Michiel van Musscher and Bartholomeus van der Helst: theft of honour or creative imitation?

Grijzenhout, F.

Publication date
2011

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
Aemulatio: imitation, emulation and invention in Netherlandish art from 1500 to 1800: essays in honor of Eric Jan Sluijter

Citation for published version (APA):
Aemulatio
Imitation, emulation and invention in Netherlandish art from 1500 to 1800
Essays in honor of Eric Jan Sluijter

Editors:
Anton W.A. Boschloo
Jacquelyn N. Coutré
Stephanie S. Dickey
Nicolette C. Sluijter-Seijffert

Waanders Publishers, Zwolle
Contents

8 Preface

10 Fiona Healy
Terminus: Crossing Boundaries in Maarten van Heemskerck’s Saint Luke Painting the Madonna in Haarlem

25 Koenraad Jonckheere
Nudity on the Market: Some Thoughts on the Market and Innovations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp

37 Boudewijn Bakker
Au vif - naar ’t leven - ad vivum: The Medieval Origin of a Humanist Concept

53 Ilja M. Veldman
A Display of Ambitions: Isaac Duchemin’s Portrait of Jan van der Noot

66 Marion Boers-Goosens
Paintings in Sixteenth-Century Wealthy Interiors: Two Case Studies

76 Mia M. Mochizuki
Seductress of Site: The Nagasaki Madonna of the Snow

89 Huigen Leeﬂang
’Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus’ after Bartholomeus Spranger: An Early Parody of Style

103 Barbara Haeger
Rubens’ Singular Tribute to Adam Elsheimer

116 Lyckle de Vries
Painterly Chaos: The Choice of Subject Matter in Dutch Art

126 Ernst van de Wetering
Subordinating Colour to Light and Shadow: Rembrandt’s Fatal Choice?

138 William Worth Bracken
‘So as to give birth to your own inventions, too’: Rembrandt Transforming Annibale
153 **Eddy de Jongh**  
Van Campen’s ‘White’ versus Lievens ‘Black’

166 **Ann Jensen Adams**  
*Aemulatio* of Taste: Thomas de Keyser and the New Classicism of the 1630s

182 **H. Perry Chapman**  
Rembrandt and Caravaggio: A Question of Emulation?

195 **Henk van Os**  
The Painter as a Competitive Reader

208 **Thijs Weststeijn**  
Karel van Mander and Francisco Pacheco

224 **Arjan de Koomen**  
Titus, Titian and Tante Titia: On Rembrandt and Onomastics

233 **Stephanie S. Dickey**  
*Saskia as Glyceria*: Rembrandt’s Emulation of an Antique Prototype

248 **Alison M. Kettering**  
Rembrandt and the Male Nude

263 **Susan Donahue Kuretsky**  
Rembrandt’s Cat

277 **Albert Blankert**  
*Rapen Again*: Notes on *Aemulatio* and Plagiarism in Dutch Painting

288 **Margriet van Eikema Hommes**  
‘As though it had been done by just one Master’: Unity and Diversity in the Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch

304 **Walter Liedtke**  
Van Dyck’s ‘Influence’ in the Dutch Republic

318 **Amy Golahny**  
Rembrandt’s *Callisto Bathing*: Unusual But Not Unique

326 **Celeste Brusati**  
Painting at the Threshold: Competition and Conversation in Perspective
342  Marten Jan Bok  
Van Goyen as Burgher of Delft? Jan Steen and the Moralistic Mode

358  Frauke Laarmann  
Abraham and the Angels

371  Ronni Baer  
Dou’s Nudes

382  Elmer Kolfin  
Omphalos Mundi: The Pictorial Tradition of the Theme of Amsterdam and the Four Continents, circa 1600-1665

393  Frans Grijzenhout  
Michiel van Musscher and Bartholomeus van der Helst: Theft of Honour or Creative Imitation?

407  Adriaan E. Waiboer  
A Clean Competition: Some Hypotheses on Vermeer’s Lost Gentleman Washing His Hands

419  Emilie E.S. Gordonker  
Standing at the Crossroad: Arnold Houbraken on the Career of Jan de Baen

429  Anna Tummers  
The Painter Versus His Critics: Willem van Nijmegen’s Defense of his Art

442  Jacquelyn N. Coutré  
’Schoenmaaker blyft by uw leest’: On a Case of Emulation in Gerard de Lairesse’s Groot Schilderboek

454  Charles Dumas  
Improving Old Master Drawings by Aert Schouman (1710-1792)

471  Bibliography of Eric Jan Sluijter

474  Photo Credits

476  Index

481  Color plates

512  Colophon
Michiel van Musscher and Bartholomeus van der Helst: Theft of Honour or Creative Imitation?

Frans Grijzenhout

In 1981 the Amsterdams Historisch Museum bought a charming picture by Michiel van Musscher (1645-1705) dating from 1668 (fig. 1, color plate 28): a view of the Haarlemmerdijk in Amsterdam towards the Haarlemmerpoort in the west, with a female vegetable seller behind a heavily laden wheelbarrow, and a couple of children - one of whom inflates a pig's bladder - standing to the left, while others play in the street in the background. In the distance, cattle are being driven into the city on their way to a local butcher.\(^1\) The museum bought this painting primarily because of the topographical precision with which Van Musscher depicted this part of seventeenth-century Amsterdam, which did not attract many painters.\(^2\) Van Musscher's rendering of the houses between the Baanbrugsteeg and the Haarlemmerplein affords a unique view of a variety of shops along this lively street in the bustling city. From the left can be discerned a baker's shop with bread and biscuits on the counter, a cheese seller, the signboard of a school, a red deer antler sign (of a grocery store or apothecary given the two pots of herbs on the outside counter), and a signboard with a sun. When the painting was restored in 1983, a complete pig's carcass on a stepladder emerged, which had obviously been painted over at some point in time. The carcass radically changes the balance of the composition and also explains more clearly the presence of the pig's bladder in the boy's hands and the dog sniffing in the foreground (fig. 2).

Van Musscher's view of the Haarlemmerdijk is one of his earliest known paintings. Houbraken, apparently on the basis of a written statement by Van Musscher himself, notes that young Michiel, who was born in Rotterdam in 1645, received his first drawing lessons during a two-
1
Michiel van Musscher, View of the Haarlemmerdijk in Amsterdam to the West, with a Female Vegetable Seller, 1668, oil on canvas, 87 x 75.5 cm (before restoration), Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
Michiel van Musscher, View of the Haarlemmerdijk in Amsterdam to the West, with a Female Vegetable Seller and a pig on a Stepladder (after restoration), see fig. 1.
month period in 1660 from Martinus Saeghmolen, who then lived in Amsterdam. Van Musscher then studied for some time with Abraham van den Tempel (1622-1672), in or from 1661, also in Amsterdam. He received seven lessons from Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667) in 1665 and completed his artistic education with a three-month apprenticeship in the workshop of Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685) in Haarlem in 1667. Until recently Van Musscher was believed to have settled permanently in Amsterdam only after his formative years. However, in 2001 Lambour demonstrated that Van Musscher’s father, Jan Jacobsz. van Musscher, a grocer and a painter, had already moved from Rotterdam to Amsterdam early in 1662, together with his second wife Catalina Martens, Michiel van Musscher’s stepmother. Jan Jacobsz. van Musscher may have done so for the same reason as the father of his deceased first wife, Michiel (I) Comans, who left the Rotterdam Mennonite community over some divisive religious issues and moved to Amsterdam in the same period. Michiel van Musscher portrayed his son, the calligrapher and painter Michiel (II) Comans, together with his third wife Elisabeth van der Meersch in 1669, probably as proof of their close ties of family and friendship. The relationship between the two families was so strong that Jan Jacobsz. van Musscher was buried in a grave belonging to Michiel Comans in the graveyard of Sloterdijk Church near Amsterdam in 1670. Thanks to the record of Jan Jacobsz.’s burial, we know that the Van Musscher family actually lived on the Haarlemmerdijk in 1670, precisely the street Michiel van Musscher painted in 1668. The painter seems to have lived there until his first marriage in 1678. We know of another painting by Van Musscher, dated 1669, with a scene of the Eenhoornsluis, which bridged the Prinsengracht between the Haarlemmerstraat and the Haarlemmerdijk, only 200 yards away from the spot he had painted a year earlier (fig. 3). This picture shows a view of the Prinsengracht to the south, with the tower of the Westerkerk in the back, and, again, a female vegetable seller, this time carrying baskets filled with groceries, in conversation with a maid. The profession of the women in both paintings was that of a so-called *uitslijtster*, a woman allowed by the city to buy groceries at the vegetable market on the Prinsengracht (just beyond the Westerkerk in the background of Van Musscher’s painting) - which basically served as a wholesale market - and sell them elsewhere in town. There is little doubt in my mind that Van Musscher used the same person as his model in both pictures. He ‘portrayed’ this woman, whom he probably knew quite well, twice in her daily activities on and around the Haarlemmerdijk, incorporating her into a peculiar mix of realistic cityscape and genre elements.
One wonders if Van Musscher took such pains to represent the houses on the Haarlemmerdijk because he lived in that very part of the street himself, and if the woman he depicted twice was a friend, relative or neighbour. We know that Van Musscher's family did not live in one of the houses on the Haarlemmerdijk depicted by Van Musscher, but rather close by. The widow of Jan Jacobsz. van Musscher, Catalina Martens, is mentioned in 1674 as living on the same side of the Haarlemmerdijk, but five to eight houses east (i.e. to the left) from the corner with the alley painted by her stepson in 1668. She lived with her stepchildren in the house of,
or very near to the house of, a certain Lambert Goosens Das, who was a *speckvercoper*, a seller of bacon, which brings us back to the pig on the ladder. Did Van Musscher paint this picture for him, as a gift for a friend, or as payment as a tenant or customer? And, how does the woman behind the wheelbarrow relate to this? We can only speculate.

We must also take into account the possibility that Michiel van Musscher ‘invented’ this realistic looking row of houses and shops, or even devised a new combination of existing stores in a new composition, and tried to sell it on the free market as the enchanting painting it still is. The fact that a baker, Jan Lindeman, appears to have owned a house on the opposite corner of the Baanbrugsteeg must caution us again that Van Musscher’s painting is not necessarily a mirror of a situation that once really existed.\(^1\) The vine tendrils curling in the upper left corner of the painting - a plant not likely to have grown in seventeenth-century Amsterdam - also point to a new invention by Van Musscher.\(^2\) Together with the pig - traditionally slaughtered in the month of November - and the different kinds of cabbage in the wheelbarrow,\(^3\) the vine may refer to the season of autumn, which harmonizes with the reference to the theme of vanity as represented by the children playing with the bladder.\(^4\) Van Musscher must have decided not to depict ‘autumn’ in any explicit or allegorical way, but merely allude to it by ‘picturing’ this scene in a deceptively realistic looking shopping street in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

Trying to position Van Musscher’s invention in the context of his personal and artistic background, it is useful to remember that he came from Rotterdam, where Hendrick Sorg (c. 1610-1670) painted market scenes in the 1660s,\(^5\) and that he had studied both with Metsu and Van Ostade. We know of a beautiful view of the Amsterdam vegetable market painted by Metsu around 1660, now in the Louvre, which is not only another fine mixture of cityscape with genre elements, but also of the intermingling of art and personal life in seventeenth-century painting. Metsu, in fact, lived in an alley that came out onto this part of the Prinsengracht.\(^6\) In addition, we know of pigs on ladders in paintings by Van Ostade, albeit mostly in stables.\(^7\) Van Musscher may also have been aware of Jan Victors’ (1619-1676) uncomplicated scenes of a swine butcher or a greengrocer’s store in a village from around 1650,\(^8\) and of some works by Nicolaes Maes (1634-1693) from the late 1650s - for example his picture of a slaughtered pig with some children playing with a pig’s bladder, his images of milk or vegetable sellers at the door, usually with a cityscape in the background, and his entertaining market scenes with wrangling female vendors, perhaps a mild critique of the lower
Van Musscher, however, seems to have been unwilling to make a critical or ironic statement. On the contrary, his work honours the day-to-day-labour of a working woman he seems to have known quite well, without comment. One might well say that Van Musscher succeeded in integrating different aspects of their work into a coherent composition without explicitly quoting one of his possible sources of inspiration.

Our view of young Van Musscher’s performance in terms of artistic invention and independence may, however, have to be corrected by our knowledge that his composition bears a striking resemblance to a picture by Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670) of 1666 (fig. 4). Van der Helst gives a view of the Amsterdam Nieuwmarkt to the north with the Sint Antonispoort in the background, a female vegetable seller arriving at the right, and a pig’s carcass figuring prominently to the left, accompanied by four children with a bladder – exactly the same ingredients in Van Musscher’s two-year later painting. The similarities between the two are so conspicuous that it is hard to believe they are coincidental. We must surmise that Van Musscher knew Van der Helst’s picture one way or the other. But what prompted Van Musscher to follow Van der Helst in so many respects, and how should we assess this pursuit in terms of imitation and emulation?

4. Bartholomeus van der Helst, View of the Nieuwmarkt in Amsterdam to the North, 1666, oil on canvas, 201 x 220 cm, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
We do not know for what purpose Van der Helst painted the picture that may have inspired Van Musscher. Van der Helst’s widow kept it, together with some 30 other paintings, after her husband’s death in 1670. In need of money, she sold many of them in 1671, but kept this particular one. Several days before her death in 1679, she tried to reclaim the picture from her daughter, with whom it had been stored for some time. On that occasion it was described as ‘a large painting, being a female vegetable seller with a wheelbarrow with fruit, together with a pig hanging from a ladder, everything painted after life by her deceased husband’. After that, we lose track of the painting until 1756, when it was sold as ‘a capital piece with a view on the New Market and life size figures, painted extraordinarily beautifully and pleasingly by P. van der Elst’ at an Amsterdam auction. From there it entered, directly or indirectly, the famous collection of Count Gotzkowski in Berlin, and then the collections of Empress Catherine the Great in 1764.

It is, indeed, a ‘capital’ piece, measuring 201 x 220 cm, which implies that the common uitslijster at the right is painted on a truly royal scale! Despite the many similarities with Van Musscher’s painting, we must remember that size and scale really matter when comparing the two works. In Van der Helst’s painting the woman to the right and the carcass to the left protrude from the canvas in a direct, almost confrontational way. The remark that ‘everything’ in this picture was painted ‘after life’ confirms its particularly realistic qualities. Again, as in Van Musscher’s painting, the woman is so individualistically rendered that she can hardly be taken for a common genre figure. The same applies - to a lesser extent – to several of the four children at the left. The vantage point from which the view of the Sint Antonispoort is taken conforms exactly to the location of the house rented by Van der Helst. Seen in this light, the painting is another example of a genre scene with possible portrait elements and references to the painter’s personal topography and biography.

Even more than is the case of the Van Musscher, Van der Helst’s painting represents a true exception in his oeuvre. Not only do we know of no genre paintings of this kind or cityscapes by his hand, the social status of the woman is also completely at odds with the ones he portrayed in the course of his long and very successful career. All of Van der Helst’s sitters are from the most distinguished mercantile and regent classes of Amsterdam seventeenth-century society, and he was able to procure the highest possible prices for his fashionable likenesses. However, commissions diminished little by little and his work was fetching lower prices by the 1660s. When Van der Helst produced this painting, he was involved in a bitter struggle with one of his clients, Pieter van de Venne, over a suitable
price for a family portrait that the artist had painted in 1664. A striking element in the legal dispute is that Van der Helst confessed to witnesses twice in 1665 that he was willing to paint an extra picture of a male or female fish-monger to compensate his client for the difference between the price they had settled upon originally (Dfl. 1000) and the estimated value of the family portrait (Dfl. 400). Thus, Van der Helst may have painted (or have been willing to paint) a genre scene of the kind we are discussing and appears to have brought it into price negotiations. Did the piece with the vegetable seller serve a similar goal? Given its size, this is hardly conceivable. Why was it still among his belongings at his death, and why did his widow want to keep it with her throughout her life? This led Van der Helst’s biographer, De Gelder, to assume that the scene reminded Van der Helst’s widow of happier and wealthier days. However, this may be an overly romantic interpretation of a scene that would have appeared to most contemporaries as a representation of low city life.

The work of earlier Flemish artists may have resonated with Van der Helst - who seems to have had Flemish origins - when he conceived this particular painting. In the final decades of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century, painters like Lucas (1535-1597) and Marten van Valckenborch (1534-1612) and Frans Snijders (1579-1657) wrought many capital images of vegetable and fish stalls on the marketplace, sometimes with a recognizable cityscape in the background, and sometimes as clear allegories of the seasons. It may have made sense that a painting of the same size (and of the same value) of a dead swan and dead cattle by Valckenborch or Snijders served as a pendant to the Van der Helst in the Gotzkowski collection.

Now, did Van Musscher try to imitate, or indeed to emulate, Van der Helst with this particular painting? When Van Musscher painted his view of the Haarlemmerdijk, he had recently finished his artistic education and was just starting out in the competitive Amsterdam art market. Van der Helst, on the other hand, was an established artist who until then had been immensely successful. Earlier in his career, in 1642, he seems to have entered into a wager with one of his clients that he could deliver a certain group portrait earlier than his supposed master Elias Nicolaesz. Pickenoy (1565-1640) could finish a militia company. The two-year difference between the Van der Helst and the Van Musscher, however, makes it highly improbable that they were executed in any kind of direct competition.

Van der Helst kept his view of the Sint Antonispoort among his personal belongings, which does not help us to understand the possible relationship between this work and Van Musscher’s painting of two years later. We have no knowledge of close personal or professional contact between the
older Van der Helst and the young Van Musscher (or his teachers), let alone of young Michiel’s urge to imitate, equal or even surpass the work of his successful older colleague. Yet were this case, we may conclude that he succeeded quite well. Although both paintings suffer from a certain *horror vacui*, Van Musscher’s painting looks more coherent, probably because he made clever use of the perspective of the houses along the street, which contributes to the overall integration of the different elements of the composition. Van der Helst, in contrast, created a fairly brutal transition between the dark and anonymous wall behind the carcass and the Sint Antonispoort in the middle ground.

This case study cannot and will not account for the applicability of the concepts of imitation and emulation to Dutch painting of the seventeenth century in general. The concept though is very useful when analyzing the development of young artists, especially in their formative years, and particularly in cases where they trained in a larger workshop. It seems plausible that a master like Rembrandt encouraged his pupils to compete with each other (as is common practice in education of all times) and with himself in the 1630s, making them copy and imitate his own work and indeed, in the end, emulate his standards. However, this is much more difficult to verify for artists trained in smaller studios, like Van Musscher.

As to mature artists, the theory and practice of imitation and emulation is far more complicated. The few art theoretical treatises that refer to the principle (and practice) of emulation in the Netherlands are deliberate attempts to comply, one way or the other, with the requirements of classicist literary theory. Contemporary discourse on emulation in art seems to concentrate on the merits of Netherlandish art as compared to Italian painting or even to the art of antiquity. And, anecdotes of explicit rivalry and emulation in Netherlandish art usually involve individual, highly ambitious artists, like Rembrandt (1606-1669) and Rubens (1577-1640). In his studies on the principle of imitation in European literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Jeroen Jansen highlighted the fact that praise for an artist’s performance in terms of emulation of an older or more famous master - as is so often the case in the writings of Van Mander (1548-1606), Van Hoogstraten (1627-1678), Houbraken (1660-1719) and others - primarily functioned as a literary *topos* and does not necessarily imply that the poet or the artist intended to emulate in the true sense of the word. A final complication is that emulation in itself is an intra-artistic principle with no particular client or consumer orientation: at its best it was recognized by a small circle of erudite connoisseurs who formed only a very small part of the open and highly competitive Dutch art market of the seventeenth century.
Were Van Musscher’s work to have been judged by an informed contemporary public, he probably would have been severely criticized for following Van der Helst too closely. He might have been accused of *eerdieverij*, theft of honour, because he imitated too slavishly and practically stole all constituent elements of Van der Helst’s composition without adding anything substantial to his invention.\(^{39}\) Van Musscher might have argued, on the other hand, that great painters like Rubens and Rembrandt had followed closely the example of artists they admired like Leonardo (1452-1519), Raphael (1483-1520) and Caravaggio (1571-1610), in clear attempts to train their faculties in the distribution of figures in pictorial space. He might argue that, like Van der Helst, he was just trying his hand at the complete immersion of the beholder in a ‘real performance’, of which Junius spoke, albeit this time not in a classical or biblical history with a higher moral or educational implication, but in a simple scene of Amsterdam street life.\(^{40}\) In the end, his critics might have forgiven him - as we do - since he could be taken for a pupil who had just finished his education, trying to successfully integrate some of the most divergent elements of his training into a single pictorial scheme, all clearly imitating a work by Bartholomeus van der Helst.\(^{41}\)
Notes
1 J. van Gent, in: N. Middelkoop (ed.), De oude meesters van de stad Amsterdam. Schilderijen tot 1800, Amsterdam 2008, 144-145. Acquired from Robert Noortman Galleries, 1981; the picture was probably sold in Rotterdam, 3 April 1850 (Lugt no. 19766), no. 43, Dfl 91. According to labels on the back of the painting, at some point it belonged to anonymous collectors in Paris and Vienna. I would like to thank Gusta Reichwein, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, for putting the museum’s documentation on the painting at my disposal, and Robert Gerhardt and Judith van Gent for their comments on an earlier version of this essay.
2 Hendrik Cornelisz. Vroom, View of the Haarlemmerpoort, 1635-1640, oil on canvas, 71.5 x 109.5 cm, Amsterdam’s Historisch Museum, is a rare example: Middelkoop, ibid., 73.
3 A. Bredius, N. de Roever, ‘Iets over Martinus Saeghmolen’, Oud-Holland 6 (1888), 123-128.
7 Michiel I Comans sold his Rotterdam house on 13 January 1662: Municipal Archives, Rotterdam, Oud-notarized archief, inv. no. 234, fol. 457. His sons Michiel II and Pieter had bought a house on the Lijnbaansgracht at the corner of the Bloemstraat, Amsterdam, on 27 April 1661 (Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, Kwijtscheldingen, inv. no. 52, fol. 114). The house was later designated as ‘In de verwerij van d’Son’ (‘In the dyehouse, called the Sun’). Van Thiel, op. cit. (n. 5), 14-20 gives many details of the background of this conflict and the involvement of Michiel Comans senior and junior.
8 For an extensive analysis, see Van Thiel, ibid. I would also like to suggest that the painting with Mary, Jesus and Joseph that Comans seems to be working on, may be read, together with the carpenter’s tools, as a tribute to the profession of his father, whose portrait probably figures in the background on the floor. According to some Rotterdam notarial deeds, Michiel II Comans worked as a carpenter as well. The image of the Amsterdam town hall on the cupboard at the left probably refers to the fact that the sitter was responsible for the calligraphy of a poem underneath an ornamental penning, Govaert Flink in that building in 1658: A.W. Weismann, ‘De schoorsteen van het Amsterdamsch stadhuis’, Oud Holland 25 (1907), 71-82, esp. 73-74.
9 Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, DTB Sloterdijk, inv. no. 74, fol. 78, cf. Lambour, op. cit. (n. 6).
10 Many thanks to Ruud Lambour, Amsterdam, who provided me with valuable information concerning Van Musscher’s whereabouts.
11 In the back room of Paulus Hunthum’s house on the Herengracht was found on 8 April 1718 ‘een groenvrouwije van Musscher’ (‘a female vegetable seller by Musscher’), worth Dfl 30: Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, Notarial Archives, inv. no. 6671, deed 90; this can also be found in the Getty Provenance Research Databases. The painting was sold at an anonymous auction in Amsterdam on 10 October 1742 (Lugt no. 561), according to G. Hoet, Catalogus van naafliezig van schilderijen met derselver preijzen, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1752, II, 71, no. 87: ‘Het gezigt van de Wester Kerk met een groenwynf en een myt, door denzelve’, together with no. 86 ‘Een doctor in zijn studeerkamer door Musscher’, Dfl 80. Both pictures were the auction of the belongings of Maria Theresa Andrioli on 20 April 1820 in Amsterdam (Lugt no. 9773), lot nos. 31-32, Dfl 95 and Dfl 63 respectively. The former picture was in the Adrian Hope sale, London, 30 June 1894, lot no. 45, and in the collection of J.W.R. Dreesmann until 1960; it was last offered for sale in New York (Sotheby’s), 24 January 2008, lot no. 18.
12 R. Kistemaker et al., Amsterdam marktsraad, Amsterdam 1984, 12, 45-49, 92.
14 Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, Archief van burgemeesters, Stukken betreffende verscheidene onderwerpen, inv. no. 662, Kohier van de 200e penning, 1674, fol. 512v: ‘widow of Jan Muisjier’. Catalina Martens is not mentioned in the registers of taxes on residential property in the years 1677-1680, so she probably rented the dwelling. Later on, in 1688, she registered as a ‘verfverkoopster’ (seller of pigments), probably continuing the grocery business of her late husband, who was a ‘kruydenier’ and a painter. Catalina Martens was buried on 9 May 1701 from a house in the Vinkenstraat, which runs parallel to the Haarlemmerdijk, ‘beyond the last cross street’ (i.e. the Baanbrugsteeg): Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, DTB, inv. no. 1168, fol. 442.
15 The 1668 tax registers of house owners in this part of the city have been lost. Later registers, including the tax register of 1674 mentioned in note 14, and deeds of sale allow us to somewhat reconstruct the situation of ownership around that year.
17 Dr. Anton Zeven, Wageningen, kindly identified the vegetables in Van Musscher and Van der Helst’s wheelbarrows: green savoy cabbage, a basket of round white turnips (‘herfstrapen’), cauliflower, purple red cabbage, red beet, orange carrots and some corn blades. Van Gent, op. cit. (n. 1), mistook the turnips for potatoes. See A.C. Zeven and W.A. Brandenburg, ‘Use of paintings from the 16th to the 19th century to study the history of domesticated plants’, *Economic Botany* 40 (1986), 397-408.


19 For example, Hendrick Martensz. Sorgh, *A Vegetable Market*, 1662, oil on panel, 51 x 71 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.


21 For instance, Hendrick Martensz. Sorgh, *A Vegetable Market*, 1662, oil on panel, 51 x 71 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

22 Jan Victors, *The Swine Butcher*, 1648, oil on canvas, 79.5 x 99.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Jan Victors, *The Vegetable Seller at the Sign of ‘De Buyskool’*, 1654, oil on canvas, 91.5 x 110 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.


24 Van Gent, op. cit. (n. 1).


26 Amsterdam, 11 May 1756 (Lugt no. 922), no. 50, Dfl. 335, according to P. Terwesten, *Catalogus van naamlyst van schilderijen, met derzelver prijzen, sedert den 22. augustus 1752, tot den 21. november 1768, zo in Holland, als Brabant en andere plaatsen in het openbaar verkogt* [etc.]; The Hague 1770. 140. Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, who probably consulted the only surviving catalogue of this auction in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, noted that it was sold for Dfl. 235 to a Mr. Van der Land on behalf of Pieter Leendert de Neufville (notes Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie), but it does not show up in the latter’s auction, Amsterdam, 19 June 1765 (Lugt no. 1470; Terwesten, *ibid.* 468-477). Cf. De Gelder, *ibid.*, 160-161, cat. nos. 27-28.


28 De Gelder, op. cit. (n. 25), 114 sees a likeness between one of them and the Christ Child in a painting by Van der Helst, dated 1660, in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

29 For a broader discussion of this aspect of ‘topographic self-referentiality’ in the works of several other Dutch painters, such as Dou, Steen, De Hooch and Metsu, see M. Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen. Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History 1), Zwolle 1997, 263.


31 De Gelder, op. cit. (n. 25), 113-114. For the poor reputation of vegetable sellers in 17th- and 18th-century Amsterdam, see Kistemaker et al., op. cit. (n. 12).


33 In Gotzkowsky’s *‘Specification’, as published by Frank, op. cit. (n. 27), 171, the painting is listed as ‘Valkenburg’; it is presently in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, listed as a work by Frans Snijders.

34 De Gelder, op. cit. (n. 25), 140-141, doc. nos. 64-66.

35 For the heated debate on Rembrandt’s workshop and the possible role of assistants and apprentices, see among others:


40 Weststeijn, *op. cit.* (n. 36), 142-145.

41 Robert Gerhardt kindly pointed out to me that Van Musscher followed Gerard ter Borch quite closely in one of his other early works: the standing figure of a messenger in Van Musscher’s *Piskijker*, 1665-1669, now in a private collection, is a clear quotation from Ter Borch’s *Woman Reading a Letter in Front of a Messenger* of 1658, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon. As Van Musscher’s teacher, Gabriel Metsu may have functioned as an intermediary in this instance.
Photo credits

Healy
1. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.
3. Photo: Collection Frans Lugt, Parijs.
5. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.
6. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Jonckheere
1. Photo: Rubenianum, Antwerp.
2. Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.
3. Photo: author.
5. Photo: The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.
6. Photo: Rubenshuis, Antwerp.

Bakker
4. Photo: Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library.
5. Photo: Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Veldman
1. Photo: Fondation Custodia.
2. Photo: University Library, Amsterdam.
3. Photo: University Library, Amsterdam.
4. Photo: University Library, Amsterdam.
5. Photo: University Library, Amsterdam.

Mochizuki
1. Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, Nagasaki.
4,5. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Leeflang
1. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
2. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
4. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
5. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Haeger
1. Photo: National Gallery of Scotland.
2. Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.
4. Photo: Blaue/Gnam – ARTOTHEK and Städel Museum Frankfurt a. M.
5. Photo: Museo Nacional del Prado.

Bracken
1. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum.
4. Photo: The Städtische Wessenberg-Galerie Konstanz.

De Jongh
1. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Adams
1. R. Oldenbourg, Thomas de Keyser’s Tätigkeit als Maler; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Holländischen Porträts, Leipzig 1911, plate 14: personal copy.
3. Photo: Musée de Châteauroux.
5. Photo: National Gallery of Australia, Melbourne.

Van Os
2. Photo: Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
3. Photo: Amsterdam, Sotheby’s.
4. Photo: Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
5. Photo: Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.

Weststeijn
1. Photo: Image collection Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam.
2. Photo: Image collection Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam.
3. Photo: Marburg Bildindex.
4. Photo: National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.
5. Photo: Amsterdams Historisch Museum.

De Koomen

Dickey
1. Photo: St. Petersburg, Hermitage.
2. Photo: Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.
5. Photo: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
Kettering
1. Photo: author.
2a. Photo: author.
2b. Photo: author.
3. Photo: author.
4. Photo: author.
5. Photo: author.

Kuretsky
1. Photo: Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel.
2. Photo: British Museum.
4. Photo: Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College.

Blankert
1. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
3. Galleria Sabauda, Turin.

Van Eikema-Hommes
1. Photo: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.

Brusati
1. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.
2. Photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting.
5. Photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting.

Bok
4. Photo: Beeldbank Haags Gemeentearchief.
5. Photo: Beeldbank Haags Gemeentearchief.

Laarmann
1. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.
4. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.
5. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.

Baer
1. Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum.
2. Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum.
3. Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum.

Koffin
1. Photo: Universiteit van Amsterdam.
2. Photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting.
3. Photo: Rijksmuseum-stichting.
4. Photo: Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Grijzenhout
1. Photo: Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
3. Photo: courtesy Sotheby’s, New York.
4. Photo: Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Gordenker
3. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
4. Photo: Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Van Eikema-Hommes
1. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
2. Photo: © Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatsliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.
3. Photo: Courtesy of a private collection.
4. Photo: The Bridgeman Art Library.
5. Photo: Courtesy of the Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Timmers
2, 3. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Coutré
1. Photo: New York Public Library.

Dumas
5. Photo: University Library, Leiden.

Kolfin
1. Photo: Universiteit van Amsterdam.
2. Photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting.
3. Photo: Rijksmuseum-stichting.
4. Photo: Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Grijzenhout
1. Photo: Amsterdams Historisch Museum.
3. Photo: courtesy Sotheby’s, New York.
4. Photo: Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Gordenker
Index

All proper names of persons, except for Eric Jan Sluijter, have been included. They are taken from the text, not from the notes.

Aachen, Hans von 213, 217
Acquaviva, Claudio 83
Adrichem, Margaretha van 71, 72
Aertsen, Pieter 218, 219
Aesop 44
Albert, Archduke 298
Alberti, L.B. 423
Alciati, A. 16, 160
Alexander Master 361
Almeida, Luis d’ 85
Amalia van Solms 174, 290, 293, 295, 298, 300
Amman, Jost 108
Andriesd., Machiel 170
Angel, Philips 117, 118, 182, 187, 202, 203
Apelles 237, 326, 443, 447, 448, 449
Apuleius, Lucius 282
Ariosto 225
Arpino, Cavalier d’ 191
Augustine 363
Aurelius, Cornelius 176
Baburen, Dirck van 182
Backer, Jacob 202, 306
Baen, Jan de 305, 306, 307, 315, 419-426
Baerle, Suzanna van 158, 161, 162
Baglione, G. 106, 107
Bailey, G. 81
Bally, David 172
Balem, Hendrick van 100
Bangs, J.D. 72
Barlaeus, Caspar 158, 160, 387, 388
Barocci, Federico 267, 268, 269
Bassen, Bartholomeus van 176, 350
Bast, Pieter 386, 387
Baudoux, Abraham de 346
Beer, Jan de 269
Beerstraten, Jan Abrahamz. 461, 465
Beert, Osias 239, 240
Beherman, T. 304, 305, 305
Belkin, K. 103, 106
Bellori, Giovan Pietro 188, 191, 192
Benningh, Willem 349
Besantion (Vesontius), Johannes de 60
Beuckelaer, Joachim 218, 219
Beverwyck, Johan van 160
Beza, Th. 70, 198
Bie, Cornelis de 117-120, 122, 306
Biesboer, P. 14
Bijn, Anna 27
Billihe, Cecilia 61
Binet, E. 436
Bisschop, Cornelis de 336
Bisschop, Jan de 98, 120, 123, 169, 172, 177, 457
Blaeu, Willem Jansz. 385, 388
Blankert, A. 449
Bleecker, Dirck 202
Bloemaert, Abraham 299, 311
Blondeel, Lancelot 14
Boccaccio 57
Boechhorst, Jan 306
Bol, Ferdinand 283-286, 305, 307, 313
Bolten, J. 459
Bonasone, Giulio 98
Bor, Paulus 294, 311
Borch, Gesina ter 411
 Borgia, Francisco de 83
Borselen, Philip van 71
Bosch, Johannes de 457
Bouma, tante Titia 225
Boutetier, Jean le 43
Brandt, Isabella 240
Brandt, Jan 388
Braun, G. 46
Bray, Salomon de 12, 13, 174, 176, 290
Bredius, A. 349
Brekenkam, Quirinig van 413, 414, 417
Bronchhorst, Johannes 458, 459
Broos, B. 455, 456
Brosterhuisen, Johan 160, 161
Brouchoven, Dirck van 70
Brouchoven, Jan van de 67, 69-73
Brouwer, Adriaen 121, 128, 129
Brueghel, Jan 100, 298
Brueghel, Pieter 70
Brugghen, Hendrik ter 182
Brunelleschi, Filippo 199
Brunfels, O. 38
Bruyn, Cornelis de 444
Bruyn, J. 67
Buchelius, Arnoldus 177, 214
Bugatti, Carlo 230
Bugatti, Ettore 230
Bugatti, Rembrandt 230, 231
Bugg de Ring, Hendrick 66, 67, 69
Bull, D. 184
Bulwer, John 155
Bye, Johan de 371
Calvin, J. 46, 198, 363, 365
Campagnola, Domenico 454
Campen, Jacob van 160, 161, 162, 174, 176, 290, 292-295, 300, 389, 390
Caravaggio 107, 182-192, 239, 279, 281, 403
Carleton, Sir Dudley 173
Carracci, Annibale 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150
Cassirer, E. 218
Catherine de Valois 40, 42
Catherine the Great, Empress 400
Chamberlain, John 173
Charles V, Emperor 40, 60, 71
Charles VII, King of France 40
Choiseul, Duc de 376
Claesz., Pieter 128
Clark, K. 257
Clerck, Hendrick de 118
Cleve, Joos van 28, 31
Cock, Hieronymus 37, 38, 47, 48
Coecke, Pieter 31
Colaert, Adriaen 80
Colonna, F. 57, 58
Comans, Michiel (I) 396
Comans, Michiel (II) 396
Coop, Francois 225
Coormhert, Dirck Volkerts. 55, 58, 60, 61, 99, 172
Coques, Gonzalez 282, 283, 290, 298, 299, 307, 311, 315
Cornelisz, van Haarlem, Cornelis 98, 134, 252, 299
Cornelisz., Lambert 444, 445
Cort, Cornelis 268
Corta, Felix da 208
Coster, Herman Allertsz. 386
Coster, Samuel 388, 389
Couwenbergh, Christiana van 290, 311
Coymans, Balthasar 174
Coxie, Michel 282, 283
Craepel, Antoine 205
Craesbeeck, Joos van 120
Cransvouw, Jan, Lord 307, 309
Crosier, Adolf 343, 346
Crosier, Catharina 344
Dalens II, Dirk 455, 456
Damman, A.J.F. 53, 55, 63
Dankerets van Seevenhoven, Cornelis 174
Dante Alighieri 57
Dapper, Olfert 383
Das, Lambert Goossens 398
David, Jacques-Louis 229
Deelen, Dirck van 176
De kier, M. 202
Descamps, J.-B. 376
Dibbits, T. 184
Diderot, D. 376
Diepenbeeck, Abraham van 282, 283
Doebsurg, Theo van 277
Doetechum, Baptis van 446
Doetechum, Johannes van 444
Dolendo, Zacharias 91
Domselaar, Tobias van 383
Dornick, Marcus 383
Dou, Gerrit 66, 118, 371-379, 407
Duchemin, Isaac 53, 58, 60, 61, 63
Dudok van Heel, S.A.C. 72, 347
Dujardin, Karel 277, 279, 280, 281, 307, 313, 315, 352
Düer, Albrecht 37, 48, 83, 123, 271
Dusart, Cornelis 454
Dusart, Christiaen 228
Duveker, E. 282
Dyck, Anthony van 284, 285, 286, 298, 304-307, 310-315, 419, 421-426, 454
Dyk, Jan van 289, 295
Egmond, Martij van 351
Eisler, C. 269
Ekart, R.E.O. 306
Elshheimer, Adam 103, 104, 106-113
Emmens, J.A. 116, 120, 233
Erasmus 15, 16, 17, 70, 304
Esselens, Jacob 456
Este, Filippo Francesco d’ 424
Estienne, R. 46
Everdingen, Cesar van 290, 295, 296, 297
Eyck, Jan van 40, 116, 208
Eynden, R. van 457
Faber, Johan 106
Feitama, Isaac 465
Feitama, Sybrand II 465
Finson, Louis 18
Flavius Josephus 202, 203, 205
Flinck, Govart 200, 202, 305, 307, 313
Floris, Frans 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 267
Fock, C.W. 67, 69
Fonseca, Juan de 208
Fournier, Helen van 234
Franchoys, Lucas 306, 313
François I, King of France 174
Franits, W. 307, 310, 313, 421
Frederik Hendrik, Stadholder 174, 290, 294, 300, 311
Freedberg, D. 210
Frois, Luis 84
Gaignat, Louis-Jean 376
Gaitsk, Prince D.A. 376
Galle, Philips 53
Gelder, H.E. van 67, 68
Galle, Theodoor 80, 81
Gheyen II, Jacques de 91, 99, 172, 177
Gheyen III, Jacques de 172
Ghiberti, Lorenzo 199
Giorgione 281
Glauber, Johannes 443, 455
Godijn, Samuel 321
Goeree, Willem 155
Goeritz, C. 106, 107
Golayny, A. 186
Goltzius, Hendrick 11, 14, 19, 20, 91, 93, 95-99, 168, 170, 176, 210, 268, 429, 433, 435
Goodchild, K. 209
Gool, Johan van 117, 306
Gossart of Malbuse, Jan 27, 28, 30, 31
Gottzkowski, Count 400, 401
Goyen, Jan van 281, 344, 346, 347, 349, 351, 353
Goyen, Margriet van 347, 353
Grave, Josua de 461, 463
Greuber, Pieter de 290, 294, 297, 311
Grippenhout, F. 343, 345, 347, 353
Groshans, R. 14
Grootius, Hugo 177
Haagen, Joris van der 461
Haak, B. 429
Haen, Abraham de 455, 456, 461, 463, 465
Haesbergen, Johannes van 351
Hae, Jacob Albertsz. van 73
Haeswinkel, Heyligten
Pietersdr. van 69
Helin, Peter van 119
Hals, Frans 421
Hammer-Tugendhut, D. 332
Hanneman, Adriaen 306, 307, 308, 310-313, 315
Hannot, Johannes 371
Heda, Willem Claesz. 128
Heemskerck, Maarten van 11-21, 33, 168
Heere, Lucas de 30
Heil, Daniel van 120
Held, J. 103, 106
Helst, Bartholomeus van der 307, 310, 311, 313, 399-403
Henry, Duke of Gloucester 307, 308
Henry V, King of France 40, 42
Hogenberg, F. 46
Holbein, Hans the Younger 16
Hollar, Wenceslaus 271, 272
Holsteyn the Younger, Pieter 458-461
Homer 172
Hondius, Hendrik 176
Hondius, Jodocus 383
Homhorst, Gerard van 182, 185, 290, 293, 294, 295, 297, 311, 313
Hooch, Pieter de 336
Hoochstraten, Jannetje van 71
Hooft, P.C. 387
Hooft, Pieter ’t 174
Florembur, Gerard 40
Horn, H.J. 422
Houbraeken, Arnold 131, 133, 188, 192, 251, 253, 305, 306, 327, 351, 402, 419, 421, 422, 423
Hout, C.M. van 44
Houwaert, Jan Baptist 63
Howard, Earl of Arundel, Thomas 167, 170, 177
Huijinga, J. 122
Huydecoper, Joan 321
Huygens II, Constantijn 457
Isaacz., Pieter 384, 385
Isabella, Archduchess 298
Isabella of Portugal 40
Israel, Menasseh ben 364
Jacoba, Duchess of Bavaria 71
Jacobsz., Joost 68
Jacobsz., Gerrit 73
Jansen, J. 402
Jode, Pieter de 91, 311, 312
Johan Maurits, Count of Nassau-Siegen 176, 424
Johann III, Count of Nassau-Siegen 424, 425
Jongh, E. de 98, 225, 353
Jongh, Ludolf de 307
Jonker, M. 344, 345
Jonson van Ceulen, Cornelis 307, 310, 312
Jordaens, Jacob 290, 293, 295, 296, 454
Julius Caesar 176
Junius, Franciscus 121, 123, 143, 145, 208, 240, 241, 271, 403, 437, 449
Kempener, Pieter de 209
Key, Willem 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 61
Keyser, Hendrik de 174, 176
Keyser, Pieter de 176
Keyser, Thomas de 158, 167-178
Kierkegaard, S. 205
Kilian, J. 313
Kilian, Lucas 95, 96
Kircher, Athanasius 266
Klein, D. 14
Kloek, E. 344, 345, 347, 353
Klotz, Valerijni 461
Köhler, PN. 14
Korthals Altes, E. 375
Kraut, G. 14
Kunst, Pieter Cornelisz. 71, 72
Laer, Pieter van 122, 281, 463
Lairese, Gerard de 116-120, 123, 130, 134, 135, 200, 295, 442-450
Lambrour, R. 396
Lampsonius, Dominicus 208, 209
Lastman, Pieter 128, 182, 185, 186, 187, 233, 252
Lelenbergh, Cornelis 351
Lely, Peter 310, 315, 422, 426
Lemaire de Belges, Jean 44
Lenatts, Maria 321
Lengle, Martinus 307
Leonardo da Vinci 267, 403
Leupenius, Johannes 461

INDEX

477
Leyden, Aertgen van 71, 72
Leyden, Lucas van 68, 71, 72, 379
Liberius, Pope 78
Lindeman, Jan 398
Linschoten, Jan Huygen van 442-447
Lissant, Nicolaes 307
Lombard, Lambert 29
Loo, J.B. van 376
Lopez, Alphonso 235
Lormier, Willem 375
Lucullus, Lucius 238
Luther, M. 70, 360
Luttichuys, Simon 307
Maas, Dirk 455
Maes, Nicolaes 304, 305, 307, 398, 421, 423
Mantegna, Andrea 267
Manuth, V. 184
Margaret of Austria 40, 42, 44
Marino, Giambattista 320, 321
Martens, Catalina 396, 397
Master of the Prowdial Son 28, 30, 33, 34
Massis, Quinten 15, 16, 17, 98
Master of the Die 283
Matham, Jacob 219
Maurits of Orange 172, 294, 299
Maue, Anton 231
Medici, Marie de 387
Meer H. Jan van der 456, 465
Meersch, Elisabeth van der 396
Meit, Conrad 42
Melanchton, P. 70
Metsu, Gabriel 396, 398, 407, 413, 414, 415, 417
Meurs, Jacob van 383
Meyers, Jacques 371
Michelangelo 106, 116, 134, 169, 185, 191, 214, 281, 326
Midori, W. 80
Miedema, H. 384
Mierevelt, Michiel van 157, 299, 310, 311, 315
Mieris, Frans van 66, 307, 407
Mignard, Pierre 310, 313
Mijtens, Jan 306, 307, 309, 313, 315
Moeyaert, Claes 321
Moliff, J.F. 210, 269
Molanus, Johannes 208
Molijn, Pieter de 128
Monogrammist H.E. 59
Montias, J. M. 25, 367
Mor, Anthonis 311
Moor, Carle de 352
Moucheron, Isaac van 455, 456, 457, 458, 464, 465
 Muller, Harmen Jansz. 99, 431
 Muller, Jan Harmenzz. 91-99, 213-217, 219, 431
 Munster, S. 46
 Musscher, Jan Jacobsz. van 396, 397
 Musscher, Michiel van 393-403
 Murillo, Esteban 376
 Nachtegaeel, Philips
 Phillipsisz. II 67, 69-73
 Nadal, Jerome 83, 210
 Nason, Pieter 307, 313, 315
 Neucher, Caspar 307, 315, 411, 414, 415, 417
 Niccolò, Giovanni 84
 Nicomachus 437
 Nijmegen, Willem van 429-435, 437, 438, 439
 Noiro, Jacomo 321
 Nolpe, Pieter 389
 Noort, Jan van der 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63
 Oostermolen, Annetgen Foyendt, van 69
 Os, Jan van 458
 Ostade, Adriaen van 121, 123, 396, 398, 454, 458
 Ostade, Isaac van 454
 Ottenheym, K.A. 177
 Ovid 14, 18, 99, 324
 Paccheco, Francisco 208, 209, 210, 213, 215-220
 Palamedesz., Anthonie 311
 Panofsky, E. 15, 123
 Parrhasius 326, 327, 434, 435
 Passe, Christiaen van de 251, 254-257
 Petel, Pierre 118
 Pausias of Sicyon 237-240, 242, 243, 244
 Peale, Angelica Kauffmann 229
 Peale, Charles Wilson 229
 Peale, Michael Angelo 230
 Peale, Raphaelle 229
 Peale, Rembrandt 229
 Peale, Rosalba Carriera 229
 Peale, Rubens 229
 Peale, Sophonisba Anguisciola 229
 Peale, Sybilla Merian 229
 Peale, Titian Ramsay 229
 Peale, Vandyke 229
 Peirce, C. 345
 Pels, Andries 188, 191
 Penders, Willemena 346
 Perou, S. 364
 Peüré, Jean 44
 Perrot, Pieter 216, 217
 Perrier, François 168, 169, 170, 172, 322, 323
 Petirjean, Father 85
 Philibert of Savoy 42, 44
 Philip II 73
 Philip IV, King of Spain 299
 Philip of Burgundy 28, 31, 40
 Philip the Good 39
 Picasso, Pablo 77
 Pickenoy, Elias Nicolaes 401
 Pickenoy, Nicolaes Eliaza 123
 Piles R. De 435
 Pius V, Pope 83
 Platenberg, Ferdinand von 375
 Pliny 237, 238, 239, 242, 243, 443, 447-450
 Plompm, M. 459
 Plutarch 133, 437
 Poelenburch, Cornelis van 123, 169, 458
 Pont, Baertje 229
 Pontinus, Isaac 383
 Pontius, Paulus 426
 Post, Pieter 294
 Potter, Paulus 280, 281, 310, 311, 314
 Poussin, Nicolas 305
 Primaticcio, Francesco 174
 Quellinus, Artus 174, 388, 389, 426
 Quellinus the Younger, Erasmus 198, 199, 306, 311
 Quellinus, Hubert 390, 399
 Quintilian 142
 Rademaker, Abraham 455, 457, 461
 Raffaelino da Reggio 131
 Raguenau, Abraham 307
 Raimondi, Marcantonio 16, 17
 Raphael 108, 209, 235, 282, 283, 297, 326, 403
 Ravesteyn, Jan van 311, 313
 Ravy, Jean 43
 Remy, Pierre 376
 Renard, Fredericus
 Theodorus 454
 Reni, Guido 229, 320, 321, 324, 375
 Reynst, Gerard 173, 174, 321
 Reynst, Jan 173
 Ricci, Matteo 84
 Rijin, Cornelia van 225, 228, 324
 Rijin, Rombertus van 225
 Rijin, Titus van 224, 225, 227, 265
Color plates
1. Maarten van Heemskerck, *Saint Luke Painting the Madonna*, 1532, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem (Healy, fig. 2)
Vincent Sellaer, *Mars and Venus surprised by Vulcan*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp (Jonckheere, fig. 4)
3. Anonymous Master, *The Poet Jean de Belges Imagining Scenes Related to the Death of Philibert le Beau*, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Bakker, fig. 6)
4. Isaac Duchemin, *Portrait of Jan van der Noot*, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia, Lugt Collection, Paris (Veldman, fig. 1)
5. Niccolò School, *Madonna of the Snow*, Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, Nagasaki (Mochizuki, fig. 1)
6. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Turkish Prince and His Attendants*, London, British Museum (Haeger, fig. 2)
7. Rembrandt, *Judas Repentant Returning the Pieces of Silver*, 1629, private collection (Van de Wetering, fig. 1)
8. Rembrandt, *The Lamentation over Christ*, c. 1637-1638, British Museum, London (Bracken, fig. 6)
9. Jan Lievens, *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens*, 1628-1629, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on loan from the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai (De Jongh, fig. 1)
10. Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of a Man with a Horse and Groom, and a Statue of the Hercules Farnese*, 1635-1640, Musée de Châteauroux, Châteauroux (Adams, fig. 3)
11. Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of Frederik van Velthuysen and His Wife Josina van Schonevelt, with a Portrait of the Arundel Homer*, 1636, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (Adams, fig. 5)
12. Rembrandt, *The Rape of Ganymede*, 1635, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Chapman, fig. 4)
13. Caravaggio, *Omnia vincit Amor*, 1602, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Chapman, fig. 5)
14. Jan Lievens, *Abraham’s Sacrifice of Isaac*, c. 1637, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (Van Os, fig. 1)
15. Rembrandt, *Abraham’s Sacrifice of Isaac*, 1635, Hermitage, St. Petersburg (Van Os, fig. 2)
16. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Titia van Uylenburch*, 1639, National Museum, Stockholm (De Koomen, fig. 1)
17. Rembrandt, *Saskia with a Flower* (here identified as Saskia as Glycera), 1641, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden (Dickey, fig. 2)
18. Rembrandt, *The Holy Family with a Curtain*, 1646, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (Kuretsky, fig. 1)
19. Karel Dujardin, *Paul Healing the Cripple in Lystra*, 1663, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Blankert, fig. 1)
20. Cesar van Everdingen, *Four Muses*, detail, Royal Collections, Huis ten Bosch, The Hague (Van Eikema Hommes, fig. 4)
22. Rembrandt, *Callisto Bathing*, 1654, The National Gallery, London (Golahny, fig. 1)
23. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *View of an Interior*, c. 1654-1660, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Brusati, fig. 1)
24. Jan Steen, *The Burgher of Delft*, 1655, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Bok, fig. 1)
25. Rembrandt, *Abraham and the Three Angels*, 1646, private collection (Laarmann, fig. 3)
26. Gerrit Dou, *Nude Woman*, The State Hermitage, Museum, St. Petersburg (Baer, fig. 2)
27. Pieter Isaacsz., *Amsterdam as Ruler of the World*, 1606, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Kolfijn, fig. 2)
28. Michiel van Musscher, View of the Haarlemmerdijk in Amsterdam to the West, with a Female Vegetable Seller, 1668, Amsterdams Historisch Museum (Grijzenhout, fig. 1)
29. Gerard ter Borch, *A Woman Washing Her Hands*, about 1655, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden (Waiboer, fig. 2)
30. Jan de Baen, *Self-Portrait with His Wife Maria de Kinderen*, c. 1674, Museum Bredius, The Hague (Gordenker, fig. 1)
31. Willem van Nijmegen, Trompe l’Oeil with Engravings and a Printed Text Pasted to a Pine Board, 1688, private collection (Tummers, fig. 1)

32. Pieter Holsteyn the Younger, finished by Aert Schouman, Albino Sparrow in a Landscape, watercolour and gouache, inscribed lower right: ‘Witte mosch’, present whereabouts unknown (Dumas, fig. 2)
Colophon

Publishing
Waanders Publishers

Editors
Anton W.A. Boschloo
Jacquelyn N. Coutré
Stephanie S. Dickey
Nicolette C. Sluijter-Seijffert

Editing
Kist & Kilian

Design
Frank de Wit

This publication has been made possible with the help of
The Leiden Gallery, Otto Naumann Ltd., Johnny van Haeften, Salomon Lilian, the Netherlands-America Foundation, the American Friends of the Mauritshuis and the Stichting Charema, Fonds voor Geschiedenis en Kunst

public funds from The Netherlands Cultural Services.

© 2011 Uitgeverij Waanders B.V. / the authors
All rights reserved. No part of the content of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by any means, electronic, mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any other information storage and retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the copyright holders.

The publishers have made every effort to acknowledge copyright of works illustrated in this book. Should any person, despite this, feel that an omission has been made, they are requested to inform the publishers of this fact.

© c/o Pictoright, Amsterdam 2011.
NUR 654

Information about Waanders Publishers can be found on the website www.waanders.nl

512