

Gerrit Dou and His Collectors in the Golden Age

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Gerrit Dou (1613–75) apprenticed with Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69) between 1628–31, when he likely executed this early *Self-Portrait (?) at an Easel* **(fig 1)**. A mere eighteen years old, Dou established himself as an independent artist shortly after Rembrandt's departure, electing to stay in his native Leiden, where he resided continuously until his death in 1675. Painting in Leiden entered a critical period beginning in 1631 when several of the city's leading artists, including Rembrandt and Jan Lievens (1607–74) both departed. This loss of talent hugely depleted Leiden's artistic milieu. Nonetheless, coinciding with this drain was the dawn of Dou's remarkable career. His fame would soon spread not only throughout Leiden, but also far beyond the borders of the Netherlands.



Fig 1. Attributed to Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait at an Easel*, oil on panel, 66.6 x 50.9 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-112.

Dou was the cornerstone of a local school of painting that lasted deep into the eighteenth century. This school was characterized by a highly precise and extremely detailed manner of painting in a small format. The painters in Leiden working in this style became known as "the Leiden *fijnschilders*" in the nineteenth century.[1] Among them was Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–81), the only pupil of Dou to equal, if not surpass, his master. They were without a doubt the two most important Leiden *fijnschilders*, although there were also other highly deserving painters who are the subject of the essay *Leiden Fijnschilders and the Local Art Market in the Golden Age* in this catalogue.



Fig 2. Gerrit Dou, *Portrait of a Lady, Seated with a Music Book on her Lap*, ca. 1640–44, oil on panel, 27.2 x 20 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-116.

Dou's First Accolades

The first author to praise Dou and his exquisite painting style was the Leiden burgomaster Jan Orlers (1570–1646). In his 1641 *Beschryvinge van de Stad Leyden,* Orlers commends Dou as "an excellent master, especially in small, subtle, and intricate things."[2] A year later, the Leiden painter Philips Angel (1618–64) published his *Lof der Schilder-Konst*, in which Dou again assumes a leading role. This slender volume was the printed version of a lecture Angel gave on the Feast of Saint Luke the previous year to an assembly of colleagues and art lovers.[3] Dou, "Die noyt ghenoegh ghepresen" (who can never be praised enough), is mentioned twice in this treatise. In a passage regarding the ideal manner of painting, Angel urges his confrères to follow Dou's example.[4] Illustrating the integrity of the painter's *métier* with several specific examples, he notes "that fine, outstanding *Gerrit Dou*, who, because he has granted the Honorable *Gentleman Spierings* the right of first refusal, annually receives 500 guilders for this privilege."[5] While "Heer Spierings" (discussed below) was not a patron in the true sense of the word, the annual 500-guilder stipend provided Dou with a guaranteed income. In a time when skilled laborers earned one guilder per day, this would have made Dou the envy of his colleagues.



Fig 3. Gerrit Dou, *The Young*

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The Dissemination of Dou's Work

Orlers's and Angel's publications suggest that around 1640, Dou was the most successful painter in Leiden. Although Angel mentions Spiering's generous right of first refusal foremost as evidence of Dou's merits, the artist's economic success certainly was a key factor in Angel's endorsement of him as a role model.

Of Dou's important status, there is surprisingly scant evidence to be found in Leiden's archives. He occupies a modest twelfth place among the most frequently cited artists in seventeenth-century estate inventories.[6] When one considers the number of paintings mentioned, he drops off the list entirely. Dou's paintings are listed in only thirteen estate inventories, placing him thirty-second among Leiden painters. Remarkably, Dou's name does not occur once in Leiden inventories dating before 1650.

This meager presence is less meaningful than would appear at first glance. Notaries did not really begin to include attributions of paintings in documents until the 1650s.[7] Equally important, the artist's laborious and time-consuming manner of painting helps account for his low output—one, moreover, that may have been monopolized over a long period of time by a single patron, Pieter Spiering (1595–1652). Dou charged a steep hourly fee, which means that his paintings were so expensive that they were only within reach of an extremely wealthy—and therefore small and exclusive—circle of buyers. In fact, it would have been surprising if Dou's name *did* occur frequently in estate inventories, both before *and* after 1650.

The earliest attribution of a painting to Dou in Leiden is found in a 1656 inventory of one of his pupils, Abraham de Pape (ca. 1620–66).[8] Along with numerous copies that De Pape made of Dou's work, he owned two originals, namely his portrait and "een oud mans tronie" (*tronie* of an old man). In that same year, "een stuk van Dou" (a painting by Dou) is recorded among the many pictures owned by Johan Francois Tortarolis (ca. 1600–53), a fabulously wealthy banker.[9] An additional eleven Leiden deeds, drawn up between 1661 and 1697, all concern the holdings of Leiden's elite, including Johan de Bye (1621/22–70/72) and Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius (1614–72), who are each discussed in depth below.

The near absence of paintings by Dou in Leiden documents typifies the situation in other Dutch towns as well. The very earliest mention of one of his paintings actually occurs in a Delft deed of conveyance of the linen merchant Justus de la Grange (1623–64),[10] who in 1655 settled a debt with several paintings, including one by Dou. De la Grange frequented Delft regularly, but was more often to be found at Offem, his country estate near Leiden, where he hung the paintings mentioned in his inventory. The merchant owed his great prosperity primarily to affluent Leiden relatives, whose estates he had inherited. Thus, whether he actually bought Dou's painting cannot be

Mother, 1658, oil on panel, 73.5 cm x 55.5 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 32.



Fig 4. Gerrit Dou, *A Young Woman at Her Toilet*, 1667, oil on panel, 58 x 75.5 cm, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 1186 (OK).

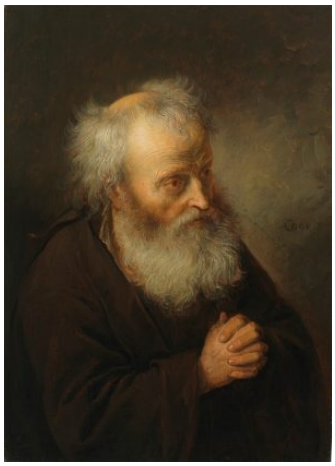

Fig 5. Gerrit Dou, *Old Man Praying*, ca. 1665–70, oil on panel, 18 x 12.7 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-107.



Fig 6. Gerrit Dou, *An Interior with Young Violinist,* 1637, oil on panel

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determined with certainty.

Dating from 1655 is an invitation, written in French, from notary Willem de Langue (1599–1656) in Delft to purchase “en tout, ou en part” (in full, or in part) his collection. Assembled between 1625 and 1655, it comprised eighty-nine paintings by various Dutch masters, including “six pièces de Gerrard Dou” (six paintings by Gerrit Dou).[11] Regrettably, these works are not described, which may be why De Langue is rarely mentioned as a patron of Dou in the literature. Nothing is known about the relationship between Dou and De Langue, but it should be remembered that De Langue was a reputed collector and connoisseur. His invitation was aimed at an international audience, perhaps the foreign diplomats residing nearby in The Hague. The possibility that De Langue was acquainted with his fellow townsman Pieter Spiering cannot be excluded.

In addition to the Leiden and Delft deeds, a Middelburg estate inventory from 1676 lists “een principael van Gerrit Douw” (a principal [work] by Gerrit Dou).[12] Works by Dou are also featured in the stock inventories of the Amsterdam art dealers Johannes de Renialme (1657) and Gerrit Uylenburgh (1674). De Renialme’s estate even contains five pictures by the artist, one of which is by both Dou and Rembrandt.[13] The inventory of the Amsterdam art dealer Laurens Maurits Douci (1669) owned an unspecified painting that, according to the appraisers Ferdinand Bol and Gerrit Uylenburgh, was jointly painted by Dou and Govaert Flinck.[14]

There was an audience for Dou’s work in Rotterdam and The Hague as well. For example, the 1680 inventory of collector and amateur painter Jacob Loys (ca. 1620–78) lists “een vroutge met lampge van Gerrit Douw” (a woman with a lamp by Gerrit Dou).[15] Loys must have previously owned other work by Dou, because the description of the painting just mentioned does not match up with the work that French envoy Balthasar de Monconys (1611–65) described in his journal upon visiting the dealer in 1663 as “une femme qui tire du vin de Dau” (a woman tapping wine by Dou).[16] Thanks to De Monconys’s writings, we know the name of another Rotterdam owner of Dou’s work. Among the possessions of the merchant “Mr. Guèras” (perhaps Mr. Gerards?), the Frenchman encountered a painting by Van Mieris, “qui vont du pair avec celles de son maître Dou” (which goes hand in hand with those by his master Dou).[17] When De Monconys later visited The Hague, he saw “une femme Dau” (a woman [by] Dou) at the home of the Lord of Noordwijk—presumably Wigbold van der Does (1611–69)—which he praised as being “parfaitement beaux” (perfectly beautiful).[18]

The Prices for Dou’s Work

The fact that Leiden’s preeminent painter appears in only a handful of Leiden

with arched top, 78.9 x 60.2 cm, Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh, inv. no. NG. 2420



Fig 7. Gerrit Dou, *Scholar Interrupted at His Writing*, ca. 1635, oil on oval panel, 24.5 x 20 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-102.



Fig 8. Gerrit Dou, *Portrait of Dirck van Beresteyn*, ca. 1652, oil on oval silver-copper alloy, 10.2 x 8.2 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-111.



Fig 9. Gerrit Dou, *The Dropsical Woman,* 1663, oil on panel, 86 x 68 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 1213, © Musée du Louvre,

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inventories can easily be explained as a function of his pricing. Dou's exorbitant prices stemmed, in part, from his meticulous and time-consuming manner of painting. The artist lived to paint and was a stickler for perfection. He could spend days elaborating the tiniest of details, and would work on a single painting for weeks on end. This meticulous style is evident in several works in The Leiden Collection, such as his delicate *Portrait of a Lady, Seated with a Music Book on her Lap* **(fig 2)**. He charged a steep fee of six guilders per hour, and according to his biographer Joachim von Sandrart (1606–88), a painting of Dou's could cost up to 1,000 guilders.[19] When Sandrart visited Dou around 1640 and complimented him on his extreme patience in painting a broomstick "der ein schlechtes gröszer als ein Fingers Nagel ware" (which was hardly larger than a fingernail), Dou responded that he would require at least three more days to complete it. Soon thereafter, when Sandrart was in The Hague to portray Pieter Spiering, the latter's wife, Jeanne Doré, related another story about Dou's perfectionism: for a small portrait of Spiering and his family that Dou had just recently completed, he had had Jeanne pose in an armchair in his studio for five consecutive days in order to paint just her hand![20] One can only imagine how many weeks it took the artist to paint the entire portrait.

The excessive prices Dou received for his work are both confirmed and contradicted by documentary evidence. One confirmation is the extraordinary amount of 4,000 guilders the States of Holland paid Dou for his painting of *The Young Mother* in 1660, now in the Mauritshuis **(fig 3)**.[21] Another example is "een keuckenmeyt" (a kitchen maid) listed in the inventory of Johannes de Renialme, mentioned above, that was appraised at 600 guilders. To De Monconys's astonishment, in 1663 Dou asked the same amount for a picture of a girl at a window.

Most of the prices of Dou's paintings cited in seventeenth-century archival documents, however, are lower. In 1678 the painters Dirck Dircksz Santvoort (1609–80) and Melchior Hondecoeter (1636–95) appraised "een vrouwtie dat gekapt wordt met openslaende deuren daerop een suygende vrouwtie bij de lamp" (a woman being coiffed, with a door opening outward on which is [painted] a woman nursing by candlelight) in the estate of the Amsterdam merchant Jan Rouyer, heir of the Leiden Dou aficionado Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius, at 450 guilders, possibly *Lady at Her Toilet* in the Boijmans Museum **(fig 4)**.[22] This is not inexpensive, but three other paintings were valued at 200, 150, and 100 guilders, respectively. In 1675 "een St. Franciscus" (a Saint Francis) by Dou in the stock of Gerrit Uylenburgh (1626–79) was estimated at 250 guilders. This amount is close to the 230 guilders that the Delft art dealer Abraham de Cooge (before 1606–after 1680) paid the Utrecht merchant Dirck Scade in 1665 "voor een stukje van Dou, voorstellend een kluizenaar" (for a small painting by Dou, representing a hermit), which may be one in the same, or a similar work as *Old Man Praying* in The Leiden Collection **(fig 5)**.[23] When the Danish

Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Adrien Didierjean / Art Resource, NY.



Fig 10. Gerrit Dou, *Cat Crouching on the Ledge of an Artist's Atelier*, 1657, oil on panel, 34 x 26.9 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-108.



Fig 11. Gerrit Dou, *Young Woman in a Niche with a Parrot and a Cage* , ca. 1660–65, oil on panel, 24.8 x 18.4 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-105.



Fig 12. Gerrit Dou, *Herring Seller and Boy*, ca. 1664, oil on panel, 43.5 x 34.5 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no.

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scholar Ole Borch (1626–90) visited the studio of Jacob Toorenvliet (1640–1719) in 1662, he saw a portrait by Dou of his brother Jan Dou that, according to Toorenvliet, was worth 200 guilders.[24]

Although most of these prices and valuations are lower than what Sandrart quoted, they are still very high compared to what Dou's colleagues charged. Nevertheless, some archival records assign much lower prices to Dou's work. For example, the painting owned by Justus de la Grange was worth a mere 10 guilders, and De Renialme had two relatively inexpensive paintings worth 30 and 40 guilders. Given Dou's working method and generally high prices, however, it is likely that these were copies or works by followers. A lack of expertise on the part of the appraisers may also have played a role here. A fascinating case study in this respect is the estate of Jan Rouyer. The appraisal of his paintings by Santvoort and Hondecoeter had been preceded by another one, done by two second-hand goods dealers. Whereas Santvoort and Hondecoeter assigned values of 450, 200, 150, and 100 guilders to the four works by Dou, the earlier estimates had been only 40, 35, 25, and 18 guilders, respectively—a discrepancy of 782 guilders! The unduly low appraisal by the second-hand goods dealers is undoubtedly related to the small format of Dou's works, as the size of a painting was an important, though by no means the only, factor in determining its value.[25]

Pieter Spiering, "The Incomparable Connoisseur"

Dou's paintings were the preserve of a prosperous elite, among whom only a true art lover would have been able and willing to pay the master's prices. The only connoisseur to be documented as a patron of Dou in the first phase of his career is Pieter Spiering who, as noted, appears in Angel's *Lof der Schilder-Konst*. Aside from his role as an art patron, Spiering was an agent in the service of the Swedish crown in The Hague, a post he held almost continuously from 1634 to his death in 1652.

Pieter Spiering was the son of François Spiering (1550–1630), an Antwerp tapestry weaver who established himself in Delft in 1591.[26] Spiering's workshop quickly grew into a successful enterprise with clients all over Europe.[27] In 1619 the workshop received its largest commission, a series of twenty-seven tapestries in honor of the marriage of the Swedish king Gustav Adolf (1594–1632). Pieter Spiering coordinated the project and accompanied the shipment to Stockholm, where he forged his first contacts with the Swedish court. He did not officially enter into the king's service until 1626, after which he held various very lucrative posts in the Swedish territories around the Baltic Sea.[28] He amassed most of his vast fortune in these years.

In 1634 Spiering returned to the Dutch Republic as a Swedish agent in The Hague. He acquitted himself so well that two years later he was appointed the highest

GD-106.



Fig 13. Gerrit Dou, *Old Woman at a Window with a Candle*, 1671, oil on panel, 26.5 x 20.5 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-103.



Fig 14. Gerrit Dou, Goat in a Landscape, ca. 1660–65, oil on panel, 19.6 x 24.9 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GD-114.



Fig 15. Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait*, 1658, oil on panel, 49.2 x 33.9 cm, Gallery Uffizi, Florence, inv. no. 1882.

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representative of the Swedish crown. In this position he also oversaw Michel le Blon (1587–1658), the famous engraver and art dealer. Le Blon had been a Swedish agent since 1618 and, just like Spiering, was charged with providing his employer with all possible information of political interest.[29] In addition to being diplomats, both men were renowned art collectors. Back in the Dutch Republic, Spiering could once again devote all of his attention to his collection, a passion that he acquired growing up in the home of his father, who also had a superb art collection.[30] When the latter died in 1630, Pieter "inherited all of his father's art, both drawings and prints," including "the prints by Albrecht Dürer, wood and copper engraver, the prints by Lucas van Leyden, still many other prints and books of prints, as well as drawings by many old and modern art and reproductive engravers." The holdings were valued at around 2,000 guilders.[31]

Whatever else Pieter Spiering owned can only be approximated, for no catalogue of his collection has been preserved. It is known, however, that in 1641 Spiering bought two volumes with drawings by Raphael (1483–1520), Giulio Romano (1499–1546), the Carracci, and Titian (1490–1576) from Joachim von Sandrart (1606–88) for the exorbitant amount of close to 3,500 guilders.[32] When the French theologian and writer Francois Ogier (1597–1670) visited Spiering in The Hague in 1644, he showed him these works, along with "sundry books with prints by Albrecht Durer, Lucas van Leyden, and others, drawings by Raphael," as well as "a number of paintings and a cabinet replete with medals, reliefs of gold, silver, ivory, copper, wax."[33] Spiering's appetite for collecting thus was not limited to paintings.

Spiering clearly appreciated the work of *fijnschilders*. For instance, in 1635 Le Blon tried to sell him a painting by Johannes Torrentius (1589–1644), "as you desire and delight in uncommon, fine, and detailed things." If Spiering was persuaded to acquire Torrentius's painting, it would not have been his first purchase of the artist's work, for Le Blon stated that he knew of no one "who has work by him, except for the King of England and you."[34]

Spiering owned at least thirteen pictures by Dou, and probably more.[35] Writing about Dou in 1675, Sandrart recalled that he had seen "the best of his labor" at the home of "the most famous envoy Mr. Spiering in The Hague and elsewhere," and went on to describe four works precisely.[36] Two of them, *An Interior with Young Violinist* **(fig 6)** in Edinburgh and the lost *Young Lacemaker*, are probably identical to two of the ten pictures that Spiering consigned to Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–89).[37] Among these works was also one in The Leiden Collection, *Scholar Interrupted at His Writing* **(fig 7)**.[38] Although these works were listed as being in Christina's collection, they were probably sent to her only for approval, but were actually owned by Spiering, who had them conveyed to Sweden in one or more shipments. Christina does not appear to

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have been particularly taken with any of Dou's pictures, for when her collection was inventoried in 1652, two years before her voluntary abdication, it was noted that they should be returned to Spiering.[39]

All we know about the relationship between Spiering and Dou is that Spiering paid the artist for the right of first refusal, a right that—judging from the pictures in the envoy's possession—he regularly exercised. How long this arrangement lasted is not known. Neither Angel nor Sandrart mentions when this annual stipend began or ended. The starting date would have to be after 1634, when Spiering returned to the Dutch Republic; the final date would be 1652 when Spiering died while on a mission in London. If Sandrart indeed saw Dou's *An Interior with Young Violinist* **(fig 6)** while visiting Spiering, their contact existed by 1637, the date of the painting.

In theory, their agreement could therefore have lasted from 1634 to 1652. Given that Spiering paid the painter 500 guilders a year for his right, he could have disbursed 9,000 guilders to Dou over the years without receiving even a single painting. If Sandrart's observation that Dou asked prices ranging from 600 to 1,000 guilders is correct, then, on top of his annual stipend, Spiering might have paid Dou up to 8,000–10,000 guilders for the thirteen works mentioned as being in his collection. Such an impressive sum would not have been a problem for the wealthy Spiering.[40]

In addition to buying art for his own pleasure, Spiering also dealt in art. Like Le Blon, he was a gentleman dealer, a side of him already evident from the shipments of art he sent to Queen Christina.[41] In addition to paintings, Spiering also provided her with twenty-four ivory and forty-eight marble sculptures. And in 1635, just one year after his appointment as the Swedish agent in The Hague, the court instructed him to buy thirty-five paintings. He generally left the actual buying up to Le Blon, serving himself as mediator.[42] The Swedish court also called directly on Le Blon—more often, it would appear, than on Spiering—to acquire art. Le Blon may even have provided the court with a picture by Dou.[43] As a rule, however, people in the circles around the Swedish court continued to rely on Spiering for their art purchasing.[44]

The agreement between Spiering and Dou thus extended beyond assuring Spiering access to the artist's best work. For both Spiering and Le Blon, who were continually gathering information for their Swedish employer, love of art was not the sole motivation for their collecting passions. In buying art they reinforced their own positions in the networks within which they gathered information. For a diplomat of Spiering's level, the realms of politics and art were indelibly linked, and his reputation as a connoisseur was key to the development of his diplomatic career. His high position in service to Sweden guaranteed him access to the leading European courts and thus to a broad potential market of influential art buyers. Conversely, Spiering's "unvergleichbare" (incomparable) love of art brought him into contact with wealthy art

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lovers throughout Europe who, after seeking his advice or buying art from him, subsequently turned to him as their political correspondent.[45] This dual function meant that the 500 guilders Spiering paid Dou annually can also be understood as a business investment by a gentleman dealer, and probably a lucrative one at that.

In addition to dealing in Dou's work, Spiering may have served as an intermediary in portrait commissions extended to the artist, even if the "proof" is limited to him having a family relation with a single patron, the lawyer Dirck van Beresteyn (1627–53). His jewel-like portrait in The Leiden Collection **(fig 8)** seems to have been commissioned in the early 1650s and may have been intended as a gift for his betrothal.[46] It is conceivable that Spiering may have introduced Van Beresteyn to Dou as Spiering was related to the Van Beresteyn family through his sister Catharina, who was married to a full cousin of Dirck's.[47] Another similar instance is *The Young Mother* in the Mauritshuis in The Hague **(fig 3)**. It is not known who commissioned the painting, but the coat-of-arms of the Delft Van Adrichem family in the upper left—Dirck van Beresteyn was married to Magdalena van Adrichem (1639–84)—reinforces the suspicion that Spiering was somehow involved in the inception of this important painting, which the States of Holland acquired in 1660 for an astonishing 4,000 guilders.[48]

Although no other patrons of Dou are noted in archival records from Leiden or any other Dutch cities, there was a small number of other affluent Leiden art enthusiasts in the first half of the seventeenth century who could afford pictures by Dou.[49] For example, Dou painted a portrait of the Leiden lawyer Johan Wittert van der Aa (1604–70) in 1646, as well as a double portrait of him with his wife.[50] Not surprisingly, Wittert van der Aa was astonishingly wealthy.[51] Spiering's unexpected death in 1652 could have had serious financial implications for Dou were it not for the fact that his reputation had become so great—in some measure thanks to Spiering and his important early support—that new benefactors soon presented themselves.

After the Death of Pieter Spiering

There is nothing to indicate that Spiering's death was problematic for Dou. The Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna has two pictures that can be related to transactions in the 1650s. These are Dou's famous *The Doctor* of 1653, and *Girl Lighting a Lantern*, circa 1655.[52] Both were probably acquired by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614–62) when he was in Brussels as governor of the Southern Netherlands between 1647 and 1656. Given the dates of the two paintings, they must have entered this collection between 1653 and 1656, the year in which Leopold's art treasures were transferred to Vienna.[53] Perhaps Leopold personally commissioned the paintings from Dou, but it is possible that they were bought by the Flemish painter David Teniers the

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Younger (1601–90), who was Leopold's court painter and keeper of his collection. Teniers's work was in great demand in the Dutch Republic, and perhaps on one of his trips he visited Leiden to buy works by Dou for his employer.[54]

An exceptional honor fell to Dou in 1660. In that year the States of Holland decided to give several expensive gifts, including paintings, to the English King Charles II on the occasion of his accession to the throne. Initially only twenty-eight paintings by Italian masters were bought, but it was later decided to include work by Dutch masters. Dou was asked to appraise a picture by Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665) for this gift. The esteem Dou enjoyed is clear from this request alone, and more evident from the fact that he was also invited to contribute to the gift. Dou provided three pictures, two of which he painted himself: one of them was *The Young Mother* **(fig 3)** of 1658 discussed above.

A signal compliment to Dou was paid by the Englishman John Evelyn who, following a visit to the London court, noted in his book that on that day "were presented to his Majestie those two rare pieces of Drolerie, or rather a Dutch Kitchin, painted by Douce, so finely as hardly to be at all distinguished from *Enamail.*"[55] The king himself had only praise; the pieces that pleased him the most were, along with the Titian, "die van Douw en Elshamer" (those by Dou and Elsheimer).[56] Charles II was so impressed that he even invited Dou to the court, an honor the artist declined. He was certainly not in need of work; the 1660s marked the beginning of the most fruitful period of his career. Of the 126 paintings attributed to Dou, he painted 42 between 1660 and 1670.[57]

Dou's share in the "Dutch Gift" enhanced his growing celebrity and definitively established his standing abroad. When Cornelis de Bie (1627–ca. 1715), from Antwerp, commented in his *Het gulden cabinet* that Dou's paintings "bear our spirits higher than the stars," this accolade also touches on his reputation: Dou's star continued to rise with no end in sight.[58] For instance, after visiting Dou in 1662, the Danish scholar Ole Borch (1620–90) called the artist "the excellent painter of Leiden," with no equal as a limner of miniatures in the world.[59] Borch waxed lyrical about the painting known as *The Dropsical Woman*, now in the Louvre **(fig 9)**. Dou put the finishing touches to this picture shortly after Borch's visit, and it soon found its way to the famous picture cabinet of Johan de Bye.[60]

Until now it has remained unnoticed that Borch actually spoke about Dou the previous year. When he visited the workshop of Jacob Toorenvliet on 28 May 1661, perhaps to collect his portrait, he saw in addition to paintings by Toorenvliet, work by Dou, whom he described as "an exceptionally talented painter […] of small pictures." Borch was startled—as noted previously—by the value of a little portrait of Jan Dou: 200 guilders, "even though it was rather small."[61] De Monconys was also surprised by the price,

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though his admiration for Dou prevailed when he noted that the artist "is incomparable for the delicacy of his brush."[62]

Dou likewise received commendations from his fellow townsmen. In Leiden deeds, he was introduced as "Monsieur," a term of address generally reserved for people of noble birth. He was even the subject of an occasional poem. In 1662, for example, the Leiden notary Dirck Traudenius (ca. 1606–68) praised Dou as "den Hollandschen Parrhasius," the Dutch Parrhasius, the renowned artist of antiquity who fooled the great Zeuxis with his convincing depiction of a curtain.[63] Such praise acknowledged the artist's mastery of illusion and pointed to Dou's particular brand of architectural niche scene, in which curtains figure prominently along one side. A fine example of this format dates from 1659, *Cat Crouching on the Ledge of An Artist's Studio* in The Leiden Collection **(fig 9)**. Its popularity would continue throughout Dou's lifetime and is exemplified in three other works in The Leiden Collection, *Young Woman in a Niche with a Parrot and a Cage* **(fig 10)**, *Herring Seller and Boy* **(fig 11)**, and *Old Woman at a Window with a Candle* **(fig 12)**.

Foreigners and compatriots alike flocked to Dou's workshop. When Pieter Teding van Berkhout (1643–1713), later the burgomaster of Delft, stayed with relatives in Leiden in December 1669, he called on "the famous painter Dou, who showed us three or four beautiful examples of art by his hand."[64] Given Dou's fame, it is striking that Simon van Leeuwen (1625–82), in his 1672 city chronicle, limits himself to expressing his great admiration for the art of "the outstanding painter of fine detail" and appreciates the fact that Dou "does not withhold [his talent] from any of his apprentices who show promise." Van Leeuwen devotes not a single word to royal and other owners of Dou's work, to whom the artist largely owed his great renown.[65]

Dou's Most Important Patron, Johan de Bye

Dou never lacked for praise, but he received the most from Johan de Bye who, after the death of Spiering, became the artist's most important patron. It is unclear when exactly "zyn grooten Mecenas" (his great Maecenas) appeared on the stage, but considering De Bye's age, it was probably not before 1652.[66] He bought Dou's work regularly, and no one owned more paintings by the artist than did De Bye; in 1665 he owned twenty-seven, perhaps even twenty-nine paintings. In September of that year, De Bye had his pictures by Dou taken from his house on the Hoogelandsekerkgracht to a rented room in the house of the still-life painter Johannes Hannot (1633–84) in the Breestraat, where for a modest fee (to be donated to the poor), art lovers and potential buyers could view Dou's works.[67] Remarkably, this show included two of Dou's masterpieces now in The Leiden Collection: *Young Woman in a Niche with a Parrot and a Cage* **(fig 11)** and *Goat in a Landscape* **(fig 14)**.

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According to a seventeenth-century manuscript, De Bye came from one of the "oldest and highly distinguished families of Leiden; his predecessors have in said city already held the most exalted offices in the magistrate for more than 300 years, garnering great praise and repute, and leading upright and irreproachable lives."[68] This pedigree finds support in a few early seventeenth-century archival records. For instance, Johan's great uncle, Jan Pieters de Bye, served several times as burgomaster, and his brother as alderman. After the "wetsverzetting," or "changing of the legislatives," of 1618, when Remonstrants were prohibited from holding public office, the De Bye family vanished from the town council.[69]

De Bye's grandfather was a brewer in *de Roscam*, along the Rhine River, opposite the Houtmarkt. Johan de Bye grew up in this brewery. His parents, Pieter Fransz de Bye (1595–1633) and Aeltje Hasius († before 1639), died when he and his sister Anna were still children. They found a new home with Willem Fransz de Bye, their uncle and guardian, who took over *de Roscam* around 1638.[70] Johan de Bye probably was registered at the Leiden Academy in 1637 at the age of twelve.[71] The enrollment of a child was usually related to the tax benefits this conferred, including exemption from beer taxes, a privilege that would certainly have appealed to De Bye's guardians. He enrolled at the Academy yet again in 1648, this time as a law student.[72] As for his professional activities, all we know is that he was appointed regent of the St. Elisabethgasthuis in 1663 and 1664, and that he invested in other people's businesses.

Although no business agreement between De Bye and Dou has been preserved, there is one involving De Bye and another "artist," the Leiden watchmaker Willem Meester.[73] In May 1664 the two entered into an "acte van compagnie" (deed of partnership). De Bye would invest 7,200 guilders in Meester's business, and the watchmaker would repay him half after six years and the remainder after twelve years. In exchange De Bye stipulated: "that he, Meester, will not accept any work without previous communication with and the express consent of Mister Johan de Bye," and furthermore that weekly he "will give [to De Bye] the legal half of all the profit that I in any way come to receive or enjoy from my art of handiwork."[74] Whether De Bye profited from his investment is doubtful. Meester does not seem to have enjoyed much success. In 1674 he and his wife, Margareta Hannot, a sister of Johannes Hannot, were each taxed separately for a capital of 1,000 guilders.[75]

De Bye was a devout Remonstrant who was highly regarded by his Leiden fellow believers. Remonstrants in Leiden faced fierce opposition to their religious beliefs from the local authorities. The petition for permission to build their own church, which was submitted various times after 1662, was granted only in 1672. Until then, De Bye made his house available for religious services.[76] The town council wanted none of this individual initiative, and De Bye ultimately paid a steep price for his religious zeal.

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In 1664 he was forced to step down as regent of the St. Elisabethgasthuis, and was frequently penalized with high fines. Tensions mounted, and at times threatened to escalate. On at least two occasions, in 1662 and 1664, an angry crowd gathered before De Bye's house. The second time, the bailiff was barely able to prevent the plundering of De Bye's house, a few windows having already been smashed. The unrest persisted, and in the summer of 1665, by the order of the court, the pulpit and other church furniture in De Bye's home were dismantled. It takes little effort to imagine the fate that De Bye's collection would have faced had an angry crowd forced its way into his house. De Bye surely realized this, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he moved his paintings by Dou to the Breestraat in 1665 in order to safeguard the most valuable part of his collection.

The Collection of Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius

Another art lover with an above-average number of pictures by Dou—no fewer than eleven—also lived in Leiden, namely the famous professor Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius. In the literature, Sylvius is known chiefly as the patron of Dou's pupil Frans van Mieris the Elder, but if the number of pictures in his possession is the criterion, then his fondness for Dou was even greater: he owned seven works by Van Mieris, four fewer than by Dou.[77]

Sylvius was a renowned scholar and a medical doctor with a clientele extending far beyond the Republic, and he lived in Leiden in circumstances commensurate with his rank. When he died in 1672, he left behind a sizeable collection of pictures, 172 works in total, in his splendid home at 31 Rapenburg.[78] Unfortunately, the descriptions of the paintings are too summary to identify them. The only Dou painting about which there is some consensus is *Lady at Her Toilet*, now in Rotterdam **(fig 4)**, which is probably the work described as: "een stuck waerin een Jufr [ouw] voor de Spiegel" (a picture with a young lady before a mirror).[79]

That Sylvius without a doubt possessed eleven costly pieces by such a famous painter as Dou is remarkable, and thus it is surprising that the generally well-informed Houbraken makes no mention of Sylvius. Whether Sylvius acquired all of the paintings directly from Dou remains to be seen. It is entirely possible that he bought a few pictures from De Bye when the latter housed his Dou collection at Johannes Hannot's in the Breestraat. Sylvius could also have obtained a few of De Bye's pictures after the latter's death. Some of the cursory descriptions in their inventories could refer to one and the same painting. For instance, Sylvius's "het besgen" (old woman) could be De Bye's "oude vrouw met een bouck" (old woman with a book), and Sylvius's "een heremyt in een cas" (a hermit in a case) could be De Bye's "een kluysenaer biddende geknielt voor een kruijseficx van buijtenen een kaers licht lamp ende doots hoofft' (a

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praying hermit kneeling before a crucifix; on the outside a candlelight lamp and skull). Furthermore, Sylvius owned five “kaerslichten” (candlelights), and De Bye owned nine. It is thus quite possible that when De Bye’s possessions were being brought to the house of his young cousin Maria Knotter on the Rapenburg (no. 35), a stop was made at the home of Sylvius (at no. 31) to deliver some of the works in the estate bought by the scholar.

After Dou’s Death

Dou did not long outlive De Bye and Sylvius, who both died in 1672. The loss of his most important patrons seems to have had an impact on his production. The last dated pictures are from 1672, and not a single painting in the period to his death in 1675 can be dated with certainty. Nevertheless, his work remained popular even after his death. At the end of the seventeenth century, demand for his work was greater than ever, partly due to the interest of a few foreign princes. Dou left behind a relatively small oeuvre, however, and after his death it was not easy to obtain an original painting by his hand, as the Amsterdam agent of Cosimo III de’ Medici, Guasconi, discovered. In 1676, the year of his installation as Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo ordered Guasconi to acquire works by Dou, including a self-portrait. Only with great difficulty was the agent able to procure two pictures. One of them was Dou’s 1658 self-portrait, now in the Uffizi **(fig 15)**, for which the agent had to pay 800 fiorini.[80] Interestingly, Guasconi initially had another portrait in mind, which was offered to him by an otherwise unnamed Leiden merchant. The agent found the asking price of 315 guilders too high to simply proceed with the purchase without Cosimo’s express permission. By the time the grand duke consented, the merchant had already sold Dou’s self-portrait to an art dealer in Antwerp, a “Mr. Gillis,” who had made a slightly higher bid for the small likeness.[81]

Although these amounts are steep, they are no higher than what Dou commanded while he was alive. In the eighteenth century, it was *de rigueur* for any self-respecting collection to have a picture by Dou, and amounts over 1,000 guilders were readily paid at auction for masterpieces by the artist.[82] Even so, Dou’s popularity eventually waned. With the rise of Impressionism in the mid-nineteenth century, a reversal of opinion set in and his meticulous style was no longer admired; in fact, it was condemned as being overly precise and fussy.[83] In the past few decades, however, there has been a renewed appreciation for his work, which has found expression in numerous publications and exhibitions and a reinvigorated interest by art collectors, who have paid record prices for his paintings.

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- Piet Bakker, 2017

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Endnotes

1. For a survey of Leiden *fijnschilders*, see Eric Jan Sluijter, "Schilders van 'cleyne, subtile ende curieuse dingen': Leidse fijnschilders in contemporaine bronnen," in *Leidse fijnschilders: van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge, 1630–1770*, ed. Eric Jan Sluijter, Marlies Enklaar, and Paul Nieuwenhuizen (Exh. cat. Leiden, Museum De Lakenhal) (Zwolle, 1988), 15–55.
2. "Een uytnemend Meester, insonderheydt in cleyne, subtile, ende curieuse dingen." Jan Orlers, *Beschryvinge van de Stad Leyden* (Leiden, 1641), 378.
3. Philips Angel, *Lof der schilderkunst* (Leiden, 1642).
4. Philips Angel, *Lof der schilderkunst* (Leiden, 1642), 23.
5. "Die nette uyt-muntende *Gerrit Dou*, die jaerlicx om dat hy de Ed. *Heer Spierings* de eerste aanbiedinghe van sijn stucken doet, 500 Carolus guldens tot vergeldinghe krijcht." Philips Angel, *Lof der Schilderkunst* (Leiden, 1642), 56.
6. A total of 258 inventories have been consulted. See Table 2 in the essay *Leiden Fijnschilders and the Local Art Market in the Golden Age* in this catalogue.
7. See Table 1 in the essay *Leiden Fijnschilders and the Local Art Market in the Golden Age* in this catalogue.
8. Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarial Archives, Notary S. van Swanenburgh, inv. 611, deed 118, 3 March 1656, published in Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts* (The Hague, 1915–22), 1858–61. However, not all of the paintings mentioned are given in the transcript.
9. Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarial Archives, Notary S. van Swanenburgh, inv. 611, deed 124, 7 December 1656. See also Willem Johan Jacob Cornelis Bijleveld, "De boedel van J.F. Tortarolis te Leiden," *Oud Holland* 44 (1927): 183.
10. Gemeentearchief Delft, Notarial Archives, Notary J. Spoors, inv. 1676, fol. 637-9v; Abraham Bredius, "Bijdragen tot de biographie van Pieter de Hooch," *Oud Holland* 7 (1889): 161–68.
11. On De Langue, see Jaap van der Veen, "Delftse verzamelingen in de zeventiende en eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw," in *Schatten in Delft: Burgers verzamelen 1600–1750,* ed. Ellinoor Bergvelt et al. (Exh. cat. Delft, Museum Prinsenhof Delft) (Zwolle, 2002), 74–75, 157, no. 9. See John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 1982), 236–38.
12. Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts* (The Hague, 1915–22), 1044.
13. Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts* (The Hague, 1915–22), 234–37, 1670.

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14. Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts* (The Hague, 1915–22), 423.

15. "De nalatenschap van een kunstliefhebber uit de 17e eeuw," *Algemeen Nederlandsch Familieblad* (1883): 2–5, nos. 1–3, nos. 5–6. The painting by Dou is no. 3, p. 2. For Jacob Loys, see Nora Schadee, ed., *Rotterdamse Meesters uit de Gouden Eeuw* (Exh. cat. Rotterdam, Historisch Museum) (Zwolle, 1994), 287; and Jaap van der Veen, "Liefhebbers, handelaren en kunstenaars: Het verzamelen van schilderijen en papierkunst," in *De wereld binnen handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735, ed.* Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renee Kistemaker (Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Amsterdams Museum) (Zwolle, 1992), 129, 130.

16. Abraham Bredius, "17^{e} Eeuwsche reisherinneringen. (*Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys etc. etc. Paris 1677*)," *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* (1881): 412.

17. Abraham Bredius, "17^{e} Eeuwsche reisherinneringen. (*Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys etc. etc. Paris 1677*)," *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* (1881): 412.

18. Abraham Bredius, "17^{e} Eeuwsche reisherinneringen. (*Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys etc. etc. Paris 1677*)," *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* (1881): 413.

19. Joachim von Sandrart, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675: Lebem der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister,* ed. Arthur R. Peltzer (Nuremberg, 1675–79, reprinted in Munich, 1925), 195.

20. Joachim von Sandrart, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675: Lebem der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister,* ed. Arthur R. Peltzer (Nuremberg, 1675–79, reprinted in Munich, 1925), 195.

21. Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (The Hague, 1753), 3: 4. This is *The Young Mother*, 1658 (Mauritshuis, The Hague); Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)," (PhD diss., New York University, 1990), no. A 76; Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou, 1613–1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (Exh. cat. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; The Hague, Mauritshuis) (New Haven, 2000), 106–7, no. 21.

22. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Desolate Boedelskamer, inv. 604, fol. 245-255v, 26 and 27 January & 30 March 1678. Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)," (PhD diss., New York University, 1990), no. A 114; Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou, 1613–1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (Exh. cat. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery; The Hague, Mauritshuis) (New Haven, 2000) 128–29, no. 32. The paintings in Rouyer's estate are not attributed. The identification relies entirely on the provenance of his collection and the description of the objects. For a discussion of this inventory, see Theodoor Herman Lunsingh Scheurleer, Cornelia Willemijk Fock, and A.J. van Dissel, eds., *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (Leiden, 1988), 3: 286–88.

23. Het Utrechts Archief, Notarial Archives, Notary H. Van Zuylen, inv. U48a003, deed no. 79

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[Schuldbekentenis], 1 May 1666.

24. See endnote 61.

25. Another example is the double portrait of Sylvius and his second wife, Margareta Lucretia Schlezer ("t Conterfeytsel vande Proffessor Silvius ende sijn huijsvrouw speelende op de Luijd" [the portrait of Professor Sylvius and his wife playing the lute]), the celebrated *Music Lesson* by Frans van Mieris the Elder in Dresden; Otto Naumann, *Frans van Mieris (1635–1681), the Elder* (Doornspijk, 1981), 2: 102, no. 89; Theodoor Herman Lunsingh Scheurleer, Cornelia Willemijk Fock, and A.J. van Dissel, eds., *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (Leiden, 1988), 3: 291. The two dealers had appraised it at 12 guilders, and the two painters at 85 guilders, yet again a great discrepancy. The appraisal of Santvoort and Hondecoeter, however, also seems conservative compared to the amounts Van Mieris commanded at the time. See his biography and the essay *Frans van Mieris the Elder and His Four Leiden Patrons* in this catalogue.

26. For Pieter Spiering's genealogy, see Eltjo Aldegondus van Beresteyn, "Korte genealogie van het geslacht Spieringh," *Kunsthistorische Mededelingen van het Rijksbureau Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, vol. 1 (1946): 13, as a supplement to Eltjo Aldegondus van Beresteyn, "Twee portretten van François Spieringh," 10–12.

27. Abraham Bredius, "De Tapijtfabriek van Karel van Mander den Jonge, te Delft, 1616–1623," *Oud Holland* 3 (1885): 1–22; Gerardina Tjaberta van Ysselsteyn, "Tapisserieën uit de weverij van François Spiering," *Oud Holland* 54 (1937): 164–72.

28. Unless otherwise mentioned, the information on Spiering is taken from Badeloch Noldus, "An *Unvergleichbarer Liebhaber*: Peter Spierinck, the Art-Dealing Diplomat," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006): 173–85.

29. Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, "Michel le Blon: Graveur, kunsthandelaar, diplomat," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* (1969): 103–25; Badeloch Noldus, "Loyalty and Betrayal: Artist-Agents Michel le Blon and Pieter Isaacsz, and Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna," in *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hans Cools, et al. (Hilversum, 2006), 51–64.

30. Jaap van der Veen, "Delftse verzamelingen in de zeventiende en eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw," in *Schatten in Delft: Burgers verzamelen 1600–1750*, ed. Ellinoor Bergvelt et al. (Exh. cat. Delft, Museum Prinsenhof Delft) (Zwolle, 2002), 156 (Appendix I, no. 2).

31. "Alle de kunst by syn vader naergelaten, soo van teyckeningen als printen […] de printen van Aelborduyer, houte copere snyder, de printen van Lucas van Leyden, noch veele printen ende printboucken, als oock teeckeningen van veele oude en moderne kunst en plaetsnyders." Gerardina Tjaberta van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de noordelijke Nederlanden : bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunstnijverheid* (Leiden, 1936), 2: 295–96 (doc. 640).

32. Christian Klemm, *Joachim von Sandrart: Kunst-Werke u. Lebens-Lauf* (Berlin, 1986), 339. He later sent the drawings to Queen Christina of Sweden, who took them with her to Italy after her abdication.

33. "Plusieurs livres de tailles-douces d'Albert Dürer, Lucas [van Leyden], et autres, dessins de Raphael

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d'Urbin […] un quantité de tableaux et un cabinet plein de toutes sortes de médailles, de reliefs d'or, argent, ivoire, cuivre, cire." Badeloch Noldus, "An *Unvergleichbarer Liebhaber:* Peter Spierinck, the art-dealing diplomat," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006): 178, cited in A. Boppé, *Journal de Congres de Munster, par Francois Ogier, aumonier du comte D'Avaux (1643–1647)* (Paris, 1893), 39. See also Jaap van der Veen, "Liefhebbers, handelaren en kunstenaars: Het verzamelen van schilderijen en papierkunst," in *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735, ed.* Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renee Kistemaker (Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Amsterdams Museum) (Zwolle, 1992), 117–34.

34. "Also UE sin en vermaeck heeft in ongemeene, nette en uytgevoerde dingen […] die wat van hem heeft, als den Coninc van England ende UE." Wilhelm Martin, "Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd" (PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 1901), 43.

35. Queen Christina owned ten paintings, and Sandrart saw four during his visit to Spiering (see endnote 36). Two of them seem to be identical to two in Stockholm. Along with these, Spiering also owned the portrait that Dou painted around 1640 of Spiering's family.

36. "Das fürnehmste seiner Arbeit […] de hochberühmten Herrn Residenten von Spiring in Gravenhaag und anderwärts." Joachim von Sandrart, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675: Lebem der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister, ed.* Arthur R. Peltzer (Nuremberg, 1675–79, reprinted in Munich, 1925), 195. These are: "[1] In einem verschloßenem Zimmer ein Niederländisches junges sitzendes und Spitzen wirkendes Mägdlein, einer halben Spannen hoch: [2] Ein altes Weib in einem Belz bekleidt sitzend/ und durch die Brillen auf der Nasen in einem Buch lesend: [3] Einen alten Mann in einem langen Bart/ der bey dem Feuer sitzt/ und seine Hände wärmet; [4] Ein Lautenschlager an einem Tisch sitzend/ der vor ihme Bücher ligen hat/ ungefähr einer Spannen groß." (In a closed room [are] a Dutch boy sitting and a girl making lace, approximately half a span tall; [2] A seated old woman wearing a "Belz"/ and reading a book through her spectacles; [3] An old man with a long beard/ sitting by the fire/ warming his hands; [4] A lute player sitting at a table/ before him lie books/ approximately one span tall).

37. *The Young Violin Player* might be [4] in the previous note, described in the Swedish inventory as: "Un petit tableau ou un homme joue du violon selon la tabulature" (A small picture of a man playing the violin following the tablature) (Wilhelm Martin, "Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd" [PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 1901], 45, no. III); and *The Young Lacemaker* might be [1] in the previous note and in Queen Christina's inventory as: "Dito, ou est peint une Holandoise qui fait du passement" (Ditto, in which is painted a Dutch woman making lace) (Wilhelm Martin,"Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd" [PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 1901], no. VIII).

38. This is the painting with the description: "un viellard se met a escrire ayant devant luy un liure un globe et un charnier" (an old man writing and before him a book, a globe, and a skull), currently known as *Scholar Interrupted at His Writing,* ca. 1635 *(*The Leiden Collection, New York*).*

39. For an enumeration of the paintings, see Wilhelm Martin, "Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou

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beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd" (PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 1901), 45. "Une Hollandoise qui fait du passement" (A Dutch woman making lace) mentioned in Martin is a picture that Sandrart probably saw at Spiering's: "ein Niderländisches junges sitzendes und Spitzen wirkendes Mägdlein" (A young Dutch boy sitting and a young woman making lace), Joachim von Sandrart, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675: Lebem der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister*, ed. Arthur R. Peltzer (Nuremberg, 1675–79, reprinted in Munich, 1925), 195. Some publications mention eleven pictures by Dou, but this is based on an erroneous reading of Christina's inventory. "(8) Un tableau avec un papillon qui tire son mancher d'un cocquille de noix" (A painting with a butterfly drawing nourishment from a nutshell) is not by Dou but rather by Otto Marseus van der Schrieck (1619/20–78) (Olof Granberg, *Svenska Konstsamlingarnas Historia från Gustav Vasas tid till våra [Gischichte der Schwedischen Kunstsammlungen 1525–1925]* [Stockholm, 1929], 1: 209, 228). This picture also belonged to Spiering and was sent back with the Dous.

40. On the lucrative positions Spiering held for the Swedish crown, see Badeloch Noldus, "An *Unvergleichbarer Liebhaber:* Peter Spierinck, the art-dealing diplomat," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006): 175.

41. Christina owned more paintings that had come from Spiering; she possessed a medal with his portrait. Charles Avery, "Francois Dieussart in the United Provinces and the Ambassador of Queen Christina," in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 19 (1971), 156–63. Granberg mentions a *Lot and His Daughters,* and a panel with the portraits of a man and a woman with their two children, among others. Olof Granberg, *Svenska konstsamlingarnas historia från Gustav Vasas tid till våra dagar: (Geschichte der schwedischen Kunstsammlungen 1525–1925)* (Stockholm, 1929), 212, 213, 214.

42. Badeloch Noldus, "An *Unvergleichbarer Liebhaber:* Peter Spierinck, the art-dealing diplomat," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006): 176.

43. The Nationaal Museet in Stockholm owns a *Penitent Magdalene* by Dou that may possibly have been named in Christina's inventory ("no. 56, dito, avec des pais et une femme escheuelée, ayant aupres délle une livre," see Gorel Cavalli-Björkman, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings II. Dutch Paintings, c. 1600–c. 1800* [Stockholm, 2005], 163, no. 168). According to an annotation, the picture was obtained from Michel le Blon (see Olof Granberg, *Svenska konstsamlingarnas historia från Gustav Vasas tid till våra dagar: (Geschichte der schwedischen Kunstsammlungen 1525–1925)* [Stockholm, 1929], 210). Should this description be correct, it would mean that in 1652 not all of the Dous had been returned; that of Le Blon, in fact, remained in Stockholm. To put this in perspective, it should be noted that Baer does not consider the painting to be original (see Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)," [Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990], no. C 50).

44. Badeloch Noldus, "An *Unvergleichbarer Liebhaber:* Peter Spierinck, the art-dealing diplomat," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006): 176.

45. Badeloch Noldus, "An *Unvergleichbarer Liebhaber:* Peter Spierinck, the art-dealing diplomat," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006): 185.

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46. Alternatively, Baer suggests that Van Beresteyn sat for Dou in 1647, when he left Delft to study law in Leiden. See Ronni Baer, "Dou and the Delft Connection: The Portrait of Dirk van Beresteyn," in *Face Book: Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th–18th Centuries Liber Amicorium Presented to Rudolf E.O. Ekkart on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Leiden, 2012), 279–84.

47. After Dirck's death this little portrait came into the possession of his older brother Zacharias van Beresteyn van Hofdijck (1623–79). In his will of 21 September 1664, Zacharias bequeathed to his brother Cornelis (VI) (1629–1716) his paintings and—mentioned explicitly—Dou's portrait of his brother Dirck. See Gemeentearchief Delft, ONA 2061, fol. 159; Eeltjo Aldegondus van Beresteyn, *Genealogie van het Geslacht van Beresteyn* (The Hague, 1941) 1: 253.

48. Neither Dirck van Beresteyn nor Magdalena van Adrichem were the commissioners, as was supposed in B. Broos, *Meesterwerken in het Mauritshuis* (The Hague, 1987), 117. The marriage was rife with scandal. The couple had to elope because Magdalena was only thirteen years old (see Eltjo Aldegondus van Beresteyn, *Genealogie van het geslacht van Beresteyn* [The Hague, 1941] 1: 263). Given the coat-of-arms in the window, the commissioner should probably be sought in the Van Adrichem family.

49. Such as Johan van Overbeke (1616–80), owner of a "Konstcabinet" (art cabinet), to whom Angel dedicated his treatise. His father, Mathijs van Overbeeke, who died in 1638, also owned a splendid art collection. When visiting it in 1628, Arnout van Buchell (1565–1641) saw a painting by Rubens. In 1622 at the home of the lawyer Hieronimus de Backere (1585–ca. 1674), he saw "een tronie na het leven van Toutian geschildert, ende een ander seer exellent van Hans Holbein" (a *tronie* from life painted by Titian, and another very excellent [head] by Hans Holbein). Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *Arnoldus Buchelius, "Res Pictoriae": Aantekeningen over kunstenaars en kunstwerken, 1583–1639* (The Hague, 1928), 59–60, 63, 66. These paintings are not listed in De Backere's estate inventory, drawn up in 1678 a few years after his death, although a work by Lucas van Leyden and four by Aertge van Leyden are (see Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarial Archives, Notary P.C. van Scharpenbrant, inv. 1280, deed 183).

50. This is the portrait of Johan Wittert van der Aa in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (see Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)," [PhD diss., New York University, 1990], no. A 45). The identification is based on the provenance of the painting, which remained in the family until 1808. The identification is doubted, however, because it was auctioned without a pendant in that year. But in his will of 1667 (see Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarial Archives, Notary. A. Raven, inv. 780, deed 98, 8 January 1667), Wittert mentions his own portrait separately from the other portraits, precisely because his was by Dou; a pendant of his wife, Ida Popta (1604–64), by Dou thus did not exist per se. The double portrait of Johan Wittert and his wife by Dou and Nicolaes Berchem in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (see Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)," [PhD diss., New York University, 1990], no. A 38) are also not mentioned in the will.

51. E.B.F.F. Wittert van Hoogland, *Geschiedenis van het geslacht Wittert (Wittert van Hoogland en Emiclaer, Wittert van Valkenburg, Wittert van Bloemendael, Wittert van der Aa) met de daaruit in vrouwelijke lijn gesproten familiën* (The Hague, 1914).

52. Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)," (PhD diss., New York University, 1990), nos.

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A 62, A 67.

53. The “kaarslicht” (candlelight) picture was listed in an extensive inventory of the collection of 1659. See Adolf Berger, “Inventar und Kunstsammlung des Erzhertogs Leopold Wilhelm von Östereich,” in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (1883), 79–177. According to a later annotation, the “Artsenbezoek” was also part of this shipment. See Eduard Ritter von Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, Gemälde: Bescheibendes Verzeichnis* (Vienna, 1884), vol. 2.

54. For Teniers and the Republic, see Hans Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690): A Biography* (Turnhout, 2011), 46.

55. Esmond Samuel de Beer, ed., *Diary of John Evelyn*. Vol. 3, *Kalendarium 1650–72* (Oxford, 1955), 262.

56. Anne Marie Logan, *The ‘cabinet’ of the brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst* (Amsterdam, 1979), 83–84n96. Cf. Eric Jan Sluijter, *Leidse fijnschilders: van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630–1760* (Zwolle, 1988), 36–37.

57. Ronni Baer, “The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675),” (PhD diss., New York University, 1990).

58. “S’meenschen gheest schier hoogher als de starren [voeren].” Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst* (Antwerp, 1661, reprinted in Soest, 1971), 277.

59. “De voortreffelijke Leidse schilder.” On Borch’s visit, see Karl Madsen, “Une visite chez Dou et une note sur Rembrandt,” *Bulletin uitgegeven door den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 8 (1907): 228–30. For the original Latin text, see Olai Borrichii, *Olai Borrichii Itinerarium 1660–1665: The Journal of the Danish Polyhistor Ole Borch* (Copenhagen, 1983), 2: 228.

60. *Dropsical Woman*, signed and dated 1663 (Musée du Louvre, Paris); Ronni Baer, “The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675),” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990), no. A 87.

61. “Een uiterst talentvolle schilder (…) van kleine werken […] ook al was het nogal klein.” The full original Latin text reads: “Apud Tornflitium præter ipsius varias imagines, vidimus artificia qvædam Dawii (ingeniosissimi hîc pictoris in operibus minutis) inter alia effigiem fratris Dawii 200 florensis æstimatum, satis qvidem minutam” (At Toorenvliet’s I saw, along with various paintings by himself, also a few pictures by Dou [an exceptionally talented painter of small works here], including a portrait of the brother of Dou with an estimated value of 200 guilders, even though it was rather small). Olai Borrichii, *Olai Borrichii Itinerarium 1660–1665: The Journal of the Danish Polyhistor Ole Borch* (Copenhagen, 1983), 2: 135. Translation based on the Dutch translation of the Latin by Dirk van Miert. Olai Borrichii, *Olai Borrichii Itinerarium 1660–1665: The Journal of the Danish Polyhistor Ole Borch* (Copenhagen, 1983), 1: 134–35. For Borch’s portrait from 1661 in Frederiksborg, Denmark, see Jacob van Toorenvliet’s biography in this catalogue.

62. Abraham Bredius, “17^{e} Eeuwsche reisherinneringen. (*Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys etc.etc. Paris 1677*),” *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* (1881): 412–15.

63. Wishing to keep Dou’s talent as the local pride of Leiden, Traudenius fervently hoped, and not in vain, that Dou would decline King Charles’s invitation to “Withal.” Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*

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der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen (The Hague, 1753) 3: 33.

64. "Le fameux peyntre Douw, qui nous fit voyr 3 ou 4 belles pieces de son art et de sa mayn." Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, "Journal Pieter Teding van Berkhout," 30 December 1669. Cf. A. Frank van Westrenen, *Het schoolschrift van Pieter Teding van Berkhout: vergezicht op het gymnasiaal onderwijs in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden* (Hilversum, 2007), 38.

65. "Den uytnemenden klein-levend- Schilder […] voor geen van sijne opkwekelingen, die van eenige geest sijn, verborgen houd/" Simon van Leeuwen, *Korte besgryving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden* (Leiden, 1672), 191.

66. Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (The Hague, 1753), 3: 5. De Bye's biography is discussed below in this essay.

67. Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarial Archive, Notary A. Raven, inv. 777, deed 341, 11 September 1665. Transcripts of this deed are in Theodoor Herman Lunsingh Scheurleer, Cornelia Willemijk Fock, and A.J. van Dissel, eds., *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (Leiden, 1988), 3: 486, Appendix 1, and Wilhelm Martin, *Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou: beschouwd in verband met het schildersleven van zijn tijd* (Leiden, 1901), 171–73, Appendix IV. Twenty-seven pictures are mentioned in the notarial deed, but twenty-nine in the advertisement. See Eric Jan Sluijter, *Leidse fijnschilders: van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630–1760* (Zwolle, 1988), 36–37.

68. "Aensienlijkste oudste geslachten van de stad Leyden, sijne voorouders hebben in deselve stad al over de 300 jaeren de waerdigste ambten in de Magistrature becleed, met groten loff ende reputatie, ende met een oprechten en onbesproken leven." S. P. Perdijk, "De opkomst der Remonstrantsch-Gereformeerde Gemeente te Leiden, 23 augustus 1618 tot 7 augustus 1679," *Leids Jaarboekje* (1915): 25–27. De Bye's biography is in Cornelis van Alkemade and Pieter van der Schelling, "Corte beschrijvinghe van de strenge en harde proceduren en vervolgingen den Remonstrants-gereformeerde Christenen om de sedige oeffeninge hares Godsdiensts wedervaren binnen de stad Leijden: Sedert de veranderinge vanden Jaren 1618 en 1619 tot den Jare 1675. Opgestelt uit egte bewijsstukken en aantekeningen van die tijden," Amsterdam University, Bijzondere Collecties, hs. III A 9, fol. 216 r and v. Manuscript described in *Catalogus der Handschriften VII* (Amsterdam, 1923), 48, no. 346.

69. Derived from the Leiden baptism, marriage, and marriage certificates register. See the lists of governors of the various Leiden institutions in Jan Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden* (Leiden, 1641), passim.

70. Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarial Archives, Notary D.J. v Vesanevelt, inv. 348, deed 72, 27 January 1639.

71. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno* (The Hague, 1875), 285.

72. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno* (The Hague, 1875), 387.

73. For Willem Meester, see Daniel J. Roorda, "Het leven van Willem Meester," *Spiegel Historiael* 16 (1981): 614–23, reprinted in Daniel J. Roorda, *Rond prins en patriciaat* (Weesp, 1984).

74. "Dat hij, Meester, geen werck en sal vermogen aen te nemen als mit voorgaende communicatie ende expresse bewillegingh van de heer Johan de Bije voornomt […] ter handen [sal] stellen de gerechte helft

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van alle de winsten, die ic in eeniger manieren van mijn const off hantwerck (…) sal comen te ontfangen ofte te genieten." Daniel J. Roorda, "Het leven van Willem Meester," *Spiegel Historiael* 16 (1981): 614–23, reprinted in Daniel J. Roorda, *Rond prins en patriciaat* (Weesp, 1984).

75. Gerrit Jan Peltjes, *Leidse Lasten: Twee belastingkohieren uit 1674* (Leiden, 1995), 51.

76. All of the information on De Bye and his position in the Leiden Remonstrant community is taken from S.P. Perdijk, "De opkomst der Remonstrantsch-Gereformeerde Gemeente te Leiden, 23 August 1618 tot 7 Augustus 1679," *Leidsch Jaarboekje* 12 (1915): passim.

77. On Sylvius as Van Mieris's patron, see the essay *Frans van Mieris the Elder and His Four Leiden Patrons* in this catalogue.

78. Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarial Archives, Notary A. den Oosterlingh, inv. 1073a, deed 66, 6 April 1673, transcribed in Theodoor Herman Lunsingh Scheurleer, Cornelia Willemijk Fock, and A.J. van Dissel, eds., *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (Leiden, 1988), 3a: 335–42. For discussion of the collection, see ibid., 282–95; Eric Jan Sluijter, "'All striving to adore their houses with costly peeces': Two Case Studies of Paintings in Wealthy Interiors," in *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt* (Exh. cat. Denver, Denver Art Museum; Newark, Newark Museum) (Zwolle, 2001), 105–16.

79. His cousin Jean Rouyer inherited this painting. When the Amsterdam Chamber of Insolvent Estates inventoried his estate in 1678, this painting was described as: "een dito sijnde een vrouwtie dat gekapt wordt met openslaende deuren daerop een suygende vrouwtie bij de lamp" (a ditto of a woman being coiffed, with a door opening outward on which is [painted] a woman nursing by candlelight). On this see endnote 23.

80. *Self-Portrait*, signed and dated 1658 (Uffizi Gallery, Florence); Ronni Baer, "The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613–1675)," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990), no. A 75. Hans Geisenheimer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des niederländischen Kunsthandels in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII Jahrhunderts," *Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der königlich preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 27 (1911): 58.

81. This may be the *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1660/652 (Musée du Louvre, Paris). Hans Geisenheimer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des niederländischen Kunsthandels in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII Jahrhunderts," *Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der königlich preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, 27 (1911): 57–58. Guasconi wrote about this portrait to Bassetti: "Ho ritrovato in Leyden un ritratto fatto di se med.mo il Pittor Dou (…) ma è di grandezza dell' incluso foglio; egli è vestito da camera con una beretta a togliere e una pelliccia attorno, stando appoggiato con un gomito, e nell' altra mano tiene la tavoletta dove sono sopra i colori e giuntamente i pinelli."

82. On Dou and the prices his works fetched at auction in the eighteenth century, see Koenraad Jonckheere, "'When the cabinet from Het Loo was sold:' the auction of William III's collection of paintings, 26 July 1713," *Simiolus* 30, no. 2 (2005): 56–116.

83. Eric Jan Sluijter, *Leidse fijnschilders: van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630–1760* (Exh. cat. Leiden, Museum de Lakenhal) (Zwolle, 1988), 9; Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou, 1613–1675: Master Painter in*

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the Age of Rembrandt, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (Exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art; London, Dulwich Picture Gallery, The Hague; Royal Cabinet of Paintings, Mauritshuis) (New Haven, 2000), 12–24.

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