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. Gordenker
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 Jacqulyn 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
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-
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. 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. Together with the pig - traditionally slaughtered in the month of November - and the different kinds of cabbage in the wheelbarrow, 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. 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 Sorgh (c. 1610-1670) painted market scenes in the 1660s, 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. In addition, we know of pigs on ladders in paintings by Van Ostade, albeit mostly in stables. 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, 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
classes. 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?
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 uitslijsters 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 in 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. 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. 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.
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 to Lamme. 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, Amsterdams 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.

4 A. Houbraken, De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschillers en schilders, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718-1721, III, 210-212.


7 Michiel I Comans sold his Rotterdam house on 13 January 1662: Municipal Archives, Rotterdam, Oud-notarizeel 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 verwer van d’Soi’ (‘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 overmantle by Govert Flinck in that building in 1658: A.W. Weismann, ‘De schoorsteen van het Amsterdamisch 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 30; 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 naamlijst van schilderijen met derselver prijzen, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1752 II, 71, no. 87: ‘Het gezigt van de Wester Kerk met een groenvoewf 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 Theresia 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 marktstad, Amsterdam 1984, 12, 45-49, 92.


14 Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, Archief van burgemeesters, Stukken betreffende verscheidene onderwerpen, inv. no. 662, Kohier van de 200th penning, 1674, fol. 512v: ‘widow of Jan Muijser’. 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 ‘vervverkoper’ (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, Notarial Archives, inv. no. 6671, Kohier van de 200th penning, 1674, fol. 512v: ‘widow of Jan Muijser’. 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 ‘vervverkoper’ (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.

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.


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


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.

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.


De Gelder, op. cit. (n. 25), 133-114. For the poor reputation of vegetable sellers in 17th- and 18th-century Amsterdam, see Kistemaker et al., op. cit. (n. 12).

For example, see Lucas van Valkenborch, Allegory of Autumn: Market Scene on the Weinmarkt in Frankfurt, 1594, in: A. Wied, Lucas und Martin van Valkenborch (1535-1597) und 1534-1612, Ferren 1990, cat. no. 65.

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 Snyders.

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

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.
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
5. Photo: Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library.
6. 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.

Leeffang
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/Gnamm – 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.
6. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.

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.

Chapman
3. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.
4. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY.
5. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY.

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: Amsterdam Historisch Museum.
6. Photo: Image collection Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam.

De Koosmen

Dickey
1. Photo: St. Petersburg, Hermitage.
2. Photo: Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.
5. Photo: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
### Photo credits

**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.
5. Photo: University of Toronto, Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection.

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

**Van Eikema-Hommes**
1. Photo: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.
3. Photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Amsterdam.
4, 5. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

**Liedtke**
2. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.
3. Photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

**Gohlaný**

**Brusati**
1. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.
2. Photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting, Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.
3. 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.

**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.

**Dumas**
1. Photo: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.
2. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
4. Photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting.
5. Photo: Courtesy of a private collection.
6. Photo: The Bridgeman Art Library.
7. Photo: Courtesy of the Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

**Coutré**
1. Photo: New York Public Library.

**Waiboer**
1. Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
2. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.
3. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.
5. Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum.

**Timmers**
2. 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.

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

**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.

**Waiboer**
1. Photo: Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
2. Photo: © Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche 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.

**Coutré**
1. Photo: New York Public Library.

**Dumas**
1. Photo: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.
2. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
5. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

**Grijzenhout**

**Gohlaný**
3. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
4. Photo: Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.
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
Aliciati, A. 16, 160
Alexander Master 361
Almeida, Luis d’ 85
Amalia van Solms 174, 290, 293, 295, 298, 300
Amman, Jost 108
Andriesdr., Machteel 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 Abrahamsz. 461, 465
Beert, Osias 239, 240
Beherman, T. 304, 305, 305
Belkin, K. 103, 106
Bellori, Giovanni Pietro 188, 191, 192
Benningh, Willem 349
Benzon (Vesontius), Johannes van 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
Blaau, Willem Jansz. 385, 388
Blankert, A. 449
Bleecker, Dirck 202
Bloemaert, Abraham 299, 311
Blondeel, Lancelot 14
Boccaccio 57
Boeckhorst, Jan 306
Bol, Ferdinand 283-286, 305, 307, 313
Bolten, J. 459
Bonasone, Giulio 98
Bot, Paulus 294, 311
Borch, Gesina ter 411
Borgia, Francisco de 83
Borselen, Philips van 71
Bosch, Johannes van 457
Bouma, tante Titia 225
Boutelier, Jean le 43
Brandt, Isabella 240
Brandt, Jan 388
Braun, G. 46
Bray, Salomon de 12, 13, 174, 176, 290
Brederius, A. 349
Brekenlook, Quirinng van 413, 414, 417
Bronckhorst, Johannes 458, 459
Broos, B. 455, 456
Broederhuisen, Johan 160, 161
Brouchoven, Dirck van 70
Brouchoven, Jan van 67, 69-73
Brouwer, Adriaen 121, 128, 129
Brueghel, Jan 100, 298
Brueghel, Pieter 70
Bruggen, 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
Buoge van Ring, Hendrick 66, 67, 69
Bull, D. 184
Bulwer, John 155
Bye, Johan de 371
Calvin, J. 46, 198, 363, 365
Campagnola, Domenico 454
Campion, 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
Cocceke, Pieter 31
Colaert, Adriaen 80
Colonna, E. 57, 58
Comans, Michiel (I) 396
Comans, Michiel (II) 396
Coop, Francois 225
Coornhert, Dirck Volkertsz. 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
Costa, Felix da 208
Coster, Herman Allertsz. 386
Coster, Samuel 388, 389
Counwenbergh, Christian 290, 311
Coymans, Balbazar 174
Conie, Michiel 282, 283
Coypel, Antoine 205
Craesbeeck, Joos van 120
Cranstoun, James, Lord 307, 309
Croeser, Adolf 343, 346
Croeser, Catharina 344
Dalens II, Dirk 455, 456
Dammann, A.J.F. 53, 55, 63
Danckerts van Sleenhoven, Cornelis 174
Dante Alighieri 57
Dapper, Offer 383
Das, Lambert Goossens 398
David, Jacques-Louis 229
Deelen, Dirck van 176
Dekiert, M. 202
Descamps, J.-B. 376
Dibbits, T. 184
Diderot, D. 376
Diepenbeeck, Abraham van 282, 283
Doesburg, Theo van 277
Doetechum, Baptis van 446
Doetechum, Johannes van 444
Dolendo, Zacharias 91
Domselaar, Tobias van 383
Doornick, Marcus 383
Dou, Gerrit 66, 118, 371-379, 407
### Index

- 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
- Duvegeert, E. 282
- Dyck, Anthony van 284, 285, 286, 298, 304-307, 310-315, 419, 421-426, 454
- Dyk, Jan van 289, 295
- Egmond, Maritje van 351
- Eisler, C. 269
- Ekkart, R.E.O. 306
- Elsheimer, Adam 103, 104, 106-113
- Emmens, J.A. 116, 120, 233
- Erasmus 15, 16, 17, 70, 304
- Easelens, 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, Sybrant II 465
- Finson, Louis 116
- Flavius Josephus 202, 203, 205
- Flinck, Govert 200, 202, 305, 307, 313
- Floris, Frans 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 267
- Fock, C.W. 67, 69
- Fonseca, Juan de 208
- Fournier, Helen 235
- Franchois, Lucas 306, 313
- François I, King of France 174
- Fransis, W. 307, 310, 313, 421
- Frederik Hendrik, Stadholder 174, 290, 294, 300, 311
- Freedberg, D. 210
- Frois, Luis 84
- Gaignat, Louis-Jean 376
- Galitzin, Prince D.A. 376
- Galle, Philips 53
- Gelder, H.E. van 67, 68
- Galle, Theodoor 80, 81
- Gheyn II, Jacques de 91, 99, 172, 177
- Gheyn III, Jacques de 172
- Ghisberti, Lorenzo 199
- Giorgione 281
- Glauber, Johannes 443, 455
- Godijn, Samuel 321
- Goeree, Willem 155
- Gottler, C. 106, 107
- Golahny, A. 186
- Golzius, 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 van Malbuse, Jan 27, 28, 30, 31
- Grotzkowky, Count 400, 401
- Goyen, Jan van 281, 344, 346, 347, 349, 351, 353
- Goyen, Margriet van 347, 353
- Grave, Josua de 461, 463
- Grebber, Pieter de 290, 294, 297, 311
- Grijzenhout, F. 343, 345, 347, 353
- Grosshans, R. 14
- Grootius, Hugo 177
- Haagen, Joris van der 461
- Haak, B. 429
- Haen, Abraham de 455, 456, 461, 463, 465
- Haensbergen, Johannes van 351
- Haes, Jacob Allertsz. de 73
- Haeswinkel, Heyltgen Pietersdr. van 69
- Halen, Peter van 119
- Hals, Frans 421
- Hammer-Tugendhat, D. 332
- Hanneman, Adriaen 306, 307, 308, 310-313, 315
- Hannot, Johannes 371
- Heda, Willem Claesz. 128
- Heemskerk, 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, Jobocus 383
- Homhorst, Gerard van 182, 185, 290, 293, 294, 295, 297, 311, 313
- Hooch, Pieter de 336
- Hoornstraten, Janntete van 71
- Hoof, P.C. 387
- Hooft, Pieter’s 174
- Horembrug, Gerard 40
- Horn, H.J. 422
- Houbroek, 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
- Huizinga, J. 122
- Huydecoper, Joan 321
- Huygens II, Constantin 457
- Isaaczz., Pieter 384, 385
- Isabella, Archduchess 298
- Isabella of Portugal 40
- Israel, Menasseh ben 364
- Jacoba, Duchess of Bavaria 71
- Jacobsz., Joost 68
- Jacobszn., 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
- Jordaeus, Jacob 290, 293, 295, 296, 454
- Julius Caesar 176
- Junius, Franciscus 121, 123, 143, 145, 208, 240, 241, 271, 403, 437, 449
- Kempeene, 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, Valentin 461
- Köhler, PN. 14
- Kothals Altes, E. 375
- Kraut, G. 14
- Kunst, Pieter Cornelisz. 71, 72
- Laer, Pieter van 122, 281, 463
- Lairesse, Gerard de 116-120, 123, 130, 134, 135, 200, 295, 442-450
- Lambour, R. 396
- Lampsonius, Dominicus 208, 209
- Lastman, Pieter 128, 182, 185, 186, 187, 233, 252
- Lelie, frans 131, 321
- Lengel, Martinus 307
- Leonardo da Vinci 267, 403
- Leupenius, Johannes 461
AEMULATIO

Leyden, Aertgen van 71, 72
Leyden, Lucas van 68, 71, 72, 379
Liberius, Pope 78
Lindeman, Jan 398
Linschoten, Jan Huygen van 442-447
Lissart, 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, Dirck 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 Prodigal 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
Mauve, Anton 231
Meer, 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
Midorí, W. 80
Miedema, H. 384
Mierevelt, Michiel van 157, 209, 310, 311, 315
Mieris, Frans van 66, 307, 407
Mignard, Pierre 310, 313
Mijtens, Jan 306, 307, 309, 313, 315
Moeyaert, Claes 321
Molhett, J.F. 210, 269
Molanus, Johannes 208
Molijn, Pieter de 128
Monogrammist H.E. 59
Montias, J. M. 25, 367
Mor, Anthonis 311
Moor, Carol de 352
Moucheron, Isaac de 455, 456, 457, 458, 464, 465
Muller, Harmen Jansz. 99, 143
Muller, Jan Harmenzz. 91-99, 213-217, 219, 431
Munster, S. 46
Mussher, Jan Jachobrez van 396, 397
Mussher, Michiel van 393-403
Murillo, Esteban 376
Nachtegael, Phillips
Philippus II 67, 69-73
Nadal, Jerome 83, 210
Nason, Pieter 307, 313, 315
Nescher, Caspar 307, 315, 411, 414, 415, 417
Niccolò, Giovanni 84
Nicomachus 437
Nijmegen, Willem van 429-435, 437, 438, 439
Noirrot, Jacomo 321
Nolpe, Pieter 389
Noor, Jan van der 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63
Ostade, Adriaen van 121, 123, 396, 398, 454, 458
Ostade, Isaac van 454
Ottenheim, K.A. 177
Ovid 14, 18, 99, 324
Pacheco, Francisco 208, 209, 210, 213, 215-220
Palamedesz., Anthonie 311
Panofsky, E. 15, 123
Parrhasius 326, 327, 434, 435
Passe, Chrispijn van de 251, 254-257
Patel, Pieter 118
Pausias of Sicyon 237-240, 242, 243, 244
Peale, Angelica Kaufmann 229
Peale, Charles Wilson 229
Peale, Michael Angelo 230
Peale, Raphaelle 229
Peale, Rembrandt 229
Peale, Rosalba Carriera 229
Peale, Rubens 229
Peale, Sophonisba Anguiusciola 229
Peale, Sybilla Merian 229
Peale, Titian Ramsay 229
Peale, Vandyke 229
Perré, C. 345
Pex, Andries 188, 191
Penders, Willemena 346
Perlove, S. 364
Petré, Jean 44
Perret, Pieter 216, 217
Perrier, François 168, 169, 170, 172, 322, 323
Petitjean, 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, Nicolaas Eliaza 123
Piles R. De 435
Pius V, Pope 83
Plettenberg, Ferdinand von 375
Pliny 237, 238, 239, 242, 243, 443, 447-450
Plomp, M. 459
Plutarch 133, 437
Poelenburch, Cornelis van 123, 169, 458
Pont, Baertje 229
Pontanus, Isaac 383
Pontius, Paulus 426
Post, Pieter 294
Porter, Paulus 280, 281, 310, 311, 349
Poussin, Nicolas 305
Primitiecco, Francesco 174
Quellinus, Artus 174, 388, 389, 426
Quellinus the Younger, Erasmus 198, 199, 306, 311
Quellinus, Hubert 390, 388, 390
Quintilian 142
Rademaker, Abraham 455, 457, 461
Raffaellino da Reggio 131
Ragueneau, Abraham 307
Raimondi, Marcantonio 16, 17
Raphael 108, 209, 285, 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
Ricci, Matteo 84
Rijn, Cornelia van 225, 228, 324
Rijn, Rombertus van 225
Rijn, Titus van 224, 225, 227, 265

478
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)
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)
22. Rembrandt, *Callisto Bathing*, 1654, The National Gallery, London (Golahny, fig. 1)
(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 Isaacs., *Amsterdam as Ruler of the World*, 1606, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Kolfin, 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 (Waiböer, 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)