

“All striving to adorne their houses with costly peeces”

Two Case Studies of Paintings in Wealthy Interiors

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The great majority of the innumerable Dutch seventeenth-century paintings now hanging in museums all over the world were originally meant to decorate the homes of Dutch burghers. The paintings were made as commodities to embellish the environment in which these people lived their daily lives. It was certainly not a matter of course that burghers in cities like Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, and Delft displayed high numbers of paintings on their walls. Not until the nineteenth century did this happen on a comparable scale in other European countries, even though pictorial production in Italy, Flanders, and France had been vigorous since the fifteenth century.¹ In those cultures middle-class citizens also bought paintings for their homes, but art had more significant public and religious functions, and the church and nobility remained important patrons. In the Dutch Republic, the role of these traditional patrons of the visual arts was much diminished. The primary political and economic power resided with the prosperous middle-class citizens who governed the cities. The political prominence of the *stadhouder* (city keeper), a nobleman who served as the highest military and diplomatic official in the land, was held in check by the States General, the official body of representatives of the cities and provinces of the Republic. The dominant Calvinist church, which aligned itself with the *stadhouder*, agitated against the use of religious images in worship and thus effectively curtailed the production of religious art.²

From the estate inventories of prosperous Dutch burghers, it appears that as of the beginning of the seventeenth century the number of people who owned paintings – as well as the quantities of paintings they assembled – increased rapidly.³ This phenomenon corresponds with the explosive growth of the number of painters active in Dutch cities. The production of paintings kept expanding until well after the middle of the seventeenth century, to decrease dramatically only toward 1700.⁴ In this essay I will briefly consider the development of a taste for paintings among the Dutch middle class and then present two case studies of wealthy burghers who assembled huge numbers of paintings in their homes. A detailed look at the paintings mentioned in the inventories of their possessions begins to suggest why specific individuals bought particular kinds of pictures.

A Taste for Paintings

In the sixteenth century the southern Netherlandish city of Antwerp had been the primary European center for the production of reasonably priced paintings for private homes. From the middle of the century, this market was supplied by growing numbers of painters who began to specialize in secular genres like landscape or the depiction of peasant life. The religious strife that tore apart the Netherlands from the 1560s interrupted this development. In the decade following the definitive separation of the northern and the southern Netherlands in 1585, many merchants and craftsmen fled to the north for religious and economic reasons. There, the southern immigrants soon prospered, and they must have stimulated the fashion to decorate homes with paintings.⁵ From 1610 onwards the production of secular subjects developed at an incredibly rapid pace in the Dutch cities, where

141 Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius and His Wife Magdalena Lucretia Schletzer Tuning the Lute*, 1672. Oil on panel with rounded top, 16¹/₄ × 12³/₈ in. (41.1 × 31.2 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

commissions from churches and monasteries had come to a virtual standstill. Among the many young men who now chose landscape, genre, or still-life painting as their profession, the number of immigrants' children was disproportionately high.⁶

In his treatise on painting of 1678, Samuel van Hoogstraten remarked that the fashion for paintings had taken on a feverish character soon after 1600:

In the beginning of the century the walls in Holland were not as densely hung with paintings as they are now. But this custom gained ground daily, which emboldened some painters to habituate themselves to painting fast, even to make a painting a day, whether small or large.⁷

Van Hoogstraten's claim that painters increased their production is borne out by painters such as Jan Porcellis and Jan van Goyen, who indeed developed rapid painting techniques.⁸

About 1630 the famous poet and art lover Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the *stadhouder*, linked the omnipresence of paintings to the necessity to know something about them. Huygens wrote that his father, having heard many well-educated persons make stupid remarks about paintings, had wanted his sons to become knowledgeable about pictures because they "are to be found everywhere nowadays."⁹ Foreign visitors were astonished to observe how the Dutch filled their houses with paintings. On the basis of a trip he took in 1640, Peter Mundy wrote:

As for the Art off Painting and the affection off the people to Pictures, I thincke none other goe beeyonde them.... All in generall striving to adorne their houses, especially the outer or street roome, with costly peeeces, Butchers and bakers, not much inferiour in their shoppes, which are Fairely sett Forth, yea many tymes blacksmithes, Coblers, etts., will have some picture or other by their Forge and in their stalle. Such is the generall Notion, enclination and delight that these Countrie Natives have to Paintings.¹⁰

He went on to say that the Dutch harbored splendid and costly furnishings within houses with unremarkable façades. Mundy and other foreign observers were astonished by the great number of paintings and rich interior appointments in Dutch burgher homes, and they marveled at the contrast between interior opulence and exterior simplicity. These observations became stereotypes in travel descriptions of Holland,¹¹ and in them the wide social range of Dutch owners of paintings, presumably from peasants to princes, tended to be exaggerated.

Considering the high number of paintings circulating on the Dutch market at mid-century, the amazement of visitors to Holland appears justified. Around 1640, about two-thirds of the population of Delft lived in households with paintings, with an average of eleven paintings per household. The poorest segment of the population did not own paintings, but day laborers had the odd inexpensive picture and the inventories of modest artisans quite often list a few paintings (fig. 142).¹² These works, whose authors are almost never identified in inventories, must have been produced and sold as cheap commodities without painters' names attached to them. The master-painters whose names have come down to us made their works for the homes of the more affluent citizens who eagerly sought their works. This segment of the art market comprised a broad spectrum of buyers, however, from successful shopkeepers, artisans, and innkeepers to the urban elite of rich merchants, entrepreneurs, and regents.¹³ The variety of works produced was correspondingly wide, ranging from postcard-size panels to canvases more than six feet across, from ambitious historical scenes to simple still-life pictures, from trifles priced at a few guilders to paintings worth over a thousand, a substantial annual wage.¹⁴ In prosperous households we often find astonishing numbers of paintings, sometimes over a hundred – holdings that are exceptional today outside museums.¹⁵

Hendrick Bugge van Ring and Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius were two seventeenth-century burghers of Leiden who lived in interiors richly endowed with pictures.¹⁶ Compared with more typical legal records of household goods, the inventories of these two wealthy men are exceptionally informative because they list the paintings by their location in the house, mention the subjects of nearly all the paintings, and frequently specify their makers. Reading these inventories, we get a uniquely clear picture of the possessions of these two burghers. The extraordinarily high number of paintings they owned allows us to



142 Quirijn van Brekelenkam, *Old Woman with a Spinning Wheel Eating Porridge*, 1654. Oil on panel, 22⁵/₈ × 27 in. (57.5 × 68.5 cm). Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

discern distinct patterns of preference in their acquisition of paintings. Since both Bugge van Ring and Sylvius assembled their holdings during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century, when the production of paintings in Holland reached its peak, their inventories lead us to ponder how the kinds of paintings now mostly seen in museums helped shape the domestic environment of well-to-do burghers with a taste for art. The distinctive contents of their inventories also allow plausible speculation about factors that may have motivated the acquisition of certain (types of) paintings, and they indicate that such fanatical art lovers must have stimulated the high quality and innovative character of Dutch painting in this period.

Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius, Cosmopolitan Professor of Medicine

The house that Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius (fig. 143), an internationally famous professor of medicine, had built for himself on Leiden's Rapenburg canal is still extant (fig. 144). Although its interior has been much changed over the centuries, it has retained its essential layout and striking façade with Sylvius's coat of arms at the top. The façade, inspired by houses being built in Amsterdam at the time and probably designed by the city architect Willem van der Helm, remains a showpiece.¹⁷ The surviving building specifications allow a



FRANCISCUS DELEBOE SYLVIUS, MEDICINÆ
PRACTICÆ IN ACADEMIA LUGDUNO-BATAVA PROFESSOR.
C. van Dalen fecit. J. de Witt sculpsit.

143 Cornelis van Dalen, *Portrait of Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius*, 1659. Engraving, 12¹/₂ × 9 in. (31.6 × 23 cm). Gemeente Archief, Leiden.

rather precise reconstruction of the original plan (fig. 145).¹⁸ The house is 25 feet wide on the street side and 42¹/₂ feet at the rear. There is a small courtyard between the front house and the back house, and the entire building spans 106¹/₂ feet from front to rear. Sylvius commissioned the house in 1664, at the zenith of his career. The new house, perhaps conceived at the prospect of his second marriage in January 1667,¹⁹ needed to have space for his laboratory experiments, teaching activities, library, and paintings. When he died in 1672 the house was exceptionally well appointed, with 172 paintings (many costly) among the other furnishings.²⁰ He appears to have bought these himself, some in Amsterdam before his move but most during his residence in Leiden.

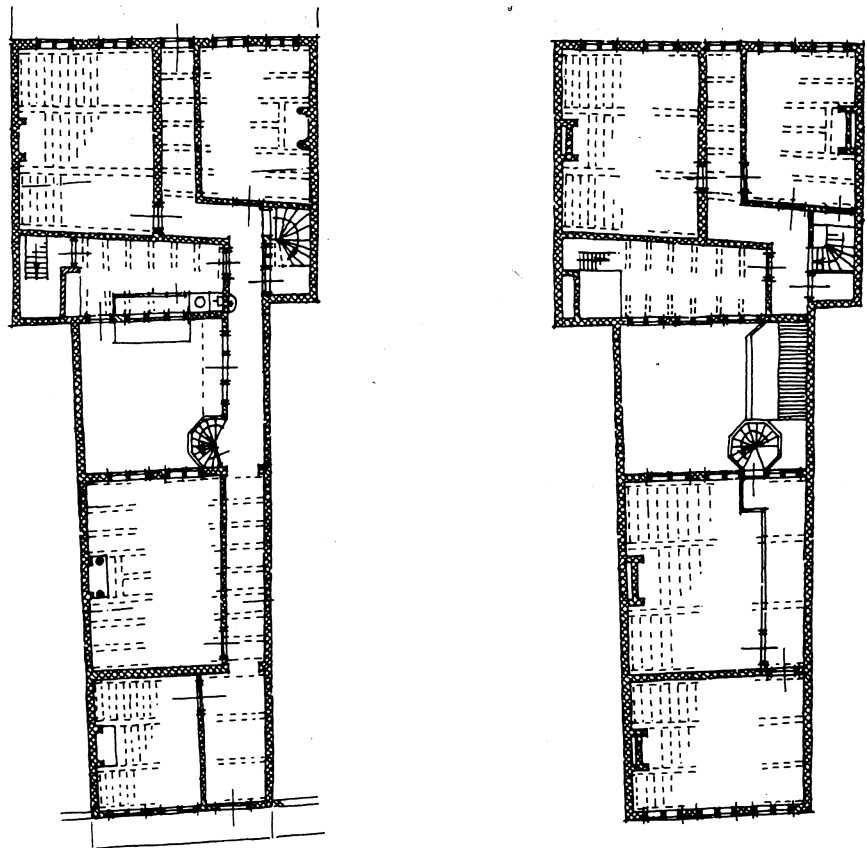
Sylvius was one of many non-native burghers of the Dutch Republic.²¹ His Flemish parents were of prominent family, but they had lost their possessions and emigrated to Hanau, near Frankfurt am Main, where Franciscus was born in 1614.²² He received a cosmopolitan education, studying in Sédan (northern France), Leiden, Wittenberg and Jena (Germany), Chur (Switzerland), and Basel, where he received his doctorate in 1637. He also lived in Paris and probably traveled to Italy, but about 1638 he left for Leiden, where he immediately attracted numerous medical students. He soon moved to Amsterdam, however, and maintained a highly successful practice there for eighteen years. In 1658 a high salary offer and ardent efforts from the University of Leiden brought Sylvius back to the city, where he began his tenure with a speech emphasizing the primacy of knowledge based on firsthand observation and experience. Sylvius became a well-known representative of the new experimental school that rejected the once infallible authority of the physicians of classical antiquity. Many students from neighboring countries came to study with him because of his famous anatomical dissections, clinical teaching, and chemical theories.²³

Sylvius's Calvinism is evident from his library, which contained books by Calvin, Protestant martyrologies, and other theological texts. His first marriage to Anna de Ligne of Amsterdam was consecrated in 1649 in the Walloon church; Anna died eight years later, shortly before Sylvius's departure for Leiden. There Sylvius rented a house on the Rapenburg for several years²⁴ before commissioning the new house to which he moved in 1667 with his new bride, Magdalena Lucretia Schletzer.²⁵ Sylvius must have been deeply affected by the



144 Façade of Rapenburg 31.

145 Plan of Rapenburg 31, first floor and second floor (reconstruction of 1664 floor plan).



death of Magdalena Lucretia only two years later, a month after the birth of their daughter, who survived her mother by only seven months. Of his daughter he wrote that “she already showed her mother’s virtues in the most miraculous fashion,” and he described his brief second marriage as “very happy for both partners because of a harmony of souls.”²⁶ After his wife’s death he commissioned the famous Frans van Mieris to commemorate this happy marriage in a painting that represents Magdalena Lucretia tuning a lute – a well-known visual representation of the harmony of love – while Sylvius casts her a loving look (fig. 141 / cat. 85).²⁷ Sylvius himself died in November 1672, just eight months after the completion of this picture,²⁸ which hung in the room that must have been his bedroom.

The first painting one would have noticed on entering Sylvius’s *voorhuis* (front hall), which had an Italian marble floor, was a *Quack Doctor* by Adriaen Brouwer, the famous painter of peasant themes (fig. 146).²⁹ The prominent display of quackery in the home of a celebrated physician tells us something about Sylvius’s sense of humor.³⁰ As so often in the *voorhuis*, most of the paintings were landscapes,³¹ including, among others, one by Jacob van Ruisdael, a characteristic night scene by Aert van der Neer, and a seascape by Jan Beerstraten. The coat of arms of the Sylvius family here reappeared, possibly above the stone archway that led from the *voorhuis* to the extensive corridor.

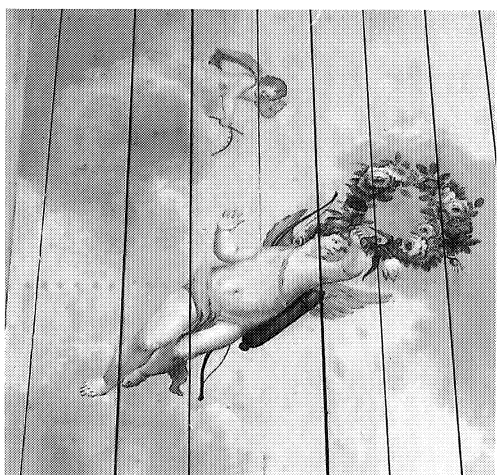
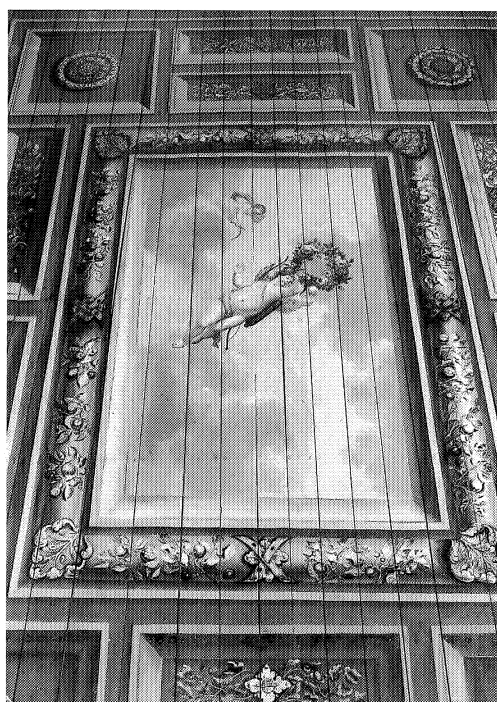
The finest room in the house, the *groot salet* (grand salon) where guests would be received, immediately announced to visitors Sylvius’s admiration for the so-called *fijnschilders* (fine painters) of Leiden: Gerrit Dou and Frans van Mieris, who in this period were the most internationally famous and best-paid Dutch artists. This room measured 26 × 18 feet and featured two tall windows onto the courtyard. It had a large chimneypiece of marbled wood set on marbled columns, and the wood ceiling was probably painted in the manner still visible in a neighboring house (fig. 148).³² The furniture included a large draw-leaf table covered by a Turkish carpet, twelve side chairs and two armchairs, a cabinet veneered with tropical woods, and a large mirror. Most conspicuously, the walls were hung with thirty-three paintings. Four were important works by Dou, three by Van Mieris. Sylvius’s holdings by these artists alone must have been worth a fortune. Joachim von Sandrart, a German painter, wrote a few years later that Sylvius’s brother (who lived in Hamburg) had inherited paintings by Dou and Van Mieris of which even the smallest might fetch six hundred to one thousand guilders – prices for which a craftsman might buy a comfortable house.³³

Altogether, Sylvius owned eleven works by Dou;³⁴ six were sheltered in cases, five of which had painted doors.³⁵ This type of case for genre paintings seems to have been one of



146 Adriaen Brouwer, *Quack Doctor and His Audience*, c. 1625. Oil on panel, 17³/₄ × 24³/₈ in. (45 × 61.8 cm). Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

147 Gerrit Dou, *Quack Doctor and His Audience*, 1652 (some parts changed between 1667 and 1675). Oil on panel, 44¹/₈ × 32¹/₄ in. (112 × 83 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.



148 Wooden ceiling painted with putti and flowers in Rapenburg 29, c. 1665; approx. 26 × 18 ft. (8 × 5.5 m).



Dou's specialties. Unfortunately, none of these paintings still has its original case. The form, which must have recalled devotional paintings of the late Middle Ages, emphasized the preciousness of Dou's paintings, meant to be "revealed" for the enjoyment of knowledgeable viewers.³⁶ Four of these costly pieces hung in the *groot salet*, among them the *Woman at Her Toilette*, dated 1667, now in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (fig. 21).³⁷ In this painting a young beauty making her toilette regards herself in the mirror. At the same time her reflection addresses the viewer, who is thus invited to enter the wondrous world crafted by the fine painter.³⁸ At almost 30 × 23 inches, the picture is one of Dou's rare large works. In the same room, the inventory also mentions "a capitally large piece with painted doors," which presumably was even larger. Although the subject is not listed, it is tempting to assume that this masterpiece may have been Dou's largest and most ambitious painting, *Quack Doctor and His Audience*, which now also hangs in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (fig. 147).³⁹ This speculation gains plausibility from the presence of Brouwer's more modest *Quack* in the *voorhuis*.



149 Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait*, 1663 (some parts changed between 1667 and 1675). Oil on panel, 21 1/2 × 15 1/2 in. (54.7 × 39.4 cm). Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

150 Frans van Mieris, *Portrait of the Painter's Wife, Cunera van der Cock*, c. 1657-58. Oil on panel, 4 3/8 × 3 1/4 in. (11.1 × 8.2 cm). The National Gallery, London.



Especially appropriate for the salon of a clever professor of medicine, Dou's is the sort of painting that would prompt the owner and his guests to witty conversation. Dou's quack, who exploits the credulity of the poor and the gullible to his profit, is the comic antipode to Sylvius, one of the great experimental reformers of medical science, who was known to treat all patients equally, without regard for their ability to pay. Next to the quack Dou painted his own portrait, leaning out of the window with a palette in his hand and smiling directly at us. Thus, the painter suggests a comparison between his profession and that of the quack, for he, too, sells illusions, amusing deceits, as paintings were considered to be in the seventeenth century. Far from luring simpletons into parting with their money, however, the painter instead charges distinguished connoisseurs like Sylvius exorbitant prices for his fabulous deceits.⁴⁰ Contradictions and correspondences between doctor, quack, and painter must have formed a rich topic of discussion for contemporary viewers.

Sylvius and Dou are likely to have enjoyed a friendly relationship. Dou's own face also appears as a portrait on the chimneypiece in his *Woman at Her Toilette* (fig. 21). This self-portrait, now almost invisible, seems to be a larger version of the one that survives in Kansas City (fig. 149). The latter painting may have hung in Sylvius's *groot salet* as well, possibly next to the *Quack*. Its shutters were apparently painted with the image of a lit candle.⁴¹ Both the *Quack* and the self-portrait include a specific city gate of Leiden, which received the new roof and steeple seen in the paintings in 1667,⁴² the same year Sylvius moved into his new house. It is conceivable that Sylvius bought the three paintings by Dou in order to decorate the main reception room with the finest and costliest pictures then available. The fourth painting by Dou in the room was a candlelight scene with Mary Magdalene – a subject repeatedly painted by Dou. At first glance it seems odd that Sylvius, who owned almost no religious paintings, would have selected this saint. Of course, a painting by Dou of a beautiful,

151 Hendrick Goltzius, *The Dead Adonis*, 1603.
Oil on canvas, 30¹/₈ × 30¹/₈ in. (76.5 × 76.5 cm).
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

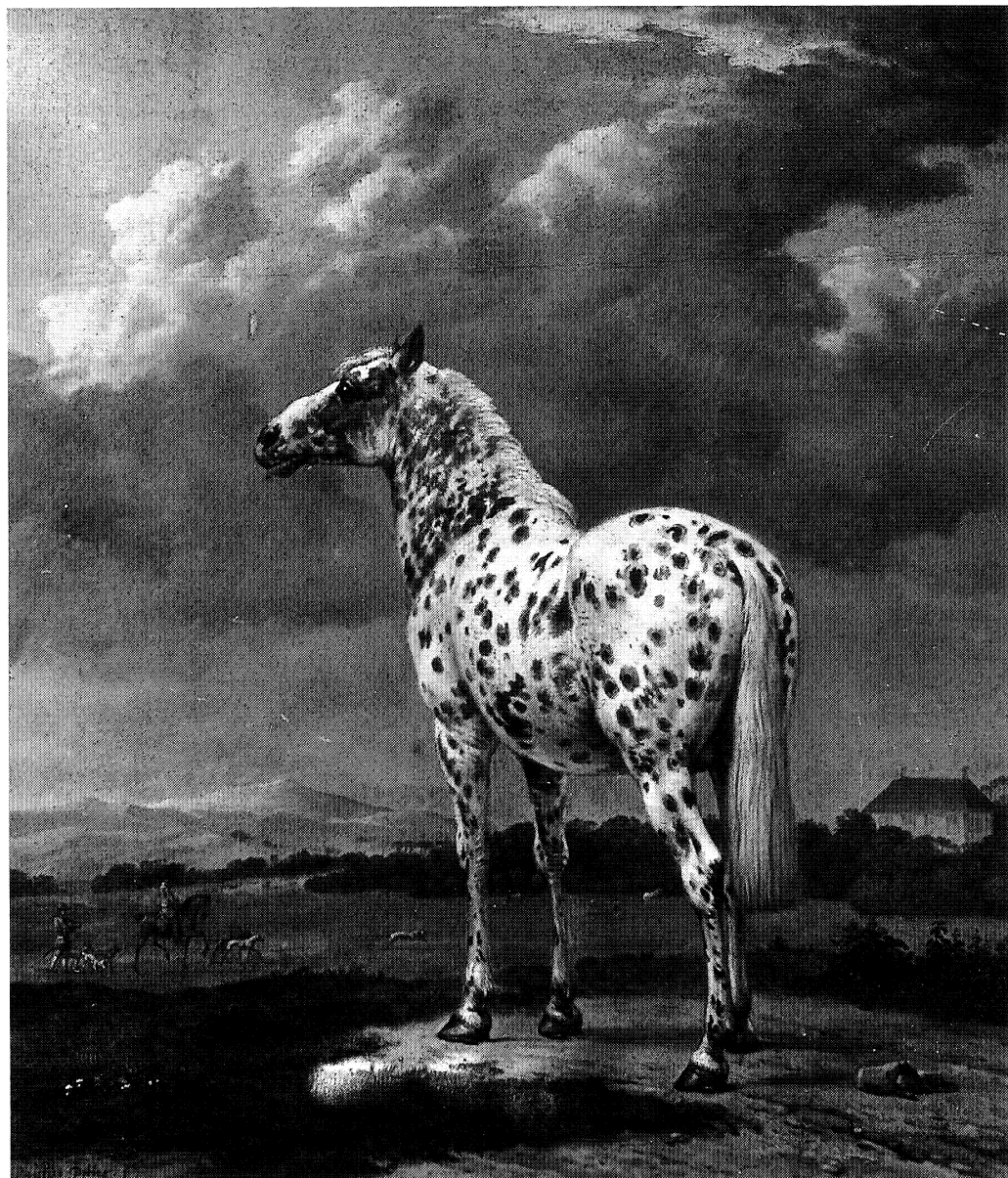


scantily dressed woman would be a desirable object in any circumstance, but the Magdalene may have been particularly appealing to Sylvius because his beloved second wife was her namesake.

The three paintings by Van Mieris in the *groot salet* were described as two *tronietjes* (small faces) and a “portrait of the wife of Van Mieris.”⁴³ It is significant that the makers of Sylvius’s inventory thought it important to record that the portrait represented the artist’s wife (fig. 150). Since she was neither a relative of Sylvius’s nor a celebrity, but merely the model for a *tronie* – a type of single-figure painting that was usually marketed as a sample of artistic virtuosity – the identification seems intended to emphasize the truthfulness of the representation. At the same time, it suggests that the viewer’s knowledge of the model’s personal relation to the renowned artist added value to the picture. Sylvius indeed had a special friendship with Van Mieris, as the painter’s posthumous portrait of Magdalena implies. In his biography of Van Mieris, Arnold Houbraken (who probably received his information from Van Mieris’s son) wrote that Sylvius had frequently asked the painter for the first right of refusal and was willing to match any offer for one of his paintings.⁴⁴ Houbraken also noted that Sylvius recommended Van Mieris to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, who subsequently paid one thousand guilders for the painter’s well-known *Cloth Shop* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).⁴⁵

Several other masterpieces in the *groot salet* competed for the visitor’s attention. *The Dead Adonis* by Hendrick Goltzius (fig. 151), wrongly identified in the inventory as “a dead Abel,”⁴⁶ was both large and expensive. One can imagine that Sylvius would have relished Goltzius’s anatomical and perspectival tour de force, which he would have judged with the professional expertise of a doctor whose dissections were famous and for whom the representation of the dead body must have been especially meaningful. Other treasures that must have been costly included two pendant paintings of horses by Paulus Potter (fig. 152);⁴⁷

152 Paulus Potter, *A Piebald Horse*, c. 1653. Oil on canvas, 19 1/2 × 17 1/2 in. (49.5 × 45 cm). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



a battle piece by Philips Wouwerman, another great painter of horses; and a landscape by Michelangelo Cerquozzi, a painter of battle scenes, who is the only Italian artist mentioned in Sylvius's inventory. Significantly, Cerquozzi had trained with southern Netherlandish painters, and his works are related to those by Dutch painters of actions on horseback. Other fine pictures in the *groot salet* included two seascapes by Experiens Sillemans, drawn in a virtuoso technique with the pen on canvas (fig. 153); two sumptuous still-life paintings by Simon Luttichuys; and a church interior by Hendrick van Vliet. The overmantle displayed a large painting of a (dead?) deer. Sylvius owned no country estate and would not have practiced the aristocratic pastime of hunting, but the painting must have reinforced a general atmosphere of aristocratic luxury.⁴⁸

A smaller room that could also be used to receive visitors, next to the *voorhuis* on the street side, held twenty-seven paintings of a more mixed character, typical of most prosperous Dutch interiors with lots of paintings. There were works by well-known artists such as Dou and Roelant Savery and Italianate landscapes by respected painters like Adam Pynacker and Thomas Wijck, but also anonymous landscapes and still-life paintings.⁴⁹ Some were painted in the generally less expensive medium of watercolor; there were also three embroidered flower still lifes. Two of the few history paintings owned by Sylvius hung in this room. Both were described by the inventory makers as "pieces of Brabant," that is, as anonymous paintings recognized as works by a painter from Brabant. This province contained the most important artistic centers of the southern Netherlands, including

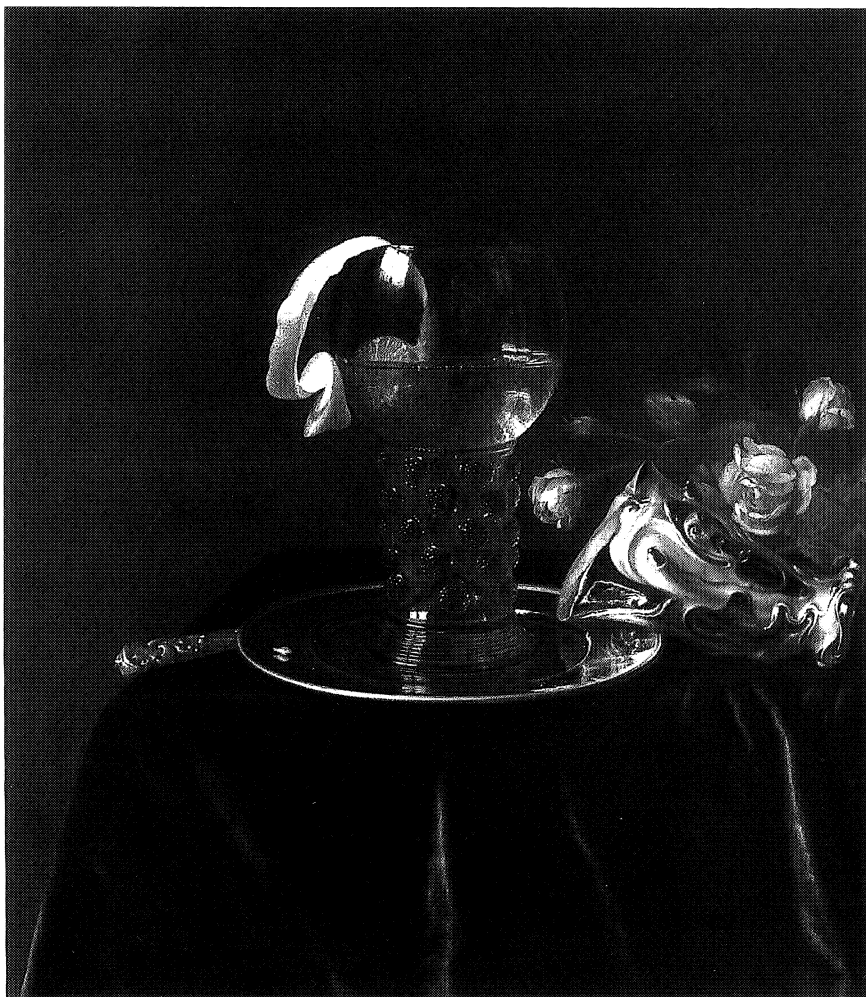


Antwerp. One of the two paintings represented Christ preaching, the other the self-sacrifice of Marcus Curtius, who saved the Roman people by jumping into a ravine on horseback. Sylvius may have bought this painted exemplar of virtue and courage from the estate of Hendrick Bugge van Ring, whose holdings we will examine next. In Bugge's inventory the picture had been attributed, no doubt correctly, to Isaac van Swanenburgh, the leading painter of Leiden around 1600. The attribution of it in the Sylvius inventory to a painter of Brabant would be quite understandable since Van Swanenburgh had been trained in the workshop of Frans Floris in Antwerp.⁵⁰

A room measuring almost 20×15 feet at the end of the corridor on the garden end of the house was designated as the dining room. Reserving a large room for this purpose was a new fashion. The paintings, however, had few thematic connections to dining. There were landscapes, flower still lifes, a portrait of Martin Luther and his wife, and another precious painting by Dou in a case, representing a candlelight scene.⁵¹ Only a still life with fish by Pieter de Putter and pendant paintings by Simon Luttichuys of a *roemer* glass with an orange and a *roemer* with a lemon (fig. 154) were surely chosen for their appropriateness in this setting. Five octagonal pieces by Jan Miense Molenaer representing the five senses were undoubtedly humorous and peasantlike, and in their crude reference to sensual pleasures would have been considered a comic contrast to the sophisticated indulging of the senses by the occupants of this room. One of the most striking objects in the room was a birdcage with an exotic parrot.

Surprisingly, the very large room adjacent to the garden on the other side of the corridor contained only two paintings (one a portrait of Sylvius) and one print (again representing Sylvius, fig. 143). There was ample wall space for pictures in this room, which measured about 18×25 feet (a walnut chest, a small cabinet with some small sculptures, and a bed left plenty of wall), but it is quite possible that the room featured fine textile wall coverings that may even have been painted with landscapes. The emergence of this decorating fashion left art critics of a few decades later complaining that it had drastically reduced the wall space for easel paintings.⁵²

The greatest number of paintings in one room – no fewer than forty-two – was found in the large front room on the second floor. The walls must have been virtually invisible, for this luxuriously appointed room had three large windows onto the Rapenburg, two large mirrors on the walls, two beds (one with purple curtains lined with yellow silk), and a walnut cabinet containing a vast quantity of porcelain. The chimneypiece, too, was richly decorated with porcelain. The room was jam-packed with fine furniture: ten chairs covered



154 Simon Luttichuys, *Still Life with Roemer and Lemon*, 1649. Oil on canvas, 23 1/2 × 20 in. (59.7 × 50.8 cm). Whereabouts unknown (art dealer, Milan, 1992).

155 Frans van Mieris, *Man Holding a Roemer*, 1668. Oil on panel, 7 5/8 × 5 1/4 in. (19.5 × 13.5 cm). Whereabouts unknown.



in velvet, two armchairs, lacquer chests and boxes, ivory and mother-of-pearl curios, all sorts of natural marvels, and two albums of prints. A cradle, its covers lined with yellow silk, stood as sad memento of Sylvius's wife and daughter. Van Mieris's poignant portrait of Sylvius and his wife tuning the lute (fig. 141 / cat. 85) also hung in this room, which must have served as primary bedroom. As so often in such rooms, this one featured other family portraits, including a drawing of Sylvius and his wife.⁵³ (Sylvius's face appeared six times in his own house, not counting mirrors!) Sylvius's favorite *fijnschilders* were well represented: three additional paintings by Van Mieris (see fig. 155),⁵⁴ three by Dou,⁵⁵ and a Diana and Actaeon by Dou's pupil Ary de Vois⁵⁶ that can still be identified today (fig. 156).

Such rooms crammed full of pictures typically mixed all manner of paintings. Although Sylvius's fashionable taste clearly ran to small, smoothly and meticulously painted works, there was considerable variation within it. Apart from the Leiden "fine" painters mentioned above, this room contained detailed flower paintings by Abraham Mignon and Bartholomeus van der Ast, a landscape by Cornelis van Poelenburch, horses by Wouwerman, a fruit piece by Jan Davidsz de Heem, a small picture by Adam Elsheimer, and two pieces by Margaretha de Heer, which must have been detailed paintings of insects against a smooth white ground. A seascape by the beloved Porcellis was surely small and well painted, but certainly not in a highly finished technique (fig. 157); a small piece by Brouwer must have shared those characteristics. Anthony Van Dyck's portrait of Charles I must have been a very good work, for it was later evaluated at two hundred guilders in the inventory of Sylvius's nephew Rouyer. A Bathsheba by Pieter Lastman (fig. 159) hung here as well; like Van Dyck's sizable portrait it must have been conspicuously different from the many small and meticulously detailed pictures in the room. This painting is exceptional, too, because it was the only painting in Sylvius's holdings with a female nude in the leading role. Unlike many orthodox Protestants, he seems to have had no problem with nudity in paintings, but it is telling that the picture was kept in the most private room of the house.⁵⁷



156 Ary de Vois, *Actaeon with Diana and Nymphs*.
Oil on panel, $10\frac{5}{8} \times 17$ in. (27 × 43 cm).
National Museum, Warsaw.

158 Pieter Xavery, *Bagpipe Player*, 1673. Terracotta,
 $12\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ in. (30.9 × 28.4 × 15 cm).
Museum Willet Holthuysen, Amsterdam.



157 Jan Porcellis, *Sea with Ships*, c. 1629. Oil on
panel, $16\frac{3}{8} \times 24\frac{1}{4}$ in. (41.5 × 61.7 cm).
Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Carter, Los Angeles.





159 Pieter Lastman, *The Bathing Bathsheba*, 1619. Oil on panel, 16 1/2 × 24 7/8 in. (42 × 63 cm). State Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Quite a few paintings hung in other rooms on the second floor, among them more “pen paintings” of seascapes by Sillemans. In one of the rooms stood a painter’s easel, undoubtedly used for viewing paintings that were taken down from the wall. Most remarkable is the collection of small genre figurines in the room at the back of the house. Their subjects – a woman with goat’s feet, a woman and child, a peasant couple, a hurdy-gurdy player, a goblin, a bagpiper, a *rommelpot* player (another folk musician) – recall the small terracotta figures (fig. 158) that were the specialty of Pieter Xavery of Antwerp, who settled in Leiden in 1670 and was registered in the university. All his dated works are from 1670-74, and this suggests that Sylvius may have bought them fresh from the studio. A modeled portrait bust of Sylvius also stood in the room: it is as if he immediately seized the opportunity afforded by the sudden presence of a good sculptor in Leiden.⁵⁸ Above the second floor were Sylvius’s working chambers, of which only the study contained some unremarkable paintings. A classroom was fitted with benches, and a distillery chamber and two labs were filled with kettles, mortars, and nineteen stoves and burners for chemical experiments.⁵⁹

Sylvius apparently bought all his paintings himself, rather than inheriting them. The role of his wives in the acquisition of paintings cannot be ascertained, but I suspect that he was the driving force, as Houbraken’s account of his special relationship with Van Mieris implies. His taste was entirely up-to-date. Like his Leiden peers and the two generations of Leiden art lovers before him, he opted for paintings by (often younger) contemporaries, but in his case this preference is more pronounced. Sylvius had no interest in the somewhat older painters of the quickly painted “tonal” Dutch landscapes that had been so popular in Leiden during the 1630s and 1640s.⁶⁰ Only the much-admired seascape painter Porcellis figured as the exception to this rule (fig. 157).⁶¹ Sylvius had no landscapes by Esaias van de Velde, Pieter de Molijn, or Pieter de Neyn, whose works we find so often in other Leiden

inventories. Even the famous Leiden native and absolute top scorer Jan van Goyen was absent. Sylvius's taste became quite typical for wealthy connoisseurs in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, and it prefigures the eighteenth-century canon: among his contemporaries, Dou, Van Mieris, Potter, Wouwerman, De Heem, Mignon, Van Poelenburch and other Italianate landscape painters; of the older generation, the meticulous Savery and Elsheimer would remain favorites in the eighteenth century as well.

Although he must have bought his considerable holdings of pictures by Luttichuys and Sillemans in Amsterdam, he did not buy Flemish and Italian paintings on that most international of Dutch art markets; price cannot have been an obstacle, for the Leiden "fine" painters he patronized produced the most expensive art available in Holland.⁶² The cheaper variants of "fine" painting by local artists such as Quirijn van Brekelenkam or Jacob Toorenvliet were of no interest to him. Mignon, born in Frankfurt am Main and a fellow member of the Walloon church, is likely to have had a personal relationship with Sylvius, for his work is not otherwise found in Leiden holdings. As in the case of the Swanenburgh picture of Marcus Curtius, Sylvius may occasionally have bought paintings from Leiden estates; works by painters rarely seen in Leiden – among them Hendrick van Vliet of Delft, Paulus Potter of The Hague, and Wouwerman of Haarlem – were probably bought from dealers.

In its small proportion of religious paintings (only four have a biblical theme) Sylvius's collection is an extreme instance of a tendency among the Protestant elite to favor landscapes and seascapes over history paintings.⁶³ Given that Sylvius had no ties with maritime enterprise, his interest in seascapes is striking. Besides the pictures by Beerstraten, Porcellis, and Sillemans, he owned marine paintings by Pieter Mulier and Hendrick Staets, as well as unidentified painters. Sylvius's preferences contrast strongly with those of Hendrick Bugge van Ring, who lived a few hundred yards away on the Steenschuur, an extension of the Rapenburg. Although they were alike in age (Bugge was perhaps ten years older),⁶⁴ wealth, and a passion for paintings, their holdings of paintings were remarkably dissimilar. Religious difference appears to account for much of this disparity.

Hendrick Bugge van Ring, Prosperous Catholic

The wealthy Bugge van Ring must have been a devout Catholic, as the private chapel in his attic indicates. His grandfather and father had been brewers in Delft,⁶⁵ but Bugge entered Leiden society by his marriage in 1638 to Aeltgen Hendricxdr van Swieten, who came from a prominent Catholic family of wealthy brewers.⁶⁶ In 1667, six months after her death, Bugge ordered an inventory of his possessions, probably because he intended to remarry (as he did that same year).⁶⁷ Unlike Sylvius's inventory, Bugge's was made in his presence, and his expertise is evident in the resulting document.

Bugge owned an enormous amount of property: many houses in Leiden, lots of land near the city, a country estate near Leiderdorp, and a very rich inventory in his house on the Steenschuur and in the country house.⁶⁸ His inventory confirms the impression that Catholics within the urban elite often distinguished themselves from Protestant regents by a more aristocratically tinged mode of life. Protestants confirmed their status primarily by assuming prominent positions in city government and charitable organizations not open to the Catholic elite. For wealthy Catholics, an elegant lifestyle, extensive real estate holdings, and luxurious furnishings offered alternative ways of displaying social distinction.⁶⁹

Bugge's inventory defies belief, especially in the vast number of paintings he owned. The front room upstairs accommodated sixty-four pictures, several of which were designated "large," that is, well over three feet wide.⁷⁰ It is difficult to imagine how they could have been jammed into a room that would have measured at most 17 × 26 feet and contained six bookcases! Every square inch of wall space must have been covered with paintings – though such an arrangement is never seen in contemporary depictions of Dutch interiors. Painters typically represented limited numbers of paintings in strict symmetry to give their interiors a calm and balanced appearance (fig. 160).⁷¹ Even when the walls are fairly full, as in somewhat earlier interior paintings by, for example, Pieter Codde (fig. 161), the paintings are never stacked in more than two rows.⁷² Only in the eighteenth century do we begin to see paintings of galleries or cabinets where the walls are hung floor-to-ceiling with paintings.⁷³

160 Pieter Janssens Elinga, *Interior with a Woman Reading*, c. 1670. Oil on canvas, 33 × 39³/₈ in. (83.7 × 100 cm). Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.



161 Pieter Codde, *Portrait of a Family*, c. 1640. Oil on panel, 23⁷/₈ × 30³/₄ in. (60.5 × 78.2 cm). Sale, London (Sotheby's, 1995-07-05, no. 305).



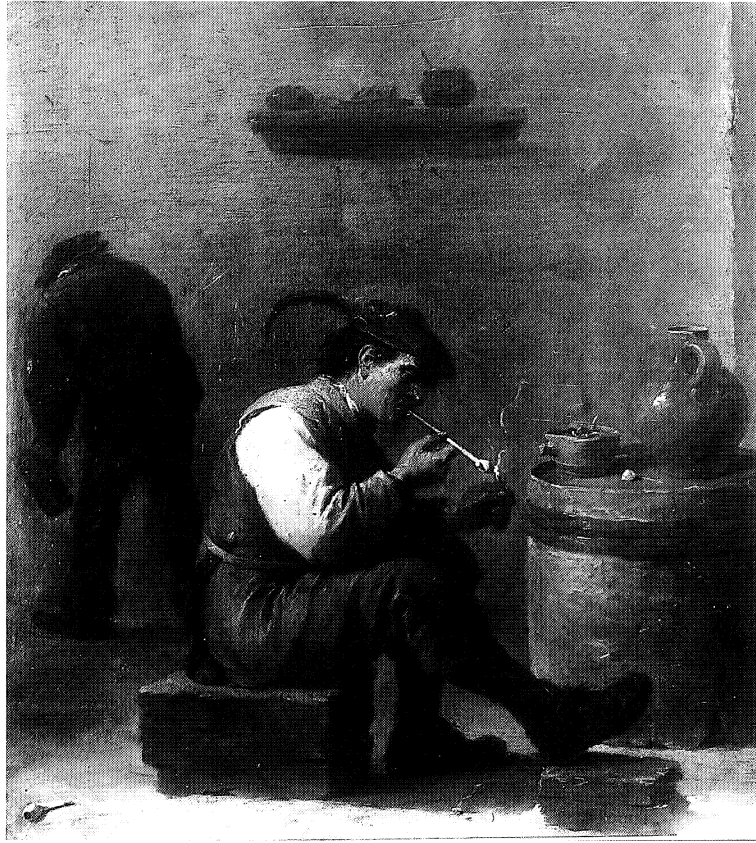


162 Flemish school (Hans Jordaens?), *Antwerp Art Cabinet*, c. 1620. Oil on panel, $37\frac{5}{8} \times 48\frac{5}{8}$ in. (95.5 × 123.5 cm). The National Gallery, London.

Seventeenth-century Antwerp paintings of picture galleries purporting to represent local, often aristocratic art cabinets do represent walls completely filled with paintings in a jigsaw-puzzle arrangement (fig. 162), but these enormously tall, mostly fictional cabinets have little in common with Bugge's front room on the *Steenschuur*.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, we have to imagine this sort of density for Bugge's room. This high concentration of paintings was not limited to this one chamber; paintings were everywhere, varying in number from twelve to twenty-three in the other rooms.

Unlike the great Antwerp collectors (real and imaginary), Bugge owned no Italian paintings and few of southern Netherlandish origin. That he had more Flemish paintings than usual in Leiden may well be explained by the often close contacts between the Dutch Catholic elite and their southern fellow Catholics. We do find in Leiden inventories the odd sixteenth-century Flemish picture, in particular from the ateliers of Josse van Cleve and Frans Floris, and now and then a landscape by, for instance, the popular Joos de Momper. Bugge's holdings fit that pattern.⁷⁵ More exceptionally, Bugge owned several works by contemporary Antwerp masters: two paintings of smoking men by David Teniers (fig. 163), a copy of a Teniers peasant woman asleep, a seascape by Bonaventura Peeters, and twelve landscapes by Lodewijk de Vadder representing the months of the year – all works conspicuously closer to those of Dutch painters than to those of Rubens, Van Dyck, and Jacob Jordaens, who in Holland seem to have been favored almost exclusively at the court in The Hague.⁷⁶ From that school Bugge owned only “a *tronie* of St. Paul by Rubens on paper”

163 David Teniers, *Smoking Peasant*. Oil on panel, 14¹/₄ × 12⁵/₈ in. (36 × 32 cm). Pushkin Museum, Moscow.



and a *Mary, Joseph, and Child* that was scrupulously attributed to a “disciple of Jordaens.”⁷⁷ Like Sylvius, Bugge vastly preferred paintings by Dutch contemporaries, particularly by Leiden painters.

The unusual details in the inventory are the measure of Bugge’s connoisseurship. Of the 237 paintings he owned, he could not name the maker for just twenty-four, and those were primarily old family portraits or sixteenth-century religious paintings that he may have inherited. The 213 remaining paintings were attributed to ninety-eight different artists, an astounding number of names to be able to recall. Eight paintings were recorded as copies – with the copyist identified for two of these, one by Isaac van Swanenburgh after his master Frans Floris, and one by Gerrit Heda of a bagpiper by Van Ostade.⁷⁸ Tellingly, Bugge could even identify a work after the little-known Delft painter Willem van Vliet as a copy.⁷⁹ The voice of the honest connoisseur echoes in Bugge’s doubts about attributions: when unsure about paintings attributed to the Utrecht painter Abraham Bloemaert or the Flemish artists Pieter Aertsen, Brouwer, and Josse van Cleve, he used the qualifier “as they say.”⁸⁰ Bugge’s occasional specification of the particular period in an artist’s career is exceptional at this time. Works by Dou and Steen are identified as having been made “in his youth.”⁸¹ Two landscapes, one by Van Goyen and one by Esaias van den Velde, are listed with their precise dates, 1627 and 1618, respectively. The identification of periods and years may have constituted a criterion for the value of the works. As Sylvius’s preferences have already indicated, Van Goyen’s quickly painted tonal works of the 1630s were losing currency in the 1660s. Thus, in the case of Van Goyen, the relatively early date may have been specified because it implied a more colorful and detailed painting of his first period.⁸²

Bugge’s active Catholicism emerges from the contents of a room in the front attic. It housed an altar with liturgical silver, a crucifix, and nineteen religious paintings that apparently had a devotional function: images of the Virgin Mary and other saints and scenes from the New Testament, with emphasis on the Passion of Christ. Some were sixteenth-century pictures from the southern Netherlands,⁸³ but several were by contemporary Dutch artists such as Quirijn van Brekelenkam of Leiden, Adriaen van de Venne of The Hague (fig. 164), and Thomas de Keijser and Barend Fabritius of Amsterdam.⁸⁴ The room clearly functioned as a richly appointed private chapel, to which Bugge may have invited other

164 Adriaen van de Venne, *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Oil on canvas, $26\frac{3}{8} \times 31\frac{1}{2}$ in. (67×80 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Dessau.



165 Jacob Isaacs van Swanenburgh, *Scene of Hell with Charon's Ship*. Oil on canvas, $38\frac{1}{4} \times 57\frac{1}{8}$ in. (97×145 cm). National Museum, Gdansk.





166 Jan van Goyen, *Landscape with a View of Leiden*, 1650. Oil on canvas, 26 ¹/₄ × 38 ³/₈ in. (66.5 × 97.5 cm). Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden.

Catholics for the Mass, which was publicly forbidden.⁸⁵ Religious paintings appeared throughout the house, for a total of forty-six works, and it is especially in this respect that Bugge's inventory deviates from what was usual in Dutch households with many paintings. However, these paintings rarely hung in the more public spaces such as the *voorhuis*, corridor, and *salet*.

The *voorhuis* was distinguished instead by the pronounced moral character of the most prominent paintings. Besides the pictures customarily found in the entry hall, such as landscapes, a map of the local Rijnland area, and innocuous genre pictures,⁸⁶ Bugge displayed four large paintings of nonreligious subjects with a moral stamp. Van Swanenburgh's depiction of Marcus Curtius's self-sacrifice, probably owned later by Sylvius, hung here,⁸⁷ as did two large grisaille paintings by the famous Utrecht painter Gerard van Honthorst on the invention and abuses of wine. The group was rounded out with a painting by the now unknown Claes de Groot; it represented Heraclitus and Democritus, the Greek philosophers who respectively wept and laughed over the follies of the world.⁸⁸ The corridor leading back from the *voorhuis* had a similar mix of secular paintings, chief among them a battle scene and a painting of the classical underworld with Charon's ship by Jacob van Swanenburgh, the son of Isaac and the first teacher of Rembrandt (fig. 165).⁸⁹ A small scene of tric-trac players by Steen (the one done "in his youth") and two modest genre paintings by Van Brekelenkam must have formed a particularly curious contrast with Jan van de Velde's four small paintings of Prince Frederick Henry and his retinue riding on horseback to Scheveningen.⁹⁰ Portraits of the House of Orange are more typically found in the *voorhuis* and corridors of Orange-minded Protestants in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹¹ As a Roman Catholic, Bugge surely did not display this painting to show his fervent support of the traditional first family of the Dutch Republic, but he would have enjoyed the aristocratic image of a princely cavalcade.

167 Pieter van Slingelandt, *Nursing Woman*, c. 1663? Oil on panel, 16³/₄ × 16⁷/₈ in. (42.5 × 43 cm). Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.



Bugge's finest reception room, the *salet*, still had a bed in it, unlike its more fashionable counterpart in Sylvius's home. The relatively modest number of paintings in the room, fifteen, even so, competed with a large teak and ebony chest decorated with columns and a large table carpet with a design of a unicorn and a woman (compare fig. 56/cat. 31). This motif was repeated in the upholstery of six walnut chairs (compare fig. 55/cat. 98). The masterpiece among the salon's fifteen paintings must have been a large *Adoration of the Shepherds* attributed to Aertsen. A still life by Willem Claesz Heda and a view of Leiden by Van Goyen (fig. 166) were probably also sizable, and the considerable quality of these and other paintings in the *salet* must have been particularly evident because the room was less crowded with pictures than others.⁹²

But the front room on the second floor was a true connoisseur's cabinet that would be the pride of any museum today. The room must also have functioned as study. Six bookcases and two desks with additional bookshelves housed a substantial library;⁹³ an office chest stored documents. There were twelve chairs, a large draw-leaf table, a tall mirror, and a large brass chandelier with eight arms, a costly object that was rare in seventeenth-century homes.⁹⁴ The impact of sixty-four paintings in this densely furnished room must have been overpowering. All manner of paintings were on view. Historical scenes (biblical and mythological),⁹⁵ genre paintings, and landscapes were about evenly distributed; still lifes

168 Adriaen van der Spelt and Frans van Mieris, *Flower Garland with Curtain*, 1658. Oil on panel, 18³/₈ × 25¹/₈ in. (46.5 × 63.9 cm). Art Institute of Chicago.



were in the minority. There was no discernible organization by subject or painter, and it is likely that shape and size determined the arrangement. The comparatively high number of genre paintings is conspicuous, and the artists represented ranged from the young Leiden masters Pieter van Slingelandt (fig. 167) and Jacob Toorenvliet to more established figures such as Dou (two), Steen, and Van Brekelenkam. Peasant paintings included a sixteenth-century work by Cornelis Molenaer but also very recent work by Cornelis Bega of Haarlem.⁹⁶ Bugge's taste in landscapes was more conservative. He must have cherished the Van Goyen from 1627, for its setting and staffage were described in especially great detail.⁹⁷ Most of the landscapes in the upstairs front room were by excellent masters, from those who painted their best works early in the seventeenth century (Savery and Paulus Bril) to the younger Esaias van de Velde, Van Goyen, Molijn and De Vadder. The more recently fashionable Wouwerman was also included, as well as a seascape by the perennially popular Porcellis (fig. 157). The finest still life, surely a recent and costly acquisition, was a flower garland by Adriaen van der Spelt, for which Van Mieris painted a stunningly illusionistic curtain that partly covers the flowers (fig. 168).⁹⁸ Several other rooms displayed a similar variety of genre paintings and landscapes, mixed with a few biblical scenes and still-life pictures. In one of these rooms, directly above the cellar, the inventory mentions two harpsichords, which show that, like so many households, the family counted music among its cultural pursuits (compare fig. 188, 189).

Bugge owned numerous family portraits, most of which came from his wife's family. As usual, such paintings hung primarily in rooms of pronounced private character and thus were not meant to impress the visitor with the family's genealogy. In Dutch middle-class circles portraits were cherished rather because they allowed "descendants to maintain contact with their ancestors," as Constantijn Huygens wrote.⁹⁹ Bugge hung the majority in a small room upstairs, displaying older works along with a recent portrait of his wife by Abraham de Pape, who was probably a friend.¹⁰⁰ De Pape was Dou's pupil and a well-to-do merchant who apparently painted for pleasure.

Sylvius's inventory did not list paintings in the kitchen, a room that earlier in the century usually contained a relatively large number of paintings.¹⁰¹ Bugge, by contrast, did display some paintings in his "large rear inner kitchen," a so-called best kitchen used for dining and enlivened by two canaries in a birdcage. Kitchens often did not have the kinds of pictures on view that we might expect. The quite popular kitchen scenes, for instance, are rarely mentioned as hanging in a kitchen.¹⁰² However, along with the usual landscapes and

169 Quirijn van Brekelenkam, *Woman Giving Money to a Maid Going to the Market*, 1663. Oil on panel, 20¹/₄ × 18³/₄ in. (51.5 × 47.5 cm). Kunsthaus (Ruzicka-Stiftung), Zürich.



small devotional paintings, Bugge hung some thematically appropriate works there: the probably large kitchen piece after Aertsen, a cat with an eel by Pieter van Noort, and a painting of haddock and crabs by Abraham van Beyeren.

Bugge owned a conspicuously high number of paintings by the Leiden artist Quirijn van Brekelenkam, with whom he appears to have had a personal relationship. Although Van Brekelenkam painted subjects closely related to Dou's, his manner of painting was much less detailed and refined. Most of the eighteen Van Brekelenkam paintings owned by Bugge were the kind of genre scenes for which the painter is well known (fig. 169),¹⁰³ but others were probably commissioned – images of saints, two portraits, and even copies of old family portraits.¹⁰⁴ Eleven of Van Brekelenkam's paintings were distributed through the house on the Steenschuur, but two hung in the *salet* of Bugge's country house, Achthoven, and five, including a portrait of Bugge and his son, were placed together in a small room of this retreat. In the same room Bugge also kept his sole picture by Rembrandt, a "doctor with his books," surely a painting from the artist's first years in Leiden.¹⁰⁵

With six paintings, Jan Steen was also especially well represented in Bugge's holdings. The most important picture by Steen, a "Twelfth Night merriment" described as "large," can probably be identified with a painting dated 1662 now in Boston (fig. 170).¹⁰⁶ This painting of a prosperous interior is remarkably thorough in its representation of all the folkloric details of this feast, in which normal behavioral codes and lines of authority were upended for the day. We see the star singers serenading in the street, the child-king drinking, children



170 Jan Steen, *Twelfth Night*, 1663. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 63³/₈ in. (130 × 161 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

jumping over candles, and the fool making an obscene joke, but the scene has not degenerated into the debauchery typical of so many paintings of the feast.¹⁰⁷ *Twelfth Night* continued to be celebrated in the seventeenth century, apparently more eagerly by Catholics than by Protestants, the strictest of whom condemned such ritual revelry as “Popish.”¹⁰⁸ Steen’s gentle rendering of the feast as condonable, harmless pleasure may have suited a Catholic disposition very well.

Bugge also seems to have had a special preference for Jan van Goyen, who is represented in the inventory with six paintings. The two characteristics shared by Van Brekelenkam, Steen, and Van Goyen – very different painters all – are their Leiden origins and their Catholicism. Although most of their works do not qualify as particularly Catholic, it seems likely that Bugge liked to patronize local fellow Catholics.

Bugge must have been fond of genre paintings, and especially those of the comic, boorish kind by artists such as Van de Venne, Jan Miense Molenaer, Cornelis Droochsloot, Teniers, Van Ostade, Bega, and the young Steen. The percentage of genre scenes, in particular of these lowly themes, far exceeded the average, as comparison with contemporary Leiden inventories proves.¹⁰⁹ Similar comparisons show that the proportion of history paintings in his possession was also uncommonly high and that he owned relatively few still lifes and a smaller percentage of landscapes than was usual. The exceptional number of Bugge’s religious paintings has already been noted, but he also owned quite a few mythological scenes,

171 Moyses van Uytenbroeck, *Pan and Syrinx*, c. 1625. Oil on panel, 20¹/₄ × 26¹/₂ in. (51.4 × 67.3 cm). Formerly art dealer Johnny Van Haefen, London.



including works by masters like Moyses van Uytenbroeck (fig. 171), François Verwilt, and Daniël Vertangen, who filled their landscapes with goddesses, nymphs, and their lovers.¹¹⁰ He had no objections to nudes: he owned “a large picture of the sleeping Venus” by “a good Brabant painter,” and he even owned several paintings of female nudes that apparently lacked an extenuating context, including a small “naked woman” by Van Brekelenkam and “a piece with six or seven naked women” by a member of the Van Someren family of artists.

Like Sylvius, Bugge bought works from contemporaries. Most of the sixteenth-century paintings he owned were probably inherited. At first glance he seems to have been more conservative than Sylvius. The painters he preferred were mostly of his own generation or somewhat older, and many of them specialized in the tonal, local Dutch landscape, comic genre, and still life spurned by the more fashionable Sylvius: Van Goyen, Esaias van den Velde, Pieter Molijn, Dirck Hals, Jan Miense Molenaer, Antonie Palamedesz, and Willem Claesz Heda. Looking more closely, however, it is striking how many paintings he owned by artists who were at least one generation younger than he. He particularly liked younger genre painters, including, besides Van Brekelenkam (b. 1620) and Steen (b. 1626), Hendrick van der Burch (b. 1627) and Cornelis Bega (b. 1632). Jacob Toorenvliet and Pieter van Slingelandt (both b. 1640) were only in their twenties when the aging Bugge had his inventory made. Van der Spelt and Van Mieris, makers of the exceptional collaborative still life, were still youthful, too.

Individually, Bugge’s pictures were rarely as valuable as Sylvius’s. The still life with curtain by Van der Spelt and Van Mieris, Steen’s *Twelfth Night*, Van Slingelandt’s *Nursing Mother* (surely very Dou-like), certain seventeenth-century religious paintings, and some sixteenth-century works must have been the most expensive.¹¹¹ Van Brekelenkam’s works, which numerically accounted for one-thirteenth of Bugge’s holdings, were cheap, fetching about one-tenth to one-fiftieth of the prices Dou and Van Mieris could command.¹¹²

Religious affiliation seems to account for the major difference between the artistic preferences of Sylvius and Bugge van Ring. Rarely is the contrast as sharp as in their case, however, since many Protestant inventories, too, featured paintings that might strike us as Catholic devotional images, from pictures of Mary to themes from the Passion. These were often inherited and kept for their sentimental or artistic value. Nevertheless, some recently observed trends in differences between Catholic and Protestant inventories of paintings seem to be magnified in the holdings of Sylvius and Bugge.¹¹³

A Shrinking Market

The generations of collectors after Sylvius and Bugge increasingly sought out works of “old” masters.¹¹⁴ They noticeably favored painters who were active between about 1650 and 1670, that is, the “contemporary” artists Sylvius, in particular, patronized. In the last quarter of the century the enormous production of paintings in Holland dwindled dramatically and the number of professional painters dropped by three-quarters of those active at midcentury.¹¹⁵ Consequently, the large variation of genres and types of pictures also decreased rapidly. As Houbraken noted in 1718, “One can see that several aspects of art have been torn off and have descended into the grave with their praiseworthy makers.” Houbraken specifically mentioned paintings of the sea, cattle, horses, peasants, soldiers, and architecture as victims of this development.¹¹⁶ Numerous factors account for the downturn. Overproduction and saturation of the market, economic recession, changes in interior decoration (a new taste for expensive textile wall coverings – sometimes painted), and a new role for dealers in old masters. Nevertheless, it remains impossible to explain fully why taste and collecting practices turned so drastically from contemporary paintings to the works of dead masters with established reputations.

In later periods the appreciation for particular types of seventeenth-century paintings became ever narrower, although preferences kept shifting. Early-seventeenth-century tonal paintings had already lost favor by the second half of the century and regained interest only in the late nineteenth century. History paintings also disappeared rapidly from view, and in the nineteenth century everything that did not look “Dutch” to nationalist eyes, from Italianate landscapes to classical histories, was denounced. The “fine” painters cherished by Sylvius fell from grace in the heyday of impressionism as well because their meticulous brushwork seemed labored and workmanlike. In comparison to this constantly shrinking canon, the taste of mid-seventeenth-century art lovers was amazingly varied. The diversity of pictures found in inventories of different means is invariably astounding. In this period there appears to have been a perfect symbiosis between omnivorous art lovers and the great variety of painters who worked in many different genres and kept developing eye-catching variations on the themes in which they specialized. As we have seen, individual preferences for types of pictures or artists may be related to generation, religion, personal contacts, disposable income, and availability on the local market. The most striking feature of interiors amply stocked with paintings is their inclusion of virtually all genres. History scenes and landscapes, genre paintings and portraits, seascapes and still lifes, as well as large and small works, expensive and cheap, “fine” and “rough,” freely intermingled throughout the house.¹¹⁷ This incredibly varied domestic display of contemporary paintings by the prosperous middle class has never been equaled in the history of art.

19 *Van wapenhandel tot wetenschapsbedrijf: De Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen in het Trippenhuys in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1993), 25.

20 Ottenheym, *Philips Vingboons*.

21 Terwen and Ottenheym.

22 In the *souterrain* an elaborate pattern – of Swedish Öland stone and stone of Namur – was also designed by Pieter Post (M. Loonstra, *het huys int bosch: Het Koninklijk Paleis Huis ten Bosch historisch gezien* [Amsterdam and Zutphen, 1986], 44; unfortunately Loonstra does not explain why he attributes these designs for the floors in Huis ten Bosch to the architect Jacob van Campen).

23 *Sir James Thornhill's Sketch-book*, 1:ms. 36, 2:44.

24 J. Pijzel-Dommisse, *Het Hollandse pronkpoppenhuys: Interieur en huishouden in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Zwolle, 2000), 69, figs. 324, 325, 464, 466.

25 An Amsterdam inventory of 1683 mentions explicitly that women sat on these *zoldertjes* to do their sewing.

26 [J. C. Weyerman], *De Hollandsche Sinnelykheid* (Amsterdam, 1713), 1, 7.

27 Haarlem, Municipal Archives, Rechterlijk Archief 77, *Veilcondities* [1740]-1750-1811. No similarly rich source of sales conditions in Holland is known to me.

28 For the use of Near Eastern carpets on tables, see O. Ydema, *Carpets and Their Dating in Netherlandish Paintings, 1540-1700* (Zutphen, 1991).

29 Pijzel-Dommisse, 71, fig. 68.

30 Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, 4[1989]:498.

31 Communication by Th. F. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (1997), who includes some sixty-five inventories in this current research.

32 Fock, "The Apartments of Frederick Henry and Amalia," 77-78.

33 The first advertisement for Turkish floor carpets in the *Amsterdamse Courant* is dated 14 August 1687.

34 P. Sutton, *Pieter de Hoogh: Complete Edition* (Oxford, 1980), 118 cat. 157, fig. 160.

35 See, for instance, E. J. Sluijter, "Didactic and Disguised Meanings?" in D. Freedberg and J. de Vries, eds., *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica, 1991), 175-207; and E. J. Sluijter, *De lof der schilderkunst: Over schilderijen van Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) en een traktaat van Philips Angel uit 1642* (Hilversum, 1993), *passim*.

36 S. van Beaumont, *Tyt-Snipperingen, vande Ionckheyt, tot inden Ouderdom* (Rotterdam, 1640), A 5.

37 For Bugge van Ring's collecting practices, see Eric Jan Sluijter's essay in this catalog.

38 J. and C. Luiken, *Het menselyk bedryf* (Amsterdam, 1694), no. 25. The text is to be found in a pirated edition: *Menschelyke Beezigheeden ... na orde van het ABC ... met veerzen daertoe passende door A. J.* (Amsterdam, 1695, and Haarlem, 1695).

39 Inventories from France and England demonstrate that chandeliers were uncommon there (Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 274).

40 E. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, *Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae I* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1984-97), especially vols. 6-9.

41 Thornton cites as a first Dutch example a painting by Verkolje of 1674, which does, however, show only one curtain, the other piece of cloth being a flag (*Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 139, fig. 112).

42 Another anonymous painting from the Delft school of approximately the same date and nearly the same composition (National Gallery, London) also shows two curtains on either side.

43 This shows how hesitant one must be to draw conclusions from inventories without the confirmation of the matching plans of the houses.

Paintings in Wealthy Interiors

I would like to thank Mariët Westermann for her many valuable comments and Willemijn Fock for placing at my disposal the Leiden inventories that she has assembled. This essay was written in the context of the research program *Pictorial Traditions and Meaning in Dutch Art of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* funded by the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research.

1 See, for instance, Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy* (Baltimore and London, 1993).

2 See Mariët Westermann's essay in this catalog.

3 See, for Delft, J. M. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 1982), chap. 8; for Haarlem, M. E. W. Goosens, "Kunstenaars en kunstmarkt in Haarlem, 1600-1640" (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 2001), chap. 10; for Dordrecht, J. Loughman, "Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie: Openbare en privé-verzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620-1719," in P. Marijnissen et al., eds., *De zichtbaere werelt: Schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands*

oudste stad (Dordrecht and Zwolle, 1992), 34-64; for Leiden, C. W. Fock, "Kunstbezit in Leiden in de 17de eeuw," in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. W. Fock, and A. J. van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (Leiden, 1986-92), 5(1990): 3-36; for Amsterdam, J. M. Montias, "Works of art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in D. Freedberg and J. de Vries, eds., *Art in History, History in Art* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1991), 331-76.

4 J. de Vries, "Art History," in Freedberg and De Vries, 249-82; and M. J. Bok, *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580-1700* (Utrecht, 1994), chap. 4.

5 E. J. Sluijter, "Over Brabantse vodden, economische concurrentie, artistieke wedijver en de groei van de markt voor schilderijen in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw," in *Art and the Market*, ed. R. Falkenburg et al., *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999): 115-43.

6 J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van de Hollandse Gouden Eeuw, 1585-1630* (Antwerp, 1998).

7 S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkunst* (Rotterdam, 1678), 237.

8 J. M. Montias, "Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Art History* 10 (1987): 455-66; and E. J. Sluijter, "Jan van Goyen als markt-leider, virtuoos en vernieuwer," in C. Vogelaar, ed., *Jan van Goyen* (Leiden and Zwolle, 1996), 38-59.

9 Constantijn Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, trans. (from Latin) C. L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam, 1987), 70-71.

10 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, vol. 4, *Travels in Europe, 1639-47*, ed. R. Carnac Temple (London, 1925), 70.

11 See, for instance, the writings of Samuel Sorbière (1640), John Evelyn (1641), Owen Feltham (1652), and Nicolas Parival (1651): *Drie brieven van Samuel Sorbière*, ed. P. J. Blok (n.p., n.d.), 12, 85-86; *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), 39; O. Feltham, *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries under the States: Being Three Weeks' Observation of the Vices and Virtues of the Inhabitants* (London, 1652), 19-20; J. de Parival, *De Vermaeckelijckheden van Hollandt: een werck deses Lands Lof uytbasuynend. Met een Tractaet vande Regeringe* (Amsterdam, 1661), first published in French, 33.

12 Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, 220.

13 *Ibid.*, chap. 8; and Goosens, chap. 10.

14 When estate inventories provide valuations, many paintings are estimated to be worth

between one and ten guilders, not only the anonymous paintings that were sometimes valued at even less than one guilder, but also works by well-known masters. See, for instance, Montias, *Artists and Artisans*, 258-64; Goosens, chap. 9; and Loughman, 50-53. Valuations above a hundred guilders are exceptional. For such sums for Leiden "fine painters," see E. J. Sluijter, "'Schilders van cleyne, subtile ende curieuse dingen': Leidse fijnschilders in contemporaine bronnen," in E. J. Sluijter et al., eds., *Leidse fijnschilders: Van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge* (Leiden and Zwolle, 1988), 24-28, 38-39. For an extreme case, see the 1662 inventory of Hieronimus van Straten of Goes, who had extraordinarily costly paintings and recorded the prices he paid, the most expensive being works by Rembrandt (eight hundred guilders), De Heem (one thousand guilders), Van Poelenburch (twelve hundred guilders) and Elsheimer (eighteen hundred guilders)! H. Uil, "Het huis de Oliphant te Goes," *Historisch Jaarboek voor Zuid- en Noord-Beveland* 4 (1978): 95-116. See also below, notes 62 and 96.

15 Fock, "Kunstbezit," 5-9; Loughman, 46; and J. Loughman and J. M. Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle, 2000), chap. 2.

16 Their holdings of paintings are among the largest we know of in Leiden. C. Willemijn Fock wrote a brilliant survey of the ownership of paintings in Leiden in the seventeenth century based on a selection of 120 of the most interesting estate inventories with paintings that she found over the years in the Leiden archives (Fock, "Kunstbezit," 3-36).

17 For the Amsterdam influence, compare the houses designed by Philips Vingboons, especially Singel 460 of 1662 (Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3[1990]:326-28).

18 The original building specifications written up by the contractor Willem Wymoth – an unusual document to have survived – are published in Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3(1990):333-35. On the basis of this, a reconstruction of the plan and elevation were drawn up by H. J. Zantkuil (Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3[1990]:280-81, fig. 1a-c). The property bought by Wymoth consisted of one much wider house that was subsequently split in two. Of this earlier house, the part on the Rapenburg was torn down and completely rebuilt as two houses (Rapenburg 31 and 29), and only parts of the rear houses were left intact and incorporated into the two new houses (Lunsingh Scheurleer,

Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3[1990]:278-82).

19 According to the building specifications, the commission was given in 1664, but the official transfer of the house to the new owner took place only in January 1667 (Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3[1990]:270).

Announcement of the marriage of Sylvius and his second wife was legally posted on 14 December 1666, so they probably married at the end of December or beginning of January.

20 The complete inventory of paintings, furniture, porcelain, and silver was published in Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3(1990):335-42. For a full description of the furnishing of the interior, *ibid.*, 282-95.

21 That Sylvius felt strongly about his new homeland appears from the testimony of a friend. Writing shortly after Sylvius's death in 1672, the so-called *rampjaar* (year of disaster), he speculated that Sylvius had been assaulted by a fatal illness because "he must have been weakened by grief about what was happening to his fatherland, or by exhaustion caused by a journey to The Hague" (E. D. Baumann, *François de le Boe Sylvius* [Leiden, 1949], 43).

22 For Sylvius's life, see Baumann, chap. 1. The families of both his mother (Anne de le Vignette) and his father (Isaac de le Boe) came from southern Flanders (now French Flanders). His grandfather François de le Boe fled to Frankfurt am Main and settled there as a merchant.

23 On Sylvius's medical career, see Baumann, *passim*. On his importance for the history of chemistry, see J. W. van Spronsen, "The Rise of Chemistry as an Independent Science," in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyes, eds., *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden, 1975), 334-35.

24 This building is the present Rapenburg 43 (about this house, see Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3[1990]:641-69). It was built around 1660 by the same contractor, Willem Wymoth, who built Sylvius's house at Rapenburg 31. In the building specifications for Rapenburg 31, the contractor refers several times to the example of this house, for instance in the case of the archway of natural stone leading from the *voorhuis* to the corridor, which is still present in Rapenburg 43 (*ibid.*, fig. 9).

25 She was born in Kleve, and her father came from Frankfurt am Main, the same city where Sylvius's family had settled in the late sixteenth century; his sister continued to reside in Hanau near Frankfurt.

26 Cited by Baumann, 38-39.

27 For this familiar metaphor of harmonious love, see E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw: Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem and Zwolle, 1986), 40-45. Otto Naumann first identified the painting in Dresden as a portrait of Sylvius and his wife – with a question mark – on the basis of the man's likeness to the portrait of Sylvius engraved by Cornelis van Dalen (fig. 143 in this essay) and an item in Sylvius's inventory: "the deceased with his last wife by Mieris" (*Frans van Mieris the Elder [1625-1681]* [Doornspijk, 1981], 2:101, cat. 89). The convincing likeness was confirmed by the description of the same painting in the inventory of his nephew Jean Rouyer (1678): "the portrait of professor Sylvius and his wife playing the lute" (Gemeente Archief Amsterdam, Desolate Boedelskamer, no. 382). Unlike Naumann, I have no doubt that the woman is Magdalena Lucretia Schletzer: her unrealistic dress and veil are very appropriate for the portrait of a deceased wife. In my opinion, the other portrait that Naumann thinks might be Sylvius definitely represents a different face (Naumann, 2:78, cat. 62).

28 The picture bears an unusually precise date: 1 March 1672.

29 This is the first painting mentioned in the inventory, which starts with the contents of the *voorhuis*. Assuming that the listing of paintings started clockwise from the entrance and went around the *voorhuis*, this must have been the first painting one saw.

30 Mariët Westermann reproduces a poem from 1656 by the Amsterdam poet and painter Willem Schellinks about a *Quack* by Brouwer (*The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* [Zwolle, 1998], 96). The poem shows that this type of picture was typically admired for its comic realism, and since it is a rare subject in Brouwer's oeuvre it may well have concerned the same painting. Sylvius may have bought this painting in Amsterdam, possibly along with the *Street Singer* about which Schellinks also wrote a poem (Sylvius owned two paintings by Brouwer, but unfortunately no subject is mentioned for the second). It is possible that Brouwer's *Quack* now in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (fig. 146 in this essay), the only painting I know by Brouwer of a quack selling his wares, came from Sylvius's inventory.

31 On the basis of 273 Amsterdam inventories, Montias calculated the typical distribution of works of art and types of paintings among the rooms in the house (Loughman and Montias, 57-69). He found that the *voorhuis*, the most public of domestic spaces, generally contained a

statistically significant surplus of paintings and maps, and, with respect to the paintings, a significant surplus of landscapes and a significant deficit of portraits and religious paintings. That Sylvius had his coat of arms displayed there also conforms with Montias's findings.

32 Chimney and wooden ceiling are mentioned in the building specifications (Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, 3[1990]:333). The neighboring house to the right, Rapenburg 29, which has a similar façade, was built by Wymoth at the same time (see above, note 18) and still has its painted ceiling (by an anonymous master; fig. 148 in this essay). Very few painted ceilings of this period have survived in Holland.

33 J. von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* (Nuremberg, 1675), ed. A. Peltzer (Munich, 1925), 351.

34 Arnold Houbraken especially mentions Sylvius as a maecenas of Van Mieris, but in fact Sylvius had more, and probably more valuable, paintings by Dou (*De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* [Amsterdam, 1718-21], 3:3).

35 Three of Dou's paintings in the inventory are described as "with painted doors," and two are listed separately as "in a case." One of the paintings, the *Woman at Her Toilette*, for which no case or doors are mentioned in Sylvius's inventory, is described as having painted doors in the inventory of his nephew Jean Rouyer (see above, note 27). Of the two paintings that are listed in Sylvius's inventory simply as being in cases, one seems to be described as painted on the outside in the Rouyer inventory (see below, note 55).

36 In the greatest collection of paintings by Dou, the group of twenty-seven paintings owned by Johan de Bye, twenty-two are described as being in a "case," and two of those are described as having painted doors (for the inventory of Dou's paintings in De Bye's possession, see W. Martin, *Het leven en de werken van Gerard Dou beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd* [Leiden, 1901], 171-73). Unfortunately all these cases have been dismantled in subsequent years, and no such painting by Dou is nowadays known. Two painted coverings are still extant, one of them being for the *Dropsical Woman* in the Louvre, originally owned by De Bye. The original doors, painted with a silver ewer and basin, are also in the Louvre. See E. J. Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle, 2000), 217-20. We can get an impression of how such a painting must have looked on the wall

from a painting by Jacob Maurer of the collector Ploos van Amstel and his friends (1764). Hanging on the back wall is an Emanuel de Witte church interior with open doors, the insides of which are clearly not painted (whether they are painted on the outside is not visible). See F. Grijzenhout and H. van Veen, eds., *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, 1999), fig. 10.

37 No doors are mentioned for this painting in Sylvius's inventory (described as "a Lady before the mirror by Gerrit Douw"), but in the inventory of his nephew Jean Rouyer (1678) the same painting is described as "a woman whose hair is being done, with casement doors on which a nursing woman with candlelight." See Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3(1990):287.

38 About this painting see E. J. Sluijter "'Een stuck waerin een jufr. voor de spiegel van Gerrit Douw,'" *Antiek* 23 (1988): 150-61; Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight*, 253-55; and R. Baer, *Gerrit Dou, 1613-1675* (Washington and New Haven, 2000), 128-29, cat. 32.

39 The first known provenance of this *Quack* is the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine in Düsseldorf. It is possible that it came to that collection by way of one of Sylvius's heirs living in Germany. Some paintings by Van Mieris and another painting by Dou in that same collection (described in J. van Gool, *De Nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlandsche konstschilders en schilderessen* [The Hague, 1750-51], 2:538, 562), may have come from Sylvius's holdings (see below, notes 43 and 54), but the descriptions do not match clearly enough to be sure.

40 For this painting see Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight*, 258-63; and Baer, 100-03, cat. 19. About Dou's self-portrait, see note 41 below. I am preparing a study about the relationship between painter, quack, and physician, all of whom are "children of Mercury."

41 The painting described as "a counterfeit of Gerrit Dou with painted doors" might well be the self-portrait in Kansas City. Heads that were not meant to represent specific individuals, for instance two by Van Mieris in this same room, are described as "tronies." Dou's painting, described as "conterfeytsel," must be a real portrait, but portraits of individuals other than himself are rare in Dou's oeuvre, and he generally did not make them in this period. In the inventory of Sylvius's nephew Jean Rouyer, the same painting is described as: "a painting with casement doors on which a burning candle, and in which a counterfeit of a man." A burning

candle, a quite emphatic symbol of transience, would fit a self-portrait of Dou very well (about vanity and transience in Leiden self-portraits, see E. J. Sluijter, "The Painter's Pride: The Art of Capturing Transience in Self-Portraits from Isaac van Swanenburgh to David Bailly," in K. Enenkel et al., eds., *Modelling the Individual* [Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998], 172-96).

42 In the background of both paintings Dou depicted the *Blauwpoort* (Blue Gate), a view from Dou's own studio. Although both paintings are dated earlier, 1652 and 1663 respectively, the shapes of the roof and steeple had been altered in 1667 after designs by Willem van der Helm. This means that Dou had those paintings in his studio at that time and painted these parts in the autumn of 1667 at the earliest. The self-portrait in *Quack Doctor and His Audience*, which also seems to have been added at a later stage, might have been painted in at this point as well, so that each painting in this ensemble of three costly panels contained the famous painter's face. For the changes made in two of the paintings, see F. Lammertse, "Veranderen na verloop van jaren: Over Gerard Dou's Kwakzalver in Rotterdam en het Zelfportret in Kansas City," in P. van den Brink and L. M. Helmus, eds., *Album discipulorum J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer* (Zwolle, 1997), 110-20. It is conceivable that, when buying the 1667 *Woman at Her Toilette*, Sylvius saw the two earlier paintings in Dou's studio and had them "updated."

43 This could have been Naumann, 2:cat. 30 (originally oval; reproduced here as fig. 150), a portrayal of Van Mieris's wife without a pendant (it has been assumed that Naumann, 2:cat. 29 in Berlin was its companion piece, but the relative sizes of the two heads seem too different to me). Two little *tronies* of an officer and a courtesan pulling a dog's ear (with faces resembling Van Mieris and his wife a bit), which were in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, might have been hanging in this room, too ("a *tronytgen* by Frans van Mieris," "one ditto by the same").

44 Houbraken, 3:3.

45 Van Mieris may also have owed the lucrative patronage of Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici to Sylvius. When Cosimo traveled to Holland in 1668 and 1669, he visited Leiden on both occasions; we know from the diary of a companion that Cosimo certainly visited Sylvius and Van Mieris on the same day during the second trip (Naumann, 1:172-73). During this trip he went to see paintings that he had ordered from Van Mieris the previous year. On that first

visit to Leiden, Cosimo surely must also have met Sylvius, who, as a fellow art lover, may well have introduced the grand duke to the astonishing virtuosity of Van Mieris.

46 It is not entirely certain that this is the same painting as the *Adonis* now in the Rijksmuseum. If it is the same painting, the makers of the inventory would have missed the obvious attributes of Adonis – the spear, the anemone, the wound in the groin, and the tiny figure of Venus in the clouds – but the expertise of inventory takers varied wildly. We find the same painting, which Sylvius must have acquired only a few years before his death, again described as an “Abel” in an inventory taken in 1668 of the possessions of the Leiden bookseller Jan Jansz. van Rhijn, who owned 172 paintings. The painting is also mentioned in 1644 in an inventory in Delft of Willem van Assendelft, again as “an Abel fore-shortened” (Montias, *Artists and Artisans*, 232).

47 One of them is described as “a piebald horse.” This might be the painting now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (fig. 152 in this essay), or the one in the Staatliches Museum in Schwerin.

48 On hunting and Dutch society, see Scott A. Sullivan, *The Dutch Gamepiece* (Totowa and Montclair, New Jersey, 1984), chap. 4. Hunting, especially the pursuit of larger game, traditionally a prestigious aristocratic pastime, was by and large still the privilege of the nobility. In the course of the seventeenth century, however, hunting privileges were also obtained by wealthy burghers who bought country estates and hunted on their own land.

49 By Dou “an old crone” and by Savery “a piece with animals.” An Italianate landscape is carefully attributed to “a disciple” of Cornelis van Poelenburch; in other words, the painting was recognized as an original by an anonymous pupil rather than a copy after the famous Van Poelenburch.

50 In the inventory of Sylvius’s nephew Jean Rouyer this painting is attributed to Frans Badens, once a quite famous painter from Amsterdam, to whom nowadays no paintings can be attributed with certainty. An attribution to Badens, who was born in Antwerp, traveled to Italy, and was of the same generation as Van Swanenburgh, is an understandable mistake. Sylvius probably also bought a *Bathing Bathsheba* by Pieter Lastman (fig. 159 in this essay) from the estate of Bugge van Ring. A painting with this title and attribution is described in both inventories, and given the scarcity of history paintings in Sylvius’s inventory it would be

highly coincidental for them to own different versions of such a subject by the same artist.

51 Described as “a nightpiece in a case.” This is probably the painting listed in the inventory of Sylvius’s nephew Jean Rouyer as “a painting that can be opened in which a person with a candle.” Here it seems that the case was not meant to be painted and did not consist of two doors.

52 Van Gool, 1:358. This is one of the reasons why eighteenth-century collectors concentrated their paintings in a *schilderijenkabinet*, a room reserved for pictures.

53 About the custom of placing family portraits in private rooms, see Fock, “Kunstbezit,” 26; and Loughman and Montias, 67-69.

54 One of them, a “half length by Mieris with a roemer in the hand,” might be Naumann, 2:cat. 59, 72, or 77. “A gentleman with a young lady” might be *The Oyster Meal*, which was in the collection of Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, and is now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague (Naumann, 2:cat. 36). This would mean that it was not intended as a companion piece to Naumann, 2:cat. 35 (*Teasing the Pet*).

55 Two of them are described as candlelight scenes without cases, the third as “a hermit by Gerrit Dou in a case.” In the Rouyer inventory this painting was described as “a painting being a hermit with casement doors on which a lamp is painted.”

56 Described in Sylvius’s inventory as “an Apollo hunting by Ad. de Bois” (the notary’s clerk surely misunderstood the name). The reason that it can be identified with certainty is that De Vois deviated from the pictorial tradition of Diana and Actaeon by placing in the foreground the hunter Actaeon, rather than the naked Diana and her bathing nymphs. This idiosyncrasy understandably caused the painting to be identified as a hunting Apollo. The same painting was described in the Rouyer inventory of 1678 as “a landscape in which a hunter” and in the 1702 Rouyer inventory correctly as “a bath [of Diana and her nymphs] with Acteon by De Vois” (the 1702 Rouyer inventory was published in A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare* [The Hague, 1915-21], 4:1307-08; about both inventories, see also Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3[1990]:287).

57 About the sometimes fierce criticism of nudes, see E. J. Sluijter, *De ‘heydensche fabulen’ in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden, 2000), 157-63; and Sluijter, *Seductress of Sight*, 118-23. Nevertheless, paintings with nudes can even be found in inventories of Calvinist preachers (Loughman and Montias, 49).

58 Good sculptors were thin on the ground in Holland because most sculpture had traditionally been commissioned for purposes of worship. As public Catholic worship was no longer allowed in the Republic, demand for sculpture had dwindled drastically. For a survey of sculpture in the northern Netherlands, see E. Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst in de noordelijke Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1948); about Pieter Xavery, *ibid.*, 242-46.

59 Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3(1990):295. It seems likely that his students used these in chemical experiments. Unaware of the abundance of stoves and burners in Sylvius’s house, Van Spronsen notes (330) that only Johannes Hartmann in Marburg might have taught chemical research to students and that this form of teaching was not adopted until the nineteenth century.

60 Nor did he have works by popular genre painters of the same generation, such as Dirck Hals or Pieter Codde.

61 Porcellis’s special standing is evident in the list of favorite painters drawn up in the 1710s by Arnold Houbraken: of the entire “tonal” generation of landscape and genre painters, only Porcellis is mentioned (2:130).

62 See for instance the 1657 inventory of Johannes de Renialme, an art dealer of Amsterdam who worked for the top level of the art market. He owned primarily good and quite expensive Dutch paintings, but he also had works by Jacopo Palma, Padovanino, Bassano, Tintoretto, Ribera, and Titian. The estimates for the paintings of those masters were very high, between one hundred and five hundred guilders. The most expensive, however, were a Rembrandt valued at fifteen hundred guilders and a Dou at six hundred. For his inventory, see Bredius, 1:230-39. Montias concluded that in a sample of 362 Amsterdam inventories with paintings the number of Italian works was almost negligible (“Works of Art,” 342); the same is true for Leiden (Fock, “Kunstbezit,” 23); and Goosens found no Italian paintings at all in Haarlem inventories before 1650 (Goosens, 340). About the few collectors of Italian masters, see H. Th. van Veen, “Uitzonderlijke verzamelingen: Italiaanse kunst en klassieke sculptuur in Nederland,” in E. Bergvelt and R. Kistemaker, eds., *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735* (Amsterdam and Zwolle, 1992), 102-16.

63 These were the *Magdalene* by Dou, the *Bathsheba* by Lastman, and the *Preaching of Christ* and “story of Joseph” by a master from Brabant.

The noticeable preference for landscapes and seascapes among the Protestant elite can be deduced from the fact that the percentage share of landscapes and seascapes is significantly higher among Protestants, as well as in "rich" inventories (see esp. Montias, "Works of Art," 334, 337-40; and Goosens, 334, 339-42, 357, 376-78, 393-94).

64 Bugge's date of birth is not known, but from the date of his first marriage in 1638, his second marriage in 1667, and his death in 1669, I assume that he was born sometime between 1600 and 1615.

65 Fock, "Kunstbezit," 7.

66 Her great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather were Leiden magistrates; her father and grandfather were wealthy brewers. On the Van Swieten family, see R. C. J. van Maanen, "De Leidse van Swietens," *Gens Nostra* 32 (1977): 98-112; and 33 (1978): 345-47.

67 The name of his bride was Jennetje Mullax, born in Lingen (Germany). One wonders if she was a domestic servant, many of whom came from the eastern provinces of the Netherlands or from just across the border. Bugge died two years later.

68 His houses are no longer extant. The house on the Steenschuur was destroyed in 1807 by the infamous explosion of a ship with gunpowder lying in the canal of the Steenschuur, which ruined a whole neighborhood. Bugge's house once stood within the precincts of what is now the Van der Werff park; the house was the third from the intersection with the Douzastraat (then Koepoortstraat); the houses to either side were also owned by Bugge.

69 See M. R. Prak, "Aanzienlijke huizen, aanzienlijke bewoners, het Rapenburg ten tijde van de Republiek," in Lunsingh Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Rapenburg*, 3(1990):30-31; and Fock, "Kunstbezit," 7.

70 Montias found one Amsterdam inventory (1662) in which sizes are recorded, sometimes with the description "large" or "small" (Loughman and Montias, 114-15). A landscape described as "large" was 54 inches wide, a "large" painting with a horseman approximately 66 inches, a "small" landscape about 19 inches, and a "very small" landscape about 12 inches.

71 Compare C. Willemijn Fock's essay in this catalog, which details the extent to which painters distorted elements of interior decoration in their efforts to present a balanced room. Also see Loughman and Montias, 108-19.

72 Montias found one inventory that gives detailed information about the location of pictures on the wall and shows that the paintings

were hung in two tiers. It concerns a quite modest inventory of 1639, however, with thirty-one paintings distributed over four rooms (Loughman and Montias, 41-42, 138-40).

73 See, for example, Loughman and Montias, fig. 60 (Adriaan de Lelie, *Art Gallery of Jan Gildemeester*); and Grijzenhout and Van Veen, fig. 8 (Johannes Janson, *Paulus van Spijk and His Wife*).

74 The Antwerp genre known as "picture gallery paintings," which usually show imaginary collections, developed in a self-conscious environment of collectors and artists interested in raising the intellectual and social standing of the visual arts (see Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp* [Princeton, 1987], esp. chap. 7).

75 Amsterdam inventories, for example, often included paintings by Joos de Momper, who was represented in Bugge's inventory along with the other late-sixteenth-century landscape painters Gillis Mostaert and Cornelis Molenaer (Montias, "Works of Art," 345, 347, 364).

76 For the collection of the *stadhouder* Frederik Hendrik, see P. van der Ploeg and C. Vermeeren, *Vorstelijk verzameld: De kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia* (The Hague and Zwolle, 1997). For the complete inventories, see S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken* (The Hague, 1974), vol. 1.

77 In two cases paintings were described as by "a good master of Brabant." Bugge clearly recognized the origins and quality of these works but did not know enough to be able to identify the maker(s).

78 This identification confirms Bugge's intimate knowledge: he names the copyist as "the young Heda," that is Gerrit, to distinguish him from his more famous father, Willem Claesz Heda. The Van Ostade could be either the Haarlem painter Adriaen or his brother Isaac; given the subject, Adriaen is a bit more likely.

79 This painting is described as "a man counting money by candlelight." The other copies were after Teniers (already mentioned), after the sixteenth-century painters Pieter Aertsen (a characteristic kitchen piece) and Maerten van Heemskerck ("Christ with the Cross"), and after Raphael's famous *Pentecost*.

80 For instance: "a large piece being a Christmas night as they say by Tall Peter [Lange Pier = Pieter Aertsen]" and "a *rommelpot* [folk instrument] player by Brouwer as they say."

81 For the Steen, see below, note 106; the Dou, note 111.

82 Half a century later, Bernard Mandeville commented on the pricing of art and mentioned "the Time of his Age he [the artist] drew [the painting] in" as one of the criteria for the value of the work of a famous master (Neil De Marchi and Hans Van Miegroet, "Art, Value, and Market Practices in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 76 [1994]: 454).

83 These were a *St. Gregory* by Anthonie Blocklant, the already mentioned *Carrying of the Cross* copied after Van Heemskerck, a *Noli Me Tangere* and a *Descent from the Cross* by Lucas Cornelisz Kunst, and a painting by Jan Gossaert, also known as Mabuse.

84 The subjects were: St. Boniface, St. Claire, St. Francis, and the Jesuit Franciscus Borgia (who was canonized in the seventeenth century), all by Van Brekelenkam; the *Carrying of the Cross* (Van de Venne); an *Annunciation* (De Keijser); and "Our Lady in a lily" (Fabritius). Also, among other paintings, a *Magdalene* by Willem Strijcker, "a dying Xaverius" by Cornelis van Rijnsburgh, and "a large piece with the freeing of Joseph by Master Claes."

85 For examples of comparable situations, see G. M. C. Pastoor, "Bijbelse historiestukken in particulier bezit," in C. Tümpel et al., *Het Oude Testament in de schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam, Jerusalem, and Zwolle, 1991), 123-24; and Loughman, 54-55.

86 Bugge's *voorhuis* had a landscape by Esaias van den Velde, a landscape with Venus and Adonis by Moyses van Uytenbroeck, a smoker by Teniers, and a picture of the generic buffoon Pickleherring by Frans Hals. Maps were frequent decorative elements in the *voorhuis*; see cat. 46, 56 and the essay in this catalog by C. Willemijn Fock, p. 85.

87 Like many writers after him, Bugge clearly was confused about the first names of the burgo-master-painter Isaac Claesz van Swanenburgh and his son Jacob Isaacs van Swanenburgh, the first master of Rembrandt. In Bugge's inventory the first is called "burgomaster Swanenburgh" (the Good Samaritan) or "burgomaster Claes Swanenburgh" (the Marcus Curtius and the copy after Frans Floris); two paintings with subjects that can only be by Jacob are described as being by Isaac van Swanenburgh ("a large piece of hell & the ship of Charon" [fig. 165] and "a large oblong piece being a battle"). See R. E. O. Ekkart, *Isaac Claesz. van Swanenburg, 1537-1614. Leids schilder en burgemeester* (Zwolle, 1998), 26.

88 The inventory lists "Aristotelus and Democritus," but given the great currency of the subject of Heraclitus and Democritus in

seventeenth-century Dutch painting we may assume that Bugge misspoke or that he was misheard by the inventory scribe. On this subject in Dutch painting, see Albert Blankert, "Heraclitus en Democritus, in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 18 (1967): 31-124.

89 For the description, see above note 87.

90 Described as "four small pieces with horsemen and horses riding with his majesty prince Frederick to Scheveningen by Master Jan van de Velde."

91 Loughman and Montias, 46-47; Fock concluded that the number of portraits of the House of Orange dropped dramatically in Leiden inventories after 1660 (Fock, "Kunstbezit," 18).

92 The attributions for the other paintings in this room are very promising: a *Pan and Syrinx* by Moyses van Uytenbroeck; various landscapes by the excellent Dutch and Flemish masters Pieter Molijn, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, David Vinckboons, and Joos de Momper; genre paintings by Jan Miense Molenaer and Van Brekelenkam; and still-life pictures by the somewhat less well-known Pieter de Ring and Cornelis Lelienbergh.

93 The inventory of the library lists no specific books, but it does group the works in categories (theology, jurisprudence, and literature).

94 See the essay by Willemijn Fock in this catalog.

95 Religious paintings were by Lastman, Jan Pynas (two), De Keijser, Van Uytenbroeck, and Josse van Cleve, among others. For the mythological paintings, see below, note 110.

96 Nowadays no works can be attributed with certainty to the sixteenth-century landscape painter Cornelis Molenaer, always called by his nickname, "cross-eyed Neel" (Schele Neel), about whom Van Mander speaks with admiration. We often come across his works, mostly landscapes, in inventories from the seventeenth century; in 1657 the art dealer Johannes de Renialme (see note 62 above), like Bugge, had "a peasant kermis," which was estimated at the amazingly high sum of four hundred guilders (by way of comparison, works of his seventeenth-century namesake Jan Miense Molenaer, who was represented in Bugge's holdings by three peasant paintings, were generally estimated between ten and twenty-five guilders; see Goosens, 289).

97 "A large landscape by Jan van Goijen being an inn with a coach and hunters done in the year 1627." To my regret, I do not know of a Van Goyen of 1627 that fits this description.

98 "A piece with flowers by van der Spelt and a little curtain with it by Mieris." In 1988, I identified this painting as the *Flower Garland with Curtain* signed only by Van der Spelt in the Art Institute of Chicago; the spectacular curtain on this work is without any doubt from the hand of Frans van Mieris (Sluijter et al., 40 and fig. 11).

99 Huygens (ed. Heesakkers), 81.

100 Among the older works were family portraits by De Grebber and Bloemaert (which are not specified, but it should be noted that both the De Grebber and the Bloemaert families were Catholic). A portrait by De Pape of Bugge's brother-in-law, the lawyer Cornelis van Swieten, hung in the inner kitchen. The upstairs room with family portraits also contained two small peasant paintings by Steen and a nursing mother by Van Brekelenkam.

101 Fock, "Kunstbezit," 24; and Goosens, 358-59.

102 In Amsterdam inventories, Montias found only one out of the seventy-two kitchen pieces mentioned hanging in kitchens (Loughman and Montias, 42). In Leiden and Haarlem this does occur quite often, however, especially in the first half of the century (Fock, "Kunstbezit," 26-27; and Goosens, 359).

103 Among them "a lady giving money to the maid" (fig. 169 in this essay), "two women," "a young man and a young woman," "a reading woman," "a nursing woman," "a female seller of apples and pears," "a man cleaning fish," "a miser by candlelight," "an astrologer," and "a hermit."

104 There were also "a naked woman," several saints (see above, notes 83 and 84), a portrait of Bugge and his son, a portrait of Willem Ouwelant (a grandfather of Bugge's wife), and "two copies of counterfeitings of the old Bugge and his wife," undoubtedly Bugge's parents.

105 No authentic paintings of a scholar in his study by Rembrandt are known today. Since we know several works with this subject from his studio (see A. Bredius, *Rembrandt: The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, rev. H. Gerson [London 1969], nos. 425-27, 429-32) and since his first pupil, Gerrit Dou, painted it quite often early in his career, early Rembrandt works with this theme undoubtedly existed. The closest is his 1627 candlelight scene with an old miser (Parable of the Old Fool?) surrounded by piles of books (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie).

106 Of Steen's paintings of Twelfth Night, the one in Boston dated 1662 is the only one of large size that was painted before 1667 (Westermann, 64). The other paintings were: "two of peasants

playing," "a piece being tric-trac players by Jan Steen in his youth," "a tavern," "a peasant kermis with a strumpet and an old man playing tric-trac."

107 Westermann, 64-65, 148-49.

108 Ibid. and A. A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, *Het driekoningenfeest: De uitbeelding van een populair thema in de beeldende kunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1997), 65-67.

109 For percentages of the different genres in Leiden inventories, see Fock, "Kunstbezit," 18-23.

110 By Van Uytenbroeck, "a nude with the idol Pan" (undoubtedly Pan and Syrinx) and "a small piece with Venus and Adonis"; "two small copper ovals being Adonis and Actaeon by Master Verwilt" and "a Chesamis with his dead wife by Vertangen" (this must be Cephalus and Procris). From Roman history there was an *Antony and Cleopatra* by Dirck Bleecker.

111 For instance, "a large piece in which Abraham and the angels" by Anthonie Blocklant might be a quite valuable work. Of the seventeenth-century religious works, the two paintings by Thomas de Keijser ("an Annunciation in a gilded frame" and "Christ and the two murderers on the Cross") were probably quite expensive. Of the secular paintings, "a vanitas or little boy blowing bubbles" by Govert Flink should be mentioned in this context, as well as the two large paintings by Van Honthorst. The only paintings by Dou that Bugge had ("a *tronie* of an old woman" and "a small counterfeit of a young man done by Dou in his youth") were probably not of the very expensive kind.

112 Of the five paintings by Van Brekelenkam owned by Pieter de Grient (1657), the most expensive was valued at twelve guilders, the others at six to ten guilders! See Sluijter et al., 41.

113 See, for instance, Montias, "Works of Art," 338-39; Loughman, 53-58; and Goosens, 370-78.

114 Montias observed in his sample of Amsterdam inventories a steady decline from the 1630s to the 1670s in the percentage share of contemporary masters and a precipitous decline in this percentage during the 1680s ("Works of Art," 343).

115 De Vries, "Art History," 264.

116 Houbraken, 2:132.

117 For the consistent variety of genres and the mixing of those genres in all rooms of the house, see the calculations of Montias in Loughman and Montias, 60-69. He concludes that "the most salient aspect of the distribution of paintings by subject was the frequency with which different subjects were mixed irrespective of rooms."