peasant who blew hot and cold on his porridge), and the two landscapes representing Antiquities by (Willem I or II) van Nieulandt. These identities raise the possibility that the 1637 sale had been fictitious and that the paintings "transferred" had only secured the loan. Another possibility is that Agatha had recovered the paintings from her sister, possibly by inheritance.

On 20 April 1681, the probate inventory of the jeweler Jean (or Johannes) van Rijssen, the son of Geraert van Rijssen and Christina van Maerlen, was drawn up in the family house on the Hooghe straet, which had first been bought by Jan van Maerlen at the beginning of the century.⁷¹⁸ It was signed by the painter Daniel Schellincks in his capacity as guardian of Jean van Rijssen's children. Daniel Schellincks (1627-1702) was the husband of Jean's sister Constantia. He was also the brother of the better known painter Willem Schellincks, who had died in 1678.

Among many family portraits, going back to "grandfather van Meerloo and his wife", were two small portraits of "Warnar and the late Jean van Rijssen". "Warnar" was almost certainly the painter Wernard (or Warnar) van Rijssen, who, according to Houbraken, was born in Zaltbommel around 1625, was a pupil of Cornelis van

Poelenburgh in 1646, and, after abandoning painting, became a merchant in Spain in 1665. Warnaer may have been the son of Geraert van Rijssen's brother Willem Warnaersz. van Rijssen, who is known to have married in Zaltbommel in 1627.⁷¹⁹ (The year of birth given by Houbraken for Warnaert may have been a couple of years off).

There were 33 paintings by Warnar van Rijssen in Jean van Rijssen's death inventory. These were mostly landscapes, some of which were still unfinished.

On 17 May 1698, Constantia van Rijssen and Daniel Schellincks made their testament.⁷²⁰ They bequeathed to Willem Schellincks II a landscape by his late father (Willem I) and to Constantia Schellincks, two landscapes by *her* father Daniel Schellincks.

Over the course of nearly a century, four artist-painters (Jonas van Maerlen, Jacobus van Soldt, Warnaerd van Rijssen, and Daniel Schellinks) intermarried with or were born into the Van Maerlen, Van Soldt, and Van Rijssen families. None was particularly successful. Warnaerd van Rijssen abandoned the craft when he was about 40 years old, to revert to the family occupation of jeweler. This persistence, and the distinction of the collections each generation bequeathed to the next, perhaps says something about the attachment to art of the men and women in this cultivated milieu.⁷²¹

Appendix to Chapter 19

Table 19.1

Purchases of Art by Buyers at Jan van Maerlen Sales of 30 September and 27 October 1637 and at Other Sales (gulden)

Family members	Price	Purchases at Other Sales
<i>Maria van Maerlen:</i>		--
Little landscape	6.75	
Christus	31.0	
2 round pieces	12.5	
Tooth puller	10.0	
Little landscape	7.25	
Pen drawing	41.0	
Print by Alborduer (Dürer)	10.0	
2 portraits	160.0	
Vase of flowers	3.25	
Landscape	9.0	
Winter by Stom (Avercamp)	75.0	
Landscape	19.0	
Massacre of the Innocents	11.0	
Hercules	15.0	
Lute player	50.0	
Hunting scene	25.0	
Landscape	5.0	

Family members	Price	Purchases at Other Sales
2 little landscapes	6.25	
Susanna by (Adriaen van?) Nieulandt	30.0	
Landscape	30.5	
Siege (<i>belegering</i>)	38.0	
Image of Mary (<i>Maria beelt</i>)	25.0	
Little landscape	12.0	
Storm (probably at sea)	2.75	
2 landscapes	11.5	
12 paintings of 12 emperors	40.2	
2 drawings	16.0	
Agathe stone with a woman's tronie	31.0	
Banquet by Codde	25.25	
<i>Lucretia van Maerlen:</i>		--
Little landscape	6.25	
A wet nurse (<i>min</i>) with a child	5.0	
<i>Constantia van Maerlen:</i>		--
Vase of flowers	10.5	
Little landscape	2.0	
Wreath of flowers	20.5	
Vase of flowers	5.25	
Vase of flowers	5.25	
Pieter's night(?) (<i>Peteres nacht</i>)	5.25	
Fish banquet (<i>visbancketje</i>)	25.0	
Peasant <i>kermis</i>	12.0	
Mountain landscape (<i>geberchtje</i>)	20.0	
Gilded Maria (a sculpture?)	21.0	
Come to me, ye who are heavily laden (<i>lat my komen die belast ende sijn</i>)	18.25	
6 little landscapes	27.0	
Two engraved plates, 3 plates	8.25	
<i>Gerrit van Rijssen:</i>		--
A shield	17.0	
Venus and Idone (sic)	10.5	
A mannequin (<i>leeman</i>) with a woman	52.5	
Magpies (<i>gaeijtjes</i>) by Bloemmert	20.0	
A <i>tronie</i> by Albert Duer (Dürer)	25.0	
Susanna	66.0	
2 round pieces	5.0	
6 panel paintings (<i>bortges</i>)	6.0	
2 round pieces	6.25	
Vase of flowers	1.0	
A drawing	50.0	
A grisaille	3.0	
The golden rain (Danae)	66.0	
Little winter	8.75	

Family members	Price	Purchases at Other Sales
The rentmaster, grisaille	15.0	
Salvator	142.0	
Piece by Vinckboons	52.0	
Little landscape	50.0	
Fortune	16.0	
Tronie on agathe	11.0	
Kunst boeck	15.25	
Mountain and moor's <i>tronie</i>	40.0	
Little kitchen piece	20.0	
Two incised plates	28.0	
Venus and Cupido	8.0	
Copper plate with little birds	1.15	
Drawing by Albert Duer (Dürer)	25.5	
<i>Hans van Soldt II:</i>		112.9
Juno and Pellas	100.0	
A number of prints	5.25	
Oyster banquet	10.0	
Vase of flowers	4.25	
2 little landscapes	6.25	
<i>Jewelers</i>		
<i>Johannes de Renialme:</i> ⁷²²		--
A piece by Jochum Uyttewael	106.0	
A gilded man (sculpture)	6.75	
Pallas of copper (sculpture)	7.75	
<i>Thomas de Kemel:</i>		--
Moor's <i>tronie</i>	30.0	
<i>Adriaen ter Haer:</i>		--
Life of the Virgin (prints)	2.7	
<i>David ter Haer:</i>		157.9
12 apostles (prints)	4.0	
A number of prints	11.25	
Perspective	25.0	
Agathe <i>tronie</i>	25.0	
A (Hans ?) Jordaens	71.0	
Jacinth <i>tronie</i>	28.0	
Print	2.55	
<i>Adriaen van Breen:</i>		4.9
Perspective	44.0	
<i>Other Buyers</i>		
<i>Johannes Wtenbogaert:</i>		139.5
A <i>konstboeck</i> of Alborduer	270.0	

Family members	Price	Purchases at Other Sales
<hr/>		
<i>Marten Claesz. Hovelingh:</i>		--
A little winter by de Stom (Avercamp)	18.0	
<i>Jan Cespeel:</i>		--
1 herring*	30.0	
Venus and Adonis*	16.75	
A landscape by Both*	67.25	
<i>Lobbetge:</i>		66.75
A landscape*	6.0	
A corps-de-garde*	30.0	
<i>Claes Jansz. (lumber dealer):</i>		--
The ark of Noah	10.5	
<i>Daniel Jansz. (van Beuningen):</i>		291.3
A little fire	6.0	
12 Emperors	5.25	
<i>Jasper van Vickervoort:</i>		--
A little vase of flowers	70.0	
A woman' tronie	70.25	
An angel's tronie	5.75	
<i>Abraham Alewijn:</i>		636.95
The passion (of Jesus Christ) by Goltzius (drawings)	36.0	
<i>Abraham Velters:</i>		--
Bachus	72.0	
The four elements	44.0	
A little robbery ⁷²³	14.5	
<i>Adriaen Mourisz.:</i>		--
A pen drawing	37.5	
<i>Arent Dircksz. Bos:</i>		--
Two drawings	17.0	
A perspective	41.0	
<i>Balthasar van de Perre:</i>		--
The burning of Sodom	24.0	
<i>Cornelis Bicker:</i>		92.0
Adam and Eve by Hendrick van Balen	183.0	
Four soldiers	150.0	
Where Pilate is washing his hands	164.0	

Family members	Price	Purchases at Other Sales
<i>Isaack Rogge:</i>		
2 plaster statues	1.5	--
<i>Isbrand:</i>		
2 little round pieces	4.5	--
<i>Pieter Outgertsz.:</i>		
A painting by Savery	104.0	--
<i>Nicolaes van Ravesteyn:</i>		
2 gilded little men (<i>mannetjes</i>)	24.0	--
Joseph	3.75	
<i>Nicolaes Jacobsz.:</i>		
A <i>beldrachje</i> (?)	12.75	--
A transfiguration (<i>opstandingh</i>)	4.25	
A perspective [drawn] with the pen	17.5	
<i>Samuel van Swol:</i>		
Some [dried] flies	6.25	--
A little vase of flowers	73.0	
A vase of flowers	103.0	
Venus and Paris	123.0	
<i>Cash:</i>		
Naked peasants	9.5	
A marine	5.0	
A print book	2.0	
Total works of art in the sale:	4,346.25	

Note: On names followed by asterisks, see the Notes to Table 16.1.

Source: GAA, WK 5073/962

Art Collectors and Painters V: Jean le Bleu, François Venant and Rembrandt's "Feast of Belshazzar"

Jean le Bleu, born in the town of Wesel about 1580,⁷²⁴ began buying at Orphan Chamber auctions in 1611, four years after his marriage to Hester Verspreet. He bought moderately priced paintings in 1611, 1612 and 1614. After a hiatus of 23 years, he resumed buying – but only prints – in 1637 (see the Appendix below). For unknown reasons, the inventory of his movable goods was taken on 28 April 1635.⁷²⁵ It contained only 16 works of art, with no indication of their value or even of the rooms in which they had been found. One of the paintings was entitled “*Een stuck daer inne mene, mene, tekel*” (a painting wherein [the Hebrew words] “counted, weighed, and divided”). This was the inscription inscribed on the palace wall that King Belshazzar read, to his fear and astonishment. The painting may have been Rembrandt's “Belshazzar's Feast” or “Belshazzar Sees the Writing on the Wall” in London's National Gallery (Ill. no. 8), which is generally thought to have been painted about 1635, or a copy thereof. This likelihood will be discussed below following a brief biography of Jean le Bleu, the owner of the painting.

Jean le Bleu was of solidly middle class status, although he cannot by any measure be counted among Amsterdam's richest citizens. He paid a tax on his properties of 125 *f* in 1631, in addition to 35 *f* for his inheritance from his father-in-law, the merchant Hans Verspreet.⁷²⁶ When both taxes are combined, the sum corresponds to a wealth estimated at 32,000 *f*, which puts him in the top 15 percent of the distribution of taxpayers who paid a minimum tax of 5 *f*.⁷²⁷

How did this moderately wealthy man come to buy a painting that, if it was the original version of Rembrandt's painting, must have been quite costly?⁷²⁸ Whether the painting was an original or copy, if it originated with Rembrandt or his workshop, Le Bleu's connection with Rembrandt is likely to have run through his cousin, the “pre-Rembrandist” painter François Venant (II), with whom he seems to have been intimately connected. Le Bleu's mother, Lenora Venant, was the sister of François Venant I, the father of the painter. François Venant II was cited as the guardian of Jean le Bleu's brother Jacobus, student in medicine, when Jean assisted Jacobus on the occasion of his marriage with Joffr. Ermgaard Muys van Holy in Leiden in 1616.⁷²⁹ Venant was eleven years older than Jean le Bleu. It is very likely that he also became Jean's guardian after his father's death. In 1628, François Venant I ceded



8: Rembrandt van Rijn, “Belshazzar Sees the Writing on the Wall”, Canvas, 167.6 x 209.2 cm, London, National Gallery

to his son the painter François Venant II various items of furniture, silverware and paintings, including four pictures by Frans Floris, as security against 500 *f* that his son had lent him and against 600 *f* that Jean le Bleu had also lent him with the same son’s guarantee. (The goods in the inventory actually stayed in the house of François Venant senior.)⁷³⁰ Thus, the painter François Venant was jointly responsible for a loan from Jean le Bleu to his own father, who was of course Le Bleu’s uncle.

It is highly probable that both Jean le Bleu and François Venant II were Remonstrants. While Le Bleu did not sign the Remonstrant petition of 1628, his second wife, Cornelia van Mesen, whom he married in that year did, in the very year of their marriage. The older Venant signed the petition of 1611 requesting tolerance for partisans of Arminius’s doctrines; the younger Venant signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628. As we shall see presently, this religious adherence may have been a decisive factor in the acquisition of the painting “Mene, mene, tekel”.

There is some ground for the conjecture that the painter François Venant must have known Rembrandt. In April 1625, when he was already 34 years old, he was betrothed to Agnieta Pieters, who was Pieter Lastman’s sister. He was then living in the

Breestraat, probably very close to Pieter Lastman, with whom Rembrandt had studied around 1623.⁷³¹ Mariët Westerman in a very recent essay argues that Venant, along with other pre-Rembrandists, including Adriaen van Nieulandt, Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, and Jan and Jacob Pynas, “would have encountered Rembrandt” in those early years.⁷³² This is all the more likely in the 1630s when both Venant and Rembrandt lived in the Breestraat (Rembrandt lived there from 1631 to 1635 and again from 1639 on). In 1632, moreover, Venant was active in the affairs of the Guild of St. Luke, of which he was a headman (*overman*) in 1632.⁷³³ Rembrandt joined the Guild in 1634.⁷³⁴ Venant and Rembrandt must have met at guild functions, which were held in the St. Anthonispoort, next door to the Breestraat, or elsewhere.

I now return to the possible identity of the painting “Mene, mene, tekell” owned by Le Bleu with Rembrandt’s painting of “Belshazzar’s Feast” or with a copy thereof. One argument in favor of this hypothesis is that, according to Reiner Hausherr, who wrote the basic article on the interpretation of the painting, prior representations of the subject omitted the inscription in Hebrew or Aramaic letters.⁷³⁵ Some, like Pieter de Grebber’s rendering, for example, showed only God’s pointing hand.⁷³⁶ But there is at least one representation of the subject that includes the writing in the wall in Latin transcription. This is Jan Muller’s engraving of ca. 1598, on which can be read the words on the wall “Mane, thecel, phares”, which correspond exactly to the words in the Vulgate Bible.⁷³⁷ They do differ, though, from the words in the Calvinist Bible, which read “Mene mene tekell, upharsin” (Daniel, verse 25) and, in the next verse, “Mene mene tekell, peres”, with a note explaining the word “upharsin”.⁷³⁸ We, of course, do not know whether the inscription read by the notary or his clerk on Le Bleu’s painting was written in Latin or Hebrew script. All we can conclude so far is that if the words on the painting were written in Latin script, they were drawn from the Protestant and not the Catholic version of the Bible.

I will now consider the basis for the argument that Rembrandt’s painting may have been commissioned by a Remonstrant patron, as Le Bleu almost certainly was.

Since 1963, when Hausherr published his interpretation of the painting,⁷³⁹ it has been known that Rembrandt’s inscription assumed the exact same (vertical) form as in Menasseh ben Israel’s *De Termino Vitae* of 1639.⁷⁴⁰ The vertical form of the inscription explains the puzzlement of the Babylonians who could not read the inscription until the Prophet Daniel revealed its baleful message predicting the death of Belshazzar and the breakup of his empire. This has led some scholars to argue that Menasseh must have provided a manuscript text in Hebrew letters to help Rembrandt. The argument is strengthened by the well-known collaboration of Rembrandt and Menasseh 20 years later in the production of Menasseh’s book *Piedra Gloriosa* for which Rembrandt produced the etchings.

According to Orthodox Calvinist doctrine, the Babylonians could not read the words written on the wall because they were blinded by God. Menasseh, however, argued that “God’s prophecies are deliberately veiled and that their outcome depends upon the exercise of human reason” (in this case, on Daniel’s ingenuity). Thus,

Menasseh “reconciles his humanistic belief in free-will and the human inclination to virtue with a predetermined divine plan for the world”.⁷⁴¹ This was compatible with the Remonstrant view of predestination, but it was in direct contradiction with strict Calvinist doctrine.⁷⁴² It is not surprising, therefore, that Menasseh’s writings found support among Remonstrant intellectuals (Hugo de Groot, Gerard Vossius, Caspar Barlaeus, Simon Episcopius, Johannes Beverovicus), with whom he engaged in a lively and sympathetic correspondence. Indeed, it was Beverovicus who prompted Menasseh to write *De termino vitae*, published in 1639.⁷⁴³ Rembrandt was in direct contact with another of these Remonstrants, Caspar Barlaeus (van Baerle), who wrote the Latin verses accompanying Rembrandt’s posthumous etching of the *predikant* Jan Cornelis Sylvius.⁷⁴⁴

Whether Jean le Bleu acquired his painting of “Mene, mene, tekel” from Rembrandt himself (possibly *via* Venant) or from some totally different source, the interest in the subject on the part of a man who was most probably a Remonstrant, in the very year when Rembrandt apparently produced his painting, deserves to be recorded.

Appendix to chapter 20

Table 20.1

**Jean le Bleu’s Purchases at Orphan Chamber Auctions
Barcman Claesz. sale, 15 March 1611**

1 painting	f 1:10:--
1 painting	f 13: 5:--
1 painting	f 11:--:--

Crispiaan Colijn sale, 20 March 1612

1 painting, on canvas, of the lineage (<i>geslacht</i>) of St. Ann	f 6:--:--
A number of prints	f -:12:--
A number of prints	f -:14:--

Works of Art in Jean le Bleu’s Inventory of 28 April 1635

- a painting, plundering of a peasant’s house
- a painting, the bringing of gifts of the three kings (*gift gevinge der drij coningen*)
- a painting, Charity
- one where the eyes of Argus are plucked out (?) (*daer de ooghen van Archus verquekt (?) sijn*)
- one wherein *mene mene tekel*
- a painting of the prodigal son (*verlooren soon*)
- a painting of the Neu of Utrecht (probably the dismissal of the Waargelders by Prince Maurits in Utrecht)
- a painting of the winter and summer market (*winter en somer marct*)
- a painting where the cripples are healed (*daer de creupels genesen werden*)

a painting of the night when Christ was arrested (*nacht Cristus gevangen*)
a portrait of the [owner ?] of the house
a portrait of one having a ring collar (*ring craegen*)
a painting of the abduction of women (*spoeleringh van vrouwen*, probably the Sabines)
a little winter
a *roemer* with flowers
a Joung Tobias

Source: NA 695A, film 4981, Notary Jan Warnaerts.

A Collector with Connections to Major Cultural Figures: Robbert van der Hoeve and the “Muiden Circle”

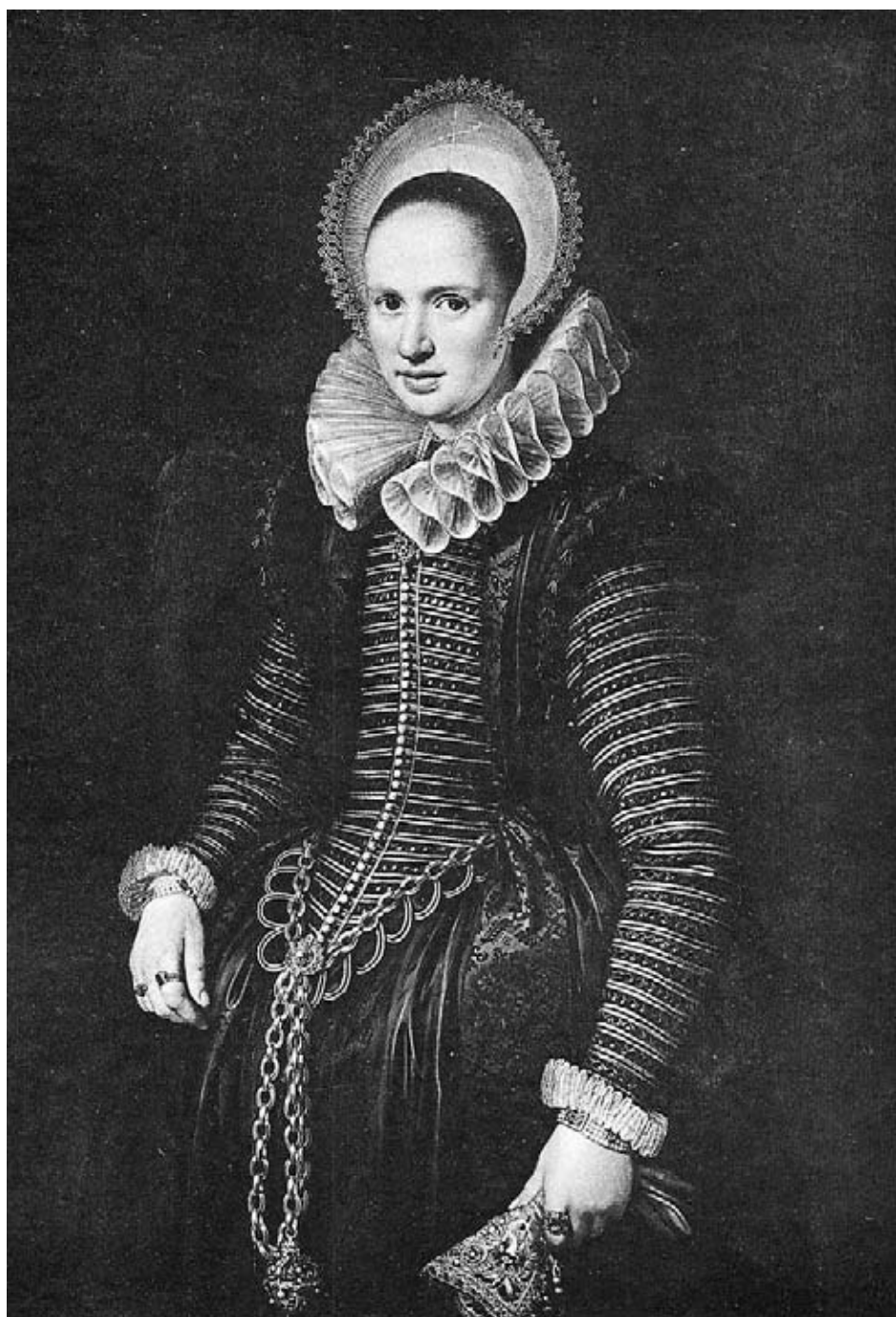
While I was working on the community of artists and artisans in Delft a number of years ago, I had occasion to study the life and career of Aper Fransz. van der Hoeve (1543-1627), who was one of the principal collectors of art in Delft at the turn of the 17th century. Karel van Mander tells us that he had once studied painting in Antwerp with the famous Frans Floris, the “Raphael of the North”, but more as an amateur (*liefhebber*) than as a professional. In his youth, he also spent some time in Fontainebleau in the company of Flemish and Dutch painters of the time. By the last years of the 16th century, he had given up painting and settled down as a successful beer brewer and collector. Arnold van Buchell, the lawyer and humanist scholar in Utrecht, wrote in his diary in May 1598 that Van der Hoeve owned, among other works of art, a life-size painting by Jan Gossaert and several small statues by the Delft-born Willem van Tetrode. In 1624, he acquired the collection of sculpture of Thomas Cruse, including examples by Giovanni Bologna, Willem van Tetrode, Hendrick de Keyser, and Michel Angelo, which had initially been pledged to him against a loan. His son Abraham van der Hoeve studied art in Italy, joined the painters’ guild of St. Luke in Delft early in the 17th century but died in 1621 before he could achieve any great fame.

When I came across a certain Robbert (or Robbrecht) van der Hoeve as a buyer of art at Orphan Chamber auction, in the course of the present study, I did not suspect that he might be connected with his Delft homonym. As it turned out, he was the son of Aper van der Hoeve and the brother of the painter Abraham van der Hoeve.⁷⁴⁵ There was also another distinguished collector in the family: Robbrecht’s sister Maria married the Delft notary Herman van der Ceel, who, at the time of his death in 1656, owned 118 paintings, some of which were attributed to Rembrandt, Pieter Lastman, Jan van Goyen, Esaias van de Velde, and other reputed artists.⁷⁴⁶ In their testament of 6 June 1633, they left a life annuity of 12 *f* to Andreas Petri (van der Linden), the pastor of the Lutheran Community, who was also an amateur painter. This bequest, together with the baptisms of several family members in the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam suggest that the family was predominantly Lutheran.

Robbert van der Hoeve was born in Delft on 29 December 1581. He was inscribed as a student in the faculty of medicine of the University of Leiden in 1602. By 1604, he



9A: Michiel van Mierevelt, "Portrait of Robbert van der Hoeve", Panel 111 x 82 cm, Amsterdam, Jan Six Collection



9B: Michiel van Mierevelt, "Portrait of Elisabeth van der Wolff", Panel, 111 x 82 cm, Amsterdam, Jan Six Collection

was studying medicine in Padua. Some 40 years later when the great cartographers Johannes and Cornelis Blaeuw published their world atlas, they dedicated the map of Padua to the “*amplissimo, prudentissimo, doctissimo, D. Roberto van der Houwe, Medico apud Amstelodamenses celeberrimo*”.⁷⁴⁷ Robbert married Elisabeth Gerrits van der Wolff, the daughter of Gerrit van der Wolff, an alderman of Schiedam, in Delft in 1610. In 1612, the couple had their portraits painted (near full-length) by Michiel van Mierevelt, now in the Six Collection in Amsterdam (ill. no. 9A and 9B).

Doctor van der Hoeve, from the time of his marriage until the death of his first wife in 1617, lived in Delft and Schiedam, where he was regent of the local hospital (*gasthuis*). On August 22, 1617, he and his wife Elisabeth passed their testament in Schiedam. She was sick, lying in bed. She died nine days later. At the time of her death, she had not yet reached the “majority age” of 25. On April 9 of the next year Dr. van der Hoeve was again betrothed, this time to Maria van Offenberch, born, like his first wife, in 1593, the daughter of Dirck van Offenberch and Johanna van Loon. The betrothal took place in Amsterdam, but the forthcoming bride was still living in Rotterdam. Van der Hoeve’s new mother-in-law came from a particularly distinguished family. Joanna van Loon was the sister of the very rich merchant Hans van Loon who was destined to live long and leave a numerous progeny.

One of the doctor’s new connections *via* his second wife was with the merchant (and auction buyer) Godart Kerckering, who was an elder of the Lutheran Church. In their testament of 1629, Kerckering and his wife Cornelia Hessels named Robbert van der Hoeve, the husband of her half-sister Maria van Offenberch, as co-guardian of their children in the event of their death. (Cornelia Hessels and Maria van Offenberch were daughters of Joanna van Loon by different husbands.) In 1633, Kerckering and Robbert van der Hoeve were partners in freighting a ship to carry salt from Setubal in the bay of Gascogne to a Northern destination. Being a doctor did not rule out at least a part-time career as a merchant and investor.⁷⁴⁸ One of Maria van Offenberch’s full sisters, named Johanna, was married to Steven Pelgrom. Originally from an Antwerp family, the brothers Steven and Paulus Pelgrom were born in Neurenburg but migrated to Amsterdam in 1603. They soon established themselves as prominent merchants in the Mediterranean trade, with numerous contacts in the Ottoman Empire. In 1612, they were known to have delivered crown chandeliers to Constantinople, as part of the States General’s gift to the Sultan. This connection would have been brighter still if the two brothers had not failed in 1621. One of the two, Paulus, thought it best to leave Amsterdam to recover his losses in Hamburg.⁷⁴⁹

Children of Van der Hoeve’s second marriage were baptized in Amsterdam in the Lutheran Church in 1622 (Aper, named after his grandfather, the Delft brewer), in 1624 (Johanna), 1627 (Willemkén), and 1628 (Maria). I shall come back to these children at a later point.

In 1628, Robbert van der Hoeve signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628. He remained friends all his life with many of his co-signatories, including a number of his fellow-guests at a party given in 1639 by Caspar van Baerle, described below.

From time to time, in the 1620s and early 1630s, we hear of Dr. van der Hoeve in connection with family business, to be precise, with the affairs of his new wife's family. In May 1629, for instance, Hans and Anna van Loon, Godert Kerckering and Robbert van der Hoeve gave Cornelis Spiering power-of-attorney to sell a residential house and a warehouse on the South side of the Houttuinen, called "de Pijnappel". Cornelis Spiering, a nephew of Hans van Loon, was barely 25 years old at the time.⁷⁵⁰ (I am always struck by the young age at which major family responsibilities were assumed in 17th century Holland.) On 29 September 1633, Dr. Robbert van der Hoeve witnessed the marriage contract of Cornelia Kerckering, the daughter of the half-sister of his wife, with Pieter Hunthum, of a Lutheran family, which had fled Cologne for religious reasons. The Hunthum, Kerckering, and Van Loon families were interwoven through marriages that stretched to the end of the 17th century.⁷⁵¹

In 1631, when Dr. van der Hoeve paid a wealth tax of 80 *f* (corresponding to an estimated wealth of 16,000 *f*), he was living near the Doelen, in a neighborhood full of wealthy people, some of whom were probably his clients.⁷⁵² Next door to him there lived his aunt by marriage the "widow Offenberff" (Offenberch), who was taxed 300 *f*. This was probably Johanna van Loon (Hans's sister), the widow of Dirck van Offenberch. A couple of doors away, the tax collector found Laurens Joosten Baeck (taxed 500 *f*) and his son Joost, who were close friends of the poet Joost van den Vondel.

Van der Hoeve is known to have bought works of art at two Orphan Chamber auctions: first, in the Barend van Someren sale of 1635 and, second, in the Jan Basse sale of 1637 (for details, see Appendix below). In the Van Someren sale, he bought 14 lots, all of prints and drawings. The prints included three by Albrecht Dürer, a series of the Passion by Goltzius, six prints without designated subject by Goltzius, Three Goddesses by Goltzius, and a "little book" (of etchings) by Tempesta. His total purchases at the sale came to 33 *f* 17 st. At one session of the sale, Rembrandt bid successfully on three prints, three lots after the doctor had bought a "little book of prints" for 5 *f* and five lots before he (the doctor) bought "a number of drawings" for 14 stuivers. The lots Van der Hoeve acquired at the Basse sale were all prints and drawings without titles or attributions, plus two lots of "naturalia", an agathe stone and "some crystal", for a total of 16 *f* 9 st. These purchases, together with Vondel's mention of the painting by Jan Pynas and "other artful pieces" by Lastman in Van der Hoeve's collection, discussed below, sum up what we know about the doctor's artistic tastes. One can very tentatively conclude that he was partial, like his father Aper van der Hoeve, to "histories", both sacred (Old and New Testament) and secular (the Three Goddesses), and, even more tentatively, that he had a special taste for "old masters" like Goltzius and Dürer. Judging from these fragments of evidence, I would characterize the doctor's preferences as old fashioned, at least if they are compared to those of collectors who gave their preference to the new landscapes and genres. Born in 1581, he probably shared the taste of many members of his generation for late-Mannerist (Goltzius) and classically oriented art (Mierevelt, Tempesta, Lastman, Jan Pynas).⁷⁵³

The Basse sale took place in March 1637, two months short of the date of the first known document about the contacts that Van der Hoeve entertained with the poets' community. Sara Cranen, the mother of Joost van den Vondel, died in May 1637. In the division of her estate, various debts were listed, including one for 12 *f* 10 stuivers owed to Dr. Verhoeve (Van der Hoeve), who was most probably the family physician. Smaller debts were owed to Dr. (Nicolaes) Tulp (of Rembrandt's Anatomy Lesson) and Dr. (Samuel) Coster.⁷⁵⁴ The doctor's acquaintance with Joost van den Vondel was not only professional. Within three years of Sara Cranen's death, in 1640, Vondel published his tragedy *Josefin Dothan*, in the preface of which he made a most flattering reference to Van der Hoeve.

The play was dedicated to Joachim van Vickevoort, knight and envoy of the Landgravin of Hesse, with whom Vondel had for some time been on friendly terms.⁷⁵⁵ Van Vickevoort had bought two lots at the 1637 auction of the jeweler Jan van Maerlen of Chapter 19. Like Dr. van der Hoeve, he was a Lutheran. He was a member of what used to be called the Muiden circle, the literati grouped around the poet and historian Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, who entertained them in his castle in Muiden, close to Amsterdam.⁷⁵⁶ Vondel begins his dedication by noting some Greek precedents to his play where brother was pitted against brother. He wants to follow the old tragedians "from afar". The Holy Scriptures offer him examples of "godlike majesty" (*goddelijcke majesteit*) and "laudable venerability" (*aenbiddelijcke eerwaerdigheid*) which are never more desirable traits than in tragedies. These must be the qualities that "struck him in the mind" when he beheld Jan Pynas's painting of Joseph sold by his brothers, "hanging next to other artful works by Pieter Lastman, in the house of the learned and experienced doctor Robbert van der Hoeve, where the bloody coat is shown to the father: such as we, in the closing (passages) of this work, have tried to emulate as closely as possible, with words, the painter's colors, drawings, and passions."⁷⁵⁷ The painting is likely to be the one preserved in St. Petersburg (ill. no. 10), although, of course, there could have been other versions.⁷⁵⁸ Rarely has a painting been given so much credit for inspiring a tragic poem.⁷⁵⁹

Beside his connection with Vondel, Dr. van der Hoeve also numbered among his friends another one of his clients, Caspar van Baerle (otherwise known as Barlaeus), a pivotal member of the Muiden circle.⁷⁶⁰ The parents of Van Baerle, born in Antwerp in 1584, fled the city which was occupied by the Spanish army in the following year; they first settled in Zaltbommel in Holland where the father held a minor teaching post. Young Caspar studied theology and philosophy in Leiden and was named to his first post as *predikant* in the village of Nieuwe Tonge, where he preached for only a year and a half. In 1612, he accepted a post as Under-regent of the Staten College in Leiden. Because he had sided with the Remonstrant faction in the controversy within the Calvinist church, he was forced out of this job in 1619. He then decided to study medicine for a while, actually graduated, but he never practiced medicine professionally. In 1631, he was appointed professor of philosophy and rhetoric at the Illustre School on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam. He was



10: Jan Pynas, “Jacob Seeing Joseph’s Bloodied Coat”, Panel, 90 x 119 cm, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

known for his broad religious views, which included an interest in, and sympathy for, the Jewish faith. He became friends with Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, whose book on the Creation he went out of his way to praise (an attitude for which he was roundly castigated by Orthodox Calvinists). After the death of his first wife, he courted Maria Tesselschade Roemer, the daughter of Roemer Visscher, the author of the *Sinnepoppen*, who was herself a poet and a charter member of the Muiden circle; but his courtship was unsuccessful, even though they remained close friends until her death. He was a prolific writer of poems in Latin and an occasional playwright.

Caspar van Baerle for many years suffered from a debilitating melancholy (*zwaar-moedigheid*), which nowadays might pass for acute depression. A contemporary reported that he thought at times he was made of glass or of straw and butter, which kept him away from fires. In a letter dated April 8, 1638, written to Jacobus Petitus, his friend in Utrecht, Van Baerle wrote about the “remnants of a tenacious illness” with which he was struggling. To make sure that he could receive his guests on the coming Sunday, he had summoned “Dr. Verhoeven”, who, on the day the letter had been written, had bled him and “furnished him with prescriptions necessary for his recovery”.⁷⁶¹ A year and a week later, in another letter to Jacobus Petitus, Van Baer-

le informed him that he had invited some of his “best friends” (*amicos superiores*) for a meal, on Sunday next. These friends were the “Satrap of Muiden” (i.e. the poet and historian Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, who was *drost* of Muiden), (Joachim) Vickevoort, Gerard Vossius (colleague of Van Baerle at the Atheneum since 1633), Doctor Verhoevius (Robbert van der Hoeve), the merchant Paul de Wilhem, the doctor in medicine Baldvinus Hamaeus (an Englishman), (Daniel) Mostart (secretary of the city of Amsterdam and amateur playwright), (Bartholomeus) Reael, along with their wives and the widows of Arminius and Rombouts. The first of these two widows was Lijsbeth Reael, who had married Jacob Arminius, the founder of the religious faction that bears his name, in 1590; the second was her daughter Gertruyd Arminius, the widow of Jacob Jacobsz. Rombouts.⁷⁶² In his letter, Van Baerle urged Petitiu to join these select friends.⁷⁶³

Dr. van der Hoeve died a year and a half after the Van Baerle party, on 19 April 1641, and was buried five days later in the Nieuwe Kerk. In view of the warm words expressed about him by Vondel and Van Baerle, one might have expected the two poets to take some notice of his death, but no eulogy of the good doctor by either of these two men has come to light. Yet Vondel missed no occasion to eulogize his Muiden friends. In that same year 1641, Vondel commemorated Joachim Sandrart’s portraits of Caspar van Baerle, professor of philosophy, and of Gerard Vossius, the first in a six-line, the second in a twelve-line poem. The eulogy for Dr. van der Hoeve came from another quarter of the poets’ community, fairly far removed from the Muiden circle. Soon after the doctor’s death, in 1641, Mattheus Gansneb Tengenagel, the son of the painter and sheriff Jan Tengenagel, published a *mélange* of diverse poems including one, called “Words of consolation addressed to the grieving community, on the occasion of the premature death of the venerable, wise, deeply learned, and prudent Robbert van der Hoeven, experienced physician in the art of healing”.⁷⁶⁴ This is the same Tengenagel who was falsely accused of writing the libelous *St. Nicolaas milde gaven*, the centerpiece of the next chapter. It is not known how Tengenagel was acquainted with Dr. van der Hoeve, or even if he was acquainted with him at all.⁷⁶⁵ It is perhaps worthy of note, though, that the painter Jan Pynas, who painted the story of Josef’s bloody coat in the doctor’s possession, was a witness to the baptism of Mattheus Tengenagel in 1613, and was probably his godfather.⁷⁶⁶

After Robbert van der Hoeve’s death, his widow was left with her four children (one son and three daughters). We saw earlier that she was the daughter, from a second marriage, of Hans van Loon’s sister Johanna. On 26 and 27 May 1647, Hans van Loon and his wife Anna Ruychaver celebrated their fiftieth (golden) anniversary, a rare event at a time when few couples reached their 80th birthdays. The old couple invited 135 guests to a feast, all but 14 of them close relatives – close at least by the standards of the time – of one or the other of the presiding hosts.⁷⁶⁷ Van der Hoeve’s widow and her three daughters were of course invited. It must have been a grand occasion. To be sure that it would be remembered for a long time, 125 of the guests – perhaps all who were actually present – were presented with a medal commemorat-

ing the event, designed by Johannes Loeff, the highly reputed dyemaker of the Middelburg mint. Most of the medals were made of silver (19 grams); some were made of gold (20 grams).⁷⁶⁸

By coincidence, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, who had died in The Hague on 21 May 1647, was buried on May 27, the day when Hans van Loon and his wife were celebrating their jubilee. Hooft left a fortune of 148,000 *f* to his heirs.

Seven months later, Caspar van Baerle was still teaching in the Illustre School when he suffered a terminal bout of melancholia or depression and died on 28 January 1648.⁷⁶⁹ Constantijn Huygens, Dirck Graswinckel, Joost van den Vondel, Jan Vos, Gerrit Brandt, and Reyer Anslø, to mention only the most eminent authors, wrote poems in commemoration of his death.

As far as we can tell from surviving documents, Dr. van der Hoeve and Hooft had only met once, at the 1639 party of Caspar van Baerle. But this only points up the lack of dependability of the surviving record. If they had not known each other fairly well, it is unlikely that Maria van der Hoeve, the doctor's youngest daughter, would have married a son of Hooft. This happened, to be sure, in 1655 (on the 25th of May), eight years after the death of the poet and historian. But Leonora Hellemans, Hooft's second wife, the mother of the *Ridder* Arnout Hellemans Hooft who married Maria van der Hoeve, was still very much alive (she only died in 1661).⁷⁷⁰ She had of course been a guest of Van Baerle in 1639. Vondel wrote a 66-line poem to celebrate the occasion. There were several punning references in the poem to the house of Hooft and to the bride's Hoef (her mother or the family home), but none to her father, the art-collecting doctor.⁷⁷¹

The connection that Maria van der Hoeve had formed by marrying Arnout Hellemans Hooft was a very fine one, and it became finer as Arnout's career progressed. We have seen that Arnout's father had left a sizable fortune at his death, which Arnout augmented by his mercantile activities. In 1650, the young man had become an ensign in the militia. In 1656, a year after his marriage, he was named lieutenant and in 1662, captain. In 1660, he was one of the six directors of the Colony of Guyana (Guinea) or "Wild Coast". Unfortunately for the couple, their children all died young. Maria van der Hoeve was buried on 6 June 1663. Widower Hellemans Hooft remarried with Anna van Hoorn two years later. This second marriage also yielded no children.

Beside Willemken, who died unmarried in 1669, this leaves only one of Maria van Offenberch's daughters unaccounted for. This was Johanna van der Hoeve (or van der Houve) who, one year after the marriage of her sister Maria, married Cornelis Cloeck on 11 January 1656. Her husband was also closely related to Hooft. He was the son of Pieter Jansz. Cloeck (born in 1589), one of the most prominent attorneys in Amsterdam from the 1640s to the 1660s, and a member of the Amsterdam *Vroedschap* from 1647 to his death in 1667. His mother was Johanna Cornelis Hooft, the sister of Hooft. Pieter Cloeck, who was Rembrandt's attorney from 1647 on (if not earlier), defended the artist throughout his bankruptcy proceedings.⁷⁷² Cornelis

Cloeck (1622-1693), who was also an attorney, had an even more distinguished career than his brother-in-law Hellemans Hooft. He was a commissioner for sea affairs (*Commissaris voor zeezaken*) in 1659 and from 1661-1663, commissioner for marriage affairs (*Commissaris voor huwelijksake*) in 1665 and from 1672 to 1674, director of the West Indies Company in 1664, and director of the East Indies United Company in 1682, captain of the Amsterdam militia in 1669, and alderman of 's Graveland in 1690.⁷⁷³ He was taxed on a fortune of 140,000 *f* in 1674. His wife Johanna, who died childless in 1693, left a fortune of 100,000 *f*.⁷⁷⁴ Since the attorney Aper van der Hoeve (II), the only son of Dr. van der Hoeve, died unmarried in 1667, there were no direct descendants of this distinguished collector and friend of the poets of his time.

As I mentioned in the first part of his book, the principal men of letters in the story of this chapter, Joost van den Vondel, Caspar van Baerle, and Hooft, were *not* buyers at auction, at least at those for which a record has been preserved. This absence applies to all sorts of other major (and not so major) figures in the literary world of Amsterdam of those days, including Jan Jansz. Starter, Jan Hermansz. Krul, Abraham de Koninck, Samuel Coster, Jan Vos, and Lambert van den Bos. I have only found two men of literary stature who were buyers. These were Bredero and Jan Sieuwertsz. Kolm, both of whom were painters before they were poets, and may be presumed to have bought at auction *qua* artists.⁷⁷⁵ Surely, the lack of means to buy art could not have been the sole cause of this absence, for several of these *literati*, including Joost van den Vondel (at least until his son's bankruptcy) and Hooft, were quite well off. None of them, as far as I can tell, was too poor to buy an occasional work of art at auction. I again offer the following, very tentative explanation. Poets, playwrights, and other writers in the classical vein were extremely well regarded by the Dutch elite, much more, on the whole, than artist-painters – in the eyes of many rich burghers, glorified craftsmen who could not shake off the odor of turpentine and linseed oil that clung to them. On the other hand, it must have been highly gratifying, and profitable, for painters when their works were lauded in the occasional poems, or even praised in the letters, of these writers. Surely, these recipients of praise would have wished to return the favor by occasionally bestowing a painting, or at least a drawing, on their benefactors. This, in fact, frequently happened. The most famous example is that of Rembrandt who painted the portrait of Jeremias de Decker, who earlier had written a poem in praise of his painting of "Christ and the Magdalen", as a token of friendship.⁷⁷⁶ Any one familiar with the artistic world of the present day will recall examples of gifts of art donated to major cultural figures in similar circumstances. There was no need to spend one's hard-earned money at auction if art came your way, free of charge.

Appendix

Table 21.1

Purchases at Orphan Chamber Auctions by dr. Robbert van der Hoeve

Van Someren sale, 1635

Dürer prints	f 1:17:--
3 prints	2: 4:--
prints (landscapes)	1: 1:--
one print book	1: 7:--
1 (set of the) Passion by Goltzius	1:11:--
1 (set of) the Life of the Virgin by Goltzius	5: 5:--
1 little print book	5:--:--
6 prints by Goltzius	1: 3:--
a little book of Tempesta	3: 6:--
3 goddesses by Goltzius	--:17:--
some drawings	--: 5:--
3 prints by Dürer	3:10:--
a number of drawings	--:14:--
3 prints	2:--:--
<hr/>	
Total	33:17:--

Jan Basse sale, 1637

a number of prints	f 5:10:--
a number of prints	2:10:--
a number of prints	3: 6:--
drawings	2: 2:--
1 agathe stone	2: 1:--
some crystal	1:--:--
<hr/>	
Total	16: 9:--

What Santa Claus Brought to the Youth of Amsterdam

One of the few constants in history, regardless of country or culture, is how sensitive ruling elites are to criticism. Even democratic regimes are perpetually in danger of letting their elected representatives suppress unwanted critiques (as occurred with the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 in the United States). The authorities that ruled 17th century Amsterdam were elected by co-optation, which was hardly a democratic procedure. Liberal as they may have been in some respects, they did not brook criticism easily. So it is not surprising to hear that, as soon as the anonymous pamphlet, called “The Mild Gifts of St. Nicholas to the Youth of Amsterdam or the Last Quarter of the Amsterdam Moonshine” (“*St. Nicolaes milde gaven aen d’Amstelse ionckheyt. Ofte het laetste Quartier der Amsterdamsche Mane-schijn*”), which invoked the names of many of the prominent citizens of Amsterdam, appeared in a few book shops at the end of 1640, the police of Amsterdam soon began to interrogate suspects and to confiscate copies of this “libel”.⁷⁷⁷ In reading the following account, which deals with other libels as well, it should be kept in mind that the New Amsterdam Theater (*de nieuwe Schouwburg*) had been inaugurated in January 1638, two years before these events. The authorities were apparently nervous about the mocking of its directors in these ephemeral booklets. One should also keep in mind that the police interrogations of suspects, as they were recorded in the “Justice” and “Confession books”, were not stenographic transcripts. The clerk only set down the questions and answers that seemed to be of primary interest or that he could keep up with as he went along.

The “mild gifts” in the St. Nicholas libel are those that the popular saint gave to good children on the day of his feast (December 6). But as the authors of the libelous pamphlet remark in their introduction, they had seen so many bad deeds “sitting on the mantlepiece” (where the good and bad gifts to children were exposed), which have been perpetrated by a multitude of evil-doers, that they could not forbear to at least warn the culprits in the hope of a betterment. They went on to rake over the coals “twice six pious men”, including (Michiel) Pauw, lord of Achttienhoven,⁷⁷⁸ Jan Six, and a certain Joncker Jan van Piepenfoye. They also alluded to the broker De Haes, and to Nieuwenhoven, (Werner) van Bassen, Bevers, and Cappit. They then ironized about the “high and clever mind” (*hooch en cloecke geest*) of six attorneys, (Jan ?) Davelaer, (Nicolaes) van Loon, Kloeckje (Pieter Jansz. Cloeck?),⁷⁷⁹ Vogelzangh, De Raet, (Ernst) Roeters, and (Abraham) Oyens. Finally, they sent up a num-

ber of men sitting in the Amsterdam Vroedschap and in the highest circles of Amsterdam governance, including the militia: “(Hans) Bontemantel, (Floris) Soop, and Backer, Campen, (Pieter?) Hasselaer and (Jan?) Six, (Andries?) Vinck and Bas, Outgers, Vlaming, and Dirck Hoveling, (Andries?) Bicker and (Joachim) Rendorp.” When we include the names already cited, the ruling, commercial, and professional elites of Amsterdam were pretty well covered.

On Saint Nicholaes Day 1640, which fell on a Tuesday, only two days after the first copies of the libelous pamphlet had first been distributed, the sheriff and his aldermen began their interrogations.⁷⁸⁰ The bookseller Lubbert Meynertsz., on being shown the “St. Nicolaes” booklets, denied knowing who might have written them but confessed that a young boy had brought him a pack of them. After he had sold them all, he obtained a half dozen more from the bookseller Joost Hartgers. Hartgers, 27 years old, interrogated on the same day, told the police that a worker had brought to his house a hundred copies of a pasquinade titled “St. Nicholaes”, which he had sold for four and six stuivers a piece. He did not know who had sent the package. Twelve copies had been bought by Abraham de Wees, bookseller on the Dam.⁷⁸¹ Naturally, the sheriff proceeded to interrogate De Wees, who claimed that he didn’t know where the copies of the “St. Nicholaes”, which he had received and paid for, came from. Next, Hartgers was again questioned. This time he reported that the preceding Sunday (which was two days before the interrogation), shortly after 25 copies of “St. Nicholaes” had been delivered to him, a certain Pieter van den Broeck had come to his house and asked him “whether there was anything new”. At Van den Broeck’s insistence, he acknowledged that he did have something new, which he then showed him. He had then given Van den Broeck two printed sheets that were still wet and asked him not to tell any one about them.

Two days later, on December 8th, the police summoned Pieter van den Broeck for his first interrogation. Van den Broeck said he was from Amsterdam and about 24 years old. No craft or profession was mentioned. The world of Amsterdam being a fairly small one, the reader will not be surprised to learn that Pieter van den Broeck was the younger brother of Marten van den Broeck of Chapter 18, who swapped diamonds, textiles, and valuable paintings in exchange for ship’s equipment in 1647.

There is little doubt about this identity. Pieter van den Broeck was baptized on 5 April 1615. This implies that he was 25 years old in December 1640, one year older than he told the sheriff, an inaccuracy that was more than common at the time.⁷⁸² His father was Gregorius van den Broeck, his mother, Catharina Soolmans. He was the cousin of Marten Soolmans, portrayed by Rembrandt in 1634. In 1657, he published a poem in verse about “The Illustriousness of Brederode of the House of the Counts of Holland” after an historical chronicle by Paulus Voet.⁷⁸³

To resume the interrogation of December 8: Van den Broeck was asked whether he had not been recently in the *Schilt van Vranckrijck* on the Dam (near the present Town Hall). The *Schilt van Vranckrijck* was a well-known inn which, for many years, had been managed by the painter and art dealer Barend van Someren. It was

there that the great sale of Van Someren's art works had been held by the Orphan Chamber in 1635, shortly after his death. Had Van den Broeck spoken there with a certain Van Rijn?⁷⁸⁴ Yes, he conceded, this had taken place about 14 days ago. Had he spoken there with the "son of the house"?⁷⁸⁵ No, he answered, but the son of the house had once come to his own house with some one else in order to see paintings (*om schilderijen te sien*). They might have spoken about paintings but about nothing else.

The only other evidence that Van den Broeck was a collector of art at all is his purchase of two lots at the Gommer Spranger sale of 1638: a copper plate of Albrecht Dürer for 9 *f* and a plate incised on both sides for 7 *f*.⁷⁸⁶ But it is clear from the interrogation that he owned a collection of paintings as well.

Next, Van den Broeck acknowledged that he had been at Hartgers's shop and had picked up two copies of a "new" pamphlet that were still wet. Asked whether he knew (Mattheus) Tengnagel, he said he did not, but "Schipper Jan" (Jan Jacobsz. Schipper, bookseller and poet) had told him that Tengnagel was about to publish a little book called "*de Lindeblaetjes*" in which he, Van den Broeck, was called a poet. But this was not true since he had not published anything under his own name. He denied knowing anything at all about the St. Nicholaes pamphlet. He did volunteer that he had been at the house of a bookbinder where there was talk about the writers of libelous poems, on which occasion he said that "he would be willing to lend his arms to help deliver [to the police] those that had done these things".⁷⁸⁷

The next interrogations brought Tengnagel, 27 years of age, before the sheriff. Tengnagel denied making a "*Maneschijn*" poem and asking a certain printer to print it. This denial was a lie. He was indeed the author of the "*Amsterdamsche Maneschijn*" (the Amsterdam moonshine), a Pasquinade that had appeared in 1639 in at least three editions.⁷⁸⁸ It took him less than a day to concede that he had indeed "made part of it". He had received assistance from Adam van Germez, a surgeon, poet, and popular actor in the Nieuwe Schouwburg.⁷⁸⁹ At a later point, Van Germez rejected Tengnagel's allegation in a face-to-face confrontation. Had he asked Van Someren ("son of the house" in the Schilt van Vranckrijck) to give him the names of some people who might have composed (libelous) farces ("*kluchten*")? He denied it, even though a previous confrontation with Van Someren and a certain Gerrit Anthonisz. (not identified in the interrogations) showed that it was so. He persisted in his denials, but finally stated that Van den Broeck had brought him eight men, including the poets Hans and Lambert Bontemantel, who presumably had made such libels and were willing to do so again. Tengnagel also confessed that he had got into a fight in the inn "*de Toelast*" with "the son of Abraham Anthonisz.", who had provoked him. He said that Van Someren (who now seemed distinct from the "son of Abraham Anthonisz.") had pulled out his rapier, and that he, Tengnagel, to defend himself had drawn his knife, but "more to scare off (his assailants) than to wound any one".⁷⁹⁰

Three days later, on December 11, the interrogation resumed, in part to go over old ground. The printer and bookseller Joost Hartgers, who by this time had been

taken into custody, stated that on the preceding Thursday (29th November), a worker had brought a certain package to his shop and that Pieter van den Broeck, who was sitting there, had asked whether there was anything new (in the package). He had answered, “nothing special”. Whereupon Van den Broeck had asked him whether Jacob Valcksz. had been there. On hearing that he had not, Van den Broeck had left. Bound up with the package, Hartgers had found a little letter, with the following contents: “Hartgers, I send you these ‘St. Nicholaes’ (booklets), so that you will print them and sell them. It’s one of your good friends who asks you to do this. If you are willing, make a circle with a cross above your door with a piece of chalk by tomorrow noon. But if you are not willing, the worker will take them [the booklets] away again.” When, on the next day, Valcksz. came by his house along with his brother-in-law (Van den Broeck), both men were laughing (presumably because they had seen the circle and the cross). Later that evening, when Hartgers had asked Valcksz. why they had been laughing, Valcksz. had answered: “I have knowledge of certain things, I must be frank with you” (*Ick hebbe kennisse van saecken, ick moet tegens u rondt gaen*). Whereupon Hartgers had said, “I thought I recognized your handwriting,” and Valcksz. had answered, “I thought that you knew my handwriting, and Van den Broeck knows it too”.⁷⁹¹

The next day, which was a Saturday afternoon, Valcksz. and Van den Broeck had come by again and asked whether a sheet had already been printed. Hartges said no, even though one had indeed been printed. Later that day, the two were in the shop again. Van den Broeck left with two sheets. Hartges had asked Valcksz.: “Well, so you are a poet? I did not know that. You have never published anything.” Valcksz. had answered: “Yes, that is true. I don’t know how we came to it. We just did it to while away the time in five or six weeks.”⁷⁹² He named no other person who had taken a part in the venture. Later Hartgers confirmed that the handwriting on the note appended to the “St. Nicholaes” was indeed Valcksz.’s. The bookseller also informed his questioners that he had consulted Notary Pels, asking him what he thought of the material that had been sent to him. Pels had advised him not to print it because many persons were explicitly named there (both by their first and last names). To which Hartgers had answered, “I don’t see that there’s anything there that will offend the magistrates. It’s just little playlets.”⁷⁹³

Jacob Valcksz., the brother-in-law of Pieter van den Broeck, is the second protagonist of this story. He, too, as we shall see presently, was a buyer at Orphan Chamber auctions and a far more important one than Van den Broeck. Born about 1601, he was considerably older than Pieter van den Broeck (he was 39 in 1640, while Van den Broeck was only 25). He had lived from 1627 to 1634 in Leghorn (Livorno) in Italy where he was a merchant’s representative (“factor”). He was betrothed with Altie Danckers on 10 May 1640, only a few months before these events. Adolph van Forckenburch, who assisted him on this occasion, was the husband of Jacob’s sister Margrieta. Van Forckenburch signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628.⁷⁹⁴ Jacob Valcksz. was buried on 12 October 1643.⁷⁹⁵

Valcksz.'s first known purchases at auctions occurred in 1625, two years before he left for Livorno. At two separate sales, he bought small lots of anonymous prints. Soon after he came back from Italy, he attended the Van Someren sale of 1635, where he bought 9 lots (8 of prints, one of drawings). But he only became a major player at the Basse sale of 1637 when he made winning bids on 82 lots, almost all of them anonymous prints (see the Appendix to this chapter). His strong interest in prints calls to mind that a certain Jan Valcksz. de Jonge appeared in two documents dated in the year 1615 as the guardian (and probably husband) of Maritge Muller, the sister of the printmaker Jan Harmensz. Muller.⁷⁹⁶ Jacob Valcksz. may have been his son. Unfortunately, I have not been able to figure out through what marriage connection Jacob Valcksz., who was fourteen years older than Van den Broeck, became the brother-in-law of his younger friend.

Although the interrogations continued, Pieter van den Broeck was never questioned again. As to Valcksz., he seems never to have been questioned at all. We only hear about the two partners again on January 23, 1641, when Joost Hartgers told the police that Jacob Valcksz. had told him that Pieter van den Broeck was "at the origin of the work" (of the "St. Nicholaes" pamphlet).⁷⁹⁷ Neither, of course, was punished. Joost Hartgers was condemned to pay a fine of 250 *f* "because he had allowed to be printed various notorious booklets, some of which he had reprinted, sold and distributed". He also had to pay for his imprisonment and the costs of justice. He was only released from jail after two merchants had given their guarantee that he would appear before the judges if and when he was summoned.⁷⁹⁸ Mattheus Tegnagel was convicted of having made and allowed to be printed "*'t Amsterdamsche Maenschijntge*", and another booklet named "*'t Amsterdamsche Sonschijntgen*" (but not the "St. Nicholaes"). Both of the pamphlets for which he was condemned were said to be "notorious and scandalous libels". He was also condemned because he had drawn a knife on the son of Abraham Anthonisz. He was therefore condemned to pay a fine of 100 *f* and further ordered to stay in his mother's house for the following three months, without being allowed to go out, by day or by night, or to step on the street, on pain of being confined to the House of Correction (*Tuchthuis*)⁷⁹⁹ and of spending the rest of the time of his condemnation there. The poet Jan Soet, who had also been apprehended and had confessed to writing a libelous almanach for the year 1640, was released from jail under caution and promised to appear before the Sheriff upon being summoned. His punishment does not appear to have been spelled out.

The punishments were not particularly severe, especially for the writers of the libelous pamphlets. The heaviest punishment fell on the printer and bookseller Joost Hartgers, as if printing and distributing libelous pamphlets was a worse crime than composing them.⁸⁰⁰

Two years after being condemned to house arrest, Tegnagel wrote another playlet, "*Frick in 't veurbuys*". In the next to last act of this *fablieau*, he introduced "Mr. Pieter the poet", who, as Izak Prins pointed out nearly 70 years ago, was none other than Pieter van den Broeck. The dialogue makes this identification clear. A

character in the playlet, named Bliedvijnst, asks Mr. Pieter where he is going. He answers that he is going to Aeltje Verwou's place, to father Abram's, to Joost Hartge's, or to Jacot's to get some "newsies" (*een nieu-tijntje*).⁸⁰¹ Two other characters then tell Mr. Pieter that they would be glad to tell him all the news that there is to tell in Amsterdam. Then Bliedvijnst, who presumably speaks for Tegnagel, says, "but first you must promise us that you'll also turn this news into a poem, because the little book Santa Claus ('*St. Nicholaes*'), that you released in print two years ago, even though it was dishonest, so pleased me here and there that I thought it couldn't be improved."⁸⁰² Whereupon Mr. Pieter answered: "That I promise you, but then I had my comrade Jacob still with me, the loose Vallek, and now I am all alone."⁸⁰³ The "loose Vallek" was of course Jacob Valcksz., but it was also a pun on Valck, meaning falcon. Next, another character named Roodneus said: "You've caused enough trouble, to cheat an innocent man to a rogue. You must think that you had more time than you had then." And then he adds, "through your fault, you got an innocent man into great trouble and deep suspicion with the authorities."⁸⁰⁴ All this chimes with the events that had occurred in 1640. The only thing that is new here is that Van den Broeck could no longer count on Valcksz.'s partnership. Yet Valcksz., as we have seen, did not die until 1643. Could the two men have fallen out over Van den Broeck's confession in the course of the interrogation? And what did Tegnagel mean by the "loose falcon"? There is not much chance we shall ever find out. In any case, Pieter van den Broeck survived this minor scandal by many years. He was buried 33 years later, on 8 June 1673, apparently unmarried.⁸⁰⁵

Appendix 22

Table 22.1

Purchases at auction by Pieter van den Broeck and Jacob Valcksz.

Pieter van den Broeck:

Gommer Spranger sale of 1638

1 plate (plaett) by Alborduer f 9:---:

1 plate incised on both sides

(*plaett van weersijde gesneen*) f 7:---:

Jacob Valcksz.:

Jan Gansepoel sale of 18 July 1625

1 lot of prints f 1: 5:--

Jan Basse sale of 1637

78 lots of untitled, unattributed prints f 81:---:

1 lot of drawings f 1: 5:--

When Sellers and Buyers Were Related: Elbert and Cornelis Symonsz. Pool, Jeltge Claes, and Pieter Claesz. Codde

Several of the selected buyers I have focused on, including Hans Thijsz. II, Hans van Soldt I and II, and Jan van Maerlen, were successful merchants of recent Antwerp origin. The late owners of the goods sold, Elbert Symonsz. Pool and Pieter Claesz. Kod (or Codde), both had roots in Amsterdam.

Elbert Symonsz. Pool was a butter merchant, with no known activity as a freighter of ships as Hans Thijsz. I had been. Pieter Claesz. Codde, called Kod in the sale of his possessions, lived from 1577 to 1622. He was a rope-maker (*touwslager*). Both Pool and Codde were comfortably well off but certainly less so than the buyers we have studied so far. They were both Reformed; if they were not Remonstrants themselves, they belonged to a Remonstrant milieu. Some of the members of their families, as we shall see, were Roman Catholic. One member married into a prominent Mennonite family. This mixture of religious affiliations was by no means unique in Amsterdam in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is remarkable that several members of the next generation attained social prominence in Amsterdam, including one who became a member of the Amsterdam *Vroedschap*, an elevation rarely achieved by the sons of Antwerp-born merchants.

The sale of Elbert Pool's possessions took place on 4 December 1620, that of Pieter Claesz. Codde on 30 October 1624. The relatively low ratio of the value of the works of art owned by Elbert Pool to the total value of his movable goods (3.4 percent of a total of *f* 3,412.6), assuming that the sale included all his goods, suggests that he was not a real art collector. It was higher in the case of Codde (9.8 percent of a total of *f* 2,609) but, as I shall explain presently, the bulk of the paintings he owned were represented by two pairs of biblical scenes that he may have had a special reason for acquiring. As was typical of minor sales, the buyers at these two sales were almost all family members or resellers/*uitdraagsters*. The two principal exceptions were well-known Remonstrant merchants. The reason that I have singled out these rather mediocre sales is that the Pool sale contained a pair of paintings by Lastman and Pynas (unrecorded in the literature), which seem to have cropped up again in the Codde sale, and that Pieter Claesz. Codde was apparently related to Pieter Lastman. The two buyers of these lots, in 1620 and 1624 respectively, were Jeltge Claes and Cornelis Symonsz. Pool. But first a few more words need to be said about Elbert Symonsz. Pool and Pieter Claesz. Codde.

Elbert and his brothers Cornelis and Pieter Symonsz. adopted their last name from the sign of the family house “*de Pool*”, on the Nieuwendijk, which had been brought into the family by their grandmother Neel Alberts Pool.⁸⁰⁶ Elbert was first married to Lutge Claes, the sister of Jeltge Claes and of Pieter Claesz. Codde. When her other sister Brechge Claes bought a lot at the Codde sale in 1624, she was said to be “the godmother”, probably of Annetje Elberts, whose baptism she had earlier witnessed.⁸⁰⁷ When Elbert Symonsz., butter merchant, and Lutge Claes brought their child Symon to the Old Church in Amsterdam to be baptized, on 3 May 1609, the witness was Weijntje van Neck. She had married the wine merchant Jacob Claesz. van Hooren in 1607. Jacob Claesz. van Hooren was the second brother of Pieter Claesz. Codde⁸⁰⁸ and of Jeltge, Lutge, and Brechge Claes. Both Weijntje and Jacob died in 1625.⁸⁰⁹ Their daughter Lucretia married Johannes Wtenbogaert, receiver-general of the land’s taxes. Through this marriage the family raised itself several rungs in Amsterdam’s social and economic scale.⁸¹⁰ Their son, Mr. Simon van Hoorn, born in 1618, had a brilliant career in Amsterdam – he was a member of the *Vroedschap* from 1648 to 1667 and a colonel of the militia from 1654. He was also a diplomat at the court of King Charles II of England and elsewhere.⁸¹¹

Pieter Claesz. Codde was a neighbor of Elbert Symonsz. Pool living on the west side of the Nieuwendijk on the New Side of Amsterdam. He had two brothers: Jacob Claesz. (already cited) and Garbrant Claesz. (1569-1625), both wine merchants, who called themselves van Hooren, after their mother Trijn Jans van Hooren.⁸¹² Both Garbrant and Jacob Claesz. were Roman Catholic.⁸¹³ They were the brothers, as we have already seen, of Lutge (the first wife of Elbert Symonsz.), Brechge, and Jeltge Claes. On 1 September 1601, Pieter Claesz. Codde was a witness at the signing of the marriage contract of the Roman Catholic jeweler Zeger Pietersz., the brother of Pieter Lastman, with Grietge Cornelis, in the presence of the artist.⁸¹⁴ His ropemaking establishment was originally located in the Teertuinen in 1602, but, by 1610, he had moved it closer to his house, “on the Water” (on the New Side, where the present day Damrak is located). He married Beyken Agges, daughter of Agge Jarichsz. and of Foockel Thomasdr.⁸¹⁵ His daughter Foockeltge Pieters, from his first marriage, was a buyer at his post-mortem sale. On 3 October 1602, after Agge’s death, he remarried with Josijntgen van der Wolff, the daughter of Gerrit van der Wolff.⁸¹⁶ Josijntgen and Trijn Gerrits, incidentally, were the sisters of Elisabeth Gerrits van de Wolff, the first wife of Robbert van der Hoeve of Chapter 21. The children of Pieter Claesz. Codde, living on the West side of the Nieuwendijk, paid a tax of *f* 250 (corresponding to assets evaluated at *f* 50,000) in 1631.⁸¹⁷

Jeltge Claes, our selected buyer at the Pool sale of 1620, had married Claes Jacobsz. (Out), sailmaker, on 8 April 1596 when she was 23 years old.⁸¹⁸ After the death of Claes Jacobsz., she remarried with Cornelis IJbesz. She was 48 years old at the time of the Pool sale. The date of her death is not known, although there is a distinct possibility it may have taken place between that of Elbert Symonsz. in 1620 and that of her brother Pieter Claesz. in 1624.

At the Pool sale of 1620, “*Jeltge Claes de peet*” (the godmother) bought three lots, the first two of which were consecutive: a painting of Barsabe (Bethsabe) by (Jan or Jacob) Pynas for 25 *f* 10 st., a little piece by Lastman of “David and Uriah” for 26 *f* 10 st., and, at another point in the sale, a painting of Time (*de tijt*) for 5 *f* 5 st. The only other relative who bought at the sale was “Trijntge the sister”, whom I have already identified as Trijn Gerrits, the sister of Elbert Pool’s second wife, Josijntge Gerrits van der Wolff. Jeltge Claes and “Trijntge the sister” represented over half of the value of works of art sold at the sale. The other buyers were virtually all professional resellers or *uitdraagsters*, as was typical for such small sales.

No painting of Bethsabe by Jan or Jacob Pynas, either extant or cited in a sale or inventory, is known.⁸¹⁹ The painting by Lastman may be the one in the Mauritshuis (ill. no. 11) or in the Detroit Museum (ill. no. 12), if it is not a third lost painting.

At the Codde sale of 1624, Cornelis Symonsz. Pool bought two unattributed lots in succession: “a little painting of Bersabe washing herself” for *f* 26 and “a painting of David and Uriah” for *f* 23. The descriptions and the prices are so close to those of the Lastman and the Pynas of 1620 (26 *f* 5 st. and 25 *f* 5 st.) that we can be fairly confident that that they were the same paintings. If so, how did these two paintings get from Jeltge Claes to her brother Pieter Claesz. Codde and why did Cornelis Symonsz.



11: Pieter Lastman, “David and Uriah”, 50 x 62 cm, Panel, The Hague, Mauritshuis



12: Pieter Lastman, “King David Handing the Letter to Uriah”, 50.8 x 60.96 cm, Panel, Detroit, Museum of Fine Arts

buy them? I can only conjecture that Jeltge Claes had died some time between 1620 and 1624 and had bequeathed the paintings to her brother Pieter. Cornelis Symonsz., born circa 1581, was living in the family house in the Kapelsteeg, when he was betrothed to Maritje Jans Keulen on 1 May 1601.⁸²⁰ After the death of his brother Elbert, he rented the family house, now called “the Young Pole”, from his brother’s heirs. It would seem that he had repatriated the pendants of the history of David to the house where they had hung, perhaps since the time they had been bought from Pieter Lastman and Jacob or Jan Pynas.

The Codde sale contained more important works of art than the Pool sale four years earlier and had, appropriately, more significant buyers. One pair of expensive paintings in the sale consisted of “a painting of the daughter of Pharo finding Moses on the edge of the water”, which was bought by Foockeltge (Pieters), the daughter of Pieter Claesz. Codde, for *f* 72 and 5 st. and the other, apparently a pendant, “a painting of the king Pharo with Moses”, bought by Abraham Anthonisz. for *f* 81.⁸²¹ These were high prices for the time. The subjects, surprisingly, are rare, at least for this early period. Given the fact, already cited, that Pieter Codde must have known Pieter Last-

man well to be one of the guests when the wedding contract of Pieter's brother Zeger Pietersz. was signed, there is at least a possibility that the pair was by Lastman (even though no paintings of this subject by Lastman, extant or recorded, has turned up). Foockeltge Pieters, the daughter of Pieter Codde, called herself Van Hooren, like her uncles Jacob and Pieter Claesz., when she was married to the cloth merchant Jan Claesz. Ansloo on 17 January 1627. Jan Claesz. Ansloo was a nephew of Cornelis Claesz. Ansloo, the "teacher of the Mennonite Community", portrayed by Rembrandt. Foockeltge was born in 1606 and was buried on 7 April 1682 (she was only 18 years old when she bought the expensive painting of the finding of Moses). It was perhaps through her marriage with Ansloo that she acquired considerable wealth: she was taxed on the basis of assets valued at *f* 95,000 in 1674.⁸²² She is known to have bought a painting of the "Transfiguration" at another auction (of the goods left by Anthony Smijters), for only *f* 8, on 12 February 1626.

The last known relative who was a buyer at the Codde auction was Dirck Gerritsz. van der Wolff, the brother of Codde's second wife Josijntge van der Wolff. He was *Schout* of Rotterdam from 1609 to 1646. He became the guardian over the late Codde's children, who went to live in Rotterdam, in Dirck Gerritsz.'s house, after their parents' death.⁸²³

Three other buyers, Abraham Anthonisz., Adriaen Dominicus, and Jacob van den Berch, belonged, if not to the closed set of relatives, at least to the milieu of Pieter Claesz. Codde. All three were Remonstrants or Remonstrant sympathizers. We already encountered Abraham Anthonisz. (Recht) in chapter 8, where I chronicled his activities as a militant Remonstrant and as a guardian of orphans appointed on numerous occasions by the Orphan Chamber. Neither the painting of the daughter of Moses with the Pharaoh nor any other painting that Abraham Anthonisz. bought at auction is to be found in his death inventory of 1664.⁸²⁴ This suggests that he may have bought for some one else or acted as a part-time dealer, unless, of course, financial necessity forced him to sell some works of art in his collection at some point in his life.

Adriaen Dominicus, born in Bergen, Norway, in or about 1570, was also a neighbor of Pieter Codde on the Nieuwendijk. He was a cousin or nephew of Adriaen Jacobsz. van Noort, also born in Bergen, who, as we saw in chapter 8, was one of the most active Remonstrants in Amsterdam in the 1610s and 1620s. Both were *Bergenvaarders*, by which was meant that they owned ships and boats that fished herring in the North Sea in the general vicinity of Bergen in Norway. Adriaen Jacobsz. assisted Adriaen Dominicus on the occasion of his betrothal to Jannetje Cornelis on 9 June 1600.⁸²⁵ He died before 1631 when his heirs were taxed *f* 100, corresponding to assets valued at *f* 20,000.⁸²⁶

Jacob van den Berch was a grain merchant, probably identical with the individual of that name who had a child baptized in the Lutheran church on 17 December 1623.⁸²⁷ He signed the Remonstrant petition in 1628. He paid a tax of *f* 30 in 1631, at which time he lived on the Keizersgracht (as he did when he bought a lot at the

Codde sale).⁸²⁸ Cornelis Pietersz. Snijer was also a (more succesful) grain merchant who was taxed *f* 100 in 1631.

The other buyers (Dieuwer Jans, Graeffin, Lazarus and Woutertge), some of whom we already encountered at other sales, were *uitdraagsters* or miscellaneous second-hand dealers.

As we have seen, Elbert Pool was a butter merchant and Pieter Codde owned a rope-making establishment. Some of the buyers at the sales of their movable goods were involved in Amsterdam's North Sea fishing or in the grain trade. Neither the owners of the goods sold nor the buyers were of recent South Netherlandish origin. One would not have expected to find paintings by Lastman and Pynas in this rather traditional milieu. I conjecture that Pieter Codde's personal (family?) relation to Lastman may have been a determining influence in this case.

Table 23.1

Purchases of Works of Art by Buyers at Elbert Sijmons.
Pool Sale of 1620 and at Other Sales (gulden)

	Price (gulden)	Purchases at other Sales
Jeltge Claes:		--
A painting of Bersabe by Pijnas	25.5	
A little piece by Lastman of David and Uriah	26.5	
A painting of the time (<i>de tijd</i>)	5.25	
Trijntge the sister:		--
A painting of Abigael	17.5	
Jacob Scharbier:		194.7
A landscape	9.0	
Graeffin:		1,005.8
A painting of charity, hope, and faith	5.25	
Dieuwer Jans:		382.0
2 landscapes on copper	9.0	
Benedictus (Meijer):		74.1
4 little boards	0.75	
Cornelis Symonsz. Pool:		49.8
1 little board	2.15	
<hr/>		
Total	74.6	

Source: GAA, WK 5073/940

Table 23b

**Purchases of Works of Art by Buyers at Pieter Claesen Codde (Kod)
Sale of 30 October 1624 and at Other Sales (gulden)**

	Price	Purchases at other Sales
Cornelis Simonsz. Pool:		--
A little painting of Bersabe washing herself	26.0	
A painting of David and Uriah	23.0	
Brechge Claes, the godmother:		--
A large map	2.7	
Foockeltge Pieters:		8.0
A painting of the daughter of Pharo finding Moses on the edge of the water	72.25	
2 alabaster slabs	2.5	
Dirck Gerritsz. van der Wolff:		--
2 painting of mountains with water	18.75	
Abraham Anthonijsz.:		96.0
A painting of the daughter of Pharo with Moses	81.0	
Adriaen Dominicus:		--
A painting of Agar	2.65	
Jacob van den Berch:		--
A painting of Susanna	6.0	
A map	1.6	
Cornelis Pietersz. Snijer:		--
2 alabaster slabs	2.25	
Lazarus:		626.9
3 prints	1.0	
1 landscape with Abraham and the three angels	12.5	
Schaerwacht:		176.4
2 alabaster slabs	2.05	
2 deer heads and one horn	1.25	
Woutertge:		78.1
3 little paintings	1.4	
Dieuwer Jans:		386.2
1 painting (+ 3 bird cages)	2.0	
2 alabaster slabs	2.75	
Cash:	4.85	
Total:	266.25	

Source: GAA, WK 5073/950

A Collector Who Held On to His Purchase for Over Fifty Years

Through his marriage connections, David van Baerle bridged the worlds of art dealing, overseas trade and statesmanship.⁸²⁹ One of his brother-in-laws was the merchant and presumed art dealer Paulus Bisschop, whose post-mortem sale will be summarized in this section; another was the secretary of Prince Frederik Hendrik and leading statesman of the age, Constantijn Huygens; a third was Everhard Becquer, a director of the chamber of the West Indies Company in Middelburg.

David van Baerle was a prosperous merchant who became a director of the West Indies Company in Amsterdam. He was the son of the merchant Jan van Baerle I, who freighted many ships bound for overseas destinations in the last decade of the 16th century and in the first years of the new. After the death of his father in 1605, he and the other heirs, including his brother Jan van Baerle II, invested – or had invested for them – 14,400 *f* in the second subscription for V.O.C. shares of 1612.⁸³⁰ On 1 May 1625, he was living on the Keizersgracht when he was betrothed to Sara van Erp.⁸³¹ After the death of Sara van Erp, he remarried with Rachel Godijn on 17 October 1628.⁸³² His sister Petronella married the merchant (and putative art dealer) Paulus Bisschop, at whose post-mortem David van Baerle bought important works of art. Sister Susanna married the famous statesman and poet Constantijn Huygens I. David van Baerle died in 1671. His death inventory included many attributed paintings, at least two of which, as we have already seen in Chapter 11, can be identified with works of art that he had bought at auction a half century earlier.

Paulus Bisschop was born in London, probably of South Netherlandish parents. He was still living in London on 18 August 1601 when he was betrothed to Elisabeth van der Moer. After the death of Elisabeth, he remarried with Petronella van Baerle (David's sister) on 22 May 1615. He was buried on 10 September 1618.⁸³³ Petronella, in turn, remarried with Everhard Becquer, a director of the V.O.C. chamber in Middelburg.⁸³⁴

According to Jan Briels, Paulus Bisschop was a full-fledged art dealer.⁸³⁵ The sale of his possessions took place on 6 April 1620. The total came to *f* 6,193, of which *f* 1,225 consisted of works of art. The ratio of the value of works of art sold to the total amounted to nearly 20 percent. This high ratio suggests that at least some of the works of art were a part of his stock-in-trade, but it is also possible that he was an ardent collector. We already considered some of the paintings in this sale in our Chapter 11 on “Echoes”. We found two paintings in the Bisschop sale that could be

traced, with some probability, to his earlier purchases at the post-mortem auction of Gillis van Coninxloo in March 1607. One of them was a painting representing a sheep-stall (*schaepscoij*), which he had bought for *f* 30:10:-- in 1607. At the 1620 sale of his possessions, this painting, called “a landscape of Christ in the sheep-stall” (*lantschap van Christus in de schaepestall*) sold for *f* 31:--:-- , almost the exact same price as in 1607. However, the “Fishmarket of Antwerp”, which Bisschop had bought for *f* 20 at the same Coninxloo sale apparently did not fare so well. It, or at least a painting with that title, sold for only *f* 5 in 1620. But, of course, it may have been a copy that Bisschop had made of the original.

In analyzing the purchases made at the Bisschop sale, I first consider the four buyers who are known to have been related to Paulus Bisschop: David van Baerle, his brother Jan van Baerle (II), Charles de Latfeur, and Samuel Becquer, the son of Everhard Becquer. Altogether, these buyers bought paintings for *f* 651, or 53 percent of the value of works of art sold at the Bisschop sale. It is remarkable that none of the four ever bought another work of art at a sale for which the records have been preserved.

David van Baerle bought four paintings at the sale for a total of *f* 144. One, and probably two, of these purchases seem to correspond to paintings listed in his death inventory of 23 December 1671.⁸³⁶ The first is a “painting where Christ preaches at the edge of the sea” (*1 schildery daer Christus aen de oever van de zee preeckt*), which he had bought for *f* 50 at the Bisschop sale. In his death inventory of 1671, a painting of “the Preaching of Christ in the little ship done by Vingboons” (*een stuck van de predicatie Christi int scheepge gedaen van Vingboons*) was evaluated at *f* 60. It is remarkable that an early 17th century painting by David Vinckboons had increased so little in value after 50 years. The painting, considered a masterpiece of Vinckboons, still exists, preserved in a Swedish private collection (ill. no. 13.) It is signed Vinckboons and dated 1604. When the art-dealing firm of Pieter de Boer had it for sale in 1985, they pointed out in an advertisement in *Tableaux* that this was probably the same painting that Karel van Mander had seen in Vinckboons’s studio in 1604. Van Mander wrote: “In 1604, he (Vinckboons) has on hand two pictures painted for Ian van Coninxloo. The first is a predication of Christ, the other is a peasant wedding, full of splendid figures, such as houses and boats, and landscape well designed.”⁸³⁷ Vinckboons had apparently painted these two pictures for the art dealer Hans van Coninxloo II (cited in chapter 13), who had sold at least the predication to Pauwels Bisschop. It is interesting that Jan van Baerle I, the father of David, was said to be a cousin of this same Hans van Coninxloo when he assisted him in his marriage contract of 9 August 1599 with Magdalena Ruts from Antwerp.⁸³⁸

The second painting which may, with a smaller degree of probability, be traced to David van Baerle’s death inventory is “a landscape of a plundering” (*lantschap van een plonderij*), which cost him *f* 50 at the 1620 sale. This is likely to be “the plundering of a coach” (*een spolieren van een koetswagen*), valued at *f* 58 in his 1671 inven-



13: David Vinckboons, "Christ Preaching on the Edge of the Sea", Panel, 34 x 45 cm, Sweden, Private Collection

tory. The other two paintings that he acquired in 1620 ("a skull" and "a landscape of the Man of God") cannot be traced to his death inventory.⁸³⁹

Jan van Baerle II was David's younger brother, born in 1605, nine years after David. He was betrothed to Maria van Genegen, the daughter of Daniel van Genegen (also a collector) on 10 March 1640.⁸⁴⁰ He died shortly before 1646, many years before his older brother. Like David, he was a merchant and businessman, perhaps with a special interest in innovations. In 1639, he was given a procuration to sell the rights to an invention of a watermill. By the time the affair had come to fruition, he was already said to be deceased.⁸⁴¹ He bought five lots at the Bisschop sale for *f* 256, including a landscape by Gillis van Coninxloo for *f* 120.

Charles de Latfeur, born in Bergen in Hainaut, was the son of Jean de Latfeur, from Antwerp, and of Catharina Sohier. His mother was the sister of Daniel Sohier, collector, friend of painters, and music lover. Charles was also the brother of Susanna de Latfeur who married Louis de Malapert, a very prominent merchant who migrated from Antwerp to Amsterdam. He was actively engaged in trade with foreign lands, freighting at least 13 ships between 1617 and 1625. In 1608, he married Hester van der Meulen (1587-1643), born in Bremen, the sister of Andries and Daniel van der Meulen, who were also wealthy and socially prominent Antwerp merchants who immigrated to Amsterdam. Andries and Daniel van der Meulen, along with Baptist Oyens and Jacques Noiroit, acted as intermediaries in the efforts of Count Simon van

der Lippe, representing Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, to obtain top-quality paintings on the Amsterdam art market by Hyeronimus Bosch, Pieter Aertsen, Anthony van Blocklandt, Lucas van Leyden, and other outstanding masters.⁸⁴² The Latfeur, Malapert, and Van der Meulen families were connected with one another through multiple ties. When Charles de Latfeur and Hester van der Meulen had their son Charles baptized in the Waalse Kerk on 29 October 1617, the witnesses (two of whom had presumably been chosen as godparents of the child) were Andries van der Meulen; Samuel Becquer representing Philips Calandrini, another very rich merchant; Jacques van Schot; and Maria de Latfeur.⁸⁴³ Maria de Latfeur, the sister of Charles de Latfeur, was the first wife of Everardt Becquer, the father of Samuel Becquer. Charles de Latfeur, who signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628, was a regent of the Aalmoezeniersweeshuis. He bought two lots at the Bisschop sale, a painting by (Hans Vredemans) de Vries of the stabbing of Amnon for *f* 90 and one of His Excellency Prince Maurits for *f* 5. Finally, we recall that Charles's brother Pieter, cited in Chapter 13, was related by marriage to Pieter Cruijpenning.

Samuel Becquer, as we have already seen, was the son of Everhardt Becquer; he was also the husband of David van Baerle's sister Jacomina. He was a merchant in Middelburg and a director of the Middelburg chamber of the United East Indies Company and at one time lived in Arnhem. He was on very friendly terms with Constantijn Huygens and his children.⁸⁴⁴ He only bought one lot at the Bisschop sale, but it was the most expensive in the entire sale: an unattributed landscape with gods and goddesses for *f* 156.

One other buyer, Willem van Gelder, was distantly related by marriage to David van Baerle, but the relation was so distant that I have not classified him among the latter's (close) relatives. On 18 April 1609, Willem Vilties van Gelder, tailor, 21 years old, was betrothed to Catalijntje van der Putte, likewise 21, assisted by her uncle, the art dealer Hans Coninxloo (probably II).⁸⁴⁵ As we have seen, Hans Coninxloo II was a cousin of Jan van Baerle I. Willem van Gelder remarried with Anneken Evers Verdoes in 1622. By 9 November 1635, when he appeared before the Orphan Chamber on behalf of his two children with the late Anneken Verdoes, he was said to be a broker (*makelaar*).⁸⁴⁶ In 1625, Willem van Gelder bought at an Orphan Chamber auction a painting of a "*capuijn*" (a still life?) attributed to Hans van Coninxloo II, who was probably his uncle by marriage. At the Bisschop sale, he acquired three paintings, two painted on copper (without titles) for *f* 29:10:-- and one of mountains and ships for *f* 6: 5:--.

Among the other buyers at the Bisschop sale who, as far as we know, were not "in the trade" may be cited Abel de Heripon, Laurens Charles, Hendrick Boelensz . de jonge, Willem Everwijn, Meester Sasbout, Pieter van Breusegem, and Symon Willemsz. *haarwever* (hair-weaver). Abel de Heripon may have been of Italian origin (his name is at times spelled Heriponte). He was living in the Nes (on the Old Side of Amsterdam) in 1606 when he bought lots in the Haarlem lottery.⁸⁴⁷ He was married to Johanna van Axell, of Mechelen, in 1610.⁸⁴⁸ He was living on the old Singel

(Herengracht) when he was taxed 125 *f* on assets evaluated at *f* 25,000 in 1631.⁸⁴⁹ His occupation is not known, but he is likely to have been a merchant. He bought a painting of Judith at the Bisschop sale for *f* 14:10:-- together with a landscape of Tobias with the angel for *f* 22.

Laurens Charles was the silk cloth merchant whom we already encountered in the Thijisz. sale. He only bought a little painting of Venus and Mars for *f* 11 at the Bisschop sale.

Hendrick Boelensz. de jonge (who should not be confused with the vastly more wealthy Hendrick Dirck Boelensz.) was an attorney (*procureur*), born in Amsterdam in 1569. When he brought his daughter before the Orphan Chamber on 14 September 1628, he declared that his daughter Annetgen, whose late mother was Weijntje Engels (daughter of a textile worker) was entitled to *f* 600 – a very modest amount -- for her mother's inheritance.⁸⁵⁰

Willem (or Guillaume) Everwijn was a merchant who was associated in business with Aernout van der Wijen, the father of the painter Jacques van der Wijen. The associates had an account of 7 folios at the Wisselbank.⁸⁵¹ Everwijn bought two little landscapes for *f* 48 and one little landscape of Emaus for *f* 3:10:-- at the Bisschop sale.

Meester Sasbout may be identical with Mr. Cornelis Sasbout from whom the painter Adriaen van Nieulandt rented a house near the Leliesluis for *f* 210 a year on 28 February 1617.⁸⁵² On 9 April 1623, he was said to be a *steensnijder* (probably a carver of coats-of-arms on semi-precious stones).⁸⁵³ “Mr. Sasbout”, living on the East side of the Cattle Market, was taxed *f* 20 in 1631, equivalent to a wealth of *f* 4,000.⁸⁵⁴ Three years later, on 22 July 1634, Mr. Cornelis Sasbout, *boeckschrijver* (bookkeeper, usually on a ship), widower of Roeloffje van Es, was betrothed to Elisabeth Bogaerts, widow of Daniel Secel.⁸⁵⁵ On July 25 of the same year, Mr. Cornelis Sasbout declared before the Orphan Chamber that his son Jan, 14 years old, was entitled to 3,000 *f* from the inheritance of his late mother, Roelofgen van Els (Es).⁸⁵⁶ Sasbout bought a lot consisting of seven paintings of the kings and queens of England for *f* 5:10:-- at the Bisschop sale.

Pieter van Breusegem was named in the testament of Francoijs Martens and Elisabeth Nason as guardian of their children. He was the uncle of Elisabeth and Hubert Nason, who in turn were the aunt and the uncle of the painter Carel du Jardin.⁸⁵⁷ He appeared before Notary Jacob Jacobs on 21 December 1617 to settle the liquidation of their estate.⁸⁵⁸ He bought the “Fishmarket of Antwerp” for *f* 5, already cited, and an old painting for one gulden at the Bisschop sale.

Symon Willemsz., hair weaver, is one of the relatively few craftsmen without last names among the buyers at Orphan Chamber auction who can be securely identified. He was living outside the Jan Roodenpoort in “*de Witte Eenhoorn*” when he bought lots in the Haarlem lottery of 1606.⁸⁵⁹ On 6 April 1608, Sijmon Willemsz., *haarwerker*, and his wife Judick Jans had their daughter baptized in the presence of Giertje Remmen.⁸⁶⁰ On 21 April 1612, Sijmon Willemsz., hair weaver, from Mechelen, living in the Margrietepad, was betrothed to Tanneken Winghman, widow of Adriaen

van Meerbeek. Both signed in a literate manner.⁸⁶¹ He bought one lot, a market, for *f* 7:15:-- at the Bisschop sale.

Two jewelers, who, if not in the trade, may have bought works of art in connection with their occupation, purchased lots at the Bisschop sale. Pieter (de) Coningh was said to be a goldsmith at the auctions of Gillis van Coninxloo and Abraham Vinck in 1621. On 22 February 1628, he bought a gold ring at the estate sale of Barent Adriensz. (Hartoghvelt), bookseller. He may have been the son of Zeger Pietersz., likewise goldsmith, the brother of Pieter Lastman. He bought a marine painting at the Bisschop sale for *f* 20. Much more is known about the goldsmith Augustijn Pars (or Pas). He was born about in 1580 in Antwerp and was betrothed to Janneken Verplancken on 27 September 1603.⁸⁶² After his first wife's death, he appeared before the Orphan Chamber and declared that his six children were entitled to *f* 4,400 on account of their mother's inheritance.⁸⁶³ He remarried with Aaltje Kistepenningh from Deventer in July 1621.⁸⁶⁴ When he bought a house for *f* 9,300 on 21 January 1628, his surety was the afore-named Zeger Pietersz., brother of Pieter Lastman.⁸⁶⁵ He paid a tax of *f* 40 (on assets evaluated at *f* 8,000, in 1631), at which time he lived in the Halssteeg.⁸⁶⁶ He was buried on 8 June 1636.⁸⁶⁷ On 2 July 1637, his widow Aeltgen Kistepenningh brought *f* 3,000 to the Orphan Chamber on behalf of Janneken, 3 years old, the daughter of Pieter Pas, the late son of Augustijn Pas.⁸⁶⁸

With the exception of Adam Verhult, who has not been identified, the other buyers at the sale were professionals—artists/art dealers or *uitdraagsters*. The first group comprised Jan van Basse, Lucas Luce, and Barend van Someren, the second, Jacob Scharbier, Benedictus Mayer (Meyer), Graeffin, Anne Cuypers, and Reijm Jans.

Jan Basse (1571-1636), originally from Lille in present-day France, was a painter by profession, but he apparently carried on an important business in inexpensive works of art. The sale of his works of art in May 1637, which lasted nearly a month, brought a total of *f* 7,762. He was betrothed to Cornelia Kieff on 19 May 1611. She was the daughter of Anne van Loosvelt (or Liesvelt), who was related to Abraham van Loosvelt (a buyer discussed above) and to Hans van Uffelen, the father of the famous collector Lucas van Uffelen.⁸⁶⁹

Barend van Someren was a painter, art dealer, and innkeeper, the son of the fencing master Lambert van Someren. In 1588, he was apprenticed in Antwerp to Philips Lisart, who was the uncle of the individual of the same name who, when he bought a lot at auction in 1607, was said to be residing in the house of the painter Francisco Badens. He spent several years in Rome with the history painter Aert Mytens, whose daughter Leonora he married in 1601. He lived in Amsterdam from 1602 until his death shortly before 22 February 1637 when his prints and drawings were auctioned. He and his unnamed wife (Leonora Mytens) had several children baptized in the Lutheran Church, including their son Guilijam on 17 November 1613, in the presence of the famous flower painter from Middelburg Ambrosius Bosschaert.⁸⁷⁰ On 2 December 1624, Van Someren acknowledged a debt of *f* 200 that he owed to Catalijntge Bisschops, widow of the painter Pieter Heeseman, for paintings deliv-

ered. He declared that he had delivered 12 paintings to the widow in return.⁸⁷¹

The career of the art dealer Lucas Luce II has already been traced in chapter 13. He acquired only one lot at the Bisschop sale, but it was the highest-priced of the sale: a battle scene by (Jan) Bruegel and (Sebastiaen) Vrancx for *f* 210.

Jacob Scharbier (or Scherbier) was probably a small-scale retailer or *uitdraager*. When the painter Jacob Leon bought a painting at the auction sale of the painter Cornelis van der Voort in 1625, he was said to be living at the house of Jacob Scherbier in the Reestraat. In a document of 1618, a notary took note of the woolens that he had in his house, on which apparently he had not paid excise tax. He claimed that he had bought them from the *uitdraagster* Anne Jans (also a frequent buyer at auction).⁸⁷² He acquired six lots for a total of *f* 62 and 14 st. at the Bisschop sale.

Benedict Mayer (or Meyer) was said to be a seller of old clothing (*oudkleedcooper*) in 1625 when he bought a house on the East side of the Weespad.⁸⁷³ He was moderately well off, at least for a small retailer. On 3 August 1627, the merchant Nicolaes Cocques, who was the guardian appointed by the Orphan Chamber of his 17-year old daughter named Sara, listed a number of assets to which she was entitled after the death of her father, including several moderately priced houses and an obligation for *f* 3,000.⁸⁷⁴ The heirs of Benedictus Mayer, living in the Laurierstraat, in a house which had been evaluated at *f* 700 in 1627, paid a tax of *f* 10 (for an evaluated worth of *f* 2,000, which was surely an underestimate).⁸⁷⁵ Mayer bought a landscape by the Amsterdam painter Pieter Stalpaert at the Bisschop sale for *f* 40. This was by far the most expensive lot he is known to have bought at auction.

The real name of the *uitdraagster* nicknamed Graeffin, as Isabella van Eeghen discovered some years ago, was Hendrickgen Gerrits. Born in 1578, she first married the carpenter Cornelis Pietersz in 1598, then, after her first husband's death, the sailor (*varentman*) Reyer Reyersz. in 1603, and, finally, in 1607, the carpenter Andries Pietersz., who survived her. In 1620, she was cited in one of the notebooks recording auctions of the Orphan Chamber for having paid a fine for some undisclosed activity. She was buried on 16 June 1629. The ringing of bells on the occasion of her burial indicates that she was Roman Catholic. Even though she was probably the most active buyer of art works among the *uitdraagsters*, she was illiterate. Her social elevation is reflected in the marriage of her daughter Meynsge Andries (from her third marriage) with the surgeon Jan Orgel, who was a buyer at auction in 1637.

Anna Cuijpers was also a very frequent buyer at Orphan Chamber auctions. On 4 May 1619, she had some goods auctioned off by the Chamber.⁸⁷⁶ On 18 June 1630, Nicolaes Cocques brought various obligations to the Orphan Chamber, including one for *f* 1,000 and one for *f* 675, on behalf of the four children of the late Anna Cuijpers, married to Barthelomeus Gysberts.⁸⁷⁷ We do not know the occupation of her husband or whether her assets came from her work or from his (or from both), but she was apparently far from destitute.

The buyers at the Bisschop auction represented a fairly wide cross-section of the Amsterdam public, including patricians (David and Jan van Baerle II), artists/art

dealers (Lucas Luce, Jan Basse, and Barend van Someren), ordinary merchants (Abel de Heripon, Willem Everwijn, and Laurens Charles), jewelers (Pieter de Coning, Augustijn Pas), and moderately well-off resellers of second-hand goods (Jacob Scharbier, Benedict Mayer, Graeffin, and other *uitdraagsters*).

Appendix to chapter 24

Table 24.1

Purchases by Chief Buyers at Paulus Bisschop Auction of April 1620 and at Other Sales

	Price (gulden)	Purchases at other sales (total)
<i>David van Baerle:</i>		
Landscape with plundering	50.0	--
A painting where Christ preaches on the margin of the sea	52.0	
A painting of a death's head	12.0	
A landscape of the man of God	30.0	
<i>Jan van Baerle:</i>		
A landscape by (Gillis) Coninxloo	120.0	--
A winter (landscape)	9.0	
A painting in an ebony frame	40.0	
A painting of a market with fruit	56.0	
An atlas with horn bound in gold	31.0	
<i>Charles de Latfeur:</i>		
A perspective by (Hans Vredeman) de Vries where Amon is stabbed	90.0	--
A portrait of His Excellency (Prince Maurits)	5.0	
<i>Samuel Becquer:</i>		
A large landscape with Gods and Goddesses	156.0	--
<i>Willem van Everwijn:</i>		
2 landscapes with ebony frames	48.0	--
A small landscape of Elias	2.5	
<i>Willem van Gelder:</i>		
2 small landscapes p'ted on copper	29.5	23.75
A painting with mountains and ships	6.5	
<i>Austijn Pas (or Pars):</i>		
A number of caertgens (probably prints) and a painting of the King of England	1.9	--
<i>Symon Willemsz. Haarwever</i>		
A painting of a market	7.8	--

Bisschop sale	Price (gulden)	Purchases at other sales (total)
<i>Abel de Heripon:</i> A painting of Judith	14.5	--
<i>Hendrick Boelens:</i> A little landscape of Emaus	3.0	53.4
<i>Pieter de Coning:</i> A painting of ships A vase of flowers	20.0 6.0	218.75
<i>Jacob Scharbier:</i> A painting of the bath of Diana A little landscape A little landscape An old painting of St. Joris A painting of John the Baptist A landscape of Christ in the sheep's stall	6.3 7.3 5.3 5.8 17.0 31.0	130.9
<i>Jan Basse:</i> A painting of a naked Venus	13.0	785.7
<i>Barend van Someren:</i> 2 round paintings of the summer and winter A painting of witchcraft A peasant market	7.5 6.0 6.0	263.05
<i>Lucas Luce:</i> A battle by (Jan) Bruegel (I) and (Sebastiaen) Franck	210.0	251.7
<i>Benedictus Mayer:</i> A landscape by Pieter Stalpaert	40.0	22.2
<i>Barent Jansz. van Lombert.</i> ⁸⁷⁸ A round painting of a fire	9.0	--
<i>Graeffin:</i> A landscape with mountains by Momper	34.0	977.0
<i>Anne Cuijpers:</i> A landscape with hay	9.5	277.8
<i>Other small buyers:</i> Cash:	1.1	27.0
Total:	1,255.0	

Note: The other small buyers were Grietge Wijnants (uitdraagster), f 3.0, Reijm Jans (uitdraagster), f 9.0, Laurens Charles, f 11, and Adam Verhult (unidentified), f 4.0.

Source: GAA, WK 5073/955

An Afterword on *Mentalités*

For the most part, the buyers I have singled out in this second part of the book are shadowy creatures. They lack those “*traits de caractère*” that define and illuminate an individual. Among the exceptions might be cited the art dealer Hans van Conincxloo III who was accused by the consistory of Emden of denying the existence of God and the Devil; of the rich jeweler Jan van Maerlen in Chapter 19 who was too avaricious to help his poor sister-in-law who was dying of the plague, with two children in the house, and had little more than a barrel of butter to her name; and of, Pieter van den Broeck in Chapter 22, who, devoured by a passion for gossip, did not have the courage to tell the police the truth about his contribution to the “St. Nicholaes” pamphlet and offered his services to the Sheriff to help catch those who had done the deed.

In the course of my research, I learned some distinctive traits about the characters of a few other buyers, but I lacked the background canvas on which to embroider my yarn. Here are two examples, one from the proceedings of a consistory of the Reformed Church and the other from a notarial deposition. Anna Vermou belonged to a family of dyers, some of whom were married to painters (Jacques and Guillaume de Ville, Jean Basse). The family was Reformed. She, too, married first one painter and, after his death, another. She married her first husband, Barent Poelman, before 1632. He was an unsuccessful painter (and a modest buyer at auction), who only left 200 *f* to his daughter after his death.⁸⁷⁹ On the third of November 1639, two days after presenting her young daughter to the Orphan Chamber, she remarried with Guillam (du) Gardijn. This little known landscape painter, of whom a few drawings done in Italy have been preserved, was born in Cologne in 1597 or 1598.⁸⁸⁰ She contributed goods worth 600 *f* to the marriage, he, only 300 *f*. But even this small sum was only nominal: when his goods were sold, they brought so little that he was compelled to declare soon afterwards that his heirs could assume, after his death, that he had contributed nothing at all to the marriage.⁸⁸¹ He was, by religion, Roman Catholic. However, he converted before the marriage took place in a Reformed church in Amsterdam.⁸⁸² His conversion emerges from the record of his appearances before the consistory (*kerkeraad*), which had responsibility for administering discipline over members of the Reformed Church who had strayed from the narrow path.⁸⁸³ He told the consistory that he had only converted “to get the woman”.⁸⁸⁴ But his heart was not in it. According to his accusers, he had promptly proceeded to utter “defamatory remarks” against the Church and to make fun of the consistory. Only the thought about his small children had kept him from blasting aloud the preachers on the Dam

(presumably the New Church next to the Town Hall) and to accuse them of being “liars and scoundrels”.⁸⁸⁵ He regularly beat his wife. Anna asked herself how long this “martyrdom” was going to last. Finally, Du Gardijn went back to his old faith. In 1646, the Church Council declared him “unrepentant” and dropped the proceedings against him. As far as I can make out, the couple never received permission to separate, an issue to a bad marriage which, under some conditions, was authorized by the magistrates.⁸⁸⁶

Daniel Rademaecker was a major buyer of prints at the auction of Jan Basse in 1637 (where Rembrandt had also played a major role). Fifteen years earlier he had been summoned by the consistory after a girl had sworn that he had fathered her child. Daniel denied it, even though she had persisted in her accusation until the day of her death, a short while after the birth. He claimed that the consistory should rather believe a pious man like himself than a whore. The consistory hesitated. It was later learned that the woman had suffered from advanced syphilis, which probably exonerated her putative lover.⁸⁸⁷

The merchant Otto de Hart came from a Roman Catholic family, like the painter Du Gardijn, but one that was situated several notches above the artist’s. He was the nephew of Hillebrant den Otter, who descended from a long succession of burgo-masters and aldermen of Amsterdam before the Alteration.⁸⁸⁸ On 17 March 1625, a child of Otto de Hart was buried.⁸⁸⁹ Ten days later he bought a painting of an Annunciation for 6 f 5 stuivers at an Orphan Chamber auction.⁸⁹⁰ He was 44 years old in 1636 when the following incident occurred. On the 4th of September of that year, Eduardo Pels, notary, 29 years old, made a sworn deposition at the request of Hans Dircksz. Can, who was probably also Roman Catholic, concerning the following facts.⁸⁹¹ A short while ago, he had been attracted by cries he had heard that emerged from a cellar near the brewery “*De Hoyberg*”. The cellar was dark. In spite of the darkness, he had perceived Otto de Hart, who was kneeling, holding the head of the petitioner Hans Can between his legs. Can’s head, which was all bloody, was lying hard on the stone floor. Pels had then asked De Hart why he was doing this, and De Hart had answered that Can was a scoundrel who had drawn a knife against him. De Hart had then pointed to a sack resting on the floor and said that the knife was in the sack. The witness had looked into the sack and found no knife.⁸⁹² The incident, about which nothing more is known, was probably recorded before the notary as a piece of evidence in a legal proceeding. Yet nothing untoward seems to have happened to De Hart. His violent character did not keep him from being called “honorable” (*eersaam*) when he sold some property a year later.⁸⁹³ Being called honorable, apparently, depended more on one’s wealth and status than on one’s moral character (at least if we can assume that the head-banging incident of the previous year had become generally known). Violence among middle-aged gentlemen of distinguished families was probably far more common and acceptable than it would be today.

Several buyers at auction who were members of the Reformed Community incurred the censure of the Church Council either for dancing or for allowing dancing

in their home. Three wealthy burgers/buyers balked at the criticism. In 1623, Lucas van Valckenburg argued that dancing could hardly be considered a serious sin. In the same year, his sister Margarita van Valckenburg, the widow of the wealthy merchant Marcus de Vogelaer, was denied access to the Lord's Table (to take communion) because dancing had taken place at her daughter's wedding. She said that she was very surprised at this "*rigueur*". She had not herself taken part in the activity, but she pointed out that young people were used to dancing. This indifference to sin offended the members of the consistory. Earlier, in 1604, when Arnout Cobbaut de jonge (II), also a buyer, was confronted with the accusation that young people had danced at a wedding in his house, in full view of passers-by, he did allow that dancing was a sin but that he "had always been a great amateur of it".⁸⁹⁴ There's a *joie de vivre* in this answer which chimes with the conviviality of buying art at auction.

These vignettes may illuminate the characters of the people to whom they allude, but they are too fragmentary and detached from the milieu in which they occurred to justify separate profiles.

For the first half of the 17th century, at least in Amsterdam, we must be content with the evidence we can gather from notarial acts and, to a very limited extent, judicial documents and consistory records. The letters that have been preserved (of Constantijn Huygens I, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, Caspar Barlaeus, and others) are seldom revealing of the personality traits we have been looking for. In any case, they rarely allude to buyers at auction.⁸⁹⁵ The correspondence of Hans Thijsz. I and the accounts of his children in the Thys fund of the University of Leiden, exploited in Chapter 16, revealed a good deal about the milieu in which the family circulated and a little about their art purchases, but virtually nothing that was worth reporting about their personality. There are very few personal diaries to draw on. Arnold van Buchel's famous diary, which is so valuable a source on artists and contemporary art collections, has little information to offer about buyers at auction. Virtually the only exception is David Beck's "Mirror of my life", which covers only one year but does contain some worthwhile remarks about buyers at Orphan Chamber auctions (as well as about one of the individuals whose collection was sold by the chamber).⁸⁹⁶ The following vignette is the most interesting. On 27 December 1624, Beck went to visit his colleague Michiel Parent (a buyer at auction), who had invited him for lunch. Parent, like Beck himself, was a school-teacher. They went to the stock market together and there they met Anthony Smijters, another well-known school-teacher, a fiery Calvinist, and also a buyer at auction.⁸⁹⁷ Smijters was the grandfather of Michiel Parent's wife. Wandering along the galleries of the stock market, Beck and Smijters talked about poetry for an hour, while Parent got the table prepared for lunch.⁸⁹⁸ Afterwards, the three men shared their meal with "young Bartjens" (the school-teacher Johannes Bartjens), and his wife Catharina, the daughter of the well-known printer and book publisher Zacharias Heijns.⁸⁹⁹ Beck's journal entry is not very revealing, but the convergent tastes in poetry and art that it reflects gives us an idea of the affection for the liberal arts that these enlightened citizens harboured.

To conclude on a cheerful note: there is perhaps one generalization that can be made about the character of auction buyers, which requires no sources at all. Buying at auction in and of itself made them a bit distinctive from the rest of the population. They had the initiative and the gumption to compete with other attendants at auctions and to make winning bids. If they had not succeeded, at least some of the time, we would not have heard about them. If they had not outbid the art dealers and the resellers (the *uitdraagsters*), again some of the time, this book would not have been written.

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Notes

- 1 This database, containing works of art recorded in over 1,000 Amsterdam auction sales and notarial inventories dated between 1597 and 1679, is available for consultation at the Frick Art Reference Library in New York.
- 2 On the auction of the property of the artist Jacobello del Fiore, held in Venice on 8 November 1439, see Creighton E. Gilbert, *L'Arte del Quattrocento nelle testimonianze coeve*, Florence and Vienna, 1988, pp. 52-3.
- 3 On the early development of auctions, see Alain Quemin, *Les commissaires priseurs; la mutation d'une profession*, Paris, 1997, pp. 21-25 and Krzysztof Pomian, "L'art entre le musée et le marché" in *Le commerce et l'art de la Renaissance à nos jours*, Paris, 1992, pp. 18-20. In 146 B.C., according to Pliny the Elder, the Romans organized the sale at auction of booty captured in Greece (Quemin, op. cit., pp. 21-22).
- 4 Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the 17th Century*, Ann Arbor, reprint, 1963, p. 20. Barbour's book, which was first published in 1950, remains the best introduction in English to Amsterdam's economic history in the late 16th and 17th centuries.
- 5 For a theoretically informed view of the place held by auctions in the Dutch art market, see Neil DeMarchi, "The Role of Dutch Auctions and Lotteries in Shaping the Art Market (s) of 17th Century Holland", *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 28 (1995), pp. 203-221.
- 6 Barbour, op.cit., p. 17, Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800*, Cambridge, Mass., 1984, p. 271, and Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt*, Hilversum, 2000, passim. Gelderblom's book, which was published after the first draft of this book was completed, turned out to be a valuable source for the identification and the biography of many buyers at auction of South-Netherlandish origin.
- 7 On Holland's information-intensive economy, see Clé Lesger, *Handel in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Opstand. Kooplieden, commerciële expansie en veranderingen in de ruimtelijke economie van de Nederlanden ca. 1550- ca. 1630*, 2002, pp. 209-249. The highly interdependent social strata and the porous social relations through which information could freely flow are brought out in Chapter 7 of the present book on "Clusters of Private Buyers."
- 8 The only two exceptions that need to be noted are both associated with the extraordinary Van Uffelen sale of September 1639 where 1) Rembrandt made a sketch of one of the paintings sold (the portrait of Castiglione by Raphael) and noted the price brought by the painting and the total proceeds of the sale and 2) Joachim Sandrart noted that he had been underbidder at the sale and cited two paintings that he had bought. These observations are of course ethically neutral but they at least reflect the importance of the occurrence. I refer to this auction below, p. 16.
- 9 For an illustration of an 18th century auction in Amsterdam (1744), see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Honderdvijftig advertenties van kunstverkopingen uit veertig jaargangen van de Amsterdamse Courant 1672-1711," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 67 (1978), p. 155.
- 10 Some comparisons of this nature are made in chapter 7.
- 11 Isabella van Eeghen, "Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde in de 17^{de} eeuw", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 61 (1969), p. 74.
- 12 Many scholars have made use of extant Orphan Chamber records, including Abraham Bredius,

- Isabella van Eeghen, Jan Briels, Marten Jan Bok, Hilde van Wijngaarden, and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, but, to my knowledge, the only study devoted entirely to Orphan Chamber sales is a study published in the 1880s (Ch. Dozy's "Veilingen van schilderijen in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw" in *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis* (F.D.O. Obreen ed.) 6 (1884-1887), pp. 29-60). Dozy concentrated almost exclusively on attributions. Those he found (he omitted a few) are listed in his article, which should be consulted by anyone interested in that aspect of the auctions. Attributions in auction sales are analyzed in chapter 10 below.
- 13 Gerard Hoet's *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen met derselven pryzen* (2 volumes, The Hague, 1752) contains no buyers' names. It frequently lists paintings of two or more sales in succession without stating where one sale ends and where the next begins.
 - 14 In Delft, the records of auction sales have been preserved in notarial records and in the papers of the Camer van Charitate, dating from the first 35 years of the 17th century. These generally contain the names of buyers. For the very detailed records of a large sale held in The Hague in 1647, see below p. 29.
 - 15 For details, see E.H. van den Berghe, "Italiaanse schilderijen in Amsterdam in de 17de eeuw", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 84 (1992), pp. 23-25.
 - 16 J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoulen, schutterye, gilden, en regeringe*, Amsterdam, 1751, vol. 3, p. 376.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 376-7.
 - 18 Van Eeghen, "Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde ...", op. cit., p. 79.
 - 19 On the small charge paid for excluding the Orphan Chamber from the succession, see below, p. 18.
 - 20 Wagenaar, op. cit., p. 377. If the net worth was negative, the estate could be repudiated by the heirs.
 - 21 The goods were supposed to be auctioned "to the highest bidder". On this point, see below, note 21.
 - 22 For a sample of four years, the average was 256 appearances per year.
 - 23 The number of burials each year, from 1617 to 1630, is taken from H. Nusteling, *Welvaart en werkgelegenheid in Amsterdam 1540-1860. Een relaas over demografie, economie en sociale politiek van een wereldstad*, Amsterdam and Dieren, 1985, p. 243, with thanks to Marten Jan Bok for citing these data.
 - 24 N. de Roever, *De Amsterdamsche weescamer*, Academisch Proefschrift, 1878, p. 38. I assume that this new regulation did not affect the estates of individuals who had excluded the Chamber in their testament.
 - 25 *Ibid.* p. 42.
 - 26 Pieter de Bitter applied to the Orphan Chamber to become a *suppoost* and was given the job. The frequency with which Abraham Anthonijsz., Pieter de Bitter, Nicolaes Cocqu and others were appointed to guardianships is discussed in Chapter 8.
 - 27 NA 168, fol. 236. Notary L. Lamberti, 20 January 1629.
 - 28 The decision of the owner to let his goods be sold at auction after his death or to have them divided among the heirs after they had been appraised was sometimes fraught with emotion. Jan Arentsz. Delff, the day before his death, asked a female acquaintance to make sure that his goods would not be sold at auction but would be appraised by two sworn assessors. She answered that this request was not in his testament. He then insisted that it should be done as if it were in the testament. He repeated the request to his nephew Arent Vapour (a close relative of the painter Hendrick Vapour), who gave him his hand as a signal of assent (NA 598, fol. 249-250, act of 22 June 1637). Unfortunately, the deposition does not explain why this decision was so important to the dying man.
 - 29 N. de Roever, op. cit., p. 48.
 - 30 In some rare instances, the sum of the purchases "*tot wiens versoeck*" was shown at the end of

- the sale and deducted from the gross proceeds of the sale that were to be remitted to the guardian(s).
- 31 Van Eeghen, “Uitdraagsters ’t zij man of vrouw”, *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 56 (1969), p.104.
 - 32 Unfortunately, Van Eeghen rarely cited her archival sources.
 - 33 On these two modes of auctioning goods, see below, pp.21-2.
 - 34 WK 5073/955.
 - 35 Nine were withdrawn in the period 1597-1619, four in the period 1620-1625. In the case of one lot, a marginal notation of a price (?) (5-7) suggests that the item may have been bid on (Battle scene by Karel van Mander in Cornelis van der Voort sale, 9 April 1614, WK 5073/946). If the highest price bid was *f* 5: 7:--, it was indeed low.
 - 36 Sale of Sijtgen Hendricx, 20 July 1607 (WK 5073/948).
 - 37 In Chapter 8, I discuss the 1617 inventory of Andries de Graeuw I, containing prices, that was submitted to the Orphan Chamber and the subsequent sale of De Graeuw’s movable goods which took place a few months later. All nine works of art that the two lists of goods had in common were sold at lower prices than the original appraisals.
 - 38 One cannot completely foreclose the possibility that unsold lots were “bought in” by the *bode*. But even if we were to consider all the lots bought by the *boden* to be of this character, they would still not be numerous or valuable enough to justify the idea of minimum prices (see p. 195 below). I wish to thank Paul Crenshaw for alerting me to the possibility that the *boden* might have “bought in” unsold lots.
 - 39 Jan Wagenaar, op.cit., vol. II, pp. 376-8. This passage is also cited by Hilde van Wijngaarden in her *Doctoraal Scriptie* for the Rijksuniversiteit van Amsterdam, *Barber Jacobs en andere uitdraagsters; Werkende vrouwen in Amsterdam in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1994, p. 9.
 - 40 I argue below that, wherever a buyer’s name is crossed out and the word “*solvit*” is written above it, this means that the buyer initially received credit but then, in a short delay, returned to pay in cash. If the Notebook containing the purchase by Hals were extant, this hypothesis could be tested, but, unfortunately, it has been lost.
 - 41 NA 669, no. 31, as cited in Washington, London, and Haarlem, *Frans Hals*, Exhibition Catalogue (Seymour Slive ed.), London and The Hague, 1989, pp. 387-8. As I mentioned above, the Notebook where this sale was recorded has disappeared.
 - 42 Van den Berghe, op.cit., p. 23-25. For an auction to the highest bidder, this time of prints and drawings, dating from a somewhat later period (1668), see the deposition of the painter Gerrit van Battem below, p. 26.
 - 43 “*De weduwe ende erffgenamen van zal. Pieter Mercijs [cruijdenier] willen aen de meest biedende vercopen de naervolgende speceryen ende gereetschappen*”. The goods were sold “*op ’t Water in de Vergulde Molen*” (WK 5073/953, 25 February 1625. In an auction of tulip bulbs that probably was held by the Orphan Chamber in Amsterdam, bulbs were sold “*bij opveijlen*” (to the highest bidder) (N.W. Posthumus, “De speculatie in tulpen in de jaren 1636 en 1637”, *Economisch-Historisches Jaarboek* 18 (1934) (Posthumus III), with thanks to Anne Goldgar for this information. On an auction of tulips to the highest bidder, which may have been held under the auspices of the Orphan Chamber, see Chapter 7, p. 74.
 - 44 See below, note 46.
 - 45 The verb “*mijnen*” was applied chiefly, I believe, to Dutch auctions. It could, however, also be used in English auctions. Thus, in the sale contested by Frans Hals, the artist, in his *insinuatie*, stated that at the time he had made his winning bid (*ten tijde hij sulcx hadde gemijnt*), he did not have money enough money on him.
 - 46 In an auction of engraved plates held on 28 June 1617, the goods were “*gemijnt*” by the sworn auctioneer (*gesworene afslager*). This emerged in an acknowledgement of a debt by David de Meyne, map decorator (*caertafsetter*) who had bought for 594 *f* 17 st. in the sale. As I pointed

out in the preceding note, the word “*gemijnt*” may, but does not necessarily, imply that the goods had been sold at a Dutch auction. The use of the word *afslager* (normally, seller at a Dutch auction) reinforces the implication that it was a Dutch auction. Incidentally, it is not clear whether the sale, the records of which seem to have disappeared, was held under the auspices of the Orphan Chamber. After the death of David de Meyne, a dispute arose as to whom the plates belonged (J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam*, R.G.P. 78 (1933), The Hague, 1933, pp. 290, 354-5).

Another indication that some sales were conducted by *afslag* is that they occasionally contained names of buyers that had been crossed out without any mention that an item had been sold for cash. An example appears on the title page of the Doctoraal Scriptie by Hilde van Wijngaarden, cited above, where Griet Alberts, the name of the buyer of a kettle, has been crossed out and replaced by the name Gerrit de Leeu. Both are believed to have been second-hand dealers. The replacement of one name by another would normally occur only in an auction by *afslag*, where there might be a dispute as to the first person to have said *mijn*. In an auction of the English type, such a dispute would be settled by the auctioneer’s calling out a higher price. At the present time, in the Netherlands, auctions of flowers, vegetables and fish are still frequently conducted *bij afslag*, whereas auctions in paintings are always of the English type. Dutch auctions have the advantage, which is particularly important for perishable commodities, that they take less time. On the other hand, the lowest price at which some one holds out his or her hand in a Dutch auction may not always be as high as the highest price the auctioneer could extract from the bidders present in an English auction. This is because bidders in an English auction benefit from the information of the successively higher prices that are called out. If there are specialists or “experts” in the room who are seen to make bids, potential bidders may assume that the lots they contemplate buying are worth at least as much as these individuals are bidding. (On this point, see Neil deMarchi and Hans J. Miegroet, “Rules versus play in early modern art markets” in the special issue of *Recherches économiques de Louvain* (Victor Ginsburgh ed., 2000). The advantage of English auctions is much diminished in the case of auctions of relatively homogeneous products such as fish or flowers, where one lot is much like another. When lots are close substitutes for each other, a potential buyer who has missed one lot can generally find another suitable one at much the same price. In the case of works of art, lots are not interchangeable, and a significant loss of utility (or profit) may be incurred by missing out on a lot. There is also a third type of auction, which is known to have been in use from the 17th century on, at least in sales of real estate. The auctioneer called out successively lower prices until some one said “mine”, as in the case of the Dutch auction. The auctioneer then called out successively higher prices until the highest bid has been elicited. The person who was the first to say “mine”, in a modern version of an auction of this type, may be compensated by the winning bidder. (I wish to thank Marten Jan Bok for alerting me to this mixed type of auction.)

47 NA 389, fol. 56, Notary Nicolaes and Jacob Jacobsz., film 6420.

48 There is no sub-entry under the word *lepel* for this specialized use of the word in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, The Hague and Leyden, 1885-present.

49 In any case, Maria Abrahams was not an *uitdraegster* buying goods for resale at Orphan Chamber sales. For another glimpse at an auction sale, this one for tulip bulbs, see chapter 7, p. 74.

50 Van Eeghen, “Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde”, op. cit., p. 80.

51 WK 5073/939.

52 According to I. van Eeghen, the *uitdraegsters* were solely responsible for the *opleggen* until 1654 (“Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde ...”, op. cit., p. 92.)

53 I. van Eeghen, “Rembrandt en de veilingen (Titus van Rijn, Clement de Jonghe en Samuel Smijters)”, *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 77 (1985), p. 67.

54 We have already seen that the *bode* could and did, from time to time, demand that all sales be paid in cash. However, the great majority of purchases were made on credit.

- 55 Van Eeghen, “Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde”, op.cit., p. 73.
- 56 Examples: Gommer Spranger sale of 9 February 1638: buyer Jan Basse Verdoes, *borg* Nicolaes Elias (the painter); Jan Basse sale of 20 March 1637, buyer Jan Basse (II), *borg* Willem Basse (the uncle of Jan Basse II); Aeltge Veulers sale of 20 March 1635, buyer Redericus Veulerus (a relative, probably the son of, Aeltge Veulers), *borge de 2 voogden* (two of the guardians of the children of Aeltge Veulers were sureties).
- 57 Van Eeghen, “Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde ...”, op. cit., p. 80.
- 58 On a 550 *f* advance made by Gerrit Jacobsz. to the dealer Michiel le Fort, see p. 28 below.
- 59 Van Eeghen, “Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde ...”, op. cit., p. 78.
- 60 DTB 130/70.
- 61 I. van Eeghen, “Rembrandt en de veilingen ...” op. cit., pp. 65-66.
- 62 The buyer Guillaem van Neurenburgh may be either of two individuals of this name (or its variant Willem van Neurenburgh), who were father and son. The father, a successful dealer in blue stone, was born about 1580, the son was baptized on 24 February 1619 (C.M. de Bruijn and J. Huisman, “Het huis Nieuwe Haven in zijn bewoners tot 1864” in *Leven met het verleden: Gedenkboek honderd jaar 'Oud Dordrecht'* (1892-1992) (E.A. Bosman et al. ed), Hilversum, 1992, pp. 72-3. For details, see Chapter 17, pp. 170-2.
- 63 Van Eeghen, “Uitragsters ’t zij man of vrouw ...”, op.cit., pp. 103-4.
- 64 Ibid. p. 66.
- 65 At the Claes Rauwart sale of 1612, 105 distinct bidders actually bought lots. In addition, 7 lots were sold for cash to buyers who may or may not have belonged to the set of identified buyers. At the Gommer Spranger sale of February 1638, there were 47 buyers plus 45 lots sold for cash. We of course do not know how many unsuccessful bidders there were at either sale whose names were not recorded at all by the clerk.
- 66 Walter L. Strauss, Marjon van der Meulen, S.A.C. Dudok van Heel and P.J.M. de Baar (henceforth Strauss *et. al.*), *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, p. 144. According to this source, “the small payment to Rembrandt, in all likelihood, was for having bid to raise prices of Uyl’s paintings offered at the sale”.
- 67 “Noch den 7 October 1637 gegeven aen Jan Jansz. Uijl om te gaen sitten op de vercoopinge van sijne schilderijen mit Rembrandt een rijcxdaelder *f* 2:10:--“. Paul Crenshaw, who also rejects the notion that Rembrandt had been hired to puff up Jan Uijl’s paintings, has suggested that the *rijcxdaelder* may have been given to Uijl to pay his half share for the room in which the auction was held (S.Paul Crenshaw, *Rembrandt’s Bankruptcy*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Institute of Fine Art, New York University, New York, 2000, p. 148). This is uncertain but plausible.
- 68 There is no record of an Orphan Chamber sale of Jan Jansz. Uijl’s paintings. However, the records of Abraham Jansz. (Cronenburgh), who was appointed *bode* in 1636, are entirely lost. He may have been the auctioneer who sold Uijl’s paintings. The only mention of Jan Jansz. Uijl’s name in the extant Notebooks actually occurs a week before the De Magistris entry. On 30 September 1637, the jeweler Jan Le Toor (Le Thoor) (II) bought two pearls at the sale of Jan van Maerlen. He was said to be living “*bij Jan Jansz. Uijl schilder op de Singel*”. The sureties were the jewelers Gerrit van Rijssen and Hans van Soldt II.
- 69 A pupil of Rembrandt named Johann Ulrich Mayr told Joachim von Sandrart that Rembrandt had paid 1400 *f* for fourteen prints by Lucas van Leyden (Joachim von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, A.R. Pelzer ed., Munich, 1925, p. 86.)
- 70 A. Bredius, “Het schildersregister van Jan Sysmus”, *Oud Holland* 12 (1894), pp. 167-8.
- 71 “*Sijn uyterste debvoir, vlijt ende naersticheyt gedaen ende aengewent heeft om deselve kunst (tot zijn groot versuijm ende schade) tot hoge prijse te brengen en vercopen*”.
- 72 In the auction sale of the goods of Haes Paradijs, dated 1532, a “*groot tavereel van de drie koningen met deuren*” (a large triptych of the Adoration of the Three Kings), sold for 10 *f* (WK 5073/934). There were no buyers’ names cited in these early sales records. On 16th century auc-

- tion sales held by the Orphan Chamber, see I. van Eeghen, “Haes Paradijs en de uitdraagsters” in *Vrouwenleven 1500-1800, Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* 8 (1987), pp. 15-133.
- 73 See below table 4.2 for a breakdown of estate and voluntary sales in my sample.
- 74 Between 1597 and 1638, I found some sales containing works of art in all years except 1604, 1631, 1632, 1633, and 1634.
- 75 This house seems to have been an inn available for public occasions. The owners of soap boiling works (“*zeepziers*”) regularly met in “*de drie Morianen*” on the Nieuwendijk.
- 76 *Oud Holland* 4 (1886), p. 6. The source for this document is NA 195, fol. 216, cited in the *Extracten* from the NA prepared by the staff of Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (henceforth cited as “*Extracten*” for short).
- 77 On Finsonius’s “Massacre of the innocents”, see Chapter 15.
- 78 Weeskamer (henceforth WK) 5073/1191. For details, see Chapter 19.
- 79 Van Eeghen, “Het Amserdamse Sint Lucasgilde” op.cit. p. 81.
- 80 Ibid. p. 36.
- 81 WK 5072/951.
- 82 The highest proceeds of any sale recorded in the notebooks for 1597 to 1638 were for the estate sale of paintings belonging to Claes Rauwart (or Rauwert) (the son of Jacob Rauwart, the collector-friend of Karel van Mander), which brought a total of 14,411 *f* in 1612. On the Lucas van Uffelen sale, already cited, see E.H. van den Berghe, op. cit., pp. 23-25.
- 83 From 1597 to 1638, I found 6 buyers living in Leiden, 2 in Haarlem, 2 in The Hague, 1 in Deventer, 2 in Kampen, 2 in Hoorn, 2 in Dordrecht, 1 in Jarmuyden, and 1 in Marken. However, there were probably a few buyers I have not been able to identify who were living out of town and were temporarily lodged in Amsterdam. It is possible that the names of out-of-town buyers (Dutch or even foreign) may not have been recorded because they were not given six-weeks credit as Amsterdam buyers normally were. (I am indebted for this point to Paul Crenshaw).
- 84 On the supply side, it may be mentioned that at least two sales that occurred in 1608, in the year preceding the beginning of the 12-year truce in the war with Spain, were apparently held at the request of Antwerp dealers (e.g., the sales held at the request of Felix van Lun and of Jaques van der Lamem, WK 5073/966).
- 85 Bredius, *Künstler-inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, The Hague, 1916, pp. 457-523. The name of Abraham de Ligne occurs as a buyer both in the Amsterdam Notebooks and in The Hague sale of 1647. However, I believe that the Amsterdam buyer was the father of The Hague buyer.
- 86 I have excluded a few small sales where all lots were sold for cash and sales other than auctions where the lots were sold at prices set by sworn appraisers (*gesworene schatters*).
- 87 I estimated the total demand for paintings in Amsterdam around 1650 at 20,000 to 27,000. From the percentages of growth I adduced, it follows that the total demand around 1609 might have been of the order of 10,000 to 15,000 (J.M. Montias, *Le marché de l'art aux Pays Bas, XVe-XVIIe siècles*, Flammarion, 1996, p. 71.)
- 88 See Chapter 11. In many instances, both the paintings sold at auction and the paintings recorded in subsequent inventories are too summarily described to make an identification possible. However, I have collected such a large sample of inventories (including auction sales) of individuals who had bought at previous auctions (115) that I think I have enough data to bolster this conclusion. It may be noted that of the 91 owners of goods sold at Orphan Chamber sales included in my sample between 1627 and 1638, 19 (20.9 percent) had been buyers at previous sales.
- 89 For a breakdown of the number of sales at which buyers purchased, see below pp. 45.
- 90 Hilde van Wijngaarden (op.cit., p. 41) counted 1840 sales in the period 1597-1624. My sample covered only 336 of these sales, or 18 percent. To ascertain the extent of my omissions, I made an exhaustive search of the sales recorded in 1619. In that year, my sample covered 15 out of 67 recorded sales (WK 5073/955). But I found that I had only omitted works of art the total value

of which came to just under 40 *f* or less than 4 percent of the total value of the art objects recorded in my database in that year. These omitted lots were all sold for cash or to *uitdraagsters*. A similar study of the sales held from 12 December 1624 to 19 March 1626 (WK 5073/950) revealed that 18 sales had been included in my database out of a total of 54 sales but that only art works totaling 52 *f* 18 st. had been omitted, which amounted to 4.5 percent of the art objects recorded in that period. The great majority of the sales that I did not include in my database consisted of incomplete estates or odd goods sold at the request of *uitdraagsters* or other persons, and contained no works of art at all.

- 91 Hildegard van Wijngaarden argues, contrarywise, that the names of the individuals whose names were crossed off were those who could not obtain credit. This seems unlikely to me if only because the name of the *bode* himself (Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh) was crossed off and a sigma for solvit was written above his name.
- 92 Fouace is known to have been a merchant, but the fact that he sold rubies to Hans Thijsz. I, from Antwerp, in 1597 suggests he may also have been a jeweler, thus a professional in the art market. He freighted a ship with Jacques Bernart, from Doornik, in 1610. Fouace's name does not occur in Gelderbloom's prosopographic study of South-Netherlandish merchants (op. cit.)
- 93 The origin of Symon Root is not known to me. Barent Theunisz may have been a Northerner (he is not cited in J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw 1585-1630*, Antwerp, 1997.) I have no biographic information at all on Mr. Joost. Nicolaes Coop was born in Xanten in the Duchy of Cleve.
- 94 There were 1158 and 258 lots of prints (some of them mixed with drawings) in the Basse and Spranger sale respectively. Most of the prints sold in the 1630s were bought by print dealers, booksellers, and painters, including Kaspar Thiel (probably a print dealer), Philips Serwouters, Pieter de la Tombe, Hendrick Meurs, Rembrandt, and Hendrick Meerman (painter) who all bought over 40 lots of prints each. One of the few non-professional (?) buyers was Daniel de Bisschop who bought a total of 41 lots. After his death, the inventory of his estate contained many prints (unfortunately not itemized) by Rubens, Dürer, Aldegraver and other masters (NA 1856, 3 December 1654).
- 95 The average number of paintings per notarial inventory in this sample was 5.0 from 1600 to 1609 (sample of 60 inventories), 6.9 from 1610 to 1619 (sample of 120), 5.8 from 1620 to 1629 (sample of 120), and 10.6 from 1630 to 1639 (Montias, "Works of Art in a Random Sample of Amsterdam Inventories" in *Economic History of the Arts* (Michael North ed.), Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1996, p. 78).
- 96 Strictly speaking, not all the objects consisted of "artificialia" (man-made objects). I have also included the "naturalia" (shells, dried animals and so forth) in the most important sales as well as a few painters' and sculptors' paraphernalia (easels, empty frames, sacks of minerals used for paint, virgin copper plates and so forth). These accessories are shown separately in table 4.1. "Distinct objects" is also an approximation. There were many lots of prints and drawings (especially at major sales of such objects), the contents of which were not numbered.
- 97 For a convincing argument that competition from cheap imports from Southern Netherlands induced cost-reducing "process innovations", particularly in the period of the Twelve-year Truce, see Eric Jan Sluijter, "Over Brabantse voden, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de markt voor schilderijen in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw" in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 50* (200), pp. 113-133. For the argument that the recession that followed the end of the Truce exerted a downward pressure on the prices of paintings, see Jonathan Israel, "Adjusting to Bad Times. Dutch art during its period of crisis and restructuring (1621-c.1648) *Art History* 20 (1997), pp. 449-476.
- 98 My order-of-magnitude calculations (above p. 29) suggesting that auctions had a relatively small impact on the art market applied only to paintings. Their impact on the prints market can

- not be calculated, if only because many lots of prints sold contained an undetermined number of prints.
- 99 A few small sales were added since the publication of my article “Auction Sales of Works of Art in Amsterdam (1597-1638)” in the *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (2000).
 - 100 Essentially the same results were obtained when estate sales were analyzed separately from voluntary sales.
 - 101 One of the few documented instances of an estate that was partly evaluated and distributed among the heirs and partly sold at auction is that of the barber-surgeon Mr. Matthijs Evertsz., dated 19 May 1636 (NA 714, Not. Jan Carels). Miscellaneous households goods were evaluated for a total of 642 *f*. The rest was turned over “to Daniel Jansz. of the Orphan Chamber to be sold”. This included most of the works of art owned by Matthijs Evertsz. The net proceeds of the sale was 481 *f*. See also above, p. 18-9.
 - 102 This scaling up was not due to any inflationary trend, since, as I will show in Chapter 9, prices of paintings, if anything, had a tendency to fall from the first period to the second.
 - 103 Many small sales have ratios of art value to total sale that are greatly in excess of the average for those classes. An example is the sale of the goods of Jan Adriaensz. (whom I have not been able to identify). The entire sale brought only 194 *f* and 16 stuivers. Yet one of the landscape paintings he owned brought 8 *f* at the auction, another 5 *f* and a panel of the Birth of Christ, 7 *f* and 1 stuivers. It seems likely that many, if not most, of his possessions were withheld from the sale. At the high end, some sales comprise so few works of art that I suspect they were sold separately. An example is the sale of the goods left by the fervent Counter-remonstrant Dr. Carel Leenaertsz. The total of the sale of his possessions came to 2,527 *f* 10 st. But the only works of art sold were a few cheap “*schilderijtges*” (little paintings) that sold for one or two gulden each (for a total of 8 gulden). I have not excluded either of these sales because I did not wish to introduce a bias that might have exaggerated the upward trend in the ratio of art value to total value of sale with higher sales values (thus confirming my hypothesis illegitimately).
 - 104 Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, 1982, pp. 264-5; Montias, “Works of Art...” op.cit. p. 75.
 - 105 The reason why there were fewer women than men among the owners of goods sold is that when both husband and wife died within a few weeks of each other, the owner was generally identified in the first instance as the man, a practice that I have followed.
 - 106 The following example illustrates a typical problem of identification where the hints dispersed in the sales record helped to arrive at a solution to the problem. In 1625, the goods of a certain Jacob Pietersen were sold at auction (some were actually sold directly to relatives). There were of course several dozen individuals named Jacob Pietersen or Pietersz. in Amsterdam in the first half of the 17th century. Initially, it did not help me to learn from the Introduction to the sale that Pietersen was an “*asslager van de schepen*”, an occupation that I could not recognize. Eventually, it was his address, on the Nieuwe Brugge “*int Paalbuijsgen*”, that helped to identify him. From an article by Charles Dozy published over a century ago (“De schilder en de dichter Pieter Codde” (*Oud Holland* 2 (1884), p. 56), it emerges that Jacob Pietersz., the father of the painter Pieter Codde, was “*paalknecht*” at the Nieuwe Brugge. He collected a small excise tax from boats that docked at the bridge. His tax house (the *Paalbuijsgen*) (on pilories?) was the actual place where he conducted his business. Pieter Codde did not buy any works of art at the sale, but he did buy some silver, as did his brother Jan Jacobsz. Kod (Codde) and his sister Clara Jacobs. These Coddés must not be confused with the members of the Roman Catholic family of the same name, one of whom (Pieter Claesz. Codde), owned a rope-throwing establishment. The latter appears in Chapter 23 as the late owner of the goods in an auction sale where a painting by Lastman was sold.
 - 107 Most of the individuals engaged in low-status crafts about whom information was available turned out to be masters in their craft or even headmen of their guild. This applies both to owners and to buyers.

- 108 Small numbers, subject to large random fluctuations, may be misleading. As chance would have it, for instance, there were no medical doctors among the owners of estates sold in the period 1597 to 1619, but there were five of them in the period 1620-1638.
- 109 As mentioned earlier, I included among these lots those that were bought by identified buyers whose names were crossed out and replaced by the word *solvit* or by a sigma, denoting that the lot had eventually been sold for cash. Altogether, there were 332 lots, accounting for 2.5 percent of all the lots sold in my entire sample.
- 110 The number of distinct buyers, like every other prosopographic statistic, is subject to a margin of error. Since many fathers and sons and uncles and nephews had precisely the same first and family name, and since the death of fathers and uncles is frequently unknown, it is not always possible to tell whether, say, the buyer Pieter van den Broeck, Sebald de Wilde, or Pieter Laurensz. Spiegel is one or two persons, especially when the dates of sales are separated by a few years, so that a person who might have been called “the younger” when he was first mentioned might no longer be so called a few years later because his father or uncle had died in the mean while. The possible error due to the inclusion or exclusion of these doubtful cases, however, is quite small, probably no more than one percent of the total number of buyers. In estimating the numbers of *identified* buyers discussed in the text below, I have excluded doubtful father/son and uncle/nephew cases (i.e. I have counted as a single instance of identification the father, the uncle, the son, or the nephew).
- 111 This identification of a buyer by his or her address or occupation must frequently proceed from an analysis of the entire sale, including objects other than works of art, because the clerk generally noted these incidentals only the first time the buyer came up with a successful bid in the sale. In some cases, it takes years of intermittent research before a buyer with a common name is securely identified. I have already referred in the last chapter to the *paalknecht* Pieter Jacobsen, the owner of goods sold in a post mortem auction sale. I mentioned that his son Pieter Codde bought silver but no art objects at his father’s sale (see above note 106). A man named “Pieter Codde” did buy works of art at the estate sale of the painter Cornelis van der Voort in 1625. I knew that at least three individuals, including a well-off merchant, bore this name (derived from one, two, or three cods pictured on their house sign). For some time, I thought that the buyer at the Rotcourt sale was the merchant. I could not interpret the hint the clerk of the sale wrote after his name “*swager van Substytuut Haen*”. None of the three Pieter Coddess seemed to be related to a person named Haen. The key to the identification came in the same article by Charles Dozy that had already helped me identify Pieter Jacobsen. “De Haen” was the alias of the substitute sheriff, Arend Elberts Schild van Hoorn, whose daughter, Maritge Arnts, the painter Pieter Codde married in 1623 (Dozy, op.cit., p. 56).
- 112 Of the 228 individuals about whom I found no information whatsoever (except, in a few cases, for their address written next to their name by the clerk) 37 were either single names (Hendrickge) or designations of the place where the buyer lived (“*de Paerel*”, “*naest deur*”, “*in de Luyt*”); 61 and 58 were men and women, respectively, whose name was limited to their first name and patronymic; 19 were women with a first name and family name; and 53 were men with a first name and a last name. Of the women with only a patronymic, I suspect that a few were *uitdraagsters* but they did not purchase lots at enough sales for me to include them in that category. Of the men with a known last name, I surmise that a few were from out of town and others were misspelled by the clerk. I may also have misread some of the names that were more or less illegibly written, especially in cases where the name had been crossed out and “*solvit*” (sold for cash) written above it.
- 113 The age of a buyer was based on four sources: baptismal records, the age of minor children given in Orphan Chamber records (*Inbrenregister*), the age of prospective bridegrooms and brides declared at the time of their betrothal, and the age deponents declared in notarial depositions. The first two sources are accurate. The last two are subject to some inaccuracy, usually

because the individuals concerned underestimated their age by a couple of years.

- 114 In the second period, for instance, I found 68 buyers who were 19 or younger, 70 first-time buyers between 20 and 25 years of age, 79 between 26 and 30, 82 between 31 and 35, 74 between 36 and 40 but only 31 between 41 and 45.
- 115 The art dealers were: Paulus Bisschop, Michiel le Blon, Hans van Coninxloo II, Michiel le Fort, Lucas Luce, Salomon Pietersz. (de Schilder?), Gillis Smisjaert and Jan Thivaert. Some of these art dealers, including Paulus Bisschop and Jan Thivaert, were also general merchants. The *uitdraagsters* (men and women) were: Griet Adriaens, Adriaentge, Griet Alberts, Mary Andries, Lysge Appels, Pietertge Ariaens, Tryn Barents, Lysge de Boer, Magdaleen Bruissen, Griet Centen, Jannetge 't Clapwyf, Erm Colcksteech, Mary Colcksteech, Neeltge Cornelis, Anne Cuypers, Mary Diest, Mary Dry Hollanders, Jan Egbertsz., Mary Garbrands, Hans Gerritsz., Tiet Gysberts, Graeffin (Hendrickge Gerrits), Groen Ridder, Trijn Harmens (alias Dicke Trijn), Gerrit Hendricksz., Lysbeth Hendricx, Hille (Hillette), Barbara Jacobs (the mother of Pieter Lastman), Lysbeth Jacobs, Anne Jans, Reym Jans, Barend Jansz., Lysbeth Jarichs, Joncker, Gerrit Leeu, Griet Louris, Tryn Luyten, Martyn, Naecte Man, Neel in de Kelder, Mary Ootmoedich, Giert in de Paert int Bellen, Ael Pieters, Ael Ratels, Mary Remmen, Annetge Roothaer, Neel Ruslandt, Weyn Schemackers, Aeltge Sieuwaerts, Magdaleen Staps, Neel Staps, Cornelis Styfe Cas, Jannetge Thijs, Reym Thijs, Lysbeth Thonis Poort, Veersager, Verver, Ververinne, Garbrant Visch, Hana Voetboochs, and Dolle Willem. Some of these names are cited in I. van Eeghen, "Uitdraagsters 't sij man of vrouw" op. cit. pp. 106-7. Many others are cited in Hilde van Wijngaarden's *scriptie* (cited above), whose notes she kindly allowed me to consult. I have followed Van Eeghen and Wijngaarden in their assumption that individuals known by the name of the street in which they lived (e.g., Erm Colcksteech) or by a nickname (e.g., Joncker or Groen Ridder) were *uitdraagsters* (male or female). In some cases, I have inferred from the distinctive pattern of their purchases (at many sales, spread over a number of years) that the buyers were *uitdraagsters*. (I recall the point made in the text that most private collectors bought lots at only one or two sales).
- 116 The art dealers were Guilliam Bouwens, Isaack Coninxloo, Abraham Jansz. Decker, Abraham Gerritsz. (*knecht* of the St. Lucas guild), Machtelt Jacobs (print dealer), Anthony de Mel, Thomas Pietersz. (also an *oplegger*, who helped display the goods at auction), Johannes de Renialme, Philips Serwouters (print dealer), Hendrick Uylenburch, and Hans Coninxloo III. Johannes de Renialme was also a dealer in jewels and precious stones. The *uitdraagsters* were: Abigaël, Mary d'Arras, Barndesteech, Grietge Barents, Saer Beulings, Gierte Claes, Sijtge Claes, Metge Conings, Mary Damandt, Mary Dommers, Freeckge, Goutgeel, Haarlemmerstraet, Barend Harmensen, Jan Harmensz., Abraham Hendricksz., Engel Jacobs, Fem Jacobs, Fytgen Jans, Neel Lamberts, Lazarus (Watering?), Jannetge Leechgelt, Trijntge Leitsveer, Lobbetge, Anne Lourens, Heijltje Michiels, Mientge, Aeltge de Moer, Schaerwacht, Fem Schoemaekers ("Schoentge"), Swaentge Gerrits, Marie Verduyns, Angniet Wessels, Grietge Wynants, and Woutertge.
- 117 In the following list of painters who bought lots in or before 1619, those who are presumed to have been apprentices are marked with an asterisk. They did not necessarily become master painters. The painter-buyers were: Lange Aert, Aert Anthonisz., Steven Anthonisz., Francisco Badens, Anthony Barnart (?), Cornelis Boissens, Pieter Bol, Bredero*, Daniel van den Bremde, Pieter Evertsz. Bruijn, Gerrit de Bucq, Willem van den Bundel, Jan Claesz.*, Hans van Cleeff, Crispiaan Colyn, David Colyn, Pieter Gerritsz. Cosijn, David Dircksz., Jan Thonisz. Drent, Caspar Duyff*, Claes Eewoutsz., Reynier Eewoutsz., Lourens Fransz., Lenert Gerritsz.*, Joost Goemaere, Govert Govertsz.*, Frans de Grebber, Stoffel Greylich, Valerius van der Hoeve, Pieter Isaacksz., Cornelis Jansz.*, Dirck Jansz., Govert Jansz., Jan Jansz. I, Frans Kaersgieter, Jacob Kina (Quina)*, Pieter Lastman, Philips Lisart*, Pieter Luyx*, Jonas van Maerle, Adriaen van Nieulandt, Jacob van Nieulandt, Jan Adriaensz. Ockers, Pieter Pietersz.

- I, Pieter Pietersz. II, Wynant Pietersz. *, Job Pouwelsz. *, Hans Rem, Hercules Seghers, Severijn (Roelandt Savery?), Jan Sieuwertsz. (Kolm?), Pieter Jansz. Snoeck *, Barend van Someren, Pieter Stalpaert, de Stom (Avercamp), Barent Thonisz. (Drent), Salomon de la Tombe, Anthony van de Velde, Hans van de Velde, François Venant, Abraham Verwer, Cornelis van der Voort, Pauwels de Vries, Jacques van de Wet *, Jacques van der Wijen, and “*de schilder int Kielsvat*” (artist painter?). The sculptors were Cornelis van der Blocke, Melchior Herbach, and Dirck Woutersz. The printmakers were Jan Albertsz., Andries (illuminator), Robbert Baudoes, Pieter Gelekercken, Jan Jansz. (engraver on glass), Willem Jansz. (Blauw) (cartographer), Christoffel van Sichem I, Manuel Sweerts, and Claes Visscher. The printers and book sellers were Barent Adriaenz., Cornelis Claesz., Michiel Colijn, Jan Evertsz. (Cloppenburg), Willem Adriaenz. Ockers, Claes Jacobsz. Paets, and Cornelis van der Plasse.
- 118 Again I mark with an asterisk the apprentice-painters (and sculptors). The painters whose buying activity began in or after 1620, were: Hendrick Aertsz. *, Adriaen Geurtsz. (van den Bogaert, Dirck Pietersz. Bontepaert, Anthony Claesz. (de Jonghe II), Pieter Codde, Hans Cooplet, Leendert Cornelisz. (van Beyeren) *, Nicolaes Elias, Hans van Essen, Govaert Flinck, Sybrant Hanssen (broad-brush painter, *kladschilder*), Dirck Harmensz., Jan Hendricksz. *, Paulus van Hillegaert, Gillis de Hondecoeter, Hans van Houten, Matheus van der Hove, Adriaen Imbrechts, Marten Imbrechts, Adriaen Jansz. *, Hans Jansz. *, Jan Jansz. II (Uijl?), Job Jansz. (painter of ships for the admiralty), Jan Jeuriaenz., Thomas de Keyser, Frans Knipbergen, Jacob Lion, Jan Looten, Jan Maertsen (?), Hendrick Meerman, Claes Moyaert, Bastiaen Mus, Barent Poelman, Louis de Pré, Rembrandt van Rijn, Hercules Sanders, Pieter Dirckx Santvoort, Hendrick van Someren, Bastiaen Starrenburch, Jacob Swalmius, Jeronimus Sweerts, Francois van Uffelen, Warner van den Valckert, Guillaem de Ville, Jacques de Ville, David Vinckboons, and Hugo Voskuyl. The sculptors or stone-carvers were Gerrit Arentsz., Gedeon van den Block (e), Hillebrant Coerten, Dirck Cornelisz., David Christoffelsz., Wouter Dircksz., Thomas Gerritsz., Adam Goosens, Jan Hansz., Albert Hendricksz., Cornelis Hendricksz., Coen Hillebrantsz., Jan Jansz. *, Gerrit Lambertsz., Herman Michielsz., Claes Prins, and Symon Teunisz. The printmakers were Cornelis Danckertsz., Hessel Gerritsz. (mapmaker), Dirck Grijp II, Nicolaes Janneson (mapmaker), Servaes de Kock, Frans Koerten, Hendrick Lambertsz. (Roghman), Dirck Evertsz. Lons, Hendrick Meurs (calligrapher), Jan Harmensz. Muller, Philips Serwouters (printseller), Salomon Savery, and Christoffel van Sichem II. The printers, bookbinders, and booksellers were: Jan Benningh, Jacques Carpentier, Emanuel Colijn, Jacob Aertsz. Colom, Isaack Commelyn, Broer Jansz., Frans van Lieshout, Hans Matthijs (Snoeck), Salomon Meurandt, Jan Philipsz. (perhaps also a print dealer), Nicolaes Ravesteyn, Samuel Smijters, Pieter de la Tombe, and Abraham de Wees. The architect was Philips Vingboons. In my article “Auction Sales of Works of Art in Amsterdam ...”, op. cit., footnote 36, I had included every painter in the above list except for the well-known genre painter Pieter Codde (see above note 111).
- 119 Henceforth, “lots sold” refers to all lots recorded in my near-exhaustive survey of auction sales containing works of art in the Orphan Chamber notebooks.
- 120 When Machtelt Jacobs and Philips Serwouters, who bought mainly inexpensive prints, are eliminated from the list of art dealers, the average per lot of the dealers rises to 15.2 f.
- 121 For an analysis of the nature of *borts* and *bortgens*, see the “Appendix on ‘Little Boards’” in Montias, “Works of Art ...”, op. cit. See also Chapter 9, p. 90.
- 122 Van Eeghen, “Uitdraagsters ’t sij man of vrouw”, op.cit., p. 107.
- 123 The painting represented *Salomons afval* (the apostasy of Salomon). It was bought in the sale of the estate of Elbert Symonsz. Jonckheijn on 19 October 1618 (WK 5073/954). Isabella van Eeghen had already noted (“Uitdraagsters ’t sij man of vrouw”, op. cit. p. 108) that the Graefin had bought a mountainous landscape by Momper for 34 f in the sale of Paulus Bisschop of 6 April 1620 (WK 5073/955).

- 124 As I have just pointed out, Schaerwacht bought 60 lots in 46 sales, but she never paid more than 12 *f* for a single lot.
- 125 *Uitdraagsters* generally sold their wares in markets or in their shops, which were normally located in the houses where they lived. According to Amsterdam regulations, they were not supposed to peddle their wares in the streets (Van Wijngaarden, *op.cit.* p. 28.)
- 126 Painters paid an average of 5.8 *f* per lot, sculptors, 1.8 *f*, printmakers and engravers, 5.2 *f*, and printers and booksellers, 6.0 *f*.
- 127 Claes Coop (I) was the intermediary in the sale of the house of the jeweler Hans Thijsz. I to Rubens in 1610/1611 (see chapter 16 below).
- 128 Two buyers with ties to Rembrandt, Jacob Swalmius and Guilleam van Neurenburgh, were said to be lodging at the house of the ivory turner Schelte Dirricxsz., who may have rented rooms to artists (see Chapter 17 below).
- 129 Only individuals have been included who could be securely identified. About twenty percent more names could be added to the list of “other crafts” on the basis of a less secure identification.
- 130 Note that the *boden* of the Orphan Chamber and of the Desolate Boedelskamer are not included among the “envoys” but among the employees of the Orphan Chamber and of the City, respectively.
- 131 In my article, “Auctions of Works of Art ...”, *op.cit.* I had classified the notaries and teachers in the liberal arts category. They are separately listed in the table 5.3.
- 132 This downward bias in the Orphan Chamber sample, which was pointed out to me in conversation by S.A.C. Dudok van Heel and Marten Jan Bok, refers to the population of fathers, mothers, and wards of orphans whose estates were handled by the Orphan Chamber, not to the population of Amsterdam as a whole, of which poor people represented a much larger percentage.
- 133 Among the buyers in the sample, there were 12 male *uitdraagers* in the first period and 5 in the second, who have been included.
- 134 Most of the fathers of orphans who were engaged in manufacturing, especially in the textile and leather industries, were also low-skilled, as were the bakers and butchers (included in “food preparation”).
- 135 Van Beuningen’s frequent purchases evoke the possibility that he was “buying in” lots that failed to sell (see also above, p. 24).
- 136 Paul Crenshaw, in commenting on this passage, cited the fact that Rembrandt’s wife Saskia left only one half of her estate to her son Titus.
- 137 Several such samples will be analyzed in the next chapter.
- 138 On Jacob Rauwart (or Rauwert), the great 16th century collector and friend of Karel van Mander, see Bok, “Art Lovers ...” *op.cit.* pp. 148 and 159.
- 139 On Jan van Wely II, see also Marten Jan Bok, *ibid.*, p. 161.
- 140 For the highest prices paid, see table 9.4 below.
- 141 On the coherence of the extended family in the 17th century, the *locus classicus* is now Luuc Kooimans’s *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1997.
- 142 The family or guardian relation is often noted by the clerk after the buyer’s name: “*de weduwe*” (the widow), “*de swager*” (the brother-in-law), “*een van de vrunden*” (one of the relatives), “*de vooght*” (the guardian). But it may also sometimes be inferred from the postscript of the sale where the *bode* of the Orphan Chamber recorded the names of the individuals to whom the net proceeds of the sale were paid. Note that, in the numbers in the text, I count only one relation per relative, irrespective of the number of lots that anyone relative may have bought.
- 143 The fact that relatives, including spouses and children bought back art objects from the estates of deceased owners is an indication that they were not free to remove objects from these estates

before the sale took place. One exception, however, may have been family portraits, which, as we will see presently, were significantly underrepresented in Orphan Chamber sales, compared to their incidence in notarial inventories.

- 144 *Nederlandsche Leeuw* 62 (1944), col.51.
- 145 DTB 443/116.
- 146 A print by Willem Buytewech exists representing the execution of his assassins.
- 147 *Nederlandsche Leeuw* 66 (1949), col. 202.
- 148 Michiel Colijn was a friend of the Remonstrant preacher and religious poet Dirck Raphaelsz. Camphuysen (on whom, see below, note 251). Emanuel gave a subsidy to the poet Jan Jansz. Starter, who in turn wrote a poem on the occasion of his marriage. For this and other information about the family of Jan Colijn, see H. L. Kruinel, "Colijn, Colijn de Thovion", *Jaarboek Central Bureau Genealogie* 14 (1960) pp. 64-70. Note in passing that there is no close connection between the family of Jan Colijn and that of the print-maker Crispiaen Colijn, which also comprised numerous buyers.
- 149 I have no illusion that the connections in my database are a random sample of all the direct and indirect connections linking buyers with other buyers. Consider, for example, buyers living on the "Old Side" (O. Z.) of Amsterdam (around the Oude Kerk, the Warmoesstraat, the O.Z. Achter- and Voorburchwal, etc.) and those living on the "New Side" (N. Z.) (the Dam, the Rokin, the N.Z. Achter- and Voorburchwal, etc.). The former, if they were reformed, were likely to have had their children baptized in the Oude Kerk, the latter in the Nieuwe Kerk. The witnesses to baptisms in the O.K. numbered from one to four (usually two to three); those in the N.K. were limited to one. Remonstrant baptisms, available only after 1630, did not record any witnesses at all. Worst of all, we have no baptism records whatever for Roman Catholics and Anabaptists in the period covered by the auction Notebooks. Clearly, the chances of a connection, direct or indirect, between Reformed buyers living on the Old Side are much greater than between members of the other groups cited. More generally, connections among wealthy and socially prominent Reformed buyers are much better known than among members of other religious groups because a much greater proportion of buyers belonging to Reformed families are cited in John Elias's *Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795* (reprint, Amsterdam, 1963), which I have used intensively in reconstructing family relations in 17th century Amsterdam.
- 150 The painters Jacob van Nieuulandt (Adriaen's brother), Isaack van Coninxloo, Frans Kaersgieter, Barend van Someren (also an art dealer), and Paulus van Hillegaert, who were all witnesses at baptisms of Adriaen's children; the engraver Robbert de Baudoes (*via* a joint deposition); the merchants Daniel van Geel II and Isaack Coymans I (baptism and deposition); the clockmaker Hendrick Verstegen (who was Adriaen's brother-in-law and was a witness to the baptism to one of Adriaen's children); Johannes Schenck, Willem Ysbrantsz. Kieft (brewer), Nicolaes Sohier (merchant), Michiel le Blon (art dealer), Benedictus Schenck, Symon Verdoes (*schout* of Amsterdam), Lambrecht van den Bogaert and Pieter Jansz. Snoeck (all fellow-signers of Gerard Thibault's *Album amicorum*.)
- 151 The art dealer Johannes de Renialme, *via* his wife Margriete Bartolotti who was a witness at the baptism of one of Margriete Reynst and Adriaen's children; Danckert de Kempnaer, *via* Barend van Someren, cited in the previous note; Gillis 't Kindt, *via* Carel Hellemans, a baptism witness; Margriete Reynst and the merchants Adam Bessels and Samuel Bloemaert, *via* Isaack Coymans I; the painter Hans Rem, Gillis Smislaert, Hendrick (II) and Jeronimus de Haes, and Willem Benning, *via* Adriaen's brother Jacob; Steven Verstegen, *via* his brother Hendrick Verstegen, cited in the previous note; Louis de Baudoes, *via* Robbert de Baudoes; the painter Abraham Vinck, the art dealer Michiel le Fort and Isaack de Wijs, *via* Barend van Someren; Hendrick van Someren, *via* his father Barend van Someren; Pieter, Jan, and Maximiliaen van Geel, *via* Daniel van Geel II; Hans van Hanswijck, *via* Jacques van Hanswijck; Elbert Joosten and Hans van Coninxloo II, *via* Isaack van Coninxloo; and Melchior de Moucheron, *via* his

- brother Balthasar who signed the *Album Amicorum*.
- 152 Gerrit Dircksz. Muijsenest and Andries van den Broeck, *via* Hans van Hanswyck; Jochem Dircksz. Muijsenest, the painter and art dealer Abraham Jansz. Decker, Anthony Mel, and Gerrit Jacobsz. Haring, *via* Michiel le Fort; Gerrit van Schoonhoven *via* Jeronimus de Haes; Simon Glaude and Charles Cooren, *via* Abraham Vinck; Pieter Segersz., *via* Pieter van Geel; Hans van Essen, *via* Elbert Joosten; Gillis van Coninxloo and Jan van Baerle II, *via* Hans van Coninxloo II; Bartholomeus Moor and Margriete Reynst, *via* Adam Bessels; Jan and Adriaen Geurtsz. van den Bogaert, *via* Gillis Smissaert; Albert Schuyt, *via* Isaack Coymans II; the painters Adriaen and Marten Imbrecht, *via* Hans Rem; Griete Benning and Hendrick Jacobsz. (*stadttimmerman*), *via* Willem Benning; Allert Garbrantsz. Schilt and Gerrit Reynst, *via* Samuel Bloemaert.
 - 153 Another example of the porousness of Amsterdam's social structure: The pastry baker Daniel van As (a buyer at auction) was married to Josijntge Seijs, whose sister Anna married Dr. Reynier Pauw, the son of the famous burgomaster Reynier Pauw. On October 1st, 1619, Anna attended the baptism of Claes, the son of the pastry baker Daniel van As. She was probably his godmother (DTB 40/6). It is always possible that Van As had begun his career in a modest occupation and then struck it rich as a merchant, as many Amsterdam residents did in this early period. But this was apparently not the case: he only left 600 *f* to his children after his death (WK 5073/789).
 - 154 On this putative pupil, see Chapter 17.
 - 155 See also chapter 17. Whether or not Van Neurenburgh was Rembrandt's pupil, as I very tentatively conjecture, he was still connected to Rembrandt *via* his known contact with the master when he purchased lots at the Gommer Spranger auction of 1638.
 - 156 Direct contact between Van den Broeck and Rembrandt is conjectured in chapter 19.
 - 157 Nicolaes Ruts led to buyers David and Gillis Ruts; Samuel Smijters, to his uncle Anthony Smijters; Pieter de la Tombe, to Emanuel Colijn; Thomas Haringh to his brother Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh, Adriaen van den Bogaert, and Jan Geurtsz. van den Bogaert; Johannes Wtenbogaert to his father Augustijn Wtenbogaert and to Brechge Claes van Hooren.
 - 158 Jan Rijcksen and Sieuwert Pietersz. Sem bought building lots in the Rapenburg together (I. van Eeghen, "Jan Rijcksen en Griet Jans" *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 57 (1970), pp. 123-4).
 - 159 Cornelis Boissens of Leiden is the only known out-of-town buyer linked to Rembrandt by no more than one degree of separation.
 - 160 Rembrandt's children were all baptized in the Oude Kerk. As I have already indicated, there were usually two to three witness recorded at the baptisms in this church. The witnesses to Rembrandt's baptisms were all close family members (his cousin by marriage *domine* Johannes Sylvius and his wife Aeffgen Pieters; commissioner Franchoijs Coopal, married to Titia van Uylenburgh; Gerardus van Loo, married to Hiskia van Uylenburgh). None of these were buyers at auction. Adriaen van Nieulandt, on the other hand, drew on a much broader circle of family and professional relations for the witnesses to his children's baptisms.
 - 161 Gelderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
 - 162 This proportion is still higher if we include the merchants born in German cities whose parents had originally come from Southern Netherlands.
 - 163 One bias in the available data stems from the fact that the place of birth of buyers of South Netherlandish origin, particularly of those born in Antwerp, is better documented than that of buyers born in Holland or the other provinces of the Republic. To offset this bias, I assumed that any buyer born in a certain year in an unknown city whose father lived, or arrived, in the Republic prior to that year was born in the Republic.
 - 164 Note that my definition of South Netherlandish origin differs from that used by Oscar Gelderblom, who includes in this group Amsterdam-born merchants born in Holland of parents who had migrated from the South (Gelderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 116).

- 165 Among merchants/buyers (excluding jewelers and retailers), in the first period, there were, as we have seen, 83 individuals of South Netherlandish origin. In addition, there were 12 merchants born in Germany, and 37 born in Holland or other provinces of the Republic. The comparable numbers for the second period were 36, 12, and 72, in addition to another 4 merchants who were born in England and France. Thus the proportion of Southern Netherlandish to Dutch-born was almost exactly reversed from the first to the second period. A similar but less marked tendency may be observed among all merchants with an account at the Wisselbank. The account-holders of South Netherlandish origin declined from 31.9 percent in 1609, to 23 percent in 1629, and 19.3 percent in 1627 (Gelderblom, op.cit. p. 196).
- 166 WK 5073/962.
- 167 NA 696A, film 4982, Not. J. Warnaerts. The three neighbors were Jacques Kermen (“next door”), Danckert de Kempnaer, and Samuel Hespel.
- 168 The four buyers were Lieutenant Lucas Jacobsz. Rotgans, Hendrick Colijn, Michiel Colijn, and Frederick Schuylenburch. Ann Jensen Adams who has studied this group portrait in some detail pointed out that 9 out of 16 members of the group were Remonstrants or Remonstrant sympathizers, not counting Thomas de Keyser himself (Ann J. Adams, “Civic guard portraits: private interests and the public sphere” in *Beeld en zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse kunst 1550-1750, Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 46 (1995), pp. 182-3.) On Remonstrants as purchasers at auction, see Chapter 8 below.
- 169 This analysis is based on a more complete list of buyers and more detailed characteristics of the list of subscribers than in my article “Auctions of Works of Art ...” op.cit. The list of 1,143 subscribers is analyzed in J.G. van Dillen’s, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer der Oost Indische Compagnie*, Amsterdam, 1958.
- 170 A few of the residents in the towns that had no chamber subscribed in Enkhuizen, Delft and Middelburg.
- 171 The proportions of buyers for the lists of subscribers including out-of-town residents are these: 16.0 percent for subscribers over 10,000 *f*, 11.5 percent between 5,000 and 9,999 *f*, 10.0 percent between 1,000 and 4,999 *f*, and 4.4 percent for subscribers buying shares for less than 1,000 *f*. The total number of auction buyers was 89.
- 172 There are, unfortunately, no tax statistics for the first years of the 17th century to verify this supposition. Too few subscribers to the 1602 V.O.C. offering were still active in 1631, when wealth tax records are first available, to form a meaningful base of comparison.
- 173 J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der wisselbanken (Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, The Hague, 1925, p. 1 (Keur of 2 June 1604).*
- 174 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
- 175 “Request” dated between 12 and 29 July 1608 in Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der wisselbanken*, op. cit. pp. 14-16.
- 176 The petitioners who were also buyers at auction and the sums they invested in the first V.O.C. subscription (in the case of those that did so) were these: Pieter Belten (I), Arnout van Liebergen, Antoni Slicher, Hendrick Broen, Harmen Huysman (named Hustman in the Van Dillen transcription), Jacques Verbeeck, and Hans van Soldt I (3,000 *f*); Dirck Wuytiers, H (endrick) Cromhout, Jacob Schaep, Pieter van Stampwijck (1,200 *f*); Pieter van Geel (19,200 *f* with his brother Elias); Jeronimus de Haes, Laurens de Groote, Albert Schuyt, Adriaen Andriessen, Samuel Becqur, Paulus Bisschop, Cornelis Snellinck, Alexander van den Berg, A (rnout) Hooffman, and Jasper Grevenraet (9,000 *f*); Dirck Vlack (8,000 *f*); Jasper Coymans (18,000 *f*); and Abraham de Ligne (or Lingne) (900 *f*).
- 177 The members of the chamber who were buyers, with their occupation written in parentheses, were: Hendrick Boelensz. (attorney), Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero (painter and poet), Cornelis van Campen (merchant), Dirck Corver (merchant), Claes Eewoutsz. (painter), Reynier

- Eewoutsz. (painter), Jan Fonteyn (doctor in medicine), and Pieter Lourisz. Spiegel (merchant?). I have not counted the dyer Dirck Gerritsz. who was a member of the chamber and may, but need not be, identical with the buyer of that name. Of the known members of the chamber, only Cornelis van Campen could be said to be very rich (see above table 6.3) and Dirck Corver and Pieter Lourisz. moderately rich (the last two paid 125 and 400 *f* respectively in the 1631 levy of wealth taxes). A similar analysis could be carried out of the members of the Chamber *'t wit lavendael*, but I am missing too many first names of members to make an accurate account. (There were at least three member-buyers: (Carel or Jacob) Kina, Daniel Auxbrebis, and Ambrosius Kemp, out of 12 known members).
- 178 The signatories of the album who were buyers, along with their occupation, were these: Isaack Coymans (broker), Pieter Jansz. Snoeck (apprentice-painter in 1607), Symon van der Does (future *schout*), Adriaen van Nieulandt (painter), Lambrecht van den Bogaert (poet and dilettante, perhaps the only genuine member of the nobility among the buyers), Daniel van Geel II (merchant), Jan van Geel II (merchant), Balthasar de Moucheron (merchant), Benedictus Schaeck (merchant), Nicolas Sohier (merchant), and Michiel le Blon (art dealer). It may be noted that Nicolas Sohier wrote a sonnet in Italian in the album.
- 179 The friends of Jan Jansz. Starter who were buyers at auction, along with their occupation in parentheses, were: Jacomo (Jacob) Pauw (merchant, *rentier?*), Arent Pietersz. Brughman (merchant), Emanuel Colijn (bookseller), Jan Gerritsz. Kieft (merchant), and Gasper van Vickevoort (cloth merchant). In addition, Andries de Grauw II was the son of Andries de Grauw I who bought at auction. The father's collection was dispersed at auction in 1617.
- 180 My hypothesis, which I have not been able to test, is that individuals engaged in occupations requiring frequent international contacts (e.g., international wine dealers) were more likely to be buyers than those with a strictly local business (e.g., *wijnverlaters*), after controlling for differences in wealth.
- 181 I did not include among literati-buyers the poet Bredero because he was still an apprentice-painter when he bought at auction or the poetasters Jacob Valcksz., Pieter van den Broeck, and Anthony van der Horst.
- 182 I return to this explanation in Chapter 21.
- 183 For a recent summary in English, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1988, pp. 350-371. In an even more recent essay, Peter M. Garber has assembled the available data on the prices of tulip bulbs, but his account is marred by a one-sided view of the rational expectations of speculators (*Famous First Bubbles; The Fundamentals of Early Manias*, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2000, pp. 3-143.) Anne Goldgar is preparing a major study of the tulip trade. In 1999, we compared notes and discovered a significant overlap between buyers of art at auction and participants in the tulip trade. She has kindly shared some of her research findings with me (as I have mine with her).
- 184 Jan Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw*, Antwerp, 1997, p. 388.
- 185 WK 5073/952.
- 186 Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven ...* 78 (1933), op. cit., p. 322.
- 187 One might be tempted to argue that the high proportion of art buyers among the buyers of flower bulbs at the Pieter Pietersz. sale was due to the ease and convenience for an individual attending one type of auction held by the Orphan Chamber to attend another type. If this were so, one would expect high proportions of art buyers at various specialized auctions held by the Chamber. But this was not always the case. At the sale of leather and hides of the estate of the leather dealer Burchart Otten, held on 15 April 1626, a few months after the Pieter Pietersz. sale, only one buyer out of seven had bought works of art at other sales. In two consecutive sales of "porcelain" held at the request of Anthony Nijs on 16 and 17 October 1626, 15 out of 43 buyers were also successful buyers of works of art at other sales (WK 5073/972). There was,

- apparently, much more complementarity between flower bulbs and works of art than between leather goods and works of art. In the case of “porcelain”, the complementarity was much greater than for leather goods, although the higher proportion of art buyers among the bidders at the bulb auction than at the “porcelain” auction should still be kept in mind.
- 188 The others were Anthony Gaillart II (merchant), Hendrick Cromhout (merchant), Abraham Pina (Portuguese Jewish merchant), Pieter Laurensz. (Spiegel) (merchant), Anthony de Nijs (porcelain dealer), Govert van der Hoeve (*droggist*), Symon Willemsz. (hair weaver), Jean le Bleu (merchant?), and the auctioneer himself Gerrit Jacobsz. The two horticulturists who were not buyers of works of art at other auctions were the horticulturists Marcus Cornelisz. (Flora) and Jeronimus Victorij (who appears in a document cited below).
 - 189 Posthumus III, pp. 230-1.
 - 190 Posthumus I, p. 7.
 - 191 “*Den 17en Mey 1633 sijn ten versoucke van Abraham de Schilder vercocht dese naervolgende tulpaen ende dat voor gereet gelt mits da de geenen dye suffesante borgen stellen sullen genieten den tijt van ses weecken*” (Posthumus II, p. 232). The tulips were auctioned off by *opveylen*, which implies an English-type auction.
 - 192 DTB 424/85.
 - 193 He was 21 years old when he was betrothed to Trijntje Barents on 17 February 1601 (DTB 409/336). He was said to be a *zydelaeckencoper* on 16 July 1621 when he presented his four children to the Orphan Chamber after the death of his first wife. The children were entitled to 3,000 *f* for their mother’s inheritance (WK 5073/789, fol. 184vo.)
 - 194 He bought a little vase of flowers (*bloempottien*) for *f* 17: 5:-- at an anonymous sale on 1 June 1635 (WK 5073/961).
 - 195 “Op het wonderlijk jaer der bloemisten, 1637”. This extraordinary poem was apparently discovered by Isabella van Eeghen (“Een oude ban met gedichten van tulpen en tiktak”, *Maandblad Amstelodanum* 54 (1966), p. 64).
 - 196 On 30 January 1630, Reymont de Smith was a witness to the baptism of Elisabeth, daughter of Jeronimus Victorij and Jacqueline Hiolle (who was herself the sister of Isaack Hiolle, a buyer of art at auction) (DTB 130/202).
 - 197 NA 670, *pak* 33, Not. J. Warnaertsz., Extracten, with thanks to Anne Goldgar.
 - 198 Posthumus I, op. cit., p.29.
 - 199 NA 679, fol. 1644, document dated 14 December 1644 (Extracten, with thanks to Anne Goldgar).
 - 200 At least part of Kretser’s collection was sold at auction in 1650 (Strauss *et al.*, *The Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 282). Two documents, both dated in the year 1660, cite Admiraël’s art collection. In March of that year, he exchanged some paintings against drawings that had been stolen from his collection. The individual who was returning the drawings to him was none other than the painter Reynier Hals, the son of Frans Hals (NA 2487, fol. 2, cited in Washington, London and The Hague, 1989, p. 408). Six months later, Admiraël transferred to the deacons of the (Reformed) Church of Diemen (near Amsterdam) a painting by Abraham Bloemaert, valued at 95 *f*, one by Pieter Molijn, valued at 50 *f*, a Mountain of Calvary, valued at 20 *f*, and a drawing by (Lucas de?) Heere, valued at 20 *f* in counterpart for an obligation that he owed to the church (NA 1761, fol. 586, Not. J. Spitzhoff).
 - 201 Posthumus II, op. cit., pp. 17-19.
 - 202 NA 917, Notary Barent Verbeek, dated 16 October 1635 (Extracten, supplied by Anne Goldgar).
 - 203 On 23 December 1625, Simon van Poelenburgh, from Haarlem, 33 years old, living in the Calverstraet, was betrothed to Catharina Ysbrands, also from Haarlem, 34. On 5 February 1629, a child “under the arm” of Symen Poelenburch, living on the Prinsengracht, was buried (*Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 308).

- 204 Posthumus II, pp. 21-22.
- 205 Posthumus II, pp. 22-23.
- 206 NA 1857, fol. 34-39.
- 207 According to Garber (op. cit., p. 44), buyers were required to pay one-half stuiver per gulden to sellers up to a maximum of 3 gulden for each deal for “wine money”. In this transaction, the “draw money” seems to have been paid to the buyer.
- 208 Posthumus III, op. cit., pp. 233-4.
- 209 On 7 September 1638, Paul de Hooghe and Helena le Maire had their son Romeyn baptized in the Nieuwe Kerk. Paul de Hooghe was a button-maker. The attorney Romeyn de Hooghe (I) was a witness. Paul de Hooghe was buried on 27 July 1674 (*Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 154.)
- 210 Posthumus, op. cit., III, pp. 236-7.
- 211 Posthumus II, op. cit., p. 68.
- 212 Hans Coninxloo III was the son of the art dealer Hans Coninxloo II who bought the painting of “Christ Preaching on the Edge of the Sea” directly from Vinckboons in 1604 (chapter 13). His activities as dealer are further described in chapter 13.
- 213 NA 921, Notary B. Verbeeck.
- 214 On Hendrick Uylenburgh, whom I mentioned earlier in connection with Rembrandt’s network of clients and business associates, see Chapter 13.
- 215 NA 1056, film 1264, fol. 267v.-268r., cited only for the paintings that it contained, in Strauss *et al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 196.
- 216 Hans van der Putte, who sold hats at retail (*hoedenkramer*), was apparently acting on behalf and for the account of his ward Gillis de Sadelaer, the son of Abraham de Sadelaer, a fairly important buyer at auction. Gillis de Sadelaer was about 20 years old at the time. Three years later Gillis de Sadelaer sold his house in the Warmoesstraat to Hans van der Putte for 6,000 *f* (I. Kam, *Waar was dat huis op de Warmoesstraat?*, Amsterdam, 1968, p. 406).
- 217 A copy of Rembrandt’s “Samson Threatening His Father-in-Law”, the original of which is in Berlin, has recently surfaced in Israel. It appears it may have been retouched by Rembrandt (with thanks to Paul Crenshaw for the information).
- 218 It is not clear why the appendix is dated earlier than the main document.
- 219 NA 674, fol. 211vo, *Extracten*.
- 220 On Hennekin’s betrothal, see *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 9. On De Goyer’s participation in the tulip speculation, see Posthumus II, documents 57, 58, 59-60.
- 221 Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 1995, p. 436-8.
- 222 Gerrit Brandt, *Historie der reformatie en andere kerkelyke geschiedenissen*, Amsterdam 1671, vol. 2, p. 479. The story of Anthony Anthonisz.’s participation in these events is told by S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, “Abraham Anthonisz Recht (1588-1664), een opdrachtgever van Rembrandt”, *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 65 (1978), pp. 81-88, and in his article “De remonstrantse wereld van Rembrandts opdrachtgever Abraham Anthonisz Recht”, *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 42 (1994), p.p. 334-346. I will cite the incidents related initially by Gerrit Brandt in Wagenaar’s history of Amsterdam, which follows Brandt almost *verbatim*.
- 223 Dudok van Heel, “De Remonstrantse wereld ...”, op.cit., p. 338.
- 224 I strongly suspect, but have not been able to establish, that Pieter Joosten was the brother of Dirck Joosten (a buyer), who signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628.
- 225 Herman Rendorp was an eminent Remonstrant. His son, who bore the same name, was a buyer at auction in 1637. He seems to have been an apprentice-painter.
- 226 Esaias Hioler was the father-in-law of the tulip grower Jeronimus Victorij, whom we encountered in the last chapter.
- 227 Wagenaar, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 464.
- 228 Wagenaar, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 465.
- 229 Israel, op. cit. p. 441.

- 230 Israel, op.cit., pp. 448-9.
- 231 Wagenaar, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 471.
- 232 It is not known why De Graeuw's other goods were not sold on the same occasion.
- 233 It is perhaps worthy of note that, in the years 1617 to 1619, only 5 buyers in total are known to have been signatories of the Remonstrant petition. In 1621, when the situation for the Remonstrants began to improve, there were 4 new buyers/signatories and in 1625, 9. At a time when some Remonstrants may have weighed the possibility of leaving the city, and all of them must have been insecure in their houses and property, there must have been little interest for them in acquiring paintings.
- 234 Wagenaar, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 474.
- 235 Adriaen Jacobsz. born in Bergen, Norway, is frequently referred to as a "Bergenvaerder", a freighter of ships to Bergen.
- 236 Wagenaar, op. cit., p. 476.
- 237 On Didericus Camphuijsen's views on painting, see below note 251.
- 238 H. de la Fontaine-Verwey, "Camphuijsen als onderduiker in de Vergulde Zonnewijzer", *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 55 (1968), pp. 49-51. De la Fontaine Verwey compared the plight of the Remonstrants who had to go into hiding with the *onderduikers* (literally those who dived under) under Nazi occupation in World War II.
- 239 A. Bredius, "De schilders Camphuysen" *Oud Holland* 21 (1903), p. 204.
- 240 Elias, op.cit., vol. 1, p. LXXII.
- 241 Wagenaar, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 481.
- 242 Wagenaar, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 488.
- 243 *ibid.*, p. 488.
- 244 The account in Gerrit Brandt, *Leven van Vondel*, is marred by his claim that Clementia's husband Hans van der Wolff, who had been dead over ten years, refused to give him help. Nevertheless, the account must have some truth to it, inasmuch as Vondel later wrote a poem in which he complained that even family members ("*zelfs magen*") rejected him and refused to testify to his innocence (J.F.M. Sterck, *Oorkonden over Vondel en zijn kring*, Bussum, 1918, pp. 66-7).
- 245 Wagenaar, op. cit., p. 188. On Vondel's long friendship with Laurens Baeck, see Sterck, op. cit., pp. 60-1. An interesting document links Baeck with two other buyers. Pieter Belten (I), Laurens Joosten Baeck, and Hillebrant den Otter, all three buyers at auction, were appointed by the city of Amsterdam in August 1619 as arbiters to resolve a conflict in the Sephardic Community. It is curious that Belten was (apparently) a strict Calvinist, Baeck, a Remonstrant, and Den Otter, a Catholic (R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *De Sephardim in Amsterdam tot 1795; Aspecten van een joodse minderheid in een Hollandse stad*, Hilversum, 1989, p. 63.)
- 246 *ibid.*, p. 493.
- 247 The list of 242 signatures (plus a couple of duplicates) is reproduced in Wagenaar, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 495-7. There were a few Catholics and Lutherans among the signatories, but the overwhelming majority were Remonstrants. Note that Pieter Thijsz. Schrijver (1558-1634), who signed the petition, was never reinstated in the *Raad*. Pieter Thijsz. was the uncle of Pieter Scriverius, a leading patron of Dutch poetry and friend of the arts who may have commissioned the Remonstrant-tainted "Stoning of St. Stephen" from Rembrandt (Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt; his life, his paintings*, Amsterdam, 1985, p. 25).
- 248 I have also collected tax record data from the 1585 Kohier (J.G. van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585; het kohier der capitale impositie van 1585*, Amsterdam, 1941). But the number of buyers active in the period 1597 to 1638 who were already taxpayers in 1585 was too small to make possible the sort of calculation I introduce in this chapter.
- 249 *Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 1929, pp. 9-10 and Israel, op.cit., p. 491. The wedding, which was to take place on 22 January 1630, was that of Bernard de Moor and Clara van der Capelle. Two

- of the guests had signed the Remonstrant petition of 1628 (Thymon Jacobsz. Hinlopen and Pieter Jacobsz. Indische Raven II). I am grateful to Marten Jan Bok for this extraordinary source. Bernard de Moor (1581-1635), bookkeeper in Amsterdam, was said to be a lover of poetry (*minaar der dichtkunst*) (David Beck, *Spiegel van mijn leven* (edited by Sv. E. Veldhuijzen), Hilversum, 1993, p. 256).
- 250 I only found five guests who both paid a tax and were buyers at auction. This sample is too small to make the type of calculation on which table 8.1 is based.
- 251 It may be remarked in passing that the Remonstrant preacher Dirck Raphaelsz. Campuijsen, who hid from persecution in Amsterdam in 1620 (above, p. 80), was the author of a poem “Idolelenchus of beelden straf”, which was so critical of idolatry and lasciviousness in painting that Houbraken alleged he “had tried to scare everyone from art” (cited in A. Meesters, “Didericus Camphuysens verhouding tot de Schilderkunst” *Vondel kroniek* 10 (1939), p. 279). This did not prevent his son Govert Dircksz. from becoming a painter, although he specialized in landscape painting and in the representation of barn scenes that might have met with the approval of his father. The other members of the family who became painters, Raphael and Dirck, who were nephews of the preacher, were also landscape artists.
- 252 E. Lievense-Pelser, “De Remonstranten en hun kerk”, *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 67 (1975), p.121.
- 253 On the Orphan Chamber’s appointment of guardians for orphan children, see Chapter 1, p. 18. Note that the masters of the Orphan Chamber very rarely bought at auction. One of the few exceptions of a master of the Chamber who bought at auction during his tenure was Sijmon de Rijck who purchased a painting of Adam and Eve for the large sum of 183 *f* in 1637.
- 254 There is an outside possibility that Adolf van Forckenburch is identical with a buyer named Adolf van Donckenburch. To make this identification possible, we would have to assume that Adolf van Donckenburch, whose children were baptized in the Oude Kerk, remarried and that he baptized his children with his new wife in the Lutheran Church.
- 255 Sheila Muller, who has studied the political implications of group portraits of the regents of charitable institutions in the period after 1617, found, as I did, that Remonstrants dominated the Oudemannen and Oudevrouwengasthuis, the Mannentuchthuis and similar institutions. She argues that these group portraits, after 1617-1618, expressed the “solidarity” of the regents portrayed “with the threatened cause of provincial and local sovereignty” (Sheila D. Muller, “Jan Steen’s *Burgher van Delft and his daughter*: a Painting and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Holland”, *Art History* 12 (1989), p. 273.)
- 256 In addition to this painting, there was another of the same subject which was evaluated at 30 *f*.
- 257 Montias, “Works of Art ...”, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
- 258 In notarial inventories whose contents were assessed, family portraits were frequently left unassessed with the notice “per memorie.”
- 259 Montias, “Estimates of the number of Dutch master-painters, their earnings and their output in 1650”, *Leidschrift* 6 (1990), p. 64.
- 260 The reader should keep in mind that sales in the second-hand market, of which auctions were only one of the outlets, are only indirectly related to the production of new paintings each year (the “first-hand market”). The link between the two is the length of time buyers of new paintings kept them before they died or, for one reason or another, resold them. The scarce information in this domain is discussed in chapter 11.
- 261 In the Table, “ca. 1” means that the price has been rounded off to 1, which implies that it lies between 0.5 and 1.49.
- 262 Montias, “Cost and Value in Seventeenth Century Dutch Art”, *Art History* 10 (1987), pp. 93-105.
- 263 See Chapter 13, p. 117 and note 319.
- 264 Bok, “Art Lovers and Their Paintings ...”, *op.cit.*, in Amsterdam 1993, pp. 155, 158, and 159.

Bok correctly identified Willem Jacobsz. (as Van Rijn) from his address in “de Witte Engel” next to the New Church graveyard. Hans van den Eynde (de oude), as Bok also points out, is almost surely identical with the collector named Jan van Endt in Karel van Mander’s book. It may be noted that his son, Hans van den Eynde de jonge, was also a buyer at auction and a collector. About 1621, the year his father was declared bankrupt, the younger Van den Eynde bought a painting by Roelandt Savery (from a dealer?) for 650 *f*, a higher price than for any painting bought at auction from 1597-1638. However, he still had not paid the purchase price a year later. (ibid.)

- 265 Dozy, “Veilingen van schilderijen ...”, op.cit.
- 266 Here I need not refer to a sample of these sales since my sample comprises every sale that contained at least one attribution.
- 267 Of all the artists in my 17th-century database, Cornelis van Haarlem is the one who is most frequently called *meester* or mr. in notarial inventories.
- 268 In any case, this S or sigma does not stand for “solvit” (sold for cash), since the buyer’s name is always specified and is never crossed out, as was customary in certain cash sales (as explained in the text above).
- 269 For extensive biographical data on Jacob Savery I and for a discussion of his art (including 10 reproductions), see Jan Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw, 1585-1630*, Antwerp, 1997, pp. 376-7.
- 270 Only the pair of *tronies* is an awkward fit for this attribution. But most artists, as Karel van Mander pointed out in his book, at one time or another resorted to portrait painting to make ends meet.
- 271 The monogram N may refer to the same artist Jan Nagel (although the monogram JN also referred to this artist).
- 272 Bok in his article in Amsterdam 1993 (op. cit., p. 163) points out that 9 out of 12 of the paintings in the collection of Jacob Rauwart that were cited by Karel van Mander in his *Schilders-boeck* were by masters who no were no longer alive at the time of his death. Incidentally, the list of masters cited by Van Mander overlaps only in small part with the attributions in the sale. It is possible therefore that a part of the Rauwart collection had been sold before 1612.
- 273 Rembrandt, as we have seen, was a frequent buyer at auction, but, with the exception of two landscapes by Govert Jansz. and one little statue, all the lots he bought were either prints or drawings. The works attributed to Rembrandt were lots consisting of a single print exclusively: three untitled prints in the Spranger sale of 1638 (which sold for the relatively high prices of 3, 4, and 5 *f*) and one print in the Basse sale of 1637 (a “Descent from the Cross”, for 1 *f* 12 st.)
- 274 In chapter 2, we also saw that a painting by Goltzius was bought by Frans Hals in a sale of 1634, whose records have been lost.
- 275 The painting, representing Joseph, that sold for *f* 235 was in the estate of Jacob Poppe. It may be identical with Jan Pynas’s “Joseph sells grain in Egypt” (126 by 141 cms.), which was sold at Sotheby’s in 1964 (illustrated in A. Tümpel and P. Schatborn, *Pieter Lastman, the man who taught Rembrandt*, Exh. Cat., Amsterdam, Het Rembrandthuis, 1991, p. 31).
- 276 DTB 428/728. The betrothal took place in the Church. Jan du Gardijn, 32 years old, was assisted by his father Martyn du Gardijn. He was betrothed to Catharina Lamberts, 17, who was assisted by her father Lambert Lambrechtsz. (dyer) and her mother, also named Catharina Lamberts.
- 277 NA 562B, fol. 5 and foll., Not. L. Lamberti, film 6543.
- 278 There were differences in the spelling of the three towns (Prague in the inventory for Praach in the auction sale, Scevelach for Civielje) which suggest that the auction records were not copied by the assessors (*schaters*) drawing up the inventory.
- 279 NA 840, Not. C. Hoogheboom, film 567.
- 280 On Hendrick Uylenburgh, see Chapter 13.

- 281 NA 714, Not. J. Carels, film 5149.
- 282 Hendrick Verburgh (or van der Burch) owned the house on the Voldersgracht in Delft which Vermeer's father rented in the 1630s (and in which Vermeer may have been born). For details, see Montias, *Vermeer and his Milieu: A Web of Social History*, Princeton, N.J. 1989, pp. 288-290. The date of death of Hendrick Verburgh given in the inventory was 29 July 1640. (Delft GA, NA 1671, Notary Beest.)
- 283 NA 1856 (Not. N. Kruijs).
- 284 This collector was referred in Chapter 3 in connection with his death wish not to have his goods sold at auction.
- 285 NA 569, fol. 231 and fol. 245 and foll. (Not. L. Lamberti).
- 286 NA 747, fol. 881-883, fully transcribed in S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "‘Als Justus Maurik dit eens had geweten’ zes eeuwen geschiedenis van Damrak no. 49", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 80 (1988).
- 287 The match relies on the hypothesis that paintings of fires were rare enough that two different paintings of such a subject (especially with nearly identical prices) were unlikely to be found in two related collections.
- 288 On the Paulus Bisschop sale, see also Chapter 14.
- 289 NA 226B, fol. 712 and foll., notary A. Lock.
- 290 There was even a third possible, but less likely, candidate for the match with the 1620 purchase. This was the robbing (*berovinge*) of a peasant by Momper and Bruegel, which was estimated at 30 *f*.
- 291 The provenance of this painting, which can be traced to Vinckboons's atelier in 1604, will be discussed in Chapter 24.
- 292 For an introduction to the Chi (or Khi) square test, see J. Loughman and J.M. Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses*, Zwolle, 2000, Appendix A.
- 293 On wars and their disruptive effects and on bankruptcies in Amsterdam, see Marten Jan Bok, *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580-1700*, Utrecht, 1994, pp. 152-163.
- 294 We saw in Chapter 8 that the prices of the paintings of Andries de Graeuw underwent a pronounced decrease in the course of 1617.
- 295 Any readers with information about the following buyers who bought non-trivial amounts at auction are kindly requested to pass it on to me so that I may enter it into my data-bank: Bartholomeus Bont, Vranck Coning, Hans van Eyst, Wyberch Kist, Carel Lhermitte, and Elias Suerdiest, who all bought lots in the period 1597-1619, and Jan Cespeel, Jeronimus van Eyndhoven, Dirck van Est, Mr. David Harteshoofd, Dirck Hirole, Bartolomeus Hoochstrael, Pieter Claesz. Hovelingh, Anthony Keulen, Hans Musschert, Pieter van der Nat, Jacob Schut, and Kasper (Jansz.?) Thiel who bought lots in the period 1620-1638. Some of these names may have been garbled by the clerk recording the proceeds of auctions; still others may have been misread (by me or by other researchers). Several buyers who were unknown to me when I published my article on Amsterdam auctions ("Auction Sales of Works of Art in Amsterdam (1597-1638)", *op.cit.*) have now been identified.
- 296 The highest estimate-price I found in any inventory in the period covered by the Orphan Chamber auctions was in the estate of Margaretha Bosmans, the widow of the rich collector Jan Nicquet. A large landscape by Gillis Coninxloo in that inventory was estimated 400 *f*. On a price of 650 *f* offered (but not paid) for a Roelandt Savery painting, see note 264 above.
- 297 For a detailed discussion of this inventory, see chapter 14.
- 298 NA 694B, omslag 50, film 4980, Notary J. Westfrisius.
- 299 Gelderblom, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-2.
- 300 This, at least, was Bredius's conjecture ("De kunsthandel te Amsterdam in de xviii eeuw" *Amsterdamsche Jaarboekje* 10 (1891), p. 56).

- 301 Paul Crenshaw pointed out to me in correspondence that there were also dealers who specialized in the co-ordination of projects, including authorship, illustration, and sales. On Hendrick Uylenburgh's role in the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall, see p. 126.
- 302 Suppose, for example, that one out of three buyers liked to buy still lifes in general but only one in a hundred had a preference for still lifes with fish. A painter specialized in fish still lifes would have a harder time finding a client than one who could produce any of the standard types of still lifes on demand. The need for intermediation by dealers would then be greater when artists specialized in narrow categories than when they accommodated a more generalized demand.
- 303 Jan Antonio Romiti, merchant in Amsterdam, bought 44 paintings from Hercules Seghers in 1630, which he apparently distributed among several clients (perhaps on approval) (J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, op. cit., p. 383).
- 304 An auction sale of the stock in trade of Louis (de) Rotcourt containing many valuable paintings took place on 27 June 1627. On Joris Kaersgieter, said to be a "merchant in paintings" in 1639 when he appeared in a deposition with Hans van Coninxloo III, see Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op. cit., p. 2063.
- 305 The art dealers who bought works of art at auction in the periods 1597-1619 and 1620-1638 were listed above in Chapter 5.
- 306 I did not list him as a dealer in Chapter 5 because I had no direct evidence of his trading activities.
- 307 Marten Kretser, who may originally have been trained as a painter, belonged to the Guild of St. Lucas. In 1645, he set the still-life painter Pieter van den Bosch to work for him "from morning to night" (Bredius, "De kunsthandel ...", op. cit., p. 65). He may therefore have been a supply-augmenting dealer. But there is not enough detailed evidence to make the case.
- 308 "*tot sijn dagelixce negotie ende affairen*" (cited by J. Briels, along with the biographical data in this paragraph, in *Vlaamse schilders*, op. cit., p. 317).
- 309 On the painter designated S, see above p. 95.
- 310 Briels, op. cit., p. 316.
- 311 The bio-data on Isaack van Coninxloo are conveniently summarized in Briels, op. cit. p. 318.
- 312 *Oud Holland* 3 (1883), p. 235.
- 313 Briels, op. cit., p. 318.
- 314 Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven* R.G.P. 78 (1933), op. cit., p. 760.
- 315 Frederiks, J.G. and P.J. Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehondersten penning voor Amsterdam ...*, Hilversum, 1880, p. 39.
- 316 Briels, op. cit., p. 316.
- 317 NA 597, fol. 23 and foll., Notary Lambert Lamberti.
- 318 I deduce this from the notice that the proceeds (*'t provenue*) were net (*suijver*).
- 319 His business partner may have been Elbert Joosten, a buyer at auction, cited several times in the division of his estate.
- 320 In December 1655, when Rembrandt's paintings were sold prior to his bankruptcy, he hired a room in the Keyzers Croon for four weeks at 5 *f* a week, then he paid 14 *f* for five additional sales, and finally 5 *f* "for the room" (Strauss *et al.*, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York, 1979, p. 331). For a detailed analysis of the sale of Rembrandt's possessions, see Crenshaw, op. cit., pp. 103-109.
- 321 E. Starcke, "Die Coninxloo's", *Oud Holland* 16 (1898), p. 140. The article by Starcke is still the best source on the Coninxloo dynasty, especially for their life in Emden.
- 322 The document of the Church Council is dated 1 and 29 August 1642 (Starcke, op. cit., p. 141).
- 323 The filiation of Hans van der Putte and his relation to the Vogelaer and Sadelaer families is made explicit in a document of 16 October 1636 (NA 643, fol. 567/8, Not. Sybrant Cornelisz.)
- 324 NA 751, fol. 520, Not. N. Kruijs. Hans van der Putte was a merchant of Antwerp origin, who died after 1642. It is tempting to identify him with Jan van der Putte, who married Anna Ruts,

- the daughter of Nicolaes Ruts (portrayed by Rembrandt) and Anna Apperloo, but this individual died before 1636 when his widow remarried with Pieter van der Hagen. Jan may easily have been Hans van Coninxloo III's cousin by marriage considering that the latter's father, Hans II, was married to Magdalena Ruts. I conjecture that Jan van der Putte was either Hans van der Putte's father or his uncle.
- 325 According to the landlady, "*u huysvrou van u was gegaen*". That Sara de Vogelaer had not left Coninxloo at this point is evident from the affair with Admiraal recounted below.
- 326 NA 731A, fol. 127, cited in Briels, *ibid*.
- 327 NA 1056, fol. 264-5, Not. J. van de Ven.
- 328 Starcke, *op. cit.* p. 141. It is highly probable but not entirely certain that the individual who had been named deacon in 1624, was dismissed seven years later, and was accused of blasphemy in 1642 is our art dealer. No other individual by that name who fitted these dates is known.
- 329 Briels, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
- 330 Briels, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
- 331 One kitchen scene by "Pauwels Marynes", which sold for *f* 50, may have been painted by Pauwels Moreelse of Utrecht. The Utrecht connection runs like a thread through Luce's career.
- 332 Rembrandt told Diego d'Andrade, who was dissatisfied with a portrait commission, that "whenever he ha[d] an auction of his paintings, he [would] include it in the sale" (cited in Crenshaw, *op.cit.*, p. 190). Dealers (both artists and merchants) presumably organized sales or introduced paintings in estate sales (in contravention of guild rules) when they saw a chance of selling paintings that might attract special interest (a "bidding war") and bring higher prices than they could get from direct contacts with clients. This is of course a common practice among today's dealers. I am indebted to Paul Crenshaw for this point.
- 333 N. de Roever, "De Coninxloo's", *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 53.
- 334 Bredius, *Künstler-inventare*, *op. cit.*, p. 1147.
- 335 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
- 336 NA 949, film 1172, Not. B. Baddel, act dated (?) November 1636.
- 337 The sugar refiner was Jan Thivaert, the future (?) art dealer. The document is again referred to below, pp. 126-7.
- 338 DTB 5/234.
- 339 Frederiks and Frederiks, *op. cit.*, fol. 133vo., p. 31.
- 340 The only other witness was a family member, Reijtsel van Schoonhoven. It is probable that Lucas Luce was the godfather of the child.
- 341 Frederiks and Frederiks, *op. cit.*, fol. 174vo, p. 40.
- 342 Frederiks and Frederiks, *op. cit.*, fol. 304, p. 69.
- 343 Anna Luce, daughter of Lucas Luce, married Matheus Doomer, the son of the framemaker Herman Doomer (portrayed by Rembrandt) (*Nederlandsche Leeuw* 73 (1956), col. 414). Bredius mistakenly believed that Matheus Doomer was Herman's brother (*Künstler-inventare*, *op. cit.*, p. 1142). Another daughter, named Susanna, was married to the *predikant* Gabriel Vinck of Sparendam (*ibid.*, p. 1143).
- 344 Bredius, *Künstler-inventare*, *op. cit.*, p. 1148.
- 345 *Ibid*.
- 346 Bredius, *Künstler-inventare*, *op. cit.*, p. 1142.
- 347 *Ibid.* p. 1144.
- 348 This point was suggested to me by Paul Crenshaw.
- 349 Filippo Baldinucci, *Delle Notizie de' Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua*, Florence, 1772, p. 8:39 (first published 1681).
- 350 For a balanced treatment of the little that is known about Hendrick Uylenburgh's operation, see Walter Liedtke, "Rembrandt and the Rembrandt Style in the Seventeenth Century" in *New York* 1995, pp. 15-18.

- 351 Years after Hendrick's death, when his two daughters were baptized in the Waterlandt (Mennonite) community, they informed the elders that their father had also been baptized in the community, presumably in Dantzig when he was about 21.
- 352 DTB 1090/6, cited in Dudok van Heel, "Het schilderhuis' van Govert Flinck ...", note 39.
- 353 The sale of 11 October 1627 is recorded in WK 5073/952. See also, H.F. Wijnman, "Rembrandt en Hendrick Uylenburgh te Amsterdam", *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 43 (1956), pp. 95-97 and *Uit de kring van Rembrandt en Vondel*, Amsterdam, 1959, .p. 7.
- 354 S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Rembrandt van Rijn (Leiden 1606-Amsterdam 1669): The painter, his life, his wife, the nursemaid and the servant girl", in *Rembrandt's Women* (J.L. Williams ed.), London, 2001, p. 21.
- 355 In the auction sale of Cornelis van der Voort's atelier, which took place "op Breestraet aende Sluijs" on 13 May 1625, Pieter Belten I (the owner of the house whose heirs sold it to Rembrandt in 1639) was said to be living *naest de deur* when he bought a portrait of Prince Maurits for 5 *f*. Note that Uylenburgh's name does not appear among the buyers at the Van der Voort auction. He perhaps moved into the house some time between May 1625 and 27 July 1626 when he was first noted in Amsterdam.
- 356 Frederiks and Frederiks, op. cit., fol. 156vo. and 157, p. 36.
- 357 See below, p. 160.
- 358 Marcus and Abraham Uylenburgh witnessed a deposition made by Hendrick Uylenburgh in 1659 (Abraham Bredius and N. de Roever, "Rembrandt, nieuwe bijdragen tot zijne levensgeschiedenis," *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 93). (The names of these two witnesses are omitted from the transcription of the document in Strauss *et. al. Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 451). On 3 February 1668, Gerard (Gerrit) Uylenburgh, together with his sisters Sara, Anna, and Susanna, sole heirs of Abraham Uylenburgh, late painter to the Duchess of Ormond, deceased in Dublin, Ireland, named their "trusty and beloved friend" Mr. Peter Lely, painter to His Most Sacred Majesty the King of England, to be their "attorney and procurator" to recover and receive from the Duchess of Ormond such sums of money as were owed to the late Sr. Abram Uylenburgh (Abraham Bredius, "Drie weinig bekende kunstenaars" *Oud Holland* 2 (1884), pp. 213-4, text in English). Wijnman points out that when Hendrick Uylenburgh married Maria van Eyck around 1624, he was already about 37 years old. Given the Mennonite custom of marrying at an early age, Wijnman argues that Hendrick must already have been married. Thus, Abraham was probably a child of this earlier marriage, old enough to have been taxed (or to have represented his father when the tax-collector came to call) in 1631. When Hendrick and Maria van Eyck made their testament in 1634, they named as their children Gerrit (born about 1625), Isack, Sara, Anna, Susanna, and Lyntgen (Wijnman, "Rembrandt en Henrick Uylenburgh ...", op. cit., p. 101). The testament of 1634 evidently referred only to the children of the second marriage. By the time of Abraham Uylenburgh's death in 1668, Marcus, Isaack, and Lyntgen were already deceased.
- 359 The Cornelis van der Voort sale of 1625 may also give some indication of the possible scope of Uylenburgh's future enterprise. The first 220 lots were chiefly of single paintings, including mythological and biblical subjects, a few genre pictures, portraits of princes, and a large number of *tronien*, which may have been portraits. The last 135 lots chiefly consisted of prints, drawings, and grisailles. Only 10 paintings were designated as copies (6 of them after Cornelis van Haarlem) (WK 5073/951).
- 360 Strauss *et. al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., pp. 61-2.
- 361 Bredius, *Künstler-inventare*, op. cit., p. 1686.
- 362 Strauss *et. al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 75. S.A.C. Dudok van Heel made the suggestion that Uylenburgh had taken a number of paintings by Rembrandt on commission for which he acknowledged a debt of *f* 1000 ("Doopsgezinden en schilderkunst in de 17e eeuw – Leerlingen, opdrachtgevers en verzamelaars van Rembrandt" *Doopsgezinden bijdragen* 6

- (1980), p. 107). This is plausible but somewhat gratuitous. For a case where Uylenburgh did take paintings on commission, however, see below p. 125.
- 363 Rembrandt had agreed to participate in the “Tontine” in 1631 (or earlier) when he was still living in Leiden. The winner of the “Tontine” was the longest-living participant.
- 364 Wijnman, “Rembrandt en Hendrick Uylenburgh”, op. cit., p. 97. Nicolaes Seys Pauw had presumably bought the house from the widow of Cornelis van der Voort.
- 365 Strauss *et. al.*, *The Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 103. This is the only instance I will mention of a dealer co-ordinating the production and publication of a print, one of the business activities of dealers cited in the introduction to this chapter.
- 366 Dudok van Heel, “Doopsgezinden ...”, op. cit., p. 107.
- 367 Wijnman, “Rembrandt en Hendrick Uylenburgh”, op. cit., p. 95 and Dudok van Heel, “Doopsgesinden ...”, op. cit., p. 108.
- 368 On Pieter Isaacksz., who, for many years, acted as the artistic counsellor of the King of Denmark, see Chapter 15.
- 369 Liedtke, op. cit., p. 16.
- 370 I recall that there are no extant auction records for the years 1632 to 1634, during which Uylenburgh may have been an active buyer.
- 371 There is only circumstantial evidence for the claim that “Uylenburgh had a large stock of Dutch and other European paintings” (Liedtke, op. cit., p. 16). The Raphael drawing that Uylenburgh purchased at auction is the closest we come to an “other European” work of art.
- 372 Claes Pauw was the son of Anna Seys, the daughter of Claes Seys (Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, p. 193). Pieter Sey may have been Anna Seys’s brother or cousin.
- 373 “*eene goede somme van penningen tot benefitie en bevordering van sijne neeringe ende handel.*”
- 374 The only Jacob Liewen or Lievensz. that I have been able to identify may have been Jewish. On 8 August 1639, Salomon and Jacob Lievensz. signed a contract with Menasseh ben Israel who undertook to print 3,000 Hebrew bibles and various commentaries on the Pentateuch on their behalf (Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis*, 144 (1974), op. cit., pp. 236-7). If this is the right person, he would have died shortly after the contract since his widow was named in the Uylenburgh debt acknowledgement.
- 375 The debts cannot be traced to any year before 1636 (the year of death of Lambert Jacobsz.) Pieter de Neijn died in 1639, Jacob Liewen, if I have properly identified him, after August 1639. The heirs of Lambert Jacobsz. were his sons of minor age, Abraham (later van den Tempel) and Jacob. Nicolaes van Bambeeck (1596-1661) was a rich wool merchant who lived on the St. Antoniebreestraat. He and his wife, Agatha Bas, were portrayed by Rembrandt in 1641. Claes Arentsz. van Neerden (Naerden) was the brother of Jan Arentsz. van Naerden, a Roman Catholic sugar refiner and merchant, whose death inventory was taken on 11 December 1637 (NA 569, Notary Lambert Lamberti). This last inventory contained numerous attributed paintings, which were appraised by Hendrick Uylenburgh (with Lucas Luce).
- 376 NA 565B, fol. 7-11, Notary J. Westfrisius, film 6546. Wybrant Claessen owned several houses, with a total value of *f* 21,800.
- 377 Paul Crenshaw points out that it was Rembrandt’s custom to repay the capital on a debt but not the interest.
- 378 Bredius, *Künstler-inventare*, op. cit., p. 1689.
- 379 Wijnman, *Uit de kring*, op. cit., p. 15.
- 380 Inventory of Watse Leurens, widower of Aeltje Pieters, dated 25 March 1645 (NA 565A, fol. 23-25, film 6546, Notary Westfrisius). The note reads: “*Onse Volckert neeff is schuldig 3 gulden, die gelt moet by Hendrick Oulenberg schilder gesocht worden, die welcke verscheijde schilderijen van Volckert heeft in hande om te verkopen.*”

- 381 On 16 May 1620, Watse Laurensz., from Lier, “*droochschilder*” (a type of linen cloth finisher), 25 years old, was betrothed to Aeltje Pieters, 21 (DTB 424/234). The inventory was drawn up after her death.
- 382 Alex. Hajdecki, “Die Niederländer in Wien”, *Oud Holland* 25 (1907), pp. 9-10. He was said to be Imperial *Cammermabler* on 14 April 1652 (ibid. p. 9).
- 383 Wijnman, *Uijt den kring*, op. cit., p. 16.
- 384 NA 1202, fol. 270-286, Not. Jan de Vos, dated 1 October 1653.
- 385 Strauss *et. al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 451.
- 386 Wijnman, *Uijt den kring*, op. cit., p. 16 and Dudok van Heel, “Rembrandt van Rijn ...”, 2001, op. cit., p. 26.
- 387 The argument, which is pretty tenuous, is that the Danish painter Bernard Keil had frequented the academy only until the year 1647 (ibid).
- 388 Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op. cit., pp. 1660-1684. I believe that “Sieur Ulenborch” who sold Matthijs Musson in Antwerp an *Emaus* by Sotten Cleef (Cornelis van Cleve) for *f* 120 in May 1658 was the son Gerrit and not the father Hendrick. This hypothesis rests on the fact that the Musson-Uylenburgh dealings continued until 1668, long after the father was dead. In December 1659, Musson sold Menheer Ulenborch in Amsterdam a Hunting Scene by Snyders for *f* 175. Finally, Musson sold to Sieur Eulenborch in Amsterdam a Battle painting by Borgenon (Bourguignon) (Erik Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681*, originally published in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde* 21 (1969), pp. 102, 105, and 150).
- 389 Gerrit Uylenburgh was also wounded by the refusal of the Grand Elector of Brandenburg to take delivery of and pay for a number of Italian paintings, alleged to be by famous masters, which artists from several Dutch cities (including Vermeer from Delft) rejected as inauthentic.
- 390 Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op. cit., pp. 1660-1684.
- 391 I am indebted for this information and for the connections of Jan Thivaert in Utrecht to Marten Jan Bok.
- 392 *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 57 (1970), p. 211.
- 393 In this partly illegible document, which was reproduced almost in full by J.G. van Dillen, the name of Jan Thivaert, *suickerraffinadeur*, was missread as Jan Thibaut (*Archief voor de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven*, 78 (1933), op. cit., pp. 828-9). For the original document, see NA 200, fol. 358vo.
- 394 J. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem omstreeks 1572-1630 met een keuze van archivalische gegevens betreffende de kunstgeschiedenis*, Ph.D. dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, Utrecht, 1976, p. 294. Briels, as did Van Dillen, misread Thivaert’s name, this time as Tijnart. A letter from the archivist of GUA confirms the reading Tijvart.
- 395 DTB 429/414.
- 396 The taxpayer’s name was given as Jan Tijbart, but the address, the Singel, coincides with that given by Thivaert in several documents (Frederiks and Frederiks, op. cit., fol. 13vo, p. 5).
- 397 As evidence of Daniel Thivaert’s talent, one need look no further than the splendid painting in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (ill. no. 1). Thivaert, however, enjoyed little success, if we may judge from the fact that only one or two of his paintings are cited in Amsterdam inventories.
- 398 Abraham Bredius had already suggested that the painter Daniel Thivaert was Jan Thivaert’s son. This is confirmed by the division of the latter’s estate discussed below.
- 399 Information kindly communicated by Marten Jan Bok.
- 400 NA 597, fol. 206 and foll., Notary Lambert Lamberti.
- 401 Henri Thivaert II may also have been at least an occasional art dealer. On 16 May 1650, he sold

- to Pieter Willemsz. van Aelst household goods with a total value of 1,750 *f*, of which 210 *f* consisted of paintings. The only attributed painting (and the most expensive one) was painted by Savery, which he sold for 80 *f* (NA 1599, fol. 110).
- 402 Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis* 78 (1933), op.cit., pp. 4, 465, and 543. The last of these three documents was written in French.
- 403 H.F. Wijnman, “De Amsterdamse literator Mr. Joannes Victorinus: een Remonstrants Vondelvriend” in Wijnman’s *Uit de kring* ..., Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 110-136.
- 404 NA 840, film 567, Notary Hoogheboom.
- 405 In the mid-16th century Jean Charles de Renialme, “*seigneur fut adopté aux noms et aux armes de Cordes par Jean de Cordes son oncle maternel. Il éleva un monument à Notre Dame d’Anvers à ses ancêtres*” (*Nederlandsche Leeuw* 18 (1900)). Charles de Renialme and the widow of Jean de Renialme (who may be the art dealer’s grandfather) appeared as a witness to a baptism on 20 February 1575 (*Nederlandsche Leeuw* 75 (1958), col. 19). There is a splendid portrait, painted in Venice, of Johannes de Renialme (I) attributed to Tintoretto in the San Francisco De Jong Museum. Finally, it may be noted that a certain A. de Renialme, merchant in Middelburg (where Johannes spent a number of years) sued or was sued in the High Court of Holland in 1612 and 1617 (Rijksarchief, The Hague, ARA 3.0.02).
- 406 He was, indeed, still living in Middelburg, according to a judgement passed by the High Court of Holland on 18 December 1637. This suit, the protocol of which has been lost, had been brought by Roland Backhouse, senator in London, against Jan de Renialme, merchant in Middelburg. De Renialme lost the suit and had to pay court costs. It is not known whether the suit involved De Renialme’s trade in jewels or paintings or some other matter (Rijksarchief, Hoge Raad van Holland, The Hague, inv. Nr. 891).
- 407 NA 642, fol. 374, Not. Sybrant Cornelisz. For details, see below.
- 408 DTB 42/211.
- 409 Delft GA, NA 1940, Not. Van der Wel, 12 February 1640.
- 410 *Nederlandsche Leeuw* 79 (1962), col. 35.
- 411 F. D. O. Obreen, *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis* 1 (1877), p. 39.
- 412 On this sale, see Chapter 17.
- 413 Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op. cit., p. 110. I take De Renialme at his word: he may, of course, have been “playing hard to get” (a point raised by Paul Crenshaw).
- 414 NA 642, fol. 12, Not. Sybrant Cornelisz., dated 25 June 1635.
- 415 NA 642, fol. 374, Not. Sybrant Cornelisz.
- 416 NA 422, Notary Jacob Jacobsz., film 6438, fol. 356.
- 417 A. Bredius, “De kunsthandel te Amsterdam in de XVIIe eeuw”, op.cit., pp. 54-71.
- 418 Strauss *et al.*, op.cit., p. 187. In this source (and in the index to the book), Massa is misspelled Marra.
- 419 See the appendix to this chapter.
- 420 There are some parallels between the Massa/De Renialme inventory and the Marten van den Broeck inventories discussed in chapter 18.
- 421 The De Renialme inventory 1657 is transcribed, with some omissions and errors, in Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op.cit., pp. 231-239. My database contains a complete transcription of the inventory.
- 422 However, I have not found a single work of art in the 1640 inventory that I could match with one in the 1657 inventory. (On the “Tobacco smoker with a tankard” by Hals, see note 428 below.)
- 423 NA 530, fol. 79, Notary J. Westfrisius, cited in the “Extracten” of the Amsterdam Notarial Archives, prepared by the staff of the GAA (henceforth cited as “Extracten”).
- 424 NA 522, film 4861, Notary Westfrisius, 6 June 1637.
- 425 All the information on Isaack Massa is based on Pieter Biesboer’s essay, “The Burghers of

- Haarlem and Their Portrait Painters”, the catalogue entries, and the Documents section by Irene van Thiel-Stroman in Washington, London, and Haarlem 1989. On the accusation that Isaack Massa might have spied for the Tsar of Russia, see p. 268 of the Hals Catalogue.
- 426 See the discussion in Washington, London, and Haarlem 1989, op. cit., pp. 162, 165.
- 427 Ibid. p. 394.
- 428 Irene Thiel-Stroman, who apparently did not realize that Lambert and Isaack Massa were brothers, refers to this painting in the Hals catalogue. She claims that this painting is identical with a painting by Hals in De Renialme’s inventory of 27 June 1657, valued at 18 *f*. The title of this painting is “*tobackdrinckers*” by Hals. Even assuming that the attribution refers to Frans and not to Harmen or some other Hals, I still doubt the identity of the two paintings. A notary or his clerk should have had no trouble distinguishing *een tobackdrincker* from several *tobackdrinckers*.
- 429 Note, however, the “Prodigal Son” by Frans Hals, a religious painting with a genre aspect, in the Van den Broeck-Ackersloot exchange of 1647, discussed in the next chapter.
- 430 On Christiaan Massa, see Washington, London, and Haarlem 1989, op. cit., pp. 30, 40n, and 268.
- 431 Extracten.
- 432 NA 688, fol. 461, Not. J. Warnaezsz., Extracten. Roelof Codde’s bankruptcy, which occurred a year or two later, may have been caused, at least in part, by this loss.
- 433 Constantia may have been a relative of the painters Guilliaem and Eduard Dubois, both active in Haarlem.
- 434 DTB 6/25.
- 435 On Balthasar Coymans, see Jonathan Bikker, “The Deutz brothers, Italian paintings and Michiel Sweerts: new information from Elisabeth Coymans’s *Journal*”, *Simiolus* 26 (1998), p. 278.
- 436 Frederiks and Frederiks, op.cit., fol., 188vo.
- 437 E. van Houten, *Grachtenboek*, Amsterdam, 1962, p. 58. In the document that Van Houten found on the building of the house, Lambert Massa was called *huystimmerman* (house carpenter). This shows how careful one must be in using information on the occupation of individuals cited in documents. In all other documents, he is called a merchant or a merchant’s factor. Massa was living in this same house in 1637 when he bought a lot at auction on 27 May, at which time he was said to be residing “next to Jacob Jansz. mason”. In Frederiks and Frederiks, op. cit. (fol. 189), the name of “Jacob Jansz. *metselaer*” follows his.
- 438 *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 67 (1978), p. 129. The mortgage payments on the house, when it was sold in 1641, amounted to 107 *f* 10 st. per year.
- 439 NA 1045, fol. 473, Not. J. van de Ven, Extracten.
- 440 NA 182, fol. 113-115vo, Notary J. Bruijningh, Extracten. Pieter Cruijpenning was said to be “from Hamburg”, thus born there, in a document of 14 April 1637 (NA 597, fol. 174, Notary Lambert Lamberti).
- 441 DTB 414/285.
- 442 NA 199, fol. 516, Extracten.
- 443 Abraham de Visscher was the employer or “commanditaire” of Herman Becker in Riga, cited below, p. 137.
- 444 Biesboer in *Frans Hals*, op.cit., p. 36.
- 445 When Pieter Cruijpenning and his wife Lucretia Coymans had their son baptized in the Old Church on 7 September 1631, the witnesses (and probable godparents) were Pieter Luls and Susanna van Valckenburch (DTB 6/314).
- 446 J.G. Frederiks, “Jacob Cats en zijne omgeving naar aanleiding van de handschriften in het Museum Catsianum II”, *Oud Holland* 7 (1889), p. 245.
- 447 NA 413, fol. 216 and fol., Notary Jacob Jacobs., Extracten.

- 448 NA 418B, Notary Jacob Jacobsz., fol. 403, Extracten.
- 449 NA 413, Notary Jacob Jacobsz., Extracten.
- 450 NA 421, Notary Jacob Jacobsz., Extracten. Caspar van Heusden may have been a close relative of Jan van Heusden, the husband of Lucretia's sister Isabella.
- 451 NA 1811, fol. 1088-9, Not. A. Eggericx, document dated 17 February 1643.
- 452 Lucretia's collection consisted mainly of landscapes, three of them attributed to the Amsterdam-based Alexander Keirincx, and of family portraits. Among the seven lots inherited from Hendrick Coymans, the only valuable ones were two untitled paintings by (Hendrick) Vroom, appraised *f* 110, and a "Kitchen" by Beuckelaer, appraised *f* 250. None of these works of art can be matched with those in the De Renialme inventory in the appendix to this chapter.
- 453 The agreement called for the liquidation of claims arising "*van alle rekeningen tot diesen dage*".
- 454 NA 1818, film 2082, Notary Eggericx.
- 455 Rijksarchief, Hooge Raad, inv. Nr. 895, sentence of 9 April 1644. I am grateful to Jeroen van Meerwijk for having looked up in the Rijksarchief the four cases involving De Renialme and for transcribing the sentences.
- 456 Delft GA, NA 1713, 3 April 1647.
- 457 For a significant reference to Catharina d'Overdaghe's dowry, see below p. 138.
- 458 All the information on Becker in this chapter is cited from Hugo J. Postma's article, "De Amsterdamse verzamelaar Herman Becker (ca. 1617-1678); Nieuwe gegevens over een geldschieder van Rembrandt", *Oud Holland* 102 (1988), pp. 1-21.
- 459 Paul Seidel, "Die Ausstellung van Werken der Niederländischen Kunst des XVII Jahrhunderts in Berlin. Die Beziehungen des grössen Kurfürst und König Friedrich I zur Niederländische Kunst", *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischer Kunstsammlungen* 11 (1890), p. 122.
- 460 Ibid. p. 123.
- 461 The four still lifes by Pieter van den Bosch (two already in the Elector's collection, two now offered to him) may be related to the contract of 4 January 1645 (already mentioned above), by the terms of which Marten Kretser hired Van den Bosch to work for him for an entire year, painting from early morning to dusk for 1,200 *f* a year (Bredius, "De kunsthandel te Amsterdam in de xviii eeuw", op. cit. p. 55). If De Renialme did not himself put artists to work, he may have bought paintings from someone who did.
- 462 The story is told in detail in my article, "A secret transaction in seventeenth century Amsterdam", *Simiolus* 24 (1996), pp. 5-18. Willem de Langue, in addition to being a notary, was a poet, friend of artists (including the young Vermeer), and collector.
- 463 It is a curious coincidence that Rembrandt had borrowed money from Jan Six on the very same day that De Renialme had borrowed money from Herman Becker.
- 464 Since Van Ludick had guaranteed Six's loan to Rembrandt, he, too, may have had an interest in keeping the transaction secret. It is not to be excluded, as Paul Crenshaw has pointed out in correspondence, that the painting did belong to Van Ludick, as it was supposed to. If so, Ludick may have bought it from Rembrandt who collected this sort of luxury object. Because Rembrandt's financial liability to Six was more direct than Van Ludick's, I believe there is a higher probability that Rembrandt was the secret owner of the painting.
- 465 DTB 1100B/151.
- 466 This total includes a few semi-precious stones with defined subjects which were not comprised among the works of art recorded by Marten Kretser and Adam Camerarius.
- 467 "*De goederen vertegenwoordigden geen verzameling alswel handelswaar en hun woning was altijd als pakhuis gebruikt*" (Jaap van der Veen, "Onbekende opdrachtgevers van Rembrandt: Jacomo Borchraeff en Maria van Uffelen en hun portretten door Rembrandt, Jonson van Ceulen, van Zijl, Van Mol en Jacob Backer" *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1998, p. 30).
- 468 For more details on the Renialme inventory, in comparison with other dealers' stocks, see my

- “Art dealers in 17th century Netherlands”, *Simiolus* 18 (1988), pp. 249-250.
- 469 The total comes to more than 246 attributions because many artists were active in more than one city in different periods of their career. Thus, there were 22 paintings by artists who were active in both Haarlem and Amsterdam and 20 paintings by artists who were active in both Antwerp and Amsterdam.
- 470 Dudok van Heel, “Honderdvijftig advertenties ...”, op. cit., p. 156.
- 471 Marten Jan Bok rightly stresses the adverse effect of small and large wars on the demand for art in 17th century Holland (*Vraag en aanbod ...*, op. cit., pp. 156-158).
- 472 “*Een groot stuck van Christus daer de kinderen tot hem comen*”. Bredius suggested in his *Künstler-inventare* (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 228) that this might be the painting in London’s National Gallery, formerly attributed to Rembrandt (no. 757 in the Catalogue). The painting was attributed to Nicolaes Maes and dated to the early 1650s in the 1960 Catalogue (Neil Maclaren, *The Dutch School*, National Gallery, London 1960, p. 230). If the date is even approximately correct, it cannot be the same painting. Maclaren mentions examples of the subject by Cornelis van Haarlem and Claes Moyaert, which may have been painted before 1640.
- 473 DTB 762A/87.
- 474 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op.cit., p. 560.
- 475 A. Bredius, “Iets over de schilders Louys, David en Pieter Finson”, *Oud Holland* 36 (1918), p. 200. The records of the sale, as I pointed out in chapter 3, have disappeared. It was probably held in early December 1617 (there is a gap in the records of the auction sales held by *bode* Gerit Jacobsz. between December 1617 and February 1620.)
- 476 A. Bredius and N. de Roever, op. cit., p. 8.
- 477 The following paragraphs reproduce the transcription of the court documents by Abraham Bredius in his *Künstler-inventare*, op. cit., pp. 130n-135n.
- 478 The painting of the “Massacre of the Innocents” by Finsonius in the Collegiale Sainte Begge in Andenne measures 310 by 420 cm. (See the pamphlet “Le massacre des innocents (1615) Louis Finson” issued by Fondation Roi Baudoin, after 1991, Brussels.)
- 479 Payment in specie was an issue in the suit (see below). Did it mean that the King would have to pay in gold coin? or in Dutch money? Was it to protect the seller from depreciation of the Danish currency?
- 480 The meaning of these words is not clear. Did the King of Denmark agree with some of the proposals but not with others?
- 481 This was presumably the “Massacre of the Innocents”.
- 482 It appears that, by this time, Le Thoor had sent to Denmark, in addition to the two paintings by Ludovicus Finson, one other painting, apparently the large piece that he had purchased after the departure of Isaaksz. from Amsterdam in 1618. The eight paintings by Spranger and Van Aachen, if they had been bought in Brussels, had not yet been dispatched to Denmark.
- 483 Bredius, in his transcription of the text, introduces several points of suspension in this paragraph. It is not clear whether the omitted passages could not be read or whether Bredius thought them too inconsequential to transcribe them. I have not checked Bredius’s transcription against the original.
- 484 The material in this paragraph is based on Bredius’s summary in German, not on an actual transcription, except for the passages in quotation marks.
- 485 Bredius, *Künstler-inventare*, op. cit., p. n260. The pamphlet issued by the Fondation Roi Baudoin on the painting, referred to earlier, states that the painting, which had suffered some wear and other damage over the years, has now been completely restored. According to a 21 May 2000 letter of Raymond Frennet, director of the Musée et Trésor de la Collégiale Sainte Begge, the painting’s provenance can only be traced back to 1854 when J.B. Adam-Zeus, director of the Ecole Libre of Andenne, offered it unsuccessfully to the Musée de Liège.

- 486 Sijmon Severius, *hoogduytsch*, has not been identified. The “little paradise” may well have represented Adam and Eve and the animals, a theme to which Roelandt Savery was partial. Savery could well be spelled Severius, and he could be construed to be High German by virtue of his long stay at the court of Rudolf II in Vienna, but it is hard to believe that a merchant dealing in works of art could mistake Sijmon for Roelandt.
- 487 NA 395, Not. Jacob Jacobsz., fol. 395, film 4774. This document, as far as I am aware, is hitherto unpublished.
- 488 J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders* op.cit., p. 304. This *terminus ad quem* should dispel any doubts as to whether Hans le Thoor de oude or his son of the same name, also called Johannes le Thor, might have pledged the goods with Marten du Gardin in 1625, since, as we have already seen, the son was born in 1601 and would only have been about 14 years old in 1615.
- 489 For the records of this sale, including buyers’ names, see Abraham Bredius’s *Künstler-inventare*, op. cit., pp. 2241-2242.
- 490 One lot of drawings that he bought at the sale for one gulden came with a lute.
- 491 DTB 1130/118.
- 492 NA 565A, Notary J. Westfrisius, fol. 40r-46r, film 6546.
- 493 DTB 467/47.
- 494 NA 1303, Not. H. Schaef, fol. 213 and foll., film 1350.
- 495 A. Bredius, “Een onbekend Rubens-document”, *Oud Holland* 30 (1912), pp. 214-218.
- 496 I. van Eeghen, “Rubens en Rembrandt kopen van de familie Thijs”, *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 64 (1977), pp. 59-62. Mejuuffr. Van Eeghen’s unfootnoted article did not mention Bredius’s article.
- 497 Most of what is known is contained in O. Gelderblom, op. cit. *passim*.
- 498 Gelderblom (op. cit., p. 272), besides other material which will be cited below, provides a very useful genealogical chart of the Thijsz. family. The chart includes all five of the children of Hans Thijsz. I who reached adulthood. In previous articles (including I. van Eeghen’s cited above), Catharina Thijs and Antonie Thijsz. (II) were the only children of Hans Thijsz. I cited. Simon Schama’s book, *Rembrandt’s Eyes* (New York, 1999, p. 458) mentions Hans Thijs II’s purchases of art at auction and suggests he may have been Rubens’s pupil. Schama does not document the source of his assertion. He informed me by e-mail that he did not remember where he got his information, which may have been derived indirectly from myself.
- 499 J.G. van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585* op.cit., p. 54.
- 500 DTB 403/113.
- 501 There were portraits of grandfather Tholinck and his wife in Magdalena Beltens’s undated inventory (after 1639, before 1653), discussed below. On Aert Tholinck, see Elias, *Vroedschap*, op.cit., p. 366.
- 502 WK 5073/935. In the account book kept by Hans Thijsz.’s sons after his death (cited extensively below), he was named “Joan Thijsz.”
- 503 Gelderblom supplies exceptionally interesting details on the build-up of Hans Thijsz.’s fortune (op. cit., p. 138, 197-210 and Appendix 3.)
- 504 J.G. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister* op.cit., p. 122.
- 505 Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 144.
- 506 This was, in fact, Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig-Wolffenbüttel. Andries Bacher was his chief physician.
- 507 A. Bredius, “Een onbekend Rubens-document”, op.cit., pp. 214-218.
- 508 Andries Bacher was first married to Catherine du Bois and later to Magdalena Thijs. After the death of Andries Bacher, Magdalena Thijs remarried with Paulus Boel, the half brother of Hans Thijsz.’s father-in-law Augustijn Boel (Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 273).
- 509 J.H. Giskes, “Tussen klankbodem en schilderinnen; muziekinstrumentmakers en schilders in Rembrandts tijd”, *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 81 (1994), p. 65. Nicolaes Coop II married

- Susanna van Lemens, the sister of Magdalena van Lemens, who was married to the painter François Gijssels. Two portraits of Claes Coop (probably II) were recorded in the death inventory of Magdalena van Lemens, widow of François Gijssels, dated 21 April 1661 (NA 3015, Not. H. Venkel, film 3018).
- 510 I. van Eeghen, “Rubens en Rembrandt ...” op. cit., p. 59. The sellers were said to be Andries Bacher and Magdalena Thijs, but the real owner was Hans Thijsz. The price of the house, according to the transfer document, which was apparently passed in Antwerp, was 7,600 *f*, which was 1,360 *f* less than the price agreed on in Amsterdam (Max Rooses and Ch. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, vol. 2, Antwerp, 1898, p. 153). It may be that Andries Bacher and Magdalena Thijs were named as sellers because they lived outside the United Provinces, which, despite the truce in the war with Spain signed in April 1609, were still technically at war with Spain.
- 511 I. van Eeghen, “Rubens en Rembrandt ...”, op.cit., p. 62. According to Gelderblom, Anthonie was born in 1594 (op. cit. p. 198). This is approximately confirmed by the age that he gave at the time of his betrothal with Magdalena Belten in 1627 when he was said to be 32 years old.
- 512 Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 202. Gelderblom does allow that Hans Thijsz. *de jonge* was a “possible” recipient of Rubens’s lessons (n. 78, p. 202), but he argues that he was too old, “being already 20 years old in 1610” (if he was born in 1592, as Gelderblom states on p. 272, he cannot have been much more than 18 in 1610).
- 513 Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 272.
- 514 “*Want dien jonckman die UL. my raccommandeert onmoghelyck is te accomoderen want ic van alle canten gheprevenieert ben soo dat noch sommighe voor etlycke jaren by andere meesters haer onderhouden om my commoditeyt te verwachten ... Voorts mach ic segghen met der waerheyt sonder eenich hyperbole dat ic over die hondert hebbe moeten refuseren ooc sommighe van myn ende myn huysvrouwen maegen niet sonder ondancck van veele van myn beste vrienden*” (Rooses and Ruelens, op.cit., p. 35).
- 515 “*La causa [chio] trattarei piu voluntieri in pitturi e chiara perche ... con tuttociò à me costana nulla, si come ognuno è più liberale dei frutti che nascono nel giardin proprio che di quelli si comprano in piazza* (Letter dated 12 May 1618, cited in Rooses and Ruelens, op.cit., p. 149).
- 516 By preceding the elder Anthonie Thijsz. by his title of doctor, I distinguish him from his nephew, whom I will call Anthonie Thijsz. *tout court*. There has been some confusion in the literature between the uncle and his nephew.
- 517 NA 123, fol. 146-7, Not. J. Bruyningh, Extracten. This same document also states that François Thijsz.I transferred a house in Brabant to Hans Thijsz. I for 4,000 *f*. Another daughter of François Thijsz.I, named Catherina, was baptized on 4 October 1605. She would eventually marry the merchant Samuel Swol. She should not be confused with Catharina Thijs, the daughter of Hans Thijsz.I, born in 1589, who married Constantinus l’Empereur Oppick, professor of theology in Harderwijck in 1619, later professor in Leiden, on 19 June 1622 (Elias, *Vroedschap*, op. cit., p. 284).
- 518 DTB 1043/4.
- 519 Van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister*, op.cit., p. 186.
- 520 On Hans (or Jan) van Wely, see M.J. Bok, “Art Lovers and Their Paintings”, in Amsterdam 1993, op, cit., pp. 161-2.
- 521 Gelderblom asserts that there were no paintings in the house where Hans Thijsz. died (*sterfhuys*) (op. cit., p. 202, n. 78). On the other hand, the total value of the goods sold (*f*. 4,242) was somewhat smaller than the value of the household goods in the assets of Hans Thijsz. cited above (*f*. 6,100).
- 522 “*Oncost boeck aengaende het sterfhuys van onsen vader zaliger Johan Thys. Begint 22 september 1611*”, Arch. Thys 112A, Library, University of Leiden and loose sheets of accounts in 112C1. The archive in which this material is contained is cited in Gelderblom’s book (p. 323),

- but only one entry is cited in it.
- 523 “*Aen Augustijn Thijs residerende tot Antwerp f 22:15:--*”. Augustijn is the least likely recipient of Rubens’s painting lessons, considering that he was already at least 25 in 1612 (when he was appointed guardian for his brothers) and thus more than 28 years old in 1615.
- 524 “*dito [25 mei] aen Hans voor een doeck om te schilderen f 4: 8:--*”. The price seems high for a single canvas, but, to put it in perspective, it may be mentioned that Rembrandt charged 18 gulden for “a beautiful and new canvas” for the *Homer* that he sold to Prince Ruffo (Crenshaw, op.cit., p. 203). It may also have been a bolt of canvas rather than a single cloth.
- 525 Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 203.
- 526 In a loose leaf (in Thys Archive 112C1), where the assets and liabilities of the children were listed for 1612, the following item was crossed out: “*2 schilderijen van den Bosch gecregen f 100*”. It is not clear whether this credit relates to the two paintings sent to ’s Hertegenbosch in 1615.
- 527 “*Den 15 marty aen een schrijnwercker voor een lyst tot de Susanna 2 gulden, voor een lyst tot d’Andromeda 3 gulden 3 stuivers, noch ’t groote binne lyst f 1:10:--, tesamen f 6:13:--*”.
- 528 These inventories are discussed below.
- 529 “*Den 31 marty aen de lyst vergulder voor de 3 lysten te vergulden ende schilderen f 10:18:12.*”
- 530 “*30 dito [Juni] aen den srijnwercker voor 2 lysten te maecken van de 2 caerten ende van de copere plaet f 7:--:--*”.
- 531 “*Den 29 october [1616] aen den steenhouwer voor’t houwen van de sarcksteen op’t graef te leggen van Br. Augustijn zal. f 51: 5: 8*”.
- 532 “*12 november 1616 bij Nicolaes Cop in 2 reysen verteert om te spreeken wegen de schildery ons van Rubens belooft f 8: 2:--*”. I believe that “*bij*” in this sentence is equivalent to “*tot*” (cf. French “*chez*”). “*Tot*” is similarly used in the next document. One or more of the brothers had spent money in Coop’s inn speaking to him about the painting.
- 533 “*10 februari [1617] verteert tot Nicolaes Coop met Hendrick de bode over saeck van Rubens f 4:16:--*”.
- 534 On 16 March 1610, “*Hendrick bode van Antwerp*” bought a painting of an unspecified subject for *f 12* in an Orphan Chamber auction sale held in Amsterdam at the request of the art dealer Lucas Luce (WK 5073/966). On 17 December 1613, Hendrick Kynen, “*bode op Antwerp*”, acted as an intermediary between two merchants from Antwerp and the book-seller and cartographer Willem Jansz. Blaeu (Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis ...*, 78 (1933), op.cit., pp. 72-73).
- 535 “*14 dito [february] 1618 aen Gerrit Jacobsz. wtroeper voor 6 poerceleijne schotelten gecocht van d’Oost Indische Compagnie verleden september a 25 st. f 7:10:--*”. Gerrit Jacobsz. Har- ingh, in that year, was also the auctioneer of the Orphan Chamber.
- 536 “*Noch voor huysraet betaelt als vocht: Den 14 november aen een lyst tot de schilderije van Rubbens 36 st., vergulden 4 gulden 10 st., tesamen 6 gulden 6 st.*”.
- 537 “*Anno 1619 in Antwerpen oncosten op comenschap gedaen: den 4 november aen vracht van Antwerpen voor de schilderye van Pieter Paulus Rubbens f 1: 4:--*”.
- 538 The contract of 1610 required only that Rubens furnish a painting “large or small”.
- 539 Recall that the frame for the Susanna had cost 2 gulden and the one for the Andromeda, 3 gulden and 3 stuivers. The gilding for three paintings had cost 10 gulden and 8 stuivers. So the ratio of gilding to framing for those three paintings must have been significantly smaller than for the Rubens. One may also infer the comparatively small size of the Rubens painting from the cost of framing the two maps (9 gulden). Each map cost nearly three and a half times more to frame than the painting.
- 540 Rooses and Ruelens, op. cit., p. 170.
- 541 Ibid. pp. 162 and 173.
- 542 Letter from Rudiger Klessmann of 20 May 2000. Rembrandt probably saw Rubens’s Judith in

- Leiden and made a free copy of it in his first version of “Saskia as Flora”, which may date as early as 1632 (Christopher Brown, “Rembrandt’s ‘Saskia as Flora’ X-rayed” in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann*, Doorspijk, 1983, pp. 49-51.)
- 543 *Bilder vom alten Menschen in der niederländischen und deutschen Kunst 1550-1750*, Exh. Catalogue, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 1993/1994, pp. 210-212 and letter from Thomas Döring of the Anton Ulrich-Museum, dated 13 July 2000.
- 544 “11 septembris aen den steenhouwer voor’t waepen te maecken op de Sarck van Br[oe]der Hans zaliger f 13: 1: 8”; same date, “noch aen syn knecht ... vort te brengen vant schip op Middelburg f 1: 9:--” (Thys Archive 112C1). This entry is cited in Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 203, n. 90. Gelderblom states that Hans Thijsz. de jonge died in 1617 (p. 203). But that seems to me to be inconsistent with the mention of the ship in Middelburg in August 1619 (unless, of course, Hans’s body had been buried in Zeeland in 1617 and then been disinterred and shipped to Amsterdam in 1619).
- 545 Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 204, n. 93 and Thys Archive, 112F6, loose sheet dated 8 September 1634.
- 546 Van Egghen, “Rubens en Rembrandt ...” op.cit., p. 62.
- 547 DTB 40/172.
- 548 DTB 432/66.
- 549 This inventory is undated. It was drawn up after the death of her brother Pieter Belten in 1639 (he is referred to as “of blessed memory”) and includes a portrait of Magdalena “in her youth”. Since she was only 29 years old in 1639, I surmise that the inventory must date closer to 1653 than to 1639.
- 550 DTB 432/198.
- 551 Jonathan Bikker, op. cit., p. 278. Note that Elisabeth Coymans, whose diary was exploited by Bikker, was the sister of Constantia Coymans, the wife of Pieter Belten.
- 552 Strauss *et al.* *The Rembrandt Documents*, op.cit., p. 159.
- 553 On Christoffel Thijsz.’s frequent contacts with Rembrandt, see Crenshaw, pp. 52 to 126, *passim*.
- 554 For the inventory of Sijmen Sijmenss, including furniture as well as works of art, see Loughman and Montias, op. cit., Appendix C.
- 555 WK 5073/513.
- 556 On Jan Philipsz. de Bisschop, see Elias, *Vroedschap*, op. cit. p. 146.
- 557 On Guiliam van Eyndhoven and Jan van Valckenburg, see above, p. 58.
- 558 See the appendix to this Chapter.
- 559 Ben Broos, “Fame shared is fame doubled” in Amsterdam 1983, pp. 46-7. The count of pupils known from contemporary documents does not include Hendrick Heerschop and Joris van Vliet, as contemporary references to their apprenticeship with Rembrandt are somewhat doubtful. Heijman Dullaert, who is counted among the 20, only appears as a witness to a procuration signed by Rembrandt (*ibid.* p. 74).
- 560 Sandrart writes of “*fast unzahlbaren fürnehmende Kindern ... deren jeder ihme [Rembrandt] jährlich in 100 Gulden bezahlt*”, op.cit., p. 203. The interpretation of this phrase has given rise to some controversy (Liedtke, “Rembrandt and the Rembrandt Style in the Seventeenth Century”, op. cit., in New York, 1995, note 77, and Josua Bruyn, “Rembrandts werkplaats: functie & productie” in Berlin/ Amsterdam/London 1991, pp. 69-70). The issue is whether Rembrandt’s students were chiefly “amateurs rounding out a general education” (W. Liedtke) or “journeymen (*gesellen*) or assistants who had already spent some years with another master” (J. Bruyn). I see no way of resolving the controversy at our present state of knowledge..
- 561 Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, “Rembrandt as a Teacher” in Chicago 1969, p. 21.
- 562 Strauss *et al.* op.cit., *The Rembrandt Documents* p. 121.
- 563 For a significant example, see Montias, *Vermeer and His Milieu*, op.cit., doc. 329, where Ver-

- meer's patron Pieter Claesz. van Ruijven, signed as a witness the will of Vermeer's sister Gertruyd, which provided some conditional bequests for Vermeer. I could not find any other occurrence where Jacob Swalmius signed a document for Notary Sybrant Cornelisz.
- 564 When Schelte Dirricxs., 20 years old, was betrothed on 17 April 1626, he was said to be a retail merchant in iron products (*ijsenkramer*) (DTB 410/472). But on 5 May 1653, when he and his wife Maitje van der Lijen had his daughter Annetjen baptized in the Old Church, near his house on the Molsteeg, the clerk designated him as an *yvoordraijer* (ivory turner or carver) (DTB 6/366).
- 565 It has generally been assumed that Swalmius was apprenticed to De Hondecoeter. But he may just as plausibly have been lodging there. It is worthy of note that Eleazer Swalmius was a witness to the pre-nuptial contract of Gillis de Hondecoeter with Anneken Spierings on 1 March 1628 (*Oud Holland*, 3 (1885), p. 162)
- 566 Seymour Slive, "Catalogue" in Washington, London, and Haarlem 1989, op. cit. The portrait is in the Detroit Institute of Arts. Its pendant, which is believed to represent Henricus's first wife, Judith van Breda, is preserved in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (no. 127 in the Slive catalogue).
- 567 The portrait after Rembrandt ("Rembrandt pinxit") was engraved by Jonas Suyderhoef (ill. no. 5). There also exists a version, based on the reverse copy of this engraving, by Abraham Conrad (ius) (1612-1661). In the text accompanying both the Suyderhoef and the Conrad engravings, by H. Geldorp, Eleazer Swalmius is said to have gray hair "born of the care of fifty minus four years" ("*...grauwe haren/Geboren uit de zorg van vijftich min vier jaren*"). The care refers to the years Swalmius spent in the active service of the Church. Since he was appointed to his first post as *predikant* in 1605, this dates the etching to 1651, as Hofstede de Groot already suggested in 1906 (*Die Urkunden über Rembrandt (1575-1721)*, The Hague, 1906, p. 159). However, the style of Rembrandt's painting, as far as it can be made out from the etching, corresponds to a much earlier date, probably the mid- to late 1630s. (In these speculations, I have received the welcome aid of Paul Crenshaw.) The portrait of Eleazer Swalmius in the Antwerp Museum van Schoone Kunsten may have been painted by some one in Rembrandt's studio after a Rembrandt original (J. Bruijn *et al.* *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 2, 1986, p. 689). It differs in minor respects from the Suyderhoef engraving.
- 568 The most complete genealogy of the Swalmius family is the hand-written manuscript (copy in the Central Bureau voor Genealogie) by A. van der Swalme, *Haupt-Genealogie der Descendenten von Henricus van der Swalme genannt Swalmius, Predikant in Rhoon in Süd-Holland*, Frankfurt am Main, 1884-1886. I am most grateful to Wout Spies for locating this rare source and for consulting it on my behalf. Some doubts were expressed (dossier Swalmius, Coll. A. van der Marel) about the filiation of Carel van der Swalme and his family relation with the *predikanten* Henricus and Eleazer Swalmius. But the fact that three of Carel's sons (Nicolaes, Charles and Jacob van der Swalme), along with two of the children of Arnold Swalmius, the undisputed brother of Henricus Swalmius, were heirs of Henricus Swalmius after the death of his second wife in 1660 confirms the relation. This and other Haarlem documents about Henricus Swalmius were found, at my request, by Agnes Dunselman, whom I also wish to thank.
- 569 Rijksarchief Zeeland, communicated by E. van Essen, Gemeentesecretaris of IJzendijke (*via* S. Middelhoek).
- 570 DTB 1227/175 (kind communication of Wout Spies).
- 571 J.A. Worp, "Caspar van Baerle, zijne jeugd, studententijd en predikambt (1584-1612)," *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 253.
- 572 *De Navorscher* 33 (1883), p. 468. On 3 September 1637, Eleazer Swalmius made a deposition concerning the wife of a *predikant* in the service of the V.O.C. who had been murdered in Batavia, along with six of her children. The *predikant*, named Gysbertus Bastiaenz., his wife and their seven children had stayed in Swalmius's house when they were on the point of setting

- out for Batavia (NA 519, film 6505, Not. Westfrisius).
- 573 DTB 1046/118. This and other DTB documents relating to the betrothal of Eleazer Swalmius and his wife Eva Ruardus and to the baptisms of their children were kindly supplied, at my request, by Wout Spies.
- 574 DTB 65/30.
- 575 Petrus Sylvius, *predikant* in Sloten (Friesland), was said to be 27 years old; he was assisted by his father Jan Cornelis. Sibilla was 21. Petrus was *predikant* in Muiden when he remarried with Christina van Geenen, 24, on 28 August 1641 (*De Navorscher* 8 (1858), p. 320).
- 576 An inscription in 17th century writing on the verso of the second state of the etching in the Rembrandthuis identifies the sitter, as was first pointed out by Dieuwke de Hoop-Scheffer in his article "Petrus Sylvius par Rembrandt" in *Album amicorum Karel J. Boon*, Amsterdam, 1974, pp. 96-101. The Rembrandthuis considers the identification "convincing." I am grateful to the administration of the Rembrandthuis for the information about the etching they provided at my request. Rembrandt's etching may have been made in connection with the appointment of Petrus Sylvius as *predikant* in Sloten on 21 November 1637.
- 577 Johannes Sylvius and his wife Alida van Uylenburgh were apparently the godparents of Rembrandt's son Rombertus (see Strauss *et. al.*, *The Rembrandt Documents*, op.cit., p. 124.)
- 578 NA 581A, fol. 116, Not. Lamberti. On Rombout Kemp, a devout member of the Reformed community, see Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton, N. J., 1982, pp. 29-30.
- 579 Baptisms in the Nederduitsche Hervormde Kerk, Schiedam Gemeentearchief.
- 580 Arijen (Adriaen) Banck, son of Joris Adriaensz. Banck, was baptized in Schiedam in the Hervormde Kerk on 9 January 1619 (he was not quite 23 years old when he was betrothed to Helena) (Schiedam Gemeentearchief).
- 581 DTB 455/250.
- 582 DTB 6/250. On 19 March 1625, Jasper Wallendael bought a landscape by Gillis de Hondcoeter (whom he may have known *via* Eleazer Swalmius) at an Orphan Chamber auction. The only document I was able to find in the Amsterdam notarial archive on Wallendael concerned an illegitimate child he had fathered whom he promised to support to the age of its majority (25) or married state (27 March 1637, NA 643, fol. 154, film 4954, Not. Sybrant Cornelissen).
- 583 Schiedam Gemeentearchief.
- 584 DTB 1046/7vo.
- 585 Klapper, studie zaal 2. The possibility should be born in mind that Adriaen Banck may have delivered canvas to Rembrandt.
- 586 Strauss *et al.*, *The Rembrandt Documents*, op.cit., p. 446.
- 587 DTB 467/72.
- 588 NA 645, fol. 512, Not. Sybrant Cornelisz., film 4954.
- 589 Jaap van der Veen, "Faces from Life: *Tronies* and Portraits in Rembrandt's Painted Oeuvre" in Melbourne/Canberra, 1997, p. 78.
- 590 DTB 42/482.
- 591 Van der Veen, "Faces from life ...", loc. cit.
- 592 NA 1915, film 2129, fol. 957-972. This inventory (which has been in my data bank since 1989) was independently discovered and analyzed by Jaap van der Veen ("Faces from life ...", op. cit., pp. 78-9).
- 593 The father of Eleazer Swalmius and of his brothers Carel, Henricus, and Arnoldus was born Hendrick van der Swalme. He took the name Swalmius after he was ordained in Rhoon in or about 1580. He was apparently of Flemish origin and lived for some time in England (Van der Swalme, op. cit.).
- 594 Van der Veen, "Faces from life ...", loc. cit.
- 595 Utrecht Archive (HUA), NA U129a001. All the information on Johannes Willem Dilburgh

and his family was kindly communicated to me by Wout Spies.

- 596 Strauss *et al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op.cit., p. 446. This is generally believed to be the painting “Susanna Surprised by the Elders” in the Berlin-Dahlem Gallery.
- 597 NA 2424, film 2557, fol. 28 and foll. This inventory has been known since 1885. However, the presence in it of the Van der Swalmen painting and of the print of Eleazer Swalmius has not been commented on in the Rembrandt literature.
- 598 Adriaen Banck was present when the marriage contract of his sister Maria (Joris) Banck was signed on 14 April 1654 (Schiedam Gemeentearchief, ONA 779.) On 18 April 1667, Adriaen Maen, married to Maria (Maertje) Joris, living in Schiedam, with a procuration from his brother-in-law Adriaen Banck, registered his claim on a share of the inheritance from his mother Grietge Leenders, widow of Rochus Damnisz. (former alderman) (Schiedam Gemeentearchief, ONA 779/57). That Adriaen Maen was the brother-in-law of Adriaen Banck was already recognized by Jaap van der Veen (“Faces from life ...” loc.cit.)
- 599 I have only found two paintings in the Rembrandt literature, both purportedly representing the death of Lucretia, that were almost certainly painted before 1660 by an artist or artists of the Rembrandt school. One, dated by Sumowski in the early 1640s, is in the Detroit Institute of Art. In a letter of 19 October 2000, Amy Golahny suggested that the subject was more likely to be biblical (the death of Saphira?) than classical; the other, dated 1658, was once with the dealer *f* Muller in Amsterdam (Werner Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt Schüler*, London and Landau Pfalz, 1983, no. 2089 and no. 1923). There does exist a drawing of the “Death of Lucretia” in Berlin (KdZ 5253), with a contemporary copy in the Braunschweig museum. As Professor Golahny wrote to me, the fact that the drawing was copied, probably in Rembrandt’s studio, may imply that it was used in workshop instruction. None of this, of course, ties either the drawing or the painting to Jacob Swalmius.
- 600 A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol 1616-1680, een leerling van Rembrandt*, dissertation, Utrecht, 1982, p. 12.
- 601 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel explains the emphasis of the Rembrandt literature on Rembrandt’s contacts with Remonstrants and Anabaptists along the same lines (“Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669): een veranderd schildersportret” in Berlin, Amsterdam, and London 1991, op.cit., p. 55).
- 602 Schwartz, *Rembrandt: his life, his paintings*, Middlesex, 1985, pp. 158, 162.
- 603 Volker Manuth, “Denomination and iconography: the choice of subject matter in the biblical painting of the Rembrandt circle” *Simiolus* 22 (1993/1994), pp. 236-7 and 244.
- 604 There is one more possible relation with a Counter-Remonstrant which remains tantalizingly inconclusive. On 7 December 1654, the death inventory of Catharina Scharckens, widow of Cornelis Smout, was taken (NA 1812, film 2079, fol. 886-891). The inventory contained a “wedding” (“*huwelijck*”) by Rembrandt and a “portrait of Carel Fabritius”. Cornelis Smout is likely to be related to the ardent Counter-remonstrant Adriaen Smoutius, but I have not been able to find out how.
- 605 Strauss *et al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 302. On Isaack van Hertsbeeck (born c. 1590) and various members of his family and on their relations to other members of Rembrandt’s milieu, see Crenshaw, op.cit., pp. 70-2.
- 606 On 21 February 1634, Dominus Festus Hommius, widower of Johanna Cischlini, was betrothed to Hester van Hertsbeeck, widow of Pieter Malevessy. She was assisted by her step-sister Josina van Hertsbeeck (*De Nederlandsche leeuw* 27 (1909), p. 245). That Hester was Isaack van Hertsbeeck’s sister is also brought out in this source.
- 607 In all honesty, it should be reported that, in 1625, Isaack van Hertsbeeck, after the death of his first wife Gertruid van der Veeke, remarried with Trijn Gerrits, the widow of Hendrick Hendricksz. Eeckelboom, who had been summoned before the magistrates for his Remonstrant activities in 1620 (Wagenaar, op.cit. p. 475.)

- 608 Ven Neurenburgh was said to be “*tot Scheltes*” on March 10th and Jacob Swalmius “*tot Scheldes Dirricxsz.*” on March 13, 1637.
- 609 Most of the information in my possession on Willem or Guilliaem van Neurenburgh II and III and their family comes from the article by C.M. de Bruijn and J Huisman, “Het huis Nieuwe Haven en zijn bewoners tot 1864” in *Leven met het verleden: Gedenboek honderd jaar 'Oud-Dordrecht' (1892-1992)* (E.A. Bosman *et al* ed.), Hilversum, 1992. I am grateful to John Loughman for drawing my attention to this source.
- 610 Gabri van Tussenbroek, “Das Netzwerk der Steinmetzen als Bauinstrument” in *Italienische Renaissancebaukunst an Schelde, Maas und Niederrhein: Stadtanlagen – Zivilbauten – Wehranlagen*, Jülich, 1999, pp. 534-545.
- 611 These dates were provided to me in a letter from Gabri van Tussenbroek dated 9 March 2000.
- 612 Ben Broos, however, illustrates a drawing of an elderly man drawing a female nude, apparently in Rembrandt’s studio, in connection with his remark that “there must have been many who attended drawing lessons as part of a gentleman’s education” (op. cit., pp. 45 and 51).
- 613 Bruijn and Huisman, op.cit., p. 75.
- 614 Ibid. pp. 76-7.
- 615 Ibid. p. 73.
- 616 Gerard Dou was 15 years old when he entered Rembrandt’s workshop; Dullaert was 17 when he signed a procuration with Rembrandt; Gerbrand van Eeckhout became a pupil of Rembrandt in the late 1640s when he was less than 20 years old; Samuel van Hoogstraten was only about 13 when he began to study with Rembrandt in 1640 (Melbourne/Canberra 1997, pp. 227, 267, 291).
- 617 Information kindly supplied by Marten Jan Bok.
- 618 Information kindly supplied by Gabri van Tussenbroek.
- 619 “Rembrandt en de veilingen (Titus van Rijn, Clement de Jonghe en Samuel Smijters)” *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 77 (1985), p. 65.
- 620 I. van Eeghen suggested that the portrait of Smijters, which is mentioned in the list of Clement de Jonghe’s possessions drawn up by his nephew Jacobus de Jonghe, may be an etching signed RHL and dated 1633 (Bartsch 311). The attribution of this etching to Rembrandt has been questioned because of the monogram, which Rembrandt is not known to have used as late as 1633 (Van Eeghen, *ibid.* p. 63)..
- 621 Van Neurenburgh bought two volutes for *f* 2: 2:-- immediately after Rembrandt bought “some volutes” on March 19.
- 622 Van Eeghen, op. cit. p. 65.
- 623 Ibid. p. 69.
- 624 This is the very plausible suggestion, made independently by Christopher Wood and Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann. Neither the Rembrandt *Urkunden* nor Ms. van Eeghen (*ibid.* n. 13) had been able to identify the plate or the prints sold at the Spranger auction that were pulled from it. Ms. van Eeghen had followed the word *tasvloyster*, which she found in Gommer Spranger’s death inventory, by the word “sic !” (n. 69), as if it had been an error for the more usual *tasvloyer* (the term used in the sale). But the feminine ending makes it even clearer that the subject is “The Offer of Love” or more precisely, “Unequal Love”: a young woman reaching into an old man’s purse.
- 625 This is also the suggestion of Marten Jan Bok.
- 626 Rembrandt, exceptionally, bought one set for 2 *f* 7 st., immediately before Soolmans who paid 1 *f* 16 st. and bought six more sets at that price. Rembrandt’s set may have been printed on different paper.
- 627 “*Smijters, Neurenburgh en Rembrandt moeten echter wel te voren over het blijkbaar zeer gezochte werk van Dürer hebben gesproken*” (op. cit., p. 66).
- 628 Rembrandt owned a large painting of the Samaritan Woman in common with Pieter (de) la

- Tombe (Strauss *et al.*, *op.cit.*, p. 359).
- 629 At the Spranger sale, Rendorp was said to be the *knecht in huys*, by which was probably meant that he had been employed by Spranger at the time of his (Spranger's) death. Rendorp's father, whose first name was also Herman, was a rope maker and merchant who died in 1625.
- 630 Note that the Lot numbers are not in the original. They are based on my own transcription of the two sales.
- 631 This lot was probably paid for in cash by Leendert Cornelisz. van Beyeren shortly after the sale.
- 632 Probably the series of prints of "The Life of the Virgin" by Dürer.
- 633 See note 624.
- 634 Probably "The Dream of the Doctor" or the "The Temptation of the Idler" by Dürer (Bartsch 76).
- 635 Probably "The Cook and His Wife" by Dürer (Bartsch 84).
- 636 Strauss *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 345.
- 637 I am grateful to Paul Crenshaw for bringing this aspect of Rembrandt's bankruptcy to my attention and for first raising the possibility that it might be connected with Marten van den Broeck's shipping ventures (in response to an earlier version of this chapter where I had alluded to Van den Broeck's possible connection to Rembrandt.)
- 638 There is no painting of Adam and Eve in either of Van den Broeck's two inventories.
- 639 J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis ...* 144 (1974), *op.cit.*, p. 376.
- 640 *Ibid.* pp. 436-7. Fonseca was said to be a Portuguese merchant in a document of 14 February 1634 (*ibid.* p. 41).
- 641 Abraham de Fonseca, merchant, was said to be 30 years old in a deposition dated February 1637 (NA 948, film 1171, Notary B. Baddel, exact date illegible).
- 642 NA 1081, fol. 66-67, film 1274.
- 643 On 29 January 1636, Isaack Marcusz., 48 years old, made a deposition concerning a contract for the delivery of silk which had been entered into by a Portuguese merchant (NA 414A, fol. 81). It was probably by reason of Marcusz.'s expertise in the silk business that he had been asked to supervise the transaction discussed in the text, which, among other things, involved the delivery of textiles.
- 644 Van den Broeck might have obtained the diamonds from Fonseca. In an act dated 14 February 1634, Isaack Messingh, diamond polisher, ceded to Abraham Fonseca, Portuguese merchant, three diamond-polishing wheels (which he, Messingh, could continue to use) in part compensation for a defaulted loan (Van Dillen, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis* 144 (1974), *op.cit.*, p. 41). In a document dated 11 years earlier, on 6 October 1638, Marten van den Broeck had given a procuration to a Portuguese Jew named Gabriel Casthanho in Recife de Pernambuco to demand payment for stores of biscuit that he had sent to Brasil to be sold there (NA 996B, fol. 782, Extracten). A year later, on 8 September 1639, he had tried to collect payment from a merchant in Recife named Marcus de Pours for silk, silver buttons, and other material which he had also sent there to be sold (NA 997, fol. 240-242, Extracten).
- 645 This is one of the hills of Granada, now called Monte Sacre.
- 646 Professor Haverkamp-Begemann informs me that this painting representing an outdoor party with the prodigal son may have been the early Frans Hals, formerly in Berlin, which was destroyed during World War II.
- 647 NA 1081, fol. 66-67, Notary J. van der Ven. An extract was published by Bredius in his *Künstler-inventare*, *op. cit.*, pp. 640-1.
- 648 A less likely possibility is that Andries Ackersloot was the cousin, named Aris, of the son of the bourgomaster Auwel Ackersloot. Aris Ackersloot was a silversmith, the son of Laurens Aker-sloot and Duyfje van Napels, and the nephew of Auwel. The difference in spelling of the first name and the fact that Andries Auwelsz. Ackersloot and his wife Dirckje (Dorothea) Steijns had their son Auwel baptized in Amsterdam in 1645, two years before the transaction (DTB

- 42/468), speak for the identification in the text. Note also that Andries Auwelsz., who held various municipal functions in Haarlem from 1647 to 1670 and is referred to as “Sr.” in various documents, was wealthy enough to engage in a transaction of this magnitude, which is more doubtful in the case of the silversmith Aris Ackersloot. (I have profited here from information about the silversmith side of the Ackersloot family supplied by Pieter Biesboer).
- 649 GA Haarlem, ONA, Inv. 225, folio 432. An extract from this document was kindly supplied by Agnes Dunselman.
- 650 ORA Haarlem, Transporten, Inv.76.83, folios 146vo to 150 (kindly communicated by Agnes Dunselman).
- 651 I still have not found any direct evidence that Van den Broeck had gone into the ship-building business, for which he would have needed 27 masts. Van den Broeck and Fonseca may have bought the supplies for export to the New World.
- 652 NA 1091, fol. 2, Notary J. van der Ven, Extracten.
- 653 NA 1093, fol. 118, Notary J. van der Ven, Extracten.
- 654 NA. 1092, fol. 190vo., Etracten.
- 655 Extracten.
- 656 The answer to an inquiry from the Rijksarchief was that no petition for “*cessio bonorum*” from Marten van den Broeck had been found in the year 1650.
- 657 NA 138, film 1174, 17 May 1637. A *proefmeester* was an overseer of the tests (in particular, for making ship’s equipment) given to applicants for admiralty jobs. There were at least three *proefmeesters* in office in 1637.
- 658 Extracten. In Marten van den Broeck’s “*faillit*” inventory, the furniture and a very few paintings, listed separately, were said to belong to his mother, Catharina Soolmans. He may have pledged these goods against money that she had lent him.
- 659 Extracten.
- 660 Extracten.
- 661 DTB 1091/250.
- 662 The portrait of the unidentified priest Jan Sebetino may also have been Italian.
- 663 Crenshaw, op.cit., pp. 129, 135, 139, and 154. If, as I argue below, the paintings ceded by Van den Broeck had earlier belonged to Rembrandt, they may be viewed in the context of Rembrandt’s collecting interests. Rembrandt was said to have once offered 1,000 *f* for a painting by Holbein (Strauss *et. al.*, op.cit., p. 562). He bought many engravings by Lucas van Leyden and Dürer at auction. Porcellis was one of the most represented contemporary painters in Rembrandt’s 1656 inventory. The large landscape by Esaias van de Velde and the Prodigal Son by Frans Hals in the Van den Broeck-Ackersloot transaction evince a possible Rembrandt interest in contemporary (or near-contemporary) painters that has not so far been documented (neither Van de Velde nor Frans Hals is represented in Rembrandt’s 1656 inventory.)
- 664 It has generally been assumed – by Ernst van de Wetering in the source cited below, in particular—that “*de minnemoer van Rembrandt*” was a portrait of Gierte Dirckx, who became the wetnurse of Titus around 1642 and soon became Rembrandt’s mistress. This is not certain. It might conceivably represent the wetnurse of Rembrandt as a child, who might have posed for him in Leiden. There is also ambiguity about the Dutch word “van”, which may mean “by” or “of”. Thus “*t conterfeijtsel van Rembrandt*” may be a portrait *of* as well as *by* Rembrandt (Van de Wetering prudently refers to “the likeness of the painter himself – probably a self-portrait”). Because “van” in other parts of the contract, as in “*landschap van Rembrandt*”, signifies *by* Rembrandt, I will assume, as all previous authors have done, that the portraits of Rembrandt, his wife, and “*de minnemoer*” were all painted by Rembrandt. For Van de Wetering’s discussion of the three paintings in the Van den Broeck/Ackersloot inventory, see his article “The Multiple Functions of Rembrandt’s Self Portraits” in *Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1999*, p. 51.

- 665 Note, however, that our only archival evidence bears on an indirect contact between Van den Broeck and Rembrandt, *via* his cousin Marten Soolmans, who was portrayed by Rembrandt.
- 666 The confusion between “Mongol” and “Mughal” is a typical example of the loose vocabulary of 17th century clerks. The vocabulary of notaries and their clerks is also loose on the type of object represented: if I am correct about the identification of a Mughal miniature in the Van den Broeck/Ackersloot exchange, the *chinees schilderijtje* (Chinese little painting) in question might elsewhere have been called a *Suratse teekening* (a Surat drawing).
- 667 A. Bredius doubted that the album in Rembrandt’s bankrupt inventory consisted of Mughal miniatures but his arguments are unconvincing (“Hindostan’sche teekeningen in Nederland in de XVIIe eeuw”, *Oud Holland* 29 (1911), p. 140). I do not think there is enough evidence either way to prove or disprove that the miniatures were Mughal.
- 668 After alluding to the only copy made by Rembrandt after a miniature executed in the workshop of the Mughal court (which she reproduces in fig. 2), Lunsingh Scheurleer refers to the other known miniature in Vienna of a Mughal on horseback accompanied by his suite, also executed in the workshop of the court, of which no known Rembrandt copy seems to have survived. She then asks, “Is it not probable that the other one should also have been copied by Rembrandt?” The source is: Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, “De Moghul-miniaturen van Rembrandt” in *Waarom Sanskrit? Honderdvijfentwintig jaar Sanskrit in Nederland*, Leiden, 1991, p. 110. See also, Leonard J. Slatkes, *Rembrandt and Persia*, New York, 1993, for a drawing by Rembrandt or by a Rembrandt follower of a “Mongol” on horseback with a falcon, which also corresponds to the description in the Van den Broeck sale (p. 92). Finally, there is a painting of a Mughal prince on horseback in the British Museum in London (exhibited in the *Glory of the 17th Century in Amsterdam*, Exhibition Catalogue, Amsterdam, 2000), which may also possibly be identical with the “*Chinees schilderijtje*” transferred by Van den Broeck to Ackersloot. I am grateful to Egbert Haverkamp Begemann for drawing my attention to the Lunsingh-Scheurleer article and to the miniature in the British Museum and to Walter Liedtke for his reference to the Slatkes volume.
- 669 Note, in particular, the old *tronie* dated 1493 in the 1647 transaction and the old man’s *tronie* bearing the date 1525 in the 1650 inventory. We have seen that there were several other works dating back to the 16th century in the 1647 transaction. In the 1650 inventory, there were also two other old paintings: the old Holland *tronie* in the *Zaeltje* and the portrait of a man wearing old-fashioned clothing in the *Achterkamer* (whose contents are discussed in the text).
- 670 In the post-mortem auction sale of the works of art belonging to the painter (and probably art dealer) Cornelis van der Voort, there were numerous repetitions of the same theme, including six examples of “Mopsus” by or after Cornelis van Haarlem and four of Venus and Cupido (sale of 13 May 1625, WK 5073/951).
- 671 In 20 inventories with paintings in the back room in my database of “private” Amsterdam inventories (other than art dealers’ or artists’), none had as high a ratio to the total number of paintings in the inventory as the Marten van den Broeck inventory. We have already seen that the stock-in-trade of the dealer Lucas Luce was recorded in the *achterkamer* of his house (above, p. 121).
- 672 There were two *Christi tronie* paintings in Rembrandt’s bankrupt inventory of 1656 (Strauss *et. al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op.cit., p. 361).
- 673 Joachim von Sandrart singles out for praise Rembrandt’s “*halbe Bildern oder alten Köpfen*” (op. cit., p. 203.) Note also the presence of the “Awakening of Lazarus” in the *Voorkamer*, which was a favorite theme of Rembrandt and Lievens in their youthful period.
- 674 *Oud vader* denotes a patriarch or father of the church which differs from “*oude man*”. I found one other painting of this subject. On 15 September 1642, Emanuel Burck, innkeeper, pledged a number of paintings as collateral against a loan supplied by Jeuriaen Huybertsz. van Eijl and company. One of these paintings was “*een geknielde St. Pieter*” (NA 1681, Notary P. de Bary).

- Only one copy on panel of the Rembrandt painting, said to be “possibly 17th century”, seems to have survived (J. Bruijn *et al.*, op.cit., vol I, pp. 346-350).
- 675 The unusual pose also struck Schama, who writes, “Rembrandt’s Peter, down on one knee, concentrates entirely on pathos and penitence.” (Simon Schama, *Rembrandt’s Eyes*, op.cit., pp. 276-7).
- 676 This scenario raises another intriguing question. Had Van den Broeck failed to sell some of the paintings he had bought from Rembrandt because the *tronies* and other typical products of the master’s studio were no longer in demand or at least were in excess supply in the market? This decline in the demand for his products would also have contributed to Rembrandt’s financial troubles. On Rembrandt’s bankruptcy, the most up-to-date, complete, and even-handed study is the Ph.D. dissertation of S. Paul Crenshaw already cited.
- 677 A. van der Marel, “Van Merlen tot Antwerpen”, *De Nederlandsche leeuw* 84 (1967), p. 104. Wout Spies kindly supplied me with a copy of this important article on the Van Maerlen family.
- 678 This emerged, after the death of Catelijne van Coninxloo, from the payment of 1 gulden 10 st. to “the servant of the guild” to summon members to her burial and to pay for the pall (“*Reckening* of 1618”, cited below). At the Van Coninxloo sale of March 1, 1607, Jonas van Maerlen bought lots for 74 *f* 7 st. Of the paintings with titles, five were landscapes and one represented dogs. He also bought various ground colors and prepared papers.
- 679 Schwartz, op. cit., p. 30.
- 680 WK 5073/1191, “Reckening” drawn up by the painter and art dealer Hans van Coninxloo II, guardian of the children.
- 681 The record of the auction sale of Catelijne van Coninxloo’s possessions is included in the *Reckening* cited above. Unfortunately, the Notebook of estate sales for 1618 has been lost, so we do not know who the buyers were. However, it would appear from this same *Reckening* that the paintings were bought by Hans van Coninxloo II and resold to Jan van Maerlen.
- 682 A. van Marel, op.cit., p. 196.
- 683 WK 5073/944.
- 684 WK 5073/946.
- 685 The sources for these baptisms, as well as other undocumented details in the following account, were kindly supplied by Wout Spies.
- 686 Lucretia died on 14 February 1638 (*De Navorscher* 84 (1935), p. 35).
- 687 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- 688 Jan Jongepier, H. van Nieuwkoop, and W. Poot, *Orgels in Noord-Holland; Historie, bouw en gebruik van de Noordhollandse kerkorgels*, Schoorl, 1990, p. 12, cited in Mia Mochizuki’s Ph.D. dissertation, *The Reformation of Devotional Art and the Great Church in Haarlem*, Yale University, 2001. Susanna van Soldt died, shortly after bearing a child, on 27 August 1614 (*De Navorscher* 84 (1935), p. 37).
- 689 Van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister...*, op.cit, p. 224.
- 690 Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis* 33 (1929) op.cit., p. 702.
- 691 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehondersten penning*, op.cit., fol. 224vo., p. 51.
- 692 WK 5073/966.
- 693 WK 5073/943.
- 694 WK 5073/961.
- 695 WK 5073/946.
- 696 NA 381, Records of Notary Jacob Jacobs, 27 December 1617 (film 6413).
- 697 A. Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op. cit., p. 1398.
- 698 Christina, Agatha, and Constantia were all betrothed “in the Church”, as was usual for Reformed (Calvinist) couples. Only the betrothal of Hans van Soldt with his first wife Marija de Wolff took place in the Town Hall (“*in de Pui*”), where Mennonites, Lutherans, and *some* Remonstrants, together with Roman Catholics, were registered.

- 699 See *De Navorscher*, 84 (1935), loc. cit. There were several relatives of Hans van Soldt II who were buyers at other sales: Anthony Gommers, who married Van Soldt's niece Susanna Walraven; Abraham Verbeeck, married to another niece Francyntje van Soldt; Abraham Seeuwens, married to Van Soldt's sister Catrina; Willem Sweers, the son of Van Soldt's cousin Lenart Sweerts II; François de Schot II, also Van Soldt's cousin.
- 700 DTB 39/260.
- 701 Bikker, op. cit., pp. 289-290. Note that Johannes Wtenbogaert's father Augustijn had already been a buyer at Orphan Chamber auctions earlier in the century. On Johannes Wtenbogaert's collections, see also the article by Jaap van der Veen, "Liefhebbers, handelars en kunstenaars, Het verzamelen van schilderijen en papierkunst", appendix 2, in Amsterdam 1992, pp. 117-334 and appendix 2.
- 702 Strauss *et al.*, *The Rembrand Documents*, op. cit., p. 168.
- 703 A. Bredius, "Iets over Jan Jansz. Starter", op. cit., p. 54.
- 704 Jaap van der Veen, op.cit., pp. 333-4.
- 705 Elias, *Vroedschap*, op.cit., p. 669.
- 706 Alewijn's personal interest in collecting works on paper is manifest, and he was certainly not a professional trader. Still, it is hard to explain why he bought so many duplicate prints at the Gommer Spranger sale of 1638: 20 "small Christophers" (probably by Dürer), 12 dito, "12 small cooks" (*koocties*) (Dürer), 12 "dreamers" (*dromers*) (also probably by Dürer). These do not seem to be series. Did he keep them all or resell those he did not need for his collection?
- 707 Emanuel Sweerts is mentioned several times in Thomas DaCosta Kaufman's *The School of Prague; Painting at the Court of Rudolf II*, Chicago and London, 1988. The connection with Hans van Soldt II goes through Emanuel's brother Lenaert Sweerts I, who was first married to Anna Rombouts, the sister of Van Soldt's uncle by marriage, Hans Rombouts.
- 708 Joiners were frequently also framemakers, who were given to buying and reselling inexpensive paintings.
- 709 For the sake of completeness, I should mention the merchant and signer of the Remonstrant petition Pieter Outgersz. (one lot for 104.0 *f*) and the lumber dealer Claes Jansz. (one lot for 10.5 *f*). I was not able to identify Adriaen Mourisz. (1 lot for 37.5 *f*), Isbrandt (1 lot for 4.5 *f*) or Jan Cespeel (three lots for 111 *f*). The first two were relatively minor buyers, but Jan Cespeel must have been relatively wealthy to spend 111 *f* on art. He may of course have been a dealer, but I could find no trace of his activity in that domain.
- 710 Only one individual, a woman given the name Lobbetge, who was surely an *uitdraagster*, bought at the Van Maerlen sale: she acquired two lots for 36 *f*, which is high, though not unprecedented, as we saw in Chapter 5, for an *uitdraagster*. I already pointed out in chapter 14 that Johannes de Renialme bought a painting by Wtewael for 105 *f* and two small lots. He chiefly purchased jewelry.
- 711 NA 991, Not. Josef Steyn, film 1221.
- 712 Ibid., fol. 3.
- 713 Ibid. near fol. 3.
- 714 NA 992, notary Jan Bosch, film 4941.
- 715 A. Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op.cit., p. 1399. This act, which was passed before notary G. Borsseleer in Amsterdam, has not been located.
- 716 *De Navorscher* 84 (1935), p. 39.
- 717 Ibid. pp. 1396-1398.
- 718 NA 4514, film 5336. The inventory is summarized in Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op.cit., p. 1399.
- 719 I am grateful to Marten Jan Bok for this information.
- 720 A. Bredius, *Kunstler-inventare*, op.cit., pp. 2263-4.
- 721 Recall also the musical manuscript produced by Susanna van Soldt in 1599. This is our

- only evidence of the interest in music of the Van Soldt family, but it is hard to believe that Susanna's penchant for music was unique in the family.
- 722 De Renialme bought chiefly jewels at the sale.
- 723 This painting had been bought "for the sexton of the Oude Kerk".
- 724 DTB 412/139.
- 725 Inventories were often taken after the death of a spouse. Le Bleu's first wife Hester Verspreet had died about 1626, and Le Bleu remarried with Cornelia van Mesen on 16 November 1628 (DTB 433/186). But this was still seven years before the inventory of 1635 was taken, so it seems doubtful whether it was occasioned by his remarriage.
- 726 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kobier van den tweehonderdsten penning*, op. cit., fol. 208vo., p. 48.
- 727 See above, table 6.3.
- 728 There are virtually no reference points for the prices of Rembrandt's history paintings in the 1630s (other than the inordinately expensive series sold to the Stadhouder Frederick Hendrick). My guess is that a painter of Rembrandt's reputation at the time would have sold a painting of the size of "Balshazzar's Feast" in London's National Gallery for at least 400 *f*. Note, however, that if the "Mene, mene, tekel" was a copy, it might have cost as little as 15 *f*, the price at which a copy of "Samson" (perhaps the "Blinding of Samson" in Frankfort-am-Main or possibly "Samson Threatening His Father-in-Law" in Berlin) was appraised in the collection of the late Cornelis Rutgers in 1648 (Srauss *et. al.*, *The Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., p. 196.) As I mentioned earlier (note 217), a copy of "Samson Threatening His Father-in-Law" has recently surfaced in Israel. A price of 15 *f* would have been in line with Le Bleu's purchases at auction in the period 1611-1614 (see Appendix below).
- 729 *Nederlandsche Leeuw* 31 (1913), col. 67.
- 730 NA 592, Notary L. Lamberti, document dated 15 September 1628.
- 731 For details, see A. Bredius and N. de Roever, op.cit., pp. 1-23. Bredius and De Roever argued that the absence of Pieter Lastman and other members of Lastman's family on the occasion of Venant's betrothal was due to the difference in religion between the two families. François Venant senior signed a petition on behalf of the Remonstrants in 1611, and his son probably belonged to the same denomination (pp. 20-21). The Lastmans were Roman Catholic.
- 732 "Making a Mark in Rembrandt's Leiden" in Boston, 2000, p. 30.
- 733 Inventory of Abraham Marees de oude, NA 563A, 27 May 1632.
- 734 Strauss *et al.*, op.cit., p. 113.
- 735 Reiner Hausherr, "Zur Menetekel-Inschrift auf Rembrandts Belsazarbild", *Oud Holland* 78 (1963), p. 142. See also Michael Zell, *Reframing Rembrandt: Jews and the Christian Image in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass.) 1994, p. 205. This dissertation, which discusses the painting and the inscription in considerable detail, was published by California University Press in 2002.
- 736 Rembrandt's painting differs markedly from the drawing of "Belshazzar's Feast" by his teacher Pieter Lastman, which also omits the inscription on the wall (see cat. 37 of Tümpel and Schatborn in Amsterdam 1991, op. cit., pp. 170-1.)
- 737 *Biblia Sacra vulgatae editioni*, Ratisbonne, 1929, p. 843. Note that Jan Muller was Roman Catholic and would normally have used the Vulgate Bible for his source. The theme of "Belshazzar's Feast" was frequently represented in Amsterdam inventories in the first half of the 17th century. Some of these paintings clearly refer to the banquet scene. Others, however, refer only to "King Balthasar", who may be the magus who brought gifts to the Christ child. I believe, however, that these paintings are more likely to represent King Belshazzar than the magus, who is rarely shown by himself. Gary Schwartz, who claims that the subject was rare, points out that "a large painting of Balshazzar" was sold at auction from the estate of the painter Cornelis van der Voort in 1625 and thus "something of the kind was known in the Breestraat" (Schwartz, op. cit., p. 174).

- 738 See e.g. Biblia, *Dat is De gantsche heylige Schriftuere*, P(ieter) H(achius) (ed.), Leiden, 1594, fol. 308.
- 739 Hausherr, op.cit., pp. 145-149.
- 740 Zell, op. cit. p. 106.
- 741 Ibid. p. 114.
- 742 Based on this Calvinist interpretation, Hausherr argued that the painting had probably been commissioned by a Jew, but this inference is unwarranted. It is also undermined by an inaccurate pentimento that Rembrandt, who almost certainly did not know Hebrew, made in the inscription. This error would not have been countenanced by a Jewish patron (information kindly supplied by Paul Crenshaw).
- 743 Zell, op.cit. pp. 108-9.
- 744 On Caspar Barlaeus, see chapter 21 below.
- 745 Mr. S. Middelhoek of Arnhem, a distinguished genealogist, alerted me to this possibility. The connection is spelled out in detail in the article by E.A.A.M. van der Hoeven *et al.* “Bier en Water, De geschiedenis van een familie van der Hoeven die bier brouwde, de zeën bevoer, allerhand nering en ambacht beofende, fortuin vergaarde en fortuin verloor”, *Ons Voorgeslacht* 56 (2001), especially pp. 39 and 49.
- 746 Van der Hoeven, op. cit. p. 43. I cannot forbear to mention that notary Van der Ceel was the family notary of Vermeer’s father Reynier Jansz. Vos (aka Vermeer), whose inventory (containing several paintings) he drew up in 1623 (Montias, “New Documents on Vermeer and His Family”, *Oud Holland* 91 (1977), pp. 274-5). Maria Apers van der Hoeve and Van der Ceel, in their testament of 6 May 1633, cited in the text, left 100 *f* to Pieter Claesz. van Ruijven, the future patron of Vermeer (Van der Hoeven, op. cit., p. 42).
- 747 Van der Hoeven, p. 52. The dedication of the map refers to Dr. van der Hoeve as “the very eminent, very prudent, and very learned doctor, very famous among the inhabitants of Amsterdam”.
- 748 Ibid.
- 749 *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 62 (1975), p. 135.
- 750 Van der Hoeven, p. 52 and *Nederlandsche Leeuw* 35 (1917), col. 72.
- 751 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op. cit., p. 916. Several members of the Van Loon family lived very long lives. Three of them celebrated their golden wedding anniversary, including Hans van Loon and Anna Ruychaver (1647) and Nicolaes van Loon and Cornelia Hunthum (1706) (*Jaarboek Central Bureau voor Genealogie* 22 (1968), pp. 185-191). On the 50th anniversary of Hans van Loon’s marriage, see below note 762.
- 752 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van de honderdste penning*, op. cit., fol. 248vo., p. 57. The name, as it is printed, is Dr. van der Hauen, but it is corrected in the errata to Dr. van der Houen. The doctor was frequently called Van der Hoeven or Verhoeven, without benefit of first name.
- 753 In this discussion of the art purchases of Van der Hoeve, I am indebted to suggestions by Amy Golahny, who believes that Van der Hoeve’s taste in art may have been similar to Vondel’s.
- 754 J.F.M. Sterck, *Oorkonden*, op. cit., p. 328.
- 755 On the Vickevoort family, see also above p. 194.
- 756 The reluctance to refer to the Muiden circle at the present time seems to me to be excessively fastidious. Joachim Vickevoort, Joost van den Vondel, P.C. Hooft, Caspar van Baerle, Constantijn Huygens I, Anna and Maria Tesselschaade Roemer, Dr. Robbert van der Hoeve, and some other *gens de lettres* of the time entertained one another frequently. They belonged to an intellectual cluster, which may fittingly be called a “circle.”
- 757 The original text reads: “Jozefs verkoopingse schoot ons in den zin, door het tafereel van Ian Pinas, hangende neffens meer kunstige stukken van Peter Lastman, ten huise van den hooghgeleerden en ervaren dokter Robert Verhoeven, daer de bloedige rock den vader ver-toont wort: gelijk wij in ’t sluijten van dit werck, ten naesten bij, met woorden des schilders

verwen, teickeningen en harstochten, pooghden na te volgen“ (J.F.M. Sterck *et al.* *De werken van Vondel*, vol. 4, Amsterdam, 1930, p. 74). The words “*meer kunstige stukken*” may possibly be interpreted as “more artful pieces”, that is more artful than those of Pynas, but this reading is probably inaccurate. I was alerted to this passage from the dedication to *Jozef in Dothan* by Amy Golahny (see her article, “Peter Lastman in the Literature; from Immortality to Oblivion” in *Dutch Crossing* 20 (1996), p. 99).

758 Note that Jan Pynas’s painting was a *tafereel*, thus a wooden panel.

759 Vondel, of course, was especially sensitive to the plastic arts. The poems he wrote about individual works of art are very numerous. One may note in passing that Marten Kretser’s copy of Titian’s *Mary Magdalen* inspired him to write a poem on the saint for Magdalena van Erp, the wife of Justus Baeck, the son of his good friend Laurens Joosten Baeck.

760 Caspar van Baerle was only a distant relative of David van Baerle of Chapter 14.

761 J.A. Worp, “Caspar van Baerle, zijn verder verblijf in Amsterdam (1635-1644)” *Oud Holland* 6 (1888), p. 33.

762 Lijsbeth Reael was born in 1570. She was then only 69 (although a widow for thirty years) at the time of the invitation. There is no other “widow Arminius” who fits the bill.

763 The list of guests consists of familiar names, except for the English merchant Baldvinus Hamaeus who is unknown to me. The known buyers at Orphan Chamber auction among them are Van der Hoeve, Joachim Wickelfort (Vickevoort), Mostart, and Reael. All the guests, with the possible exception of Baldvinus, were Remonstrants or Remonstrant sympathizers. The guests who were in close contact with P.C. Hooft, and may properly be said to have been members of the Muiden circle were, beside Van Baerle himself, Vossius and Mostaert. Dr. van der Hoeven is not cited in any of the indexes to the three volumes of the correspondence of P.C. Hooft (*De briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft* (H.W. van Tricht, ed.), 3 vols., Culemborg, 1979).

764 “*Troost, Aen de droevige Gemeente, wegen het ontydige sterven van den Eerwaardigen, Wijzen, Diepgeleerden, en Voorzigtigen Robbert van der Hoeven, Welervaren Artz in de geneeskunst*” in *Afgeslagen Bloemsel van de Aemsterdamsche Lindebladen, Al wandelende in de Zomer opgelezen, zonder orden by een verzamelt, en in den Winter uitgegeven door den zelve, Amsterdam, 1641, p. 47. The poem reads: Wat treurt gy om de dood/Van hem, die ons in nood/Een helper plag te wezen ?/Ai ! treur niet, Hy’s by God;/En wekt ons door zyn lot:/Dat’s eerst het recht genezen./ A rough translation goes as follows: Why do you grieve for his death who used to be a helper in our need ? Oh, do not grieve. He is with God; and wakes us through his fate that the first law is to cure.*

765 Tengnagel was on friendly terms with at least one member of the Muiden circle, the secretary of the *Raad* of the city of Amsterdam, Daniel Mostart, to whom he dedicated “*Het leven van Konstance, waer afvolcht het tooneelspel, de Spaensche Heidin*”.

766 J. H. W. Unger, “Mattheus Gansneb Tengnagel”, *Oud Holland* 1 (1883), p. 197.

767 The complete list of the guests, each with his or her relation to Hans van Loon or Ruychaver, was recorded by Hans van Loon himself (*Nederlandsche Leeuw* 35 (1917), cols. 69-70).

768 Nelemans, F.A. “De penningen ter herinnering aan de viering van 11 bruiloften in de families van Loon en Graswinkel”, *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 22 (1968), p. 184. The article deals with three golden jubilees in the Van Loon family. Adrian van Loon was the grandson of Hans van Loon (the son of his son Nicolaes). See also, *De Navorscher* 27 (1877), p. 156.

769 It has been speculated, with little evidence to back it up, that he may have committed suicide (see the discussion in J.A. Worp, “Caspar van Baerle. Laatste levensjaren (1644-1648)” *Oud Holland* 7 (1889), pp. 101-101).

770 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op. cit., p. 148.

771 The poem is reproduced in Van der Hoeven, op. cit., pp. 54-56.

772 Strauss *et al.*, *Rembrandt Documents*, op. cit., pp. 255, 257, 442, 514.

- 773 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, “De familie van Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft” *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 35 (1981), p. 94.
- 774 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op. cit., pp. 594-5.
- 775 I might also add the virtually unknown poet Anthony van der Horst, who also has the distinction of being the only buyer of noble origin.
- 776 Schwartz, op. cit., p. 340. In a letter of 1619 that Edward Norgate wrote to the Royal Agent in Brussels, he stated that “first and slight drawings [are] things never sold but given to friends that are Leefhebbers” (cited in *Edward Norgate, 'Miniatura or the Art of Limning'*, New Haven and London, 1997, p. 5), as kindly communicated to me by Michael Zell.
- 777 Izak Prins, “Amsterdamsche schimpdichters vervolgd”, *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 30 (1933), p. 190. Until Prins’s article appeared, the anonymous pamphlet was attributed to Mattheus Gansneb Tengnagel. J.H.W. Unger, who analyzed the contents of the pamphlet in 1883 (and attributed its authorship to Tengnagel), supplied a more extensive summary of its contents than did Prins (op. cit., pp. 195-225). The pamphlet was dated 1640. A 1654 edition, published in Leiden, mentioned Tengnagel on the title page (“St. Nicolaas milde gaven ... van Tengnagel”) (Prins, op. cit., p. 223). But it seems to me that the interrogations of the police make clear that the pamphlet was not the work of Tengnagel.
- 778 Michiel Pauw, Heer van Achttienhoven en den Bosch, born in 1590 died on 20 March 1640. It is unlikely that the authors of the pamphlet would have lambasted him after his death. If this surmise is correct, the pamphlet must have been written before that last date. Pauw was sheriff (*schout*) in 1622. He was a rich merchant who was knighted by the Doge of Venice in 1623 (Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op. cit., p. 196).
- 779 On attorney Pieter Cloeck, see above p. 217.
- 780 The detailed proceedings of the interrogation were published in Prins, op. cit. pp. 208-219. They were transcribed from the *Confessie Boecken der Gevangenen* (fol. 144-150), the *Justitie Boecken* (fol. 74), and the *Confessie Boecken* (fol. 151-152) of the Rechterlijk Archief of the GAA.
- 781 Abraham Jansz. de Wees, who appears as “father Abraham” in some of the libels that were current at the time, was a well-known bookseller (and a buyer at Orphan Chamber auction). He was born in 1597 and was only 43 years old at this time.
- 782 Did he wish to conceal the fact that he had reached majority age (25) from the police?
- 783 Voet published his genealogy of the Brederode family in 1656. The title of Van den Broeck’s rhymed version was: “De Doorluchticheyt van Brederode uyt den grafelijck huysse van Hollandt”, published by Isaack de la Tombe in the year 1657. There is also an intriguing reference in a poem by Jan Soet, which appears to allude to another poem by Van den Broeck in praise of Amsterdam (Prins, op. cit. p. 202). This poem has not been identified.
- 784 According to Prins (op. cit. p. 209), he was a poet. In any case, it is not likely to have been Rembrandt van Rijn.
- 785 At a later point, it emerged that this “son of the house” was named “Van Someren, the son of Abraham Anthonisz.” (Prins, op. cit. p. 210). This cannot be correct. No Van Someren by the name of Abraham or Anthonis is known. Moreover, if this Abraham Anthonisz. is identical with the Remonstrant activist of Chapter 8, it is highly unlikely that he was related to the Van Someren family. Prins identifies him as the “formidable angler” Arnoud van Someren, who was a son of Barent van Someren, about whom Joan Six van Chandelier wrote a poem in 1657, but he glosses over the question of how he came to be called the “son of Abraham Anthonisz.” (op. cit. p. 192). In another part of the interrogation, summarized in the text, Van Someren and a certain Gerrit Anthonisz., who is never identified, make an appearance. Was this a brother of Abraham Anthonisz.? This sort of confusion is probably the result of the partial recording of the interrogations by a hard-pressed clerk that I referred to earlier.
- 786 At some point in the interrogation, Tengnagel said that he had bought a little vignette that

adorned the cover of one of his booklets at auction. This must have been the plate for it, since it could not otherwise have been reproduced. Did Van den Broeck buy the inexpensive plate by Dürer (probably a copy) and the plate incised on both sides for a similar purpose?

- 787 Prins, op. cit., p. 210.
- 788 Unger, op. cit., p. 222.
- 789 Prins, op. cit., p. 211.
- 790 “Eenen van Someren sijn rappier al hadde ghetrocken, heeft hij, die spreekt, om sich te defenderen ende meer om schricke te maecken als iemant te quetsen, sijn messe ghetrocken” (ibid. p. 216).
- 791 Prins, op. cit. p. 214.
- 792 “Wij hebben een vijf of ses weken om tijt verdrijf wat doende gheweest” (Prins, ibid.)
- 793 “Ick sie niet, dat hier in iets is dat de Heren toucheert, ’t sijn maer klugiens” (Prins, op. cit. p. 215).
- 794 For Valcksz.’s betrothal act, see DTB 454/78 (in the Church). Valcksz.’s stay in Livorno is documented in NA 421, Not. Jacob Jacobsz., film 6438.
- 795 DTB 1100a/54.
- 796 N. de Roever, “Jan Harmensz. Muller”, *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), p. 271. In the first subscription for V.O.C. shares in 1602, Jan Valcksz. de Jonge brought in 1,800 *f* for Cornelis Bas in Alkmaar and 3,000 *f* for Pieter Bas, a grain merchant (Van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister*, op. cit., pp. 184 and 205).
- 797 “Jacob Valcksz. hem geseyt heeft, dat Pieter van den Broeck oorsaeck van ’t werck was”.
- 798 Prins, op. cit., pp. 218-219.
- 799 The *Tuchthuis* was the penal institution where inmates were made to perform hard labor.
- 800 Another affair, this one involving religious and philosophical dissent, gave rise to a similar outcome. Toward the end of the 17th century, Johannes Duyckerius was most probably the author of a semi-fictitious autobiography, *Leven van Philopater*, which was suffused with Spinozan and Cartesian ideas. The Church Council (*Kerkeraad*) of the Reformed Church took away his job as *predikant*, but the civil authorities did not punish him, perhaps because of insufficient evidence or because he enjoyed protection from higher ups. However, the printer of the book, Aert Wolsgrin, was condemned to eight years in prison in the notorious *Rasphuis*, a 25-year ban from Amsterdam, and an extraordinary fine of 8,000 *f* (Herman Roodenburg, *Onder het censuur; De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam 1578-1700*, Hilversum, 1990, p. 201). In the case discussed in the text, the poet Tengenagel did receive some, but limited punishment.
- 801 Aeltje Verwou married the book seller Balthasar Crijnen van Dorst on 13 December 1636. By the time the playlet was written, Aeltje was a widow but apparently continued to operate Van Dorst’s book-selling business. Father Abram was Abraham de Wees, who has already been identified. Johannes Jacot was the publisher of Tengenagel’s “Frick in ’t veurhuys”. The *nieu-tijntje* is an ironic reference to Pieter van den Broeck’s appetite for Amsterdam gossip.
- 802 “Maer je moet on ierst beloven, dat j’er oock wat nuws zelt maken; want dat Sinter Klaes Boeckjen, dat je in druck liet gaen over twee jaer, Hoewel ’t eerlos was, stond me hier en der soo aen, dat me docht, dat het niet te verbetereren waer”.
- 803 “Dat ’loof ik wel, doen had ik mijn kameraed Jacob noch bij me, die loose Valle, En nou ben ik allien.”
- 804 “Al spuls genoeg, om een onnoozel mensch te bedriegen aen ien schallek, Je moet denken, dat je ook mier tijds heb, as je toen had ... en (je) maeckte Dat die onschuldigh was, door jou schult, in groote moeyte en diepe wangust raecte van sijn Overheyt”.
- 805 DTB 1227/237. It is not certain that the individual named Pieter van den Broeck who was buried on this date is identical with the author of the libel.
- 806 Elias, *Vroedschap ...*, op. cit., p. 318.

- 807 DTB 4/121.
- 808 It was not unusual in Amsterdam at this time for two brothers to have different surnames.
- 809 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op.cit., p. 449.
- 810 On Dr. Johannes Wtenbogaert, see above, p. 227.
- 811 Elias, op. cit., pp. 447-8.
- 812 The introduction to the death inventory of Garbrant Claesz. van Hooren and Trijn Pieters was discussed in chapter 1, p. 19.
- 813 Dudok van Heel, “De familie van Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft”, *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 35 (1981), pp. 75-76.
- 814 NA 20G, fol. 4.
- 815 Agge Jarichsz., merchant in Amsterdam, of Frisian origin, was frequently cited in freighting contracts and in other business documents in the last years of the 16th century (Winkelman, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Oostzeehandel*, R.G.P. 178 (1981), The Hague, pp. 57-8, 84, 64, and 177).
- 816 NA 20G, fol. 4.
- 817 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehonderdsten penning*, op. cit., fol. 79vo, p. 19.
- 818 DTB 407/369.
- 819 Kind communication of Dr. Astrid Tümpel.
- 820 DTB 409/382.
- 821 On Abraham Anthonisz., the militant Remonstrant cited many times in chapter 8, see the remarks in the text below.
- 822 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op.cit., p. 449.
- 823 Ibid., p. 450.
- 824 The entire inventory is transcribed in S.A.C. Dudok van Heel’s article, “De remonstrantse wereld van Rembrandts opdrachtgever Abraham Anthonisz. Recht,” *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 42 (1994), no. 4, pp. 343-4.
- 825 DTB 409/190.
- 826 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehonderdtsen penning*, op.cit., fol. 72, p. 17.
- 827 DTB 139/29.
- 828 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehonderdtsen penning*, op.cit., fol. 189, p. 43.
- 829 Two of the purchases of David van Baerle at the Paulus Bisschop auction will again be discussed in and chapter 24 because they cropped up in his 1671 death inventory.
- 830 Van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister ...*, op.cit., p. 259.
- 831 DTB 430/80.
- 832 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op. cit., p. 562.
- 833 DTB 1053/317.
- 834 DTB 409/435.
- 835 J. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse immigratie*, op. cit., p. 111. Briels supplied no evidence to show that Bisschop was an art dealer. Paulus Bisschop bought three paintings at the Gillis Coninxloo sale of 2 March 1607 for 33 *f*, 30 *f* 10 st. (referred to in the text), and 20 *f* and three paintings at the sale held at the request of the painter Valerius van der Hoeve on 29 October 1608 for 38 *f*, 8 *f*, and 3 *f*.
- 836 NA 2262A, Notary A. Lock.
- 837 “*In 1604 heeft hy (Vinckboons) onder handen twee stucken (geschildert) voor Ian van Coninxloo schilder, ’teen wesende een Predicatie Christi en ’t ander een boerenbruyloft vol uytenevende beeldekens als huysen, schepen, en lantschap wel gheordineert*” (*Schilderboeck*, 1618, fol. 212vo). I think it is reasonable to assume that the “*schepen*” Van Mander mentions refer to the Predication of Christ rather than to the Peasant Wedding.
- 838 GAA, NA 53, fol. 444, cited in J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders ...*, op. cit., 1997, p. 317.
- 839 The paintings in the 1671 collection, as far as we can tell from the attributed works that it con-

tained, seem to have been acquired early in the life of David Baerle: several landscapes by Coninxloo, including one of the “Finding of Moses”, estimated *f* 60; a portrait of Carel de Bourbon by Holbein, estimated *f* 315; a *kaersnacht* by Wtewael, estimated *f* 400; a perspective of the Church of St. Mary in Utrecht by Saenredam, estimated *f* 100; a *cunstaboeck* (probably drawings) by Goltzius, estimated *f* 75; a piece of illumination by Holbein, estimated *f* 100. Some of the Coninxloo paintings may have been inherited from Jan van Baerle II (who died before 1646). But, again, the descriptions are too summary to identify any of them.

- 840 DTB 453/284.
- 841 Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven*, 144 (1974), op. cit., The Hague, pp. 251 and 474. The famous engineer and inventor Jan Adriaensz. Leegwater had been employed by Jan van Baerle II in the exploitation of this invention.
- 842 J. Briels, *De zuidnederlandse immigratie* op. cit., p.197.
- 843 DTB 130/55.
- 844 Jacomina van Baerle was the godmother of Constantijn’s son Christiaen, born on 14 April 1629. Two of his children spent some months as guests of Samuel Becquer in Arnhem in 1635 (*Oud Holland* 31 (1913), pp. 213, 216.)
- 845 DTB 414/35.
- 846 WK 5073/789.
- 847 139/4F 1008 (boxes in the Studiezaal of the Gemeentearchief Amsterdam).
- 848 DTB 414/221.
- 849 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehonderdsten penning*, op.cit., fol. 12, p. 4.
- 850 WK 5073/789.
- 851 Van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister...*, op, cit., p. 149.
- 852 Bredius, *Küenstler-inventare*, p. 178.
- 853 Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis...*, 78 (1933), op. cit., p. 488.
- 854 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehonderdsten penning*, op.cit., fol. 253, p. 58.
- 855 DTB 442/318.
- 856 DTB 5073/789.
- 857 Information on Elisabeth and Hubert Nason may be found in Jennifer Kilian’s Ph.D. dissertation on Carel du Jardin.
- 858 NA 381, film 6413.
- 859 1071/1 F 784 of lottery files in the Studiezaal of the GAA.
- 860 DTB 4/237.
- 861 DTB 416/147.
- 862 DTB 411/35.
- 863 WK 5073/789.
- 864 DTB 426/124.
- 865 WK 5073/913.
- 866 Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier van de tweehonderdsten penning*, fol. 213vo., p. 49.
- 867 DTB 1090/54.
- 868 WK 5073/789.
- 869 On the Lucas van Uffelen sale, see above, pp. 28-9.
- 870 DTB 138/54.
- 871 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders...*, op.cit. p. 385.
- 872 Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven*, 78 (1933), op. cit. p. 312.
- 873 WK 5073/913.
- 874 WK 5073/789m fol. 160vo.
- 875 Frederiks and Frederiks, op. cit., fol. 99 vo, p. 24.
- 876 Hilde van Wijngaarden, “Barber Jacobs en andere uitdraagsters; Werkende vrouwen in Amsterdam in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw”, Doctoraal scriptie, Amsterdam, 1994.

- 877 WK 5073/789.
- 878 It is not known whether Barent Jansz. van Lombert is identical with Barend Jansz. (Porceleijn), porcelain dealer, who was a very frequent buyer at Orphan Chamber auctions.
- 879 WK 5073/789 of 1 November 1639.
- 880 Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, “Twee olieverfschetsen van Guilliam de Gardijn, een toeschrijving met verrassende gevolgen”, pamphlet, Alkmaar, 1995 and Amsterdam, 2001, pp. 74-76.
- 881 *Oud Holland* 8 (1890), p. 234.
- 882 DTB 452/265.
- 883 Roodenburg, op. cit. pp. 158-9. The case of Du Gardijn was discussed several times by the *Kerkeraad*: three times in 1641, five times in 1642, and once in 1646.
- 884 “*Om dese vrouw te becomen*”.
- 885 “*leugenaers ende schelmen*”.
- 886 For the example of the parents of Catharina Bolnes, the wife of Johannes Vermeer, see my *Vermeer and His Milieu*, op. cit. chapter 7.
- 887 Roodenburg, op. cit., p. 272.
- 888 Elias, *Vroedschap van Amsterdam*, op.cit., pp. 118-9.
- 889 DTB 1054/10vo.
- 890 Buying a lot at auction so soon after the death of one’s child may be illustrative of the callous behavior toward children in the early modern period that Philippe Ariès described in his book, *Centuries of Childhood* (tr. Robert Baldwick), London, 1992. .
- 891 I could find no information about Hans Dircksz. Can, but I surmise that he was Roman Catholic, as were other members of the extensive Can (Kaan) family.
- 892 NA 695B, film 4820.
- 893 NA 635B, film 4982, dated 15 December 1637.
- 894 Roodenburg, op. cit., pp. 327-8. The word “amateur” (in Dutch, “*liefhebber*”) is the same one applied to art lovers.
- 895 For an exception, see the letter of Caspar van Baerle to Jacob Petitijs cited in Chapter 23.
- 896 Beck, op. cit. The individual cited in the diary whose collection was sold at auction by the Orphan Chamber was Jan van Ganssepoel, who owned many important paintings. On 28 September 1624, Beck attended the funeral of Jan Gabry, whom he had known in Cologne in his younger days. He lingered there, “talking to various art-loving people, among whom was Sr. Jan Ganssepoel, and left fairly drunk from there” (“*Daer ick al wat langer bleef, opgehouden van de Constlievende, onder ander van Sr. Jan van Ganssepoel van Amsterdam, ende quammer al redelijck beschonken van daer*” (p. 177). Beck was friends with the engraver Chrispian van de Queeborn, who was married to Anneke Gabry, the daughter of the late Jan Gabry.
- 897 In 1601 and 1602, Hans Thijsz. I (of Chapter 13) sent first his son François then another son Anthonie to school with Anthony Smijters, with whom they both boarded (Gelderblom, op. cit. p. 198). Anthony Smijters was the uncle of Samuel Smijters, cited repeatedly in Chapter 21.
- 898 “*terwijle Paren naer huijs ging om de tafel te verzorgen.*”
- 899 Beck, op. cit., p. 226. Johannes Bartjens and Catharina Zachariasdr. had only been married five months (on 3 March 1624).

List of illustration

- p. 128 Daniel Thivaert, “The Laborer of Gibea Offering Hospitality to the Levite”, Canvas, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
- p. 148 Louis Finson, “The Massacre of the Innocents”, Canvas, Eglise Saint-Begge
- p. 159 Pieter Paul Rubens, “Judith and Holofernes”, Panel, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
- p. 165 Rembrandt van Rijn, “Portrait of Petrus Sylvus”, Etching, Amsterdam, The Rembrandthuis
- p. 168 Jonas Suyderhoef, after Rembrandt, Portrait of Eleazer Swalmius, Etching, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- p. 173 Albrecht Dürer, “The Offer of Love” (De tasvloyer), Engraving
- p. 197 Jacobus van Soldt, “Italianate Landscape”, Copper, Formerly The Hague, Kunsthandel Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder
- p. 205 Rembrandt van Rijn, “Belshazzar Sees the Writing on the Wall”, Canvas, London, National Gallery
- p. 210 Michiel van Mierevelt, “Portrait of Robbert van der Hoeve”, Amsterdam, Jan Six Collection
- p. 211 Michiel van Mierevelt, “Portrait of Elisabeth van der Wolff”, Amsterdam, Jan Six Collection
- p. 215 Jan Pynas, “Jacob Seeing Joseph’s Bloodied Coat”, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
- p. 228 Pieter Lastman, “David and Uriah”, Panel, The Hague, Het Mauritshuis. (Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen)
- p. 229 Pieter Lastman, “King David Handing the Letter to Uriah”, Panel, Detroit, Museum of Fine Arts. (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John N. Lord)
- p. 236 David Vinckboons, “Christ Preaching on the Edge of the Sea”, Panel, Sweden, Private Collection

Index

- Aachen 63
Aachen, Hans van (painter) 144, 149, n.482
Aalmoezeniersweeshuis 237
Abba, Cornelis (brewer) 61
Abigael (*uitdraagster*) 230, n.116
Abrahams, Maria 22, n.49
“Accessories” n.96
Achtthienhoven, lord of 220
Acker, Geurt ten (silversmith) 64
Ackersloot, Andries Auwelsz. (merchant, regent)
180-2, 184, n.648, n.664, n.668
Ackersloot, Aris Laurensz. (silversmith) n.648
Ackersloot, Auwel (burgomaster) 182 n.648
Acronius, Ruardus (*predikant*) 166
Adam-Zeus, J.B. n.485
Adams, Anne Jensen n.168
Admiraal, Jan Hendricksz. (merchant, tulip
grower) 59, 62, 73-6, 118-9, n.200
Admiralty, *proefmeesters* of n.657
Adriaens, Griet n.115
Adriaensz., Barent (Hartogvelt) (printer,
bookseller) 239, n.117
Adriaensz., Jan (sale) n.103
Adriaentge (*uitdraagster*) n.115
Aelst, Pieter Willemsz. van n.401
Aert, Lange (painter), see Artsen, Jan
Aertsen, Pieter (Lange Pier) (painter)
paintings by 75, 91, 95, 116, 237
Aertsz., Cornelis (lumber dealer) 61, 92
Aertsz., Hendrick (apprentice-painter) n.118
Agges, Beyken 133
Alabaster slabs 34
Alberts, Griet n.46, n.115
Albertsz., Jan (printmaker) n.117
Aldegraver, Heinrich (painter, engraver) 75, 99,
n.94
Alewijn (Halewijn), Abraham (cloth merchant,
regent) 174-5, 177-9, 195, 202
Alewijn (Halewijn), Marten 135
Alien and Seditious Act 220
Alkmaar 66, 198, n.796
City Museum of n.880
Amsterdam,
art markets in 105, 129, 151, 237
artists based in 140
burials in n.23
competition by out-of-town dealers 120, 126
council (*raad, vroedschap*) of 16, 77-80,
221, 226-7
immigration to 12, 63-4, 72, 115-6, 119,
126, 236
militia 218
neighborhoods in 65, 108, 213, n.149,
n.167
police of 220-4
population of 11-2, 17, n.132
rule by co-optation 220
size of art market in 29-30, n.87
social network of 127
social prominence 226
subscribers to V.O.C. shares in 65-6
stock market (*beurs*) of 11
Town Hall 125-6, n.301
Anabaptists 80, n.149, n.601, see also
Mennonites
Andenne 147
Andrade, Diego d’ n.332
Andries (illuminator) n.117
Andries, Mary (*uitdraagster*) 24, n.115
Andries, Meynsgen (*uitdraagster*) 240
Andriessen, Adriaen (merchant) n.176
Anglo-Dutch wars 104-5, 137, 140, 151
Anslo, Reyer (poet) 217
Ansloo, Cornelis Claesz. van (Mennonite leader)
230
Ansloo, Jan Claesz. van (cloth merchant) 230
Anthonis, Maria 78
Anthonisz., Abraham (Recht) (dealer in fats,
broker) 61-2, 77-8, 80-1, 84, 196, 230, 232,
n.26, n.222, n.785, n.821
Anthonisz., Abraham, son of 222, 224, n.785
Anthonisz., Aert (painter) n.117
Anthonisz., Gerrit 222, n.785
Anthonisz., Steven (painter) n.117
Antwerp 98, 105, 153, 157-8, 188-90
auctions in 31
art dealers in 27, 126, n.84, n.388
origin in 31, 58, 63, 70, 108, 115, 119, 129,
134, 153, 172, 188, 191, 235-6, 239,
n.163, n.324
painting sent to Amsterdam from 158, n.537
representations of 103, 235

- Appels, Lysge (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Apperloo, Anna n.324
- Apprentices (painters')
- Archangelsk 133
- Arents, Maritge n.111
- Arentsz., Gerrit (sculptor) n.118
- Ariaens, Pietertge(n) (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Ariès, Philippe n.890
- Arminius, Daniel (doctor in medicine) 62, 78
- Arminius, Gertruyd 216
- Arminius, Jacob (*predikant*, theologian) 77-8, 166, 216
- Arnhem 237, n.844
- Arras, Mary d' (*uitdraagster*) 39, n.116
- Art dealers
 - arbitrage by 114
 - auction sales at request of 39
 - capital needs of 124-6, 140, 151
 - coordinating activities of n.301, n.365
 - number of buyers among 43-4
 - "putting out" system of 127
 - role in art market 30
 - supply-augmenting 114-5, 121, 125, 127, n.461
- "Artificialia" n.96
- Artsen, Jan ("Lange Jan") (painter) 39, n.117
- As, Claes van n.153
- As, Daniel van (pastry cook) n.153
- Ast, Balthasar van der (painter) 129
- Ast, Johannes van der
- Athenaeum. See Illustre School
- Attorneys
- Attributions 93-9
 - To Dutch and South Netherlandish masters 96, 109
 - to living artists 96-7
 - to Old Masters 96, n.272
- Auckema, Anthony (broker) 62
- Auction sales,
 - Antwerp, in 31
 - ethicality of 12
 - executive (bankruptcy sales) 28
 - held by Admiralty
 - held by Desolate Boedelskamer
 - held by Orphan Chamber 189
 - accessories (frames, paints, etc.) in alabaster slabs in
 - attributions in 93-99, n.12
 - cash sales 12, 195, n.54, n.86, n.90
 - catalogues 23
 - charges by Orphan Chamber 23, 117, 139
 - collusion in 23, 25
 - cost of room where held 117, n.67, n.320
 - credit to buyers 22-3, n.40, n.54, n.83, n.91
 - drawings in 33-4
 - Dutch-type (*bij afslag*) 21, 25, n.45-6
 - early 16th century records 15, 27, n.72
 - English-type (*bij opslag*) 21-2, 25, n.45-6
 - estates, works of art in and total value of 35-7
 - family portraits in n.143
 - flowers and bulbs n.43, n.187
 - gaps in the record of 27-29
 - guarantees given by buyers 23-4
 - held in "*de Drie Hammetjes*"
 - how conducted 20-3
 - incompleteness of 18-9, 36, 191, 196, n.101, n.103, n.143
 - leather, of n.187
 - lots "bought in" or withdrawn n.35, n.38
 - maps in 34
 - "*mijnen*" in 21-22, n.45
 - minimum prices set for 21
 - number of bidders n.65
 - number of lots per sale n.96
 - number of objects per sale 32
 - number of sales 12, 30, n.90
 - Notebooks of 27-30
 - owners of goods sold 39-40, n.88
 - paintings in 33-4
 - "porcelain" 22, 121-2, 158, n.187, n.353
 - prices of art works sold 30-1, 35-6
 - prints in 33-4
 - proceeds of 31-2
 - "puffing up prices" in
 - purchases by *boden* 195
 - purchases by family members 162, 192
 - records of 12, 15, 27-9, 30-31
 - "rings" in
 - setting up (*opleggen*) of 23, n.52
 - share in Amsterdam's art market 29-30, 106-7, n.98
 - share of art in total value of sale 37-8
 - specialized art
 - spices 22
 - statues in 33-4
 - "*tot wiens versoeck*" lots 20, n.30
 - tulips 71, n.43, n.191
 - voluntary 15, 20, 27, 35, 38-9
 - held by V.O.C. 15
 - porcelain 22-3, 158, n.535
 - held by W.I.C. 15
 - held in contravention of guild rules n.332
 - other auctions 15, 29, n.14, n.46
 - of engraved plates n.46
 - of tulips
- Auxbrebis, Daniel (merchant) n.177
- Auwelsz., Andries (Ackersloot) n.648

- Avercamp, Hendrick (“*de stom*”) (painter) 98,
120, 202, n.117
- Axell, Johanna van 238
- Bacher, Andries (Andreas) (doctor in medicine)
153-55, 159, n.506, n.508, n.510
- Bacher, Elisabeth (de) 160
- Bacher, Hedwig 155
- Bacher, Hedwig 155
- Backer, Adriaen (painter) 59
- Backer, Jacques de (painter) 181, 183
- Backer, Jacob Adriaensz. (painter) 59, 123, 132,
241
- Backhouse, Roland (senator in England) n.406
- Badens, Francisco (painter) 181, 239, n.117
- Baeck, Joost (Justus) 213, n.759
- Baeck, Laurens Joosten (merchant) 81, 213,
n.245, n.759
- Baerle (Barlaeus), Casper van (theologian, poet)
70, 207, 212, 214-6, 218, 245, n.744, n.756,
n.760, n.895
- Baerle, David van (merchant) 53, 103-5, 193,
234-5, 241, n.760, n.829, n.839
- Baerle, Jacomina van 237, n.844
- Baerle, Jan (Hans) van (I) (merchant) 53, 234-5
- Baerle, Jan (II) van (merchant) 31, 62, 234-6, 241,
n.152, n.839, n.841
- Baerle, Petronella van 234
- Baerle, Susanna van 234
- Bakers (bread, pastry) 48
- Baldinucci, Filippo (art historian) 121, 123,
n.349
- Balen, Hendrick van (I) (painter) 194, 202
- Bambeek, Nicolaes van (merchant) 124-5, n.375
- Banck, Adriaen (Arijen) (canvas dealer) 167, 169,
n.585, n.598
- Banck, Cornelis 167
- Banck, Joris Aertsz. 167
- Banck, Maria (Maertje) Joris 169, n.598
- Bandinelli (draughtsman, sculptor) 194
- Bankruptcy Chamber. See Desolate Boedelskamer
- Bankruptcies, effect on art market, n.293
- Barbados, islands 182-3
- Barbour, Violet n.3, n.6
- Barckman, Symon (merchant) 183
- Barendsz., Dirck (painter) 94-5, 98, 181, 183
- Barents, Grietge (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Barents, Tryn (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Barents, Tryntje (wife of Abraham de Goyer)
n.193, n.194
- Barentsz., Christoffel 62
- Barlaeus, Caspar. See Baerle, Caspar vn
- Barndesteech (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Barnart, Anthony (apprentice-painter?) n.117
- Bartjens, Johannes (school-teacher) 245, n.899
- Bartolotti, Guillian (I) 135
- Bartolotti, Margriete 130, n.151
- Bartolotti, family 60, 128
- Bas, Agatha n.375
- Bas, Cornelis n.796
- Bas, Dirck (burgomaster) 81, 221(?)
- Bas, Nicolaes
sale 94, 105
- Bas, Pieter (grain merchant) n.796
- Basse, Jan (I) (painter) 44, 239
buyer at auction 31,161-2, 239
sale 24-5, 28, 32, 94, 109, 118, 123, 164,
171, 175-6, 180, 194, 213-4, 225, 219,
239, 243, n.94, n.273
- Basse, Jan (II) n.56
- Basse, Guillaume (Willem) (painter) 79 n.56
- Bassen, Werner van (merchant, regent) 220
- Bastiaensz., Gysbertus (*predikant*) n.572
- Batavia 572
- Battem, Gerrit van (painter) 26, n.42
- Baudoes, Louis de (silversmith) 54, n.151
- Baudoes, Robbert (de) (printmaker) n.117, n.150,
n.151
- Bave, Denijs (merchant) 31, 53
- Beck, David (school teacher, diary writer) 245,
n.249, n.896, n.899
- Becker, Herman (merchant, money-lender) 137,
140, 151, n.443, n.458, n.463
- Becquer, Everhard (merchant, director of V.O.C
chamber) 234, 237
- Becquer, Samuel (merchant, director of V.O.C
chamber) 235, 237, n.844
- Beeck, Jacob van 61
- Beer distributors (*bierbeschoijers*) 46-7
- Beham, Sebald (printmaker) 75-6, 99, 181
- Belgium 147
- Belle, Dirck (goldsmith) 54
- Belle, Jan van (ivory carver) 48
- Belten, Pieter (I) 62, 122, 160, n.176, n.245,
n.355
- Belten, Pieter (II) 122, 124, 160, n.549, n.551
- Belten(s), Magdalena 122, 153, 157, 160 n.549
- Benning, Griete n.152
- Benning, Willem (notary) n.151, n.152
- Benningh, Jan (bookbinder) n.118
- Berch, Jacob van den (grain merchant) 230, 232
- Berck, Dorothea 134
- Berg, Alexander van der (merchant) n.176
- Bergen (Hainaut) 236
- Bergen (Norway) 144, 230, n.235
- Bergen-op-Zoom 149
- Berghe, E.H. van den n.15, n.42, n.82
- Bernart, Jacques (merchant) n.92
- Bert, Guillian (merchant) 31
- Berwijns, Sara (sale) 103, 105

- Bessels, Adam (merchant) n.151, n.152
 Betsen, Cornelis (theater director) 48
 Beuckelaer, Joachim (painter) 191, n.452
 Beulings, Saer (*uitdraagster*) n.116
 Beuningen, Daniel Jansz. van (*bode* of Orphan Chamber) 17, 21-2, 25, 172, 195, 202, n.101, n.135
 Beuningen, Geurt Dircksz. (merchant, regent) 53, 80-1
 Beuningen, Jan Dircksz. van (*bode* of Orphan Chamber) 17, 84, n.24
 Beverovicus, Johannes (theologian) 207
 Bevers (cited in libel) 220
 Beyeren, Leendert Cornelisz. van (apprentice-painter) 24, 61, 92, 177, n.118, n.631
 Bèze, Théodore de (theologian) 172
 Bible, Calvinist 206
 Vulgate 206
 Bicker, Andries Gerritsz. (regent) 80-1, 86, 221(?)
 Bicker, Cornelis (merchant, director W.I.C., regent) 6, 86, 194, 202
 Bicker's Island 181
 Bids, made for other ultimate buyers 24
 Bie, Jacques de 155
 Biesboer, Pieter n.425, n.444, n.648
 Bikker, Jonathan n.435, n.551, n.701
 Bisschop, Arend 78
 Bisschop, Jan Egbertsz. 78
 Bisschop, Paulus (merchant, art dealer) 103, 105, 234, n.115, n.176, n.835
 sale 94, 109, 133, 235-242, n.123, n.288, n.829
 Bisschop, Rem Egbertsz. 77-80
 Bisschop, Daniel de (merchant) n.94, 102-3
 Bisschop, Jan Philipsz. de (merchant) 53, 161, 163, n.556
 Biscops (Bisschops), Cathalyn(tge) 36, 239
 Bitter, Pieter de (aid of Orphan Chamber) n. 26
 Blaeuw, Cornelis (cartographer) 212
 Blaeuw, Johannes (cartographer) 212
 Blaeuw, Willem Jansz. (cartographer, book dealer) 80, n.117, n.534
 Blanche, Toussain (insurer) 58
 Blankert, Albert n.600
 Bleu, Jacobus le (student in medicine) 204
 Bleu, Jean le 113, 204-5, 207, n.188, n.725, n.728
 Block, Gerrit Jansz. (*bode* of the Orphan Chamber)
 Blocke, Cornelis van der (sculptor) 54
 sale 36, 94, n.117
 Block(e), Gedeon van den (sculptor) n.118
 Blocklandt, Anthonie (Montfort) de (painter) 237
 Bloemaert, Abraham (painter) 102, 161, 200(?), n.200-1
 Bloemaert, Samuel (merchant) n.151, n.152
 Bloemstraet, inhabitants of 68-9
 Blon, Mich(i)el le (art dealer) 115, n.115, n.150, n.178
 Blyenbergh, Margareta van 193
 Bock, Gerrit Jansz. (*bode* of Orphan Chamber) 24
Boden (of Orphan Chamber) 17-18, 23-24, 84, 195, n.58, n.91, n.142
Boden (envoys for different cities) 46, 49, 158-9
 Bodens, Gillis 161
 Boel, Augustijn 153, n.508
 Boel, Catharina 153, 155
 Boel, Paulus n.508
 Boelensz., Hendrick (de jonge) (attorney) 237-8, n.177
 Boelensz., Hendrick Dircksz. (merchant) 238
 Boer, Lysge de (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Boer, Pieter de 235
 Bogaert, Adriaen Geurtsz. van den (painter) n.118, n.152, n.157
 Bogaert, Jan Geurtsz. van den (merchant) n.152, n.157
 Bogaert, Lambrecht van den (poet) n.150, n.178
 Bogaerts, Elisabeth 238
 Boissens, Cornelis (painter) 62, n.117, n.159
 Bok, Marten Jan 158, n.12, n.132, n.138, n.139, n.249, n.264, n.272, n.293, n.391, n.399, n.471, n.520, n.617, n.625, n.719
 Bol, Ferdinand (painter) 169
 Bol, Hans (painter) 98
 Bol, Pieter (painter) n.117
 Boll, Maria 167
 Bolnes, Catharina n.886
 Bologna, Giovanni da (sculptor) 209
 Bont, Bartolomeus n.295
 Bontemantel, Hans Barentsz. (merchant) 62, 221-2
 Bontemantel, Lambert 222
 Bontepaert, Dirck Pietersz. (painter) n.118
 Boonhoff, Anthonie (jeweler)
 sale 36, 56, 116, 189
 Booksellers 43-45
 Bordone, Paris (painter) 194
 Bos, Arent Dircksz. van den (grain merchant) 195, 202
 Bos, Lambert van den (poet) 73, 218
 Bosch, Hans van den (faiencier) 48
 Bosch, Hieronimus (painter) 92, 237
 Bosch, Pieter van den (painter) 137, n.307, n.461
 Boshuis (of V.O.C.) 22
 Bosschaert, Ambrosius (painter) (I) 129, 141, 149, 239
 Bosschaert (Bosschert), Anna 161-2
 Bosschaert, Dominicus 162
 Bosschaert, Margriete 162

- Bosschaert, Paulus Woutersz. (pastry baker) 162
 Bosmans, Margeretha n.296
 Both, Jan (painter) 202
 Boudewijnsz., Frans (Franchois) II (merchant) 31
 Bourgeois, Constant (glovesmaker) 129
 Bourguignon (Borgenon), François (painter) n.388
 Bouwens, Guiliam (art dealer) n.116
 Bouwer, Melchior (town secretary of Amsterdam) 62
 Brandenburg, Friedrich, Grand Elector of 126, 137, n.389, n.461
 Brandis, Gillis 131
 Brandt, Gerrit (I) (clock-maker) 48
 Brandt, Gerrit (II) (historian) 48, 217, n.222, n.244
 Brazil 135
 Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ubrich Museum 158, n.599
 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel., Anton-Ulrich, Duke of 159, n.506
 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius von, Duke 153, 159, n.543
 Breda 188
 Breda, Judith van n.566
 Bredero, Garbrand Adriaensz. (apprentice-painter, poet) 218, n.117, n.177
 Brederode family n.783
 Bredius, Abraham 131, 153, 198, n.12, n.85, n.239, n.300, n.334, n.343, n.344, n.346, n.358, n.361, n.378, n.388, n.390, n.398, n.413, n.417, n.421, n.461, n.472, n.475, n.476, n.477, n.483, n.484, n.485, n.489, n.495, n.496, n.507, n.697, n.703, n.715, n.718, n.731, n.852
 Breen, Adriaen van (silversmith) 193, 201
 Bremde, Daniel van den (painter) n.117
 Bremen 64, 236
 Breugel, Albert van (book keeper W.I.C.) 135
 Breugel, Cornelis van 73
 Breusegem, Pieter van 237-8
 Briels, Jan 127, 234, n.12, n.184, n.269, n.308, n.310, n.311, n.313, n.316, n.394, n.488, n.835, n.838, n.842
 Brodijn, Hans (diamond cutter) 47
 Broeck, Andries van den (sugar refiner) n.152
 Broeck, Crispiaan van den (painter) 116
 Broeck, Gregorius (Gregorio) van den (merchant) 31, 180, 221
 Broeck, Marten van den (merchant) 61-2, 140, 180-5, 221, n.156, n.420, n.637-8, n.644, n.651, n.656, n.658, n.676
 Broeck, Pieter van den (amateur poet) 221-225, 243, n.110, n.783, n.786, n.805
 Broen, Hendrick n.176
 Broens, Adriaenken 144
 Brokers (*maeckelaers*) 48
 Broos, Ben n.559, n.612
 Brouwer, Adriaen (painter) 99, 119
 Brown, Christopher n.542
 Bruegel, Jan (I) (painter) 101, n.290
 Bruegel, Pieter (I) (painter) 31, 91-2
 Bruegel, "young" 31
 Bruggen, Hendrick ter (painter) 120, 142, 181
 Brughman, Arent Pietersz. (merchant) n.179
 Bruijn, Abraham de (merchant) 58, 76, 115
 Bruijn, Anthonijs (doctor in medicine) 62
 Bruijn, C.M. de 171, n.609
 Bruijn, Cornelis de (merchant) 58, 76, 115
 Bruijn, Pieter Evertsz. (apprentice-painter?) n.117
 Bruijnsz., Anthony, dr. (doctor in medicine) 84
 Bruissen, Magdaleen (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Bruggen, Hendrick ter (painter)
 Brunswyck, Duke of 153, 155, 159
 Brussels 72, 145, 147, 149, 157, n.482
 Bruyn, Josua n.560
 Buchell(ius), Arnold van (diary writer) 158, 209
 Bucq (Buck), Gerrit de (painter) 119, n.117
 Bultel, Hans (merchant) 60
 Bultel, Maria 60
 Bundel, Willem van den (painter) 61, 189, n.117
 Burck, Emanuel (innkeeper) n.674
 Buren, Reynier van (I) (wine dealer) 56
 Burgh, Albert Coenraadsz. (regent) 81, 84, 86
 Buyers (auction sales),
 age at marriage of 42-43, n.113
 attitude toward risk 73, 76, 108
 age distribution of 42-3, n.113, n.114
 frequency of purchases at auction 30, 45
 from out of town n.83
 geographic origin of 31-2, 51, 60, 62-4, 92, n.162, n.163, n.165
 identification of 41, n.106, n.111
 members of militia companies 65
 men and women n.111
 occupation of 43-51, n.134
 out-of-town 24
 related to each other 57-60
 taxes paid by 55-6, 117
 transportation workers 50
 wealth of 52-76
 year of death of 42
 Buytewech, Willem 75, 119, n.146
 Bylert, Willem van (painter) 75, 119
 Calaber, Jacob (gold-thread drawer) 48
 Calais
 Calandrini, Jan 155
 Calandrini, Philips 237

- Callot, Jacques (printmaker) 99
 Calvinists. See Counter-Remonstrants, Reformed (Calvinist)
 Camerarius, Adam (painter) 139
 Campen, Cornelis van (merchant) 56, n.177
 Campen (cited in libel) 221
 Camphuysen, Dirck (Didericus) Raphaelsz. (*predikant*, poet) 80, n.148, n.237, n.251
 Camphuysen, Dirck (painter) n.251
 Camphuysen, Govert Dircksz. n.251
 Camphuysen, Raphael (painter) n.251
 Can, Hans Dircksz. 244, n.891
 Can family n.891
 Canvas (for painting) 156, n.524, n.585
 Capelle, Clara van der n.249
 Capelle, Rochus Pietersz. van der 59
 Caravaggio, Michael Angelo 27
 Carel, Jan Jansz. (I) 53
 Carel, Jan Jansz. (II) (owner of glass factory) 124
 Carleton, Sir Dudley 155, 158
 Carpentier, Jacques (printer) 54, n.118
 Carracci, Annibale (painter) 160
 Cashiers' deposits 66-7
 Cassel, Gemäldegalerie 126
 Castanho, Gabriel (merchant) n.644
 Casteleijn, Abraham (merchant) 71
 Casteleijn, Isaack 71
 Castiglione, Baldassare (courtier) 15, 22, 28
 Cats, Jacob (poet, regent) 58, 70, 134-5
 Ceel, Herman van der (notary) 209
 Certificate of authenticity 149
 Cespeel, Jan 202, n.295, n.709
 Chandelier, Joan Six van (poet) n.785
 Charles, Laurens (merchant) 31, 161-2, 237-8,
 Christian IV (of Denmark) 120, 144-7, n.368, n.480
 Christoffelsz., David (sculptor) n.118
 Claes, Brechge 227, 233
 Claes, Jeltge 227-9, 232
 Claes, Lutge 227
 Claessen, Wybrant (ebony worker) 124-5, n.376
 Claesz., Pieter (painter) 75
 Cleef, Hans van (painter) 31
 Cleve, Cornelis van (Sotte Cleef) (painter) 181, 183
 Cloeck, Allart (captain of militia company) 65
 Cloeck, Cornelis (attorney) 217-8
 Cloeck, Pieter Jansz. (attorney) 61, 217, 220, n.779
 Cloppenburg, Jan Evertsz. (bookseller) 59, n.117
 Clutius, Augerius (Cluyt, Outger), Dr. (doctor in medicine) 133
 Cobbaut, Anna 58
 Cobbaut, Arnout (II) (merchant) 58, 134, n.441
 Cobbaut, Arnout (III) 58, 134
 Cobbaut, Barbara 58
 Cobbaut, Elisabeth 58
 Cobbaut, Gillis 58-9
 Cobbaut, Judith 58
 Cobbaut, Sara 58
 Cobbaut, Susanna 58
 Cocqu (Cocques), Nicolaes (merchant) 84, 240
 Cocquel, Charles de 131
 Cocquel, Jacques de (I) 131
 Cocquel, Jacques de (II) 131
 Cocquel, Maria de 130-1
 Codde (Kod), Jan Jacobsz. n.106
 Codde (Kod), Pieter Claesz. (rope-maker) 226-231, n.106
 Codde, Pieter Jacobsz. (painter) 200, n.106, n.111, n.118
 Codde, Roeloff (merchant, insurer) 133, n.432
 Coelenbier, Jan (painter, art dealer) 124-5
 Coerten, Hillebrant (sculptor) n.118
 Coge, Abraham de (art dealer) 138
 Colcksteech, Erm (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Colcksteech, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Colijn, Clara 59
 Colijn, Crispiaen (painter) (sale) 36, 94, 109, 207, n.117
 Colijn (Colyn), David (painter) 59, n.117
 Colijn, Elsje 59
 Colijn, Emanuel (bookseller, printer) 21, 59, n.118, n.149, n.157, n.179
 Colijn, Giertge 59
 Colijn, Hendrick (sugar refiner) 59, n.168
 Colijn, Jan (glove-maker) 59, n.148
 Colijn, Michiel (Michael) (book seller) 59, n.148, n.168
 Colijn (Colyn), Nicolaes 31
 Collaert, Johannes (printmaker) 99
 Cologne 12, 63-4, 108, 213, n.896
 Colom, Jacob Aertsz. (bookseller) n.118
 Commelyn, Isaack (book-seller) n.118
 Commissioner for marriage affairs 218
 Commissioner for sea affairs 218
 Congnet, Gillis (painter) 97
 Coninxloo, Catelijne (Catalyne) van (I) 28, 188-9, n.678, n.681
 Coninxloo, Cathalina van (II) 117
 Coninxloo, Constantia (illuminator, print dealer) 189
 Coninxloo, Dierick (engraver) 188
 Coninxloo, Gillis van (painter) 31, 92, n.152
 drawings by 99
 paintings by 98, 236, n.296, n.839
 sale 31-2, 36, 93-4, 103, 109, 115, 235, 239, n.678, n.835
 Coninxloo, Hans van (I) 115

- Coninxloo, Hans van (II) (art dealer) 39, 94, 115-6, 189, 235, 237, n.115, n.151, n.152, n.212, n.324, n.680-1
- Coninxloo, Hans van (III) (art dealer) 62, 74-6, 116, 151, 189, 243, n.116, n.212, n.304, n.324
- Coninxloo, Isaack van (painter, art dealer) 116-118, 121-2, 125, 151, 189, n.116, n.150, n.151, n.311
- Coningh, Pieter (de) (goldsmith) 62, 239, 241-2
- Coning(h), Vranck 24, n.295
- Conings, Metge (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Conrad(ius), Abraham (printmaker) n.567
- Constantinople 212
- Coop (Cop), Nicolaes (Claes) (I) (cyther maker, innkeeper) 47, 154, 157, n.92, n.127, n.532-3,7
- Coop, Nicolaes (Claes) (II) painter 154, n.509
- Coopal, Franchoijs (commissioner) n.160
- Cooplet, Hans (painter) n.118
- Cooren, Charles (merchant) 105-6, n.152
- Copenhagen 135, 146-7, 149
- Coppit, Oopje 179-80
- Cordes, Jean de n.405
- Cornelis, Grietge 22
- Cornelis, Jannetje 230
- Cornelis, Maritgen 116
- Cornelis, Neeltge (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Cornelis, Reymsege(n) 116
- Cornelisz., Dirck (sculptor) n.118
- Cornelisz., Leendert, see Beyeren, Leendert Cornelisz. Van
- Cornelisz., Marcus (Flora) (horticulturist) 70, n.188
- Cornelisz., Sybrant n.563
- Cort (Court), Jan (Jean) (de la) (merchant) 62
- Corver, Dirck (merchant) n.177
- Cosijn, Pieter Gerritsz. (painter) n.117
- Coster, Samuel (poet, director of Athenaeum) 70, 214, 218
- Cotermans, Judith 179
- Counter-Remonstrants 77-9, 81, 84, 166, 172, 214, n.604
- Coymans, Balthasar (merchant) 133-4, 160, n.435
- Coymans, Caspar (Jasper) (merchant) 133-4, n.176
- Coymans, Clara 133-4
- Coymans, Coenrad 135
- Coymans, Constantia 160, n.551
- Coymans, Cornelia 134
- Coymans, Elisabeth n.551
- Coymans (Coymans), Hendrick 135-6, n.452
- Coymans, Isaack (broker) (I) n.150, n.151, n.178
- Coymans, Isaack (II) n.150, n.152
- Coymans, Isabella 134, n.450
- Coymans, Jasper (merchant) 53, 67
- Coymans, Joseph (merchant) 134
- Coymans, Lucretia 131, 133-6, n.445, n.450, n.452
- Coymans, Susanna 58, 134
- Crafts
 art 45-6
 high-skill 45-6, 50
 other 45, 47, 50
- Cranach, Lucas (painter) 75, 91
- Cranen, Sara 81, 214
- Crayers, Louijs (advocate) 62, 167, 169
- Crenshaw, Paul 62, n.38, n.67, n.83, n.136, n.217, n.301, n.320, n.332, n.348, n.413, n.553, n.567, n.637, n.663, n.676, n.737
- Croix, Jeronimus (Geraldo) de la (retail hat merchant) 62
- Cromhout, Bartholt Adriaensz. (regent) 85
- Cromhout, Hendrick (merchant, regent) 60, n.176, n.188
- Cronenburgh, Abraham Jansz., see Jansz., Abraham
- Cruijpenning (Cruypenning), Anna 58, 134
- Cruijpenning (Cruypenning), Pieter 130-132, 134-7, 140, 151, 237, n.440
- Cruys, David van de 74
- Cruse, Thomas 209
- Cuyper, Albert (gunpowder maker)
- Cuypers (Cuijpers), Anne (*uitdraagster*) 230, 239-40, n.115
- Damandt, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Damme, Nicholas van (sugar refiner) 55
- Damnizs., Rochus (regent) n.598
- Danckers, Altje 223
- Danckers, Ysbrand 116
- Danckertsz., Cornelis (I) (architect, surveyor) 179
- Danckertsz., Cornelis (II) (printmaker) 92, 174, 177, n.112
- Danckwaert, Jan 196
- Dantzig 12, 63, 121, 153, 160, n.351
- Dare, County of (Ireland) 131
- Dathenius, Petrus (theologian) 172
- Davelaar (Jan?) (cited in libel) 220
- Decker, Abraham de (spices merchant) 62
- Decker, Abraham Jansz. (painter, art dealer) n.116, n.152
- Decker, Jeremias de (poet) 61-2, 218
- Deijl, Elisabeth 120
- Delaune, Etienne (Stephanus) (printmaker) 99
- Delff, Jan Adriaensz. (Arentsz.) 102, 105, n.28
- Delft 32, 102, 136, 138-40, 171, 209, 211-3, n.14, n.170, n.282
- DeMarchi, Neil n.5, n.46
- Denmark 144-6, n.482

- Denmark, King of, see Christian IV
- Desolate Boedelskamer 11, 30, 56, 60, 182, 185
 executive sales of 15, 28, 109, 116
- Deventer 66, 120, n.83
- Diamond cutters and polishers 47
- Diamonds and diamond jewelry 131, 135, 181, 196
- Diemen, Church of, n.200
- Diememeer 133
- Diest, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Diest, Willem van (painter) 198
- Dilburgh, Constantijn 169
- Dilburgh, Dirck 169
- Dilburgh, Eleasar Swalmius 169
- Dilburgh, Jo(h)annes Willem (doctor in medicine) 166, 169 n.595
- Dilburgh, Johannes (II) 169
- Dilburgh, Wilhelmus (Willem) 166-7, 169
- Dilburgh, Sibilla 166-7
- Dillen, J.G. van n.169, n.173, n.175, n.176, n.186, n.248, n.314, n.374, n.393, n.402, n.504, n.519, n.534, n.639, n.644, n.689-90, n.796, n.830, n.841, n.851, n.853
- Dircksz., David (painter) n.117
- Dircksz., Geurt, see Beuningen, Geurt Dirck
- Dircksz., Wouter (sculptor) n.118
- Dircx, Aefje 129
- Dircx, Gierte n.664
- Dirricxsz., Schelte (Schelde) (ivory carver, iron merchant) 48, 61, 170, n.128, n.564, n.608
- Dob, Barcman Claesz. (merchant) 36, 207
- Doctors (in medicine) 49
- Dodeur, Gillis (merchant) 62
- Does (Verdoes), Symon Willemsz. van der (*schout*, merchant) 60, 79, n.150, n.178
- Does, Willem van der (*schout*) 60, 80
- Dokkum 80
- Dommers, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Dominicus, Adriaen (*Bergenvaerder*) 230, 232
- Donckenburch, Adolf van n.254
- Donde, Steven 135
- Doomer, Matheus n.343
- Doomer, Herman (framemaker) n.343
- Dordrecht 66, 171, n.83
- Döring, Thomas n.543
- Dornik 31, n.92
- Dorst, Balthasar Crijnen (van) n.801
- Dou, Gerard (painter) n.616
- Dozy, Charles 93, n.12, n.104, n.265
- Dragon, Abraham (merchant) 132
- Drawings (sold at auction) 33-4
- Drent, Jan Thonisz. (painter) n.117
- “*Drie Hammetjes*” (inn) 25
- Drie Hollanders, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- “*Drie Morianen*” (inn)
- Dronckelaer (family) 60
- Dubbelworst, Laurens 161-2
- Dublin n.358
- Dubois, Constantia 133, n.433
- Dubois, Eduard (painter) n.433
- Dubois, Guillaem (painter) n.433
- Dudok van Heel, S.A.C. 122, n.12, n.132, n.222, n.223, n.286, n.352, n.354, n.362, n.366, n.367, n.386, n.470, n.601, n.773, n.813, n.824
- Duik, Antoni (pensioner of Amsterdam) 81
- Dullaert, Heijmen (painter) n.559, n.616
- Dunkerck 147
- Dunselman, Agnes n.568, n.649-50,
- Dupont, Pierre (merchant) 53
- Dürer, Albrecht (painter, printmaker) 183, 193, 200, 213
 copies after 132, 142
 drawings by 201
 incised plates by 91, 172-4, 225, n.786
 “*konstboek*” 91-2, 195
 paintings attributed to 181
 prints by 12, 25, 99, 102, 191-2, 195, 213, 219, n.94, n.632, n.634-635, n.663, n.706, n.786
- Dusart, Christiaan (painter)
- Duverger, Erik n.388
- Duyckerius, Johannes (writer) n.800
- Duyff, Casper (apprentice-painter) n.117
- Eeckelboom, Hen(d)rick Hen(d)ricksz. 78, 80, n.607
- Eeckhout, Gerbrand van n.616
- Eeghen, Isabella van 20, 24-5, 28, 153-4, 171, 240, n.11, n.12, n.18, n.31, n.50, n.52, n.53, n.55, n.59, n.61, n.63, n.72, n.115, n.122, n.123, n.158, n.195, n.496, n.546, n.619-20, n.622-4,
- Eewoutsz.,, Claes (painter) 39, n.117, n.177
- Eewoutsz., Reynier (painter) n.117, n.177
- Egbertsz., Jan (*uitdraager*) n.115
- Egbertsz., Roelof (regent) 84-5
- Egbertsz., Sebastiaen, dr. (surgeon, regent) 79, 85
- “*Egelantier*”, de (Chamber of rhetoric) 68-9, n.177
- Eijl, Jeuriaen Huybertsz. van n.674
- Elberts, Annetje 227
- Elbertsz., Symon 227
- Elbertsz., Witmer (wine dealer)
- Elbing 153
- Elias, John n.149, n.240, n.474, n.517, n.556, n.705, n.751, n.774, n.806, n.809, n.811, n.822, n.832, n.888
- Elias, Nicolaes (Pickenoy) (painter) 54, n.56, n.118

- Eliasz., Elias (goldsmith) 54
 Elison, Johannes (*predikant*) 170
 Emden 63, 115-9
 Empereur, Constantijn I' (Oppick) (professor of theology) 160, n.517
 Enamel workers 47
 Engelbrecht, Symon (actor and theater director) 48
 Engels, Weijntje 238
 England 63
 Enkhuizen n.170
 Episcopius, Simon (*predikant*) 78, 207
 Erp, Magdalena van n.759
 Erp, Sara van 234
 Es, Roeloffje van 238
 Essen, E. van n.569
 Essen, Hans van (painter) n.118, n.152
 Est, Dirck van n.295
 Estates
 appraised by sworn appraisers 20-1, n.28
 division of 20, 24, 105, n.28, n.101
 Evertsz., Jan, see Cloppenburg, Jan Evertsz.
 Evertsz., Matthijs, mr. (barber-surgeon) n.101
 Everwijn, Willem (Guilliam) van (merchant) 237-8, 241
 Exotica 75, 119, 191
 Eyck, Jan van (painter) 110
 Eyck, Maria van 123, n.358
 Eynde, Hans van den (I) 53, 92, n.264
 Eynde, Hans van den (II) n.264
 Eyndhoven, Guilliam van 58, 161, 163, n.557
 Eyndhoven, Jeronimus van n.295
 Eyre, Elisabeth 58
 Eyst, Hans van n.295
- Fabritius, Carel n.604
 Febvre (Fevre), Abraham le (gold-thread drawer) 48
 Febvre (Fevre), Jacques le (gold-thread drawer) 48
 Febvre (Fevre), Pieter le (gold-thread drawer) 48, 62
 Finson, David (painter) 144
 Finson (Vinson), François (broker) 84
 Finson (Vinson, Finsonius), Louis (Ludovicus) (painter) 27, 144-7, n.475, n.478
 Fiore, Jacobello del n. 2
 Flerdyn, Hans (painter) 98
 Flinck, Govaert (painter) 61, 75, 123, 126, 194, n.118
 Flines, Gilbert de (merchant) 124
 Flora, Marcus Cornelisz., see Cornelisz., Marcus
 Floris, Frans (painter) 91, 98, 160, 209
 Fonseca, Abraham (merchant) 180, 182, n.640-1, n.644, n.651
- Fontaine-Verwey, H. de la n.238
 Fontainebleau 209
 Fonteyn, Jan (doctor in medicine) n.177
 Forckenbeeck (Forckenburch), Adolf van 84, 223, n.254 See also Donckenburch, Adolf van.
 Forckenburch, Margrieta van 223
 Fort, Michiel le (art dealer) 28, 115, n.58, n.115, n.151, n.152
 Fortuijn, Jacob Jansz. (merchant, regent) 116
 Fouace, Antony (merchant) 31, n.92
 Framing, cost of 158, n.527, n.530, n.539
 France, invasion by, 126
 Francken, Frans (I or II) (painter)
 Franeker 129
 Frankfort -am-Main 12, 70, 195, n.728
 Frankenthal 115, 188, 195
 Frans, Elssen 127
 Franz., Lourens (painter) n.117
 Frederick Hendrick, Prince (stadhouder) 81, 194, 224, 234
 Frederiks, J.G. n.315, n.339, n.341, n.342, n.356, n.396, n. 436, n.437, n.446, n.691, n.726, n.752, n.817, n.826, n.828, n.849, n.854, n.866, n.875
 Freeckge (*uitdraagster*) n.116
 Freighters, of ships 68-9, 133, 153, 182, 195, 212, 234, 236
 Frennet, Raymond n.485
 Frick Art Reference Library 16
 Fuks-Mansfeld, R.G. n.245
 Furnerius, Johannes (painter) 26
- Gabry, Anneke n.896
 Gabry, Jan (merchant) n.896
 Gaergoedt 72
 Gaillard, Pieter (gold-thread drawer) 48
 Gaillart, Anthony (II) (merchant) n.188
 Gansepoel, Jan van (silk-cloth merchant) 39, 94, 225, n.896
 Garber, Peter M. n.183, n.207
 Garbrants, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Gardijn, Guillaume du (painter) 243-4
 Gardi(j)n, J(e)an
 sale 101, 104-5, n.276, n.283
 Gardi(j)n, Martin du (merchant) 101, 149-50, n.276
 Geel, Daniel van (II) (merchant) n.150, n.151, n.178
 Geel, Elias van (merchant) n.176
 Geel (Gheel), Jan (Hans) van (I) (merchant) 31
 Geel, Jan van (II) (merchant) n.151, n.178
 Geel, Maximiliaen van (merchant) 31, 53, n.151
 Geel, Pieter van (merchant) 31, 67, n.151, n.152, n.176
 Geelvinck, van, family 60

- Geenen, Christina van n.575
 Geer, Margaretha de 171
 Geerdincx, Artus (carillon player) 47-8
 Geerdincx, Herman (clavecin maker) 47
 Geest, Wijbrant de (painter) 123
 Gelder, Willem van (broker) 237
 Gelderblom, Oscar 63-4, 153, n.6, n.92, n.161, n.164, n.299, n.497, n.498, n.503, n.505, n.511-3, n.521-2, n.525, n.544-5, n.897
 Geldorp, Gorzius (painter) 197
 Geldorpius, Hendrick (*predikant*, poet) 83, n.567
 Gelekercken, Pieter (printmaker) n.117
 Genegen, Daniel van (wine dealer) 236
 Genegen, Maria van 236
 Germany 63-4, n.165
 Germez, Adam (surgeon, poet, actor) 222
 Gerrits, Hendrickge (Graeffin) (*uitdraagster*) 44, 161-2, 231-2, 239-42, n.115, n.123
 Gerrits, Swaentge (*uitdraagster*) n.116
 Gerrits, Trijn (see Wolff, Trijn Gerrits van der)
 Gerritsz., Abraham (*knecht* of St. Lucas guild, art dealer) n.116
 Gerritsz., Dirck (dyer) n.177
 Gerritsz., Hans (*uitdraager*) n.115
 Gerritsz., Hessel (map-maker) 54, n.118
 Gerritsz., Lenert (apprentice-painter) n.117
 Gerritsz., Thomas (sculptor) n.118
 Ghyls Ghils), Maria Sijbrechts van 188, 192
 Ghys, Willem van (skipper) 64
 Gijsels, François (painter) n.509
 Gilbert, Creighton E. n.2
 Gilles, Martha 155
 Giskes, J.H. n.509
 Gistel, Valerius van (I) (grain merchant, insurer) 161, 163
 Glaude, Symon (embroiderer) n.152
 Godijn, Rachel 234
 Godijn, Samuel (merchant) 110
 Goemare, Joost (painter) n.117
 Golahny, Amy n.599, n.753, n.757
 Goldgar, Anne n.183, n.197, n.202
 Goldsmiths (silversmiths) 46-7, 64, 150
 guild of 64
 Gold thread drawers 48
 Goltzius, Hendrick (engraver, painter) 213
 drawings by 149, 195, 202
 paintings by 21, 181, n.274
 prints by 99, 198, 213, 219
 Gomarus, Frans (theologian) 77
 Gomarists, see Counter-Remonstrants
 Gommers, Anthony n.699
 Goor, Cornelis Gysbrechtsz. van der (merchant, broker) 61-2
 Goosensz., Adam (sculptor) 54, n.118
 Gossaert, Jan (Mabuse) (painter) 193, 209
 Gouda 31, 66
 “Goude Leeuw”, de (ship)
 Goutgeel (*uitdraager* or *uitdraagster*) n.116
 Govertsz., Govert (painter, art dealer?) 39, 94, n.117
 Goyen, Jan van (painter) 141, 209
 Goyer (Goijer), Abraham de (merchant, tulip grower) 62, 72-3, 115, n.193, n.220
 Graeff, Andries de (merchant, regent) 125
 Graef(f), Jacob de (regent) 79
 Graeff, de, family 60
 Graeffin, see Gerrits, Hendrickge
 Graeuw, Andries de I (merchant) (sale) 31, 36, 79, 85, n.37, n.179, n.232, n.294
 Graeuw, Andries de II n.179
 Granada 181, n.645
 Grand, Jasper le 136
 Granen, Hans van 47
 Graswinckel, Dirck (poet) 217
 Grave 188
 Graveland, ‘s 218
 Gravesande, ‘s 166
 Grebber, Frans de (painter) 31, n.117
 Grebber, Jacob de (silversmith) 54
 Grebber, Pieter de (painter) 206
 Grevenraet, Jasper van (merchant) n.176
 Greylich, Stoffel (painter) n.117
 Grijp, Dirck Dircksz. (II) (engraver) 61, n.118
 Groen Ridder (*uitdraager*) 24, 231-2, n.115
 Groot, Hofstede de n.567
 Groote, Laurens de n.176
 Grootenhuys, Jan ten, Dr. 80
 Grotius (Groot), Hugo (de) (advocate, writer) 79-81, 207
 Guild Masters 48, n.107
 Guyana, Colony of 217
 Gysberts, Tiet (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Gysbertsz., Barthelomeus 240
 Haarlem 31, 63, 66, 73, 125, 131-3, 138, 140, 166-7, 182, n.83, n.203
 Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz. van (painter) 94-5, 98, 142, 156, n.267, n.359, n.472, n.648, n.6703 4
 Haarlemmerstraat (*uitdraagster*) n.116
 Haeck, Isaack (merchant) 191
 Haen, *substytuut*, see Hoorn, Arend Elberts Schild van
 Haer, Abraham ter 149-50
 Haer, Adriaen ter (goldsmith) 25, 193, 201
 Haer, David ter (goldsmith) 64, 150, 172, 178-9, 193, 201
 Haer, Pieter ter (silversmith) 64, 150
 Haes, Cornelia de 134
 Haes, Hendrick de (I) (merchant) 31, 53, 134

- Haes, Hendrick de (II) (merchant) n.151
 Haes, Jeronimus de (merchant) n.151, n.152
 Haes, de (broker, cited in libel) 220
 Hagen, Pieter van der n.324
 Hague, The 77, 147, 155, 166,190-1, 198, 217, n.14, n.83, n.85
 Hajdecki, Alex n.382
 Halewijn, see Alewijn
 Hals, Adriaentje 133
 Hals, Anthonie 133
 Hals, Dirck (painter) 76, 119, 133, 140
 Hals, Frans (painter) 21-22, 28, 132-4, 181, n.40, n.45, n.200, n.428, n.429, n.663
 Hals, Harmen n.428
 Hals, Hester 133
 Hals, Reynier (painter) n.200
 Hals, Sara 133
 Hals (Dirck or Frans) 141
 Hamaeus, Baldvinus (doctor in medicine) 216, n.763
 Hamburg 12, 63-4, 108, 196, 212, n.440
 Hanssen, Sybrant (painter-decorator, *kladschilder*) n.118
 Hanswijck, Hans (van) (armorer, swordmaker) n.151, n.152
 Hanswijck, Jacques (van) (I) (merchant) n.151
 Hansz., Jan (sculptor) n.118
 Hardere, Nicolaas (merchant) 120
 Harderwijck 155, n.517
 Harencarspel, Claes Jacobsz. (regent) 86
 Haring, Dorothea 59
 Haringh, Gerrit Jacobsz. (*bode* of Orphan Chamber) 24, 28, 59, 158, n.58, n.91, n.152, n.157, n.188, n.535
 Haringh, Thomas 61, n.157
 Harmens, Trijn (Dicke Trijn) (*uitdraagster*) 162, n.115
 Harmensen, Barent (*uijtdraeger*) n.116
 Harmensz., Dirck (painter, linen packer) n.118
 Harmensz., Jan (*uitdraager*) n.116
 Hart, Otto de (merchant) 244
 Hartshoofd, David, mr. n.295
 Hartgers, Joost (bookseller) 221-3
 Hartmansz., Hartman (*bode* of the Orphan Chamber) 28
 Haseldijn, Willem (merchant) 163
 Hasselaer, Pieter Pietersz. (regent) 86
 Hasselaer (Pieter?) (cited in libel) 221
 Hasselaer, family 60
 Hausherr, Reiner 206, n.735
 Haverkamp-Begemann, Egbert n.561, n.668, n.578, n.624
 Hecke, Abraham van den (painter) 198
 Heda, Willem (painter) 169
 Heemskerck, Dominicus van (regent) 84-5
 Heemskerck, van, merchant and regent family 60
 Heemskerck, Marten van (painter) 98, 191
 Heere, Lucas de (painter) n.200
 Heerschop, Hendrick n.550
 He(e)seman(n), Pieter (painter) 240
 Heijns, Catharina Zacharias 245
 Heijns, Zacharias (printer, book-publisher) 245
 Hel, Joannes de 161, 163
 Heldevier, Francoijs 72
 Hellemans, Carel (merchant) n.151
 Hellemans, Lenora 21
 Hellincx, Jan (merchant) 53
 Hendricks, Annetge 238
 Hendricksz., Abraham (*uitdraager*) n.116
 Hendricksz., Albert (sculptor) n.118
 Hendricksz., Boudewijn (silversmith) 150
 Hendricksz., Cornelis (sculptor) n.118
 Hendricksz., Gerrit (Graef) (*uitdraager*) n.115
 Hendricksz., Jan (apprentice-painter) n.118
 Hendricx, Lysbeth (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Hendricx, Sijtgen (sale) n.36
 Hennekin, Paulus (painter) 62, n.220
 Henricksz., Henrick (merchant) 78
 Herbach, Melchior (sculptor) n.117
 Heripon, Abel de (merchant) 237, 241-2
 Hermans, Anna 153
 Hero, Jacob 124
 Hertogenbosch, 's 157, n.526
 Hertsbeecq, Hester van 170, n.606
 Hertsbeecq, Isaack van (merchant) 62, 170, n.605, n.607
 Hertsbeecq, Paulus van (talcum and paints dealer) 62
 Hertsbeecq, Josina van n.606
 Hespel, Samuel (gold-thread drawer) 48, n.167
 Hesse, Langravijn of 214
 Hessels, Cornelia 212
 Heusden, Caspar van (merchant) 135, n.450
 Heusden, Jan van (merchant) 134, n.450
 Heuvel, Willem van (gilded leather maker) 48
 High Court (The Hague) 136, 180, 183, n. 405
 Hille (Hilletie) (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Hillebrantsz., Coen (sculptor) n.118
 Hillegaert, Paulus van (painter) n.118, n.150
 Hinlopen, Thymon Jacobsz. n.249
 Hinlo(o)pen family 60
 Hioler, Dirck n.295
 Hioler, Esaias 78, n.226
 Hioller, Isaack n.196
 Hioller, Jacqueline n.196
 Hoffslager, Hendrick 94
 Hoet, Gerard n.13
 Hoeve, Abraham van der (painter) 209
 Hoeve, Alexander van der (silversmith) 150
 Hoeve, Aper Fransz. van der (amateur painter,

- brewer) (I) 209, 212-3,
Hoeve, Aper van der (II) 212, 218
Hoeve(n), Felix van der (silversmith) 30, 76
Hoeve(n), Govert van der (apothecary) 76, n.188
Hoeve, Johanna van der 212, 217-218
Hoeve, Maria Apers van der 209, n.746
Hoeve, Maria Robberts van der 212, 217
Hoeve, Robbert (Robbrecht) van der (doctor in
medicine) 209-219, 227, n.752-3, n.764
Hoeve, Valerius van der (painter) 30, 39, n.117,
n.835
Hoeve, Willemken van der 217
Hoeven, E.A.A.M. van der n.745-7, n.750, n.771
Holbein, Hans (painter) 181, 183, n.663, n.839
Hommel, Hand de l' (sugar refiner) 58
Hommius, Festus (*predikant*) 170, n.606
Hondecoster, Gillis de (painter) 54, 61, 166,
n.118, n.565, n.582
Hondecoster, Gysbrecht de (painter) 118
Hoochstrael's, Bartholomeus n.295
Hoochvliet 166
Hooft, Arnout Hellemans (merchant, *ridder*) 217-
8
Hooft, Hendrick (I) 62
Hooft, Hendrick (II) (regent) 62
Hooft, Jan Gerritsz. (merchant) 124
Hooft, Johanna ornelis 217
Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz. (rentier, writer) 70, 129,
214, 216-8, 245, n.756, n.763
Hooft, Pieter Gerritsz. (merchant) 124
Hooft, Pieter Jansz. (regent) 86
Hooftman, Arnout (merchant) n.176
Hooghe, Paul(us) de (button-maker) 74, n.209
Hooghe, Romeyn de (I) (attorney) n.209.
Hooghe, Romeyn de (II) (printmaker) 74, n.209
Hooghkamer, Jacob Pietersz. (regent) 86
Hoogstraten, Samuel van n.616
Hoop-Scheffer, Dieuwke de n.576
Hooren, Brechge Claes van n.157
Hooren, Garbrant Claesz. van 19, 227, n.812
Hooren, Jacob Claesz. van (wine dealer) 227, 230
Hooren, Trijn Jans van Hooren 227
Hoorn 182, n.83
Hoorn, Anna van 217
Hoorn, Arend Elberts Schild van ("den Haen")
(substitute sheriff) n.111
Hoorn, Guilliam van 135-6
Hoorn, Symon van (regent, diplomat) 227
Hoppesa-ck, Michiel (cloth merchant) 105-6
Horst, Anthony van der (amateur poet) n.181,
n.775
Houbraken, Arnold (painter, writer) 164, 194,
199, n.251
Houten, E. van n.437
Houten, Hans van (painter) n.118
Hove, Matheus van der (painter) n.118
Hovelingh, Dirck 221
Hovelingh, Marten Claesz. 202, n.295
"Hoyberg", de (brewery) 244
Hudde, Hendrick (merchant) 56
Hulft, Pieter Evertsz. (brewer) 78
Hunthum., Cornelia n.751
Hunthum, Pieter 213
Huydecoper, Jan Jacobsz. (regent) 85
Huygens, Christiaan n.844
Huygens, Constantijn (I) (regent, man of letters)
70, 103, 217, 234, 237, 245, n.756, n.844
Huysman, Harmen (merchant) 31, n.176
Ijbesz., Cornelis 227
Ijzendijke 166, n.569
Illustre School (Athenaeum) 214, 216-7
Imbrecht(s), Adriaen (painter) n.118, n.152
Imbrecht(s), Marten (painter) n.118, n.152
Immigration
from Southern Netherlands 12, 63-4
from Germany 12, 63-4
from Portugal 12
Indische Raven, Christoffel (apothecary) 59
Indische Raven, Pieter (I) (merchant) 59
Indische Raven, Pieter (II) 59, n.249
Insurance (on ships) 133, n.432
Ireland 130-1
Isaacks, Anna Maria 59
Isaacksz. (I)saacksz.), Pieter (painter) 36, 39, 54,
59, 94, 123, 144-7, 179, 189, n.117, n.368
Isbrand (buyer) 203, n.709
Israel, Jonathan 77, n.97, n.221, n.229, n.230
Israel, Menasseh ben (rabbi) 206-7, 215, n.374
Italian artists 28-9, 97, 109-10, 139
Italian drawings and paintings 75, 151-2, 181,
183
Italy 134, 224
Itoels, Margareta 150
Ivory carvers 48
Jacobs, Barbara (Barber) (*uitdraagster*) 21, 61,
188, n.115
Jacobs, Clara n.106
Jacobs, Engel (sworn appraiser, *uitdraagster*)
n.116
Jacobs, Fem (*uitdraagster*) n.116
Jacobs, Lucretia 227
Jacobs, Lysbeth (*uitdraagster*) n.115
Jacobs, Machtelt (print dealer) 150, n.116, n.120
Jacobsz., Claes (Out) (sailmaker) 227
Jacobsz. Gerrit (see Haringh)
Jacobsz., Hendrick (city carpenter) n.152
Jacobsz., Lambert (painter) 122-4, n.375
Jacobsz., Nicolaes (notary) 193-5, 202

- Jacobsz., Rombout (I) (merchant) 31, 59
 Jacobsz., Willem (see Rijn, Willem Jacobsz. van)
 Jacot, Johannes (publisher) 225, n.801
 Jacot (family) 60
 Jan, Lange, see Artsen, Jan
 Janneson, Nicolaes (map-maker) n.118
 Jans, Anne (*uitdraagster*) 240, n.115
 Jans, Dieuwer (retailer) 230, 233
 Jans, Fytgen (*uitdraagster*) n.116
 Jans, Jaapje 128
 Jans, Judick 238
 Jans, Reym (Reijm) (*uitdraagster*) 239, n.115
 Jansz., Abraham (Cronenburgh) (*bode* of the Orphan Chamber) 28, n.68
 Jansz., Adriaen (apprentice-painter) n.118
 Jansz., Barend (*uijtdraeger*) n.115
 Jansz., Barend (witness at christening) 128
 Jansz., Barend, see also Porceleijn, Barend Jansz.
 Jansz., Broer (bookseller) n.118
 Jansz., Claes (lumber dealer) 202, n.709
 Jansz., Cornelis (apprentice-painter) n.117
 Jansz., Daniel, see Beuningen, Daniel Jansz. van
 Jansz., Dirck (painter) n.117
 Jansz., Govert ("Mijnheer") (painter) 98, 130, 141, n.117, n.273
 Jansz., Hans (goldsmith) 64
 Jansz., Hans (painter) n.118
 Jansz., Heere (Hero) (box- and framemaker) 80
 Jansz., Jacob (mason) n.437
 Jansz., Jan (glass engraver) n.117
 Jansz., Jan (I) (painter) 36, 80, 94, n.117
 Jansz., Jan (II) (Uijl?) (painter) n.118
 Jansz., Jan (sculptor) 54, n.118
 Jansz., Job (ship painter) n.118
 Jansz., Willem (cartographer), see Blaeuw, Willem Jansz.
 Jardin, Carel du (painter) 238
 Jarichs Lysbeth (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Jarichsz., Agge (merchant) n.815
 Jarmuiden n.83
 Jeuriaensz., Jan (painter) n.118
 Jewelers 45, 47, 115, 150, 155, 172, 188, 193, 201, 239, 241, n.92
 Jewelry, 12, 130, 139, 181, 191-3, 196, n.92, n.466, n.722
 Jewish buyers 63, n.742
 Jewish religion 215
 Jews (from Portugal) 12, n.742
 Joncker (*uitdraager*) n.115
 Jonckheijn, Albert Symonsz. (merchant) (sale) 21, n.56, 109, n.123
 Jongepier, Jan n.688
 Jongh, Jacobus de n.620
 Jonghe, Clement de (art dealer) 179, n.620
 Joost, Mr. 31, n.92
 Joosten, Dirck (rope-maker, merchant) 55, n.224
 Joosten, Elbert (cloth finisher) 161-2, n.151, n.152, n.319
 Joosten, Pieter 78, 80, n.224
 Jordaens, Hans (painter) 98
 Joris, Maria n.598
 Jouderville, Isaack (painter) 62
 Kaersgieter, Frans (painter) n.150
 Kaersgieter, Joris (art dealer) 115, n.304
 Kalf, Willem (painter) 150
 Kam, I. n.216
 Kampen n.83
 Kannegieter, J.Z.
 Kapprun (Kaproen), Pieter (notary?)
 Kaufman, Thomas da Costa n.707
 Keil (Keilhau), Bernard (painter) 123, n.387
 Keirincx, Alexander n.452
 Kemel, Thomas de (jeweler) 64, 193, 201
 Kemp, Ambrosius (leather merchant) n.177
 Kemp, Artus (Aert) 59
 Kemp, Henrick Aertsz. (lace and silk merchant) 59
 Kemp, Rombout (sergeant in militia) 167, n.577
 Kemp, Willem (wine merchant) 62
 Kempnaer, Danckert de (spices merchant) n.151, n.167
 Kentelingh, Anthoni (painter) 120
 Kerckering, Cornelia 213
 Kerckering(h), Godart (merchant) 203, 212-3
 Kerckhoven, Daniel van (cloth merchant) 62
 Kermen (Kermit), Jacques (ribbon-maker) n.167
 Ketel, Cornelis (painter) 95
 Keulen, Anthony van n.295
 Keulen, Maritje Jans 229
 Key, Adriaen (painter) 132, 141-2, 181, 183
 Key, Willem (painter) 132, 141-2, 181, 183
 Keyser, Hendrick de (sculptor, architect) 209
 Keyser, Thomas de (painter) 54, 65, n.118, n.168
 Kieff, Cornelia 239
 Kieft, Jan Gerritsz. (wine merchant) n.179
 Kieft, Willem Ysbrantsz. (brewer) n.150
 Kielsvat, de schilder in't (painter?) n.117
 Kilian, Jennifer n.857
 Kina (Quina), Carel (merchant) n.177
 Kina (Quina), Jacob (apprentice-painter, later merchant) n.117, n.177
 Kindt, Gillis 't n.151
 Kist, Wyberch n.295
 Kistepenningh, Aaltje (Aeltgen) 239
 Klessman, Rudiger n.542
 Knipbergen, Frans (painter) n.118
 Kock, Gerrit (poet) 72
 Kock, Servaes de (printmaker) n.118

- Kod, Pieter Claesz. , see Codde, Pieter Claesz.
- Kod , Jan Jacobsz., see Codde, Jan Jacobsz.
- Koerten, Frans (mapmaker) n.118
- Kolm, Jan Siewertsz. 218
- Koninck, Abraham de (poet) 218
- Koninck, Philips de (painter) 26, 137
- Koninck, Salomon de 137
- Kooimans, Luuc n.142
- Krakow 121
- Kretser, Marten (collector, art dealer?) 61, 73, 75, 115, 139, n.200, n.307, n.759
- Kruijnel, H.L. n.148
- Krul, Jan Hermansz. (poet) 218
- Kuijpers, Michiel (engraver) 36
- Kynen, Hendrick (*bode* for Antwerp) 157-8, n.534
- Laan, Beatrix van der 133
- Lamberts, Catharina (I) n.276
- Lamberts, Catharina (II) n.276
- Lamberts, Neel (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Lamberts, Trijn 128
- Lambertsz., Gerrit (sculptor) n.118
- Lambertsz., Hendrick, see Roghman, Hendrick Lambertsz.
- Lambertsz., Jacob n.375
- Lambertsz., Jan (silversmith) 150
- Lambrechtsz., Anthonis (silversmith) 150
- Lambrechtsz., Lambert (dyer) n.276
- Lamen, Jacques van der (painter, art dealer) 39, n.84
- Lange, Anthony de (wine dealer) 64, 83
- Lange, Otto de 190, 196
- Langue, Willem de (notary) 137-8, n.462, n.463
- Lastman, Pieter (painter) 188, 205-6, 226-231, 239, n.117
contact with Rembrandt 61
paintings by 113, 209, 213-4, 228-9, n.106, n.731
drawing by n.736
- Latfeur, Charles (Carel) de (I) (merchant) 64, 133, 235-7
- Latfeur, Charles (II) de 237
- Latfeur, Jean de 236
- Latfeur, Maria de 237
- Latfeur, Pieter de (merchant) 64, 133-4, 136, 237
- Latfeur, Susanna de 236
- Laurensz. (Leurens), Watse (Wate) (cloth merchant) 125, n.380, n.381
- Laurentius, Jacobus (*predikant*) 49
- Lazarus (Watering?) (*uitdraager*) 44, 150, 231-3, n.116
- Leather tanners 68-9
- Leechgelt, Jannetje (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Leecker, Frederick (wine dealer) 64
- Leegwater, Jan Adriaensz. (engineer, inventor) 841
- Leenaertsz, Carel, Dr. (officer of militia) n.103
- Leenders, Grietge n.598
- Leeu, Gerrit de (*uitdraager*) n.37, n.115
- Leeuwarden 123
- Lefebvre, Abraham. See Febvre, Abraham le
- Leghoorn (Livorno) 223-3
- Leiden 62, 64, 66, 122, 125, 139, 158, n.83, n.542
- Leiden, University of 139, 160, 209, 214, 245
- Leitsveer, Trijntge (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Lely, Pieter (painter) n.358
- Lemeer (Lemaire), Hans le (gilded leather maker) 48
- Lemans, Magdalena van n.508
- Lemens, Susanna van n.508
- Lennepe, Gertruyd van 128
- Lennip (Lennepe), Wouter van (wine dealer) 64, 128
- Leon, Jacob (painter) 240
- Lesger, Clé n. 7
- Lestevenon, Sara van 190
- Lestevenon, Susanna 150
- Leydecker, Jan Claesz. (cloth dealer) 62
- Leydecker, Willem Claesz. (cloth dealer) 62
- Leyden, Aertge van (painter) 132, 141
- Leyden, Jan van (Anabaptist leader) 191
- Leyden, Lucas van (painter)
drawings by 16, 118
engravings by 73, 75-6, n.663
konstboeck of 16, 28, 91, 99
painting(?) by 181, 183, 237
- Lhermitte, Carel n.295
- Liberal Professions 46, 49
- Lichthart, Claes Jansz. (enamel worker) 47
- Liebergen, Arnout van n.176
- Liedtke, Walter n.350, n.369, n.371, n.560, n.668
- Liefhebbers* 15-6, 73
- Liège, Musée de n.485
- Lier, Volckert Adriaen van (painter) 123, 125, n.124
- Lieshout, Frans van (bookseller) n.118
- Lievens, Jan (painter) 137, 181, 183, n.673
- Lievensz., Salomon
- Lievense-Pelser, E. n.252
- Liewen (Lievensz.?), Jacob 124, n.374, n.375
- Lijen, Maitje van der n.564
- Lille 239
- Li(n)gne, Abraham de (I) (merchant) 62, n.85, n.176
- Li(n)gne, Abraham de (II) n.85
- Lion, Jacob (painter) n.118
- Lippe, Count Simon van der (representative of Emperor) 236-7

- Lisart, Philips (I) (painter) 239
 Lisart, Philips (II) (apprentice painter) 239, n.117
 Lobbetge (*uitdraagster*) 202, n.116, n.710
 Location of paintings in house 184, n.671
 Lodesteyn, Everard (Delft burgomaster) 138
 Loduwycsz. (Lodowyccsz.), Pieter (bookseller) 39, 190-1
 Lombert, Barend Jansz. van 242, n.878
 London 101, 120, 190, 234
 Lons, Dirck Evertsz.(printmaker) 54, n.118
 Loo, Gerardus van n.160
 Loo, Jan Willemsz. Potter de 133
 Loeff, Johannes (dye-maker) 217
 Loon, Adriaen van n.768
 Loon, Anna van 213
 Loon, Hans van (merchant) 212-3, 216, n.751, n.767-8
 Loon, Jo(h)anna van 212-3, 216
 Loon, .Nicolaes van 220, n.751, n.768
 Loosvelt, Abraham van (sugar refiner) 161-2, 239
 Loosvelt, Adriaen van (merchant) 161-2
 Loosvelt (Liesvelt), Anna van 239
 Looten, Jan (painter) 174, n.118
 Lopez, Alphonse (merchant) 22, 28-9, 109
 Loughman, John n.292, n.554, n.609
 Louis XIII
 Lourens (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Luce, Anna n.343
 Luce, Elisabeth 119
 Luce, François (art dealer?) 191
 Luce, Louis (merchant, blue dyer) 120
 Luce, Lucas (I) 119
 Luce, Lucas (painter, art dealer) (II) 31, 39, 119-122, 150-1, 239, 241-2, n.343, n.375, n.534
 Luce, Susanna n.343
 Ludick, Lodowijck van (I) (art dealer) 137-8, n.464, n.671
 Luls, Abraham (*mont-de-piété* banker) 134
 Luls, David (*mont-de-piété* banker) 134
 Luls, Gerrit (wine dealer) 64
 Luls, Pieter n.445
 Lun, Felix van (art dealer) 39, n.84
 Lunsingh Scheurleer, Pauline 184, n.668
 Lutheran Church 64, 212, 230, 239, n.254
 Lutherans 64, 193-4, 209, 212-4, 230, n.247
 Luyt, Filbert de (Philiberto Pellicare) 47
 Luyten, Tryn (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Luyx, Pieter (apprentice-painter) n.117
 Maarsen 72
 Maastricht 171
 Maen, Adriaen 169 n.598
 Maerle(n), Agatha van 189, 192, 195, n.698
 Maerle(n), Christina van 189-190, 195-6, n.698
 Maerle(n), Constantia van (I) 189, 200, n.698
 Maerle(n), Constantia van (II) 189, 196
 Maerle(n), Dirck van (I) 188
 Maerle(n), Dierick van (II) 189
 Maerle(n), Jan (Hans) van (jeweler) 113, 188-9, 191, 226, 243, n.681
 purchases at auction 189
 sale 64, 94, 109, 130, 150, 193-6, 199-203, n.710
 Maerle(n), Joannes van 188-190, 195
 Maerle(n), Jonas van (painter) 28, 188, 199, n.117, n.678
 Maerle(n), Lucretia 190, 200, n.686
 Maerle(n), Maria 189, 192, 196, 199
 Maertsen, Jan (painter?) n.118
 Maes, Nicolaes (painter) n.472
 Magistris, Trojanus de (guardian) n.68
 Maire, Helena le n.209
 Maître (Maistre), Dyonis (Denys) de 120, 155-6
 Malapert, Louis de (merchant) 236
 Malvessy, Pieter n.606
 Mander, Karel van (painter, writer) 32, 92, 94, 113, 115-6, 189, 209, 235, n.35, n.82, n.138, n.264, n.270, n.272, n.837
 paintings by 94, 96, 98, 156, 161, 191, n.35
 Mansdale, Christina van 188
 Mansda(e)le(n), David van (jeweler) 190, 195
 Manufacturing, occupations in 46, 48
 Manuth, Volker 170, n.603
 Maps 34, 131
 Marcusz., Isaack (silk merchant) 181, n.643
 Marees, Abraham I n.733
 Marees, Nicolaes de (silversmith) 150
 Marel, A. van n.677, n.682
 Marinijsz., Anthony (sale) 105-6
 Marken n.83
 Marot, Clément (poet) 172
 Marques (Moreelse?), Pauwels (painter)
 Martens, François (dealer in fats) 238
 Martensz., Hans (merchant) 31
 Martsz..., Elbert (Albert) (wine dealer) 64, 94
 Martyn (*uitdraager*) n.115
 Marynes, Pauwels, see Moreelse, Pauwels
 Massa, Christiaan 133, n.430
 Massa, Isaack (merchant) 132-4, 136, n.425
 Massa, Lambert (merchant) (I) 109, 131-4, 140, n.428, n.437
 Massa, Lambert (II) 133
 Massa, Susanna 133
 Mast, Hugo van der 31-2
 Matham, Jacob (draughtsman, print-maker) 73
 Matthijsz., Hans (Snoeck) (bookseller) n.118
 Maurits (Mauritius), Prince (stadhouder) 78-9, 81, 83, 102, 132
 Maurois (Morais), Thomas (*predikant*) 49

- Mayer (Meyer), Benedictus (dealer in used clothing) 239-42
- Mayer, Sara 240
- Mayr, Johann Ulrich (painter) n.69
- Mechelen 238
- Meckenem, Israil van (printmaker) 91
- Medical doctors n.108
- Meer, Hans le (gilded leather maker) 62
- Meerbek, Adriaen van 239
- Meerman, Hendrick (painter) n.94, n.118
- Meerwijk, Jeroen van n.455
- Meesters, A. n.251
- Meijden, Cornelia van der 182
- Meijer, Sara Benedicts 240
- Mel, Anthony de (art dealer, hose-maker) n.116, n.152
- Meldert, Pieter de (art dealer) 125
- Menial Occupations 48
- “Mennonite Wedding” (*Meniste Bruyloft*) 70, 74
- Mennonites 121, 123-125, 151, 226, 230, n.351, 151, n.351, n.358
- Merchants
 - buyers at auction 45-47, 67
 - geographic origin of 63
 - cloth and silk 45, 47, 58
 - owners of goods sold 40
 - petition of 66-7
 - wine 45
- Mercier, Jacques (merchant) 53
- Mercijs, Pieter (spices merchant) 103, n.43
- Mesen, Cornelia van 205, n.725
- Messingh, Isaack (diamond polisher) n.644
- Metsu, Cathalina 71
- Metsu, Philips (merchant, sugar refiner) 71-2
- Metsys, Quentin (painter) 193
- Meulen, Andries van der 236-7
- Meulen, Daniel van der 236
- Meulen, Hester van der 236
- Meurandt, Salomon (bookseller) n.118
- Meurs, Hendrick (calligrapher, print dealer?) 174-5, 178-9, n.94, n.118
- Meyer, Jan Jeuriaensz. de 74
- Meyne, David de (map illuminator) n.46
- Meynertsz., Lubbert (bookseller) 221
- Michel Angelo (painter, sculptor) 99
- Michiels, Heijltje (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Michielsz., Herman (sculptor) n.118
- Middelburg 130, 149, 188, 194, 217, 237, n.170, n.405-6, n.544
- Middelhoek, S. n.569, n.745
- Miegroet, Hans J.
- Mientge (Meijntge Andries?) (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Mierevelt, Michiel van (painter) 210-1, 213
- Mijne, Jacob de la (attorney) 167
- Militia Companies (*schutters*) 65, n.168
- Mirou, Anton (painter) 195
- Mirou, Barbara 195
- Mirou, Hendrick 195
- Mochizuki, Mia n.688
- Moer, Aeltge de (*uitdraagster*) n.116
- Moer, Elisabeth van der 234
- Moerenturffs, Anne van 30
- Mol, Pieter (*proefmeester* of Admiralty) 182
- Molenaer, Jan Miense (painter) 131-2, 140-2
- Molijn, Pieter (de) (painter) n.200
- Mom, Anna 169
- Momper, Jodocus (Joost) de (painter) 98, n.123, n.290
- Money Changers 66
- Monogrammed Paintings 94-5
- Monte Sacre (Santo) (in Granada)
- Montias, J.M. 37, n.95, n.99, n.104, n.121, n.257, n.259, n.262, n.282, n.563
- Moor, Bartholomeus (merchant) n.152
- Moor, Bernard de n.249
- Mor (Moro), Anthony (painter) 181, 183
- Moreelse, Pauwels n.331
- Mostaert, Gillis (painter) 92, 142
- Mostart, Daniel (city secretary Amsterdam) 216, n.763, n.765
- Moucheron, Balthasar de (merchant) n.151, n.178
- Moucheron, Frederick de (painter) 137
- Moucheron, Melchior de (merchant) n.151
- Mourisz., Adriaen, 202, n.709
- Moyaert, Claes (painter) 61, 124, 206, n.118, n.472
- Mughal (Moghul) (miniatures) 181, 184, n.666-8
- Muiden 216, n.575
- Muiden Circle 214-5, n.756, n.763, n.765
- Muijsenest, Gerrit Dircksz. (merchant) n.152
- Muijsenest, Jochem Dircksz. n.152
- Muller, Jan Harmensz. (printmaker, draughtsman) 173, 189, 224, n.118, n.737
- Muller, Maritge 224
- Muller, Sheila n.255
- Munix (painter) 169
- Mus (Musch), Bastiaen (painter) n.118
- Music 190, 236, n.721
- Musical-instrument makers 47
- Musical instruments 131, 190
- Musicians 48, 154, 190
- Musschert, Hans n.295
- Musson, Matthijs (art dealer) n.388
- Muys van Holy, Ermgaard 204
- Mytens, Aert (painter) 239
- Mytens, Lenora 239
- Naecte Man (*uitdraager*) n.115

- Naerden, Claes Arentsz. van (merchant) 124, n.375
- Naerden, Jan Arentsz.. van (sugar refiner, merchant) n.376
- Nagel, Jan (painter) 94-8, n.271
- Namur 31, 171
- Napels, Duyfje van n.648
- Nason, Elisabeth (I) 238, n.857
- Nason, Elisabeth (II) n.857
- Nason, Hubert 238, n.857
- Nat, Pieter van der n.295
- National Synod 78
- “Naturalia” 213, n.96, n.265
- Neck, Weijntje van 227
- Neckvelt, Jan Pietersz. 74
- Neel in de Kelder (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Neijn, Pieter de (painter) 124-5, n.375
- Nelemans, F.A. n.768
- Nes, Dirck van (widow of) sale 94
- Neurenburg 212
- Neurenburgh, Coenraad van (III) 171
- Neurenburgh, Coenraad van (IV) 171
- Neurenburgh, Coenraad van (V) 171
- Neurenburgh, Guillaem (Willem)van (III) (painter?) 25, 61, 164, 170-2, 174-8, n. 62, n.128, n.155, n.608-9, n.627
- Neurenburgh, Joannes (regent) 171
- Neurenburgh, Willem van (II) (stone dealer)n..62
- Nicquet, Jean (merchant) 92, n.296
- Nicquet, Susanna 92
- Nieulandt, Adriaen van (painter) 44, 48, 60-2, 70, 103(?), 116, 129, 192, 197-8, 200, 206, 238, n.117, n.150, n.160, n.178
- Nieulandt, Barber van 116
- Nieulandt, Jacob van (painter) 27, 61, 129, n.117, n.150, n.151
- Nieulandt, Willem van (I or II) (painter) 196, 198
- Nieuw Amsterdam 182
- Nieuwenhoven (cited in libel) 220
- Nieuwe Schouwburg (theater) 220, 222
- Nieuwe Tonge 214
- Nijs, Anthony (porcelain dealer) n.187, n.188
- Noirot, Jacques 237
- Norgate, Eduard (writer) n.776
- Noord, Adriaen Jacobsz. van (merchant, *Bergenvaerder*) 80, 84, 230, n.235
- Noordkerk, Jacobus (historian) 28
- Notarial inventories 36-7, n.95, n.258
- Nusteling, H. n.23
- Ockers, Jan Adriaensz. (painter) n.117
- Ockers, Willem Adriaensz. (bookseller) n.117
- Oetgens, Antoni (regent) 81
- Offenberch, Dirck van 212-3
- Offenberch, Johanna 212
- Offenberch, Maria van 212
- Oldenbarnevelt, Johan (statesman) 77-79, 81
- Old Masters (15th and 16th centuries) 140, 151, 181, 183, 193, n.669
- Omphalius, Bernard 64
- Omphalius, Hendrick 64
- Oostens, Abraham (broker) 101
- Ootmoedich, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Opick, Constantinus l'Empereur, see Empereur, Constantijn I;
- Orgel, Jan Jansz. (surgeon) 240
- Ormond, Duchess of n.358
- Orphan Chamber
 - administration of 17
 - appearances before 179, 239, n.22
 - benefit of exclusion 18
 - boden* of 17-8
 - cash and credit
 - custody of estates 16
 - estates divided among heirs 20
 - exclusion by heirs 18, n.19
 - early history of 16
 - Masters of 16-8, 79, 83-6, n.253
 - occupation of fathers of orphans n.134
 - sales by, see Auction sales, Orphan Chamber *suppoosten* 18
- Orphans
 - estates of 16-7
 - guardians of 16-8, n.253
- Ortelius, Abraham (cartographer) 93
- Os, Dirck van (merchant) 110
- Os, Hendrick van (merchant and rentier) 31, 53, 92, 110
- Osorio, Bento (merchant) 63
- Otten, Burchart (leather tanner, merchant) (sale) n.187
- Otter, Hillebrant den (merchant) 244, n.245
- Ottoman Empire 212
- Oudenaarde 58
- Oudtshoorn, Dierick de Vlaming van (regent) 79, 86
- Oudtshoorn, Pieter de Vlaming van (regent) 85
- Outgers (cited in libel) 221
- Outgertsz., Pieter (merchant) n.709, 203
- Overdaghe, Catharina d' 130,136, 139-40, n.456
- Overlander, Volckert (regent) 85
- Ovid 196
- Owners of goods sold
 - occupation of 39-40, 50
 - men and women n.105
- Oyens, Abraham (advocate) 220
- Oyens, Baptist 236

- Padua 212
- Paerel, de (buyer) n.112
- Paert int Bellen, Giert in de (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Paedts, Jacob Pietersz. (bookseller) 163
- Paets, Claes Jacosz. (bookseller) n.117
- Painters' equipment n.96
- Paintings,
 - attributions in sales 93-9
 - Italian 109-10
 - landscapes 87-8, 98
 - Old Master 110, 132, 181
 - perspectives 87-8, 91
 - prices of 88-91, n.102, n.103
 - religious 87-8, 98
 - seascapes 87
 - speculation in 106
 - tronies* 87-8, 91
 - turnover in 106-7
- Palma (Giovane) (painter) 110
- Paradijs, Haes n.72
- Parent, Michiel (school-teacher) 245
- Paris 150
- Parmigianino (painter) 194
- Pars (Pas), Augustijn (goldsmith, jeweler) 64, 239, 241
- Pas, Janneken Pieters
- Pas, Pieter (silversmith) 239
- Pauw, Adriaen (*ridder*, pensioner Amsterdam) 122
- Pauw, Claes (Nicolaes) Seys (landlord) 122, 124, n.364, n.372
- Pauw, Jacomo (merchant, rentier ?) n.179
- Pauw, Michiel (merchant, regent) 220, n.778
- Pauw, Reynier (I) (burgomaster) 77, 80-1, 83, 83, 85-6, n.153
- Pauw, Reynier, Dr. (II) 80-1, n.153
- Pelgrom, Jacobus (merchant) 212
- Pelgrom, Steven (merchant) 212
- Pellicare, Philiberto (Filbert de Luyt) (lute maker) 47
- Pellicorne, Jan 61
- Pels, Eduard(o) (notary) 223, 244
- Pencz, Georg (printmaker) 75, 99
- Penijn, Francois de (II) (apothecary) 127-8, 161
- Penijn, Josina Pieters de 162
- Penijn, Sara de 128
- Pernambuco (Recife de) 135, n.644
- Perre (Parre), Balthes (Balthasar) van de (bookkeeper V.O.C.) 195, 202
- Petitius, Jacob 215, n.895
- Petri, Andreas (van der Linden) (Lutheran pastor, painter) 209
- Petri, Rudolph (*predikant*) 83
- Philipsz., Bartel (town player) 48
- Phillipsz., Jan (bookseller, print dealer?) n.118
- Pickenoy, see Eliasz., Nicholaes
- Piepenfoye, Jan van (joncker) 220
- Pieters, Aeffgen n.160
- Pieters, Ael (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Pieters, Aeltje n.380, n.381
- Pieters, Agnieta 205
- Pieters, Foockeltje (van Hoorn) 230, 233
- Pieters, Trijn 19, n.812
- Pietersen (Pietersz.), Jacob (*paalknecht*) n.106, n.111
- Pietersz., Andries (carpenter) 240
- Pietersz., Cornelis (carpenter) 240
- Pietersz., Gerrit (painter) 48, 94, 98
- Pietersz., Jan (Sweelinck) (organist and composer) 48
- Pietersz., Pieter I (painter) 31, n.117
- Pietersz., Pieter II (painter) n.117
- Pietersz., Pieter (horticulturist) (sale) 70-1, n.187
- Pietersz., Salomon (de Schilder ?) (innkeeper, art dealer) 39, n.115
- Pietersz., Thomas (employee of Orphan Chamber, art dealer) 150, n.116
- Pietersz., Wynant (apprentice-painter) n.117
- Pietersz., Zeger (goldsmith) 61, 227, 229, 239
- Pin money (to buy art) 196
- Pina, Abraham (merchant) 63, n.188
- Pire, Janneken du 70
- Pire, Marie du 70
- Plague (the) 65, 157, 189
- Plancius, Pieter (cartographer) 93
- Plasse, Cornelis van der (bookseller) n.117
- Pliny (the Elder) (writer) n.3
- Poelenburg, Cornelis van (painter) 120, 132, 141
- Poelenburgh, Simon van 73, 76, n.203
- Poelman, Barent (painter) 54, n.118
- Poer, Jacques de. See Pours, Jacques de
- Poland 71, 121
- Polidoro (da Caravaggio) (painter, printmaker) 99
- Poll, Catharina van de 83
- Poll, Harmen Gijsbertsz. van de (lumber dealer, regent) 79, 81, 83-6
- Poll, Jan van de (lumber dealer) 83
- Pomian, Krzystof n.3
- Pool, Cornelis Symonsz. 227-9, 233
- Pool, Elbert Symonsz. (butter merchant) 226-7, 231
- Pool, Neel Alberts 227
- Pool, Pieter Symonsz. 227
- Poorter, Willem (painter) 123.
- Poppe(n), Jacob (merchant, regent) 84-5
sale 94, 102, 109, 116, n.275
- Porcelain, sales of
dealers in 118
- Porceleijn, Barend Jansz. (porcelain dealer) n.878

- Porcellis, Jan (I) (painter)
 paintings by 137, 141, 181, 183, n.663
 sale 39
- Pordone, Paris (painter) 194
- Portraits,
 family 18, 87-8, 183-4
 political 87
- Portugal 12
- Poortgaal 166
- Posthumus, N.W. n.43, n.189, n.190, n.198,
 n.201, n.204, n.205, n.208, n.210, n.211,
 n.220
- Postma, Hugo J. n.458
- Potterloo, Abraham van 133
- Pours (Poer), Jacques de (merchant) 74
- Pours, Marcus de (merchant) 299, n.644
- Pouwelsz., Job (apprentice-painter) n.117
- Prague 101, 172, 237, n.278
- Pré(e), Louis de (du) (painter) 61, n.118
- Preachers (*predicanten*) (auction buyers) 49
- Prices (of works of art) n.126
- Prins, Claes (sculptor) n.118
- Prins, Izak 224, n.777, n.784, n.787, n.789,
 n.791-2, n. 798
- Prints 33-4
- Pronck, Cornelis Martsz. (gunpowder-maker)
 62
- Prussia 71
- Putt (Putten), Isaack van der 24
- Putte, Andries (diamond cutter) 47
- Putte, Catalijntje van der 237
- Putte, Hans van der (hat merchant) 75, 118-9,
 125, n.216, n.323, n.324
- Putte, Jan van der n.324
- Pynas, Jacob (painter) 206
- Pynas, Jan (painter) 206, 213, 216
 paintings by:
 "Joseph" 91
 "Joseph sells grain in Egypt" n.275
 "Jacob seeing Joseph's bloodied coat"
 ill.10, 214-6, n.757-8
- Pynas (Jan or Jacob) (painter) 226, 228-9, 231-2
- Quast, Pieter (painter) 142
- Queeborn, Christiaan van de (engraver) n.896
- Quemin, Alain n.3
- Quina, Jacob and Karel, see Kina, Jacob and
 Karel
- Quingetti, Catharina 58
- Quingetti, family 60
- Rademaecker, Daniel 244
- Raedt (Raet), Jan de (merchant) 178-9
- Raet, Elias de (merchant) 53
- Raet, de (cited in libel) 220
- Raphael (painter) 16, 22, 28, 99, 124, 209, n.8,
 n.371,
- Ratels, Ael (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Rauwart, Jacob (merchant, collector) 116, 189,
 191, n.82, n.272
- Rauwart (Rauwert), Claes 93, n.138
 sale 32, 36, 56, 93-5, 116, 118, 126, 156, 189,
 n.65, n.82.
- Ravesteyn, Nic(o)laes (printer) 195, 203, n.118
- Ravesteyn, Paulus van (printer) 70
- Ray, Maria van 129
- Reael, Bartholomeus (merchant) 216, n.763
- Reael, Jacob Laurensz. 78
- Reael, Laurens (regent) 86
- Reael, Lijsbeth 216, n.762
- Reael, Pieter Jansz. (regent) 85-6
- Recht, Abraham Anthonisz., see Anthonisz.,
 Abraham.
- Rederijkers* (Rhetoricians), Chambers of 68-9
- Reformed (Calvinist) 119, 121, 123, 166, 169-70,
 206, 245. See also Counter-Remonstrants
 Consistory of church 243-5
- Rem, Hans (painter) 30, n.117, n.151, n.152
- Rembrandt 113, 194, 209, n.136, n.784
 auctions at his request n.332
 bankruptcy 180, 183, 185, 217, n.320,
 n.637
 baptism of children n.160
 buyer at auction 13, 25, 45, 99, 123, 171-2,
 174-179, 213, 244, n.94, n.118, n.273,
 n;621, n.626-8
 collector of art 152, n.628, n.663, n.667-8
 contacts of 61-2, 101, 115, 121, 166, 182-3,
 204, 207, n.128, n.155, n.156, n.159,
 n.601, n.605, n.665
 commissions 194, n.332
 copies of Mughal miniatures 184
 creditors of 137-8, 160, 170, n.377, n.463,
 n.464
 drawings by:
 sketch after Rafael's Castiglione n.6
 drawings after:
 "Lucretia" n.599
 etchings by:
 "Descent from the Cross" 123, n.27,
 n.273
 "Ecce Homo" 75
 portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Ansloo 230
 portrait of Jan Cornelis Sylvius 166, 207
 portrait of Johannes Wtenbogaert 194
 portrait of Petrus Sylvius 165-6, n.576
 portrait of Samuel Smijters 172, n.620
 untitled prints sold at auction n.273
 house bought on Breestraat 121, 124, 160,
 n.355

- inventory of 1656 183, n.663, n.672
loans by 122, 124
losses at sea 180, 185
market for his art n.676
paintings by:
“Abraham and Three Angels” 181
“Awakening of Lazarus” n.673
“Belshazzar’s Feast” (or “Belshazzar Sees
the Writing on the Wall”) 204-7, ill.8
“Blinding of Samson” n.728
“Christ and Magdalen”
“Christi *tronien*” n.672
“Dr. Tulp’s Anatomy Lesson 214
“Feast of Belshazzar” n.728, n.736, n.742
“*gedaante Christi*” n.672
“Homer” n.524
landscape 181
“Nightwatch” 62, 167
portrait of Adriaen Banck 169
portrait of Andries de Graeff 125-6
portrait of Anna Wijmer 62
portrait of Eleazer Swalmius 170
portraits of Jacob Trip and Margaretha de
Geer 171
portrait of Jeremias de Decker 218
portrait of Johannes Elison 170
portrait of Dr. Johannes Uytenbogaert 77
portraits of Marten Soolmans and Oopje
Coppit 180, 221, n.665
portraits of Nicolaes van Bambeeck and
Agatha Bas n.375
portrait of Rembrandt 181
portrait of wet nurse of Rembrandt 181,
184
portrait of wife of Rembrandt 181, 184
portraits of members of Swalmius/
Dilburgh family 167, 169
portraits of Pieter de la Tombe 179
“a priest” 141
“St. Peter in Prison” 184-5, n.674
“Samson Threatening His Father-in-Law”
75, n.217, n.728
“Saskia as Flora” n.542
self-portrait n.664
“Stoning of St. Stephen” n.247
“Susanna” (“Susanna Surprised by the
Elders”) 167, 169, n.596
“*tronies*” 123, 184, n.676
“Wedding” (*huwelijck*) n.604
“Wetnurse” of Rembrandt n.664
“Wife” of Rembrandt n.664
“Woman Taken in Adultery” 139
paintings after 75, 119, 123, n.217, n.567,
n.674
from studio n.599
in De Renialme’s 1657 inventory 139
prices of n.728
paintings of, taken on commission 194,
n.362
participation in Tontine 122
“puffing up” of prices by 25-6
pupils of 24, 26, 92, 113, 164, 170, n.69,
n.559-61, n.612, n.616
relation to Calvinist *predikanten* 170
relation to Hendrick Uylenburgh 122-5
sale after bankruptcy n.320
studio practice n.612
Rembrandthus n.576
Remmen, Giertje 238
Remmen, Mary (*uitdraagster*) n.115
Remonstrant Church 83
Remonstrant Petition of 1610 77, 205
Remonstrant Petition of 1628 57, 80-3, 129,
179, 194, 212, 223, 237, n.233, n.247, n.709,
n.731
Remonstrants 77-84, 179, 205, 214, 226, 230,
n.601, n.763, n.821
baptisms of n.149
hiding of n.238
meetings prohibited 79
regents of charitable institutions n.255
view on predestination 207
Rendorp, Herman (I) (merchant) 78, 179, n.225,
n.629
Rendorp, Herman (II) (*knecht*) 174, 178-9,
n.225, n.629
Rendorp, Joachim 221
Reni, Guido (painter) 194, 298
Renialme, A. de n.405
Renialme, Constantin de 139, n.405
Renialme, Jean Charles de n.405
Renialme, Johannes de (I) (jeweler, art dealer) 61,
110, 128-132, 135-140, 150-1, n.116, n.150,
n.406, n.413, n.429, n.455, n.722
1640 inventory of 109, 131-2, 141-3, n.422,
n.452
1657 inventory of 109, 117-8, 138-140,
152, n.422, n.428, n.468, n.469
purchases at auction 130, 193, 201
Renialme, Johannes de (II) 130, 139-40
Rensselaer, Guillaume van (art dealer) 145,
147
Rensselaer, Kilian van (director W.I.C.) 59
Reyersz., Reyer (sailor) 240
Reyersz., Willem (“*de soon*”) 57
Reynst, Gerrit I (governor of Dutch East Indies)
61, n.151
Reynst, Gerrit II (merchant) n.152
Reynst, Margriete 61, n.152
Rhenen, Elisabeth van 120-1

- Rhenen, Willem Jacobsz. van 119
 Rhoon 166
 Riga 137, n.443
 Rijck, Sijmon de (van de Gracht) (merchant, regent) 84,86, n.253
 Rijcksen, Jan (ship builder) 62, n.158
 Rijn, Rembrandt van (see Rembrandt)
 Rijn, Rombertus van n.577
 Rijn, Titus van (painter) 62, 167, 169, n.136
 Rijn, Willem Jacobsz. van (merchant) 31-2, 92, n.264
 Rijn, van (poet?) 222, n.784
 Rijssen, Constantia van 199
 Rijssen, Geraert (Gerrit) van (jeweler) 64, 190, 192, 195, 200
 Rijssen, Jean van (jeweler) 190, 199
 Rijssen, Warnaer (Wenaerd) van (painter) 198-9
 Ritzert, son of Mr. (painter) 197
 Roemer, Anna (poet) n.756
 Roemer, Maria Tesselschade (poet) 215, n.756
 Roeremaecker, Volckert (pistol-maker) 48
 Roeters, Ernst (regent) 220
 Roever, Nicolaes de n. 24, n.333
 Rogge, Isaack (joiner) 195, 202
 Roghman, Geertruyd (printmaker) 58
 Roghman, Hendrick Lambertsz. (engraver) 58, 76, n.118
 Roghman, Magdalena 58
 Roman Catholics 60, 132, 193, 226, 240, 243-4, n.149, n.247, n.731
 Rombouts, Anna 70, n.707
 Rombouts, Catharina 59
 Rombouts, Clara 59
 Rombouts, Hans (merchant) 56, 70, 92, n.707
 Rombout(s), Jacob Jacobsz. (merchant) 216
 Rombouts, Jacques (merchant) (sale) 31, 56, 70, 109, 190-1
 Rome 239
 Romiti, Jan Antonio (merchant, art dealer?) 115, n.303
 Rooclaes, Willem (stone and brick dealer) 137
 Roodenburg, Herman n.800, n.883, n.887, n.894
 Rooses, Max n.510, n.514-5, n.540
 Root, Symon (merchant) 31, n.92
 Roothaer, Annetge (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Ro(t)court, Louis (de) (art dealer) (sale) 36, 94, 115-6, n.111, n.304
 Rotgans, Lucas Jacobsz. (soap boiler, regent) n.168
 Rothschild (collection) 180
 Rotterdam 63, 77, 166, 212
 Röver, Valerius (collector)
 Rovers, Elisabeth 194
 Roy, Elisabeth van 119
 Ruardus (Ruardi), Eva 166-168
 Rubens, Pieter Paul (painter) n.127, n.532, n.536-9
 house of (in Antwerp) 153-4
 painting promised by 111, 153-4, 157-8, 160
 paintings by 169, 194
 “Judith with the Head of Holofernes” 158-9, n.542
 prints by or after n.94
 pupils of 153-7, n.498, n.514, n.512
 Rudolph II (emperor) 145, 237, n.486
 Ruffo, Prince n.524
 Ruijven, Pieter Claesz. van (rentier) n.563, n.746
 Ruisdael, Jacob van (painter) 179
 Ruisdael (Jacob or Salomon) van (painters) 169
 Russia (Moscovy) 172
 trade with 132
 Tsar of 132, n.425
 Ruslandt, Neel (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Rutgers, Cornelis (merchant) n.728
 Ruts, Anna n.324
 Ruts, David 64, n.157
 Ruts, Gillis 64, n.157
 Ruts, Magdalena 235
 Ruts, Nicolaes (merchant) 61, n.157, n.324
 Ruttens, Pieter 62
 Ruychaver, Anna 216, n.751, n.767
 Ruytenburgh, Pieter Gerritsz. (regent) 85-6
 Sadelaer, Abraham de n.216
 Sadelaer, Gillis de n.216
 Sadelaer (family) n.323
 Saenredam, Pieter (painter) n.839
 Sarwouters, Philips, see Serwouters, Philips
 Sainte Begge, Collège de 147, n.478
 St. Luke's, Guild of, in Amsterdam 15, 88, 117, 120, 127, 206, n.307, n.678
 In Delft 130, 209
 in Antwerp 116
 St. Nicolaes libel 220-5, 243
 St. Petersburg 214
 Saltbommel 214
 Sanders, Hercules (painter) n.118
 Sandrart, Joachim (von) (painter, writer) 16, 22, 28-9, 109, 216, n.8, n.560, n.673
 Santvoort, Pieter Dirckx. (painter) 54, n.118
 Sasbout, Cornelis, Mr. (bookkeeper) 237-8
 Sasbout, Jan Cornelisz. 238
 Savery, Catharina 58
 Savery, Hans (II) painter 127
 Savery, Jacob (Jacques) (I) (painter) 58, 76, 95, 98, 127, 189, n.269
 Savery, Maria 58
 Savery, Roelandt (painter) 95, 98, 101, 127, 142, 161, 202, n.264, n.296, n.401, n.486

- Savery, Salomon (printmaker) n.118
 Schaeck, Benedictus (merchant) n.178
 Schaep, Jacob (merchant) 60, n.176
 Schaerwacht (*uitdraager*) 44, 231-3, n.116, n.124
 Schama, Simon 170, 184, n.183, n.498, n.675
 Scharbier (Scherbier), Jacob (retail merchant) 231-2, 239, 241-2
 Scharkens, Catharina n.604
 Schellincks, Constantia 199
 Schellincks, Daniel (painter) 198-9
 Schellincks, Willem (I) (painter) 198-9
 Schellincks, Willem (II) 199
 Schellinger, Hillebrant (regent) 86
 Scheltes, Annetje n.564
 Schemackers, Weyn (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Schenck, Benedictus n.150
 Schenck, Johannes n.150
 Schenckenschans 73, 76
 Schiedam 166-7, 212, n.579, n.583
 Schilder, Abraham de (merchant) 71, n.191
 Schilder, Pieter de (merchant, director V.O.C.) 58
Schilt van Vranckrijk (inn) 221-2
 Schilt, Allert Garbrantsz. (sailmaker) n.152
 Schimmel, Jacob (armorer) 48
 Schipper, Jan Jansz. ("Schipper Jan") (poet)
 Schoenmaeckers ("Schoentge"), Fem (*uitdraagster*) 44, n.116
 Schonevelts, Joanna 102
 Schoonhoven, Gerrit van (merchant) 56, 61, 120, 151, n.152
 Schoonhoven, Paulus van (broker) 62
 Schoonhoven, Reijtsel van n.340
 Schoonhoven, Salomon van 120
 Schot, François de (I) 39
 Schot, François de (II) (advocate) n.699
 Schot, Jacques van (de) 237
Schout (of Amsterdam) 60, 78-80
Schouwburg (Nieuwe) 220, 222
 Schrevelius (Schrijver), Theodorus 159
 Schrijver (Scrivierius), Pieter Thijsz. (regent) 79, 84, 86, n.247
 Schurman, Anna Maria van (poet) 129
 Schurman, Frederick van 129
 Schut, Jacob n.295
 Schuylenburch, Frederick (employee of W.I.C.) n.168
 Schuyt, Albert (merchant) 134, n.152, n.176
 Schwartz, Gary 169, n.602, n.679, n.737, n.776
 Scorel, Jan (painter) 132, 142
 Scrivierius, Pieter (patron of the arts) n.247
 Sculptors 43, 54, n.117-8
 Sebetino, Jan (priest) 181, n.662
 Secel, Daniel 238
 Seeuwens, Abraham (merchant) n.699
 Segersz., Pieter (linen merchant) n.152
 Seghers, Franchoy (merchant) 27
 Segers (Seghers), Hercules (painter) 131-2, 137, 141-2, n.117, n.303
 Seidel, Paul n.459
 Seijs, Anna n.153
 Seijs, Josijntge n.153
 Sem, Sieuwert (Sijvert) Pietersz. (merchant) 53, 56, 62, n.158
 Semi-precious Stones 137-8
 Sephardic Jews 63, 126, n.245
 Services 46
 Serwouters, Pilips (print-dealer) n.94, n.116, n.118, n.120
 Setubal (bay of Gascogne) 212
 Severius, Sijmon 149, n.486
 Seville 101, n.278
 Sey, Pieter 124, n.372
 Seys, Anna n.372
 Seys, Claes n.372
 Severijn (Roelandt Savery?) (painter) n.117
 Severius, Sijmon (draughtsman)
 Ship's equipment 181, 185
 Sichem, Christoffel van (I) (printmaker) sale 36, 94, 149, n.117
 Sichem, Christoffel (II) (printmaker) 150, n.117
 Sigismund (King of Poland) 121
 Sie(u)waerts, Aeltge (*uitdraagster*) 161-2, n.115
 Sieuwertsz., Jan (Kolm?) (painter, poet?) n.117, see also Kolm, Jan Sieuwertsz.
 Sigismund, King of Poland 121
 Sijmenss, Sijmen (jeweler) 162, n.554
 Sijmons., Engel (jeweler?) 162
 Silverschael (Seneschael?), Guiliam (merchant?)
 Simon, Menno (theologian) 121
 Six, Jan (regent) 137, 220-1, n.464
 Six, Willem (dyer) 62
 Six Collection 210-2
 Six-mile-bridge (Ireland) 131
 Slatkes, Leonard J n.668.
 Slicher, Anthoni n.176
 Slive, Seymour n.566
 Slooterdijck, Cornelis Jansz. 167
 Sloten (Friesland) n.576
 Sluijs, Abraham van der (tulip grower?) 62, 74
 Sluijter, Eric Jan n.97
 Smijters, Anthony (teacher) 230, 245, n.157, n.897
 Smijters, Samuel (bookseller) 61, 172, 175, 177-9, n.118, n.157, n.620, n.627, n.897
 Smissaert, Gillis (apprentice-painter, later merchant, art dealer) 58, n.115, n.151, n.152
 Smith, Adam (economist) 114
 Smith, Reymont de (tulip dealer) 72, n.196
 Smout, Cornelius n.604

- Smoutius, Adriaen (*predikant*) 83, n.604
- Snellinck, Cornelis (merchant) n.176
- Snijer, Cornelis Pietersz. 231, 233
- Snyders, Francoijs (painter)
- Snoeck, Pieter Jansz. (apprentice-painter) n.117, n.150, n.178
- Soap-boilers 68-9
- Soet, Jan Jansz. (poet) 224, n.783
- Sohier, Catharina 236
- Sohier, Daniel 236
- Sohier, Nicolaes (merchant) 56, 64, n.150, n.178
- Soldt, Catrijna van n.699
- Soldt, David van 198
- Soldt, Elisabeth van 191, 198
- Soldt, Francijntje van n.699
- Soldt, Hans van I (merchant) 190, 198, 226, n.176
- Soldt, Hans van II (silk merchant) 56, 190, 193, 198-9, 201, 226, n.698-9, n.707
- Soldt, Jacobus van (painter) 190, 198-9, ill.7
- Soldt, Johannes van 198
- Soldt, Maria van 198
- Soldt, Susanna van (musical prodigy) 190, n.688, n.721
- Someren, Arnoud van n.785
- Someren, Barend van (painter, art dealer, innkeeper) 44, 61, 198, 221-2, 239-242, n.117, n.150-1
sale 32, 36, 94, 99, 109, 123, 213, 219, 222
- Someren, Guilijam van 239
- Someren, Hendrick van (painter) 198, n.118, n.151
- Someren, Lambert van (fencing master) 239
- Someren, van (a son of Barend) 222
- Soolmans (Sollemans), Abraham 62
- Soolmans (Sollemans), Catharina 180, 183, 221, n.658
- Soolmans (Sollemans), Isaack (cloth merchant) 174-5, 178-80, n.626
- Soolmans (Sollemans), Marten 179-80, 221
- Soop, Floris (owner of glass works) 221
- Sopingius (*predikant*) 78
- Sotte Cleef. See Cleef, Cornelis van
- Sparendam n.343
- Sparreboom, Dirck Willemsz. van (sale) 153
- Specialization (of painters and dealers) 114-115
- Spiegel, Marten Hendricksz. (merchant) 39
- Spiegel, Outgert Pietersz. (wine merchant) 62
- Spiegel, Pieter Lourisz. (Lourensz.) (merchant?) n.110, n.177, n.188
- Spiering, Cornelis 213
- Spierings, Anneken n.565
- Spies, Wout n.567, n.570, n.595, n.677, n.685
- Spil, Marten (merchant) 31
- Spranger, Bartholomeus (painter) 95, 149, 172, 195, n.482
- Spranger, Gommer (merchant) 179
death inventory 172-3
sale 25, 32, 94, 99, 109, 118, 124, 166, 171, 174, 177-8, 222, 225, n.56, n.65, n.94, n.155, n.273, n.624, n.629, n.706
- Spranger(s), Susanna 144
- Sopingius (*predikant*) 78
- Stalpaert, Pieter (painter) 98, n.117, 240
- Stampwijk, Pieter van n.176
- Staples, prices of 11
- Staps, Magdalena (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Staps, Neel (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Starcke, E. n.321, n.322, n.328
- Starrenburch, Bastiaen (painter) n.118
- Starter, Jan Jansz. (poet) 68-70, 194, 218, n.148, n.179
- Stas, Pieter 58
- Staten Island 182
- States General 79, 212
- Staveren, Johannes (van) (painter) 124-5
- Steenwijck, Hendrick (I) (painter) 95
- Steijn(s), Dorothea (Dirckje) 182, n.648
- Sterck, J.F.M. n.244, n.245, n.754
- Sochius, Paulus (*predikant*) 79-80
- Stoffels, Hendrickje 170
- Stoffelsz., Dirck (beer distributor) 129
- Stoffelsz., Pieter (minor municipal officer)
- Stom, de, see Avercamp, Hendrick
- Stradanus (Jan van der Straet) (painter) 99, 102
- Straeten, Jan van der (cloth merchant) 53, 56
- Strauss, Walter L. 131, n.66, n.215, n.320, n.360, n.365, n.385, n.418, n.552, n.562, n.586, n.596, n.605, n.636, n.672, n.702, n.728, n.734, n.772
- Stuver, Jan (merchant) 60
- Styfe Cas, Cornelis (*uitdraager*) n.115
- Suerdiest, Elias n.295
- Sultan (of Ottoman Empire) 212
- Sumowski, Werner n.599
- Suyderhoef, Jonas (printmaker) ill.5, 169, n.567, n.597
- Swalme, A. van der n.568, n.593
- Swalme, Carel van der (dike-reeve) 166, n.568, n.593
- Swalme, Catharina (Trijntje) van der 166
- Swalme, Charles van der n.569
- Swalme, Nicolaes van der n.568
- Swalmen, van der n.597, see Swalmius, Jacob
- Swalmius, Arnold(us) (*predikant*) 166, n.568, n.593
- Swalmius, Eleazer 166-8, n.565, n.567, n.582, n.593, n.597
- Swalmius, Helena (Hilletje) 167-8

- Swalmius (van der Swalme), Henricus (Henrick) (I) (*predikant*) 166, n.593
- Swalmius, Henricus (II) (*predikant*) n.568, n.593,
- Swalmius (van der Swalme), Jacob (apprentice-painter, later regent) 61, 113, 164-6, 169-70, 174-8, n.128, n.563, n.565, n.569, n.599
- Sweden, King of 146
- Sweerts, Elisabeth Manuel 70, 195
- Sweerts, Emanuel (Manuel) (botanist, printmaker) 70, 195, n.117, n.707
- Sweer(t)s, Jeronimus (painter) 70, n.118
- Sweer(t)s, Lenart (I) (advocate) 70
- Sweer(t)s, Lenart (II) n.699
- Sweerts, Marie 70
- Sweer(t)s, Willem Lenartsz. 70, 78, n.699
- Swol, Samuel van (bookkeeper V.O.C.) 101, 104-5, 194-6, 203
- Sybrantsz., Cornelis (silversmith) 116
- Sylvius, Jan (Johannes) Cornelis (*predikant*) 166-7, 169, n.577
- Sylvius, Petrus Joannes (*predikant*) 166-7, 169, n.575-6
- Symonsz., Albert (silversmith) 150
- Symonsz., Engel 161-2
- Symonsz., Jacob
- Synod (National, 1618-9) 78, 79, 170
- Tax (on wealth) 55-6, 82, 189-90, 204, 213, 218, 227, 230, 238-9
- Tempesta, Antonio 213, 219
- Tengnagel, Jan (painter) 97
- Tengnagel, Mattheus Gansneb (poet) 70, 129, 216, 222, 224-5
- Tetrode, Willem van 209
- Thijs, Anna 155
- Thijs, Catharina (I) 153, 160, 194-5, n.498, n.517
- Thijs, Catharina (II) n.517
- Thijs, Jannetge (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Thijs, Magdalena n.508, n.510
- Thijs., Reym (sworn appraiser, *uitdraagster*) 21, n.115
- Thijsz. (Thysius), Dr. Anthonij (I) (professor theology) 155, n.516
- Thijsz., Anthonie (II) 127, 153, 156-7, 160, 162, n.512, n.897
- Thijsz., Augustijn 154, 157, 159-60, n.523
- Thijsz., Christoffel (I) 153, 155
- Thijsz., Christoffel (II) (rentier, money-lender) 62, 155, n.553
- Thijsz., François (I) 155, 157, n.517
- Thijsz., François (Franciscus) (II) 154, 159-60, n.897
- Thijsz., Hans I (jeweler) 53, 113, 127, 153-5, 195, 245, n.92, n.127, n.498, n.502, n.503, n.510, n.512, n.521, n.897
sale 155-6
- Thijsz., Hans (Jan) (II) 153-4, 156-9, 161, 226, n.524, n.544
- Thijsz., Jacques 155
- Thijsz., Jan 153
- Thijsz., Joannes 160
- Thijsz., Philips 31
- Thijsz., Pieter, see Schrijver
- Thivaert, Antho(i)nette 127-8
- Thivaert, Daniel (painter) 128-9, n.397, n.398
- Thivaert, Hendrick (I) (sugar refiner, art dealer?) 128-9, 151
- Thivaert, Hendrick (Henri) (II) 128-9, n.401
- Thivaert, Jan (I) n.115
- Thivaert (Tijvaert), Jan (II) (sugar refiner, art dealer) 115, 126-9, 151, n.391, n.393, n.394, n.396
- Thivaert, Jan (III) 128-9, 162
- Thivaert, Nicolaes 127, 129
- Tholinck, Aert (merchant) 153, n.501
- Thomas, Jacob Hugh (*bode of the Desolate Boedelskamer*) 59, 60
- Thomas, Joris 63
- Thomasdr., Foockel
- Thonis Poort, Lysbeth (*uitdraagster*) n.115
- Thonisz., Barent (Drent) (painter) n.117
- Thoor, Hans (Jan) le (Letoir) (I) (jeweler, art dealer) 129, 144-149, 189, n.488
- Thoor, Johannes (Hans, Jan) le (II) (jeweler) 144, 150, n. 68, n.488
- Thoor (Letoir), Pauline (Police) (le) 150
- Thou , county of (Ireland)
- Thys archive, Leiden 156
- Tiellens, Susanna 150
- Tiellens, Jan (cloth merchant) 150
- Tintoretto (painter) n.405
- Titiaen (Tiziano) 28, 132, 141, 194, n.759
- Tombe, Isaack de la (bookseller) n.783
- Tombe, Pieter de la (bookseller, print-dealer) 61, 174-5, 178-9, n.94, n.118, n.157, n.628
- Tombe, Salomon de la (painter) n.117
- Tongeren, Willem van 135-6
- Tongerloo, Jasper van (merchant) 124
- Tontine 122, n.363
- Torun 157
- Tot wiens versoeck* 20, n.260
- Transportation services 50
- Treck, Jan Jansz. (painter) 124
- Triglandius, Jacob (*predikant*) 83
- Trijntge (the sister) 228, 232. See Gerrits, Trijn.
- Trip, Elisabeth 171
- Trip, Jacob 171
- Tristram, Abraham 137
- Tristram, Anna 136

- Tristram, Nicolaes (brewer) 136-7
 Tronquoy, Jan (merchant) 31
 Truce (12-year), in war with Spain, 77, 64, 116, 120, 154, 188, 191, n.84, n.510
Tuchthuis (house of correction) 224, n.799
 Tulips, speculation in 70-6, 133, 151
 Tulp, Nicolaes (doctor in medicine) 214
 Tümpel, Astrid n.275, n.819
 Tussenbroek, Gabri van n.610-1, n.618
- Uffelen, François van (painter) n.118
 Uffelen, Hans van (I) (merchant) 239
 Uffelen, Hans van (II) (painter?)
 Uffelen, Lucas van, (sale) 16, 22, 28-29, 109, 239, n.8, n.82
Uitdraagsters 40, 43-44, 239
 attendance at small sales 26, 226
 attendance at prestigious sales 195
 credit given to 22
 dominated small sales 108
 disputes among 22
 high prices paid by 44
 male and female n.133
 number of buyers among 43-4, 47
 retail sales by n.125
 prices of lots bought by 44, n.124, n.710
 prerogatives at auction 22
 turnover of estates by 106
 value of purchases 44-5
- Uijl, Arent Jansz. 25,
 Uijl, Jan Jansz. (den) 25, n.67, n.68
 Unger, J.H.W. n.766
 United East Indies Company (V.O.C.) 218
 subscription to shares of 52-3, 57, 65-8, 101, 108, 153-5, 190, 234, n.170, n.171, n.172
 Middelburg chamber 194, 237
 United States 220
 Utrecht 66, 79, 119, 127, 129, 132, 139, 166, 190, 207, n.331
 St. Mary's Church in n.839
 St. Peter's Church in
- Uylenburgh, Abraham van (painter) 122, n.358
 Uylenburgh, Alida (van) 166, n.577
 Uylenburgh, Anna (van) n.358
 Uylenburgh, Gerrit (Gerard) (van) (art dealer) 124, 126, n.358, n.388, n.389
 Uylenburgh, Hendrick (van) (painter, art dealer) 61, 115, 121-2, 151, n.116, n.214, n.301, n.358, n.374
 "academy" of 123, 126
 appraiser of paintings 101, 120, 125
 arbiter in disputes 75, 118, 125
 buyer at auction 123-4, 174-5, 178-9, n.370
 debts of 124, n.375
 enterprise of 123-5, n.350, n.355, n.371, n.380
- Uylenburgh, Hendrickje (van) 123
 Uylenburgh, Hiskia (van) n.160
 Uylenburgh, Isaack (van) n.358
 Uylenburgh, Lyntgen (van) n.358
 Uylenburgh, Marcus (van) n.358
 Uylenburgh, Rombout (van) (painter) 121
 Uylenburgh, Sara (van) n.358
 Uylenburgh, Saskia (van) 123, 164, 167, n.136
 Uylenburgh, Susanna (van) n.358
 Uylenburgh, Titia (van) n.160
 Uyttenbogaert (Wtenbogaert), Johannes van (I) (predikant) 77
 Valckenburg, Anna van 58
 Valckenburg, Elisabeth van 58, 134
 Valckenburg, Jan van 48, 58, 163, n.556
 Valckenburg, Lucas van (merchant) 58, 134, 245
 Valckenburg, Marcus van 135
 Valckenburg, Margarita van 58, 245
 Valckenburg, Maria van 58
 Valckenburg, Matheus van 58, 135
 Valckenburg, Susanna van 58
 Valckert, Warner van den (painter) n.118
 Valcksz., Jacob (merchant, amateur poet) 223-5, n.794,
 Valcksz., Jan (*de jonge*) 224, n.796
 Vapour, Arent n. 28
 Vapour, Hendrick (painter) n. 28
 Veecken, Balthasar van der 58
 Vee(c)ke(n), Gertruid van der n.607
 Veelen, Gerrit van (merchant) 31-2
 Veen, Jaap van der n.467, n.598, n.701, n.589, n.591-2, n.594, n.598, n.701, n.704
 Veene, van der 24
 Veersager (*uitdraager*) n.115
 Velde, Anthony van de (painter) n.117
 Velde, Esaias van de (painter) 181, 209, n.663
 Velde, Hans van de (painter) n.117
 Velters, Abraham (merchant) 194, 202
 Ven, Justus van de (notary) 182
 Venant, François (I) 204-5, n.731
 Venant, François (II) (painter) 24, 61, 113, 204-5, n.117, n.731
 Venant, Lenora 204
 Venice 130
 Venice, Doge of n.778
 Verbeeck, Abraham (merchant) n.699
 Verbeeck, Jacques (merchant) (sale) 31, 94, 109, n.176
 Verbeeke, Michiel 58
 Verburgh, Hendrick (merchant) 102, n.282
 Verdoes, Anneken Evers 237
 Verdoes, Jacob n.56
 Verdoes, Symon, see Does, Symon van der

- Verduyns, Marie (*uitdraagster*) n.116
 Verhult, Adam 239
 Verlaer, Elisabeth 58
 Vermeer, Gertruyd n.563
 Vermeer, Johannes (painter) n.282, n.462, n.563, n.886
 Vermou, Anna 243-4
 Vernier, Huybert 128
 Verniers, Machtelt 128
 Veronese (painter) 194
 Verplancken, Janneken 239
 Verriet, Jan 127-8, 151
 Verspreet, Hans (merchant) 204
 Verspreet, Hester 204, n.725
 Verstraten, Hendrick (diamond cutter) 47
 Verstegen, Hendrick (clock-maker) 47, 61, n.150, n.151
 Verstegen, Steven n.151
 Verwer (*uitdraager*) 231-2, n.115
 Verwerinne (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Verwer, Abraham (painter) 79, n.117
 Verwou, Aeltje 225, n.801
 Veulerus, Redericus (*predikant* ?) n.56
 Veulers, Aeltge, sale n.56
 Vickevoort (Wickevoort), Gaspar (Jasper) Jansz. van (cloth merchant) 162, 194, 202, n.179
 Vickevoort (Wickevoort), Jochem (Joachim) van (banker, diplomat) 194, 214, 216, n.756
 Victor, Jan (painter) 62
 Victor, Louys (*bode* for Dordrecht) 62
 Victorij, Elisabeth n.196
 Victorij, Jeronimus (horticulturist) 73, n.188, n.196, n.226
 Victorijn, Johannes (advocate, poet) 129, 151
 Vienna 125, 184, n.486, n.686
 Vigne, Susanna de la, sale 28
 Villamena, Francisco (printmaker) 99
 Ville, Guillaem de (painter) n.118
 Ville, Jacques de (painter) n.118
 Vinck (Vincx), Abraham van (painter) 27, 36, 144, 189, 239, n.151, n.152
 Vinck, Gabriel (*predikant*) n.343
 Vinck, Jacob Jacobsz. (regent) 221
 Vinckboons, David (painter) 104, 115, 193, 201, 235, n.118, n.212, n.291, n.837
 Vingboons, Philips (architect) n.118
 Vincon (Finsonius), Louis (Lodovicus) (painter)
 Visch, Garbrant (*uitdraager*) n.115
 Visscher, Abraham de 134, 137, n.443
 Visscher, Balthasar (de) (merchant) 58, 121
 Visscher, Claes (printmaker) n.117
 Visscher, Roemer (poet) 215
 Vlack, Dirck (merchant) n.176
 Vlaming van Oudtshoorn, Dirck (regent) 86
 Vlaming van Oudtshoorn, Pieter (regent) 85
 Vlaming (cited in libel) 221
 Vlieger, Simon (Symen) de (painter) 124
 Vliet, Fabian van (attorney) 58
 Vliet, Joris van n.559
 Vlooswijk, van, family 60
 V.O.C., see United East Indies Company
 Voerman, Christoffel 183
 Voet, Paulus 221, n.783
 Voetboochs, Hana (*uitdraagster*) n.115
 Vogel, Salomon de (broker) 62
 Vogelaer, Isaack (goldsmith) 118
 Vogelaer, Marcus de 58, 245
 Vogelaer, Marcus de (widow of) 53, 56. See also Valckenburg, Elisabeth van
 Vogelaer, Sara de (I) 76, 118, n.325
 Vogelaer, Sara de (II) 118
 Vogelaer (family) n.323
 Vogels, Aert (merchant)
 Vogel-zangh (cited in libel) 220
 Vondel, Clementia (silk merchant) 81, n.244
 Vondel, Joost van den (poet) 70, 81, 128, 213-4, 216-8, n.244, n.245, n.757, n.759
 plays by:
 "Josef in Dathan" 214, n.757
 "Palamedes" 81
 Voort, Cornelis van der (painter) 36, 115, n.306, n.364
 atelier of 121-2
 buyer at auction, n.11
 copied produced in studio of 115
 sale of estate 36, 109, 240, n.35, n.111, n.355, n.359, n.670, n.737
 sale requested by 39, 94, 191
 Voort, Pieter van der (painter) 36
 Vos, Jan (poet) 70, 179, 217
 Vos, Reynier Jansz. (caffa-weaver, innkeeper, art dealer) n.746
 Voskuyl, Hugo (Huich) (painter, broker) 174-5, 178-9
 Vossius, Gerard (theologian) 207, 216, n.763
 Vrancken, Anna (house of) 27
 Vrancx, Sebastiaen (painter) 242
 Vries, Hans Vredemans de (painter) 237
 Vries, Jan de n.6
 Vries, Pouwels de (painter) 85, n.117
 Vry, Frederick de (regent) 85-6
 Vroom, Hendrick (painter) 98, n.452

Waardgelders (mercenaries) 78-9, 207
 Wachtendonck, Abraham 76
 Wael, Jan de (merchant) 183
 Waermont 72
 Wagenaar, Jan (historian) 80, 86, n.16, n.20, n.39, n.222, n.227, n.228, n.231, n.234, n.236, n.241, n.242, n.245, n.247

- Wallendael, Jasper van 167, n.582
 Wallendael, Nicolaes 167
 Wallens, Samuel 61
 Walraven, Susanna n.699
 “Wapper”, de (Rubens’s house in Antwerp) 153, 155
 Wars, effect of on art market 104-5, n.293, n.471. See also Anglo-Dutch Wars
 Warsaw 157
 Weert, Ifje Willems van 166
 Wees, Abraham Jansz. de (“father Abraham”) (bookseller) 221, 225, n.118, n.781, n.801
 Wees, Adriaen Hendricksz. de 61
 Weesick, van, family 60
 Weinrich, Marie 130
 Wely, Anna van 59
 Wely, Jan (Hans) van II (jeweler) 56, 59, 155-6, n.139 n.520
 Wely, Jan van III (jeweler) 59
 Wely, Thomas van 59
 Wely, Willem van (jeweler) 58-9
 Wesel 126, 204
 Wesminster, Duke of 158
 Wessels, Angniet (*uitdraagster*) 231-2, n.116
 Westerman, Mariët 206
 West Indies Company (W.I.C.) 15, 40, 150, 153, 218, 234
 Westminster, Duke of 158
 Wet, Jacques van de (apprentice-painter) n.117
 Wet, Jacob de (painter) 123-5
 Wetering, Ernst van de 183, n.664
 Wicquevoort, Abraham van (writer) 194
 Wijen, Aernout van der (merchant) 238
 Wijen, Jacques van der (painter) 238, n.117
 Wijmer, Anna 62
 Wijmer, Pieter (merchant)
 Wijnants, Grietge (*uitdraagster*) n.116
 Wijngaarden, Hilde van n.12, n.39, n.90, n.91, n.115, n.876
 Wijnman, H. F. 121, n.353, n.358, n.364, n.367, n.379, n.383, n.386, n.403
 Wijs, Guilliame de (sugar refiner) 103
 Wijs, Isaack de n.151
 Wilde, Sebald de (I or II) (merchant) n.110
 Wilde, de, family 70
 Wildens, Jan (painter) 158
 Wilhelm, Paul de (I) (merchant) 216
 Willem, Dolle (*uitdraager*) n.115
 Willemot, Anna 171
 Willems, Anthonyntje 22
 Willems, Baefje 77
 Willemsz., Symon (hair-weaver) 237-8, n.188
 Wils, Hans (painter) 138
 Wine dealers/merchants 64, 227
 Wine distributors (*wijnverlaters*) 68-9
 Wingham, Tanneken 239
 Winkelman, P.H. n.815
 Winnen, Cesar (gilder) 70
 Wisselbank 40, 154, 238, n.165
 petition of 1604 67, n.173
 Wit, Anna de 182
 Wit, Egbert de (hat-maker) 162-3
 Wit, Pieter de (merchant) 27, 144
 “Wit Lavendael” (Chamber of rhetoric) n. 178
 Witsen, Aeltje (Aertge) 194
 Witsen, Cornelis (regent) 39
 Witsen, Jan Cornelisz. (grain merchant) 39
 Wittebrood, Guilliame (art dealer) 120
 Wolff, Dirck Gerritsz. van der 230, 233
 Wolff, Elisabeth Gerrits van der 212, 228
 Wolff, Gerrit van der (regent in Schiedam) 212
 Wolff, Hans van der n.244
 Wolff, Josijntge Gerrits van der 228
 Wolff, Marija de 190, n.698
 Wolff, Trijn Gerrits van der 227-8, n. 607
 Wolsgrin, Aert (publisher) n.800
 Wood, Christopher n.624
 Worp, J. A. n.571, n.761, n.769
 Wort (Wert), Aefge Dircx. 162-3
 Wort (Wert), Robbert 163
 Woutersz., Dirck (sculptor) n.117
 Woutersz., Wouter (merchant) 31
 Woutertge (*uitdraagster*) 231, 233, n.116
 Wouwer, Jan de (van den) (merchant) 84
 Wtenbogaert, Augustijn n.157, n.701
 Wtenbogaert, Johannes (II) (receiver-general of taxes) 61, 194, 202, 227, n.157, n.701, 227
 Wtenbogaert, see also Uyttenbogaert
 Wtewael, Hendrickge 119
 Wtewael, Joachim (painter) 119, 130, n.839
 Wuytiers, Dirck (merchant) 56, n.176

 Xanten 154

 Ysbrands, Catharina n.203

 Zachariasdr., Catharina n.899
 Zaltbommel 198
 Zell, Michael n.735, n.743, n.776
 Zevenbergen 70
 Zwieten, van (notary) 73

