

NEW RESEARCH

FERDINAND

GOVERT

Bol and Flinkck

W BOOKS



FERDINAND BOL (1616-1680)

Ferdinand Bol, born in 1616, was one of several artists from the city of Dordrecht who found their way to Rembrandt's workshop in Amsterdam, where Bol moved in 1636 after completing an apprenticeship with Benjamin Gerritsz Cuyp. Bol's independent career as a painter specializing in history paintings and portraits began in 1640 but really took off in the 1650s, when an advantageous marriage brought him into contact with a network of patrons that included Amsterdam regents and members of the Admiralty. Like Flinck, Bol participated in the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall, the centrepiece of the city's power and authority and the most prestigious artistic commission of the 1650s. Bol died in 1680, but it appears he stopped painting after his second marriage in 1669. In addition to paintings and drawings, Bol is the only known Rembrandt student who produced a substantial number of etchings.



GOVERT FLINCK (1615-1660)

Govert Flinck was born into a Mennonite family in Cleves in 1615. Around 1630 he moved to Leeuwarden to study with the painter, art dealer, and Mennonite preacher Lambert Jacobsz. In about 1633-1634, Flinck moved to Amsterdam, where he joined the workshop run by Jacobsz's business partner, Hendrick Uylenburgh. There he encountered Rembrandt van Rijn, from whom he took over as Uylenburgh's *chef d'atelier* in 1635. Flinck produced history paintings, portraits, and character studies as well as the occasional landscape. Praised by authors such as Joost van den Vondel and Joachim von Sandrart, his work was purchased by elite patrons not only in Amsterdam, but also at the courts of Orange and Brandenburg. Since his own time, Flinck has been both admired and criticised as an early proponent of the 'clear' style that replaced Rembrandt's earthy impasto and dramatic chiaroscuro with a smoother touch and brighter palette. Flinck was at the height of his fame when he died in 1660 at the age of only forty-five.

FERDINAND

GOVERT

Bol and Flinck

NEW RESEARCH

EDITED BY STEPHANIE S. DICKEY

WITH ESSAYS BY: ANN JENSEN ADAMS, SASKIA BERANEK, RUTH BUBB, MILOU GOVERDE AND ROBERT WENLEY,
ELLEN KEPPENS AND JILL KEPPENS, FRANS GRIJZENHOUT AND ERNA KOK, JASPER HILLEGERS, JUSTUS LANGE,
PATRICK LARSEN, HILBERT LOOTSMA, TOM VAN DER MOLEN, FLAMINIA RUKAVINA, MARIKA SPRING,
NELLY VON ADERKAS AND DAVID PEGGIE, ILONA SCHWÄGERL, ERIC JAN SLUIJTER, ILONA VAN TUINEN

 W BOOKS

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Introduction	6
Rising stars in Rembrandt's Amsterdam	
STEPHANIE S. DICKEY	
Style in Context	
1. On diverging styles, different functions, and fame: Govert Flinck, Ferdinand Bol, and Rembrandt as history painters	20
ERIC JAN SLUIJTER	
2. The Lambert years: Govert Flinck in Leeuwarden, ca. 1629–ca. 1633	44
JASPER HILLEGERS	
3. Govert Flinck and the Houses of Orange and Brandenburg: networks and influence	66
SASKIA BERANEK	
Dramatic Arts	
4. Painted theatre: Flinck, Rembrandt, and other artists paint Vondel's Joseph trilogy	82
TOM VAN DER MOLEN	
5. The tragic gaze: Ferdinand Bol, <i>The Death of Dido</i> , and late seventeenth-century theatre	98
ILONA VAN TUINEN	
Identities Recovered	
6. A rare case of evidence: Ferdinand Bol's <i>Portrait of an Eight-year-old Boy</i> (1652) identified	114
FRANS GRIJZENHOUT AND ERNA E. KOK	
7. Finding an identity: Govert Flinck's <i>Portrait of a Boy</i> (1640) in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham	132
MILOU GOVERDE AND ROBERT WENLEY	

Technical Treatments

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 8. | Technical examination of Govert Flinck's
<i>Portrait of a Boy</i> (1640) in Birmingham
RUTH BUBB | 140 |
| 9. | Technical examination of Govert Flinck's
<i>Double Portrait of a Married Couple</i> (1646) in Karlsruhe
ILONA SCHWÄGERL | 154 |
| 10. | Technical analysis and conservation of Ferdinand Bol's
<i>An Astronomer</i> (1652) in London
FLAMINIA RUKAVINA, MARIKA SPRING, NELLY VON ADERKAS, AND DAVID PEGGIE | 160 |
| 11. | Ferdinand Bol's painting technique in <i>Portrait of Jan van der Voort
and his Sister Catharina with a Servant</i> (1661) in Antwerp
ELLEN KEPPENS AND JILL KEPPENS | 168 |

Legacy and Reception

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 12. | The relationship between Govert Flinck and Jürgen Ovens
PATRICK LARSEN | 180 |
| 13. | Cornelis Bisschop in Dordrecht: between
Ferdinand Bol and Nicolaes Maes
JUSTUS LANGE | 204 |
| 14. | From stars to satellites: the reputation of Govert Flinck
and Ferdinand Bol from their time to ours
HILBERT LOOTSMA | 218 |
| 15. | Hiding in plain sight: textual insights into market analysis
and attribution of portraits by Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol
ANN JENSEN ADAMS | 236 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY	253
INDEX	272
PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS	278
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	279
COLOPHON	280

Acknowledgements

The exhibition *Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck: Rembrandt's Master Pupils* at Museum Het Rembrandthuis and the Amsterdam Museum presents an extraordinary opportunity to celebrate the achievements of two artists whose stature in seventeenth-century Amsterdam came to rival that of their famous master, Rembrandt van Rijn. Queen's University (Kingston, Canada), as a leading centre for the study of Dutch art, has been proud to lend support to this important initiative. On 16-19 July 2015, our Bader International Study Centre at Herstmonceux Castle, East Sussex, UK, hosted a conference, *Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol: Rising Stars in Rembrandt's Amsterdam*, that brought together academic art historians, museum professionals, and conservation scientists from Europe and North America to explore the work of Flinck and Bol from diverse methodological perspectives. Many of the chapters in this book were developed from papers presented at Herstmonceux.

The conference and this publication were made possible by support from Queen's University, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and especially from Drs. Alfred and Isabel Bader. It was Alfred Bader's vision to create a conference series that would bring new attention to artists in Rembrandt's circle, and his intellectual and philanthropic support have brought this book to fruition. Thanks to the Baders' commitment to Queen's (Alfred Bader's alma mater), the Agnes Etherington Art Centre on our Kingston campus is home to The Bader Collection, with over two hundred European paintings, and the curriculum at Queen's fosters the study of Rembrandt and his contemporaries through classes, colloquia, exhibitions, and research initiatives.

As editor of this volume, I am indebted to many people who have shared their time and expertise. First, of course, are the authors of our fifteen chapters, whose discoveries offer fresh insights into the art and cultural context of Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol. Sincere thanks to Patrick Larsen for his generous help in preparing the text. Behind the scenes, many other conference participants have contributed through continuing scholarly exchange. Matthew Hayes, Jennifer Kilian and Katy Kist produced elegant translations. Johan de Bruijn at WBOOKS supervised production with patience and care, with a lively design by Marinka Reuten. David de Witt at Museum Het Rembrandthuis and Tom van der Molen and Norbert Middelkoop at the Amsterdam Museum collaborated in organizing the conference and selecting papers for this volume. Their help and advice have been essential throughout the process of creating this book as a complement to their engaging exhibition catalogue. We are delighted to present this volume as the product of an on-going, international conversation about Rembrandt, Bol, Flinck, and the many talented artists who surrounded them.

Stephanie S. Dickey
Professor of Art History and Bader Chair in Northern Baroque Art
Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada



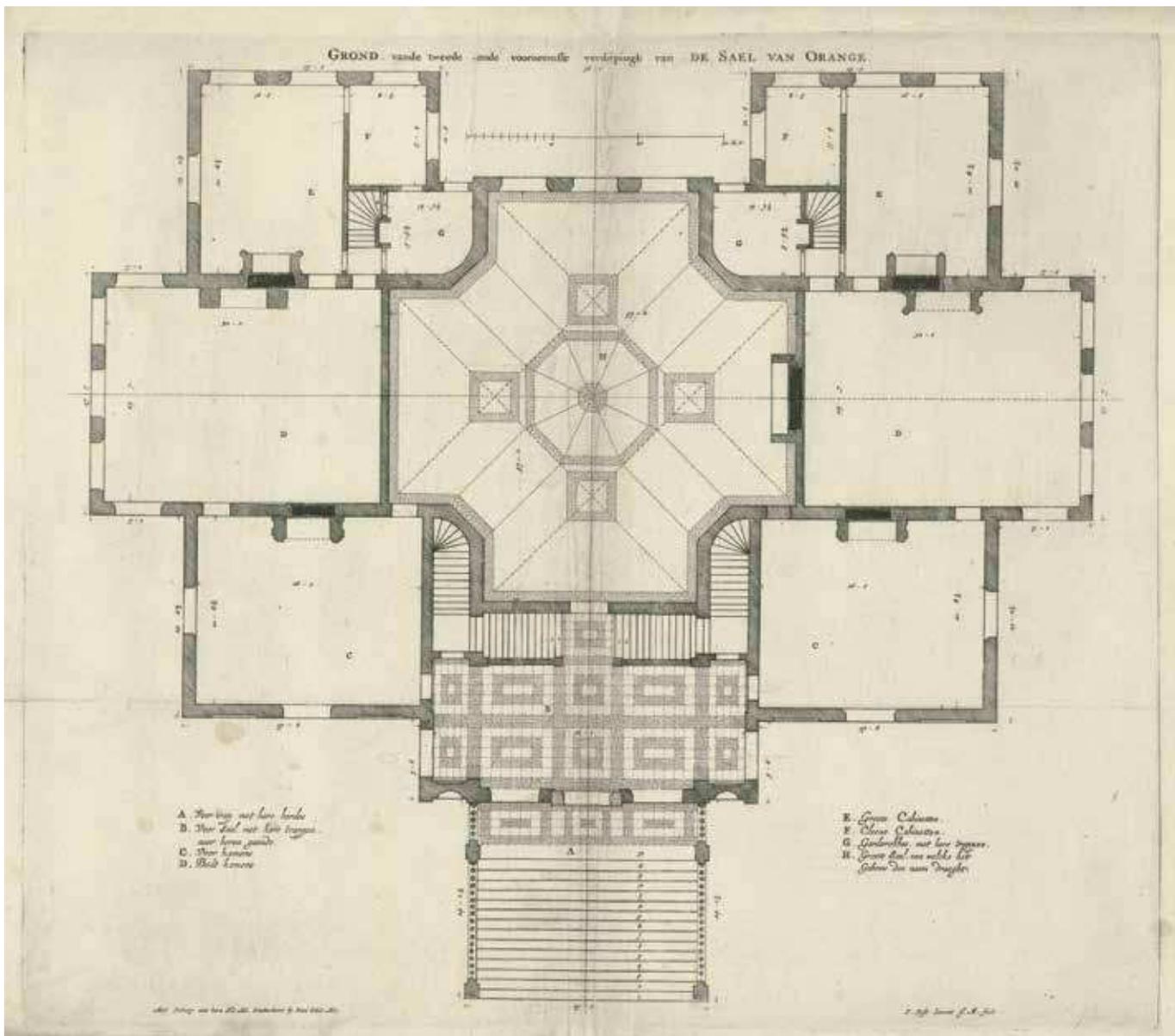
31. GOVERT FLINCK
*Allegory on the Memory
of Frederik Hendrik*, 1654,
canvas, 307 x 189 cm,
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,
inv.nr. SK-A-869, on loan
to The Hague, Mauritshuis
(Prince William V Gallery)

Govert Flinck and the Houses of Orange and Brandenburg: networks and influence

SASKIA BERANEK

Govert Flinck's *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik* (fig. 3.1), commissioned in the early 1650s by Amalia van Solms, Princess of Orange, is a significant work in terms of both the trajectory of Flinck's career and Orange patronage strategies.¹ Yet how and why Flinck was selected for this commission has never been addressed, nor has the iconography been fully explained. In recent years, significant scholarly attention has been paid to the patronage networks of the artist. Erna Kok has examined how Flinck made use of his networks to advance his career, identifying his particular adeptness at exploiting social connections as a significant component of his success.² That Flinck would seek princely patronage as a means to expand this network and advance his career is unsurprising; the Prince and Princess of Orange were the closest local parallel to the royal and papal patronage that drove the arts across Europe. What is less clear is why the House of Orange would have selected an Amsterdam-based artist such as Flinck.

Shifting the narrative to address what was at stake for the patron presents an important counterfoil to the dominant focus on the artist's own activities and agendas. The *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik* is a large painting that does not fit comfortably into existing genre classifications. Part allegory, part portrait, it is one of the last significant documentable artistic commissions awarded by the Princess of Orange. As such, it presents a range of issues, including the peculiar choice of artist, the iconography of the painting itself, and the role it played in the site in which it was to be installed. As I will argue here, it stood as a marker of the relationship between the House of Orange and the House of Brandenburg. Shared patronage of artists makes alliances between patrons visible, both to historians and to the patrons themselves. For scholars, the unexpected presence of a painting by Govert Flinck in the collections of the House of Orange adds further nuance to any understanding of how social and political networks may have functioned. For the patrons themselves, shared patronage could even have



3.2. [JAN MATTYSZ AFTER PIETER POST](#) *Ground Plan of Huis ten Bosch with the Oranjezaal at the Center*, 1655, etching, 345 x 396 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.nr. RP-P-AO-12-96-4. Room at top left: Cabinet of Amalia van Solms, where Flinck's painting (fig. 3.1) was displayed

strengthened social bonds, much the way portrait exchange and display did.

The House of Orange only commissioned a very small number of works from Flinck. Arnold Houbraken does not mention the House of Orange in the substantial biography of Flinck in his *Groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (1718-1721). The standard catalogue raisonné by J.W. von Moltke includes only two paintings commissioned by the Oranges: *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik* and a now-lost portrait of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia's children.³ The latter painting presents a range of problems, not the least of which is that it no longer exists in any meaningful way: it was painted over by the forger Han van Meegeren in the mid-twentieth century in the process of his creation of a 'Vermeer' *Last*

Supper.⁴ A photograph of the painting before Van Meegeren's repurposing of the canvas shows a group of children in a carriage drawn by a goat similar to a group portrait by Ferdinand Bol now in the Louvre, Paris.⁵ By contrast, as the only surviving painting by Flinck known to come from the Orange collections, *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik* is well-documented and intact, despite some damage and overpainting in the lower right-hand section.

The painting was commissioned in the early 1650s by Amalia van Solms and installed on the west wall of her cabinet, located within her apartment at the palace Huis ten Bosch outside of The Hague (fig. 3.2). The installation of the painting in 1654 marks the end of a particularly rich period of artistic patronage for the House of Orange. For more than twenty years, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia built and renovated palaces and gardens while amassing a significant painting collection.⁶ The collection was later partially dispersed, and most of the palaces either no longer exist or have been extensively altered; the collection of furniture and decorative objects has been erased almost entirely.⁷ Fortunately, the collection was well-documented in inventories, making it possible to reconstruct many decorative ensembles.⁸ In the case of Flinck's canvas and its display, the sources are extensive: Huis ten Bosch, built during the late 1640s partially as a memorial to the then-deceased Prince, was documented by its architect Pieter Post in a series of plans and elevations published in 1655.⁹ Together with a series of surviving inventories, the plans allowed Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer to reconstruct the visual and architectural environment into which Flinck's painting would have been inserted and within which it must be understood.¹⁰ This reconstruction is an essential foundation from which additional issues regarding patronage and symbolism can be further explored.

In Flinck's painting, the dowager princess of Orange sits in the foreground reading a book – ostensibly one that celebrates the feats of her deceased husband. Peter van der Ploeg identified it as an encomium to Prince Frederik Hendrik written by Isaac Commelin in 1652.¹¹ Behind Amalia rises a cenotaph for the prince, celebrating him as the stadtholder and military leader who had been instrumental in securing Dutch independence from Spain. His effigy is accompanied by female allegorical figures holding a sword and scales, representing Justice and Fortitude. The monument as represented is a fiction, but the symbolism, the architectural forms, the columns, and the pose of the portrait sculpture all evoke, while not directly imitating, the cenotaph of Willem the Silent in nearby Delft.¹² In the middle distance lies a funeral bier, referencing Amalia's son Willem II, who died of smallpox in 1650, but other background elements offer renewed hope. A phoenix rises from ashes on an altar – a symbol often associated with Amalia's grandson, Willem III.¹³ The clouds are breaking, shining light on Amalia – light that would have been enhanced by the real light entering Amalia's cabinet from windows to the south. An angelic figure arrives to point heavenward while an allegory of Hope, closely modeled on the descriptions in Ripa's *Iconologia* and identifiable by her anchor, hands Amalia a blossoming sprig of orange, clearly alluding to Willem III as the new branch on the family tree.¹⁴

Traditional interpretations have focused on how the vigilant, mourning widow witnesses a new dawn for the Orange dynasty after several years of disadvantageous political and personal developments. Following the deaths of both Frederik Hendrik in 1647 and Willem II in 1650, the States General opted in 1651 to stop appointing stadtholders, ushering in the First

Stadtholderless Period. This was a disaster for Amalia, who had spent most of her life working to advance the standing of her family by negotiating advantageous marriages for her children; in this regard, her great triumph was the marriage between her son, Willem II, and Mary Stuart, Princess Royal of England. Following decades of increasing status, the early 1650s saw her grandson, the infant Willem III, shut out of the position held by his father and grandfather before him, jeopardizing any future political influence for the House of Orange. Pieter van der Ploeg positions Flinck's painting at a moment of transition, as it was installed in the same year that the outlook began to improve for the House of Orange as a result of a series of political maneuvers that restored some aspects of the stadtholdership to the infant Willem III. Van der Ploeg interprets the optimistic tone embodied by the phoenix, the breaking clouds, and the figure of Hope as a reflection of the fact that the States of Overijssel voted to restore Willem III to the stadtholdership in 1653, thereby restoring some hope to the House of Orange for a more prominent role in the future of the Dutch Republic.¹⁵

It is important to note, however, that within a year, the decision of the States of Overijssel was repealed,¹⁶ rendering the optimistic interpretation of the painting somewhat unsatisfying particularly since the painting was most likely in progress at the time. It was also in the first half of 1654 that Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt negotiated the secret Act of Exclusion, effectively ending the First Anglo-Dutch War by guaranteeing that no Prince of Orange could hold the Office of Stadtholder.¹⁷ It may not have seemed inevitable at the time of the commission that Orange would regain its previous significance. To link the optimistic interpretation of this painting directly to the specific historical events of 1654 is both to overlook the uncertainty of the moment and to place undue emphasis on events about which the patron may have been unaware at the time of commission. Additionally, though the painting is dated 1654, no documents survive to clarify the precise timeline of conception and commission.¹⁸ It is impossible to say at which moment in the rapidly shifting political climate the compositional elements were all agreed upon. A more flexible interpretation provides more satisfying results: the painting can be read as a statement of optimism in the face of adversity and hope for a possible (if unlikely) future. It does not necessarily commemorate a renewal of Orange power that has already occurred, but is instead a dynamic, forward-thinking tribute to both Frederik Hendrik and his widow that actively generates optimism in a moment of great uncertainty.

If the book Amalia is reading is indeed Commelin's 1652 text on Frederik Hendrik, the specific composition of Flinck's canvas must have been planned between 1652 and 1654. The cabinet as a whole has a longer history. Though Pieter Post's plans of the palace were not published until 1655, the building itself was begun in 1645 and Post had received a privilege for publishing engravings of the plans in 1649.¹⁹ These designs, together with surviving inventories, form the basis for the reconstruction of the interior.²⁰ Post's plans show two five-room apartments flanking the central Oranjezaal, each intended for a single resident. The organization of elite residential space into apartments was common across Europe.²¹ Social protocols were closely linked to where in the apartment any encounter took place. Amalia's cabinet, as a room situated beyond the state bedroom, was a site of privileged access and therefore could also be a particularly potent site for decorative cycles.



3.3. DANIEL SEGHERS AND THOMAS WILLEBOIRTS BOSSCHAERT *Garland of Flowers with a Sculpture of the Virgin Mary*, 1645, canvas, 151 x 122.7 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv.nr. 256



3.4. THOMAS WILLEBOIRTS BOSSCHAERT *The Annunciation*, ca. 1645-1647, canvas, 221 x 191 cm, Dessau-Mosigkau, Museum Schloss Mosigkau, inv.nr. 145. © Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz, Bildarchiv, Heinz Fräßdorf

Because of the privileged position of such a room, the decorative decisions about Amalia's cabinet at Huis ten Bosch would have been of particular concern to the Princess. The ensemble seems to have been assembled in fits and starts, perhaps beginning as early as 1645. Two other large paintings included in this scheme were *Garland of Flowers with a Sculpture of the Virgin Mary* by Daniel Seghers and Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, now in the Mauritshuis (fig. 3.3), and *The Annunciation*, also by Willeboirts Bosschaert, now in Dessau (fig. 3.4).²² Both of these paintings were already in the possession of the House of Orange before the death of Frederik Hendrik in 1647.²³ Thus, their content was not designed with this room in mind, but that does not preclude the possibility that they served an inspirational function for the occupant and primary viewer, Amalia van Solms herself. Furthermore, Flinck may well have taken them into account when crafting his composition. The figure of Hope in Flinck's painting is usually seen as one means by which the canvas was integrated with the other paintings in the room: these included six allegories of other virtues (charity, faith, prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude), though it is not known when these were commissioned or installed.²⁴ The formal relationships between the extant paintings have never been fully addressed.



3.5. ANONYMOUS *Waerheyt (Verità)*, woodcut, in: D.P. Pers, *Iconologia of uytbeeldingen des Verstands*, 1644, p. 589

Garland of Flowers with a Sculpture of the Virgin Mary would have been given pride of place above the fireplace on the north wall, while Willeboirts Bosschaert's *Annunciation* and Flinck's *Allegory* faced each other on the east and west walls, respectively. Jacob van Campen, in coordinating the decoration of the Oranjezaal at the center of the building, had sent each painter detailed instructions on the composition and lighting of the canvas he was expected to produce.²⁵ Similarly, for Amalia's cabinet, Flinck must have been presented with a precise idea of what he was to paint and how it was to be integrated both into a larger scheme and into a specific site of display. Formal resonances between the two compositions abound: both Amalia and Mary are positioned on what would have been the northern side of the canvases and both are aligned with massive, classicizing architectural features while their angelic messengers arrive from the south. Even Flinck's decision to present Amalia being interrupted at her reading mimics Marian imagery. Putti tumble across skies of dark clouds broken by raking golden rays, and the direction of the rays in both compositions reflects the location of the window on the south wall of the room. The parallels drawn between the two mothers are unmistakable, as is the promise of redemption in the form of the generation to come.

A central component of Flinck's composition not related to Willeboirts Bosschaert is the figure who occupies the center of the painting, a woman wearing a helmet ringed in laurel. She supports the book Amalia is reading and carries a palm frond. Various identifications have been proposed.²⁶ In 1767, Jan van Dyk identified her as Pallas (Athena), but since he also erroneously claimed this was a portrait of Louise de Coligny, his suggestion must be approached with caution.²⁷ Recently, Elmer Kolfin called her *Historia*, presumably identifying the object in her hand as a pen rather than a palm.²⁸ However, given that this figure holds a palm in one hand and supports a book with the other, reference to Ripa shows that she should be identified as Truth (fig. 3.5).²⁹ The book therefore functions as an attribute for her as well as Amalia. Interpreting the figure as Truth adds a layer of nuance to the iconography of the painting even in isolation from the larger site of display: Hope and Truth visit the vigilant Amalia and join the figures of Justice and Constancy on the tomb behind her. They are her closest companions as she ponders the future of the House of Orange. By associating Amalia with traits such as these, the painting emphasizes her role in not merely witnessing but also creating a brighter future for the House of Orange.



36. GERARD VAN HONTHORST *Portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, with his Wife Louise Henriette of Orange-Nassau*, 1647, canvas, 302 × 194.3 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.nr. SK-A-873



38. GERARD VAN HONTHORST *Portrait of Willem II, Prince of Orange, and his Wife Mary Stuart*, 1647, canvas, 302 cm × 194.3 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.nr. SK-A-871

The prestige and influence of the House of Orange had declined, but Amalia's watchfulness and the phoenix in the distance suggest eventual vindication. Nor would this be the first time that Truth was represented in the company of a widow looking to leverage allegorical painting to preserve her own role in national politics: Rubens used the figure of Truth in the conclusion to the Medici cycle at the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris. In *The Triumph of Truth*, Truth prevails, Marie de' Medici is reconciled with her son, and dynastic unity is restored.³⁰ Though the specific iconography, composition, and historical specifics differ substantially, the themes of both paintings present striking parallels.

Parallel too are the sites of display: Amalia's cabinet, like Marie de Medici's gallery, lay beyond a divide created by the state bedroom, indicating that it was a space into which only the most intimate associates would be invited.³¹ Flinck's allegory and the rest of the decorative cycle would have had an extremely small and controlled audience. In this context, the painting

not only modeled Christian values that established visual and thematic connections between Amalia and the Virgin Mary but also generated a specific, optimistic narrative for the eyes of the patron's closest allies. It emphasized the role of the widow as an active agent of continuation and memory. It is not, as the current title implies, merely a retrospective allegory mourning and celebrating Frederik Hendrik, but also a forward-looking commentary on the role of memory in constructing a glorious future – a true allegory of hope.

The themes of dynastic unity and Amalia's role in its perpetuation embedded in Flinck's allegory are reinforced for broader audiences throughout the palace. A distinctive element – and indeed, the most famous aspect of Huis ten Bosch – is the visual and thematic unity of the cycle of paintings occupying the central Oranjezaal, where a series of canvases documents the triumphs not just of Frederik Hendrik, but of the Orange dynasty.³² Despite the cycle's focus on the deeds of Amalia's husband, it is her portrait that was located at the apex of the Oranjezaal dome, staking her claim to significance.³³ What scholars have been slower to address are the ways in which thematic unity extends throughout the house, uniting spaces for different audiences into a coherent whole. The cabinets of the apartments that flank the central hall reverberate with the same theme. The west cabinet contained a large cycle of family portraits by Gerard van Honthorst representing the prince, princess, and their three youngest daughters, with their married children appearing on separate canvases alongside their spouses (fig. 3.6-3.8).³⁴ These three canvases were a coherent ensemble: they were all the same height and the subjects of the three paintings occupied the same pictorial space. The paintings took up a significant percentage of available wall space in the west cabinet, in effect converting the corner room into an apparent illusion of a loggia overlooking the gardens. Though this creates a collective family portrait, Amalia, as patron, forms the central axis around which the rest of the family is arranged. In the group portrait (fig. 3.6), the placements of her husband, off center and slightly behind a table, and her daughters, acting as a sort of visual funnel, emphasize her central location in the composition, and by extension, the significance of the mother (and, later, the widowed matriarch) as the heart of the family. The theme of dynastic identity – and Amalia's central role in it – is repeated in the east cabinet in Amalia's own apartment where Flinck's canvas was installed.

Though the installations of portraits of Amalia throughout her palace all emphasize the same theme, Flinck's contribution stands out. Though Amalia's art patronage is often challenging to isolate due to the loss of much of her household archive, studying the Orange collection and the inventories of Amalia's chambers at multiple palaces reveals trends in the paintings displayed within her residential spaces. The princess was predictable in that she favoured painters who cultivated courtly styles, such as Anthony van Dyck, Gerard van Honthorst, and Cornelis van Poelenburch.³⁵ When it comes to her portrait commissions in particular, she was remarkably consistent. Except for a few notable outliers such as Van Dyck (who visited the court in 1631-1632 and was highly regarded at other courts, not least that of Charles I in England), her portraits were initially produced by the workshop of Michiel van Mierevelt and then in even greater numbers by Honthorst.³⁶ Indeed, with the exception of Flinck's allegory, every portrait of her displayed at Huis ten Bosch was executed by Honthorst.³⁷ The more extensively one examines her patronage practices, the odder the choice of Flinck seems.³⁸



3.7. GERARD VAN HONTHORST *Portrait of Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik with his Wife Amalia van Solms and their Three Youngest Daughters*, ca. 1647, canvas, 267 × 353,5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.nr. SK-A-874

At a moment when tension between the Orange faction and the elite of Amsterdam was high, why did Amalia break with her traditional patterns of behaviour? What did Amalia stand to gain from commissioning a major work from someone who thus far in his career had primarily painted elite citizens of Amsterdam, those who Amalia might have regarded as obstructions in her path to power, if not her outright adversaries? Why did this commission not go to Honthorst? After all, his skill with allegorical portraiture, which was honed at the English royal court, was one of the assets he had brought to the Dutch court and one he had repeatedly put to use in service of the House of Orange.

One factor might have been that Honthorst was no longer fashionable. Even at the time of the painting of the *Oranjezaal*, Constantijn Huygens had remarked on how old-fashioned

Honthorst had become, perhaps limiting his desirability.³⁹ Furthermore, he had moved to Utrecht in 1652; had the princess commanded, he likely could have obliged, but this made the prospect of posing for him less convenient.⁴⁰ If Amalia wanted someone working in a more Rubensian or Van Dyckian mode, she could have turned to any of the other artists who had worked on the Oranjezaal. For instance, she could have selected Willeboirts Bosschaert: she already owned the two paintings by him that were also in the same room and the artist had long had a relationship with the Orange court. Heinrich notes at least thirty paintings by Willeboirts Bosschaert in the Orange collections.⁴¹ However, by 1653 the Flemish painter was in ill health.⁴² It is possible that he was approached to paint the allegory initially, and his long sickness and subsequent death in January 1654 precluded such an outcome. Amalia could also have looked to Theodoor van Thulden, to whom she would later return for designs for an unexecuted allegorical cycle that would have depended heavily on historiated portraits and also took dynastic unity and continuity as its subject.⁴³

Instead, she abandoned her usual cadre of painters and turned to Flinck. Amalia was looking for an artist who would paint with the elegance of Van Dyck, project an international appeal, and produce work to coordinate with the overall décor, all while buttressing her political future. In Flinck, she found an artist whose fluent style tempered the Dutch penchant for naturalism with a new Flemish-inspired elegance.⁴⁴ Though there is no known document about the commission or how Flinck came to acquire it, the answer may lie not in the artist's networks in Amsterdam, but in his established relationship with courts with which Amalia also had personal ties. He was one of a number of artists, including architect Pieter Post and sculptor François Dieussart, who were patronized by a network of nobles linking Amalia van Solms with the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, and with Johan Maurits, Prince of Nassau-Siegen. Artistic patronage was not the only thing these aristocrats shared. For Amalia, the 1650s were dominated by her disagreements with her daughter-in-law Mary Stuart about the nature of her grandson's upbringing, a disagreement which would require the intervention of the States General to settle. In this dispute Amalia was backed by her son-in-law Friedrich Wilhelm. Pieter Geyl has even stated that she was almost totally dependent on his support during this time.⁴⁵ The relationship worked both ways, as the Elector was also in a precarious political position and had few allies. Close and visible alliances were in both of their best interests.⁴⁶

Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, had become a patron of Govert Flinck in the late 1640s.⁴⁷ The relationship began around the same time as Friedrich Wilhelm's marriage to Louise Henriette of Orange-Nassau, the eldest daughter of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms. It marked the second major political alliance cemented through marriage and orchestrated by the prince and princess. Friedrich Wilhelm's preference for Flinck was partly built on a shared sense of local identity, as the painter hailed from Cleves – the seat of Friedrich Wilhelm's power for two years until he relocated to Berlin.⁴⁸ Eric Jan Sluijter has suggested that it was Joan Huydecoper who had initially recommended Flinck to the Elector,⁴⁹ but the Elector actively cultivated the relationship throughout the following decade. The connection was substantial enough that Houbraken even noted that Flinck's rooms were decorated with things given to him by the Elector.⁵⁰ Von Moltke connected Flinck's stylistic choices

3.9. GOVERT FLINCK
*Allegory on the Birth
and Death of Prince
Wilhelm Heinrich III
of Brandenburg*, 1649,
canvas, 115,5 x 82,5 cm,
Potsdam, SPSG, Neues
Palais, inv.nr. GK I 5249



to this patronage, noting that Flinck had altered his style from the techniques he practised while he was affiliated with Rembrandt to a new, more refined manner between 1645 and 1648.⁵¹ This alteration of style coincided with the beginning of the artist's relationship with Friedrich Wilhelm, raising the possibility that the shift could either have made him more appealing to an elite clientele or been motivated by them.

The first dated painting by Flinck for the Elector and his consort Louise Henriette was *Allegory on the Birth and Death of Prince Wilhelm Heinrich III of Brandenburg*, completed in 1649 (fig. 3.9).⁵² It commemorates their firstborn son, who died in 1649 before his second birthday, and represents the short-lived infant in a velvet draped bassinet. He is watched over by five women: Minerva, Fortuna, Venus, Amor, and Juno, while putti swoop through the air carrying his coat of arms. The five women have even sometimes been interpreted as references to the five godmothers of the infant.⁵³ Fame blows her trumpet while Schwanenburg Castle, the princely residence in Cleves, can be seen in the background. Fame also brandishes an orange branch, emphasizing the infant's Orange ancestry and further uniting the two dynasties. The compositional and symbolic strategies at play in this dynastic allegory would be a potent prototype for Flinck's later work for the House of Orange. A survey of the painting collection amassed by the Elector reveals additional paintings by Flinck, including at least one portrait in multiple copies,⁵⁴ a sleeping cupid,⁵⁵ possibly some interior decorations, and a now damaged *Reclining Venus with Cupid*.⁵⁶ All of these paintings date to the early 1650s.

Portrait exchange and display has a long history of reinforcing family and political ties. Another painting by Flinck listed in Amalia's inventories further unites the two dynasties.⁵⁷ According to Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, this painting would have depicted the widowed Maria Magdalena van Limburg Stirum with Amalia's grandson, Karel Emil, the eldest surviving son of Friedrich Wilhelm and Louise Henriette, born in 1655. There are no known extant paintings that fit this description, but if the attribution to Flinck is correct, the painting may have been given to Amalia by either the Elector or Louise Henriette as a memento of her grandson and a visual reinforcement of their political and family ties. Commissioning the same artists and exchanging paintings functioned to cement relationships between courts and make social and political networks visible to a range of viewers.

The fact that Amalia van Solms broke with her patronage patterns to commission works from one of the favourite artists of her closest political ally cannot be overlooked. It suggests that not only was portrait exchange a means by which alliances and family relationships were strengthened and maintained, but also that selecting specific artists could serve a similar function. *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik* thus functions on multiple levels. For those attentive to Flinck's motivations and artistic practices, it demonstrates his newer, more elegant courtly style, his facility with *portraits historié*, and his aspirations to elite patronage and upward social mobility. That he did not receive further Orange patronage is indicative of the pronounced decrease in commissions by the dowager princess after 1655, and not a sign of displeasure with Flinck or his work. The composition demonstrates his ability to adapt to a pre-existing scheme and produce a canvas that harmonized with existing motifs while advancing a new agenda, a skill that would stand him in good stead in securing commissions for the

decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall. Like Jan Lievens (also admired in Brandenburg), Flinck could only benefit in the eyes of the Amsterdam elite from a resumé that included court patronage, and, like most artists of his time, he must have been willing to put lucrative business ahead of politics.

For the scholar of patronage, the painting raises questions about how elites used artistic commissions to make social ties both more concrete and more visible. Amalia's relationship with and dependence on her son-in-law shaped her political decisions, but may also have shaped her artistic ones. One plausible scenario is this: perhaps the princess mentioned to Friedrich Wilhelm that she was having trouble finding the right painter to complete her cabinet. The Elector recommended his new favourite, Govert Flinck. In a bid not only to complete the decoration of her palace but also to flatter her ally, Amalia took his advice and engaged Flinck. The particular commission, which combines allegory and portraiture in an elegant style, was well-suited to Flinck's abilities. Whatever its genesis, the complex circumstances of the Orange family in the 1650s and their connection to the Elector of Brandenburg situate Flinck's painting within a broader network of influence and alliance, as the dowager princess Amalia van Solms sought to shore up support for the very dynastic agendas that are celebrated and commemorated in *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik*.

Endnotes

- ¹ I would like to thank Stephanie Dickey for inviting me to present this paper at the symposium on Flinck and Bol at Herstmonceux in July 2015. The conversations at that conference – particularly with Quentin Buvelot and Tom van der Molen – were immensely valuable, as were Maureen Warren’s editorial comments. *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik* is first recorded in an inventory of 1667; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, p. 281, item 1182: ‘Een schilderije van haer hoogheyt sittende bij ‘t graff van sijne hoogheyt prince Frederick Hendrick hooglofl. memorie met eenige postuiren daerbij, door Flinck gedaen.’ See also Broos et al. 2004, pp. 95-98.
- ² Kok 2011; Kok 2013.
- ³ *Glorification of the Stadtholder’s Children*, canvas, 202 x 222 cm, signed bottom right; Von Moltke 1965, p. 92, cat.nr. 119; Coremans 1950, p. 202, fig 4.
- ⁴ Present whereabouts unknown; Coremans 1949; Kreuger 2013, p. 135, cat.nr. F17; Lammertse 2011; see also below, ch. 14. The Flinck composition is irretrievably overpainted and cannot be analysed here.
- ⁵ Bol, *Noble Children (from the Trip Family?) in a Carriage pulled by Goats*, 1654, canvas, 211 cm x 249 cm, Paris, Louvre, inv.nr. 1062.
- ⁶ The Hague 1997-1998a; The Hague 1997-1998b. For the architectural patronage of the House of Orange, see Slothouwer 1945; Ottenheym 1997-1998); Tucker 2002; Tucker 2015.
- ⁷ An oak, ebony, and ivory cabinet by Willem de Rots, ca. 1652-1657 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.nr. BK-205-19) is the only known intact piece of furniture owned by Amalia van Solms; Baarsen 2007.
- ⁸ Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1973, I; <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/inboedelsoranje>.
- ⁹ Post 1655.
- ¹⁰ Lunsingh Scheurleer 1969.
- ¹¹ Commelin 1652; P. van der Ploeg in Broos et al. 2004, p. 95.
- ¹² Hendrick de Keyser, Tomb of William the Silent, 1622, Nieuwe Kerk, Delft. See Vanhaelen 2008; Scholten 2003.
- ¹³ See Stern 2010. The association of the phoenix with Willem III is also found in a print by Cornelis II van Dalen celebrating Willem’s birth, itself closely based on Flinck’s painting of the birth of the Elector’s son (fig. 3.9).
- ¹⁴ Ripa/Pers 1644, p. 205 (Hope described but not illustrated).
- ¹⁵ Van der Ploeg in Broos et al. 2004, p. 95.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98 n. 4; see also Israel 1995, pp. 728-731.
- ¹⁷ Israel 1995, pp. 722-724.
- ¹⁸ The painting is dated, but the inscription is no longer visible and partly cut off. My thanks to Petria Noble and Gwen Tauber at the Rijksmuseum for making technical documentation available to me.
- ¹⁹ See Post 1652, title page.
- ²⁰ Lunsingh Scheurleer 1969.
- ²¹ See Ottenheym 2014.
- ²² For these paintings in relation to Flinck, see also ch. 1.
- ²³ Payment document for *The Annunciation*, ‘Te betalen aan Thomas Willeboorts, schilder tot Antwerpen de somme van eenentwintich hondert Car. Gul. Over drij stucken schilderij bi hem voor sijen Hoocht gemaect end geleverd te weten een van Europe, een van de Bootschap Maria ende een van Andromeda’, ARA, The Hague, NDR inv no. 993, fol. 453, dated 11 Jan 1647. The garland was painted by Seghers in 1645 with payment rendered to Willeboirts Bosschaert for the grisaille figures in 1646; The Hague 1997-1998a, pp. 208-211.
- ²⁴ Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, p. 281, item 1183: ‘Ses schilderijen denoterende de liefde, geloove, voorsichtigheyt, justitie, matigheyt, ende constancie, door Verelst gedaen.’
- ²⁵ Very few such documents from the Oranjezaal survive. Van Campen’s sketch for Jordaens is now in the Koninklijk Huisarchief in The Hague. Transcribed in Slothouwer 1945, p. 200.
- ²⁶ Not identified in Broos et al. 2004, p. 97, or <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-869>, accessed 3 June 2017 (‘een allegorische vrouwenfigure’)
- ²⁷ Van Dyk 1767, p. 56.
- ²⁸ Van Eikema Hommes and Kolfin 2013, p. 103, without explanation. In both versions of *Histora* in Ripa, the figure wears green and has a book; she is sometimes also winged

and carrying a pen. Ripa/Pers 1644, p. 200.

²⁹ Ripa/Pers 1644, p. 589.

³⁰ See Johnson 1993; Galletti 2014. Parallels have been noted, and the two women did spend time together during Marie's visit to the Netherlands in 1642, but these connections should not necessarily be read as a pretext for direct mimicry.

³¹ Galletti 2014 inverts the previously accepted order in which the spaces of the royal apartment at the Palais du Luxembourg would be accessed, which turns the gallery from a waiting room into a site of controlled access. This is consistent with the longer history of both French and Burgundian building practices that situate the gallery beyond the reach of the public; see further Strunck and Kieven (eds.) 2010.

³² Van Eikema Hommes 2011.

³³ See <http://oranjezaal.rkdmonographs.nl/cat.-nr.-42> (accessed 9 June 2017).

³⁴ Judson and Ekkart 1999, cat.nrs. 296, 301, and 303.

³⁵ There were as many as 20 Van Dycks; see Van Gelder 1959, pp. 73-76. Payment records in the ARA reveal that in the period 1637-1659, Honthorst alone was paid *f* 42,834, primarily for portraits. Poelenburch was also a favourite: by 1632, the stadtholder and his wife already owned 12 paintings by him; Sluijter-Seijffert 2016, p. 33.

³⁶ Delft 2011-2012. On Amalia van Solms and portraiture, see Tiethoff-Spliethoff 1997-1998; Beranek 2013; The Hague 2014-2015.

³⁷ These were numerous: in addition to the west cabinet, Amalia appears three times in the Oranjezaal; Franken 2007.

³⁸ Another anomaly is the profile portrait painted by Rembrandt in 1632 that hung in Amalia's apartment in the Stadtholder's Quarters in The Hague; canvas, 69.5 x 54.5 cm, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, inv.nr. MJA-P839; Bruyn et al. 1982-2015, II, pp. 249-255, VI, cat.nr. 65b.

³⁹ In an undated letter to Amalia van Solms, Huygens wrote: 'Honthorst...quelque grands seigneurs qu'il puisse ester, la plupart l'estime moins et beaucoup moins grands maistre qu'eux.' Quoted in Judson and Ekkart 1999, p. 23.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

⁴¹ Heinrich 2003, p. 23.

⁴² Molhuysen 1911-1937, pp. 1535-1536.

⁴³ Vermet 1991-1992.

⁴⁴ S. Dickey in Washington/Milwaukee/Amsterdam 2008, p. 65; Lootsma 2007/2008; Sluijter 2015a, Sluijter 2017-2018; above, ch. 1.

⁴⁵ Geyl 1969, p. 75.

⁴⁶ McKay 2001, p. 83.

⁴⁷ Von Moltke 1965, p. 34.

⁴⁸ McKay 2001, pp. 52-57.

⁴⁹ Sluijter 2015a, p. 109.

⁵⁰ Houbraken 1718-1721 (1753 ed.), II, p. 22.

⁵¹ Von Moltke 1965, p. 27.

⁵² Von Moltke 1965, cat.nr. 120; Sumowski 1983-1994, II, cat. nr. 631; Apeldoorn/Krefeld/Oranienburg 1999-2000, p. 222, ill.; Amsterdam 2017-2018, cat.nr. 26 and 140.

⁵³ Apeldoorn/Krefeld/Oranienburg 1999-2000, p. 220.

⁵⁴ Von Moltke 1965, p. 198.

⁵⁵ Signed and dated 1652, canvas, 66 x 80.5 cm, Potsdam, SPSG, Schloss Caputh, inv.nr. GK I 50916; Apeldoorn/Krefeld/Oranienburg 1999-2000, p. 264.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265. *Venus and Amor*, 1652, canvas, 146.5 x 163 cm, Celle, Bomann-Museum, inv.nr. BM 40/ST (Olim GK I 2273).

⁵⁷ Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, p. 285, item 1242: 'een schilderije van de vrouwe van Wissen met de cheurprince van Brandenburg op de schoot, gemaect bij Flinck'. Noted again in Amalia's *Boedelscheiding* of 1676 in a list of paintings given to her daughter Maria as 'een stuk van Flinck' (*ibid.*, 396), it was valued at 200 f.; by contrast, a Rubens history painting was valued at 2600 f.

Bibliography

ADAMS 2009

A.J. Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland. Portraiture and the Production of Community*, New York 2009

AINSWORTH ET AL. 1982

M.W. Ainsworth et al., *Art and Autoradiography. Insights into the Genesis of Paintings by Rembrandt, Van Dyck, and Vermeer*, New York 1982

ALBACH 1977

B. Albach, *Langs kermissen en hoven. Ontstaan en kroniek van een Nederlands toneelgezelschap in de 17e eeuw*, Zutphen 1977

ALFELD ET AL. 2013

M. Alfeld et al., 'A mobile instrument for *in situ* scanning macro-XRF investigation of historical paintings', *Journal of Analytical Atomic Spectrometry* 28 (2013), pp. 760–767

ALPERS 1988

S. Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise. The Studio and the Market*, Chicago 1988

AMIR 1996

T. Amir, '26 mei 1665. De opening van de verbouwde Schouwburg te Amsterdam. Van suggestie naar illusie: kunst- en vliegwerken in de Amsterdamse Schouwburg', in: R.L. Erenstein et al. (eds.), *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden. Tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 258–265

AMSTERDAM 1929

[D.C. Röell], *Catalogus van de tentoonstelling van oude kunst door de Vereeniging van Handelaren in Oude Kunst in Nederland in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam [July–August] 1929*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), 1929

AMSTERDAM 1975

A. Blankert, *Kunst als regeringszaak in Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw. Rondom schilderijen van Ferdinand Bol*, Lochem 1975

AMSTERDAM 1995

P.J.J. van Thiel and C.J. de Bruyn Kops, *Framing in the Golden Age. Picture and Frame in 17th-Century Holland*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), 1995

AMSTERDAM 1999–2000

B. van den Boogert (ed.), *Rembrandt's Treasures*, Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis), 1999–2000

AMSTERDAM 2002–2003

N. Middelkoop (ed.), *Kopstukken. Amsterdammers geportretteerd 1600–1800*, Amsterdam (Amsterdams Historisch Museum), 2002–2003

AMSTERDAM 2006

D. Bull et al., *Rembrandt/Caravaggio*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum and Van Gogh Museum), 2006

AMSTERDAM 2011

M. van der Zwaag and R. Cohen Tervaert (eds.), *Opstand als opdracht/The Batavian commissions. Flinck, Ovens, Lievens, Jordaens, De Groot, Bol, Rembrandt*, Amsterdam (Royal Palace), 2011

AMSTERDAM 2015A

D. de Witt, L. van Sloten, and J. van der Veen, *Rembrandt's Late Pupils. Studying under a Genius*, Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis), 2015

AMSTERDAM 2015B

R. Cohen Tervaert (ed.), *Hidden Stories. Wise Lessons in the Decorations of Amsterdam's Former Town Hall*, Amsterdam (Royal Palace), 2015

AMSTERDAM 2016

J. Noorman and D. de Witt (eds.), *Rembrandt's Naked Truth, Drawing Nude Models in the Golden Age*, Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis), 2016

AMSTERDAM 2017–2018

D. de Witt et al. (eds.), *Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, Rembrandt's Master Pupils*, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum and Museum Het Rembrandthuis), 2017–2018

AMSTERDAM/AACHEN 2008–2009

P. van den Brink and J. van der Veen, *Jacob Backer (1608/9–1651)*, Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis), Aachen (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum), 2008–2009

AMSTERDAM/GRONINGEN 1983

A. Blankert (ed.), *The Impact of a Genius. Rembrandt, his Pupils and Followers in the Seventeenth Century. Paintings from Museums and Private Collections*, Amsterdam (Waterman Gallery), Groningen (Groninger Museum), 1983

ANGEL 1642

P. Angel, *Lof der schilder-kunst*, Leiden 1642

ANSPACH 1882

J. Anspach, *De Veluwsche familie Tulleken en hare aanverwanten, eene genealogisch-historische proeve*, The Hague 1882

ANTWERP 2004

K. Belkin and F. Healy (eds.), *A House of Art. Rubens as Collector*, Antwerp (Rubenshuis and Rubenianum), 2004

APELDOORN/KREFELD/

ORANIENBURG 1999–2000

M. Schacht (ed.), *Onder den Oranje boom. Nederlandse kunst en cultuur aan Duitse vorstenhoven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Apeldoorn (Paleis Het Loo Nationaal Museum), Krefeld (Kaiser Wilhelm Museum) and Oranienburg (Schloss Oranienburg), 1999–2000

BAARSEN 2007

R. Baarsen, 'Een kabinet voor Amalia van Solms: Europese meubelkunst in Den Haag', in: A. Ouwkerk et al. (eds.), *Het Nederlandse binnenhuis gaat zich te buiten. Internationale invloeden op de Nederlandse wooncultuur*, Leiden 2007, pp. 63–90

BAIJA 2005

H. Baija, 'Original gilding on auricular frames: unusual gilding techniques practiced in Holland, 1640s–1670s', *ArtMatters. Netherlands Technical Studies in Art* 3 (2005), pp. 9–19

BAKKER 2008A

P. Bakker, *De Friese schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Zwolle/Leeuwarden 2008

BAKKER 2008B

P. Bakker, 'Een schilder en zijn netwerk. Lambert Jacobsz en een nieuw beeld van de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in Friesland', *Jaarboek De Vrije Fries* 88 (2008), pp. 31–64

BAKKER 2008C

P. Bakker, *Gezicht op Leeuwarden. Schilders in Friesland en de markt voor schilderijen in de Gouden Eeuw*, PhD diss. University of Amsterdam 2008

BAL ET AL. 2012

M. Bal et al., 'Cultural analysis – the Joseph plays', in: Bloemendal and Korsten (eds.) 2012, pp. 317–340

BALDINUCCI 1686

F. Baldinucci, *Cominciamento e progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame* [...], Florence 1686

BALDINUCCI 1974–1975

F. Baldinucci, ed. F. Ranalli, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* [...], 7 vols., Florence 1974–1975 (1st ed. Florence 1681–1728)

BARNES ET AL. 2004

S.J. Barnes et al., *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven 2004

BAUCH 1926

K. Bauch, *Jacob Adriaensz Backer. Ein Rembrandtschüler aus Friesland*, Berlin 1926

BAUCH 1935

K. Bauch, 'Beiträge zum Werk der Vorläufer Rembrandts', *Oud-Holland* 52 (1935), pp. 145–158

BENESCH 1973 [+ CAT.NR.]

O. Benesch, ed. by E. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 6 vols., London 1973

BERANEK 2013

S. Beranek, *Power of the Portrait: Production, Consumption and Display of Portraits of Amalia van Solms in the Dutch Republic*, PhD diss. University of Pittsburgh 2013

BERLIN/AMSTERDAM/LONDON

1991–1992

C. Brown et al. (eds.), *Rembrandt. The Master and his Workshop*, Berlin (Altes Museum), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), London (The National Gallery), 1991–1992

BERTRAM 2005

C. Bertram, *Noord-Hollands Arcadia. Ruim 400 Noord-Hollandse buitenplaatsen in tekeningen, prenten en kaarten uit de Provinciale Atlas Noord-Holland*, Alphen aan den Rijn 2005

BEVERS 2006

H. Bevers, *Rembrandt. Die Zeichnungen im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett. Kritischer Katalog*, Ostfildern 2006

DE BIE 1661–1662

C. de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet vande edel vry schilder const* [...], 3 vols., Antwerp 1661–1662

BIKKER 2005

J. Bikker, *Willem Drost (1633–1659): A Rembrandt Pupil in Amsterdam and Venice*, New Haven/London 2005

BIRMINGHAM 2015–2016

R. Wenley et al., *Flinck in Focus: A Question of Identity in 17th-Century Dutch Portraiture*, Birmingham (Barber Institute of Fine Arts), 2015–2016

BIRMINGHAM/THE HAGUE 2004–2005

R. Verdi, *Bartholomeus Breenbergh (1598–1657). Joseph Distributing Corn in Egypt*, Birmingham (Barber Institute of Fine Arts), The Hague (Bredius Museum), 2004–2005

BISCHOFF 2004

G. Bischoff, *Das De Mayerne–Manuskript. Die Rezepte der Werkstoffe, Maltechniken und Gemälderestaurierung*, Munich 2004

BLANKERT 1976

A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol 1616–1680. Rembrandt's Pupil*, PhD diss. University of Utrecht 1976

BLANKERT 1982

A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680). Rembrandt's Pupil*, Doornspijk 1982

BLANKERT 1997–1998

A. Blankert, 'Rembrandt's impact', in: Melbourne/Canberra 1997–1998, pp. 202–212

BLANKERT 2004

A. Blankert, *Selected Writings on Dutch Painting. Rembrandt, Van Beke, Vermeer and Others*, Zwolle 2004

BLOEMENDAL AND KORSTEN (EDS.) 2012

J. Bloemendal and F.-W. Korsten (eds.), *Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679). Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, Leiden/Boston 2012

BOK 1990

M.J. Bok, “Nulla dies sine linie”. De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6:1 (1990), pp. 58–68

BOMFORD ET AL. 2006

D. Bomford et al., *Art in the Making. Rembrandt*, London 2006

BOON 1730

C. Boon, *Dido*, Delft 1730

VAN BORK AND VERKUIJSSE 1985

G.J. van Bork and P.J. Verkuijsse (eds.), *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse auteurs. Van middeleeuwen tot heden met inbegrip van de Friese auteurs*, Weesp 1985

BOTHE ET AL. 1994

R. Bothe et al., *Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar. Schlossmuseum, Gemäldegalerie*, Munich 1994

VAN DEN BRANDEN 1881

F.J. van den Branden, ‘Adriaan de Brouwer en Joos van Craesbeeck’, *De Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 3 (1881), pp. 213–216

BRANDENBURG 1999

F.E. Brandenburg, *Overzicht familie Sluijsken uit Arnhem*, Almelo 1999

BRAUNSCHWEIG 1979

R. Klessmann (ed.), *Jan Lievens. Ein Maler im Schatten Rembrandts*, Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum), 1979

BRAUNSCHWEIG 2004

N. Büttner et al. (eds.), *Peter Paul Rubens. Barocke Leidenschaften*, Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum), 2004

BRAUNSCHWEIG 2006

Th. Döring (ed.), *Aus Rembrandts Kreis. Die Zeichnungen des Braunschweiger Kupferstichkabinetts*, Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum), 2006

BREDIUS 1910

A. Bredius, ‘Bol’s kunstschaten’, *Oud-Holland* 28 (1910), pp. 233–238

BREDIUS 1915–1922

A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare. Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 8 vols., The Hague 1915–1922

BRIÈRE-MISME 1950

C. Brière-Misme, ‘Un petit maître hollandais. Cornelis Bisschop (1630–1674)’, *Oud-Holland* 65 (1950), pp. 24–40, 104–116, 139–151, 178–192, 227–240

VAN DEN BRINK 2008

P. van den Brink, *Jacob Adriaensz Backer. Complete Overview of his Paintings*, PDF published with Amsterdam/Aachen 2008–2009

VAN DEN BRINK 2016

P. van den Brink, ‘Tussen Rubens en Rembrandt. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer als portret- en historieschilder in Amsterdam’, *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 2016, pp. 5–39

BRNO/CHEB 1997–1998

Z. Fialová, *Malířství 15.–18. století z moravských zámeckých sbírek. Valtice, Šternberk, Bučovice. Malerei des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts aus Gemäldeausstellungen mährischer Schlösser. Feldsberg, Sternberg, Butschowitz, Brno (Moravská galerie), Cheb (Státní galerie výtvarného umění v Chebu)*, 1997–1998

BROOS, ‘OVENS’

B.P.J. Broos, ‘Ovens, Jürgen’, *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.queensu.ca/subscriber/article/grove/art/To64317>> (accessed 4 June 2017)

BROOS 1983

B.P.J. Broos, ‘Fame shared is fame doubled’, in: Amsterdam/Groningen 1983, pp. 35–58

BROOS 1990

T.J. Broos, *Tussen zwart en ultramarijn: de levens van schilders beschreven door Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677–1747)*, Amsterdam 1990

BROOS ET AL. 2004

B. Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis 1430–1790*, The Hague 2004

BRUSATI 1995

C. Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion. The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten*, Chicago 1995

BRUSSELS 1967

C. Dittrich, *Honderd tekeningen van oude meesters uit het prentenkabinet van Dresden*, Brussels (Albert I Library), 1967

BRUYN 1986

J. Bruyn, ‘Patrons and early owners’, in: Bruyn et al. 1982–2015, II, pp. 91–98

BRUYN 1991–1992

J. Bruyn, ‘Rembrandt’s workshop, its function and production’, in: Berlin/Amsterdam/London 1991–1992, pp. 68–89

BRUYN 1996

J. Bruyn, Review of [Sumowski 1983–1994], vol. 6, *Oud Holland* 110 (1996), pp. 165–173

BRUYN ET AL. 1982–2015

J. Bruyn et al., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings* (Foundation Rembrandt Research Project), 6 vols., Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster 1982–2015

DE BRUYN KOPS 1977

C.J. de Bruyn Kops, 'De ontdekking en de originele omlijsting van een portret door Govert Flinck', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 25 (1977), pp. 60–63

BUCHANAN 1824

W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution*, 2 vols., London 1824

BUCHBINDER-GREEN 1975

B.J. Buchbinder-Green, *The Painted Decorations of the Town Hall of Amsterdam*, PhD diss. Northwestern University, Ann Arbor 1975

BURCKHARDT 2006

J. Burckhardt, *Jacob Burckhardt Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 18, *Neuere Kunst seit 1550*, Munich/Basel 2006

BÜRGER 1858–1860

W. Bürger [T. Thoré], *Musées de la Hollande*, 2 vols., Paris 158–1860

BUVELOT 1995

Q. Buvelot, 'Ontwerpen voor geschilderde decoratieprogramma's', in: J. Huisken et al. (eds.), *Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam (Royal Palace), 1995, pp. 121–153

CAHILL 2017

N. Cahill, *Theatralität als Visualisierungsstrategie in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, PhD diss. University of Kassel 2017

CAMBRIDGE 2011–2012

M.E. Wieseman, H.P. Chapman, and W. Franits, *Vermeer's Women. Secrets and Silence*, Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum), 2011–2012

CAMPE SALE 1827

Verzeichniss der Oelgemälde, Handzeichnungen und anderer Kunstgestände, welche den 24sten September 1827, Vormittags von 9 bis 11 Uhr und Nachmittags von 2 bis 5 Uhr in dem Campeschen unter No. 1212 allhier gelegenen Hause gegen baare in Conventionsgelde zu bewirkende Bezahlung gerichtlich versteigert werden sollen, Leipzig 1827

CHICAGO/AMSTERDAM 2001–2002

D. Druick et al., *Van Gogh and Gauguin. The Studio of the South*, Chicago (Art Institute of Chicago), Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum), 2001–2002

CLEVES 2015–2016

E.J. Goossens et al., *Govert Flinck. Reflecting History*, Cleves (Museum Kurhaus Kleve – Ewald Mataré-Sammlung), 2015–2016

COMMELIN 1652

I. Commelin, *Frederick Hendrick van Nassauw, Prince van Orangien, zyn leven en bedryf*, 2 vols., Utrecht 1652

COMMELIN 1694

C. Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, zynde een naukeurige verhandelinge van desselfs eerste oorspronk uyt den huysen der heeren van Amstel, en Amstellant, haar vergrootingen, rykdom, en wyze van regeeringe, tot den jare 1691*, Amsterdam 1694

COREMANS 1949

P.B. Coremans, *Van Meegeren's Faked Vermeers and de Hooghs. A Scientific Examination*, London 1949

COREMANS 1950

P. Coremans, 'L'affaire des faux Vermeer, documents de complément', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 26 (1950), pp. 199–203

CORPUS RUBENIANUM

Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné of the Work of Peter Paul Rubens based on the Material assembled by the Late Dr Ludwig Burchard, in Twenty-Six Parts, Brussels 1968–

COUTRÉ 2011

J.N. Coutré, Jan Lievens. *Painting, Politics, and Decoration in Dutch Art, 1653–1669*, PhD diss. Institute of Fine Arts, New York University 2011

CRENSHAW 2006

P. Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy. The Artist, his Patrons, and the Art Market in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands*, Cambridge 2006

VAN DAMME 1903

A. van Damme, *De buitenplaatsen te Heemstede, Berkenrode en Bennebroek 1628–1811*, Haarlem 1903

DAPPER 1663

O. Dapper, *Historische beschryving der stad Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1663

DARMSTADT 2016

W. Glüber et al., *Chic! Mode im 17. Jahrhundert. Der Bestand im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt*, Darmstadt (Hessisches Landesmuseum), 2016

DELFT 2011–2012

A. Jansen, R.E.O. Ekkart, and J. Verhave, *De Portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566–1641)*, Delft (Museum Het Prinsenhof), 2011–2012

DESCAMPS 1753–1764

J.-B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais*, 4 vols., Paris 1753–1764

DEWITT 2006

L. DeWitt, *Evolution and Ambition in the Career of Jan Lievens (1607–1674)*, PhD diss. University of Maryland 2006

DEZALLIER D'ARGENVILLE 1762

A.-J. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres, avec leurs portraits gravés* [...], 4 vols., Paris 1762

DICKEY 2004

S.S. Dickey, *Rembrandt. Portraits in Print*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2004

DICKEY 2016

S.S. Dickey, 'Rembrandt and His Circle', in: W. Franits (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Dutch Art of the Seventeenth Century*, London/New York 2016, pp. 169–201

DICKEY (ED.) 2017

S.S. Dickey (ed.), *Rembrandt and his Circle. Insights and Discoveries*, Amsterdam 2017

VAN DILLEN 1929–1974

J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam*, 3 vols., The Hague 1929–1974

DIRKSE 2001

P. Dirkse, 'Jacob ontvangt het bebloede kleed van Jozef, door Lambert Jacobsz. Een geschilderde preek over "menselijke nijd en goddelijke voorzienigheid"', in: idem, *Begijnen, pastoors en predikanten. Religie en kunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Leiden 2001, pp. 39–44

VAN DER DOES 1661

J. van der Does, *Tragedie, ofte ongeluckige liefde van de Koninginne Dido*, The Hague 1661

VAN DOMSELAER ET AL. 1665

T. van Domselaer et al., *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, Haar eerste oorspronk uyt den Huyze der Heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant; Met een Verhaal Van haar Leven en dappere Krijgsdaden* [...], Amsterdam 1665

DONGELMANS (ED.) 1982

B.P.M. Dongelmans (ed.), *Nil Volentibus Arduum. Documenten en bronnen. Een uitgave van Balthazar Huydecopers aantekeningen uit de originele notulen van het Genootschap*, Utrecht 1982

DORDRECHT 1967–1968

A. Ruempol (ed.), *Flonkering van de wijn. Dordrecht 1300–1800*, Dordrecht (Museum Mr Simon van Gijn), 1967–1968

DORDRECHT 1992

P. Marijnissen et al., *De zichtbaere werelt. Schilderkunst uit de gouden eeuw in Hollands oudste stad*, Dordrecht (Dordrechts Museum), 1992

DROSSAERS AND LUNSINGH**SCHEURLEER 1974**

A. Drossaers and Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken, 1567–1795*, 3 vols., The Hague 1974

DUCHESNE 1828–1834

J. Duchesne, *Musée de peinture et de sculpture, ou recueil des principaux tableaux, statues et bas-reliefs des collections publiques et particulières de l'Europe*, 17 vols., Paris 1828–1834

DUDOK VAN HEEL 1980

S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Doopsgezinden en schilderkunst in de 17de eeuw. Leerlingen, opdrachtgevers en verzamelaars van Rembrandt', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 6 (1980), pp. 105–123

DUDOK VAN HEEL 1982A

S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Van de boekentafel', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 69 (1982), pp. 94–96

DUDOK VAN HEEL 1982B

S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Het "Schilderhuis" van Govert Flinck en de kunsthandel van Uylenburgh aan de Lauriergracht te Amsterdam', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 74 (1982), pp. 70–90

DUDOK VAN HEEL 2006

S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten. Godsdiens en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam*, PhD diss. Radboud University Nijmegen 2006

DUDOK VAN HEEL 2009

S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'The *Night Watch* and the entry of Marie de' Medici. A new interpretation of the original place and significance of the painting', *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 57 (2009), pp. 5–41

DUDOK VAN HEEL 2017

S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt and Frans Hals painting in the workshop of Hendrick Uylenburgh', in: Dickey (ed.) 2017, pp. 17–43

DUITS 1990

H. Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse opstand. Studies over de relatie tussen politiek en toneel in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw*, Hilversum 1990

VAN DYK 1758

J. van Dyk, *Kunst en historiekundige beschrijving en aanmerkingen over alle de schilderyen op het stadhuis te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1758

VAN DYK 1767

J. van Dyk, *Beschryving der schilderyen in de Oranje Zaal, van het vorstelyke huys in 't Bosch, den onvergelykelyken heldt Fredrik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje en Nassau; door zyne weduwe Mevrouw de Princesse Amalia van Solms, ter eeuwiger gedachtenisse opgerecht*, The Hague 1767

EDINBURGH/LONDON 2001

J.L. Williams (ed.), *Rembrandt's Women, Edinburgh* (National Gallery of Scotland), London (Royal Academy of Arts), 2001

VAN EEGHEN 1953

P. van Eeghen, 'Abraham van den Tempel's familiegroep in het Rijksmuseum', *Oud-Holland* 68 (1953), pp. 170–174

VAN EEGHEN 1977

I.H. van Eeghen, 'Ongrijpbare jeugd. Bij een portret door Govert Flinck', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 25 (1977), pp. 55–59

VAN EIJNDEN AND VAN DER WILLIGEN 1816–1840

R. van Eijnden and A. van der Willigen, *Geschiedenis der vaderlandsche schilderkunst, sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw*, 4 vols., Haarlem 1816–1840

VAN EIKEMA HOMMES 2011

M. van Eikema Hommes, "'As Though It Had Been Done by Just One Master". Unity and Diversity in the Oranjezaal, Huis Ten Bosch', in: A.W.A. Boschloo et al. (eds.), *Aemulatio. Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800. Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluïjter*, Zwolle 2011, pp. 288–303

VAN EIKEMA HOMMES 2012

M. van Eikema Hommes, *Art and Allegiance in the Dutch Golden Age. The Ambitions of a Wealthy Widow in a Painted Chamber by Ferdinand Bol*, Amsterdam 2012

VAN EIKEMA HOMMES ET AL. 2016

M. van Eikema Hommes et al., 'The hidden youth of Dirck Jacobsz Leeuw. A portrait by Govert Flinck revealed', *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 64 (2016), pp. 5–61

VAN EIKEMA HOMMES AND FROMENT 2011

M. van Eikema Hommes and E. Froment, "'Een doek van gene betekenis". De nachtelijke samenzwering van Claudius Civilis in het Schakerbos van Govert Flinck en Jürgen Ovens technisch onderzocht', *Oud Holland* 124 (2011), pp. 141–170

VAN EIKEMA HOMMES AND KOLFIN 2013

M. van Eikema Hommes and E. Kolfin, *De Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch. Een zaal uit loutere liefde*, Zwolle 2013

VAN EIKEMA HOMMES AND SPELEERS 2011

M. van Eikema Hommes and L. Speleers, 'Nine Muses in the Oranjezaal: the painting methods of Caesar van Everdingen and Jan Lievens confronted', in: M. Spring (ed.), *Studying Old Master Paintings. Technology and Practice*, London 2011, pp. 157–164

EKKART 1973

R.E.O. Ekkart, 'Bartholomeus Hopffer en zijn werken in Nederlandse verzamelingen', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 21 (1973), pp. 180–194

EKKART 1995

R.E.O. Ekkart, *Museum Boymans–van Beuningen Rotterdam. Nederlandse portretten uit de 17e eeuw. Eigen Collectie / Dutch Portraits from the Seventeenth Century. Own Collection*, Rotterdam 1995

EKKART 2002

R.E.O. Ekkart, 'A portrait historié with Venus, Paris and Cupid. Ferdinand Bol and the patronage of the Spiegel family', *Simiolus* 29 (2002), pp. 14–41

EKKART 2011

R.[E.O.] Ekkart, *Old Masters' Gallery Catalogues Szépművészeti Múzeum Budapest, I. Dutch and Flemish Portraits 1600–1800*, Leiden/Budapest 2011

ELENBAAS 2004

R. Elenbaas, 'De verbouwing van de Amsterdamse Schouwburg (1663–1665) in relatie tot het repertoire, het publiek en de toneelorganisatie', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 20 (2004), pp. 285–298

ELIAS 1963

J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1963 (1st ed. Haarlem 1903–1905)

ENSCHEDÉ 2016–2017

J. Beltman et al. (eds.), *Eindelijk! De Laïresse. Klassieke schoonheid in de Gouden Eeuw*, Enschede (Rijksmuseum Twenthe), 2016–2017

FALK AND ZIJLMA 1991

T. Falk (ed.) and R. Zijlma (compiler), 'Jürgen Ovens', in: F. Anzelewsky et al., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700*, Amsterdam 1954–, vol. 31 (1991), pp. 61–74

FOKKENS 1664

M. Fokkens, *Beschrijvingh der wijdt-vermaerde koop-stadt Amstelredam, van haar eerste beginselen, zedert den jare 1203 [...], tot den iare 1664 toe*, Amsterdam 1664

FORT WORTH/SANTA BARBARA 2011–2012

E. Kahng et al., *Picasso and Braque. The Cubist Experiment, 1910–1912*, Fort Worth (Kimbell Art Museum), Santa Barbara (Santa Barbara Museum of Art), 2011–2012

FOUCART 2009

J. Foucart, *Catalogue des peintures flamandes et hollandaises du musée du Louvre*, Paris 2009

FRANKEN 2007

M. Franken, 'Portretten in de Oranjezaal', *RKD Bulletin*, special issue, *Portret in Beeld. Collegiale bijdragen voor Karen Schaffers-Bodenhausen* (2007), pp. 9–14

FRUIN (ED.) 1922

R. Fruin (ed.), *Brieven aan Johan de Witt. Tweede deel, 1660–1672*, Amsterdam 1922

FRYKLUND 2013

C. Fryklund, 'Jan Lievens's "The Apostle Paul at his writing desk"', *Burlington Magazine* 155 (2013), pp. 77–81

FÜRSEN AND WITT 2003

E.J. Fürsen and R. Witt, *Schleswig-Holstein und die Niederlande. Aspekte einer historischen Verbundenheit*, Schleswig 2003

GALLETTI 2014

S. Galletti, 'Rubens's Life of Maria de' Medici. *Dissimulation and the politics of art in early seventeenth-century France*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014), pp. 878–916

VAN GELDER 1950/1951

J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 3 (1950/1951), pp. 102–150

VAN GELDER 1959

J.G. van Gelder, 'Anthonie van Dyck in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten* 8 (1959), pp. 43–86

GERRITSEN 2006

E. Gerritsen, *Zeventiende-eeuwse architectuurtekeningen. De tekening in de ontwerp- en bouwpraktijk in de Nederlandse Republiek*, Zwolle 2006

GERSAINT 1751

E.-F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris 1751

GERSON 1969

H. Gerson, *Rembrandt. The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, London 1969

GEYL 1969

P. Geyl, *Orange and Stuart, 1641–1672*, London 1969

GIESEN 1997

M. Giesen, *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des holländischen Familienporträts im XVII. Jahrhundert*, PhD diss. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms University Bonn 1997

GORRIS 2011

M. Gorris (director), *Rembrandt en Ik*, Episode 3, 'Rembrandt en Govert Flinck', EO, 6 February 2011: <http://www.eo.nl/archief/tv/rembrandtenik/aflevering-detail/aflevering/rembrandt-en-govert-flinck/> (accessed 11 June 2017)

GOVERDE 2011

M. Goverde, *Imitation and Ambition. The Relation between Dutch Adult and Child Portraiture 1620–1650*, MA thesis, Utrecht University 2011

GRIJZENHOUT 2009/2010

F. Grijsenhout, 'Ferdinand Bol's *portrait historié* in the Hermitage: identification and interpretation', *Simiolus* 34 (2009/2010), pp. 33–49

GROEN 2014

K. Groen, ed. by E. van Duijn, *Paintings in the Laboratory. Scientific Examination for Art History and Conservation*, London 2014

HAARLEM 2012

J. Pelsdonk and M.C. Plomp (eds.), *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Haarlem (Teylers Museum), 2012

HAARLEM/ANTWERP 2000–2001

J.B. Bedaux and R.[E.O.] Ekkart (eds.), *Pride and Joy. Children's Portraits in The Netherlands 1500–1700*, Haarlem (Frans Halsmuseum), Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 2000–2001

DE HAAS 1997

A. de Haas, 'Frans-classicisme en het Nederlandse toneel, 1660–1730', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 29 (1997), pp. 127–140

DE HAAS 2014

A. de Haas, *Theatrale zelfmoord. De eigenhandige dood op het Nederlandse toneel, 1670–1780*, Hilversum 2014

THE HAGUE 1992

P. Huys Janssen and W. Sumowski, *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Rembrandt's Academy*, The Hague (Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder), 1992

THE HAGUE 1997–1998A

P. van der Ploeg and C. Vermeeren (eds.), *Princely Patrons. The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague*, The Hague (Mauritshuis), 1997–1998

THE HAGUE 1997–1998B

M. Keblusek and J. Zijlmans (eds.), *Princely Display. The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms in The Hague*, The Hague (Haags Historisch Museum), 1997–1998

THE HAGUE 2001–2002

C.W. Fock, *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600–1900*, The Hague (Gemeentemuseum) 2001–2002

THE HAGUE 2014–2015

N. Akkerman, *Courtly Rivals in The Hague. Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662) and Amalia von Solms (1602–1675)*, The Hague (Haags Historisch Museum) 2014–2015

THE HAGUE/AMSTERDAM 1962

[N.M. Japikse and D.F. Lunsingh Scheurleer], *Fagel: een Nederlands regentengeslacht, 1585–1929*, The Hague (Rijksmuseum Gevangenpoort), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1962

HALBERTSMA 1972

M. Halbertsma, 'Lambert Jacobsz., een Amsterdamer in Leeuwarden', *Jaarboek De Vrije Fries* 52 (1972), pp. 15–25

HAMMER-TUGENDHAT 2000

D. Hammer-Tugendhat, 'Kunst der Imagination/Imagination der Kunst. Die Pantoffeln Samuel van Hoogstratens', in: K. Krüger and A. Nova (eds.), *Imagination und Wirklichkeit. Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit*, Mainz 2000, pp. 139–153

HAMMER-TUGENDHAT 2015

D. Hammer-Tugendhat, *The Visible and the Invisible. On Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, Berlin 2015

HAMPKE 1896/1897

H. Hampke, 'Der Nachlass des Malers Jürgen Ovens', *Kunstchronik*, N.F. 8 (1896/1897), col. 465–471

HÄNSEL 2004

S. Hänsel, 'Wohlerzogene Kinder sind schöne Juwelen – Familie, Kinder und Erziehung auf niederländischen Familienporträts des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 67 (2004), pp. 225–256

HARLEY 1982

R.D. Harley, *Artists' Pigments c. 1600–1835. A Study in English Documentary Sources* (2nd ed.), London 1982

HARMSSEN 1988

T. Harmsen, 'Gebruik en misbruik van de rhetorica door Nil Volentibus Arduum', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 4:2 (1988), pp. 55–68

HECHT 2001

P. Hecht, 'A shifting image with an air of permanence', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 49 (2001), pp. 13–27

HEESAKKERS 1982

C.L. Heesakkers, 'Vergilius in de Nederlandse Gouden Eeuw, een overzicht', *Lampas* 15 (1982), pp. 68–89

HEINRICH 2003

A. Heinrich, *Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert (1613/14–1654). Ein flämischer Nachfolger Van Dycks*, Turnhout 2003

VAN HELSDINGEN 1969

H.W. van Helsdingen, 'Enkele opmerkingen over het Franse zeventiende-eeuwse Rembrandt-beeld', *Oud Holland* 84 (1969), pp. 224–231

HILLEGERS 2009

J. Hillegers, 'Lambert Jacobsz (c. 1598–1636) en zijn werkplaats. Atelierpraktijk in Leeuwarden omstreeks 1630', *Jaarboek De Vrije Fries* 89 (2009), pp. 67–91

HILLEGERS AND WAGENAAR-

BURGEMEISTER 2012

J. Hillegers and W. Wagenaar-Burgemeister, *Salomon Lilian Old Masters* 2012, Amsterdam 2012

HILLEGERS AND WAGENAAR-

BURGEMEISTER 2016

J. Hillegers and W. Wagenaar-Burgemeister, *Salomon Lilian Old Masters* 2016, Amsterdam 2016

HIRSCHFELDER 2008

D. Hirschfelder, *Tronie und Porträt in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2008

HOET 1752

G. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen zedert een langen reeks van Jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere Plaatzten in het openbaar verkogt. Benevens een Verzameling van Lysten van Verscheyden nog in wezen zynde cabinetten*, The Hague 1752

HOET AND TERWESTEN 1770

G. Hoet and P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen, zedert den 22. Augusti 1752. tot den 21. November 1768*, The Hague 1770

HOGENDOORN (ED.) 2012

W. Hogendoorn (ed.), *De Schouwburg in beeld. Amsterdamse toneelscènes 1665–1772*, Houten 2012

HOLL. (+ NR.)

F.W.H. Hollstein (ed.), *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, 72 vols., Amsterdam/Rotterdam 1949–2010

(See also New Holl.)

HOLMES 1915

C.J. Holmes, 'A Picture by Ferdinand Bol', *The Burlington Magazine* 28 (1915), pp. 28–29

VAN HOOGSTRATEN 1678

S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt*, Rotterdam 1678

HOPPENBROUWERS 1985

P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Maagschap en vriendschap', *Holland, Regionaal–Historisch Tijdschrift* 17 (1985), pp. 69–108

HORN 2000

H.J. Horn, *The Golden Age Revisited. Arnold Houbraken's Great Theatre of Netherlandish Painters and Paintresses*, 2 vols., Doornspijk 2000

HOUBRAKEN 1718–1721

A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1718–1721 (2nd ed. The Hague 1753)

VAN HOUT 1998

N. Van Hout, 'Meaning and development of the ground layer in seventeenth century painting', in: E. Hermens et al. (eds.), *Looking through Paintings. The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research*, Baarn/London 1998, pp. 199–225

VAN HOUT AND BALIS 2012

N. Van Hout with A. Balis, *Rubens Unveiled. Notes on the Master's Painting Technique. Catalogue of the Rubens Paintings in the Antwerp Museum*, Antwerp 2012

IMMERZEEL 1842–1843

J. Immerzeel, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders [...]*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1842–1843

ISRAEL 1995

J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806*, Oxford 1995

JAFFÉ 1997

D. Jaffé, *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Los Angeles 1997

JAGER 2016

A. Jager, 'Galey-schilders' en 'dosijnwerck'. *De productie, distributie en consumptie van goedkope historiestukken in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam*, PhD diss. University of Amsterdam 2016

JAPIKSE 1964

N.M. Japikse, *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Fagel, 1513–1927*, The Hague 1964

JEROENSE 1997

P. Jeroense, 'Govaert Flinck (1615–1660). Eine Künstlerbiographie', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1997), pp. 73–112

JOHNSON 1993

G.A. Johnson, 'Pictures fit for a queen: Peter Paul Rubens and the Marie de' Medici cycle', *Art History* 16 (1993), pp. 447–469

JONCKHEERE 2008A

K. Jonckheere, *The Auction of King William's Paintings, 1713. Elite International Art Trade at the End of the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2008

JONCKHEERE 2008B

K. Jonckheere, 'Supply and demand: some notes on the economy of seventeenth-century connoisseurship', in: A. Tummers and K. Jonckheere (eds.), *Art Market and Connoisseurship. A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 69–95

JONCKHEERE AND VERMEYLEN 2011

K. Jonckheere and F. Vermeulen, 'A world of deception and deceit? Jacob Campo Weyerman and the eighteenth-century art market', *Simiolus* 35 (2011), pp. 100–113

JUDSON AND EKKART 1999

J.R. Judson and R.E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592–1656*, Doornspijk 1999

JUNIUS 1638

F. Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients, in Three Bookes*, London 1638

JUNIUS 1641

F. Junius, *De Schilder-Konst der Oude*. Middelburg 1641

KASSEL/LEIDEN 2006–2007

C. Vogelaar and G.J.M. Weber (eds.), *Rembrandt's Landscapes*, Kassel (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister), Leiden (Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal), 2006–2007

KASTEN 2012

M. Kasten, 'Translation studies –Vondel's appropriation of Grotius's *Sophompaneas* (1635)', in: Bloemendal and Korsten (eds.) 2012, pp. 249–269

KEITH 2017

L. Keith, 'Rembrandt's Frederick Rihel on Horseback: a restoration in context', in: *Rembrandt Now. Technical Practice, Conservation and Research*, London 2017 (forthcoming)

KEMP 2016–2017

W. Kemp, 'Lasst den Vorhang herunter! Die Kunst beginnt ... Zu gemalten Bildervorhängen bei Rembrandt und seinen Schülern', in: C. Blümle and B. Wismer (eds.), *Hinter dem Vorhang. Verhüllung und Enthüllung seit der Renaissance – Von Tizian bis Christo*, Düsseldorf (Museum Kunstpalast), 2016–2017, pp. 56–65

VAN KERKWIJK 1915

A.O. van Kerkwijk, 'Begravenispenningen van 17de eeuwse Nederlandsche kunstschilders', in: C. Hofstede de Groot (ed.), *Feestbundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden den achttienden april 1915*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1915, I, pp. 130–134

KERNKAMP 1977

J.H. Kernkamp, 'De portrettering van Pieter de la Court opnieuw bekeken', in: J. de Vries et al. (ed.), *Ondernemende geschiedenis. 22 opstellen geschreven bij het afscheid van Mr. H. van Riel als voorzitter van de Vereniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief*, The Hague 1977, pp. 65–74

KIRBY AND WHITE 1996

J. Kirby and R. White, 'The identification of red lake pigment dyestuffs and a discussion of their use', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 17 (1996), pp. 56–80

KLEMM 1986

C. Klemm, Joachim von Sandrart. *Kunstwerke und Lebenslauf*, Berlin 1986

KLESSMANN 1983

R. Klessmann, *Die Holländische Malerei. Kritisches Verzeichnis*, Braunschweig 1983

KOK 2011

E.[E.] Kok, 'Zonder vrienden geen carrière: de succesvolle loopbanen van de zeventiende-eeuwse kunstenaars Govert Flinck en Ferdinand Bol', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 27 (2011), pp. 300–336

KOK 2013

E.E. Kok, *Culturele ondernemers in de Gouden Eeuw. De artistieke en sociaal-economische strategieën van Jacob Backer, Govert Flinck, Ferdinand Bol en Joachim von Sandrart*, PhD diss. University of Amsterdam 2013

KOK 2016

E.E. Kok, *Netwerkende kunstenaars in de Gouden Eeuw. De succesvolle loopbanen van Govert Flinck en Ferdinand Bol*, Hilversum 2016

KOLLER 1988

M. Koller, 'Das Staffeleibild der Neuzeit', in: H. Kühn et al. (eds.), *Farbmittel, Buchmalerei, Tafel- und Leinwandmalerei* (2nd ed.), Stuttgart 1988, pp. 261–434

KONST 1993

J.W.H. Konst, *Woedende wraakghierigheid en vruchteloze weklachten: de hartstochten in de Nederlandse tragedie van de zeventiende eeuw*, Assen 1993

KOOIJMANS 1997

L. Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1997

KOOTTE 2015

T. Kootte, 'De verkoop van Jozef van Lambert Jacobsz', *Catharijne* 33:1 (2015), p. 40

KORDA 1936

A. Korda (director), *Rembrandt*, British Lion Film Corp. Ltd, 1936. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Aoa3jLCVWM&t=324s> (accessed 11 June 2017)

KORTHALS ALTES 2011

E. Korthals Altes, 'The biographies of seventeenth-century Dutch artists in Sandrart's Teutsche Academie and their influence on collecting in Germany around 1700', in: N. Büttner and E. Meier (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitung. Deutsch-niederländischer Kunst- und Künftlerausaustausch im 17. Jahrhundert*, Marburg 2011, pp. 165–187

KREMPEL 2000

L. Krempel, *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693)*, Petersberg 2000

VAN KRETSCHMAR 1966

F.G.L.O. van Kretschmar, 'Identificatie van het dubbel portret van Ferdinand Bol in het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen* 1966, pp. 215–217

KREUGER 2013

F.H. Kreuger, *Han van Meegeren Revisited. His Art and a List of his Works*, Rijswijk 2013

KUUS 2000–2001

S. Kuus, 'Children's costume in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in: Haarlem/Antwerp 2000–2001, pp. 73–83

LAARMANN 2003

F.K. Laarmann, *Het Noord-Nederlands familieportret in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw. Beeldtraditie en betekenis*, Amsterdam 2003

DE LAIRESSE 1707

G. de Lairese, *Het groot schilderboek*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1707

LAMMERTSE 2006A

F. Lammertse, 'Gerrit Uylenburgh, art dealer and painter in Amsterdam and London', in: London/Amsterdam 2006, pp. 61–114

LAMMERTSE 2006B

F. Lammertse, 'Gerrit Uylenburgh's art business between 1655 and 1675', in: London/Amsterdam 2006, pp. 207–287

LAMMERTSE 2011

F. Lammertse, *Van Meegeren's Vermeers. The Connoisseur's Eye and the Forger's Art*, Rotterdam 2011

LAMMERTSE 2016–2017

F. Lammertse, "'om dat die Haas hem niet ontslippen zoude". De Lairese vlucht uit Luik en zijn stormachtige entree in de Amsterdamse kunstwereld', in: Enschede 2016–2017, pp. 16–19

LARSEN 2013

P. Larsen, *Het succes van Jürgen Ovens' Hollandse jaren, Contrafaaietern von Amsterdam*, Research MA thesis, Leiden University 2013

LAUTS 1966

J. Lauts (ed.), *Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe Katalog Alte Meister bis 1800*, 2 vols., Karlsruhe 1966

LAWRENCE/CHAPEL HILL 1981–1982

I. Shoemaker and E. Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, Lawrence (Spencer Museum of Art), Chapel Hill (Ackland Art Museum), 1981–1982

LEEWARDEN 1936

A. Wassenbergh, *Herdenkings-tentoonstelling Lambert Jacobsz, Leeuwarden* (Fries Museum), 1936

LEJA 2017

J.L. Leja, 'Rembrandt, Ferdinand Bol, and Tobit: the emergence of a *Pathosträger*', in: Dickey (ed.) 2017, pp. 252–267

LEUPE 1874

P.A. Leupe, 'De schilder Jan Lievensz. en de portretten van de Bickers 1663–1664', *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1874), pp. 122–124

LIEDTKE 2004

W. Liedtke, 'Rembrandt's "workshop" revisited', *Oud Holland* 117 (2004), pp. 48–73

LIEDTKE 2007

W. Liedtke, *Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2 vols., New York/New Haven 2007

LONDON 1925

Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Old Masters on Behalf of the Royal Northern Hospital, Holloway, at the Galleries of Thos. Agnew & Sons, London (Agnew & Sons), 1925

LONDON 1952–1953

Dutch Pictures 1450–1750, London (Royal Academy of Arts), 1952–1953

LONDON 1988–1989

D. Bomford et al., Rembrandt. *Art in the Making*, London (National Gallery), 1988–1989

LONDON/AMSTERDAM 2006

F. Lammertse and J. van der Veen, *Uylenburgh and Son. Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese, 1625–1675*, London (Dulwich Picture Gallery), Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis), 2006

LONDON/AMSTERDAM 2014–2015

J. Bikker and G.J.M. Weber (eds.), *Rembrandt. The Late Works*, London (National Gallery), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), 2014–2015

VAN LOON ET AL. 2011

A. van Loon et al., 'White Hazes and Surface Crusts in Rembrandt's *Homer* and Related Paintings', *ICOM–Committee for Conservation, 16th Triennial Meeting*, Lisbon 2011, Paper 1316, pp. 1–10. <https://amolf.nl/publications/white-hazes-and-surface-crusts-in-rembrandts-homer-and-related-paintings> (accessed 1 June 2017)

LOOTSMA 2007/2008

H. Lootsma, 'Tracing a pose: Govert Flinck and the emergence of the van Dyckian mode of portraiture in Amsterdam', *Simiolus* 33 (2007/2008), pp. 221–236

LOS ANGELES 2009–2010

H. Bevers et al., *Drawings by Rembrandt and his Pupils. Telling the Difference*, Los Angeles (J. Paul Getty Museum), 2009–2010

LOUGHMAN 2008

J. Loughman, 'New light on some portraits by Aelbert Cuyp', *Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008), pp. 584–591

LUGT [+ NR.]

F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques [...]*, 4 vols., The Hague 1938–1987

LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 1969

Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis in het Bosch', *Oud Holland* 84 (1969), pp. 29–66

MACLAREN 1960

N. MacLaren, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Dutch School*, London 1960

MACLAREN/BROWN 1991

N. MacLaren, rev. by C. Brown, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Dutch School 1600–1900*, 2 vols., London 1991

MADRID 2014

M. Falomir Faus, *Las Furias. Alegoría política y desafío artístico*, Madrid (Museo del Prado) 2014

MAGNANI 2007

L. Magnani, '1666. Een onbekende opdracht uit Genua voor Rembrandt', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 2007, pp. 3–17

VAN MANDER/MIEDEMA 1973

K. van Mander, ed. by H. Miedema, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, 2 vols., Utrecht 1973

VAN MANDER/MIEDEMA 1994–1999

K. van Mander, ed. by H. Miedema, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters [...] with an Introduction and Translation*, 6 vols., Doornspijk 1994–1999

MANUTH 2001

V. Manuth, "'As stark naked as one could possibly be painted ...": The reputation of the nude female model in the age of Rembrandt', in: Edinburgh/London 2001, pp. 47–53

DE MAYERNE/FELS 2001

T.T. de Mayerne, ed. by D.C. Fels, Jr., *Lost Secrets of Flemish Painting. Including the First Complete English Translation of the De Mayerne Manuscript*, B.M. Sloane 2052, Hillsville 2001

MCKAY 2001

D. McKay, *The Great Elector*, Harlow 2001

MCQUEEN 2003

A. McQueen, *The Rise of the Cult of Rembrandt. Reinventing an Old Master in Nineteenth-Century France*, Amsterdam 2003

VAN DER MEIJ-TOLSMA 1988

M. van der Meij-Tolsma, 'Lambert Jacobsz. (ca. 1598–1636). Een Amsterdams historieschilder te Leeuwarden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 4 (1988), pp. 29–54

MELBOURNE/CANBERRA 1997–1998

A. Blankert (ed.), *Rembrandt. A Genius and his Impact*, Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria), Canberra (National Gallery of Australia), 1997–1998

MERRIFIELD 1967

M.P. Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting*, 2 vols., New York 1967 (1st ed. London 1849)

MIDDELKOOP 2010

N.E. Middelkoop, 'Een Amsterdammer in Hamburg en een Noord-Duitser in Amsterdam. Jürgen Ovens' portret van Dirck Kerckrinck', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 97 (2010), pp. 163–169

MIDDELKOOP 2011

N.E. Middelkoop, 'Jürgen Ovens in Amsterdam. A reconnaissance of the artist's Dutch years', in: N. Büttner and E. Meier (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitung. Deutsch-niederländischer Kunst- und Künftleraustausch im 17. Jahrhundert*, Marburg 2011, pp. 123–138

MITCHELL AND ROBERTS 1996

P. Mitchell and L. Roberts, *A History of European Picture Frames*, London 1996

VAN DER MOLEN 2007

T. van der Molen, 'Govert Flinck, "geneigt tot grooter ondernemingen"', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 94 (2007), pp. 3–11

VAN DER MOLEN 2015–2016A

T. van der Molen, 'The life of Govert Flinck', in: Cleves 2015–2016a, pp. 10–21

VAN DER MOLEN 2015–2016B

T. van der Molen, 'How nature fears the painter who gave life to his canvases. Poems on the life and work of Govert Flinck', in: Cleves 2015–2016, pp. 32–43

MOLHUYSEN 1911–1937

P.C. Molhuysen et al., *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 10 vols., Leiden 1911–1937

VON MOLTKE 1965

J.W. von Moltke, *Govaert Flinck 1615–1660*, Amsterdam 1965

VON MOLTKE 1996

J.W. von Moltke, 'Flinck', in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, XI, pp. 169–170

NANTES 2015

A. Collange-Perugi and D. Mandrella, *Flamands et hollandais. La collection du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes suivi du catalogue raisonné des peintures flamandes, hollandaises, allemandes et espagnoles du XVe au XVIIIe siècle*, Nantes (Château des Ducs de Bretagne), 2015

NEW HOLL. (+ NR.)

A. Balis et al., *The New Hollstein, Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700*, Roosendaal 1993–. (See also Holl.)

NIEMEIJER 1973

J.W. Niemeijer, *Cornelis Troost 1696–1750*, PhD diss. University of Groningen 1973

NOACH 1939

A. Noach, 'De maaltijd in het Schakerbosch en de versiering van het stadhuis', *Oud-Holland* 56 (1939), pp. 145–157

NOBLE ET AL. 2002

P. Noble et al., 'Dissolution, aggregation and protrusion: lead soap formation in 17th century grounds and paint layers', *ArtMatters. Netherlands Technical Studies in Art* 1 (2002), pp. 46–61

NOORMAN 2016

J. Noorman, 'On truth and beauty. Drawing nude models in Rembrandt's time', in: Amsterdam 2016, pp. 11–43

ORENSTEIN 2017

N.M. Orenstein, 'Printmaking among artists of the Rembrandt School', in: Dickey (ed.) 2017, pp. 305–318

OTTENHEYM 1989

K. Ottenheim, *Philips Vingboons (1607–1678), Architect*, Zutphen 1989

OTTENHEYM 1997–1998

K. Ottenheim, "'Possessed by such a passion for building". Frederik Hendrik and architecture', in: The Hague 1997–1998b, pp. 105–125

OTTENHEYM 2014

K. Ottenheim, 'Living apart together? Apartment systems of the Dutch seventeenth-century elite', in: M. Chatenet and K. De Jonge (eds.), *Le prince, la princesse et leurs logis. Manières d'habiter dans l'élite aristocratique européenne, 1400–1700. Actes des septième rencontres d'architecture européenne, Paris, 27–30 juin 2011*, Paris 2014, pp. 327–340

OIDVID 2002

Ovid, trans. by D. Raeburn, *Metamorphoses*, London 2002

PARIS 2009–2010

D. Bakhuys, J. Hillegers, and C. Tainturier, *Maîtres du Nord. Tableaux flamands et hollandais du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen*, Paris (Fondation Custodia), 2009–2010

PARTHEY 1863

G. Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal. Verzeichniss der in Deutschland vorhandenen Oelbilder verstorbenen Maler aller Schulen*, 2 vols., Berlin 1863

PELS 1668

A. Pels, Didoos Doot, *Treurspel. Met eenige Kunstwerken, Vertoont op d'Amsterdamsche Schouwburg*, Amsterdam 1668

PELS 1681

A. Pels, *Gebruik én misbruik des toneels*, Amsterdam 1681

PERLOVE AND SILVER 2009

S. Perlove and L. Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith. Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age*, University Park 2009

PERTH/ADELAIDE/BRISBANE**1997–1998**

N. Middelkoop (ed.), *The Golden Age of Dutch Art. Seventeenth Century Paintings from the Rijksmuseum and Australian Collections*, Perth (Art Gallery of Western Australia), Adelaide (Art Gallery of South Australia), Brisbane (Queensland Art Gallery), 1997–1998

DE PILES 1677

R. de Piles, *Conversations sur la connaissance de la peinture et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux*, Paris 1677

PILKINGTON 1829

M. Pilkington, *A General Dictionary of Painters, containing Memoirs of the Lives and Works of the Most Eminent Professors of the Art of Painting, from its Revival by Cimabue, in the Year 1250, to the Present Time*, 2 vols., London 1829

PORTEMAN 1979

K. Porteman, 'Vondel en de schilderkunst', *Vlaanderen* 28 (1979), pp. 299–305

PORTEMAN 1987

K. Porteman, *De maanden van het jaar. Joachim von Sandrart, Joost van den Vondel, Caspar Barlaeus*, Wommelgem 1987

POST 1655

P. Post, *De Sael van Oranje, ghebouwt bij haere Hoocht. Amalie Princesse Douariere van Oranje* [...], Amsterdam 1655

PRANGE 2007

P. Prange, *Die Sammlungen der Hamburger Kunsthalle. Kupferstichkabinett. Deutsche Zeichnungen 1450–1800*, 2 vols., Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2007

PREYER 1908

D.C. Preyer, *The Art of the Netherland Galleries*, London 1908

RALEIGH/INDIANAPOLIS/**MANCHESTER 2002–2003**

D.P. Weller (ed.), *Jan Miense Molenaer. Painter of the Dutch Golden Age*, Raleigh (North Carolina Museum of Art), Indianapolis (Indianapolis Museum of Art and Columbus Gallery), and Manchester (Currier Museum of Art), 2002–2003

REGT 1906

W.M.C. Regt, 'Genealogie der familie Fagel', *Genealogische en Heraldische Bladen* (1) 1906, pp. 49–120

REYNOLDS 1996

J. Reynolds, ed. by H. Mount, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, Cambridge 1996 (1st ed. 1797)

RIPA/PERS 1644

C. Ripa, trans. by D.P. Pers, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des Verstands: van Cesare Ripa van Perugia, Ridder van SS. Mauritius en Lazzaro*, Amsterdam 1644

ROETHLISBERGER 1981

M. Roethlisberger, *Bartholomeus Breenbergh. The Paintings*, Berlin 1981

ROETHLISBERGER AND BOK 1993

M. Roethlisberger and M.J. Bok, *Abraham Bloemaert and his Sons. Paintings and Prints*, 2 vols., Doornspijk 1993

ROME 2008–2009

B.W. Lindemann (ed.), *From Rembrandt to Vermeer. Civil Values in 17th Century Flemish and Dutch Painting. Masterpieces of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin*, Rome (Museo Fondazione Roma), 2008–2009

ROSENBERG ET AL. 1966

J. Rosenberg et al., *Dutch Art and Architecture 1600 to 1800*, Harmondsworth 1966

ROTTERDAM/FRANKFURT 1999–2000

A. Blankert et al., *Hollands classicisme in de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderkunst*, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), Frankfurt (Städelsches Kunstinstitut), 1999–2000

ROY 1992

A. Roy, *Gérard de Lairesse (1640–1711)*, Paris 1992

RUTGERS 2008

J. Rutgers, *Rembrandt in Italië. Receptie en verzamelgeschiedenis*, PhD diss. University of Utrecht 2008

SANDRART 1675

J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* [...], 3 vols., Nuremberg 1675

SCALLEN 2004

C.B. Scallen, *Rembrandt, Reputation, and the Practice of Connoisseurship*, Amsterdam 2004

SCHECK 1995

C. Scheck, *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dole. XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Peintures françaises*, Dole 1995

SCHLÜTER-GÖTTSCHE 1978

G. Schlüter-Göttsche, *Jürgen Ovens. Ein schleswig-holsteinischer Barockmaler*, Heide in Holstein 1978

SCHMIDT 1913

H. Schmidt, 'Das Nachlaß-Inventar des Malers Jürgen Ovens', *Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 7 (1913), pp. 1–89

SCHMIDT 1922

H. Schmidt, *Jürgen Ovens. Sein Leben und seine Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der niederländischen Malerei im XVII. Jahrhundert*, PhD diss. Christian Albrechts University, Kiel 1922

SCHMIDT-DEGENER 1950

F. Schmidt-Degener, *Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 1950

SCHNACKENBURG 1996

B. Schnackenburg, *Staatliche Museen Kassel. Gemäldegalerie alte Meister. Gesamtkatalog*, 2 vols., Mainz 1996

SCHNACKENBURG 2016

B. Schnackenburg, *Jan Lievens, Friend and Rival of the Young Rembrandt, with a Catalogue Raisonné of his Early Leiden Work, 1623–1632*, Petersberg 2016

SCHNEIDER 1925

H. Schneider, 'Govert Flinck en Juriaen Ovens in het stadhuis te Amsterdam', *Oud-Holland* 42 (1925), pp. 215–223

SCHNEIDER 1990

C.P. Schneider, *Rembrandt's Landscapes*, New Haven 1990

SCHNEIDER/EKKART 1973

H. Schneider, ed. by R.E.O. Ekkart, *Jan Lievens. Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Amsterdam 1973

SCHOLTEN 2003

F. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture*, Zwolle 2003

SCHWARTZ 1985

G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt, his Life, his Paintings*, New York 1985

SCHWARTZ 2017

G. Schwartz, 'Up the Rembrandt School!', <http://www.garyschwartzarthistorian.nl/352-up-the-rembrandt-school/> (accessed 11 May 2017)

SITT AND WALCZAK 2007

M. Sitt and G. Walczak, *Die Sammlungen der Hamburger Kunsthalle. Die Gemälde der alten Meister. Die deutschen, englischen, französischen, italienischen und spanischen Gemälde 1350–1800*, Cologne 2007

SLIVE 1953

S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his Critics 1630–1730*, The Hague 1953

SLIVE 1995

S. Slive, *Dutch Painting 1600–1800*, New Haven 1995

SLIVE 2009

S. Slive, *The Drawings of Rembrandt. A New Study*, London 2009

SLOTHOUWER 1945

D.F. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, Leiden 1945

SLUIJTER 1980

E.J. Sluijter, 'Een zaalbeschildering van Gerard Hoet in "De Slangenburgh": de liefdesgeschiedenis van Aeneas en Dido', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 31 (1980), pp. 299–315

SLUIJTER 1982

E.J. Sluijter, 'Onderwerpen uit de Aeneis in de Noord-Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende en eerste helft achttiende eeuw', *Hermeneus: Tijdschrift voor Antieke Cultuur* 54 (1982), pp. 314–328

SLUIJTER 2006

E.J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, Amsterdam 2006

SLUIJTER 2010

E.J. Sluijter, 'Rembrandt's portrayal of the passions and Vondel's "staetveranderinge"', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010), pp. 285–305

SLUIJTER 2015A

E.J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals. History Painting in Amsterdam 1630–1650*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2015

SLUIJTER 2015B

E.J. Sluijter, 'How Theseus was insured and Odysseus saved from ruin. Mythology in the Insurance Chamber and the Bankruptcy Chamber', in: Amsterdam 2015b, pp. 18–28

SLUIJTER 2015C

E.J. Sluijter, 'An admired rival in Amsterdam: Joachim von Sandrart on Rembrandt', in: S. Meurer et al. (eds.), *Aus aller Herren Länder. Die Künstler der Deutschen Akademie von Joachim von Sandrart*, Turnhout 2015, pp. 234–248

SLUIJTER 2015D

E.J. Sluijter, 'Govert Flinck's historical paintings in artistic context', in: Cleves 2015–2016, pp. 62–75

SLUIJTER 2016–2017

E.J. Sluijter, 'Artistieke integratie van een jonge immigrant. Gerard de Laresses vroege Amsterdamse werk', in: Enschede 2016–2017, pp. 36–46

SLUIJTER 2017–2018

E.J. Sluijter, 'Uit Rembrandts schaduw in eigen licht. Govert Flinck en Ferdinand Bol als historieschilders vanaf circa 1645', in: Amsterdam 2017–2018, pp. 104–131

SLUIJTER-SEIJFFERT 2016

N. Sluijter-Seijffert, *Cornelis van Poelenburch 1594/5–1667. The Paintings*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2016

SLUIJTER-SEIJFFERT 2016–2017

N. Sluijter-Seijffert, 'Gerard de Laresse en zijn decors voor de Amsterdamse schouwburg', in: Enschede 2016–2017, pp. 110–116

SMITH 1829–1842

J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters [...]*, 9 vols., London 1829–1842

SMITS-VELDT 1991

M.B. Smits-Veldt, *Het Nederlandse renaissance-cetoneel*, Utrecht 1991

SPEAR 1997

R.E. Spear, *The 'Divine' Guido. Religion, Sex, Money and Art in the World of Guido Reni*, New Haven 1997

SPEAR 2010

R.E. Spear, 'Rome: setting the stage', in: R.E. Spear and P. Sohm (eds.), *Painting for Profit. The Economic Lives of Seventeenth-Century Italian Painters*, New Haven 2010, pp. 33–113

SPRING 2017

M. Spring, 'Pale grey or deep blue? Evaluating smalt in Rembrandt's paintings', in: *Rembrandt Now. Technical Practice, Conservation and Research*, London 2017 (forthcoming)

SPRING ET AL. 2005

M. Spring et al., 'Investigation of pigment-medium interaction processes in oil paint containing degraded smalt', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 26 (2005), pp. 56–70

SPRING AND KEITH 2009

M. Spring and L. Keith, 'Aelbert Cuyp's Large Dort: Colour Change and Conservation', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 30 (2009), pp. 71–85

STEFES 2011

A. Stefes, *Die Sammlungen der Hamburger Kunsthalle. Kupferstichkabinett. Niederländische Zeichnungen 1450–1850*, 3 vols., Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2011

STERN 2010

J. Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in Word and Image, 1650–75*, Manchester 2010

STRAAT 1928

H.L. Straat, 'Lambert Jacobsz, Schilder', *Jaarboek De Vrije Fries* 28 (1928), pp. 53–76

VAN STRATEN 2005

R. van Straten, *Young Rembrandt. The Leiden Years, 1606–1632*, Leiden 2005

STRAUSS AND VAN DER MEULEN 1979

W.L. Strauss and M. Van der Meulen et al, *The Rembrandt Documents*, New York 1979.

STRUNCK AND KIEVEN (EDS.) 2010

C. Strunck and E. Kieven (eds.), *Europäische Galeriebauten. Galleries in a Comparative European Perspective (1400–1800)*, Munich 2010

SUMOWSKI 1979–1992

W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School*, 10 vols., New York 1979–1992

SUMOWSKI 1983–1994

W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 6 vols., Landau/Pfalz 1983–1994

SUMOWSKI 1992

W. Sumowski, 'In praise of Rembrandt's pupils', in: The Hague 1992, pp. 36–85

SUZMAN JOWELL 2001

F. Suzman Jowell, 'From Thoré to Bürger: the image of Dutch art before and after the Musée de la Hollande', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 49 (2001), pp. 45–60

TAYLOR 1992

P. Taylor, 'The concept of hounding in Dutch art theory', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), pp. 210–232

TEMPLE AND ANSTEY (EDS.) 1925

R.C. Temple and L.M. Anstey (eds.), *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, vol. 4, *Travels in Europe 1639–1647*, London 1925

TERWEN AND OTTENHEYM 1993

J.J. Terwen and K.A. Ottenheim, *Pieter Post (1608–1669) Architect*, Zutphen 1993

TIETHOFF-SPLIETHOFF 1997–1998

M. Tiethoff-Splithoff, 'Role-play and representation. Portrait painting at the court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia', in: The Hague 1997–1998b, pp. 161–200

TIMMERS 1942

J.J.M. Timmers, *Gérard Lairesse*, Amsterdam 1942

TUCKER 2002

R. Tucker, *The Art of Living Nobly. The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic*, PhD diss. Institute of Fine Arts, New York University 2002

TUCKER 2015

R. Tucker, 'The politics of display at Honselaarsdijk', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 65 (2015), pp. 115–142

TYPEX 2013

Typex [R. Koot], *Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 2013

VANHAELLEN 2008

A. Vanhaelen, 'Recomposing the body politic in seventeenth-century Delft', *Oxford Art Journal* 31 (2008), pp. 361–381

VAN DER VEEN 2006A

J. van der Veen, 'Hendrick Uylenburgh, agent of the king of Poland and art dealer in Amsterdam', in: London/Amsterdam 2006, pp. 13–59

VAN DER VEEN 2006B

J. van der Veen, 'Hendrick Uylenburgh's art business. Production and trade between 1625 and 1655', in: London/Amsterdam 2006, pp. 117–205

VAN DER VEEN 2008–2009

J. van der Veen, 'Patronage for Lievens' portraits and history pieces, 1644–1674', in: Washington/Milwaukee/Amsterdam 2008–2009, pp. 28–39

VAN DER VEEN 2016–2017

J. van der Veen, “‘Very proud, self conceited, debauched & extravagant’”. Gerard de Lairese en zijn Amsterdamse jaren’, in: Enschede 2016–2017, pp. 20–28

VERMET 1991–1992

B. Vermet, ‘Van Thuldens historische allegorieën’, in: A. Roy (ed.), Theodoor van Thulden. Een Zuidnederlandse barokschilder (1606 ’s-Hertogenbosch 1669), ’s-Hertogenbosch (Noordbrabants Museum), Strasbourg (Musée des Beaux-Arts), 1991–1992, pp. 78–98

VERMEYLEN ET AL. 2013

F. Vermeulen et al., ‘The test of time: art encyclopedias and the formation of the canon of 17th-century painters in the Low Countries’, *Empirical Studies of the Arts* 31:1 (2013), pp. 81–105

VIARDOT 1870

L. Viardot, *Wonders of European Art*, London 1870

VIRGIL 2006

Virgil, trans. by R. Fagles, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, New York 2006

VISSER (ED.) 1996

P. Visser (ed.), *Sporen van Menno. Het veranderende beeld van Menno Simons en de Nederlandse mennisten*, Krommenie 1996

VLAARDINGERBROEK 2011

P. Vlaardingebroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het Stadhuis van Amsterdam*, Zwolle 2011

VONDEL 1635

J. van den Vondel, *Huigh de Groot’s Josef of Sofompaneas. Treurspel*, Amsterdam 1635

VONDEL 1640A

J. van den Vondel, *Joseph in Dothan. Treurspel*, Amsterdam 1640

VONDEL 1640B

J. van den Vondel, *Joseph in Egypten. Treurspel*, Amsterdam 1640

VONDEL 1654

J. van den Vondel, Q. Horatius Flaccus *liierzangen en dichtkunst*, Amsterdam 1654

VONDEL 1659

J. van den Vondel, *Jeptha of offerbelofte. Treurspel*, Amsterdam 1659

VONDEL 1660

J. van den Vondel, *Ondergang van Troje. Virgiliustweede boeck van Eneas, in Nederduitsch gedicht*, Amsterdam 1660

VONDEL 1986

J. van den Vondel, ed. by A. Verwey, M.B. Smits-Veldt, and M. Spies, *Vondel. Volledige dichtwerken en oorspronkelijk proza*, Amsterdam 1986

VONDEL AND ASSELYN 1654

J. van den Vondel and T. Asselyn, *Broederschap der schilderkunst, ingewydt door schilders, beeldhouwers en des zelfs begunstigers* [...], Amsterdam 1654

DE VRIES 1931

T. de Vries, *Rembrandt. Roman*, Arnhem 1931

DE VRIES 1998

L. de Vries, *Gerard de Lairese. An Artist between Stage and Studio*, Amsterdam 1998

DE VRIES ET AL. 1978

A.B. de Vries et al., *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis. An Interdisciplinary Study*, Alphen aan de Rijn 1978

WAAGEN 1862

G.F. Waagen, *Handbuch der deutschen und niederländischen Malerschulen*, Stuttgart 1862

WAGENAAR 1760–1767

J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoolen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1760–1767

WASHINGTON/DETROIT/AMSTERDAM 1980–1981

A. Blankert et al., *Gods, Saints and Heroes. Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), Detroit (Detroit Institute of Arts), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), 1980–1981

WASHINGTON/LONDON/AMSTERDAM 2001–2002

A.K. Wheelock, Jr. (ed.), *Aelbert Cuyp*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), London (National Gallery), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), 2001–2002

WASHINGTON/LONDON/THE HAGUE 2000–2001

A.K. Wheelock, Jr. (ed.), *Gerrit Dou 1613–1675. Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), London (Dulwich Picture Gallery), The Hague (Mauritshuis) 2000–2001

WASHINGTON/LOS ANGELES 2005

A.K. Wheelock, Jr. et al., *Rembrandt’s Late Religious Portraits*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), Los Angeles (J. Paul Getty Museum), 2005

WASHINGTON/MILWAUKEE/AMSTERDAM 2008–2009

A.K. Wheelock, Jr. (ed.), *Jan Lievens. A Dutch Master Rediscovered*. Washington (National Gallery of Art), Milwaukee (Milwaukee Art Museum), Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis), 2008–2009

WASHINGTON/PARIS 2016–2017

G. Luijten et al. (eds.), *Drawings for Paintings in the Age of Rembrandt*, Washington (National Gallery of Art), Paris (Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt), 2016–2017

WELLER 2009

D.P. Weller, *Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Paintings. Systematic Catalogue of the Collection*. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh 2009

WESTSTEIJN 2008

T. Weststeijn, *The Visible World. Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam 2008

VAN DE WETERING 1997

E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work*, Amsterdam 1997

VAN DE WETERING 2009

E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter at Work* (2nd ed., revised), Berkeley 2009

VAN DE WETERING 2016

E. van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The Painter Thinking*, Amsterdam 2016

WEYERMAN 1729–1769

J.C. Weyerman, *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen, met een uytbreijding over de schilder-konst der ouden*, 4 vols., The Hague/Dordrecht 1729–1769

WHEELOCK 1995

A.K. Wheelock, Jr., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art, Systematic Catalogue*, Washington 1995

WHEELOCK 2014

A.K. Wheelock, Jr., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century. National Gallery of Art*. <http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/research/online-editions/17th-century-dutch-paintings.html> (accessed 5 May 2017)

WHEELOCK (ED.) 2017

A.K. Wheelock, Jr. (ed.), *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, New York 2017. <https://www.theleidencollection.com/archive> (accessed 12 June 2017)

WHITE AND KIRBY 1994

R. White and J. Kirby, 'Rembrandt and his circle: seventeenth-century Dutch painting re-examined', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 15 (1994), pp. 64–78

WIJNMAN 1930

H.F. Wijnman, 'Nieuwe gegevens omtrent den schilder Lambert Jacobsz, I', *Oud-Holland* 47 (1930), pp. 145–157

WIJNMAN 1934

H.F. Wijnman, 'Nieuwe gegevens omtrent den schilder Lambert Jacobsz, II', *Oud-Holland* 51 (1934), pp. 241–255

DE WINKEL 2006

M. de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy. Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings*, Amsterdam 2006

DE WITT 2007

D.A. de Witt, *Jan van Noordt. Painter of History and Portraits in Amsterdam*, Kingston 2007

DE WITT 2008

D. de Witt, *The Bader Collection. Dutch and Flemish Paintings*, Kingston 2008

VON WURZBACH 1906–1911

A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 3 vols., Vienna/Leipzig 1906–1911

WUSTMANN 1906/1907

R. Wustmann, 'Die Josephgeschichte bei Vondel und Rembrandt', *Kunstchronik*, N.F. 18 (1906/1907), col. 81–84

YALÇIN 2004

F. Yalçin, *Anwesende Abwesenheit. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte von Bildern mit menschenleeren Räumen, Rückenfiguren und Lauschern im Holland des 17. Jahrhunderts*, PhD diss. Free University, Berlin 2004

YAMEY 1989

B.S. Yamey, *Art and Accounting*, New Haven 1989

YAPOU 1983

Y. Yapou, 'Who was Flinck's "Venus?"', *The Israel Museum Journal* 2 (1983), pp. 58–61

ŽAKULA 2016

T. Žakula, 'Rackets, balls and fancy robes: the destiny of De Lairese's first vignette for Nil Volentibus Arduum', in: J. Bikker et al. (eds.), *Gij zult niet feestbundelen. 34 bijdragen voor Peter Hecht*, Amsterdam 2016, pp. 262–267

ZANDVLIET 2006

K. Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw. Kapitaal, macht, familie en levensstijl*, Amsterdam 2006

VON ZESEN 1661

F. von Zesen, *Die verschmähete, doch wieder erhöhete Majestäht: das ist, Karls des Zweiten, Königs von Engelland, Schotland, unz. Wundergeschichte*, Amsterdam 1661

VON ZESEN 1664

F. von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam. Darinnen von derselben ersten Ursprunge bis auf gegenwärtigen Zustand [...]*, Amsterdam 1664

ZIEMBA 2012

A. Ziemba, 'Modus Rusticus as a model of Dutch social identity in seventeenth-century Dutch portrait painting: a painting by Govaert Flinck in the National Museum in Warsaw', *Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*, N.S. 1:37 (2012), pp. 189–226

VAN DER ZWAAG AND COHEN

TERVAERT 2011

M. van der Zwaag and R. Cohen Tervaert, 'De tekeningen/The drawings', in: Amsterdam 2011, pp. 60–63

Index

A

- Agges, Anna (1661–1723): **94**
 Agges, Joan (1639/40–1701): **94**
 Albani, Francesco (1578–1660): **37**
 Alberti, Leon Battista (1404–1472): **29, 40**
 (n. 28)
 Angel, Philips (1616–1683/85): **96** (n. 12)
 Anslo, Cornelis Claesz (1592–1646): **13, 19**
 (n. 30)
- B**
- Backer, Jacob (1608/09–1651): **9, 30, 32, 34, 38,**
 42 (n. 70), **46–61** (n. 15), **63** (n. 47), **64** (n. 57),
 144, 201 (n. 72); fig. 1.11, 2.5
 Baldinucci, Filippo (1624/25–1696): **10, 29, 37,**
 39 (n. 19), **40** (n. 22), **58, 182, 186, 188, 197** (n.
 10), **223–225**
 Barlandus, Adrianus (1486–1538): **106**
 Bas, Albert (1598–1650): **26, 187**; fig. 1.5
 Basse, Jan (c. 1571/76–1636): **197** (n. 9)
 Bavaria, Maximilian Henry of, Archbishop
 and Elector of Cologne (1621–1688): **202**
 (n. 101)
 Beck, Johann Heinrich (1788–1875): **211**
 Bempden, Joos van den (1659–1659): **126, 129**
 Bening, Johannes Bodecher (1606–before
 1642): **112** (n. 26)
 Berchem, Nicolaes (1621/22–1683): **115**
 Berentz, Christian (1658–1722): **211**
 Bicker, Jan Gerritsz (1591–1653): **184, 198**
 (n. 24)
 Bie, Cornelis de (1627–c. 1714): **37, 42** (n. 66),
 63 (n. 41), **223, 238, 250** (n. 4)
 Bisschop, Cornelis (1630–1674): **9, 13–14, 17,**
 204–217; fig. 13.1, 13.3, 13.4, 13.6, 13.8A–B, 13.12
 Bisschop, Jan de (1628–1671): **97** (n. 30), **193**

- Blasius, Joan Leonardsz (1639–1672): **192, 199**
 (n. 34)
 Bleker, Dirk (1621/22–1679/1702): **40** (n. 34)
 Bloemaert, Abraham (1566–1651): **30**
 Bloemaert, Hendrick (c. 1601–1672): **41** (n. 49),
 52, 56, 63 (n. 46, n. 47), **64** (n. 55)
 Bogaert, Lijsbeth Willems (1569–1651): **125,**
 127; fig. 6.12
 Bol, Elbert (1657–1709): **116**
 Bol, Ferdinand (1616–1680): **passim**
 And Cornelis Bisschop: **204–217**
 Reception: **218–252**
 Reception room of Jacoba Lampsins: **35**;
 fig. 1.15
 Amarillis crowning Mirtillo: **33**; fig. 1.13
 The Angel departing from the Family of
 Tobias: **11, 16, 221**; fig. 0.8
 An Astronomer: **14, 160–167**; fig. 10.1
 Couple on a Terrace: **214**; fig. 13.10
 David's Dying Charge to Solomon: **31**; fig. 1.10
 Death of Dido: **98–113**; fig. 5.1
 Four Governors of the Amsterdam Lepers'
 Asylum: **220, 221, 224–225, 227, 234** (n. 35);
 fig. 14.2, 14.5
 Governors of the Amsterdam Wine
 Merchants' Guild: **214, 216**; fig. 13.11
 Moses with the Tablets of the Law descending
 from Mount Sinai: **34, 36, 100, 125, 222, 234**
 (n. 21); fig. 1.16
 Portrait of an Eight-year-old Boy (Frederick
 Sluijsken): **9, 12, 19** (n. 31), **114–131, 217** (n. 38),
 232, 249; fig. 6.1
 Portrait of an Eighty-one-year-old Woman,
 possibly Lijsbeth Willems Bogaert: **125, 127**;
 fig. 6.12
 Portrait of a Man, possibly Willem Sluijsken:
 125, 127; fig. 6.11
 Portrait of Dirck Graswinckel and Geertruyt
 van Loon: **139** (n. 2)
 Portrait of Elisabeth Dell: **119, 124**; fig. 6.7B
 Portrait of Jan van der Voort and his Sister

- Catharina with a Servant*: **9, 31** (n. 19), **168–**
179; fig. 11.1
Portrait of Margarita Trip as Minerva
instructing her Sister Anna Maria Trip
(Allegory of Education): **35, 36, 100, 261** (n.
 26); fig. 1.17
Portrait of Otto van der Waeijen in Polish
Costume: **123, 126**; fig. 6.9
Portrait of Petronella Elias with a Basket of
Fruit: **19** (n. 31), **123, 126**; fig. 6.10
Portrait of Wigbold Slicher, Elisabeth Spiegel
and their Son as Paris, Venus, and Cupid: **121,**
125–126; fig. 6.8
Pyrrhus and Fabritius: **15, 100, 222–223, 227,**
234 (n. 21, n. 38); fig. 14.4
Self-Portrait (ca. 1647): **9, 209**; fig. 13.7
Self-Portrait (1653): **119, 124**; fig. 6.7A
Scholar in his Study: **206**; fig. 13.2
Venus and Adonis: **231, 232**; fig. 14.7
Venus presenting Aeneas with Armour from
Vulcan's Smithy: **108, 109**; fig. 5.6
Vertunnius and Pomona: **32, 34**; fig. 1.12
- Bonaparte, Louis (1778–1846): **245**
 Boon, Cornelis (1680–1746): **106**
 Bor, Paulus (c. 1601–1669): **24, 31, 42** (n. 64)
 Botlandt, Gertruyt van (17th c.): **207**
 Braamcamp, Gerrit (1699–1771): **251** (n. 30)
 Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of
 (1620–1688): **73, 76, 78–79, 192, 201**; fig. 3.6
 Brandenburg, Karel Emil of (1655–1674): **78**
 Brandenburg, Wilhelm Heinrich III, Prince of
 (1648–1649): **12, 76–77**; fig. 3.9
 Brandi, Giacinto (1621–1691): **40** (n. 20)
 Brandt, Gerard (1626–1685): **86, 202** (n. 91)
 Bray, Jan de (c. 1627–1697): **42** (n. 64)
 Bray, Salomon de (1597–1664): **24, 31, 38–39**
 (n. 5), **42** (n. 64), **88, 92–94**; fig. 4.7
 Breenbergh, Bartholomeus (1598–1657): **82,**
 88, 91–92; fig. 4.6
 Broders, Ove (c. 1585–1652): **183**

- Bronckhorst, Jan Gerritsz van (ca. 1603–1661): **31, 37, 42 (n. 70), 42–43 (n. 71)**
- Brouwer, Adriaen (1605/06–1638): **115**
- Bogaert, Lijsbeth Willems (1569–1651): **127; fig. 6.12**
- Bucelinus, Gabriël (1599–1681): **41 (n. 60)**
- Buns, Johannes (before 1640–after 1667): **185, 199 (n. 34)**
- Burckhardt, Jacob (1818–1897): **227**
- Burgh, Anna (1624–1672): **200 (n. 69)**
- C**
- Campe, Heinrich Wilhelm (1771–1862): **211**
- Campen, Jacob van (1596–1657): **24, 31–32, 41 (n. 42), 72, 80 (n. 25)**
- Camphuysen, Dirk Rafaelsz (1586–1627): **61 (n. 3)**
- Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi da (1571–1610): **9, 19 (n. 41), 40 (n. 31), 43 (n. 76), 52, 63 (n. 36)**
- Carleton, Dudley (1573–1632): **30, 63 (n. 37)**
- Carlisle, Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of (1748–1825): **115, 118**
- Carracci, Annibale (1560–1609): **43 (n. 76)**
- Castiglione, Giovanni Benedetto (1609–1664): **201–202 (n. 88)**
- Centen, Gozen (ca. 1611/12–1677): **150, 184–185**
- Charles I, King of England (1600–1649): **14, 74**
- Charles II, King of England (1630–1685): **193, 203 (n. 104)**
- Choiseul-Praslain, Louis-César-Renaud, Duc de (1735–1791): **251 (n. 31)**
- Claesz, Pieter (1597/98–1660): **136**
- Cock, Jan Matthias (1720–1771): **225; fig. 14.5**
- Coligny, Louise de (1555–1620): **72**
- Colijns, David (ca. 1582–after 1668): **63 (n. 41)**
- Colijns, Jacob (1614–1686): **63 (n. 41)**
- Commelin, Isaac (1598–1676): **42 (n. 66), 69–70**
- Comte, Florent le (1655–1712): **37**
- Conijn, Lucas (1597–1652): **26, 187; fig. 1.15**
- Coornhert, Dirk Volckertsz (1522–1590): **12; fig. 0.6**
- Corneille, Pierre (1606–1684): **107**
- Court, Pieter de la (1618–1685): **169–170**
- Couwenbergh, Christiaan van (1604–1667): **24**
- Cranach, Lucas (1472–1553): **103**
- Cuyp, Aelbert (1620–1691): **165, 212–213, 217 (n. 32); fig. 13.9**
- Cuyp, Benjamin (1612–1652): **9, 18 (n. 12)**
- Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz (1594–1652): **18 (n. 12), 41 (n. 49), 212**
- D**
- Dalen, Cornelis II van (ca. 1602–1665): **80 (n. 13), 192**
- Delff, Willem Jacobsz (1580–1638): **61 (n. 7)**
- Dell (family): **Ch. 6**
- Dell, Elbert (1595–1667): **124–126, 131 (n. 57)**
- Dell, Elisabeth (1628–1660): **116, 124, 126–127, 161; fig. 6.7b**
- Dell, Gerard (1644–1688): **126**
- Descamps, Jean-Baptiste (1714–1791): **224, 239**
- Dezallier d’Argenville (1680–1765): **247**
- Dieussart, François (1600–1661): **76**
- Dircx, Geertje (ca. 1610–ca. 1656): **230**
- Does, Jacob van der (1623–1673): **106**
- Domenichino (1581–1641): **37, 43 (n. 76)**
- Doncker, Herman (1595–ca. 1651): **213–214**
- Dorigny, Michel: **103–105, 109–110, 113 (n. 54); fig. 5.4**
- Dou, Gerrit (1613–1675): **7, 10, 26, 251 (n. 30)**
- Doublet, Maria (b. 1595): **188**
- Doucy, Laurens (1606–1669): **63 (n. 41)**
- Duchesne, Jean (1779–1855): **225**
- Dürer, Albrecht (1471–1528): **103**
- Dyck, Anthony van (1599–1641): **14, 18 (n. 21), 31–32, 37, 42 (n. 70), 58, 74, 76, 81 (n. 35), 155, 183, 188–189, 192, 198 (n. 20), 200 (n. 58, n. 65), 221, 227, 239**
- Dyk, Jan van (ca. 1690–1769): **72, 197–198 (n. 18), 234 (n. 21, n. 23)**
- E**
- Eeckhout, Gerbrand van den (1621–1674): **37**
- Elias, Petronella (1648–1667): **123, 126; fig. 6.10**
- Erckel, Anna van (1624–1680): **124**
- Everdingen, Caesar Boëtius van (1616/17–1678): **28, 31, 38, 42 (n. 64); fig. 1.9**
- Eynden, Roeland van den (1747–1819): **239**
- F**
- Fagel (family): **Ch. 6; Table 6.I**
- Fagel, François I (1659–1746): **116–117**
- Fagel, François II (1740–1773): **116**
- Fagel, Hendrick II (1706–1790): **116–117, 122**
- Fagel, Hendrick III (1765–1838): **116–120, 122**
- Fagel, Jacob (1766–1843): **118, 119**
- Felibien, Andre (1619–1695): **37, 40 (n. 22)**
- Fiorentino, Rosso (1494–1541): **65 (n. 70)**
- Flinck, Govert (1615–1660): *passim*
- And Lambert Jacobsz: **44–65**
- And Jürgen Ovens: **180–203**
- Reception: **218–252**
- Allegory on the Birth and Death of Prince Wilhelm Heinrich III of Brandenburg*: **12, 41 (n. 41), 77, 78, 80 (n. 13), 192; fig. 3.9**
- Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik*: **12, 31, 66–81; fig. 3.1**
- Annunciation to the Shepherds*: **6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 30, 41 (n. 37), 182, 197 (n. 10), 225; fig. 0.1**
- Bathsheba pleading with David to appoint Solomon his Successor*: **27, 31; fig. 1.7**
- The Company of Capt. Albert Bas and Lt. Lucas Conijn*: **26, 30, 187; fig. 1.5**
- Four Governors of the Arquebusiers’ Civic Guard Company*: **187, 218, 221; fig. 14.1**
- Isaac blessing Jacob* (ca. 1633–1634): **44, 58, 60, 141, 143–144, 150, 151 (n. 7), 221; fig. 2.14**
- Isaac blessing Jacob* (ca. 1638–1640): **25, 30, 221, 246; fig. 1.4**
- Joseph’s Blood-stained Coat shown to Jacob*: **86, 87; fig. 4.2**

- Manius Curius Dentatus refuses the Gifts of the Samnites*: **20, 28, 31, 34–35, 188, 193, 221, 227**; **fig. 1.8**
- Manoah's Sacrifice*: **10, 11**; **fig. 0.4**
- Midnight Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis in the Schaker Woods* (completed by J. Ovens): **14, 193–194**; **fig. 12.13**
- Oath of Claudius Civilis*: **195**; **fig. 12.14**
- Old Man leaning on a Casement*: **232, 236, 249**; **fig. 15.1**
- Portrait of a 44-year-old Man*: **251 (n. 38)**
- Portrait of a Boy (David Leeuw)*: **12, 13, 132–159**; **fig. 7.1**
- Portrait of Dirck Jacobsz Leeuw*: **134, 135, 146, 185**; **fig. 7.2**
- Portrait of a Man, known as Gozen Centen*: **150, 184, 185**; **fig. 12.3**
- Portrait of Margaretha Tulp*: **190, 200 (n. 69, n. 70)**; **fig. 12.11**
- Portrait of a Married Couple*: **13, 154–159, 188**; **fig. 9.1**
- Portrait of a Woman*: **184, 186**; **fig. 12.5**
- Portrait of a Young Woman as a Shepherdess holding an Orange*: **190**; **fig. 12.10**
- Return of the Prodigal Son*: **186, 187**; **fig. 12.7**
- Self-Portrait* (1643): **9, 181, 182, 198 (n. 26)**; **fig. 12.1**
- Solomon praying for Wisdom*: **193, 196, 221, 222, 234 (n. 21)**; **fig. 14.3**
- Flinck, Nicolaes Anthoni (1646–1723): **197 (n. 5), 238**
- Flinck, Teunis Govertsz (d. after 1649): **181**
- Frederick V, King of Bohemia, Elector Palatine (1596–1632): **63 (n. 37)**
- G**
- Gaesbeeck, Adriaen van (1621–1650): **142**; **fig. 8.1**
- Gauguin, Paul (1848–1903): **17**
- Geest, Wybrand de (1592–after 1667): **49–50**
- Gelder, Aert de (1645–1727): **40 (n. 25), 152 (n. 26), 198 (n. 25)**
- Giustiniani, Vincenzo (1564–1637): **25**
- Gloxin, Balthasar (1601–1654): **200 (n. 65)**
- Gloxin, Margaretha (?–after 1670): **200 (n. 65)**
- Godewijck, Margaretha van (1627–1677): **208–209**
- Gogh, Vincent van (1853–1890): **17**
- Graeff, Agneta de (1603–1656): **184**
- Graeff, Alida de (1651–1738): **195–196, 203 (n. 112)**
- Graeff, Andries de (1611–1678): **195–196, 203 (n. 112)**
- Graeff, Cornelis de (1599–1664): **192, 195, 198 (n. 24), 221**
- Graeff, Pieter de (1638–1707): **183–184**
- Grebber, Pieter de (ca. 1600–1652): **31, 38, 42 (n. 64), 55, 62 (n. 22, n. 27)**
- Grotius, Hugo (1583–1645): **83, 91**
- Guercino (1591–1666): **9, 37, 40 (n. 20), 42 (n. 61)**
- H**
- Haden, Sir Francis Seymour (1818–1910): **138**
- Hals, Frans (1582/83–1666): **145, 199 (n. 37)**
- Heemskerck, Egbert van (1634/35–1704): **115**
- Heemskerck, Marten van (1498–1574): **10, 12**; **fig. 0.6**
- Heer, Margaretha de (1600/03–before 1665): **56, 64 (n. 55)**
- Heim, Maria Adriana van der (1686–1714): **118, 121**
- Heinsius, Anthonie (1641–1720): **123**
- Heinsius, Maria (1649–1718): **121, 123**
- Helst, Bartholomeus van der (ca. 1613–1670): **10, 229–230, 239**
- Helt Stockade, Nicolaes van (1614–1669): **34, 37, 42 (n. 70), 88, 91–93**
- Heuvel, Helena van den (1638–1698): **126**
- Hodges, Charles Howard (1764–1831): **116**; **fig. 6.2**
- Hoet, Gerard (1648–1733): **109, 117**
- Holsteyn, Cornelis (1618–1658): **37, 42 (n. 70)**
- Hooch, Pieter de (1629–1684): **207**
- Hoof, Cornelia (1631–1708): **137**
- Hoof, Pieter Cornelisz (1581–1647): **137**
- Honthorst, Gerard van (1592–1656): **24, 39 (n. 10), 51, 53, 55, 62 (n. 22), 74–76, 81 (n. 35, n. 39)**; **fig. 3.6, 3.7, 3.8**
- Hoogenbergh, Izaak (1686–1742): **93, 94**
- Hoogstraten, Samuel van (1627–1678): **9, 22, 30, 40 (n. 33), 99, 207–208, 238**; **fig. 13.5**
- Hopffer, Bartholomeus (1628–1699): **185, 199 (n. 34)**
- Houbraken, Arnold (1660–1719): **9, 12, 18 (n. 7), 22, 29**
- Houwaert, Johan Baptista (1533–1599): **112 (n. 26)**
- Huret, Grégoire (1606–1670): **37, 42 (n. 62)**
- Huydecoper, Joan I (1599–1661): **38, 76, 152 (n. 22), 192, 199 (n. 48), 221, 229**
- Huygens, Constantijn (the Elder) (1596–1687): **19 (n. 33), 75–76, 81 (n. 39), 167 (n. 3)**
- I**
- Immerzeel, Johannes (1776–1841): **239**
- Innes, Heere (fl. 1635): **26**
- J**
- Jacobsz, Isack (brother of Lambert Jacobsz) (b. c. 1600): **50**
- Jacobsz, Lambert (c. 1598–1636): **9, 30–31, 44–65, 134–135, 137, 144, 181–182**; **fig. 2.7, 2.11**
- Jordaens, Jacob (1593–1678): **80 (n. 25), 202 (n. 103)**
- Junius, Franciscus (1591–1677): **29, 43 (n. 75)**
- K**
- Keil, Bernhard (1624–1687): **10, 39 (n. 19), 40 (n. 22), 186**
- Keister, Lorenz de (d. 1653): **183**
- Kerckrinck, Godert (1577–1645): **203 (n. 104)**
- Kerckrinck, Theodorus (Dirck) (1638–1693): **203 (n. 104)**
- Keyser, Hendrick de (1565–1621): **80 (n. 12)**

Keyser, Thomas de (1596–1667): **19 (n. 33), 37, 167 (n. 3)**

Koninck, Salomon (1609–1656): **64 (n. 55), 88, 90–91, 93–94; fig. 4.5**

Koot, Raymond: *see* **Typex**

L

Lairesse, Andreas de (1668–1715): **108**

Lairesse, Gerard de (1640–1711): **17, 25, 29, 35–36, 39 (n. 13), 101–110, 227; fig. 5.2, 5.5, 5.7**

Lampsins, Jacoba (1615–1667): **35, 113 (n. 53); fig. 1.15**

Lastman, Pieter (1583–1633): **9, 15, 25, 30–31, 42 (n. 70), 43 (n. 76), 57, 83, 88, 92**

Lauwers, Nicolaes (1600–1652): **26; fig. 1.6**

Leerse, Sebastiaan (1584–1664): **189**

Leeuw family: **Ch. 7**

Leeuw, Agneta (1630–1694): **137**

Leeuw, Ameldonck Jacobsz (1604–1647): **136, 181–182, 187, 199 (n. 44)**

Leeuw, Barbara (1629–1682): **137**

Leeuw, Cornelia (1663–1716): **137**

Leeuw, David (1631/32–1703): **12, 13, 132, 136–138; fig. 7.1, 7.3**

Leeuw, Dirck Jacobsz (1614–1652): **134–137, 182, 185; fig. 7.2**

Leeuw, Jacob (d. 1636): **134, 182, 188**

Leeuw, Jacob (1636–1704): **137, 187, 199 (n. 49)**

Leeuw, Maria (1653–1721): **127**

Leeuw, Pieter (1657–1677): **127**

Leeuw, Susanna (1669–1726): **137**

Leeuw, Weyntje (1659–1728): **127**

Leeuw van Lennep Arnoutsz, David (1683–1745): **137–138**

Lievens, Jan (1607–1674): **14, 37, 39 (n. 15, n. 16), 41 (n. 46), 42 (n. 70), 42–43 (n. 71), 46–48, 51–55, 57, 60, 62 (n. 22, n. 27, n. 29, n. 31), 63 (n. 42, n. 47), 65 (n. 70, n. 72), 79, 86–87, 96 (n. 12), 183–184, 195–197 (n. 17, n. 18), 198 (n. 19–n. 21); fig. 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.6, 2.12, 2.13, 2.15**

Limburg Stirum, Maria Magdalena van (1632–1707): **78**

Loo, Jacob van (1614–1670): **10, 34, 37–38, 42 (n. 70); fig. 1.14**

Ludick, Lodewijck van (1606/07–1669): **39 (n. 17)**

M

Maes, Nicolaes (1634–1693): **9, 120–122, 205, 207, 210, 212, 215; fig. 6.4**

Malvasia, Carlo Cesare (1616–1693): **39 (n. 3)**

Mander, Karel van (1548–1606): **40 (n. 28, n. 31)**

Mattysz, Jan (fl. 1650–1685): **68; fig. 3.2**

Medici, Marie de' (1575–1642): **73, 81 (n. 30, n. 31)**

Meegeren, Han van (1889–1947): **68–69, 230**

Metsu, Gabriel (1629–1667): **115**

Meyer, Lodewijk (1629–1681): **107**

Michelangelo (Buonarroti, 1475–1564): **30**

Mierevelt, Michiel van (1566–1641): **74**

Moeyaert, Claes (1591–1655): **62 (n. 22), 136**

Molenaer, Jan Miense (ca. 1610–1668): **111 (n. 2), 217 (n. 23)**

Moor, Carel II de (1655–1738): **117, 121, 122; fig. 6.5**

Moreelse, Paulus (1571–1638): **30**

Möring, Carl Philipp Ferdinand (1818–1900): **211**

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756–1791): **230**

Mundy, Peter (1596–1667): **41 (n. 60)**

N

Nassau, Louise Henriette, Countess of (1627–1667): **73, 76, 78; fig. 3.6**

Nassau-Siegen, Johan Maurits, Prince of (1604–1679): **76, 192–193, 203 (n. 104)**

Neufville, Pieter Leendert de (1729–1797): **251 (n. 26)**

Neufville, Susanne de (1644–1680): **118, 121, 123, 131 (n. 41)**

Noordt, Jan van (1623/24–after 1676): **37, 42 (n. 70), 191, 201 (n. 73); fig. 12.12**

O

Orange, Frederik Hendrik, Stadtholder, Prince of (1584–1647): **12, 24, 28, 31, 37, 40 (n. 20), 66–81; fig. 3.1, 3.7**

Orange, Willem I, Prince of (1533–1584): **69, 80 (n. 12)**

Orange, Willem II, Prince of (1626–1650): **69–70; fig. 3.8**

Orange, Willem III, King of England, Prince of (1650–1702): **69–70, 80 (n. 13)**

Ostade, Adriaen van (1610–1685): **115**

Ovens, Jürgen (1623–1678): **14, 17, 37, 42 (n. 70), 180–203; fig. 12.2, 12.4, 12.8, 12.9, 12.11, 12.13, 12.15**

Ovens, Maria (Maria Martens, d. 1690): **191, 193**

P

Paudiss, Christopher (ca. 1625–before 1666): **184, 198 (n. 27)**

Pels, Andries (1631–1681): **36, 103–110, 112 (n. 22, n. 35, n. 36), 113 (n. 51); fig. 5.5**

Pers, Dirk Pietersz (1581–1659): **72; fig. 3.5**

Picasso, Pablo (1881–1973): **17**

Piles, Roger de (1635–1709): **37**

Pilkington, Matthew (1701–1774): **225, 234 (n. 21, n. 23)**

Poelenburch, Cornelis van (1594/95–1667): **51, 53, 55, 62 (n. 22), 74, 81 (n. 35)**

Poll, Jan van de (1597–1678): **199 (n. 47), 202 (n. 89)**

Pontius, Paulus (1603–1658): **198 (n. 21), 200 (n. 65)**

Porcellis, Jan (c. 1584–1632): **63 (n. 41)**

Post, Pieter (1608–1669): **70, 76**

Poussin, Nicholas (1594–1665): **37, 43 (n. 76)**

Preti, Mattia (1613–1699): **40 (n. 20)**

Pynas, Jacob (ca. 1592/93–after 1650): **62 (n. 22), 90**

Pynas, Jan (1581/82–1631): **15, 46, 62 (n. 22), 83–87, 90, 95 (n. 2), 96 (n. 12); fig. 4.1**

- Q**
- Questiers de Hoeft, Catharina (1631–1669):
113 (n. 44)
- Quina, Adriana (1611–1684): **126**
- Quina, Jacob (1621–1680): **126**
- R**
- Raimondi, Marcantonio (1480–1534): **103**
- Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio, 1483–1520): **29–30, 43 (n. 76), 52, 103, 230; fig. 2.9**
- Reael, Pieter (1569–1643): **144**
- Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669): *passim*.
- Adoration of the Shepherds*: **24, 28, 37; fig. 1.3**
- The Angel Raphael departing from the Family of Tobias*: **8, 10; fig. 0.3**
- The Angel departing from the Family of Tobias* (etching): **11, 15; fig. 0.7**
- Annunciation to the Shepherds*: **8, 10; fig. 0.2**
- Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis*: **14, 19 (n. 36)**
- The Hundred Guilder Print (Christ healing the Sick)*: **15**
- Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*: **89; fig. 4.4**
- Joseph's Blood-stained Coat shown to Jacob*: **87; fig. 4.3**
- Manoah's Sacrifice*: **10, 12; fig. 0.5**
- The Militia Company of District II under the Command of Capt. Frans Banning Cocq (The Night Watch)*: **9, 152 (n. 18), 221, 241**
- Portrait of Amalia von Solms*: **81 (n. 38)**
- Portrait of Jan Rijcksen and Griet Jans (The Shipbuilder and his Wife)*: **13**
- Portrait of Cornelis Claesz Anslø and Aeltje Schouten*: **13**
- Self-Portrait Age Thirty-Four*: **9, 184, 198 (n. 26)**
- Self-Portrait leaning on a Stone Sill*: **18 (n. 14), 184, 198 n. 26)**
- Reni, Guido (1575–1642): **37, 39 (n. 3)**
- Renialme, Johannes de (ca. 1593–1657): **26–27, 39 (n. 16, n. 17), 69**
- Reynolds, Joshua (1723–1792): **117, 130 (n. 8), 221**
- Rijcksen, Jan (ca. 1561–1637): **13, 19 (n. 30)**
- Rijn, Rembrandt van: *see Rembrandt*
- Ringh, Yeme Jacobsz de (1574–1627): **31 (n. 7)**
- Ripa, Cesare (1555–1622): **69, 72, 80–81 (n. 28); fig. 3.5**
- Rivius, Gualtherus (ca. 1500–after 1545): **40 (n. 28)**
- Rosa, Salvator (1615–1673): **40 (n. 20)**
- Roscius, Anthonius (1593–1624): **46**
- Rots, Willem de (b. 1616): **80 (n. 7)**
- Rubens, Peter Paul (1577–1640): **9, 24, 26, 30–31, 37, 43 (n. 76), 50, 52–53, 55, 58, 63 (n. 36, n. 37), 64 (n. 66), 73, 76, 81 (n. 57), 103, 115, 153 (n. 43), 188, 192, 221, 227, 239; fig. 1.6, 2.8, 2.10**
- Rutgers, Maria (d. 1652): **136**
- Ruyter, Admiral Engel de (1649–1683): **124**
- Ruyter, Admiral Michiel de (1607–1676): **124**
- S**
- Saenredam, Pieter (1597–1665): **24, 39 (n. 5)**
- Saftleven, Cornelis (1607–1681): **62 (n. 22)**
- Saftleven, Herman (ca. 1609–1685): **51, 62 (n. 22)**
- Salieri, Antonio (1750–1825): **230**
- Sandrart, Joachim von (1606–1688): **23–25, 29–30, 32, 37–38, 40 (n. 35), 41 (n. 50), 42 (n. 66), 58, 185, 188, 192, 195, 197 (n. 9), 198 (n. 27), 200 (n. 59), 223–225, 228, 238–239; fig. 1.2**
- Santvoort, Dirk Dircksz van (1610–1680): **153 (n. 66)**
- Saxony, Mary Elizabeth, Duchess of (1610–1684): **192**
- Scharlaken, Erasmus (b. c. 1610): **124**
- Scheits, Andreas (1655–1725/35): **211**
- Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf, Frederick III, Duke of (1597–1659): **191, 201 (n. 77)**
- Scholten, Cornelis (late 17th c./early 18th c.): **94**
- Scholten, Elisabeth (early 18th c.): **94**
- Schouten, Aeltje Gerritsdr (1589–1657): **19 (n. 30)**
- Schrank, Set Cornelis (17th c.): **63 (n. 41)**
- Seghers, Daniel (1590–1661): **71, 80 (n. 23); fig. 3.3**
- Seymour Haden, Francis (1818–1910): **138**
- Six, Jan (I) (1618–1700): **190, 192, 236 (n. 54)**
- Six, Pieter (1612–1680): **193**
- Slicher, Wigbold (1627–1718): **121, 125–126; fig. 6.8**
- Sluijsken (family): **Ch. 6**
- Sluijsken, Catharina Anna (1714–1783): **120, 122**
- Sluijsken, Frederick (1644–1710): **120–123, 126–127; fig. 6.1, 6.4, 6.5**
- Sluijsken, Pauwel (1569/70–before 1643): **122**
- Sluijsken, Susanna (1706–1771): **122**
- Sluijsken, Willem (1618–1678): **120, 122–123, 126–127; fig. 6.11**
- Sluijsken, Willem (1673–1725): **120–123; fig. 6.11**
- Smith, John (1781–1855): **234 (n. 24), 239–241, 248**
- Snyders, Frans (1579–1657): **24**
- Solms, Amalia van (1602–1675): **31, 66–79, 230; fig. 3.1, 3.7**
- Specx, Jacques (1585–1652): **188**
- Spiegel (family): **Ch. 6**
- Spiegel, Cornelis Dircks (1606–1646): **125**
- Spiegel, Dirck Arentsz (1566–1615): **127**
- Spiegel, Elbert (1600–1674): **125–126**
- Spiegel, Elisabeth (1628–1707): **125–126; fig. 6.8**
- Spiegel, Geertruijt Dircx (1601–1661): **122, 126**
- Spiegel, Hendrick Dircksz (1598–1667): **125–126**
- Spilberg, Johannes (1619–1690): **185, 199 (n. 47), 200 (n. 54), 201 (n. 77)**
- Spinoza, Benedict de (1632–1677): **107**
- Steen, Jan (1625/26–1679): **111 (n. 2)**
- Steenkiste, Feyntje van (1603/04–1640): **199 (n. 37)**

- Stoffels, Hendrickje (1626–1663): **231**
- Strijcker, Willem (1602/03–shortly after 1673): **34, 37**
- Stuart, Mary, Princess Royal of England (1631–1660): **70, 73, 76; fig. 3.8**
- Stuhr, Johan Georg (ca. 1640–1721): **211**
- Suyderhoef, Jonas (ca. 1613–1686): **63 (n. 36)**
- T**
- Tempel, Abraham van den (1622/23–1672): **137–138; fig. 7.3**
- Theunisd, Aeghje (17th c.): **46**
- Thielen, Anna van (d. 1639): **188–189**
- Thielen, Anna Maria van (b. 1628): **189**
- Thoré, Théophile (AKA William Bürger) (1807–1869): **226–227, 232**
- Thovelingh, Ingetje (ca. 1620–1651): **134, 159 (n. 2), 197 (n. 12)**
- Thulden, Theodoor van (1606–1669): **76**
- Titian (Tiziano Vecellio) (ca. 1487–1576): **103**
- Trip (family): **35, 251 (n. 23, n. 26)**
- Trip, Anna Maria (1652–1681): **36; fig. 1.17**
- Trip, Margarita (1640–1714): **36; fig. 1.17**
- Tubeuf, Jacques (1606–1670): **111 (n. 21)**
- Tulp, Dirck (1624–1682): **200 (n. 69)**
- Tulp, Margaretha (1634–1709): **151 (n. 7), 190, 192, 200 (n. 69); fig. 12.11**
- Tulp, Nicolaes (1593–1674): **193, 200 (n. 69), 202 (n. 94), 241**
- Typex (Raymond Koot, b. 1962): **229–231; fig. 14.6**
- U**
- Uylenburgh, Gerrit (ca. 1625–1679): **39 (n. 16), 109, 192, 194, 197 (n. 9), 199 (n. 49), 201 (n. 75), 202 (n. 103), 203 (n. 106)**
- Uylenburgh, Hendrick (ca. 1587–1661): **9, 10, 12, 39 (n. 17), 49–51, 54–55, 58, 62 (n. 19, n. 22), 63 (n. 42), 134–135, 182–188, 193, 197 (n. 10), 202 (n. 103), 233 (n. 1), 239, 240**
- Uylenburgh, Hendrickje (1600–after 1665): **50**
- Uylenburgh, Rombertus (ca. 1554–1624): **49**
- Uylenburgh, Saskia van (1612–1642): **49, 51**
- V**
- Verhoeven, Robbert (17th c.): **83**
- Vermeer, Johannes (1632–1675): **68–69, 161, 230**
- Verspronck, Johannes (1600/03–1662): **210, 216 (n. 16)**
- Viardot, Louis (1800–1883): **227**
- Victors, Jan (1619–1676/77): **37, 151 (n. 7)**
- Vignon, Claude (1593–1670): **39 (n. 17), 41 (n. 60)**
- Vingboons, Philips (ca. 1607–1678): **23, 24, 137; fig. 1.2**
- Vinkeles, Reinier (1741–1816): **224; fig. 14.5**
- Vlaming van Outshoorn, Elisabeth de (1600–1669): **125**
- Vlieger, Simon de (1600/01–1653): **136**
- Vondel, Joost van den (1587–1679): **15, 32–33, 42 (n. 66), 46, 82–97, 99–100, 105, 108, 111–112 (n. 22), 192, 202 (n. 91), 223, 229, 233 (n. 13)**
- Voorde, Elisabeth van de (1610–1677): **124**
- Voorhout, Johannes (1647–1717): **192, 198 (n. 25), 199 (n. 39), 201 (n. 86)**
- Voort, Catharina van der (1622–1674): **126, 168–179; fig. 11.1**
- Voort, Jan van der (1626–1678): **168–179; fig. 11.1**
- Voort, Willem van der (1619–1683): **170**
- Vos, Jan (ca. 1610–1667): **15, 42 (n. 66), 86, 99–100, 107, 192, 202 (n. 91), 223**
- Vouet, Simon: **102–105, 109–110, 111 (n. 21), 113 (n. 54); fig. 5.3, 5.4**
- W**
- Waagen, Gustav (1794–1868): **227**
- Waeijen/Waeyen (family): **Ch. 6**
- Waeijen, Dirck van der (1624–1670): **126**
- Waeijen, Jacques van der (1587–1651): **122**
- Waeijen, Maria van der (1622–1682): **121–123, 126–127**
- Waeijen, Otto van der (1646–1686): **126; fig. 6.9**
- Wagenaar, Jan (1709–1773): **224**
- Waveren, Frans van (1619–1659): **152 (n. 22), 199 (n. 48)**
- Werff, Adriaen van der (1659–1722): **117, 227**
- West, Ferdinandus (d. 1683/84): **41 (n. 49)**
- Weyerman, Jacob Campo (1677–1747): **224, 233 (n. 20), 239, 248, 250 (n. 10)**
- Wijngaerde, Frans van den (1614–1679): **198 (n. 21)**
- Wijngaerde, Hans van den (17th c.): **183, 198 (n. 21)**
- Wildt, David de (1611–1671): **124, 126**
- Wildt, Hiob de (1637–1704): **123**
- Willeboirts Bosschaert, Thomas (1613/14–1654): **31–32, 71–72, 76, 80 (n. 23); fig. 3.3, 3.4**
- Winnincx, Leonard (1616–1691): **126**
- Wit, Jacob de (1695–1754): **120**
- Witt, Cornelis de (1623–1672): **215**
- Witt, Johan de, Grand Pensionary (1625–1672): **70, 183–184**
- Wulfhagen, Franz (1624–1670): **184**
- Wurzbach, Alfred von (1846–1915): **227**
- Z**
- Zesen, Philipp von (1619–1689): **192, 193, 203 (n. 118)**
- Zick, Januarius (1730–1797): **64 (n. 55)**

Photograph credits

- Alamy 1.9, 1.12, 1.13, 4.7, 5.3, 8.1, 13.9
 Amersfoort, Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands 1.1, 1.14
 Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum 14.2
 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 0.2, 0.7, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.17, 2.4, 2.8, 2.15, 3.1, 3.2, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 4.3, 5.2, 5.5, 5.6, 7.3, 12.3, 13.3, 14.1, 14.5, 14.7
 Amsterdam, Six Collection 12.11
 Amsterdam, Stichting Koninklijk Paleis 1.8, 1.16, 12.13, 14.3, 14.4
 Amsterdam, United Mennonite Congregation 7.2
 Jörg P. Anders 12.15, 13.4
 Antwerp, KMSKA (Royal Museum of Fine Arts) 11.1-11.11
 Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh 5.7
 Art Resource 0.1, 0.3, 13.10
 Bamberg, Museen der Stadt Bamberg 2.6
 Roman Beniaminson 6.12
 Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz 0.5, 2.5, 4.4, 12.15, 13.2, 13.4
 Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham 4.6, 7.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4.A, 8.4.B, 8.5, 8.6, 8.7, 8.8
 Gérard Blot 12.8, 13.10
 BPK bildagentur 1.3, 4.4, 6.11, 6.12, 12.2, 12.14, 12.15, 13.4, 13.11
 Ruth Bubb 7.1, 8.2-8.9
 Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum 12.10, 13.9
 Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum 1.12
 Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum 2.3
 Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum 12.5
 Dessau, Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz, Bildarchiv / Heinz Fräßdorf 3.4
 Dole, Musée des Beaux-Arts 5.3
 Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum 6.8, 13.6
 Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland 1.7, 1.10
 Evansville, Evansville Museum of Arts, History and Science 12.4
 Rik Klein Gotink 11.1, 11.6B
 Jonathan Gration, Amsterdam 1.15
 The Hague, Huis ten Bosch 1.9
 The Hague, Mauritshuis 2.12, 3.3
 Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle 12.2, 12.14
 Helsinki, Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery 4.2
 Christoph Irrgang 12.14
 Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle 9.1-9.7
 Kassel, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel 13.8A
 Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University 0.4, 13.1
 Leeuwarden, Bonifatiuskerk 2.13
 Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste 6.11
 Erich Lessing 0.3
 London, British Museum 2.9, 5.4
 London, National Gallery 10.1-10.6
 London, Samuel Courtauld Trust 2.11
 London, Schroder Collection 6.7A, 6.7B
 Hugo Maertens 6.11
 Milwaukee, Milwaukee Art Museum 8.1
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 1.3, 13.11
 Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 12.8
 New York, Alamy 1.9, 1.12, 1.13, 4.7, 5.3, 8.1, 13.9
 New York, The Leiden Collection 5.1, 12.1
 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 6.3, 6.10, 12.6
 Paris, Musée du Louvre (RMN-Grand Palais) 0.1, 0.3, 12.8, 13.5, 13.10
 Potsdam, SPSG 3.9
 Tony Querrac 0.1
 Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art 12.7
 Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen 0.6, 6.9
 Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 2.10, 4.1, 6.12
 San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor 1.13
 Christoph Schmidt 4.4
 Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 4.5
 Springfield, Springfield Museum of Fine Arts 13.7
 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum 2.2
 Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent 2.14
 Elke Walford 12.2

About the authors

ANN JENSEN ADAMS is Professor of the History of Art and Architecture at the University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA, USA.

NELLY VON ADERKAS is Conservation Scientist at The National Gallery, London, UK.

SASKIA BERANEK is Visiting Assistant Professor at Colby College, Waterville, ME, USA.

RUTH BUBB is a conservator of paintings based in Banbury, UK.

STEPHANIE S. DICKEY is Professor of Art History and Bader Chair in Northern Baroque Art at Queen's University, Kingston, ON, Canada.

MILOU GOVERDE is Project Coordinator at the Mauritshuis, The Hague, NL.

FRANS GRIJZENHOUT is Professor of Renaissance and Early Modern Art at the University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, NL.

JASPER HILLEGERS is Assistant Curator of Old Masters at the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, NL.

ELLEN KEPPENS is a paintings conservator based in Antwerp, Belgium.

JILL KEPPENS is a paintings conservator based in Antwerp, Belgium.

ERNA KOK is Lecturer and Researcher at the University of Amsterdam, NL.

JUSTUS LANGE is Director of the Old Masters Gallery, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Kassel, Germany.

PATRICK LARSEN is an independent art historian and a PhD candidate at Radboud University, Nijmegen, NL.

HILBERT LOOTSMA is an independent art historian and a PhD candidate at Utrecht University, Utrecht, NL.

TOM VAN DER MOLEN is Curator at the Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam, NL.

DAVID PEGGIE is Organic Analyst at The National Gallery, London, UK.

FLAMINIA RUKAVINA is a paintings conservator based in Vienna, Austria.

ILONA SCHWÄGERL is Conservator at the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, Germany.

ERIC JAN SLUIJTER is Emeritus Professor of Renaissance and Early Modern Art at the University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, NL.

MARIKA SPRING is Head of Science at The National Gallery, London, UK.

ILONA VAN TUINEN is Annette and Oscar de la Renta Assistant Curator of Drawings and Prints at the Morgan Library & Museum, New York, USA. (From 1 February 2018, Curator of 16th- and 17th-Century Dutch and Flemish Drawings at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, NL.)

ROBERT WENLEY is Head of Collections and Deputy Director of The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK.

Colophon

Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck
New Research

Publication

WBOOKS, Zwolle, The Netherlands
info@wbooks.com
www.wbooks.com

Editing

Stephanie S. Dickey

Essays

Ann Jensen Adams, Saskia Beranek,
Ruth Bubb, Stephanie S. Dickey,
Milou Goverde and Robert Wenley,
Ellen Keppens and Jill Keppens, Frans
Grijzenhout and Erna Kok, Jasper
Hillegers, Justus Lange, Patrick Larsen,
Hilbert Lootsma, Tom van der Molen,
Flaminia Rukavina, Marika Spring,
Nelly von Aderkas and David Peggie,
Ilona Schwägerl, Eric Jan Sluijter, Ilona
van Tuinen

Design

Marinka Reuten, Amsterdam

© 2017 WBOOKS / the authors

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

The publisher has endeavoured to comply with all statutory provisions regarding the rights to the illustrations. Those who nevertheless wish to assert certain rights, may contact the publisher. The copyright to works by visual artists affiliated with a CISAC organisation has been obtained from Pictoright in Amsterdam.

© 2017 Pictoright

ISBN 978 94 625 8222 4

NUR 646

This book was made possible by generous support from Drs Alfred and Isabel Bader and Queen's University.

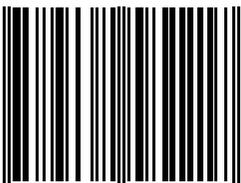






Of the many talented artists who worked with Rembrandt van Rijn in Amsterdam, none were more successful than Govert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol. Like Rembrandt, both trained elsewhere before making the audacious move to Amsterdam in the 1630s, a period of dynamic growth for the city that was fast becoming the cultural capital of northern Europe. In this volume of essays, art historians and conservation scientists present recent research that sheds new light on the activities of both Bol and Flinck: their painting techniques, patronage networks, intellectual milieu, and shifting critical fortunes. Several chapters explore their relationships with other artists: Lambert Jacobsz, Flinck's teacher in Leeuwarden, Jürgen Ovens, who worked closely with Flinck in Amsterdam, and Cornelis Bisschop, who studied with Bol.

Each in his own way, Flinck and Bol took the lessons learned from Rembrandt, developed their own styles, and garnered prestigious commissions and esteem. Based on a landmark international conference and produced to accompany the exhibition *Ferdinand Bol and Govert Flinck: Rembrandt's Master Pupils*, this book brings new attention to two brilliant painters who began their careers in Amsterdam as Rembrandt's acolytes and stayed to become his rivals.



9 789462 582217