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ETAT. SVA. 57  
AN. ° 1647



# Frans Hals: The Portraits of a Mennonite Watchmaker and His Wife

• FRANS GRIJZENHOUT •

Since 1910 the Rijksmuseum has had two drawings that Jan Gerard Waldorp made in 1780 after portraits by Frans Hals painted in 1643 (figs. 1 and 2). Waldorp, a reasonably good artist who seems to have earned a living chiefly as an engraver and decorative painter, worked among other things on some of the decorations in the Schouwburg – the theatre – in Amsterdam. In the 1780 to 1787 period he was a committed Patriot and produced at least one cutting anti-Orangist cartoon. After the Batavian Revolution of 1795, Waldorp was one of a group of artists who supplied and executed designs for the large festive decorations that were put up in Amsterdam in May 1795 to celebrate the alliance between the Batavian Republic and France.<sup>1</sup> In 1800 his revolutionary zeal was rewarded with his appointment to the post of keeper of the Nationale Konst-Gallerij in Huis ten Bosch near The Hague, the earliest of the Rijksmuseum's immediate forerunners.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of drawings like these by Waldorp after Hals lies in the collecting culture that flourished in the Netherlands in the second half of the eighteenth century. Works of art – chiefly from the Dutch Golden Age, but by contemporary artists as well – were eagerly traded, collected and studied. Drawings like these were

*Detail of fig. 3*

seized upon with delight by collectors; they gave their owners the opportunity to add a work they did not own to their collections, albeit in a different medium, so that they could study it and compare it with other works. On occasion collectors asked artists to copy works from their own collections. Some collectors had portfolios full of such copies of older paintings and the appreciation of the artistic qualities of these copies was considerable.<sup>3</sup> Waldorp consequently copied the signatures and dates that Hals had placed on the original paintings, and proudly added his own immediately underneath.<sup>4</sup>

Drawings like these, after an older work of art, were made in a collector's home or in an art dealer's gallery before the original went to a new owner in the Netherlands or beyond. As a result, these drawings also served a function in recording the national heritage. Waldorp drew his copies of Hals's paintings on durable vellum in 1780. This is intriguing, given that the works came up for sale at auctions in Paris on several occasions between 1777 and 1789.<sup>5</sup> That fact does not, however, rule out the possibility that the paintings were in Dutch hands at the time; some Dutch art dealers were very active in the French art market.<sup>6</sup>

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*Figs. 1 and 2*

JAN GERARD WALDRORP AFTER FRANS HALS, *Portraits of a Man Holding a Watch, and his Wife*, 1780. Pencil on vellum, 307 x 250 mm and 310 x 250 mm respectively. Centre right: 'F Hals pinx[it] 1643/ J G Waldorp del[ineavit] 1780'; centre left: 'F Hals pinx 1643/ J G Waldorp/ del 1780'. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1910-29, 30; purchased with the support of the Vereniging Rembrandt.









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Figs. 3 and 4

FRANS HALS,  
*Portraits of a Man  
 Holding a Watch  
 and his Wife*, 1643.  
 Oil on canvas,  
 82.2 x 66.2 cm  
 and 82.6 x 67.3 cm  
 respectively.  
 Centre right:  
 'AETAT[IS] SUAE 57/  
 AN° 1643'; centre left:  
 'AETAT SUAE 52/  
 AN° 1643'.  
 Philadelphia (PA),  
 The Barnes  
 Foundation,  
 inv. no. BF 261,  
 photo: © The Barnes  
 Foundation/  
 The Bridgeman  
 Art Library;  
 and Stockholm,  
 Nationalmuseum,  
 inv. no. 6421  
 respectively.

### Isabella van Leeuwaarden and Her Mennonite Forebears

The Parisian artist, expert and dealer Alexandre-Joseph Paillet,<sup>7</sup> who owned the Hals portraits in 1777, must have bought them at the sale of Isabella van Leeuwaarden's paintings in Haarlem on 21 September 1773. The portraits were described as 'A portrait of a man holding a watch, finely painted by the same [Frans Hals], h. 33 ½ ins. w. 27 ½ ins.', and 'A portrait of a woman holding gloves, being a pendant'.<sup>8</sup> Until 1928 these Hals portraits of a man and his wife always came up at auction together; after that they were split and ended up in different collections. Now they are separated by the Atlantic Ocean: the man is in the Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, the woman in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.<sup>9</sup>

The paintings in question are two portraits by Hals dating from 1643 (figs. 3 and 4), neither of them particularly spectacular at first sight. A man with a bushy beard and a full moustache looks amiably out at us, a watch in his hand. According to the inscription he was fifty-seven when Hals painted his portrait. His wife, who was evidently five years younger, is dressed in a fur-trimmed *vlieger* – a sort of sleeveless coat worn by married women – and holds a pair of gloves.<sup>10</sup> A striking feature of their dress is that neither is wearing white cuffs, a sign of prosperity and luxury that the well-to-do citizen of Haarlem in the seventeenth century would usually flaunt in a portrait. All we see is a narrow lace edging peeping out from the woman's left sleeve. The man's beard and moustache are unusually luxuriant for the period, and the couple's collars and headgear can best be described as simple. When we see dress characteristics like this in seventeenth-century portraits, we have to consider the possibility that the subjects were members of the Mennonite community, which

emphasized reserve in its attitude to the world and restraint in conduct and dress. This was expressed in an aversion to brightly-coloured, elaborately embroidered, embellished or gleaming fabrics, to fancy cuffs, to visible jewellery and to following the latest fashions in general.<sup>11</sup> These two portraits by Hals certainly fulfil this image.

Isabella van Leeuwaarden (1696-1773), the woman who owned these pictures at the time of her death, owes her reputation to the fact that the fortune she left made it possible to establish alms houses in Haarlem for impoverished Remonstrant women. She had converted from the Mennonites to the Remonstrant church in 1736.<sup>12</sup> Her forebears, however, on both her mother's and her father's side, had been convinced and stalwart Mennonites, which suggests that the paintings may have been portraits of her Mennonite ancestors in Haarlem.

This hypothesis is supported by the watch that the man holds. Hals is usually very sparing with attributes in his portraits. There are a great many gloves, but other than that the artist confines himself to the occasional book as an attribute for a historian or theologian, a staff for a military commander and a pen for a calligrapher. Slive put forward the idea that the portraits might be of a watchmaker and his wife. The last lots at the end of the sale of Isabella's possessions in 1773 included 'an old watch by Boukels' (of whom more later), as well as 'some compasses, scales, set squares, sundials, watch parts, copper plates, gravers, touchstone, gold weights ... etc.',<sup>13</sup> all tools and materials used by a watchmaker, which lends weight to Slive's suggestion.

When we look more closely at Isabella van Leeuwaarden's ancestry, it soon becomes clear that she came from a family of prominent Mennonite watchmakers in Haarlem. True, her

father Jacobus (1654/5-1726) manufactured and traded in velvets, but his older brother Jan (1648-1689) set up in business as a watchmaker first in Haarlem, later in Amsterdam, after which another brother, Matthijs (?-1691), carried on their father's business on his own. This Jacobus van Leeuwaarden (1622/3-1667)<sup>4</sup> was a famous watchmaker in Haarlem's Grote Markt 'at the sign of the Arms of Aachen', named after the city of the forefathers of his wife, Maritgen Boeckels. On 17 August 1663, the French diplomat and physician Balthasar de Monconys visited Jacobus van Leeuwaarden, whose name he rendered as 'Jouan Leouäarden'. This must have been a mistake, for Jacobus's father, Jan, had died long before, and his eldest son, another Jan, was only fifteen at the time. At Jacobus van Leeuwaarden's shop, De Monconys, who was very interested in the sciences, saw examples of the 'fine movement without cord or chain' by 'the famous watchmaker ... who, being an Anabaptist, is the gentlest, wisest and most unassuming man one could meet'.<sup>15</sup> Van Leeuwaarden spent a day showing De Monconys the town. Together they visited some collectors of prints and paintings and the workshop of an unidentified artist. Later in the day, after a meal in the Haarlemmerhout (the woods on the outskirts of Haarlem), De Monconys and Van Leeuwaarden saw a militia group portrait in the civic guard headquarters. It was by Hals, who, as Monconys wrote in his journal that night, 'is rightly admired by the greatest painters'. De Monconys spent a few days in Amsterdam and then returned to Van Leeuwaarden; they went to see the Prinsenhof and visited the artists Salomon de Bray and Pieter Saenredam.<sup>16</sup>

The identity of the fifty-seven-year-old man with a watch whom Hals painted in 1643 has to be sought in the generation preceding Jacobus

van Leeuwaarden. Two of Isabella's great-grandfathers were watchmakers. Jan Jacobsz van Leeuwaarden (1597/8-1649), who actually was born in Leeuwarden, also plied his trade in Haarlem's Grote Markt.<sup>17</sup> It is clear that he must have been an important watchmaker with a considerable reputation throughout the Republic, since Constantijn Huygens ordered an 'alarm' from him – probably a watch with an alarm function. In a letter he wrote to Huygens on 2 September 1638, Jan Jacobsz asked whether he should also gild the inside of the timepiece that Huygens had ordered, or only the case. And in 1644 he sent Huygens his repaired watch (possibly the same one), 'which now keeps time'.<sup>18</sup> In Constantijn Huygens, diplomat and private secretary to Stadholder Frederick Henry, Jan Jacobsz van Leeuwaarden had a client in the very highest echelons in the Republic. Balthasar de Monconys probably called on Jacobus van Leeuwaarden in Haarlem on Huygens's recommendation; Huygens had previously put the Frenchman in touch with Johannes Vermeer.<sup>19</sup>

However, Jan Jacobsz van Leeuwaarden appears to have been born in 1597 or 1598, which obviously rules him out as the fifty-seven-year-old sitter in Frans Hals's 1643 portrait.<sup>20</sup> This leaves us with Isabella's other great-grandfather, Mathijs Jansz Boeckels (also Bockels, Bockelt and other spellings), who had been a prominent watchmaker in Haarlem. He and his brother Jan were the sons of Jan Jansz Boeckels the Elder from Aachen, Germany, who lived in The Hague for some time and was buried in Haarlem in 1627.<sup>21</sup> The earliest documents that mention Mathijs and his brother, Jan Boeckels, date from 1606, when they bought lots in the famous Haarlem lottery of that year. On that occasion, both brothers are described as watchmaker or clockmaker and both appear to live in

Fig. 5

JAN JANSZ BOECKELS,  
*Oval Cased Verge  
 Watch with Calendar,*  
 1607.  
 Gilt brass,  
 6.95 x 4.89 cm.  
 On the back:  
 'Jan Jansz Boeckels';  
 on the inside of the  
 back: 'Abraham  
 Ampe anno 1607'.  
 Oxford, University  
 of Oxford,  
 Ashmolean Museum,  
 inv. no. 1947.191.13.



Fig. 6

MATHIJS JANSZ  
 BOECKELS, *Oval  
 Watch,* c. 1610.  
 Silver, 4 x 3.5 cm.  
 On the plate: 'Mathys  
 Bockels/ Haerlem'.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv. no. BK-NM-3080.

someone else's house. This may indicate that they were already practising their trade by that time, but were probably in the early stages of their professional careers and had not yet started families.<sup>22</sup> The earliest known signed and dated watch by Jan Jansz Boeckels is from 1607 (fig. 5),



by which time he must have been working as an independent master.<sup>23</sup> In 1618, both brothers are recorded as members of a Mennonite community in Haarlem.<sup>24</sup> Mathijs Boeckels's wife, Maria Bastiaens van Hout, is listed on the same register.<sup>25</sup> He and his wife had two daughters, Trijntgen and Maritgen, the latter of whom married Isabella's grandfather Jacobus van Leeuwaarden in 1647.<sup>26</sup> We know that Mathijs Boeckels was active in the moderate Mennonite community of the 'Waterlanders', since he is mentioned as one of their 'bedienaers' (deacons) in a notarial deed.<sup>27</sup> He must have died between December 1654, when he sold a garden, and November 1655, when his heirs sold one of his properties.<sup>28</sup>

Given the provenance of the paintings, the appearance of the sitters and the collected life data, I suggest that the fifty-seven-year-old man holding a watch and his fifty-two-year-old wife, portrayed by Frans Hals in 1643, may be identified as the Mennonite watchmaker Mathijs Jansz Boeckels and his wife Maria Bastiaens van Hout, the great-grandparents of Isabella van Leeuwaarden, the last owner of the portrait.

### Time, Identity, Inheritance

The oval watch the man holds in the portrait by Frans Hals is of a simple type. It has a pierced cover, and the chapter ring and the case band are probably made of applied silver. Its simplicity may be meant to underscore the Mennonite identity of the sitter, like the so-called 'puritan watches' produced by Mathijs and Jan Boeckels.<sup>29</sup> The Rijksmuseum owns two watches by the Boeckels brothers. The one made by Mathijs Boeckels (fig. 6) is a simple oval watch in a silver case covered with ray skin. The one made by his brother Jan (fig. 7) is a more complicated timepiece which shows the days of the month and high and low tide as well as telling the time.



Fig. 7

JAN JANSZ BOECKELS,  
*Oval Watch*, c. 1610.  
 Silver, 4 x 3.2 cm.  
 On the plate:  
 'Jan Jansz Boekels/  
 Hage'.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv. no. BK-NM-10593.

The museum also owns an exceptionally fine table clock in an oak case embellished with tortoiseshell by Jan Boeckels (fig. 8). The dial is ornamented with powerfully cut floral motifs, and there are openwork sections on two corners, decorated with a vase, tendrils and a bird.

As we have seen, the earliest known watch by Jan Jansz Boeckels dates from 1607 (see fig. 5). It bears an inscription indicating that it was made for Abraham Ampe (1587-1633), a member of an important Mennonite family in Haarlem, possibly on the occasion of his twentieth birthday.<sup>30</sup> In 1610, Abraham Ampe married Levina de Clercq (?-1652), an older sister of Lucas de Clercq, whom Frans Hals portrayed with his wife in 1635.

Ampe must have kept in touch with Jan Jansz Boeckels, since he testified in his favour in 1625, when Jan Jansz was involved in a highly unpleasant legal dispute with his wife. Thereafter he settled in The Hague.<sup>31</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not know if Mathijs Jansz Boeckels himself owned any other portraits or paintings – by Hals or anyone else. On 10 January 1666 a final division of his belongings and those of his wife was agreed between their two daughters, but regrettably they are not specified.<sup>32</sup> We do, though, know that in May 1699 there were several portraits of members of the family in the estate of Boeckels's grandson Mathijs van Leeuwaarden, Isabella van Leeuwaarden's uncle. As well as several timepieces, watch-making instruments, and paintings by Molijn, Steen, Saftleven and Ruysdael,

Fig. 8

JAN JANSZ BOECKELS,  
*Table Clock*,  
 c. 1605-25.  
 Oak case with tortoise-  
 shell, silver dial,  
 6.8 x 12 x 12 cm.

On the underside:  
 'Jan Janse Boekelts  
 Haerlem'.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv. no. BK-1957-7.



he owned portraits of himself and of his father Jacobus, of his grandparents Mathijs Boeckels and Maria Bastiaens van Hout (unfortunately with no record of the artist's name), of Jan Boeckels, of his great-grandfather Bastiaen van Hout, and his great-grandparents Roelof Jansz van Vries and Susanna Pieters.<sup>33</sup> We may safely assume that the Boeckels-Van Leeuwaarden dynasty maintained a practice of keeping family memories alive by way of portraiture and by cherishing timepieces made by their ancestors.

Another portrait by Frans Hals was sold at the auction of Isabella van Leeuwaarden's paintings in 1773. It was described as 'a family portrait: a woman sits at a table on which are a carpet and a wineglass, behind her stands her husband, who looks with pleasure at two children holding hands, all skilfully painted by F. Hals, height 44 ins., width 37 ins., canvas'.<sup>34</sup> It is generally thought that Hals painted this picture, now in the Cincinnati Art Museum (fig. 9), around 1635.<sup>35</sup>

*Fig. 9*  
FRANS HALS,  
*Family Portrait*,  
c. 1635.  
Oil on canvas,  
111.8 x 89.9 cm.  
Cincinnati (OH),  
Cincinnati Art  
Museum, inv. no.  
1927-399; Mary  
M. Emery Bequest.  
Photo: © Cincinnati  
Art Museum/The  
Bridgeman Art  
Library.



Given its identical provenance, it would make sense to take another look at Isabella van Leeuwaarden's ancestors. Surprisingly, there appears to be no family in the Van Leeuwaarden-Boeckels genealogy that matches the configuration of the family and the approximate ages of its members in Hals's picture other than, again, that of Mathijs Jansz Boeckels and his wife, and their two daughters Trijntgen and Maritgen. Although it is tempting to identify them as the sitters in this family portrait by Hals, the manifestly expensive clothes worn by the wife and children, and the prosperous setting argue against this conclusion.<sup>36</sup> The same must be said of another famous family portrait at the Van Leeuwaarden sale, by Adriaen van Ostade and dated 1654, which is now in the Louvre, Paris.<sup>37</sup> There is nothing to suggest that the family in this portrait were Isabella van Leeuwaarden's ancestors.

### Frans Hals and Mennonite Haarlem

This proposed identification of two portraits by Frans Hals gives us access to a larger group of portraits by Hals, which we know or may assume are of Mennonites. So far, we could only be sure of the Mennonite identity of Lucas de Clercq and Feijntje van Steenkiste, who had their portraits, now in the Rijksmuseum, painted by Hals in 1635 (figs. 10 and 11). From seventeenth-century inventories we know the names of subjects apparently painted by Hals: the Mennonite brewer Nicolaes Noppen, his wife Geertruijt van Santen and her father Gerrit Jansz van Santen, distiller and Mennonite minister,<sup>38</sup> and the brewer Cornelis Jansz van Meeckeren.<sup>39</sup> There is also another group of portraits that are candidates for inclusion in this set of clients with a distinctive religious signature. The sitters in the portraits of the as yet unidentified 'Monsieur Mers' and his wife may be members

of the Mennonite Van der Mersch or Van der Meersch families.<sup>40</sup> The art historian Cornelis Hofstede de Groot wondered long ago whether the unidentified couple in two 1637 portraits by Hals, now in private hands, might have been Mennonites.<sup>41</sup> The religious and personal identity of the elderly couple, apparently called 'Bodolphe', in portraits dating from 1643, whose 'Mennonite simplicity' was praised by the Rijksmuseum's director Frederik Schmidt-Degener in 1924, remains a mystery.<sup>42</sup> With all the provisos we have to bear in mind here, I suspect that there are between fifteen and twenty Mennonite portraits in Hals's oeuvre.<sup>43</sup> This is hardly surprising when one considers that around the middle of the seventeenth century fourteen per cent of the population of Haarlem were Mennonites.<sup>44</sup>

Frans Hals himself, who registered as a practising member of the Dutch Reformed church in Haarlem quite late in life, must have had his first encounters with the Mennonite milieu early in the seventeenth century. At that time he was apprenticed to Karel van Mander, who was a member of the Mennonite community known as the Oude Vlamingen.<sup>45</sup> His Mennonite portraits, however, do not appear to be related to this: they were all painted between around 1630 and 1645, and it cannot be a coincidence that this was the period when the denomination was at its strongest in Haarlem. A great deal more in-depth research will be needed to gain a better understanding of this sometimes seriously divided religious group's importance to art and culture in Haarlem and of the interconnected networks between Hals's Mennonite clients. For the time being we have to be content with the finding that in any event, even after four centuries, one timepiece by the Haarlem watchmaker Mathijs Jansz Boeckels is still under the same roof as what is probably a portrait of its maker.

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*Figs. 10 and 11*  
FRANS HALS,  
*Lucas de Clercq*  
*and Feijntje van*  
*Steenkiste, 1635.*  
Oil on canvas,  
126.5 x 93 and  
123 x 93 cm  
respectively.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.  
SK-C-556, 557;  
on loan from the  
City of Amsterdam.





## NOTES

- 1 F. Grijzenhout, *Feesten voor het vaderland. Patriotse en Bataafse feesten*, Zwolle 1989, pp. 148-50.
- 2 E.W. Moes and E. van Biema, *De Nationale Konst-Gallery en het Koninklijk Museum*, Amsterdam 1909, pp. 37-38; G. van der Ham, *200 jaar Rijksmuseum. Geschiedenis van een national symbol*, Zwolle 2000, p. 23; F. Grijzenhout, "In These Days of Convulsive Political Change." Discourse and Display in the Revolutionary Museum', in K. Tilman et al. (eds.), *Performing the Past. The Making of European Historical Culture*, Amsterdam 2010, pp. 287-303, esp. pp. 292-94.
- 3 For this phenomenon see R. Jellema, *Herhaling of vertaling. Natekeningen uit de achttiende en negentiende eeuw*, Haarlem 1987; M.C. Plomp, *Hartstochtelijk verzameld. 18de-eeuwse Hollandse verzamelaars van tekeningen en hun collecties*, Bussum 2001, pp. 242, 243; M. van Berge-Gerbaud et al. (eds.), *Hartstochtelijk verzameld. Beroemde tekeningen in 18de-eeuwse Hollandse collecties*, Bussum 2001, pp. 132, 133, 216, 217.
- 4 The Rijksmuseum also holds two copies of portraits by Michiel van Mierevelt that Waldorp drew in 1795 (inv. nos. RP-T-00-1179, 1180). There are other copies by Waldorp after Hals in the University of Leiden Print Room, and in the Frans Hals Museum and Teylers Museum, both in Haarlem.
- 5 In addition to the provenance details in S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, vol. 3, New York 1974, nos. 146, 147; sale A.-J. Paillet, Paris (Paillet), 15 December 1777 (Lugt 2754), no. 189, 166 livres; sale Paris (Lebrun), 22 January 1787 (Lugt 4126), no. 18; sale L.B. Coclers et al., Paris (Lebrun), 9 February 1789 (Lugt 4391), no. 30, 199 livres, to Constantin.
- 6 P. Michel, *Le commerce du tableau à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2008, pp. 134-44.
- 7 For him see J.L. Edwards, *Alexandre-Joseph Paillet. Expert et marchand de tableaux à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1996.
- 8 'Een mans pourtrait met een horologie in de hand, schoon geschildert door dezelve [Frans Hals], h. 33 ½ d[uim], br. 27 ½ d.', en 'Een vrouwe pourtrait met handschoenen in de hand, zynde een weerga.' Sale I. van Leeuwarden Collection, Haarlem, 21 September 1773 (Lugt 2194), nos. 5, 6. The only existing copy of the catalogue, without names or prices, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (Estampes, inv. no. Yd-572). I would like to express my gratitude to the Research Institute for Culture and History at the University of Amsterdam, which enabled me to consult this copy.
- 9 For the portrait of the woman see G. Cavalli-Björkman, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings II. Dutch Paintings c. 1600-c. 1800*, Stockholm 2005, pp. 222, 223.
- 10 Slive, op. cit. (note 5), nos. 146, 147. More or less concurrently with Slive, Claus Grimm began to publish his findings about Frans Hals's expressive qualities, in part in an attempt to make a distinction between Hals's work and contributions by supposed workshop assistants. Grimm's opinion on these two portraits seems to have changed over the years. In his 'Frans Hals und seine "Schule"', *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, third series, 22 (1971), pp. 147-88, esp. p. 171 and fig. 20, he used details of the woman's hand to illustrate Frans Hals's superiority as to the 'organic build-up' ('organische Aufbau') and the 'psychological coherence' ('psychologische Zusammenhang') in his painting style, as compared to the work of his less gifted son. Ibid., *Frans Hals. Entwicklung, Werkanalyse, Gesamtkatalog*, Berlin 1972, p. 104, cat. nos. 113, 114 still gives both portraits to Frans Hals I. Ibid., *Frans Hals. Das Gesamtwerk*, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 245, 285 de-attributes the paintings, now giving them to a collaborator in Frans Hals's studio ('Werkstatt, Hand A'), maybe Frans Hals II.
- 11 On the dress code and customs among Mennonites see I. Groeneweg, 'Regenten in zwart. Vroom en deftig?', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), pp. 198-251, esp. pp. 205-08; P. Visser and M.S. Sprunger, *Menno Simons. Places, Portraits and Progeny*, Krommenie 1996, p. 144; A.M.L. Hajenius, "Quaet comportedement". De tucht in de doopsgezinde gemeente Utrecht in de zeventiende eeuw', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen, Nieuwe reeks* 23 (1997), pp. 61-73, esp. pp. 68, 69; M. de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy. Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings*, Amsterdam 2006, pp. 44-48, 76-79. For an example of a dress code, this one drawn up for the Mennonite community of the Oude Vlamingen in Loppersum in 1659, see S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Friesland, van derzelve ontstaan tot dezen tijd, uit oorspronkelijke stukken en echte berigten opgemaakt*, Leeuwarden 1839, pp. 307, 308.

- 12 For more information on her see A.H. Garré, *Geschiedenis van het Remonstrantsche hofje 1774-1924*, Haarlem 1923; J. Vogel, *Een ondernemend echtpaar in de achttiende eeuw. Pieter Merkmán Jr. en Isabella van Leeuwarden. De Haarlemse garelintindustrie*, Delft 1987; E. Lips, 'Isabella van Leeuwarden (1696-1773). Een Haarlemse burgeres in zaken', *Jaarboek voor Vrouwen-geschiedenis* 17 (1997), pp. 75-80; A. Schmidt, 'Isabella van Leeuwarden (1696-1773)', *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/Leeuwarden, Isabella van (consulted 16 April 2013).
- 13 'Een oude horologie van Boukels', 'Eenige passers, unsers, winkelhaaken, zonnewyzers, gedeelten van horologien, koopere platen, graveer-yzers, toetsteen, goudgewigten, toverhoutjes etc.' Sale I. van Leeuwaarden (note 8), section 'Rarityten', no. 26 and after no. 33.
- 14 Haarlem, Noordhollands Archief (hereafter NHA), Oud-Notarieel Archief (hereafter ONA), inv. no. 212, fol. 184, 14 September 1665; Jacobus van Leeuwaarden testifies that he is 42 years of age.
- 15 'Bel ouvrage sans corde ni chainette', 'le fameux horlogier', 'lequel quoyque anabaptiste, est le plus doux, le plus sage et le plus officieux homme qu'on puisse voir.'
- 16 'est avec raison admiré des plus grands peintres': B. de Monconys, *Journal des voyages de M. de Monconys ...*, Lyon 1665-66, vol. 2, pp. 157-60, 172, 173. W.P.J. Overmeer, 'Een beroemd Haarlemsch horlogemaker in de 17e eeuw', *De navorscher* 56 (1906), pp. 47-48; A. van der Steur, 'Tijdgenoten over Haarlem X: Balthasar de Monconys, 1663', *Haarlem Jaarboek* 52 (1980), pp. 120-23.
- 17 NHA, Oud-Rechterlijk Archief (hereafter ORA), inv. no. 76.59, fol. 203v, 27 July 1639; ORA, inv. no. 76.63, fols. 33v, 34, 27 February 1643; ORA, inv. no. 76.65, fols. 207, 208, 20 September 1647; ORA, inv. no. 76.69, fols. 74, 74v, 10 September 1654. For his watches see G.H. Baillie, *Watchmakers and Clockmakers of the World*, London 2006, p. 169.
- 18 'twelck nu wel in sijn ganck.' J.A. Worp (ed.), *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687)*, The Hague 1911-17, vol. 2, p. 399, and vol. 3, p. 486. For the implications of the measurement of time in the close surroundings of the Huygens family see R. Dekker, 'Watches, Diary Writing, and the Search for Self-Knowledge in the Seventeenth Century', in P. Smith and B. Schmidt (eds.), *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe. Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400-1800*, Chicago/London 2007, pp. 127-42.
- 19 B. Broos, 'Un celebre Peijntre nommé Verme(e)r', in A. Wheelock (ed.), *Vermeer and the Art of Painting*, New Haven 1995, pp. 46-65.
- 20 NHA, ONA, inv. no. 125, fol. 88v, 18 February 1625; Jan Jacobsz testifies that he is 27 years of age. His burial probably in NHA, Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken Haarlem (hereafter DTB), inv. no. 71, fol. 202v, 14 August 1649; or DTB, inv. no. 71, fol. 208v, 13 November 1649.
- 21 NHA, DTB, inv. no. 70, fol. 78v, 3 January 1627.
- 22 NHA, archief Oudemannenhuis te Haarlem, inv. no. 3, vol. 40, no. 166, and vol. 40, no. 71: 'Mathijs Boeckert ... uwerwerck maker van Aken geboren ... tot meester Wouter ... in de Cruijsstraet', and 'Jan Janssen Boekets van Aken orlogemaker ... tot Danneels in Zoetemelkwitterbrootstraet'.
- 23 D. Thompson, *Watches in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 2007, pp. XII, 14, no. 6 as Jan Jansz Boeckels the Elder. To the best of my knowledge, there is no documentary evidence to suggest that Jan Jansz Boeckels Sr was also a watchmaker. A letter of 1615 from Jan Jansz Boeckels in Haarlem to Jacob Wijts, Lord of Amerongen, refers to the repair of a watch and a large timepiece, Utrecht Archives, Huis Amerongen Archive, inv. no. 4114.
- 24 Haarlem, Archive of the United Mennonite Community, membership list of the United Community of German, Frisian and Waterland Mennonites in Haarlem for 1618, inv. no. 1723, with a reference to 'Mathijs Jansz, watchmaker' and several mentions of a Jan Jansz. The Jan Boekaert and Catelijntgen Jans on this list may be the parents of Jan and Mathijs Jansz Boeckels. With thanks to Mechteld Gravendeel, archivist.
- 25 Their will in NHA, ONA, inv. no. 192, fols. 136, 136v, 12 November 1649. See also [A.H. Garré], Manuscript Genealogy of the Van Leeuwaarden Family, in the library of NHA. A contract with a twelve-year-old apprentice of Mathijs Jansz Boeckels in NHA, ONA, inv. no. 129, fol. 68v, and fol. 70, 15 October 1627.
- 26 NHA, DTB, inv. no. 151, fol. 158v, 14 September 1647. Their will in NHA, ONA, inv. no. 233, fols. 342-43v, 18 June 1654.
- 27 NHA, ONA, inv. no. 196, fol. 71v, 7 April 1650.
- 28 NHA, ORA, inv. no. 76.69, fol. 112, 30 December 1654; *ibid.*, fols. 257v, 258, 19 November 1655. The burial registers for Haarlem in the years 1649-55 have been lost.
- 29 D. Thompson, 'Jan Janssen Boekelts the Younger "Puritan" Style Verge Watch with Centre Seconds, Haarlem, c. 1630', *Antiquarian Horology* 29 (2006), pp. 827-30.

- Cf. Thompson, op. cit. (note 22), pp. xiv, xv, and 28, 29, no. 12; J.H. Leopold, 'Clock-making in Britain and the Netherlands', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 43 (1989), pp. 155-65. I should like to thank Dr David Thompson of the British Museum, London, for his advice on horological matters.
- 30 See note 23.
- 31 NHA, ONA, inv. no. 125, fol. 120, 18 February 1625. The case involved an allegation against Jan Jansz Boeckels by his wife Sara Adriaens of incestuous behaviour towards his daughters. Other relevant documents on this case: NHA, ONA, inv. no. 58, fols. 282-315; NHA, ONA, inv. no. 125, fols. 72v-124. Further: The Hague, National Archives, Hof van Holland Archive, inv. nos. 2258, 5808, and 5230.2, the latter with full reports of the examinations of Jan Boeckels, his wife Sara Adriaens and their daughter Catharina. Boeckels was acquitted of all charges, but decided not to return to Haarlem and to continue his practice as a watchmaker in The Hague. See also The Hague, Municipal Archive, ONA, inv. no. 12, fol. 18, 18 April 1627. In 1632 Jan Jansz Boeckels divorced his wife, who had moved to London with his former apprentice Jacob van Caschbeek ('Jems'): NHA, Merkman Family and Firm of Haarlem Archive, inv. no. 45. On this *cause célèbre* see also G. Dorren, *Eenheid en verscheidenheid. De burgers van Haarlem in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 2001, pp. 62, 63, 90-91. Jan Jansz Boeckels himself must have visited London: his grandson Cornelis van Dalen II made an engraving after a drawing Jan Jansz made of a painting by Rubens (*Allegory of Nature*) in the Duke of Buckingham's collection (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-33.614, Hollstein Dutch 23). For Jan Jansz Boeckels's estate inventory see NHA, ONA, inv. no. 154, fols. 190, 191, undated [1651]. The sale catalogue of his belongings in NHA, Merkman Archive, inv. no. 45, 3 February 1651.
- 32 NHA, ONA, inv. no. 213, fol. 68, 10 January 1666. No portraits are listed on the inventory of Trijntgen Boeckels's property drawn up on the occasion of her marriage to Ysaack Focke, but it does include '1 silver watch by Mathijs Boeckels' ('1 silvere stuck oirlogie van Mathijs Boeckels'), see NHA, ONA, inv. no. 223, fols. 109-10v, 23 April 1666. Hals's portraits of Mathijs Boeckels and his wife must have come to Isabella van Leeuwaarden through Maritgen Boeckels, who was married to Jacobus van Leeuwaarden.
- 33 NHA, Merkman Archive, inv. no. 53.
- 34 'Een familie stuk: een vrouw zit aan een tafel, waarop een tapijt en wijnroemer, agter haar staat de man die met genoegen twee kinderen aanziet, die elkaar bij de hand lijden, alles konstig geschildert door F. Hals, hoog 44 d[uim], breed 37 d[uim], D[oek]'. Sale I. van Leeuwaarden Collection (note 8), no. 4.
- 35 Slive, op. cit. (note 5), no. 102. In addition to the provenance he gives, the portrait also featured in the following sales: sale J. Danser Nijman Collection, Amsterdam, 6 August 1797 (Lugt 5640), no. 117, fl. 32-10-0 to Berg; sale C. Scarisbrick Collection, London, 10 May 1861 (Lugt 26233), no. 671, £32-11-0. For differing opinions on the dating of this painting: C. Grimm, op. cit. (note 10, 1972), p. 163, no. 30; and R.E.O. Ekkart, review of the same work, *Oud-Holland* 87 (1973), pp. 252-55, esp. p. 254. Grimm, op. cit. (note 10, 1989), p. 284, as 'Werkstatt'.
- 36 I would like to thank Pieter Biesboer, Rudi Ekkart, Seymour Slive and Marieke de Winkel for their thoughtful remarks on this issue.
- 37 Sale I. van Leeuwaarden Collection (note 8), no. 1.
- 38 NHA, ONA, inv. no. 267, deed 38, not fol., 20 and 23 March 1676. I shall go into the portraits by Hals that may relate to this reference elsewhere.
- 39 NHA, ONA, inv. no. 483, fols. 193-98, 18 March 1686.
- 40 Slive, op. cit. (note 5), nos. 100, 101; Grimm, op. cit. (note 10, 1989), nos. 68, 69.
- 41 Slive, op. cit. (note 5), nos. 109, 110; Grimm, op. cit. (note 10, 1989), nos. 87, 88; C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Twee nieuw aan het licht gekomen portretten van Frans Hals', *Onze Kunst* 20 (1911), pp. 172-73. Most recently: sale New York (Sotheby's), 29 January 2009, lots 45, 46.
- 42 Slive, op. cit. (note 5), nos. 149, 150; Grimm, op. cit. (note 10, 1989), nos. 113, 114; F. Schmidt-Degener, *Frans Hals*, Amsterdam 1924, pp. 15, 16.
- 43 On another painting by Hals with a Mennonite connotation see P.J.J. van Thiel, 'Betekenis van het portret van Verdonck door Frans Hals. De iconografie van het kakebeen', *Oud-Holland* 94 (1980), pp. 112-40.
- 44 J. Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie. Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven 1577-1620*, The Hague 1989, p. 101.
- 45 On Van Mander's Mennonite background see H. Miedema, 'Een schilderij van Karel van Mander de Oude (1548-1606). Een doopsgezinde interpretatie', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen. Nieuwe Reeks* 16 (1990), pp. 113-28; D.A. Shank, 'Karel van Mander's Mennonite roots in Flanders', *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 79 (2005), pp. 231-49.

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