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 testimonanze coeve, Florence and Vienna, 1988, pp. 52-3.


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.


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 Nederlandsen 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.


10 Some comparisons of this nature are made in chapter 7.


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 Kunsthgeschiedenis (E.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 prysen (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.


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 relas 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 Amsterdamse 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.


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).


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.


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 erfgenamen 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 on him.

46 In an auction of engraved plates held on 28 June 1617, the goods were “*gemiijnt*” 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 vanWijngaarden, 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.
51 WK 5073/939.
52 According to I. van Eeghen, the *uitdraagsters* were solely responsible for the *opleggen* until 1654 (“Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde …”, op. cit., p. 92.)
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 Jacob 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 Veuulerus (a relative, probably the son of, Aeltge Veulers), *borde de 2 voogden* (two of the guardians of the children of Aeltge Veulers were sureties).
58 On a 550 ƒ advance made by Gerrit Jacobsz. to the dealer Michiel le Fort, see p. 28 below.
60 DTB 130/70.
62 The buyer Guiliaem 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.
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 syne 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. (Cronenburg), 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.
70 A. Bredius, “Het schildersregister van Jan Sysmus”, *Oud Holland* 12 (1894), pp. 167-8.
71 “Sijn uytsterde debvoir, vlijt ende naerstichyeyt 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 taveel van de drie koningen met deuren” (a large triptych of the Adoration of the Three Kings), sold for 10 ƒ (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 uittraagsters” 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.


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 fl 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 Denteren, 2 in Kampen, 2 in Hoorn, 1 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 Lamen, WK 5073/966).

85 Bredius, Künstler-inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, 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 schatsers).

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 Hildegarde van Wijngaarden argues, contrariwise, 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 vodden, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de 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, seeer 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 Leenaerts. 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 “schilderijtjes” (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).


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 Paalhuijsen”, 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 Paalhuijsen) (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 Coddes 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 codes 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 Coddes 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 Arents, 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 (*Inbrengregister*), 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 Pieterz. (de Schilder?), Gillis Smissaert 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, Adriaentje, Griet Alberts, Mary Andries, Lysge Appels, Pietertje Ariaens, Tryn Barents, Lysge de Boer, Magdaleen Bruissen, Griet Centen, Jannetje ‘t Clapwyf, Erm Colcksteech, Mary Colcksteech, Neeltje Cornelis, Anne Cuypers, Mary Diest, Mary Dry Hollanders, Jan Egbertsz., Mary Garbrands, Hans Gerritsz., Tiet Gysberts, Graefijn (Hendrickge Gerrits), Groen Ridder, Trijn Harmens (alias Dicke Trijn), Gerrit Hendricksz., Lysbeth Hendrickx, Hille (Hilletje), 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, Annetje Roothaer, Neel Ruslandt, Weyn Schemackers, Aeltge Sieuwaerts, Magdaleen Staps, Neel Staps, Cornelis Styte Cas, Jannetje Thijs, Reym Thijs, Lysbeth Thonis Poort, Veersager, Verv, Ververinne, Garbrant Visc, Han Voetboochs, and Dolle Willem. Some of these names are cited in I. van Eeghen, “Uitdraagsters ‘t sj 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 Pieterz. (also an oplegger, who helped display the goods at auction), Johannes de Renialme, Philips Sermouters (print dealer), Hendrick Uylenburch, and Hans Coninxloo III. Johannes de Renialme was also a dealer in jewels and precious stones. The uitdraagsters were: Abigael, Mary d’Arras, Barndesteech, Grietge Barents, Saer Beulings, Gierte Claes, Sijtge Claes, Metge Conings, Mary Damant, Mary Dommers, Freeckge, Goutgeel, Haarlemmerstraet, Barend Harmensen, Jan Harmensz., Abraham Hendricksz., Engel Jacobs, Fem Jacobs, Fytgen Jans, Neel Lamberts, Lazarus (Watering?), Jannetje Leechgelt, Trijntje Leitsveer, Lobberge, Anne Lourens, Heijltje Michiels, Mientge, Aeltge de Moer, Schaerwacht, Fem Schoemaeckers (“Schoentge”), Swaentge Gerrits, Marie Verduyns, Angniet Wessels, Grietge Wynants, and Woutertge.

I, Pieter Pietersz. II, Wynant Pietersz.*, Hans Rem, Hercules Seghers, Severijn (Roelandt Savery?), Jan Sieuwerts. (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 der 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 Gelekereken, Jan Jansz. (engraver on glass), Willem Jansz. (Blaeuw) (cartographer), Christoffel van Sicim I, Manuel Sweerts, and Claes Visscher. The printers and booksellers were Barent Adriaensz., Cornelis Claesz., Michiel Colijn, Jan Evertsz. (Cloppenburch), Willem Adriaensz. 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.*, Adriena Geurtz. (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, kladtschilder), Dirck Harmensz., Jan Hendricksz.*, Paulus van Hillegaert, Gillis de Hondoecoeter, Hans van Houten, Mathew van der Hove, Adriaen Imbrechts, Marten Imbrechts, Adriaen Jansz.*, Hans Jansz.*, Jan Jansz. II (Uijw?), Job Jansz. (painter of ships for the admiralty), Jan Jeuriaensz., Thomas de Keyser, Frans Knipbergen, Jacob Lion, Jan Looften, Jan Maertens (?), Hendrick Meerman, Claes Moeyaert, Bastiaen Mus, Barent Poelman, Louis de Pré, Rembrandt van Rijn, Hercules Sanders, Pieter Dirck Santvoort, Hendrick van Someren, Bastiaen Starrenburch, Jacob Swalmius, Jeronimus Sweers, 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 Sicim II. The printers, bookbinders, and booksellers were: Jan Benningh, Jacques Carpentier, Emanuel Colijn, Jacob Aertsz. Colom, Isaac Commelyn, Broer Jansz., Frans van Lieshout, Hans Matthijs (Snoeck), Salomon Meurandt, Jan Philipsz. (perhaps also a print dealer), Nicolaes Ravesteyn, Samuel Smijtiers, Pieter de la Tombe, and Abraham de Wees. The architect was Philips Vingolets. 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.


123 The painting represented Salomon’s 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 Graef-fin had bought a mountainous landscape by Momper for 34 f in the sale of Paulus Bisschop of 6 April 1620 (WK 5073/955).
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.

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.)

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.

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).

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).

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.

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.

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.

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.

Among the buyers in the sample, there were 12 male uitdraagters in the first period and 5 in the second, who have been included.

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”).

Van Beuningen’s frequent purchases evoke the possibility that he was “buying in” lots that failed to sell (see also above, p. 24).

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.

Several such samples will be analyzed in the next chapter.

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.

On Jan van Wely II, see also Marten Jan Bok, ibid., p. 161.

For the highest prices paid, see table 9.4 below.

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.

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 boden 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.

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.
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 Warmoestraat, 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 Nieulandt (Adriaen’s brother), Isaac van Coninxlo, Frans Kaersgiter, Barend van Someren (also an art dealer), and Paulus van Hillegaard, 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 Isaac Coynmans 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. Kief (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 Kempenaer, *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* Isaac Coynmans I; the painter Hans Rem, Gillis Smisaelaert, 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 Isaac de Wij, *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 Coninxlloo II, *via* Isaac van Coninxlloo; and Melchior de Moucheron, *via* his
brother Balthasar who signed the *Album Amicorum*.


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 £ 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.


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 Franochois Coopal, married to Titia van Uylenburgh; Gerardus van Loo, married to Hiskia van Uylenburgh). None of these were buyers at auction. Adriaen van Nieuendt, 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 Nederlandish 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 Nederlandish 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).
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).

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 Stampwijk (1,200 f); Pieter van Geel (19,200 f with his brother Elias); Jeronimus de Haes, Laurens de Groote, Albert Schuvt, Adriaen Andriessen, Samuel Becqur, Paulus Bisschop, Cornelis Snellinck, Alexander van den Berg, A (rnout) Hooftman, and Jasper Grevenraet (9,000 f); Dirck Vlack (8,000 f); Jasper Coymans (18,000 f); and Abraham de Ligne (or Lingne) (900 f).

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 de 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 Gaster 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 Embarassment 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).


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 weeken” (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 Amstelodamum 54 (1966), p. 64).

196 On 30 January 1630, Reynmont de Smith was a witness to the baptism of Elisabeth, daughter of Jeronimus Victorij and Jacqueline Hiolle (who was herself the sister of Isaacq 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 Adriaen’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, Adriaen 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).


202 NA 917, Notary Barent Verbeeck, 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).
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.

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.)

Hans Conincxloo III was the son of the art dealer Hans Conincxloo 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.

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).

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).

It is not clear why the appendix is dated earlier than the main document.

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.


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.

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.

Esaias Hiole was the father-in-law of the tulip grower Jeronimus Victorij, whom we encountered in the last chapter.


Israel, op. cit. p. 441.
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.
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, “Camphuysen 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.
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 Baecck, see Sterck, op.cit., pp. 60-1. An interesting document links Baecck with two other buyers. Pieter Belten (I), Laurens Joosten Baecck, 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, Baecck, 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 kobier 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 (*minnaar 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.


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 Simon 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 *Burgber 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.


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 Roelantd Savery (from a dealer?) for 650 ƒ, 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 Schildersboeck 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 ƒ) and one print in the Basse sale of 1637 (a “Descent from the Cross”, for 1 ƒ 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 ƒ 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.
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.)

This collector was referred in Chapter 3 in connection with his death wish not to have his goods sold at auction.

NA 569, fol. 231 and fol. 245 and foll. (Not. L. Lambert).


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.

On the Paulus Bisschop sale, see also Chapter 14.

NA 226B, fol. 712 and foll., notary A. Lock.

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.

The provenance of this painting, which can be traced to Vinckboons’s atelier in 1604, will be discussed in Chapter 24.


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.

We saw in Chapter 8 that the prices of the paintings of Andries de Graeuw underwent a pronounced decrease in the course of 1617.

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 Suerdiet, who all bought lots in the period 1597-1619, and Jan Cespeel, Jeronimus van Eyndhoven, Dirck van Eust, Mr. David Harsteschoof, Dirck Hiole, Bartolomeus Hoochstraels, Pieter Claesz. Hoveleigh, 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.

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.

For a detailed discussion of this inventory, see chapter 14.

NA 694B, omslag 50, film 4980, Notary J. Westfrisius.


This, at least, was Bredius’s conjecture (“De kunsthandel te Amsterdam in de xviiie eeuw” *Amsterdamse 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 Conincxloo III, see Bredius, Künstler-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 supplying-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 Conincxloo 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, Brommen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven R.G.P. 78 (1933), op. cit., p. 760.


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 Keysers 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. Krujs. 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 Conincxloo 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.

According to the landlady, “u huysvrou van u was gegaen”. That Sara de Vogelaer had not left Conincxloo at this point is evident from the affair with Admirael recounted below.


NA 1056, fol. 264-5, Not. J. van de Ven.

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.

Briels, op. cit., p. 318.

Briels, op. cit., p. 354.

One kitchen scene by “Pauwels Marynes”, which sold for £50, may have been painted by Pauwels Moreelse of Utrecht. The Utrecht connection runs like a thread through Luce’s career.

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.

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The sugar refiner was Jan Thivaert, the future (?) art dealer. The document is again referred to below, pp. 126-7.

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DTB 5/234.

Frederiks and Frederiks, op. cit., fol. 133vo., p. 31.

The only other witness was a family member, Reijtsel van Schoonhoven. It is probable that Lucas Luce was the godfather of the child.


Frederiks and Frederiks, op. cit., fol. 304, p. 69.

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).

Bredius, Künstler-inventare, op. cit., p. 1148.

Ibid.

Bredius, Künstler-inventare, op. cit., p. 1142.

Bredius, Künstler-inventare, op. cit., p. 1144.

This point was suggested to me by Paul Crenshaw.


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.


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. Rembrandtment Documents, op. cit., p. 451). On 3 February 1668, Gerard (Gerrit) Uylenburgh, together with his sisters Sara, Anna, and Susanna, sole heirs of Abraham Uylenborgh, late painter to the Duchess of Ormond, deceased in Dublin, Ireland, named their “trust 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 wenig 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, Isack, 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 (“Doopsgzenden en schilderkunst in de 17e eeuw – Leerlingen, opdrachtgevers en verzamelaars van Rembrandt” Doopsgzenden 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.


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.


368 On Pieter Isaacsz., 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 benefietie en bevorderinge 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. Anthoniebreestraat. 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 Oulenbergh schilder gesocht worden, die welcke verscheijde schilderijen van Volckert heeft in hande om te verkopen.”
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.

Alex. Hajdecki, “Die Niederländer in Wien”, *Oud Holland* 25 (1907), pp. 9-10. He was said to be Imperial Cammermahler on 14 April 1652 (ibid. p. 9).

Wijnman, *Uijt den kring*, op. cit., p. 16.

NA 1202, fol. 270-286, Not. Jan de Vos, dated 1 October 1653.


The argument, which is pretty tenuous, is that the Danish painter Bernard Keil had frequented the academy only until the year 1647 (ibid).

Bredius, *Künstler-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 Borgonon (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).

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.


I am indebted for this information and for the connections of Jan Thivaert in Utrecht to Marten Jan Bok.


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.


DTB 429/414.

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).

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.

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.

Information kindly communicated by Marten Jan Bok.

NA 597, fol. 206 and foll., Notary Lambert Lamberti.

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, *Brommen tot de geschiedenis* 78 (1933), op.cit., pp. 4, 465, and 543. The last of these three documents was written in French.


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, inv. Nr. 891).

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.


412 On this sale, see Chapter 17.

413 Bredius, *Künstler-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).


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, *Künstler-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

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.

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.

431 Extracten.
432 NA 688, fol. 461, Not. J. Warnaertsz., 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 Guillaiaem and Eduard Dubois, both active in Haarlem.
434 DTB 6/25.
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 Cruijenning 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 Cruijenning 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).
Caspar van Heusden may have been a close relative of Jan van Heusden, the husband of Lucretia’s sister Isabella.

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 £110, and a “Kitchen” by Beuckelaer, appraised £250. None of these works of art can be matched with those in the De Renialme inventory in the appendix to this chapter.

The agreement called for the liquidation of claims arising “van alle reckeningen tot diesen dage”.

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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.

Delft GA, NA 1713, 3 April 1647.

For a significant reference to Catharina d’Overdaghe’s dowry, see below p. 138.

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 geldscheter van Rembrandt”, *Oud Holland* 102 (1988), pp. 1-21.


Ibid. p. 123.

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.

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.

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.

DTB 1100B/151.

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.


For more details on the Renialme inventory, in comparison with other dealers’ stocks, see my

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.


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 Ger-rit 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.
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.

Na 395, Not. Jacob Jacobsz., fol. 395, film 4774. This document, as far as I am aware, is hitherto unpublished.

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.

For the records of this sale, including buyers’ names, see Abraham Bredius’s *Künstler-inventare*, op. cit., pp. 2241-2242.

One lot of drawings that he bought at the sale for one gulden came with a lute.

DTB 1130/118.

Na 565A, Notary J. Westfrisius, fol. 40r-46r, film 6546.

DTB 467/47.

Na 1303, Notary H. Schaef, fol. 213 and foll., film 1350.


Most of what is known is contained in O. Gelderblom, op. cit. *passim*.

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 Thijsz 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.

J. G. van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585* op. cit., p. 54.

DTB 403/113.

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.

WK 5073/935. In the account book kept by Hans Thijsz.’s sons after his death (cited extensively below), he was named “Joan Thijsz.”

Gelderblom supplies exceptionally interesting details on the build-up of Hans Thijsz.’s fortune (op. cit., p. 138, 197-210 and Appendix 3.)


Gelderblom, op. cit., p. 144.

This was, in fact, Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Andries Bacher was his chief physician.


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).

Susanna van Lemens, the sister of Magdalena van Lemens, who was married to the painter François Gijsels. Two portraits of Claes Coop (probably II) were recorded in the death inventory of Magdalena van Lemens, widow of François Gijsels, 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 œuvres, 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 raccomandeert onmoghelyck is te accomoderen want ic van alle canten ghepreveneert ben soo dat noch sommighe voor etlycke jaren by andere meesters baer onderhouden om my commoditeyt te verwachten … Voorts mach ic segghen met der waerheyt sonder eenich hyperbole dat ic over die hondert hebbe moet refuseren ooc sommighe van mijn ende mijn huysvrouwen maegen niet sonder ondanck van veele van mijn beste vrienden” (Rooses and Ruelens, op.cit., p. 35).

515 “La causa [chio] trattarei piu volontieri in pittur i e chiara perche … con tuttoci à me costana nulla, si come ogniono 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.


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 doec 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 Hertegbosch 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 [junii] aen den srijnwercker voor 2 lysten te maecken van de 2 caerten ende van de copere plaet f 7:--:--”.

531 “Den 29 oktober [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 verteeert om te spreekken 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] verteeert tot Nicolaes Cooper 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. utroeper voor 6 poerceleijne schotelen gecocht van d’Oost Indische Company verleden september a 25 st. f 7:10:--”. Gerrit Jacobsz. Haringh, 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.)


544 “11 septembris aen den steenhouwer voor’t waepen te maecchen op de Sarck van Broeder 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.


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 Sijmens, including furniture as well as works of art, see Loughman and Montias, op. cit., Appendix C.

555 WK 507/513.

556 On Jan Philipsz. de Bisschop, see Elias, Vroedschap, op. cit. p. 146.

557 On Guilliam 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 ibne [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: funktion & 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.


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.

When Schelte Diricxs., 20 years old, was betrothed on 17 April 1626, he was said to be a retail merchant in iron products (ijsekramer) (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).

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).

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).

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. Geldorpius, Eleazer Swalmius is said to have gray hair “born of the care of fifty minus four years” (“…gauwe haren/Geboren uit de zorg van viftich 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.

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.

Rijksarchief Zeeland, communicated by E. van Essen, Gemeentesecretaris of IJzendijke (via S. Middelhoek).

DTB 1227/175 (kind communication of Wout Spies).


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 Bastiaensz., 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.)


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 Hondecoeter (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.


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 Grietje 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 Sephira?) 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.


602 Schwartz, Rembrandt: his life, his paintings, Middlesex, 1985, pp. 158, 162.


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” (“huwelijk”) 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 Malevesy. She was assisted by her step-sister Josina van Hertsbeecq (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 Veke, 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.)
Ven Neurenburgh was said to be “tot Scheltes” on March 10th and Jacob Swalmius “tot Scheldes Dirricxsz.” on March 13, 1637.

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: Gedenkboek 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.


These dates were provided to me in a letter from Gabri van Tussenbroek dated 9 March 2000.

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).

Bruijn and Huisman, op.cit., p. 75.

Ibid. pp. 76-7.

Ibid. p. 73.

Gerard Dou was 15 years old when he entered Rembrandt’s workshop; Dullaert was 17 when he signed a procuration with Rembrandt; Gerbrand van Eekhout 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).

Information kindly supplied by Marten Jan Bok.

Ibid. kindly supplied by Gabri van Tussenbroek.


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).

Van Neurenburgh bought two volutes for 2 f 2:-- immediately after Rembrandt bought “some volutes” on March 19.

Van Eeghen, op. cit. p. 65.

Ibid. p. 69.

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.

This is also the suggestion of Marten Jan Bok.

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.

“Smijters, Neurenburch en Rembrandt moeten echter wel te voren over het blijkbaar zeer gezochte werk van Dürer hebben gesproken” (op. cit., p. 66).

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. 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.


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 Castahanho 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 Ackersloot 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., Extracten.

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 Dircx, 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.
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.

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 teeckening (a Surat drawing).

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.

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.

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 Achtercamer (whose contents are discussed in the text).

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).

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).

There were two Christi tronie paintings in Rembrandt’s bankrupt inventory of 1656 (Strauss et. al., Rembrandt Documents, op.cit., p. 361).

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.

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).

The unusual pose also struck Schama, who writes, “Rembrant’s Peter, down on one knee, concentrates entirely on pathos and penitence.” (Simon Schama, Rembrandt’s Eyes, op.cit., pp. 276-7).

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.


This emerged, after the death of Catelijne van Conincxloo, 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 (“Rekening of 1618”, cited below). At the Van Conincxloo 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.

Schwartz, op. cit., p. 30.

The sources for these baptisms, as well as other undocumented details in the following account, were kindly supplied by Wout Spies.

Lucretia died on 14 February 1638 (De Navorscher 84 (1935), p. 35).


Van Dillen, Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister…, op.cit., p. 224.

Van Dillen, Bronnen tot de geschiedenis 33 (1929) op.cit., p. 702.

Frederiks and Frederiks, Kohier van den tweebonderdsten penning, op.cit., fol. 224vo., p. 51.

WK 5073/966.

WK 5073/943.

WK 5073/961.

WK 5073/946.

NA 381, Records of Notary Jacob Jacobs, 27 December 1617 (film 6413).

A. Bredius, Künstler-inventare, op. cit., p. 1398.

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.
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 Waller; Abraham Verbeck, married to another niece Francynjte 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.

DTB 39/260.


Strauss et al., The Rembrand Documents, op. cit., p. 168.

A. Bredius, “Iets over Jan Jansz. Starter”, op. cit., p. 54.


Elias, Vroedschap, op.cit., p. 669.

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” (koockties) (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?

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.

Joiners were frequently also framemakers, who were given to buying and reselling inexpensive paintings.

For the sake of completeness, I should mention the merchant and signor 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.

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.


Ibid., fol. 3.

Ibid. near fol. 3.

NA 992, notary Jan Bosch, film 4941.

A. Bredius, Künstler-inventare, op.cit., p. 1399. This act, which was passed before notary G. Borsselaer in Amsterdam, has not been located.


Ibid. pp. 1396-1398.

NA 4514, film 5336. The inventory is summarized in Bredius, Künstler-inventare, op.cit., p. 1399.

I am grateful to Marten Jan Bok for this information.

A. Bredius, Künstler-inventare, op.cit., pp. 2263-4.

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, Kohier van den twee honderdsten 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 Frankfurt-am-Main or possibly “Samson Threatening His Father-in-Law” in Berlin) was appraised in the collection of the late Cornelis Rutgers in 1648 (Strauss 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.


733 Inventory of Abraham Marees de oude, NA 563A, 27 May 1632.

734 Strauss et al., op. cit., p. 113.


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).

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 zeén 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.
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 bonerdsten 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.
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 verkoopinge schoot ons in den zin, door het taferelen van Ian Pinas, hangende neffens meer kunstige stukken van Peter Lastman, ten huize van den hooghegeerden en ervaren dokter Robert Verhoeven, daer de bloedige rock den vader vertoont wort: gelijck 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).

Note that Jan Pynas’s painting was a tafereel, thus a wooden panel.

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 Baek, the son of his good friend Laurens Joosten Baek.

Caspar van Baerle was only a distant relative of David van Baerle of Chapter 14.


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.

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 Wickefort (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 Corneliszoom Hooft (H.W. van Tricht, ed.), 3 vols., Culemborg, 1979.

Caspar van Baerle 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”. J. H. W. Unger, “Mattheus Gansneb Tengnagel”, Oud Holland 1 (1883), p. 197.

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 Leewu 35 (1917), cols. 69-70). 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.

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).

Elias, Vroedschap van Amsterdam, op cit., p. 148.

The poem is reproduced in Van der Hoeven, op cit., pp. 54-56.

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.

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 Leeuwhabbers” (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.

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.

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).

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.

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 huyse 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.

According to Prins (op. cit. p. 209), he was a poet. In any case, it is not likely to have been Rembrandt van Rijn.

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.

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?

788 Unger, op. cit., p. 222.
789 Prins, op. cit., p. 211.
790 “Eenen van Someren zijn rappier al hadde ghetrocken, heeft hij, die spreeckt, om zich te defenderen ende meer om schricke te maecken als ieman te quetsen, zijn 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 zijn 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 aandeelhouders-register, op. cit., pp. 184 and 203).
797 “Jacob Valcksz. hem geseyt heeft, dat Pieter van den Broeck oorsaeck van ’t werck was”.
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 Tengnagel 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 Tengnagel’s “Frick in ’t veerhuys”. The nieuwtiijntje 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 aan, dat me docht, dat het niet te verbeteren waer”.
803 “Dat ’loof ik wel, doen had ik mijn kameraed Jacob noch bij me, die loose Vallek, En nou ben ik allien.”
804 “Al spuls genoeg, om een onnoozel mensch te bedrijeven een ien schallek, Je moet denken, dat je ook mier tijdens heb, as je toen had… en (je) maeckte Dat die onschudligh was, door jou schult, in groote moeyte en diepe wangust raecckte 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.
It was not unusual in Amsterdam at this time for two brothers to have different surnames. On Dr. Johannes Wtenbogaert, see above, p. 227. The introduction to the death inventory of Garbrant Claesz. van Hooren and Trijn Pieters was discussed in chapter 1, p. 19.  


Elias, Vroedschap van Amsterdam, op.cit., p. 449.

On Abraham Anthonisz., the militant Remonstrant cited many times in chapter 8, see the remarks in the text below.

NA 20G, fol. 4.

Frederiks and Frederiks, Kohier van den tweehonderdsten penning, op. cit., fol. 79vo, p. 19.

Ibid., p. 450.


Frederiks and Frederiks, Kohier van den tweehonderdtsen penning, op.cit., fol. 72, p. 17.

Hein, Kind communication of Dr. Astrid Tümpel.

Frederiks and Frederiks, Kohier van den tweehonderdtsen penning, op.cit., fol. 189, p. 43.

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.

NA 2262A, Notary A. Lock.

“In 1604 heeft hy (Vinckboons) onder handen twee stücken (geschildert) voor Ian van Coninxloo schilder, ’t een weseende een Predicatie Christi en ’t ander een boerenbruyloft vol uytentenende beeldekens als huysen, schepen, en landschap 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.


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 Conincxloo, including one of the “Finding of Moses”, estimated at 60 f; a portrait of Carel de Bourbon by Holbein, estimated f 315; a kaersnaght by Wtewael, estimated f 400; a perspective of the Church of St. Mary in Utrecht by Saenredam, estimated f 100; a cunstboeck (probably drawings) by Goltzius, estimated f 75; a piece of illumination by Holbein, estimated f 100. Some of the Conincxloo 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.)
846 WK 5073/789.
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.
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 Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.
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 tweeboonharden 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.
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.
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.


Oud Holland 8 (1890), p. 234.

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.

“Om dese vrouw te becomen”.

“leugenaers ende schelmen”.

For the example of the parents of Catharina Bolnes, the wife of Johannes Vermeer, see my Vermeer and His Milieu, op. cit. chapter 7.

Roodenburg, op. cit., p. 272.

Elias, Vroedschap van Amsterdam, op.cit., pp. 118-9.

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.

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.

For an exception, see the letter of Caspar van Baaerle to Jacob Petitius cited in Chapter 23.

Beck, op. cit. The individual cited in the diary whose collection was sold at auction by the Orphan Chamber was Jan van Gansepoel, 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 redelijk 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.

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.

“terwijle Paren naer huis ging om de tafel te verzorgen.”

Beck, op. cit., p. 226. Johannes Bartjens and Catharina Zachariasdr. had only been married five months (on 3 March 1624).
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ART AT AUCTION IN AMSTERDAM IN THE 17TH CENTURY
Art at auction in Amsterdam in the 17th century