



Ownership of Paintings in the Dutch Golden Age

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IF FOREIGNERS visiting Holland in the seventeenth century had been asked who actually bought the huge numbers of paintings being produced there, they probably would have answered “everyone.” These travelers, who were usually aristocrats or at least very affluent, were astonished by the art to be seen in Dutch cities. The English, French, and Italians were accustomed to seeing paintings in their own countries in churches and convents, or at the homes of the aristocracy or the very rich; in Holland, however, they got the impression that paintings were everywhere, in part because they often hung in the front room, and the tall windows made them easily visible from the street. The English merchant Peter Mundy described this phenomenon in his travel account: “All in generall striving to adorne their houses, especially the outer or street roome, with costly peeces, Butchers and bakers not much inferiour in their shoppes, which are Fairely sett Forth, yea many tymes blacksmithes, Cobblers, ettc. will have some picture or other by their Forge and in their stalle. Such is the generall Notion, enclination and delight that these Countrie Natives have to Paintings.”¹

This passage, written in 1640, was probably not much of an exaggeration. In Delft, around 1646, two-thirds of the population had paintings in their homes, with an average of eleven pictures per household. The poorest, of course, did not own such luxuries. Nevertheless, the occasional painting was found even among the few possessions of day laborers, and several small paintings were often listed in the estate inventories of simple artisans, though never very many: it has been estimated that half of all Amsterdam households had no paintings at all or only one or two.² These were not the paintings now hanging in museums, however; such quality work was found primarily among the upper middle class (merchants, shipowners, landowners, senior government officials, professors, lawyers, physicians, and clergymen in the larger cities) and to a somewhat lesser extent among the broad middle class (small businessmen, established shopkeepers, successful artisans, urban public servants).³

Detail, cat. 16

There were huge differences in quality, subject, format, and price; the choice was therefore immense—a particular type of painting for each social group, one might think. Yet most inventories listing paintings contain a bit of everything, and it is difficult to detect any patterns in the collecting behavior of the different socio-economic groups. The mere fact that every subject was available in a wide variety of formats and prices—ranging from a panel the size of a postcard to a canvas more than two yards across, and costing anywhere from four or five guilders to over a thousand—makes it extremely difficult to establish connections between collector and subject matter. With regard to style, too, cheap imitations and copies were made of almost every kind of painting.

Costly paintings by masters with a solid reputation were found almost exclusively in the possession of wealthy individuals. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the rich owned only high-quality paintings, for their estate inventories nearly always contain many inexpensive, anonymous works. One would expect a gentleman-dealer such as Johannes de Renialme, in Amsterdam, to have sold only expensive pictures to the very rich, considering that at his death in 1657 he owned 586 paintings, 40 of which were valued at two hundred to five hundred guilders, which was the high end of the art market (one extremely valuable Rembrandt was even estimated to be worth fifteen hundred guilders). Yet his stock also included 246 paintings worth between ten and forty guilders, and no fewer than 122 pieces valued at one to eight guilders.⁴ He most likely sold those inexpensive pictures by second- and third-rate masters to the same wealthy individuals who bought expensive paintings.⁵ There were also art dealers who sold only very cheap things, such as Cornelis Doeck, whose 576 paintings were valued in 1667 at about four guilders apiece.⁶ A number of the painters named in Doeck's inventory—such as Leendert de Laeff, who had sixty-four works in the shop—must have been employed by art dealers and probably specialized in painting pictures for people with modest incomes. This cannot be verified, however, since the names of such painters occur only in dealers' inventories, and their works are untraceable among the countless anonymous pieces in private estates.⁷ The majority of the paintings in Doeck's stock depicted biblical subjects, mainly from the Old Testament, which presumably indicates the preference of his clientele.⁸

TO GET AN IMPRESSION of the ownership of paintings in the middle of the seventeenth century (second and third quarters, the period in which paintings in estate inventories are best described), we begin at the top: the stadholder's court and the nobility.⁹ The houses of nobles were chiefly filled with portraits. The inventories of nobles living in The Hague—the only city in Holland where many noble families settled, attracted by the stadholder's court—reveal that the nobility owned more than three times as many portraits as wealthy magistrates did. On the other hand, the latter possessed twice as many paintings of other types, such as landscapes, still lifes, and history paintings. Even shopkeepers and craftsmen, like magistrates, owned considerably more paintings of various types than the nobility, but they had almost no portraits.¹⁰

The walls of noble homes had always been hung with costly tapestries, which lent

the interior a luxurious and prestigious character. Tapestries were easy to take along, and noble families were accustomed to moving frequently.¹¹ Among the bourgeoisie we see tapestries only in the homes of the most affluent, where they usually attest to their owners' aristocratic aspirations. This trend is exemplified by the Amsterdam burgomaster Joan Huydecoper, who bought costly tapestries for the reception room of his new house, one of the first grand canal-side mansions by the renowned architect Philips Vingboons, which was completed in 1641.¹² The fact that Constantijn Huygens had his portrait painted in front of a tapestry displaying his coat of arms therefore tells us a great deal about his social ambitions (cat. 6). In such a room there would not have been much space left for paintings, apart from an overmantel. Jan Steen's painting of a tapestry-covered interior — which illustrates the custom of hanging tapestries in front of the door and pushing them to the side to open it — shows what Steen thought an aristocratic interior looked like (cat. 29).

The 1646 inventory of Batenburg House in Vianen, which belonged to Johan Wolfert van Brederode, the husband of Louise Christina van Solms Braunfels (sister of Amalia van Solms), gives a good description of an interior of Holland's upper nobility.¹³ The most important rooms of this house were decorated with tapestries depicting historical, mythological, or biblical figures — such as Cadmus, Hercules, and Joseph — whereas several of the smaller rooms were hung with damask and gilt leather.¹⁴ Some of the rooms boasted overwhelming numbers of portraits.¹⁵ Unfortunately, this inventory did not mention the painters by name, but there seems to be little chance of finding masterpieces among the Dutch nobility. Compared with the approximately 150 portraits, other paintings make a poor showing. In addition to depictions of medieval castles belonging to the Brederode family, there were overmantels by Jan van Bijlert and Jacob van Campen (probably monumental works, but the subjects are not mentioned); paintings by Cornelis Saftleven, Roelant Savery, and Ambrosius Bosschaert; and a couple of small, anonymous pieces.¹⁶ Finally, the large hall contained a series of twelve portraits of Roman emperors, apparently a must-have among the nobility and burghers with aristocratic aspirations.¹⁷

A similar series of Twelve Emperors is found in the inventory of the Van Boetzelaer family (1663), who lived on the Lange Voorhout in The Hague.¹⁸ This is one of the few Hague inventories to provide reasonable descriptions of a noble family's possessions and shows that nobles of slightly lower rank than the Brederodes conformed to this pattern. At the Van Boetzelaers' residence, two reception rooms and the master bedroom contained tapestries that were family heirlooms, while other rooms were decorated with gilt leather and costly fabrics. There were some thirty-five family portraits and two old paintings of the gentlemen of the Order of the Golden Fleece, a portrait of the prince of Orange, and three views of places to which the family had ties.¹⁹ Furthermore, there were only two small landscape paintings, three still lifes, a picture of peasants having a meal, five paintings of biblical subjects, one mythological scene (The Rape of Europa), and some unspecified works.²⁰

The Twelve Emperors were also to be found at the stadholder's court, but as an extraordinary variant: a series produced by twelve famous painters, including Peter

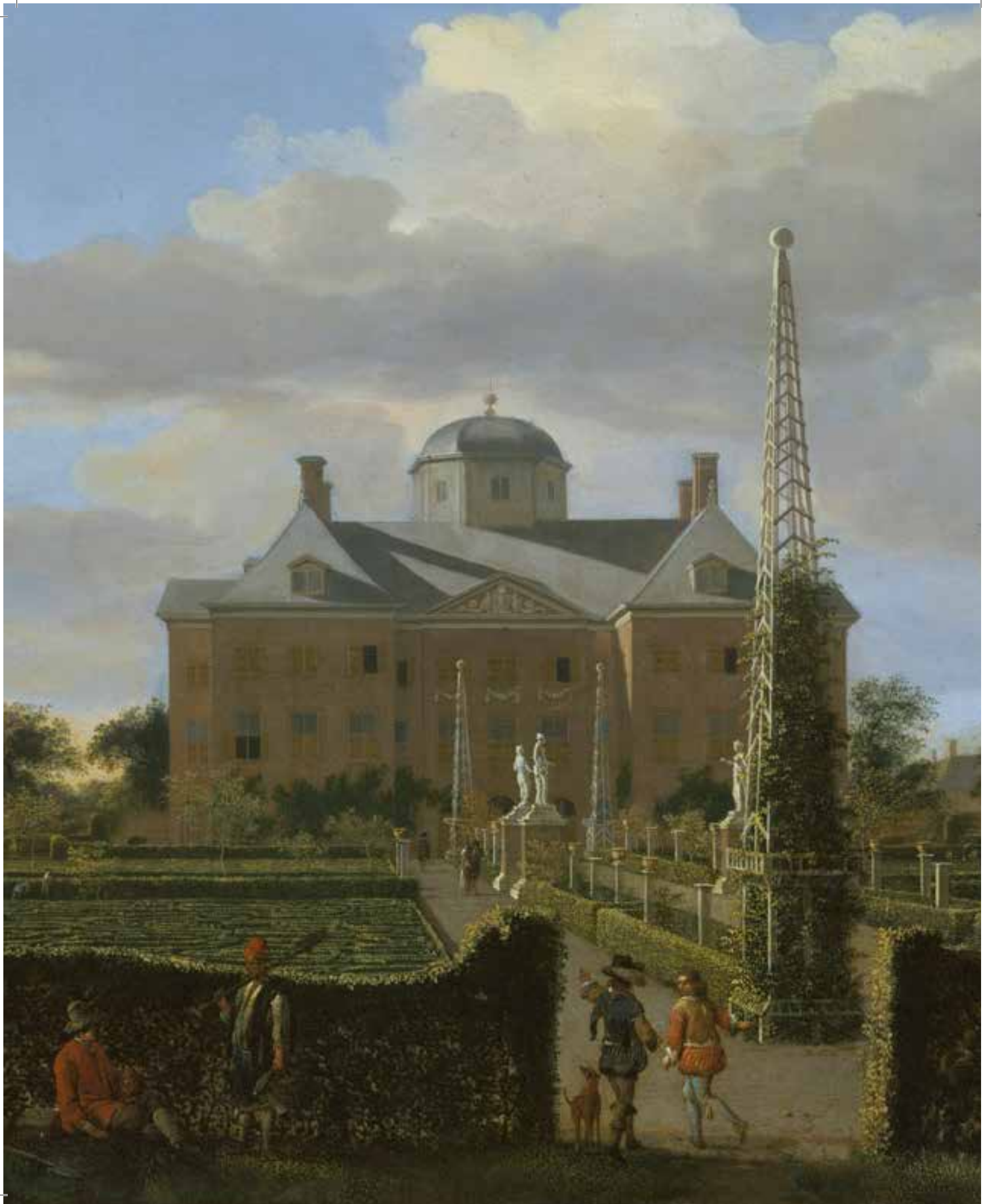
Paul Rubens, Paulus Moreelse, Michiel van Mierevelt, Gerrit van Honthorst, Abraham Bloemaert, Hendrick Goltzius, and Hendrick ter Brugghen. Prince Maurits probably commissioned this series between about 1616 and 1626, but it was Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms who eventually amassed a truly splendid collection.²¹ Indeed, their holdings displayed in magnified form a number of characteristics of a typical aristocratic collection. There were tapestries in abundance: the 1632 inventory of Noordeinde Palace — then used primarily for storage — listed twelve sets of figurative tapestries, each consisting of between six and ten pieces, which could be used on all kinds of occasions.²² The inventory of the same year for the Stadholder's Quarters — in the Binnenhof complex in The Hague — records that the twelve grandest rooms were hung with tapestries, including series depicting stories both mythological and historical, as well as twenty-eight gilt- and silver-leather wall coverings.²³ However, Amalia increasingly chose to decorate the walls with costly silk damask, satin, or velvet. This fashion, which had come to the Dutch Republic from the French court, called for alternating light and cheerful summery fabrics with darker, wintry materials.²⁴

Half of the paintings in Frederik Hendrik's and Amalia's extensive collection were portraits: likenesses of members of the House of Orange-Nassau and of countless foreign princes and nobles. Between Noordeinde Palace and Honselaarsdijk Palace, 272 portraits of princes, artists, scholars, and military commanders hung on the walls.²⁵ Another palace, Huis ter Nieuburgh, likewise boasted a gallery filled with princely portraits.²⁶ In contrast, the inventory of 1632 indicates that in the Stadholder's Quarters, where Frederik Hendrik and Amalia each had a floor, there were relatively few portraits, and they hung only in the private rooms. He had in his rooms four portraits, of his father, mother, wife, and Elizabeth of Bohemia, and Amalia, in her rooms, had twenty-five portraits, including twelve small likenesses of French nobles.²⁷ The inventory seldom mentions the painters' names, and when it does, they are invariably Van Mierevelt (portraits of members of the House of Orange from the first decades of the century; see cat. 1), Honthorst (countless later portraits of family and in-laws; cat. 5), Van Dyck (a number of portraits; see cat. 4), and Rembrandt (one portrait, a profile of Amalia).²⁸

As early as 1632, however, the couple had also amassed a true collection of art, as befitted a princely court. Their collection was housed in two special galleries in the Stadholder's Quarters, situated on their respective floors. The collection was rather unusual in that, unlike other European rulers of the time, they did not buy Italian paintings, which were certainly to be had in Holland.²⁹ And though the couple followed French fashions in interior decoration, they did not purchase French paintings either. The Oranges, who were extremely wealthy, imported from France and Italy fabrics for wall coverings that were usually much more expensive than paintings; their collecting only Netherlandish paintings must have been a deliberate choice.³⁰

Frederik Hendrik and Amalia's choice of art seems to have been guided by an ambition to enhance the reputation of Netherlandish painting. Huygens's account of painters — written in 1631 as part of the autobiography of his youth — discusses only painters of the Low Countries (both the Northern and the Southern Netherlands), and





considers the level of Netherlandish art to be unsurpassed.³¹ Yet the Netherlandish paintings in their collection represent international courtly tastes. The painters they esteemed most highly had all spent time in Italy and had already enjoyed great success with Italian princes and aristocrats. First among them were the Antwerp artists Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, not only the most famous painters of the Low Countries but also considered the best representatives of the Italian style in the Netherlands. A number of their history paintings served as overmantels, and others hung as showpieces in the galleries.³² Other overmantels had been supplied by Gerrit van Honthorst, whereas Cornelis van Poelenburch was the painter represented by the greatest number of works. Both artists had spent years working for the Roman — and in Poelenburch's case, also the Florentine — nobility. Poelenburch's refined Southern landscapes with staffage representing mythological or biblical subjects decorated Frederik Hendrik's and Amalia's rooms.³³ Rembrandt and Lievens, still very young at the time, were well represented by works from their Leiden period as early as 1632. Even though Rembrandt and Lievens never traveled to Italy, they were considered to be, as Huygens explains at length, young painters who had surpassed the Italians and even the artists of antiquity.³⁴

The proportion of works by Poelenburch shows that delicately painted landscapes, often containing historical scenes, were an obvious favorite; similar types of paintings by Hendrick van Balen, Jan Brueghel the Elder, and Roelant Savery were also in the collection.³⁵ Mythological scenes, sparse elsewhere in Dutch collections, were well represented here — mostly generally known, slightly erotic subjects in compositions by Van Dyck, Van Balen, Rembrandt, Poelenburch, Honthorst, and Moreelse.³⁶ A number of then uncommon subjects from post-classical literature likewise depicted amorous episodes.³⁷ This trend soon culminated in the monumental *Pastor Fido* series, scenes from the popular late sixteenth-century Arcadian tragicomedy, painted for one of Amalia's rooms at Honselaarsdijk.³⁸

In contrast to most Reformed burghers, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia owned very few paintings of Old Testament subjects, but they had several pictures of New Testament themes.³⁹ These religious works, which were all hanging in Frederik Hendrik's rooms, displayed a remarkable number of themes encountered mainly in a Catholic milieu, and indeed these paintings had been produced by Catholic artists, such as Rubens, Poelenburch, Honthorst, and Van Balen.⁴⁰ There were also a couple of seascapes and several architectural perspectives (church or palace interiors), but still lifes and genre scenes were scarce, apart from a painting of people playing tric-trac and a portrayal of music-making courtesans by Honthorst.⁴¹ In her own palace — the Huis ten Bosch (cat. 8), completed after Frederik Hendrik's death in 1647 — Amalia van Solms surrounded herself with a very select group of works by her favorite artists: Van Dyck, Honthorst, and Govert Flinck, the only Amsterdammer patronized by the stadholder's family. The costly wall coverings left little room for paintings, which hung mainly above the beautifully carved mantelpieces.⁴²

To what extent Huygens provided advice and guidance in the purchase and commissioning of the works in their collection is unclear.⁴³ It is likely that Frederik

Hendrik and Amalia were themselves actively involved, and that Huygens, as secretary, was primarily responsible for the correspondence and the business arrangements.⁴⁴ It has always been thought that Huygens owned an important collection of artworks himself, but that, too, is unsubstantiated.⁴⁵ In various poems he refers to art as a waste of money and airs his opinion that people are so inured to the art in their own home that they walk past beautiful paintings without noticing them; they would do better to enjoy art—free of charge—in the collections of friends.⁴⁶ The paintings Huygens did own were portraits, which he valued mainly because of the sitters. Many of them were copies after likenesses—of princely persons and of illustrious individuals he esteemed—that he had seen in other people’s collections; he either commissioned the copy or received the portrait as a gift.⁴⁷ He collected, in particular, portraits of women whose beauty or talent he admired—not just queens, princesses, and noblewomen but also singers—and did not hesitate to ask for such portraits from the sitters themselves. He also had a weakness for female painters—Jeanne van Aerssen, Louise Hollandine, and Geertje Pieters, the painting maidservant of the painter Maria van Oosterwijk⁴⁸—but he preferred to receive such pictures as gifts. Huygens owned a large number of family portraits, which he had inherited, as well as numerous portraits of himself by such painters as Jan Lievens, Thomas de Keyser (cat. 6), Michiel van Mierevelt, Adriaen Hanneman (fig. 25), Jacob van Campen (with his wife, Suzanna van Baerle), Caspar Netscher, and Anthony van Dyck. It would be difficult to find another seventeenth-century Dutch person who had his portrait painted so often.

The only fairly expensive painting that Huygens commissioned was a large double portrait by Honthorst of his patrons, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia—a replica of a work made for the couple, so it was probably not so expensive after all.⁴⁹ It hung in the stairwell of his house on the Plein as a way of emphasizing his close ties to the stadholder and his wife, and his high position in the Dutch Republic. Some of the paintings he received as gifts were by painters such as Adriaen van de Venne, Laurens Craen, and Pieter Saenredam, who tried, through him, to gain access to the court; not one of them succeeded. Others, such as the painting he received from Daniël Seghers, were tokens of gratitude for his mediation at court.⁵⁰ The only works that Huygens is known to have purchased were two apostle *tronies* (head studies) by Van Dyck and two landscapes by Cornelis Vroom.⁵¹ If he had indeed owned other works by famous masters, they would no doubt be traceable, either in the countless letters and poems penned by the vain Huygens or in the letters and diaries of visitors to his home.⁵²

AS SECRETARY TO THE STADHOLDER, Huygens was constantly in touch with courtiers and noble diplomats, which meant that he occupied a special place within the burgher elite. In the United Provinces the “nobility” among the burgher elite consisted of the families whose members served as burgomasters of the large cities, particularly Amsterdam. Andries de Graeff—who served in that capacity many times—and his brother Cornelis were for a long time among the most powerful (and wealthiest) men in the country.⁵³ The De Graeffs, too, apparently considered an exceptional collection of paintings less important than a portrait gallery. Although Andries and

FIG. 25. Adriaen Hanneman,
*Constantijn Huygens and His
Five Children*, 1640



Cornelis were instrumental in Amsterdam in granting important civic commissions to prominent history painters for such projects as the decoration of the town hall, they seemingly had no need—and in this they resembled Huygens and most aristocrats—to surround themselves with paintings other than portraits.⁵⁴ In their case, however, the portraits were not of princes, aristocrats, or luminaries; almost all of their pictures were monumental portraits of themselves and their families. Whereas the quality of the portraits seemed to be of little importance to noble families such as the Brederodes and the Van Boetzelaers, the portraits owned by families like the De Graeffs were usually commissioned from the very best painters. And unlike the painters who worked for the court, these select artists did not come from Antwerp, Utrecht, or The Hague/Delft, but from Amsterdam, where intense competition propelled the quality of portraiture to unprecedented heights.



FIG. 26. Nicolaes Eliasz.
Pickenoy, *Cornelis de Graeff*,
1636



FIG. 27. Nicolaes Eliasz.
Pickenoy, *Catharina Hooft*,
1636

Cornelis de Graeff and his wife, Catharina Hooft, had their portraits painted twice by Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy (figs. 26, 27), and later by Jacob Backer, Bartholomeus van der Helst, and Govert Flinck. They had marble portrait medallions made of both of them by Artus Quellinus and a portrait in historical guise by Jan Victors. Catharina Hooft had been painted as a small child in the arms of her wet nurse by Frans Hals — a work that is now one of the most famous portraits of the seventeenth century (see fig. 13). Just imagine having such portraits of oneself on the wall! Around 1660 De Graeff commissioned Thomas de Keyser and Jacob van Ruisdael to portray him and his family riding in a coach, and his two sons on horseback, in front of Soestdijk, their country estate (fig. 28).⁵⁵ Cornelis also commissioned a copy of a painting by Jacob Backer of the civic militia company to which he belonged — and had his two sons added.⁵⁶ Cornelis's brother Andries was portrayed not only by Rembrandt but

FIG. 28. Jacob van Ruisdael and Thomas de Keyser, *Cornelis de Graeff with His Wife and Sons Arriving at Soestdijk*, about 1660



also by Bartholomeus van der Helst, Govert Flinck, Jan Lievens, Jurriaan Ovens, and Gerard ter Borch. Ovens painted Andries with his entire family, and also painted the children separately.⁵⁷ Thus, the De Graeffs had themselves portrayed by a series of painters who were successive favorites among the Amsterdam elite.

Rembrandt's 1639 likeness of Andries (cat. 16) was the last in a series of full-length, life-size portraits, a format apparently inspired primarily by portraits of English aristocrats and previously reserved for princes and the high nobility.⁵⁸ The parents of Cornelis de Graeff's first wife, and the uncle and aunt of his second wife, Catharina Hooft, had themselves portrayed in this way, as did Dirck de Graeff (brother of Cornelis and Andries) and his wife, Eva Bicker; this type would culminate in the portraits painted by Pickenoy of Cornelis de Graeff and Catharina Hooft in 1636 as well as Rembrandt's 1639 portrait of Andries.⁵⁹ Pickenoy portrayed them with the detached, impassive stateliness common to the rulers and high nobility of all countries. Rembrandt, on the other hand, experimented with the latest fashion, which, since its introduction by Van Dyck, had become the rage at the English court: he portrayed Andries with an elegantly draped cloak and a somewhat nonchalant *contrapposto*, leaning against a pedestal. Van Dyck had employed the pose several years earlier in his portrait of Prince Rupert, a son of the Winter King and Queen — Frederick V, the Elector Palatinate, and Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I of England — who spent years in The Hague.⁶⁰ The pretensions of the burgher sitters are as plain as day, but this is hardly surprising, since they belonged to families that were among the most powerful in the Republic, and could parley on an equal footing with noble diplomats from other countries.

If we take a look at another regent, Frederick Alewijn, we are struck once again by a great number of family portraits: his inventory of 1665 showed a total of twenty-five, mainly of the Alewijn family, but also a few De Graeffs and Bickers.⁶¹ These were hanging in the back room and the upstairs front room, suggesting that they were there for the family's own enjoyment, rather than to enhance their prestige. Only the *pater-familias*, Dirck Alewijn, had his portrait hanging in the chief reception room, which also contained the best pieces, such as two large paintings, *The Crowning with Thorns* by Hendrick ter Brugghen and *Cain and Abel* by Frans Floris, as well as *Laborers in the Hayfield* by Abraham Bloemaert, two *tronies* by Rembrandt, a landscape by Alexander Keirincx, five grisailles by Aegidius Sadeler, and a large seascape that served as an overmantel. The paintings in other rooms included a *Pedilavium* (Washing of the Feet) by Pieter Aertsen, a nude by Pieter de Grebber, a grisaille by Bartholomeus Spranger, and a depiction of the legendary Roman hero Marcus Curtius by Cornelis Holsteyn. The rest of the ninety-four paintings were unnamed and probably of no great value. The collection comprised a few fashionable pictures for the reception room and some decoration for the other rooms. Apparently Alewijn did not own any very expensive paintings or works by foreign masters, which was probably the norm among regents.

Beautiful collections with Italian paintings must be sought among wealthy merchants who had many trading contacts with Italy and had also lived there, such as Jan and Gerrit Reynst, Balthasar Coymans and his sons, and Lucas van Uffelen.⁶² Indeed, Van Uffelen was the only one who could pride himself on having had his own portrait painted—not once, but twice—by Van Dyck in Italy. His collection was sold at auction in 1639 for the staggering sum of 50,456 guilders. With the exception of the Reynst brothers, these collectors were natives of the Southern Netherlands and had not yet climbed to the top of Amsterdam's ruling elite, although the following generation of the Coymans and Reynst families would succeed in doing so. Somewhat later in the century, connoisseurs such as Jan Six, the son of a wealthy merchant who married into the regent class, and the rich silk trader Philips de Flines would join their ranks as collectors of important Italian paintings. Like Coymans and Van Uffelen, they came from families that had fled the Southern Netherlands and settled in Amsterdam in the 1580s. The extremely wealthy Coymanses, originally from Antwerp, in 1624 built a classicist mansion of truly monumental proportions on an Amsterdam canal, described by a contemporary as “full of wonderfully large rooms, with costly paintings and other decorations.”⁶³ In this impressive house (designed by Jacob van Campen, the same architect who later worked on the Oranges' palaces and the Amsterdam Town Hall), they had a large number of works by contemporary Italian painters, but they must also have owned work by Rembrandt and Flinck, the most famous Amsterdam masters. Unfortunately, no inventory of their possessions has been preserved.⁶⁴

Less wealthy than the Coymanses, but still one of the richest men in Haarlem, was the cloth merchant Willem van Heythuysen, another native of the Southern Netherlands. Like so many other merchants from the region, he had moved to Cologne and then Frankfurt before immigrating to Haarlem, where he settled around 1613.⁶⁵ The inventory of his possessions, drawn up at his death in 1650, includes, among his

FIG. 29. Frans Hals,
Willem van Heythuysen,
about 1638



approximately one hundred paintings, “the effigy or likeness of Willem Heythuysen with a length of black cloth over it” in the “large reception room”—the full-length portrait by Hals that was apparently covered as a sign of mourning upon the sitter’s death (cat. 24).⁶⁶ Visitors entering the reception room would no doubt have been taken aback to see the master of the house, portrayed large as life, leaning on a huge silver-decorated sword and standing in front of a red drapery, as though he were a king. The garden of love in the left background and the roses on the ground, which contrast so sharply with his regal bearing and his position in front of the heavy curtain, almost

FIG. 30. Gerrit Dou, *Woman at Her Toilette*, 1667

make one think that both painter and sitter are mocking the full-length portraits of courtiers and the few Amsterdam regents who had not only dared to have themselves portrayed in this way but had spent great sums of money to acquire foreign titles of nobility, as Laurens Reael and Volckert Overlander had done.⁶⁷ About ten years later Heythuysen again had himself portrayed by Hals, in an equally unusual way, but that small portrait exudes an informal nonchalance seen in few other likenesses (fig. 29); only Hals's portrait of Isaac Massa, another prosperous merchant in Haarlem with roots in the Southern Netherlands, approaches its lively immediacy (cat. 25).⁶⁸

Even though the listings of Heythuysen's holdings do not include the artists' names or tell much about the subjects of his paintings, one gets the impression that the house was decorated with notable pictures, many of them described as large, and most of them in ebony or gilt frames. The inventory lists, moreover, a remarkable number of nudes. Were these the work of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem and Hendrick Goltzius, the names that category immediately calls to mind? Goltzius is also suggested by the listing of "a large scene with two personages and some fruit," which may well have been a Vertumnus and Pomona, a subject Goltzius painted a few times in large format.⁶⁹ Heythuysen also owned merry companies, kitchen pieces, banquet still lifes, and peasant scenes, all of which evoke the work of Haarlem artists (Dirck Hals, Pieter Claesz., Adriaen Brouwer, Jan Miense Molenaer). There were landscapes, some quite large, and his country house, just outside the city walls, boasted what was probably a scantily clad "Lucretia Romana in front of the mantelpiece" and, once again, "the twelve Roman emperors painted, in gilt frames." He did not own many religious paintings and evidently was not interested in owning portraits of sitters other than himself.

It is these members of the elite — residing in one of the large cities of Holland, well-off but not in the highest regents' circles, often merchants, sometimes intellectuals, quite often of Southern Netherlandish origin — who owned huge quantities of paintings produced by contemporary Dutch painters whose works still fill our museums. Good examples include the well-to-do Leiden professor Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius and Hendrick Bugge van Ring, a descendant of a rich family of brewers: two Leiden contemporaries from whom we have detailed inventories.⁷⁰ These men were true art lovers who did not buy paintings simply to decorate the walls.⁷¹ Professor Sylvius — born near Frankfurt but of Southern Netherlandish descent, and renowned in all of Europe as a progressive physician — had at the time of his death in 1672 a staggering collection of 172 paintings in his house on Leiden's Rapenburg.⁷² The upstairs front room — approximately twenty-five by twenty feet, with large windows at the front, and containing two beds, ten chairs, two armchairs, a walnut cabinet, and a cradle — had forty-two paintings on the walls, as well as two large mirrors. Almost all of these paintings had been made by contemporary Northern Netherlandish painters and purchased by Sylvius himself. Unfortunately, they were not appraised, but his collection must have been worth a fortune, because it included eleven paintings by Gerrit Dou, including his *Woman at Her Toilette* (fig. 30), and nine by Frans van Mieris the Elder; they were the most famous and most highly priced painters of their time. Among these artworks were a number of first-rate pieces, which had certainly cost



FIG. 31. Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius and His Wife*, 1672



more than a thousand guilders apiece. Nearly all of Sylvius's paintings were signed by masters known for their detailed and delicately painted works: Adriaen Brouwer, Jan Porcellis, Paulus Potter, Philips Wouwerman, Jan Davidsz. de Heem, Abraham Mignon, Balthasar van der Ast, Cornelis van Poelenburch. The only nude and one of the few biblical representations that Sylvius owned—his library indicates that he was a strict Calvinist—was a Bathsheba by Pieter Lastman. One of the few family portraits was a costly piece painted by Van Mieris that portrayed Sylvius with his late wife tuning her lute (fig. 31).

Hendrick Bugge van Ring, who was Catholic, had an even larger collection. The 1667 inventory of his 213 paintings lists the names of no fewer than 93 painters. This document was drawn up in the presence of Bugge, who must have been a true connoisseur, with a good memory to boot. In cramming his house full of paintings, he went even further than Sylvius: in the upstairs front room — probably comparable in size to Sylvius's — Bugge had as many as 64 paintings, plus six bookcases. Like Sylvius, he did not own the work of foreign masters, but what he did collect was entirely different: he had family portraits and religious paintings, mostly depicting subjects from the New Testament, including the Passion of Christ; an attic room furnished as a private chapel contained devotional pieces, a small altar, and liturgical silver. A salient feature of his collection was the large number of paintings by Jan van Goyen, Jan Steen, and Quiringh van Brekelenkam — at first glance three quite different painters. Yet they all came from Leiden and, like Bugge, were Catholic; he was probably personally acquainted with all of them. Bugge's paintings — and he truly owned every genre available — generally seem a bit less expensive and less refined than those in Sylvius's collection, even though he undoubtedly paid a great deal of money for a spectacular flower garland by Adriaen van der Spelt with a curtain painted by Van Mieris. Extensive and beautiful collections like Bugge's were exceptional, however.

Decidedly modest in comparison were the paintings owned by the Mennonite printer and bookseller Abraham Casteleyn, portrayed with his wife, Margarieta van Bancken, with such dignity by Jan de Bray (cat. 27).⁷³ In Casteleyn's inventory — cursory but including appraisals — the most valuable paintings are by the hand of “Casteleijn,” probably his elder brother, Vincent Casteleyn (one work valued at forty-four guilders and two at twenty guilders), a not very talented painter by whom hardly any work is known.⁷⁴ Other works that received rather high appraisals (from fourteen to eighteen guilders) were by various minor masters of Haarlem: Abraham Begeijn, Thomas Wijck, and Cornelis Decker. A Frans Hals (without a description) was valued at ten guilders, as was “a copy after Steen”; the rest, including several works by Van Goyen, received even lower valuations. The majority of his seventy paintings — a surprisingly high number — were worth less than five guilders. They had probably all been purchased in Haarlem for no purpose other than to decorate the walls of his house.

SINCE RESEARCH INTO THE OWNERSHIP of paintings in Amsterdam, Delft, Leiden, and Haarlem has not yet systematically considered the collections with an eye to specific economic or social groups, only a few general remarks can be made about trends.⁷⁵ Ownership of paintings by the burghers of both Delft and Amsterdam not only increased during the century along with disposable income but showed a proportionally greater increase than ownership of other movable goods.⁷⁶ Research in Amsterdam and Haarlem inventories shows that the increase in the number of landscape paintings, a general pattern, was especially pronounced in the more prosperous estates.⁷⁷ The more extensive the inventories and the greater the number of attributed paintings — clearly connected to the value of the estate — the greater the number of landscapes and seascapes.⁷⁸ The landscape paintings by masters known to us, though

FIG. 32. Hendrick
Bloemaert, *Cook in the
Kitchen*, 1634

not usually in the most expensive category, were to be found mainly in the inventories of more highly placed individuals who took a great interest in paintings; even the many anonymous landscapes are more numerous in more affluent estates. It was just the opposite with biblical history paintings, which decreased proportionally in the better estates, whereas they continued to be present in relatively large numbers in the modest households of artisans and tradesmen.⁷⁹ Particularly in the case of unattributed biblical scenes, there was a market for small, inexpensive paintings whose attraction was their subject matter and not their artistic merit. This is in keeping with the fact that the inventories of art dealers who catered to the low end of the market displayed a preponderance of biblical paintings, mostly scenes from the Old Testament.

The owner's religious persuasion is often easy to determine in the case of Catholics, whose collections, as we saw in the case of Bugge, nearly always contain a much greater proportion of religious paintings, particularly New Testament subjects.⁸⁰ As one would expect, subjects from classical mythology occur mainly in the richer holdings, but, remarkably enough, it seems to have been chiefly Catholics who owned such paintings.⁸¹ Still lifes of flowers or fruit are found in the entire range of inventories; in this case the quality of the painter made the difference; as in history painting, the appraisals could vary from less than one guilder to over one thousand (for an ornate work by Jan Davidsz. de Heem, for instance). The small still life hanging in the interior inhabited by Brekelenkam's tailor (cat. 40) would not have cost more than a couple of guilders. "Breakfast" still lifes — such as those produced by Pieter Claesz. and Willem Heda, and above all the countless imitations of such work — are encountered with surprising frequency in the more modest estates. Genre pieces, on the other hand, almost never occur in humble inventories. Works by the genre painters known to us — and certainly those by such masters as Dou, Gabriel Metsu, Ter Borch, and Johannes Vermeer — were then, as now, destined for wealthy collectors, as were peasant scenes by successful painters such as Adriaen Brouwer and Adriaen van Ostade.⁸² In the case of works by Jan Miense Molenaer we find greater variation⁸³ — just as there are great differences in quality among the paintings produced in his studio — yet his work does not appear in truly humble estates either. Compared with other types of painting, inexpensive genre pieces must have been produced in very small numbers.

For ownership patterns of classes below the upper crust, it makes more sense to study a number of individual inventories than to attempt general pronouncements.⁸⁴ The inventories of the *smalle burgerij* (small shopkeepers and humble craftsmen) reveal that there is seldom a link between the owner's profession and a certain type of representation. Seascapes, for example, were encountered among all groups; sailors and ship captains occasionally owned a greater-than-average number, but there were also skippers without a single seascape.⁸⁵ A "barber-surgeon's shop" in the estate of a surgeon, Dirck Thomasz. Molengraeff, seems not to be a coincidence, however, nor is his ownership of what are possibly two series of the Five Senses (including one by Dirck Hals).⁸⁶ It also stands to reason that a particular innkeeper would own such mouth-watering paintings as a kitchen piece, a butchered pig, and "a large fatted ox."⁸⁷ But it is surprising to learn that one of this innkeeper's twenty-seven paintings was



“a cook in the kitchen with raw meat, portraying the gentleman *comparant*” (Joost Joosten, whose inventory was being drawn up). Appraised at seventy guilders, it was a very special portrait of himself, which far surpassed his other paintings in value (compare fig. 32). Innkeepers often owned paintings that they intended to sell to their customers; this seems to have been the case with Joost’s other small paintings, most of them worth between five and twenty guilders.⁸⁸

Grietje Tijmans, a Catholic fishwife, is recorded as owning “a small painting of a fish,” which was valued, together with three other small panels (of unknown subject), at one guilder.⁸⁹ Both Grietje and her husband, a ship’s carpenter, were illiterate. Her most valuable painting was an Old Testament subject, Rebecca and Eliezer, estimated to be worth ten guilders. The other biblical representations (two pictures of Mary and Joseph, a Christ and the Samaritan Woman, a Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, a Nativity, and a Homecoming of Tobias) were all valued at between one and five guilders. Altogether she owned eighteen paintings, including a kitchen piece, a winter scene, and three *tronies*, as well as a portrait of the duke of Brunswick. Her family possibly came from that area, since many seventeenth-century residents of Amsterdam had roots in German-speaking regions. The portraits found in the inventories of such simple folk are almost always likenesses of princes, mainly the princes of Orange.⁹⁰

Thus the cloth finisher Watse Leurens, who possessed twenty-nine paintings, must have been a fervent Orangist, considering that he owned portraits of Prince William of Orange, Prince Maurits, and Frederik Hendrik and his wife, Amalia van Solms.⁹¹ He was obviously a Calvinist and had a print of Moses’s Tablets of the Law and a number of Old Testament pieces (Abraham’s Sacrifice, Rebecca and Eliezer, Daniel in the Lions’ Den, Susanna, a Sacrifice to Baal, and two paintings of Jacob and Rachel), as well as a Conversion of Saul. All of these paintings — together with a Christ Healing the Blind Man, a Caritas, a Saint Jerome, some small landscapes, a banquet still life, a flower painting, and a portrait of his two children — were hanging in the living/dining room of his house on the Goudsbloemstraat. The same princely portraits — of William, Maurits, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia — and a small, damaged painting of the prince on horseback (as well as a picture of an unnamed king) occur in the inventory of Albert Jansz., the skipper of a ferry, who also owned a number of scenes from the Old Testament (featuring Samson, Hagar, and Moses), as well as a Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, two prints of clergymen, and a few small landscapes and banquet still lifes: thirty-one paintings altogether, nearly all of them in the “front room” (*voorhuis*).⁹²

The beer seller Christoffel Barendsz. had the same members of the House of Orange on the wall — as well as a “prince in armor” and a print of William of Orange.⁹³ He also owned a seascape, a kitchen piece, a female *tronie*, and a landscape that served as an overmantel, but no biblical scenes are listed among his eighteen paintings. A fellow beer vendor, Jan Bruynsen, was obviously Catholic and therefore had, instead of portraits of the princes of Orange, a portrait of a priest, a series of six prints of priests, two Annunciations, a Virgin, a Crucifixion, a Deposition, two likenesses of Saint Francis, the Four Evangelists, and a Moses; the appraisals of these ranged from three to



FIG. 33. Rombout van Troyen, *Achaz Sacrificing His Son*, 1645

twenty guilders; the six prints of priests together were a bit over one guilder.⁹⁴ There were no landscapes or still lifes among his eighteen paintings, but he did own “a large painting portraying the entire family,” valued at forty guilders. A work of this kind was seldom encountered in humble households. And not all simple craftsmen owned biblical pictures: the master tailor Wouter Luijsinck had seven paintings, none religious.⁹⁵ He owned a still life, a piece with satyrs, a landscape, three small paintings of birds by Elias Vonck, and a portrait of himself.

PAINTERS ARE RARELY NAMED in such estate inventories. Sometimes a single painting is mentioned, such as that in the possession of the “rough camlet worker” (textile weaver) Jan Jacobsz. Gouda, whose paintings included one by the easily identifiable Rombout van Troyen, which was probably the best piece (fig. 33). He also had two paintings of the prince, a Jephtha, and a Joseph, but oddly enough, also a portrait of the “Pope of Rome.” Other surprising pictures included an Andromeda and “a dead child.” Altogether he had twenty-six paintings, including a Burning of Troy, a number of landscapes, and a banquet still life.⁹⁶

Bakers were often among the more well-to-do shopkeepers. The confectioner Cornelis Dircksz. Wittenoom on the Anjeliersgracht owned, according to his 1665 inventory, no fewer than six portraits of himself: two small portraits were among



FIG. 34. Adriaen van de Venne, *Fair on the Buitenhof*, illustration from *Tafereel van de belachende werelt* (The Hague, 1635)

the eleven paintings in the entrance hall, and in the best room there were three—a portrait of Wittenoom with two of his children by Philips Koninck and two more small portraits by Barent Graat.⁹⁷ He also owned landscapes by Jan van Goyen, David Vinckboons, and the completely unknown Barend Veris (Wittenoom’s uncle), as well as some anonymous biblical paintings. Another baker, Gerrit Jansz. Kock, had only ten paintings, mostly religious works, in holdings that looked more like the collection of a simple craftsman.⁹⁸

Paintings were acquired in all sorts of ways. Painters often used their work as a means of payment, which may account for some of the paintings owned by shopkeepers, innkeepers, and landlords. Rombout van Troyen’s landlord, for example, owned quite a few of his paintings. It is striking to find Van Troyen’s works mainly in the inventories of people who lived near him.⁹⁹ Perhaps those who wanted paintings simply went around the corner to the painter’s (work)shop; painters often sold the work of colleagues as well as their own. The shops of art dealers who specialized in inexpensive paintings tended to be located in the same neighborhood, and therefore easy to find.¹⁰⁰ In addition, paintings were sold at markets, particularly annual markets and

fairs (fig. 34).¹⁰¹ Paintings could also be found at bargain prices at the estate sales of deceased or bankrupt individuals. Finally, they served as lottery prizes.¹⁰² There were practically no barriers to buying paintings in seventeenth-century Holland, even for people with little money to spend.

The well-to-do who bought pictures of good quality would sometimes commission a painter to make an overmantel for the best room and, of course, portraits, but they probably purchased most of their paintings at the shop of a reputable painter or art dealer. Even so, their estates often included many inexpensive pieces bought at auctions, markets, or fairs — we know that even the Winter King and Queen bought paintings at a fair in Scheveningen.¹⁰³

The paintings owned by Hieronimus van Straaten provide a nice, albeit extreme, example of someone who collected both fine and inexpensive works. This burgomaster of Goes, who undoubtedly bought his paintings in The Hague, Amsterdam, and Utrecht, was a true collector who drew up an inventory of his holdings himself, separating “the beautiful paintings” — sixty-three extremely valuable works — from fifty-one others, many of them anonymous, that decorated various walls of his house.¹⁰⁴ For the works in the first group he also recorded prices, which probably reflect what he had paid for them, with a total value of 18,800 guilders (including a Rembrandt valued at eight hundred guilders, a Jan Davidsz. de Heem worth one thousand guilders, a Poelenburch at twelve hundred guilders, and a painting by Adam Elsheimer at eighteen hundred guilders).

Many people must have had expert knowledge of paintings, because prices varied greatly, depending on the reputation of the artist and the quality of the work. Evidence that talking about the art of painting was a popular pastime among people from many walks of life can be gleaned from the now-famous 1624 diary of the Hague schoolmaster David Beck. He sometimes read a bit of Karel van Mander’s *Schilder-Boeck* (Book on Painting, with artist biographies and treatises on the ideals of making art) before going to bed or discussed the book with his neighbor, an apothecary; one spring day he wrote that he had chatted for quite some time about art with a cabinet-maker on the passenger barge to Delft.¹⁰⁵ More than anywhere else in Europe, paintings were ubiquitous in the large cities in the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, the urbanized area now known as the Randstad.¹⁰⁶ There one could find countless works of very high quality that now adorn the walls of our museums.

8. Burgers 2014, 266–72.
9. Mattia Giegher, *Li tre trattati* . . . (Padua, 1639).
10. Romeyn de Hooghe, *Eeuwigh gedenckteeken* (Amsterdam, 1672). An example of this broadside is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-77.040).
11. De Bruin and Van Hummelen 1984, 2.
12. Samuel Pepys, *The Shorter Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham (London, 1993), 888.
13. Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Haarlem, 1628), 341–42.
14. Van Deursen 1971–, vol. 1, 499.
15. The agent was a member of the States General, the burgo-master Maarten Ruychaver of Haarlem. See Haarlem City Archives, *Gildenarchief* 154, no. 2167.
16. Rutgers van der Loeff 1911, 35.
17. Van Ysselsteyn 1962, 22; Haarlem City Archives, *Gildenarchief* 154, no. 2167.
18. Custom-made tablecloths and napkins were (and still are) more expensive than continuously woven patterns, which can be cut to any length—if necessary, to omit a flaw. If a flaw is found in a custom-made cloth or napkin, the entire piece must be woven again.
19. Burgers 1965, 153.
20. Van Deursen 1971–, vol. 1, 612.
21. Burgers 1999, 229.
22. This continued to be the case until well into the twentieth century; see De Zoete 2000, 11–21.
23. See, for example, Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, 323; Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel 1986–92, vol. 2, 288.
24. *Rembrandt Documents* 1979, 387, doc. 1656/12, nos. 361–62. Table linen is distinguished from table coverings not used at mealtimes.
25. De Zoete 1998.
26. Pijzel-Dommisse 2000, 13.
27. Leiden City Archives, Archive of the De la Court family, no. 84.
28. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel 1986–92. These volumes contain all known inventories from individuals living on the Rapenburg in Leiden. The 1727 inventory of Anna Maria Moens, Lady of Cronenburg resident at Rapenburg 35, gives evidence that the servants' tablecloths and napkins were actually used: they are among the things in the attic waiting to be laundered (vol. 3b, 489).
29. Delft City Archives, Archive of the Weeskamer, no. 687. The municipality's Orphan Chamber was responsible for disposing of the estates of the deceased residents of a city who left minor heirs (unmarried individuals under twenty-five). The

estate was sold at auction and the proceeds held by the chamber until the heir reached the age of majority. For a good discussion of the Orphan Chamber of Amsterdam, see Montias 2002, 15–19.

30. Delft City Archives, Archive of the Weeskamer, no. 719.
31. Leiden City Archives, Archive of the Weeskamer, no. 236m.
32. The 1772 inventory of Leonard van Heemskerk, living at Rapenburg 59, listed tablecloths and napkins that had “returned from the bleachery” and others that had been sent to be bleached; see Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel 1986–92, vol. 6a, 134. For another example, see *ibid.*, vol. 5b, 794.
33. Rembrandt's inventory includes, in the room behind the antechamber, an oak press; see *Rembrandt Documents* 1979, 359, doc. 1656/12, no. 97. In the room behind the parlor there was also a cedar press (*ibid.*, 361, doc. 1656/12, no. 130). Walter Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen and, more recently, Erik Hinterding suggest that the oak one was a printing press and the cedar one was a linen press (Hinterding 2006, vol. 1, 35–37). I believe that both were linen presses; for this interpretation, see Schwartz 2006, 135–37. My thanks to John Hawley for this reference.
34. Van Ysselsteyn 1966, 146.

OWNERSHIP OF PAINTINGS IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE

1. Mundy 1925, vol. 4, 70.
2. For laborers and artisans, Montias 1982, 220; for Amsterdam households, Montias 1996, 80.
3. Knevel 2002, 220–21.
4. De Blécourt 2012. Abraham Bredius reproduced only a part of De Renialme's inventory (Bredius 1915–22, vol. 1, 230–39). The complete inventory appears in the Montias Database, no. 180 (<http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php>). De Renialme also had 154 paintings valued at between 50 and 190 guilders.
5. In 1650 De Renialme tried to sell paintings—expensive and cheap—to the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, husband of a daughter of Frederik Hendrik. Of the 500 works, 112 bore names; the other 388 were anonymous (De Blécourt 2012, 24–27).
6. See Jager 2015. The contents of Doeck's shop were valued at 2,562 guilders, which would mean an average of 4.5 guilders per picture. But because the shop included a large number of books, the average painting could not have been worth more than four guilders. For an incomplete listing of Doeck's inventory, see Bredius 1915–22, vol. 1, 102–10.

7. Doeck's inventory names fifty painters, but many of them occur only in this inventory; we know only a few of their paintings, and in some cases none.
8. The same holds true for the stock of Jan Fransz. Dammeroen and Hendrick Meijeringh, the art dealers whose inventories form the basis of Angela Jager's research.
9. Among the sources are, most importantly, Amsterdam inventories from the Montias Database; Haarlem inventories compiled by Pieter Biesboer for the Getty Provenance Index; The Hague inventories gathered by Thera Wijssenbeek-Olthuis, now with the project "Artistic Exchange and Cultural Transmission in the Low Countries during the Seventeenth Century"; and Leiden inventories collected by Willemijn Fock for the Rapenburg project (see Fock 1990; partly published in Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel 1986–92).
10. Wijssenbeek-Olthuis 1998, 92 and n.195. The author consulted the inventories of twenty nobles, twenty of the richest magistrates, and twenty tradesmen in The Hague. The nobility had an average of twenty-five portraits and seventeen paintings of other types; the tradesmen, an average of three portraits and twenty-nine other paintings; and the rich magistrates, eight portraits and thirty-three other paintings.
11. Fock 2001, 36.
12. *Ibid.*, 39; Ottenheim 1989, 247n97. Huydecoper paid a total of 3,280 guilders for the tapestry and the overmantel by Joachim von Sandrart; Ottenheim states the tapestry alone cost 3,000 guilders.
13. Van Meurs 1908, esp. 179–85. No inventories are known of the Brederodes' possessions in their houses in The Hague.
14. On gilt leather in the Netherlands, see Koldewey 1998.
15. In the Counts' Room, twenty-one portraits of noble family members; in the room of Brederode's wife, twenty-four portraits of the Nassaus; in the office, thirty-eight unnamed portraits; in the salon, three of "His Excellency" and his wife; in the large gallery, another fifty-two unnamed "portraits big and small"; and here and there some portraits "of the old gentlemen" and "of old captains."
16. The depictions of medieval castles were an overmantel of Brederode Castle and a view of Huis ter Kleef (both in the vicinity of Haarlem and already ruins in those days, having been reduced to rubble by the Spanish).
17. This must have begun with the series of Twelve Emperors that Titian produced for Federigo Gonzaga, of which there were many copies, including a series owned by Emperor Ferdinand II that was engraved by Aegidius Sadeler II. See Jasper Hillegers in Hillegers et al. 2013, 80–83, with references.
18. The Hague City Archives, Notarieel Archief, notary Thomas van Swieten, 309, fol. 1140, inventory of Genoveva Maria van der Noot, Lady of Beek, widow of Philip Jacob van Boetzelaer, Lord of Asperen, 20 May 1663. The Twelve Emperors were in inventories of other nobles of The Hague: Martin Snouckaert van Schauburgh, Francois van Aerssen, Freule van Uytenhove, and Baron Marc du Tour (Wijssenbeek-Olthuis 1998, 94).
19. Hoochwou and the abbeys of Rijnsburg and Leeuwenhorst.
20. Among these were six "French paintings" and two small paintings that had been "bought in Brussels."
21. These Twelve Emperors are part of the Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam, now in Schloss Caputh, Brandenburg. The other painters were Abraham Janssens, Gerard Seghers, Dirck van Baburen, Werner van den Valckert, and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem. The provenance of the series is uncertain, since it is not listed in the stadholder's inventory of 1632. The series probably came into the possession of the Electoral Princes of Brandenburg via Louise Henrietta, perhaps as a wedding present when she married the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm (Franits 2013, 137–40).
22. Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, 211–12, (nos. 717–33). Altogether there were 100 tapestries. Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren name 136 tapestries, but this includes some that were non-figurative (Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, "From the "Sea Prince's" Monies": The Stadholder's Art Collection," pp. 34–60 in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 39–40); Thera Wijssenbeek-Olthuis mentions 158, including other textile wall coverings (Wijssenbeek-Olthuis 1998, 83). Some of these wall coverings were probably intended for the palaces under renovation: Honselaarsdijk and Huis ter Nieuburgh.
23. Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, 182 (no. 24), 186 (118), 187 (128), 188 (148), 189 (188), 196 (353), 197 (361); C. Willemijn Fock, "The Apartments of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms: Princely Splendour and the Triumph of Porcelain," pp. 76–86 in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 77.
24. Fock 2001, 37–38.
25. Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, "From the "Sea Prince's" Monies," in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 39n31. On the portraits, see also Marieke Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-Play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," in Keblusek and Zijlmans et al. 1997, 161–200.
26. Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, "From the "Sea Prince's" Monies," in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 40, 42, 45.
27. Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, 183 (nos. 45–48), 192 (245).
28. *Ibid.*; Van Mierevelt, 223 (nos. 976, 978–81, 984, 985); Honthorst, 189 (186) and 207 (611), but mainly in Amalia's

- inventory of 1654, 281 (1176–77), 282 (1192–93), 283 (1202–4, 1208), 286 (1244–45, 1248); Van Dyck, 190 (191), and in Amalia's inventory of 1654, 282 (1189) and 286 (1246). The portrait of Amalia by Rembrandt is on p. 191 (219), and occurs again in Amalia's inventory of 1654, 283 (1209). Van Dyck's portraits of Frederik Hendrik (about 1631, cat. 4) and Amalia and of Willem II in Dessau, Schloss Mosigkau, are not listed in the inventory of 1632; they might have been at Honselaarsdijk at that time.
29. The only Italian painting in the collection was by the Florentine artist Franciabigio.
 30. Italian damask and satin had just been purchased to furnish the new rooms in the Stadholder's Quarters, Honselaarsdijk Palace, and Huis ter Nieuburgh (Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, 230–33). Among the items mentioned is a bedstead with “velvet curtains that came from France” (232, no. 1183).
 31. Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, trans. C. L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam, 1987), 72, 74, 77–90.
 32. Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1; for Rubens: 185 (no. 94) and 191 (208, overmantel); 218, or Van Dyck, 192 (230, with Brueghel), 203 (516, overmantel), 207 (620, overmantel); Van Dyck: 181 (no. 11, overmantel), 182 (25, overmantel), 185 (95), 190 (190, overmantel); in Amalia's inventory of 1654: 281 (no. 1178, Van Dyck; 1239, Van Dyck).
 33. *Ibid.*; for Honthorst: 183 (nos. 44, overmantel; 50, 51), 184 (66), 186 (101, overmantel; 102), 207 (611); Poelenburch: 183 (59), 184 (67, 69, 74–75, 79, 81 [twice with Alexander Keirincx]), 192 (232–34 [2]; 241, with Roelant Savery), 235 (1246, with Keirincx); for paintings by Poelenburch in Amalia's inventory of 1654: 282 (1195), 283 (1196 [2], 1201).
 34. Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, “From the “Sea Prince's” Monies,” in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 38; and Ben Broos, *ibid.*, 184–97, cats. 21–23.
 35. Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1; for Van Balen: 183 (no. 61), 184 (65, 72), 186 (110), 192 (239, 240); Jan Brueghel: 192 (230, with Rubens; 243 [3]); Roelant Savery: 183 (57), 192 (236–37, 241, with Poelenburch); in Amalia's inventory of 1654: 284 (1216–17). Paul Bril and Johann Rottenhammer (a German active in Italy, the only non-Netherlander) were represented by several small landscapes; for Bril: 184 (62–63); Rottenhammer: 184 (73).
 36. *Ibid.*; for example, *Diana and Her Nymphs* (183, no. 44) and *Venus and Ceres with Satyrs* (186, no. 102) by Honthorst; *Banquet of the Gods* (184, no. 71; 192, no. 232), *Flora with Putti* (184, no. 74), *Neptune with Venus and Cupid* (192, no. 233) by Poelenburch; *Diana and Actaeon* (184, no. 72), “the story of Venus” (192, no. 239), a *Banquet of the Gods* (192, no. 240) by Van Balen; *Venus and Cupid* (184, no. 83) and *Venus and Adonis* (192, part of no. 234) by Moreelse.
 37. *Ibid.*; for Van Dyck: *The Kissing Contest of Amaryllis and Mirtillo* from Guarini's *Pastor Fido* (182, no. 25) and *Rinaldo and Armida* from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (190, no. 190); Bloemaert: two paintings of *Theagenes and Chariclea* from the *Historiae Aethiopicae* by Heliodorus (649, no. 25; 209, no. 667); Jan Lievens: a fortune-telling scene from Cervantes's *La Gitanella de Madrid* (202, no. 496). On Lievens's painting, see David de Witt in Wheelock et al. 2008, 132–33, cat. 26. For the other paintings, see, among others, Carola Vermeeren, “For the Preservation of Her Legacy’: The Vicissitudes of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms’ Collection of Paintings,” pp. 61–75 in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 67; Broos, *ibid.*, 100–103, cat. 2; Vermeeren, *ibid.*, 104–7, cat. 3; and Van der Ploeg, *ibid.*, 114–17, cat. 5.
 38. Painted by the Utrecht artists Abraham Bloemaert, Herman Saftleven, and Poelenburch, as well as Poelenburch's Hague pupil Dirck van der Lisse. See, among others, Peter van den Brink in Van den Brink et al. 1993, 115–19, 200–203, 254–58, cats. 12, 35, 51; Nicolette Sluijter-Seijffert, *ibid.*, 245–47, cat. 48; and Van der Ploeg in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 216–25, cat. 29.
 39. Old Testament subjects cited in Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, include “A Moses striking water from the rock by Lastman” (183, no. 53) and a Samson and Delilah by Rembrandt (185, no. 87, as Lievens).
 40. *Ibid.* A “crucifixion” is mentioned twice (186, nos. 108, 109), both in Frederik Hendrik's cabinet, which also featured Adorations of the Shepherds by Honthorst (186, no. 101) and Van Balen (186, no. 110), as well as *Simeon with the Christ Child in the Temple* by Rembrandt (186, no. 111). An Annunciation by Rubens hung in Frederik Hendrik's gallery (185, no. 94), where there were also a Magdalen by Goltzius (184, no. 85); a Mary and Joseph, a Landscape with the Virgin and Child, and a Saint Martin by Poelenburch (183, no. 65 and 184, nos. 67, 79); a Virgin and Child by Van Balen (183, no. 61) and a Virgin (184, no. 65) by Van Balen in collaboration with Brueghel; and a Virgin and Child (185, no. 90) and a Circumcision of Christ (184, no. 77), both anonymous. During the 1630s Rembrandt's five paintings of the Passion of Christ were added, augmented in 1646 with an Adoration of the Shepherds and a Circumcision, for which Rembrandt was paid the staggering sum of 5,400 guilders in total.
 41. *Ibid.* They owned only a few, very refined flower pieces by such painters as Jan Brueghel, Bartholomeus van der Ast, and Ambrosius Bosschaert. See Amalia's inventory of 1654, 281 (no. 1179) and 286 (1247), for flower “cartouches” by Father Daniël Seghers.

42. Van Dyck painted two portraits of her son and daughter-in-law Mary Stuart and another portrait of the latter; Honthorst made portraits of her husband, daughters, son, daughter-in-law and son-in-law, the Great Elector; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, 281 (nos. 1176–77) and 282 (1188–89, 1191–93). On the installation of Flinck's work as an overmantel in the large cabinet, see Van der Ploeg in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 128–31, cat. 8.
43. Broekman 2010, 125–29, 171, 173.
44. *Ibid.*, chap. 3. For commissions for Honselaarsdijk Palace, see Tucker 2002, 344.
45. Broekman 2010, chap. 2. For examples of this assumption, see *ibid.*, 75–77. Broekman compiled all the information on paintings mentioned in Huygens's correspondence and poetry, and compared it to information gleaned from the inventories of Huygens's descendants.
46. *Ibid.*, 31–33.
47. He owned, for example, portraits of Erasmus, Petrarch (and Laura), Janus Secundus, and Marnix of St. Aldegonde.
48. Broekman 2010, 97–120. Louise Hollandine was a daughter of the Winter King and Queen — Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I of England.
49. *Ibid.*, 94, now Mauritshuis, The Hague.
50. *Ibid.*, 82–92.
51. *Ibid.*, 83–84, 98–99.
52. In this regard a diary entry written by Balthasar de Monconys has always been misunderstood; see *ibid.*, 119.
53. Elias 1903–5, vol. 1, 422–23 (Cornelis), and 520–21 (Andries); also Blok and Molhuysen 1911–37, vol. 2, 490–97; and Zandvliet 2006, 77–79 (Andries).
54. The information on the De Graeffs is based on a chapter of Elmer Kolfin's forthcoming study of Jacob Jordaens, the De Graeffs, and the Amsterdam Town Hall, in which Kolfin examines the De Graeff brothers' knowledge and taste in the field of painting.
55. On the portraits by Pickenoy, see Dudok van Heel 2006, 46–64, and Rudi Ekkart in Ekkart and Buvelot et al. 2007, 176–79, cats. 47–48. The portrait by Jacob Backer was sold at auction in Zurich (Koller), 17 September 2010, lot 3062 (reference supplied by Peter van den Brink). The pendants by Van der Helst are no longer known, but are listed in an eighteenth-century inventory; Van Gent 2011, 368, cats. S112–13 (the sitter is either Cornelis or Andries). On the portraits by Flinck, see Von Moltke 1965, 154–55, cats. 424–25. The painting by Victors depicts Jacob and his family taking leave of Laban (dated 1652); for a reproduction, see Sumowski 1983, vol. 4, 2654, cat. 1755. For De Keyser and Ruisdael's painting in the National Gallery of Ireland, see, among others, Slive 2001, 106–8. On Quellinus, see Scholten 2006, 101–2.
56. Van den Brink et al. 2008, 236, A 92.
57. Von Moltke 1965, 107, cat. 205; Schneider and Ekkart 1973, 146; and Middelkoop et al. 2002, 134–36.
58. Dudok van Heel 2006, 320–21.
59. *Ibid.*, 317–49.
60. Reference is usually made to Van Dyck's portrait of Cesare Alessandro Scaglia; see *ibid.*, 340, with references, but the portrait of Prince Rupert (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) that Van Dyck painted for the Winter King and Queen in The Hague (where Rembrandt might have seen it) is closer with regard to the pose; on this painting, see, among others, Hans Vlieghe in Brown et al. 1999, 236–37, cat. 64. Elegance of this kind remained, for the time being, a one-off experiment, so it is highly questionable that such a nonchalant courtly pose actually pleased the Amsterdam elite; only at the end of the 1640s did they finally accept a somewhat watered-down version of Van Dyck's style, chiefly as practiced by Flinck. On the relationship of Flinck's portraits to Van Dyck, see Lootsma 2007–8.
61. Alewijn's wife, Eva Bicker, was the widow of Dirck de Graeff (younger brother of Cornelis and Andries), who died young. For the inventory, see Montias Database, inv. no. 400.
62. On collections containing Italian art, see esp. Meijer 2000.
63. Ottenheym 1995, 158–61. The quotation was taken from Kooijmans 1997, 122, without source. J. F. L. De Balbian Verster mentions Melchior Fokkens as his source, without further reference (De Balbian Verster 1929, 31).
64. Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, ed. Thomas Kirchner (Frankfurt am Main, 2009–12), vol. 2, Book 2, 188, 190. For the announcement of the sale of the Coymans collection in 1709 (in which a number of names are mentioned), see Dudok van Heel 1975, 170–71n24, and Bikker 2004.
65. He was born in Weert around 1590. For biographical information, see Biesboer 2001, 115–16.
66. For the inventory, see *ibid.*, 117–19; also the Getty Provenance Index, inv. no. N-3650. For the painting, Quentin Buvelot in Ekkart and Buvelot et al. 2007, 114–15, cat. 18, with references.
67. Volckert Overlander became a knight of the British Empire in 1620 and Laurens Reael was knighted in 1625 (Dudok van Heel 2006, 326, 348).
68. Ekkart and Buvelot et al. 2007, 118–19, cat. 20, with references.
69. For mythological nudes by Cornelis van Haarlem and Goltzius, see Van Thiel 1999, cats. 113–95, and Nichols 2013, cats. A29–48, and biblical nudes: A1, 2, 5, 9, 10.
70. Eric Jan Sluijter, “All Striving to Adorne Their Houses with

Costly Peeces': Two Case Studies of Paintings in Wealthy Interiors," in Westermann et al. 2001, 102–27.

71. The problem of distinguishing between extensive holdings of paintings and collections of paintings (assembled by an owner who can be called a collector) is examined in Jaap van der Veen, "Delftse verzamelingen in de zeventiende eeuw en de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw," in Bergvelt et al. 2002, 47–54.
72. For the complete inventory, see Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel 1986–92, vol. 3a, 335–42. For an inventories-based study of painting ownership in Leiden, see Fock 1990.
73. On Abraham Casteleyn, see Biesboer 2001, 291. A Mennonite preference cannot be discerned in this concise inventory. Unlike the collections belonging to Catholics, Mennonite collections do not generally show a partiality for specific subjects (inasmuch as this can be ascertained). See Gabriël C. Pastoor, "Biblische Historienbilder im goldenen Zeitalter in Privatbesitz," pp. 122–33 in Tümpel et al. 1994, 124; also Dudok van Heel 1980. For several articles that attempt to discover a connection between Mennonites and painting, see *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 16 (1990): 113–54.
74. Biesboer 2001, 291–93.
75. For Amsterdam, see Montias 1991 and Montias 1996; for Leiden, Fock 1990; for Delft, Montias 1982, 220–71; for Haarlem, Biesboer 2001 and Goosens 2001, 325–99. The various points of departure of these authors and differing nature of the inventories make comparison extremely difficult. My observations are based on the available Hague, Leiden, Haarlem, and, especially, Amsterdam estates (in the Montias Database).
76. Montias 1996, 76.
77. Goosens 2001, 356–57; Montias 1991, 334 (based on the division of the inventories into two groups, those with attributed works and those with unattributed works; the inventories in the first group proved to be worth, on average, twice as much as those in the second group; the first group even contained 50 percent more landscapes). This conclusion was confirmed by John Michael Montias, using random samples (Montias 1996, 81–82).
78. C. Willemijn Fock's observation of a far greater increase in landscapes (from 3 percent in the first decade of the century to 40 percent in the 1670s) accords with this, because she based her findings on inventories with the greatest possible number of attributed works, meaning estates of much higher value (Fock 1990, 18–23).
79. Goosens 2001, 235–36, 356–57; Montias 1991, 334; and Montias 1996, 81–82. Fock's inventories show here, too, the most dramatic decline (Fock 1990, 18–20).
80. Montias 1996, 338–40; Goosens 2001, 371–75 and table on 378.
81. Goosens 2001, 373. The Leiden and Amsterdam estates show the same pattern. On the objections of strict Protestants to the use of mythology in art and literature, see Sluijter 2000, 191–92.
82. Goosens 2001, 389–90, esp. for Ostade.
83. *Ibid.*, 391.
84. The following observations are based on studying all the inventories in the Montias Database from the years 1645, 1655, and 1665.
85. Goosens 2001, 364. The Amsterdam inventories also show this pattern. Ship captains who owned no seascapes at all include Jasper Hendrixsz., 1655 (Montias Database, no. 341) and Herman Hermansz. Muller, 1665 (Montias Database, no. 191). See Daalder 2013, 70–72, for ownership in Amsterdam of marine views and paintings of ships at sea.
86. Montias Database, no. 317 (1654).
87. Montias Database, no. 505 (1645). These works were valued at twelve, fifteen, and twenty guilders, respectively.
88. On innkeepers selling to customers, Goosens 2001, 364, and Fock 1990, 7. Joost Joosten owned, among other things, a number of peasant scenes by Jan van Buesem, seascapes by Hendrick Vroom and Hendrick van Anthonissen, an Esaias van de Velde (the only landscape, valued at ten guilders), a Ganymede by Jan Pynas (nineteen guilders) and a "scene of sorcery" by Cornelis Saftleven, as well as two *tronies* by Isaac Isaacsz. and some anonymous works, including a Pyramus and Thisbe, a Lucretia, an Annunciation, a Nativity, a skull, and a robbery, plus two dogs and the King and Queen of Bohemia.
89. Montias Database, no. 431 (1645).
90. We must take into account that many portraits were of this kind; they were not commissioned works, but were counted as such in Bok and Schwartz 1991, 191–92.
91. Montias Database, no. 199 (1645).
92. Montias Database, no. 535 (1665).
93. Montias Database, no. 1104 (1645). For the work of the beer seller, see the "Labor" section in this volume.
94. Montias Database, no. 221 (1665).
95. Montias Database, no. 448 (1669).
96. Montias Database, no. 220 (1665).
97. Montias Database, no. 474 (1665).
98. The religious subjects were Jephtha, Abraham's Sacrifice, Abraham and the Three Angels, and the Four Evangelists; the last two were described as "bad," meaning in poor condition. Also listed were a portrait of the king of England, a man smoking, two candlelit *tronies*, and a hunting scene (Montias Database, no. 343 [1646]).

99. Using Amsterdam inventories, Anne Lenders (paper, University of Amsterdam, 2012) pointed out clusters of owners around the various places where Van Troyen lived. Piet Bakker found an inventory with eleven paintings by Van Troyen that were originally in the possession of the owner of the house on the Prinsengracht that Van Troyen rented (I am grateful to Piet Bakker for this information).
100. On the art trade, with further references, see Boers 2012. In Amsterdam art dealers were to be found near the Nieuwmarkt, mostly at the beginning of Kloveniersburgwal and Koestraat (I am grateful to Angela Jager).
101. N. Alting Mees cites a document in which five Rotterdam art dealers commissioned a carpenter to make them a stand for the fair that would have been large enough to exhibit many hundreds of paintings (Alting Mees 1915).
102. On the sale of paintings at annual markets, fairs, auctions, and lotteries, see Boers 2012, 70–106, and Marten Jan Bok, “‘Schilderijen te koop’: Nieuwe marketingtechnieken op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt van de Gouden Eeuw,” in Bok and Gosselink et al. 2008, 9–29.
103. Beck 1991, 88. A good example is the rich aristocratic collector baron Willem Vincent van Wyttenhorst, who bought, among other things, two copies by Cornelis Mahu after David Teniers the Elder at a yearly market, for fourteen guilders and change; Boers 2004, 225; fol. 27, no. 96; also fol. 32, no. 68.
104. Uijl 1978; inventory on 106–15. In Van Straten’s capacity as a member of the Executive Committee of the States of Zeeland, he probably made frequent visits to the large cities of Holland, where he purchased works of art.
105. Beck 1991, 54, 82, 128.
106. For holdings of paintings in the provinces, see Dibbits 2001, 285–302. For Leeuwarden, in Friesland—an exceptional provincial city because the court of the stadholders of Nassau-Dietz was located there—see Bakker 2008a, 125–67. On the paintings owned by the Frisian nobility (in Friesland and Groningen), see also Bakker 2008b, 71.

STADHOLDERS AND THE COURT

1. Temple 1672, 53.
2. Willem Frijhoff, “The Princely Court at The Hague: A National and European Perspective,” pp. 10–17 in Keblusek and Zijlmans et al. 1997, 16; see also Prak 2005, 3.
3. Royalton-Kisch 1988, 18.
4. The Counter-Remonstrants (Gomarists) believed that predestination was unconditionally determined. The Remonstrants (Arminians) were more liberal (Fix 1991, 32). Though ostensibly a theological disagreement, the 1618 dispute became intertwined with political rivalries. The Synod of Dordrecht (1618–19) sought to settle the dispute.
5. Roberts 1995, 14–15.
6. The medal of the Order of the Garter that appears below his sash in Maurits’s portrait must be a later addition, as the honor was not bestowed upon him until 1613.
7. Marieke Tiethoff-Spliethoff, “Role-Play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia,” pp. 161–200 in Keblusek and Zijlmans et al. 1997, 163.
8. In his diary, Willem Lodewijk’s Calvinist steward, Vervou, mentioned the disgrace of the whoring at the court in The Hague around the time Maurits was fathering five “bastard” children with five other “women for a night.” These children were lower in status than the three borne by Margaretha van Mechelen. See Kees Zandvliet, “Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure,” pp. 37–63 in Zandvliet et al. 2000, 49–50.
9. *Ibid.*, 49. Margaretha was lady-in-waiting to Louise de Coligny, fourth and last wife of William I and mother of Maurits’s half-brother, Frederik Hendrik.
10. Mörke 1991, 462.
11. George Keyes suggests that the painting may be an allegory in which “central political authority harmonizes with the peacefulness of the countryside,” a pastoral place where the authority of the landed aristocracy, one of Maurits’s primary bulwarks, is unchallenged by the more hostile urban patriariate (Keyes 1984, 124); see also Wouter Kloek in Luijten et al. 1993, 667, cat. 337. Kloek identifies the coach as that of Maurits, whom he sees as the likely commissioner of this painting (Wouter Kloek, “Prins Maurits en de beeldende kunst,” pp. 139–59 in Zandvliet et al. 2000, 146).
12. Zandvliet, “Het hof van een dienaar,” in Zandvliet et al. 2000, 49; see also Rowen 1988, 59.
13. Simon Groenveld, “Frederick Henry and His Entourage: A Brief Political Biography,” pp. 18–33 in Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren et al. 1997, 21.
14. Only later, in 1625, was he appointed stadholder and captain-general of all the provinces except Groningen; Groningen’s choice fell on the stadholder of Friesland, Ernest Casimir; see *ibid.*
15. See the description in Oman 2000, 100ff.
16. Marika Keblusek, “The Bohemian Court at The Hague,” pp. 47–57 in Keblusek and Zijlmans et al. 1997, 48–49.
17. Royalton-Kisch 1988, 110–11.
18. *Ibid.*, 109.
19. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, “Role-Play and Representation,” in Keblusek and Zijlmans et al. 1997, 163, 166.
20. Barnes et al. 2004, 242.