STUDIES IN EARLY MODERNITY IN THE NETHERLANDS



Weixuan Li

Painters' Playbooks in the Art Market of Early Modern Amsterdam

ROUTLEDGE

Painters' Playbooks in the Art Market of Early Modern Amsterdam

Studies in Early Modernity in The Netherlands

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1. Introduction

Abstract: Chapter one draws on theories from modern economic sociology and retail location to develop an integrated socio-spatial approach for analysing the art market in early modern Amsterdam. It introduces a novel concept of 'playbooks' as an analytical framework, providing a unique angle for interpreting the development of the art market and artistic innovation in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Implementing a socio-spatial approach, this chapter operationalises the deep mapping methodology to link various sources and visualise the multi-layered information on the map, thereby enabling a thorough spatial examination of painters' behaviours in the art market. The innovative approach and concept offer new insights into the broader narrative of the economic histories of early modern Dutch art.

Keywords: economic art history, sociology of market, location theory, deep mapping, digital humanities

'Here is the stock exchange and the money, and the love of art' (*Hier is de beurs en 't geld en liefde tot de kunst*), wrote poet Thomas Asselijn in his 1653 laudatory poem of Amsterdam, pointing directly to the pride of the city – its trade, its wealth, and its art.[1] Asselijn's praise was certainly merited; since the late sixteenth century, Amsterdam's rapid economic growth had brought the city to international prominence, establishing it as a world centre of commerce and finance.[2] Positioned at the heart of the international trade network, the city's merchants accumulated considerable wealth, which spurred a substantial demand for luxury goods, particularly paintings.[3] As Karel van Mander remarked at the dawn of the seventeenth century, 'art is happy where wealth reigns'; this economic boom transformed Amsterdam into a thriving centre for art, fostering an expanding community of artists.[4] From

1 Cited in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 7, 402 n1. For the full text, see Weber, *Lobtopos*, 300–302, 318–20.

2 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, ch. 1; Spies, 'Kunsten en Wetenschappen op de Troon', 299–300.

3 Montias, *Le Marché*, 63, 70; Montias, 'Random Sample', 78; Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 331–72; Lesger, 'Cluster of Achievement', 79.

4 Van Mander, *Het leven*, fol. 232r, translation cited from Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*, 13.

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1585 to 1700, the city was home to over a thousand painters, significantly boosting its painting production in terms of quantity, quality, and diversity.[5] Beyond painters, Amsterdam's cultural landscape encompassed a wide range of creative professionals such as engravers, publishers, and gold- and silversmiths, all contributing to the city's burgeoning cultural industries.[6] By the time Asselijn composed his verse, the artistic innovation in Amsterdam had reached its zenith, making its art market one of the most vibrant and competitive throughout Europe.

Why did this rapid flourishing of art and the art market take place in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic? This question has prompted scores of art historians and economists to investigate the underlying factors that fuelled the remarkable surges of artistic innovation and rapid development of the art market.[7] Existing explanations often hinge on abstract supply-demand equilibria or delve into the life stories of individual or small groups of painters, thereby inadvertently detaching the market from its key players.[8] This book takes an alternative approach, conceptualising the art market as a collective of numerous individual painters, whose choices and behaviours together shaped the market development. It argues that the art market was a socio-spatial phenomenon, where painters, art dealers, and their clients coordinated their behaviours and choices regarding the production and consumption of art. Then key questions arise: How did these hundreds of painters organise themselves into the market for art and make collective decisions that both adapted to and further steered the market's development? How did the art market function and how did this functioning change over time? Most importantly, how can we better understand the burst of artistic innovation in the early modern Netherlands? In this book, these questions are studied by identifying and visualising the spontaneous actions taken by the large yet loosely organised groups of painters in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

This book traces the development of the art market in Amsterdam between 1585 and 1700. Although this period and location have been extensively studied

5 For the production trend, see Li, 'Innovative Exuberance', figs. 1 and 5. For the total painting production in the Dutch Republic, see Montias, 'Estimates'; De Vries, 'Art History'; Van der Woude, 'The Volume and Value'.

6 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*; Dudok van Heel, 'Artists' Quarter', 74–91.

7 For a few notable examples of such studies, see Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*; Lesger, *Amsterdam Market*; Prak, 'Guilds'; Montias, *Art at Auction*; Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam'; Israel, 'Adjusting to Hard Times'; Falkenburg, 'Onweer'.

8 The applications of economic theories to the Dutch art market are found in works such as Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'; Bok, 'The Painter and His World'; Montias, 'The Influence of Economic Factors on Style'; Montias, 'Cost and Value'. Examples of art historical studies on the life stories of painters are found in many monographs or catalogue raisonnés, such as Noorman, *Art, Honor and Success*; Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'; Waiboer, *Metsu*; Kilian, *Du Jardin*; Hildebrecht, 'Otto Marseus van Schrieck'; Davies and Duparc, *Allart van Everdingen*; Grisebach, *Willem Kalf*.

by art historians and economists, this book introduces a novel perspective for analysing the art market, harnessing digital methodologies and concepts from the academic fields of economic sociology and economic geography. By employing concepts such as 'embeddedness', 'market coordination' and 'location choices', this book establishes a socio-spatial analytical framework for understanding the structure and dynamics of the early modern art market. With the help of digital methodologies, it sheds new light on the mechanisms behind artistic innovation and the sudden flourishing of Dutch art.

Economic histories of Dutch art and the art market

The impact of market forces and the socio-economic conditions of painters in the early modern Netherlands have been relatively well researched. The incisive questions that Dutch art historian Wilhelm Martin asked in 1905 still resonate today: 'What was the origin of the hundreds, nay thousands, of pictures which were produced in Holland in the short period from about 1620 to 1700? What motives, what circumstances, occasioned their production? How were the pictures painted, and for what purpose? How did their authors live, and how did they earn their livelihood?'[9]

Despite this early inquiry, studies of the social and economic circumstances in which paintings were produced and consumed only started to gain momentum after art historian Michael Baxandall published *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* in 1972.[10] Baxandall, employing basic economic concepts, brought into art historical discussions the demand for art and the need of artists to earn a living, concerns that had previously been overshadowed by a focus on the creative aspects of art. A decade later, in 1982, French-American economist John Michael Montias further integrated mainstream economic approaches into art history with his book *Artists and Artisans in Delft*.[11] In this seminal work, Montias applied economic tools to micro-level archival materials, illustrating the size and composition of the local art market. Montias's research presented paintings as commodities, artists as self-interested economic agents or entrepreneurs, and buyers as rational consumers – all of which are now widely accepted as basic premises in the field of economic art history. More importantly, he was able to show that artistic choices and

9 Martin, 'The Life of a Dutch Artist'. Also quoted in Bok, 'The Painter and His World', 334. Meanwhile, a different approach was taken by German historian Hanns Floerke, who focused on the 'average artists', and their professional organisation, art production, and its market mechanisms. Floerke, *Studien zur niederländischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*.

10 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*.

11 Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*.

the development of style cannot be fully understood without the economic context and market conditions, challenging traditional explanations that focused solely on art-theoretical and cultural factors.[12] Montias's novel approach and methodologies opened up an interdisciplinary field of socio-economic art history.[13]

In the wake of Montias's work, numerous scholars have made substantial contributions to this field. Notable works by Jan de Vries, Neil de Marchi, Hans Van Miegroet, Marten Jan Bok, Eric Jan Sluijter, and Marion Goosens, among others, have sketched a relatively clear picture of the art market in the early modern Low Countries.[14] They have shown that the art market in the northern Netherlands, especially in Amsterdam, underwent a complete developmental cycle. It emerged from a small cohort of painters catering to a select clientele, to a mass, segmented market for art at its mid-century peak, and eventually faded away by the century's end. Although these existing studies have effectively captured the macro-level aggregated market trend, they have focused on examining the supply and demand equilibrium following the neoclassical economic theories. This approach mainly builds on the same premises as Montias's research, which views paintings as commodities and artists and their clients as *homo economicus*. However, these assumptions have been challenged by studies of the contemporary art market in which scholars recognise artworks as singular and experimental rather than mere commodities.[15] The symbolic value and subjective attributes of artworks make the art market deviate from the textbook model of a perfect market and at the same time make its agents – painters and customers – behave in ways that diverge from rational beings described in neoclassical economic theories. This deviation invites more sociological reflections within this field.[16]

Realising the limitations of the macro-level socio-economic approach in art history, historians added the role of institutions to the equation. Maarten Prak

12 Montias, 'The Influence of Economic Factors on Style'; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*; 'Cost and Value'. For a different explanatory model, see Brulez, *Cultuur en getal*, 84–88. Brulez denies the relationship between culture and economy altogether and stresses the importance of political power.

13 For a survey of the socio-economic approach to seventeenth-century Dutch art, see Rasterhoff, 'Economic Aspects'; Bok, 'The Painter and His World'; Montias, 'Survey'. And most recently, Honig, Stewart, and Cui, 'Economic Histories of Netherlandish Art'.

14 De Vries, 'Art History'; De Marchi, 'Auctions and Lotteries'; De Marchi and Van Miegroet, 'Art, Value, and Market Practices'; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'; Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam'; Bok, '"Paintings for Sale"'; Goosens, *De Noord-Nederlandse kunsthandel*; Goosens, 'Schilders en de markt'; Sluijter, 'Brabantse vodden'. Other important works are, to name a few, Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*; Van der Woude, 'Volume and Value'; North, *Art and Commerce*; North and Ormrod, *Art Markets in Europe*; Falkenburg, *Kunst voor de markt*. The art market practice in the Southern Netherlands is even more thoroughly studied in, for instance, Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*; Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*; and numerous contributions by De Marchi and Van Miegroet.

15 Karpik, *Valuing the Unique*.

16 Velthuis, 'Art Markets'.

examined the formal institution of the painters' guild and its role in shaping market development.[17] He argued that the Guild of St. Luke mitigated the problems of the art market to ensure that it continued functioning. Claartje Rasterhoff, on the other hand, studied meso-level cultural industries as informal institutions, illustrating how the urban concentration of painters resembled the so-called 'spatial clusters' in economic geography, highlighting the geographic embeddedness of cultural production.[18] Although Rasterhoff's research on the city-level clusters did not elaborate on how agents in cultural industries behaved within clusters and how such clusters functioned within cities, her focus on institutional, geographical, and social embeddedness presents a valuable alternative to the neoclassical economic view of art markets. This cultural industry perspective on art markets offers a more comprehensive understanding of their evolution and development.

Rasterhoff's framework of cultural industries underscores the significance of social relations among market actors in explaining the rapid flourishing of Dutch art, exemplifying a sociological interpretation of the art market.[19] In the past decade, art historians like Eric Jan Sluijter and Erna Kok have explored the social ties between artists and their clients within the Dutch art market, expanding our knowledge about painters' artistic choices and business behaviours.[20] However, these micro-level studies, often focusing on individual or small groups of artists, are limited in offering a holistic view that embeds artists into the broader market and social context. Elmer Kolfin has expanded this line of study by employing social network theories to analyse the chances and successes of Dutch painters. Yet his research fell short of constructing or analysing specific networks of painters and their clients.[21] Meanwhile, the advent of digital tools has enabled art historians to use social network analysis at scale, exemplified by Rudy Jos Beerens's study of seventeenth-century painters in Brussels.[22] Despite their considerable potential, these new methodologies in digital art history have yet to be fully applied in studying the overall trends and patterns in the art market comprehensively.

As it stands, the research on the early modern Netherlandish art market has reached an impasse. On the one hand, macro-level economic explanations fail

17 Prak, 'Guilds'; Romein and Korevaar, 'Dutch Guilds'.

18 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*.

19 Rasterhoff, 'Economic Aspects', 365.

20 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*; Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'.

21 Kolfin, 'Success and Chance in Dutch Art Literature'.

22 Koenraad Brosens envisioned the digital trend in his work on tapestry workers in the Southern Netherlands which was recently carried out by Beeren. See Beerens, 'Painters and Communities'; Brosens, 'Tapestry Research'.

to capture the complexity of behaviours in the market for cultural goods. On the other hand, micro-level art historical studies, with limited scopes, cannot situate painters within the broader economic, social, and urban contexts. To overcome this impasse and bridge the gap between the macro- and micro-level approaches, this book aims to introduce a new, meso-level interpretation of the art market and proposes to view the art market as a socio-spatial phenomenon of the collective behaviour of its actors.[23] To do so, it draws on theories in economic sociology and economic geography.

Sociology of art markets

The social perspective on art markets ties in neatly with research in economic sociology and the economics of convention.[24] Long before art historians acknowledged the limitations of a purely economic view of the art market, economic sociologists already tried to address this issue by studying present-day markets to 'add flesh and blood to the *homo economicus*'.[25] They pioneered the study of the impact of networks and social structure on economic actions and the role of socially anchored conventions in market coordination.[26] Economic sociologists present the market as a social phenomenon where actors orient their activities to other actors in the market.[27] They view markets as a form of coordination, an inherently social construct, and argue that markets are embedded not only with other markets but also within a broader social setting.[28] Therefore, research in economic sociology offers a conceptual framework and toolkit for examining the early modern art market, complementing and expanding our existing knowledge.[29]

Among various sociological theories on markets, the concept of coordination is highly relevant for the study of early modern art markets. While economic sociologists focus primarily on contemporary markets, they grapple with the same question as socio-economic art historians do: 'How is it possible that economic activities can be coordinated through markets despite the heterogeneous and partially antagonistic

23 Rasterhoff briefly addressed this issue in Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*. and stressed it more in Rasterhoff, 'Economic Aspects', 365.

24 The economic sociology and economics of conventions are closely related research fields rooted in distinctive research traditions. See Thévenot, 'Certifying the World'; Jagd, 'Economics of Convention'.

25 Aspers, *Markets*, 26.

26 Granovetter, 'Weak Ties'.

27 Cf. Granovetter, *Sociology of Economic Life*; Beckert, 'Social Order'; Beckert, *Beyond the Market*; Granovetter, 'Embeddedness'; Swedberg, 'New Economic Sociology'.

28 Cf. Jagd, 'Economics of Convention'; Klein, 'Two Coordinations'; Orléan, 'Conventions'.

29 Granovetter, *Sociology of Economic Life*, 8–18. This point is also made in Brosens, 'Tapestry Research', 45.

motives and interests of the participants?'[30] Economic sociologist Jens Beckert defined coordination as 'actors [who] succeed in aligning their actions in ways that allow for market exchange to take place because they can form expectations about what others will do and because the expected behaviour of others is sufficiently compatible with their own material or ideal interests'.[31] In highly coordinated markets, 'actors are able to form stable expectations about the actions of other market actors and future events relevant to their decisions and if they consider the expected outcomes to be sufficiently in their material interest and normatively acceptable'.[32] Such coordination is a precondition to the functioning – or 'order', as Beckert puts it – of the market, which offers a novel framework to conceptualise what the art market was and how its actors behaved collectively in the early modern period.[33] Nevertheless, the early modern art market, characterised by constant change and rife with uncertainties, rarely met those preconditions.[34] Harm Nijboer suggested that the seventeenth-century Dutch art market faced 'a perpetual crisis', while my own earlier research argued that the same market resembled a 'social bubble' in which all actors deviated from their rational, utility-maximising selves.[35] When facing uncertainties, as Beckert has acknowledged, actors in real-life markets often 'oscillate between the search for stability and the destruction of this stability'.[36]

To account for the uncertainties in the early modern art market, this book incorporates two key ideas from economic sociology and convention theories – 'embeddedness' and 'convention of coordination' – to enrich the concept of market coordination. The notion of embeddedness, initially coined by Karl Polanyi in *The Great Transformation* (1944) and later revived by Mark Granovetter in his seminal essay 'Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness' (1985), plays a central role in economic sociology literature. Granovetter famously argued that even rational economic exchanges were influenced by pre-existing social ties and that sociological analyses should attempt to embed economic actions in social structure and interpersonal networks. Granovetter's influential works not only provide the concept of embeddedness but also the methodology of network analysis for (art) historians to explore art markets from a sociological perspective. Although this sociological approach has already reached studies of

30 Beckert, 'Social Order', 246. For the sociological study of contemporary cultural markets, see Aspers, *Orderly Fashion*; Aspers, *Markets in Fashion*.

31 Beckert, 'Social Order', 246.

32 Beckert, 'Social Order', 247.

33 The same concept has already been applied to the Dutch book markets, see Rasterhoff and Beelen, 'Coordination in Early Modern Dutch Book Markets'.

34 Cf. Nijboer, 'Een bloeitijd als crisis'.

35 Nijboer, 'Een bloeitijd als crisis'; Li, 'Innovative Exuberance'.

36 Beckert, 'Social Order', 247.

early modern art markets in the Netherlands, many scholars who employ the concept of embeddedness and social network analysis have not fully recognised their roots in the rich tradition of economic sociology.[37] Consequently, the second key concept – conventions in coordination – has not yet been introduced to early modern art market studies.

The convention theory of market coordination introduced by economists such as André Orléan shows that market actors rely on conventions as 'collectively recognized references' and that they follow 'socially and culturally anchored scripts' to reduce uncertainties. This theory explains how actors react to uncertainties stemming from their own inability to foresee short-term developments in pricing and demand for their products, particularly in relation to the actions and expectations of other market actors.[38] These uncertainties that concerned sociologists and economists were equally prevalent in early modern art markets. Since navigating uncertainties was a constant challenge for painters and other actors, traditional studies of the early modern Dutch art market grounded in neoclassical economic theories struggled to address this challenge, as it is incompatible with their *homo economicus* assumption.[39] In contrast, the coordination framework embraces uncertainties and acknowledges that the essential unpredictability of future events makes it difficult, if not impossible, for individual actors to maximise their utility.[40] Furthermore, scholars in the economics of convention have shown that individual actors are not helpless in the face of a changing market. Rather, these uncertainties compel actors to rely on socially anchored scripts or 'conventions' which serve as 'collectively recognised references'.[41]

These conventions provide orientation for rational actors in situations where optimal responses cannot be foreseen, exemplified by the early modern art market. By resorting to such conventions, which I will elaborate on and define as 'playbooks' later in this chapter, actors can reduce uncertainty, make sense of complex situations, and coordinate their interactions.[42] The market coordination framework, along with the concepts of embeddedness and conventions, suggests that individual decision-making should be understood within its social contexts collectively.[43] This understanding of art markets indicates that by analysing actors' collective choices and behaviours, we can infer their socially anchored scripts and gain insights into the functioning and order of the market. Moreover, sociologists such as Howard

37 Brosens's research is a notable exception. See Brosens, 'Tapestry Research'.

38 Beckert, 'Uncertainty and the Embeddedness'; Storper and Salais, *Worlds of Production*, 15, 26, 35.

39 Storper and Salais, *Worlds of Production*, 16.

40 Beckert, *Beyond the Market*, 77.

41 Orléan, 'Conventions'. Cited in Jagd, 'Economics of Convention', 79.

42 Beckert, 'Social Order', 251.

43 Storper, 'Innovation as Collective Action'.

Becker and Samuel Gilmore in the 1980s have established links between coordination and artistic innovation, noting that highly coordinated artistic activities in the market often constrain aesthetic innovation.[44] Their studies provided a critical connection between artists' market behaviours and their artistic output. Therefore, by examining how actors in the early modern art market collectively behaved among their social connections, this study reveals the complex structure and functioning of the art market to better understand the rapid artistic development of the seventeenth century.

While contemporary market research can conduct fieldwork, surveys, and interviews to observe players' actions, studies of the early modern art market require alternative methods to reconstruct historical choices and behaviours. Scholars often rely on surviving artworks to understand painters' decisions, but this approach works mainly for renowned painters with many known works, failing to deal with the majority who left few or even no paintings. To better observe painters' behaviours, new approaches are needed. Theories in economic geography, which suggest that people's living and working locations are often a result of deliberate choices, offer valuable insights. By analysing where painters lived and worked, we can infer the choices of painters in the early modern art market, enabling a socio-spatial reading of artists' behaviours.

Location theories in the 'spatial turn' of the humanities

The ideal location of a painter's workshop should both support the creative process and facilitate the sales of its output. A widely cited painting in the Rijksmuseum (Figure 1-1) shows a strategically located painting shop. Situated in a corner house with windows and exterior walls on two sides for display, the shop is adjacent to a public square (where a quack draws a crowd promoting his panacea), opposite a school, and in close proximity to a church in the background. This location ensures the visibility of the painter's works to the public. Unsurprisingly, in the painting, a customer is seen inspecting a painting outside the front door. This visual representation aligns with observations by economic geographers who have long observed that the geographic distribution of economic activities is neither even nor random. Instead, the choices of location follow discernible patterns, often driven

44 See Becker, *Art Worlds*. In this seminal work on the collective nature of art-making, Becker underscores the coordination among artists and other actors that gives shape to the market. For more recent works expanding on Becker's concept, see Patriotta and Hirsch, 'Mainstreaming Innovation in Art Worlds'; Gilmore, 'Coordination and Convention'; Gilmore, 'Schools of Activity and Innovation'. These studies, however, focused on more collaborative kinds of art like theatre or musical concert in the modern world.



Figure 1-1: Highlights and details of Anonymous, *The Quack*, ca. 1619–ca. 1625, oil on panel, 67 × 90.7 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1429.

by economic considerations.[45] Economic geographers have acknowledged the importance of location in the economic success of business endeavours, including selling paintings in the early modern era.

Thanks to the so-called 'spatial turn' in the humanities that has drawn scholarly attention to the role of space in understanding cultural and economic activities, theories in economic geography have been introduced to studies of early modern cultural industries over the past decades. In art history, as early as 2004, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann introduced the variable of geography to the study of material culture and visual imagery.[46] Yet, in pursuit of 'national' styles, Kaufmann focused chiefly on the impact of the large-scale, cross-regional geographical differences in the natural environment on art. While his observations are insightful, they are not directly relevant to this study because they do not address the nuances of location within a single city or the influence of market forces on art production. Therefore, this research turns to economic geography, drawing on two theories that are particularly instrumental in understanding the behaviours of actors in the early modern art market: spatial clustering and retail location choice. These two theories are crucial because they capture and correspond to the dual role of early modern painters, who were not only artists creating artworks but also retailers responsible for selling their own creations.

45 A classic example is the central place theory, see Christaller, *Central Places*.

46 Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*.

Spatial clustering refers to the geographical concentration of specialised crafts, trades, or industries.[47] Economic geographers have noted that face-to-face contact and interaction within such clusters foster a favourable industrial atmosphere.[48] Although originally developed from studies of modern industries, spatial clustering has recently been applied to historical contexts. Notably, Claartje Rasterhoff identified city-level clusters of cultural industries in the early modern Dutch Republic. She argued that early modern Dutch painters' workshops resembled the characteristics of modern industries.[49] They were like 'small-to-medium-sized firms that often required skilled and specialised labour, faced volatile demand, competed on the basis of product differentiation, and clustered in urban areas.'[50] In Amsterdam, Sebastien Dudok van Heel pinpointed a seventeenth-century 'artists' quarter' around Rembrandt's neighbourhoods.[51] While his findings from selected groups of painters may not represent the entire city, Dudok van Heel convincingly demonstrated that historical records and archival sources can reveal spatial patterns of painters' collective decision-making. Next to these historical studies, research on contemporary cultural industries also underscores the importance of location for artists, who often make conscious choices of locations to advance their careers.[52]

The spatial clustering of painters not only served their artistic needs but also supported the retail aspect of the painting business, which brings us to the second key concept in economic geography – retail location choice. The specific spatial preferences of urban retailers have been thoroughly examined by economic geographers. The conceptual touchstone of retail location choice is Richard Nelson's theory of cumulative attraction, which posits that shops of various kinds thrive on clustering.[53] Building on Nelson's theory, Ross Davies further elaborates that the location of retail clusters gravitates towards the particular needs of the merchandise. Some shops (often of durable and expensive goods) that target the whole population

47 This observation dates back over a century, first discussed in Marshall, *Principles of Economics*.

48 Storper and Venables, 'Buzz'; Bathelt, Malmberg, and Maskell, 'Clusters and Knowledge'; Porter, *On Competition*.

49 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*.

50 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*, 23. See also Piore and Sabel, *Second Industrial Divide*; Sabel and Zeitlin, 'Historical Alternatives'. Within specific cities, other researchers have provided further evidence. Hannah Williams mapped the Royal Academy's artists in eighteenth-century Paris, showing the Louvre's central cultural role in attracting artists to nearby areas. Williams, 'Artists and the City'. Sander Karst demonstrates that Dutch artists in London also chose their location with business thinking in mind. Karst, 'Schilderen in een land zonder schilders'.

51 Dudok van Heel, 'Artists' Quarter'; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten*. He focused mainly on small areas within the city.

52 Cf. Andersson et al., 'Location'; Grodach et al., 'Location Patterns'; Currid and Williams, 'Geography of Buzz'.

53 Nelson, *Retail Locations*, 58.

tend to be located in the centre of the city; retailers who desire to entice passers-by are often found along the arterial roads; and others gather around particular attractions such as public markets or wealthy communities.[54] Consequently, the retail spatial distribution in a city is often a mixture of these three driving forces on top of location-specific conditions.

Although theories of retail location choices are derived from modern urban contexts, Clé Lesger's historical research shows that they are surprisingly effective in analysing and explaining the shop location patterns in early modern Amsterdam.[55] Lesger's observation is further substantiated by findings from other major European cities of the same era, such as Paris, Antwerp, and various cities in the British Isles.[56] These historical studies reveal that the blend of general location principles and the local context gave shape to complex and differentiated spatial patterns in retail settings, all of which resemble those observed in modern retail centres.[57] After all, as early as 1675, the Parisian merchant Jacques Savary wisely advised his fellow retailers that 'it is extremely worthwhile for a shopkeeper to be well-located'.[58]

While Lesger's study of the retail landscape in Amsterdam did not include artists and artisans, French historian Bernard Rouleau's research on early modern Parisian shops indicated that what matters regarding location is not the functional difference between shopkeepers and craftsmen but the sector in which they work.[59] Typically, three sectors are identified based on the nature of their merchandise: daily necessities (like bakers and grocers), specialised utility (such as tailors and barbers), and luxury goods (e.g. jewellers and goldsmiths). Shops within the daily and occasional utility sectors often choose locations for the convenience of their customers, whereas luxury trades can afford to be less concerned with proximity to consumers, for the quality of the product and the reputation of the sellers hold greater importance.[60] Considering that not all paintings in the early modern Dutch art market were deemed luxury items, as the literature has shown, Rouleau's location theories across sectors suggest that we might observe varying spatial distribution patterns from different groups of painters. This locational variation across sectors and its implications for the distribution and behaviour of painters will be examined in detail in Chapters 3 through 7.

In addition to location theories, Clé Lesger's research also touched on the interiors of shops. He showed that the interior design, when linked to the location

54 Davies, 'Structural Models of Retail Distribution'.

55 See Lesger, 'Patterns of Retail Location', 46; Lesger, *Winkellandschap*, 87–101.

56 For studies in other cities, see Van Damme and Van Aert, 'Antwerp Goes Shopping!', 83–84; Benson and Ugolini, *Nation of Shopkeepers*; Van Aert, 'Leven of overleven?'

57 Lesger, 'Patterns of Retail Location'.

58 Savary, *Le Parfait Négociant*, I, book IV, ch. 3. Cited in Coquery, 'Shopping Streets', 60.

59 Rouleau, *Paris, historie d'un espace*.

60 For an example of such empirical studies, see Coquery, 'Shopping Streets', 71.

choice, supported the retail business.[61] Building on Lesger's research, this book investigates the interior space of painters' homes and examines how these domestic spaces were used for both professional and private purposes, linking painters' locational choices to the functional use of their domestic interiors (see Chapter 2). The spatial analysis of interiors adds a critical dimension to our understanding of painters' location choices and market behaviours in the coordination process because their use of house interiors revealed painters' efforts to embed themselves into their client circles and boost their reputation. Therefore, informed by empirical research and location theories, this study integrates city-level spatial distribution with house-level interior arrangements to reveal painters' collective choices and infer the playbooks they followed, thereby offering new perspectives on the rapid development of Dutch art in the seventeenth century.

An integrated socio-spatial approach to the early modern art market

Drawing on insights from economic sociology and economic geography, this study introduces an integrated socio-spatial approach to examining the early modern art market and the behaviours of its actors. This synthesis allows for a more nuanced understanding of the art market as a dynamic process of coordination, shaped by both social and spatial factors.[62] Applying this novel approach, this book proposes the concept of 'playbooks' as an analytical framework for capturing and explaining the complex social and spatial factors in the market coordination process over time. The notion of playbooks broadens the concept of conventions in convention theories by adding a spatial dimension. This addition is critical because, according to location theories, commonly acknowledged tactics are embedded not only in social and cultural contexts but also in the physical urban and interior spaces – an aspect equally vital to market coordination. Playbooks are thus defined as sets of unwritten rules regarding the choices of business locations, social relations, the use of house interiors, and various aspects of artistic outputs (e.g. genre, style, subject matter) that painters collectively recognised and followed, often without a specifically articulated intention. The term playbook is chosen for its ability to capture the dynamic nature of the actors' behaviours in a changing market. It departs from the connotation of established traditions inherent in convention theories and distances itself from the notion of 'strategies', commonly used in art

61 Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 136–54.

62 De Marchi provides an excellent example of what he calls *ingegno*, illustrating the dynamic coordination within a set of conventions. See De Marchi, 'Confluences of Economic and Artistic Value', 201–5.

historical literature, which tends to emphasise individual painters' deliberate choices for their work and business. In contrast, playbooks reflect the changing collective behavioural norms, encompassing both conscious and unconscious actions. For instance, many painters may have followed a simple playbook of 'staying close to patrons' in selecting locations and social circles, even without being aware of it. In this way, the concept of playbooks brings painters' coordination of actions to light, offering valuable spatial and social anchors for understanding painters' complex collective behaviours as they navigate uncertain markets and make decisions about their artistic output.[63]

Applying the concept of playbooks, this study specifies two kinds of coordination behaviours in the early modern art market: practical considerations regarding the business aspect of the painting industry and the artistic decisions related to the painting production, with a primary focus on the former. On the practical side, this study argues that early modern artists coordinated their behaviours with other actors to reduce uncertainties by embedding themselves into certain locations or social circles. Spatial clusters and urban amenities, like retail districts, offered what economist André Orléan called a 'collectively recognized reference' for spatial embeddedness, while social circles facilitated the observation and timely response to the actions of other actors.[64] Moreover, spatial embeddedness often reinforces the social one. As clustering theories suggest, sharing a locality can increase informal communication among painters and with clients, thereby strengthening their social ties.[65] Consequently, this socio-spatial embeddedness motivated painters to adhere to these collectively recognised playbooks, guiding their practical decisions in the market.

While socio-spatial embeddedness reduced uncertainties for early modern painters by enabling them to remain attuned to their peers and consumers, the second kind of coordination became evident in their artistic choices. When painters could alleviate some uncertainties by playing it safe in their business considerations, they were able to strive for artistic innovation to gain the first-mover advantage. Since predicting the actions of other painters and future consumer preferences was

63 Sander Karst points out in his dissertation and forthcoming article that seventeenth-century artists and art theorists already wrote about the location-based opportunities under the term *gelegentheit*. Although not covering all aspects of playbooks discussed in this book, the use of *gelegentheit* further confirms the collective references within the artistic communities in the seventeenth century. See Karst, 'Schilderen in een land zonder schilders', 135–37.

64 Orléan, 'Conventions'. Cited in Jagd, 'Economics of Convention', 79.

65 Existing studies in clustering theories have shown that the spatial clustering smoothened the coordination process via social ties granted by proximity, which is congruent with the hypothesis that social and spatial embeddedness reinforce each other. See Lorenzen, 'Ties, Trust, and Trade'; Lorenzen and Foss, 'Cognitive Coordination, Institutions and Clusters'. For its applications to early modern Low Countries, see Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*.

challenging, if not impossible, painters could profit from a first-mover advantage by inventing new styles, techniques, or subject matters. These innovations created favourable market positions for them, but, in turn, propagated market uncertainties, leading to what Jens Beckert describes as 'dynamic disequilibrium'.[66] This dynamic process was not driven solely by painters; consumers also played a critical role, seeking new ways to express status and lifestyle or simply looking for novelty to diversify their collections.[67] When consumers had not yet reached a consensus on taste, they would embrace or reject painters' innovations in an uncoordinated manner. Combining practical and artistic coordination, this book argues that artistic production and consumption in the early modern period were in a dynamic coordinating process evolving in tandem with the collectively acknowledged playbooks. In this process, painters both sought stability by following playbooks to enhance their socio-spatial embeddedness in their business practice while simultaneously experimenting with innovation to increase profit. In this sense, artistic innovation becomes an issue of dynamic coordination, aligning with existing observations in sociology.[68]

Therefore, analysing painters' playbooks helps us trace their coordination of business actions and artistic choices in the art market from a socio-spatial perspective. This approach enables an examination of how painters developed and followed playbooks in response to changing market conditions and behaviours, as reflected in their choices of location, social embeddedness, and domestic interior arrangements. Drawing on previously discussed theories and existing knowledge of the Dutch art market, this book hypothesises that painters' collective behaviour, as encapsulated in their playbooks, shaped the structural features of the art market, including segmentation, specialisation, and product differentiation. These market features, in turn, significantly impacted painters' artistic decisions and painting outcomes. Certain market conditions may have encouraged innovation and experimentation, fostering greater diversity and higher quality in painting, while others may have constrained artistic creativity. By delving into these playbooks, we can uncover the complex interplay between market dynamics and artistic development, contributing to a deeper understanding of the factors driving the remarkable artistic innovation of this era.

Focusing on socio-spatial embeddedness, this book explores the practical and business dimensions of painters' playbooks. In doing so, it emphasises their artistic choices primarily in relation to innovation rather than examining individual painters' specific decisions concerning genres, techniques, styles, or subject matter.

66 Beckert, 'Social Order', 262.

67 Beckert, 'Social Order', 263.

68 The relationship between artistic innovation and coordination is discussed in Becker, *Art Worlds*; Patriotta and Hirsch, 'Mainstreaming Innovation in Art Worlds'; Gilmore, 'Coordination and Convention'; Gilmore, 'Schools of Activity and Innovation'.

Given that these artistic aspects have been extensively examined in numerous monographs and catalogue raisonnés of individual artists and art historical studies of small groups of painters, this book uses playbooks as a conceptual framework to bring together these dispersed studies and highlight the practical considerations and market conditions that are often overlooked in existing art historical scholarship.[69]

The early modern art market was, as previously discussed, a complex, multi-layered arena in which a wide range of painters vied for the attention of an equally diverse consumer base. To effectively analyse the intricate process of coordination and the varied behaviours of numerous market actors, it is essential to select a setting with a substantial number of participants and multiple stages of market development. Such a setting allows for a thorough comparison of behaviours and choices within a changing market context. Furthermore, the development of the city itself offers an additional analytical dimension, shedding light on how market actors responded to transformations in both the art market and the urban landscape. Given these criteria, seventeenth-century Amsterdam serves as an ideal case study for a socio-spatial examination of the art market. The city was home to a substantial and diverse group of painters and featured a segmented art market that evolved in tandem with its urban expansion. This unique combination presents a valuable opportunity to study how painters responded to shifts in their social and spatial environments. Accordingly, this book focuses on Amsterdam between 1585 and 1700 to trace the diachronic pattern of painters' behaviour from a socio-spatial perspective.

Deep mapping as a methodological framework

Examining the collective behaviour of a large number of early modern painters from a socio-spatial angle is no easy task. It involves compiling and analysing a vast amount of social and locational data, which is not only scattered across various early modern sources but also difficult to organise manually. This technical limitation once posed a significant challenge for researchers, as the task exceeded the

69 There are too many monographs and catalogue raisonnés on individual artists to list them all here. This book draws on the findings of many, such as Rosen, *Simon Kick*; Noorman, *Art, Honor and Success*; Rosen, *Pieter Codde*; Waiboer, *Metsu*; Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*; Kilian, *Du Jardin*; Davies and Duparc, *Allart van Everdingen*; Slive, *Ruisdael*; Hofrichter, *Judith Leyster*; Adams, 'Thomas de Keyser'; Kuretsky, *Ochtervelt*. For notable art historical studies on the artistic developments of select groups of artists, see Waiboer, Wheelock Jr., and Ducos, *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting*; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*; Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten*. In particular, Eric Jan Sluijter's *Rembrandt's Rivals* integrates practical considerations and market conditions into his comprehensive analysis of artistic choices related to subject matter, techniques, and styles among a group of history painters in Amsterdam. This work serves as an inspiration not only for this book but also for future studies aiming to incorporate artistic discussions into the playbook framework.

capacities of individual scholars. Fortunately, recent technological advancements allow scholars to access and analyse much greater volumes of information than ever before. Museums, archives, and image databases related to Netherlandish art have progressively digitised their collections and made them accessible online.[70] Although far from complete or flawless, these databases have facilitated the collection of historical data and significantly streamlined the research process. In response, art historians have increasingly adopted computational tools and digital methods to investigate new questions concerning the production and consumption of Dutch art.[71]

Among these digital approaches, mapping, or the visualisation of geographic location, has attracted much attention.[72] Art historians favour maps for their capacity to integrate art historical information from various sources and to present it in a way that is easy to interpret. However, the existing use of mapping tools in art history barely goes beyond marking the cities where artists lived or connecting places through their inter-city and international travels. Art history has yet to profit from the full potential of spatial analytical technologies like Geographical Information Systems (GIS). Admittedly, GIS and similar spatial technologies come with their own limitations. They 'favor precise data that can be managed and parsed within a highly structured tabular database.'[73] This feature contradicts the nature of visual and documentary data on artists and works of art, which can be uncertain, ambiguous, and multi-layered, resisting straightforward computational processing.[74] To resolve this conflict and to make GIS a suitable tool for humanities research, historians recently introduced the conceptual model of 'deep mapping'.

The term deep mapping was coined by David Bodenhamer in the edited volume *The Spatial Humanities* (2010) and further developed in *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives* (2015). This concept emerged as an alternative to the traditional and

70 Such institutions include, for instance, the Rijksmuseum, the City Archive of Amsterdam, the RKD Netherlands Institute for Art History, the Frick Collection, and the Getty Research Institute.

71 Notable digital art history studies are, to name a few, Ginhoven, *Connecting Art Markets*; Lincoln, 'Social Network Centralization Dynamics'; Lincoln, 'Continuity and Disruption'; Klinke, Surkemper, and Underhill, 'Creating New Spaces in Art History'; Beerens, 'Painters and Communities'; Brosens and Prekel, 'Antwerp as a Production Center'. For discussion about what digital art history entails and requires, see Drucker, 'Is There a "Digital" Art History?'; Bentkowska-Kafel, 'Debating Digital Art History'; Bishop, 'Against Digital Art History'.

72 Sample projects are Gerson Digital and Mapping Artists at the RKD; GeoMAP project – a georeferenced repository of the Parisian art dealers from 1815 to 1954; *Mapping Art Markets in Europe, 1500–1800* project http://www.artmarkets.eu (accessed 21 September 2022); *Artists in Paris: Mapping the Eighteenth-Century Art World* www.artistsinparis.org (accessed 21 September 2022) etc.

73 Bodenhamer, 'The Potential of Digital Humanities', 23.

74 For the discussion of data processing and visualisation for humanities disciplines, see Drucker, 'Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display'.

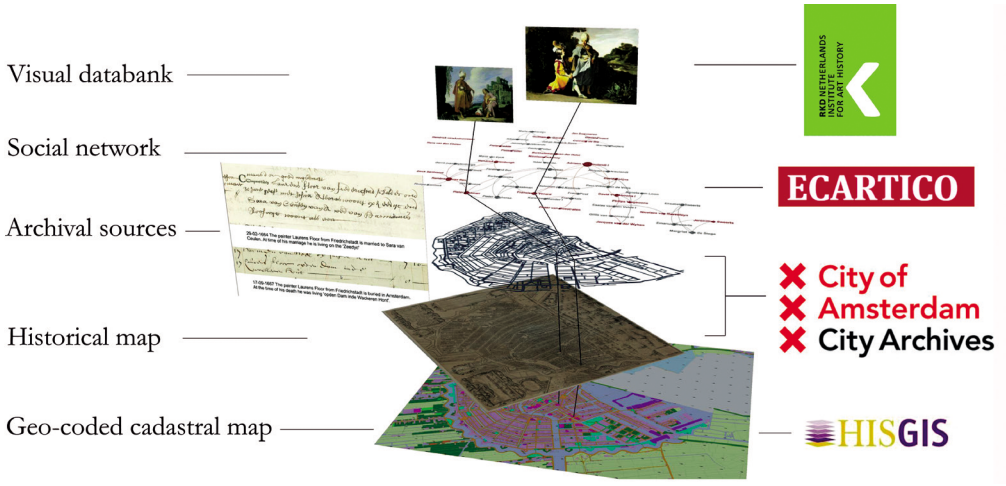

Figure 1-2: Multi-layered historical maps on the vector cadastral map.

isolated 'thin maps' (or 'flat maps'), which present only static, single-layer information. The traditional 'thin maps' are effective in conveying simple messages but fall short in constructing spatial narratives that matter to art historians and other scholars in the humanities. Deep mapping, which results from the convergence of the multi-layered model of GIS, allows the cartographic representation 'to be visual and experiential, immersing users in a virtual world in which uncertainty, ambiguity, and contingency are ever-present'.[75] Deep maps are characterised by their integration of diverse sources and narratives, and their ability to handle uncertain historical data.[76] Nevertheless, the discourse around deep mapping remains largely theoretical and conceptual, with few concrete, practical examples in existing studies.[77]

This book therefore aims to advance the deep mapping methodologies by operationalising the concept in practice. It uses the fixed geographic locations of neighbourhoods and houses as anchors to align changing historical events and people, enabling observations of painters' spatial distribution and movements in Amsterdam over time. This spatial anchor can be connected to the artistic networks of painters to contextualise their behaviours within the social relations and urban space where they lived, worked, and socialised. Figure 1-2 illustrates this multi-layered deep mapping approach, with further details provided in Appendices I

75 Bodenhamer, 'The Potential of Digital Humanities', 28.

76 Some projects incorporate immersive technologies, such as virtual reality, and can even include sensory elements like sound, smell, and touch to enrich the user's experience. A paradigm project for this concept is the CAVE at West Virginia University.

77 Harris, 'Deep Geography', 28.

and II. By constructing and visualising the social connections between artists on the map, this research enables the observation of social ties among artists within and outside spatial clusters to understand their location choices. In this way, deep mapping facilitates a socio-spatial reading of the art market.

This method also accounts for the imprecise and fluid nature of early modern sources and embraces these uncertainties to better understand painters' behaviours and choices in all their complexity.[78] It allows for processing and presenting art historical data in a sufficiently nuanced way, thus balancing the advantages of analysis at scale against the precision required in art historical scholarship. Moreover, the multi-layered deep maps of Amsterdam offer a scalable platform for research.[79] Zooming out at the city level, these maps reveal the spatial distributions of painters' locations and social lives within the urban context. Zooming in to the individual level, these maps provide detailed insights into the lives and works of specific artists alongside the contents of particular houses, supported by a variety of sources.

In a nutshell, the deep maps in this book present four major layers of historical context: 1) locations of painters and other market actors within Amsterdam, 2) the social networks of painters, 3) the economic status and living conditions of painters compared to other actors, and 4) the interiors of painters' homes. The final layer, focusing on interior spaces, requires further explanation before its integration into the locational analysis. Chapter 2 thus explains the new methodology developed to look into Amsterdam houses through inventories and to connect location and social milieu to painters' homes. Chapters 3 through 7 then take a chronological approach to trace the diachronic patterns revealed by deep mapping. By using deep maps to facilitate a socio-spatial reading of the art market, this book seeks fresh insights into the age-old question: how can we explain the surge of artistic innovation in seventeenth-century Amsterdam?

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78 For a detailed discussion on this methodology, see Appendix II and Li, 'Deep Mapping Uncertain Historical Sources'.

79 For more on the scalable platform, see Rasterhoff, 'Urban Research in Another Dimension'; Baptist, Noordegraaf; Van Oort, 'A Digital Toolkit'.

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2. Use and Structure of Space in Painters' Homes

Abstract: This chapter introduces the method of 'spatial reading of inventories' to reconstruct painters' use of interior spaces by combining probate inventories with architectural sources and archival records. It identifies three typical house typologies in seventeenth-century Amsterdam and systematically examines how painters used interior spaces within each type. The analysis reveals painters' distinctive choices in object placement, room use, and decoration pattern, providing insight into their playbooks in navigating a shifting market over time.

Keywords: probate inventory, domestic interiors, house typologies, painters' studios, spatial reading

For artists and craftsmen in early modern Europe, work and life often took place in the same space – their homes. The way painters arranged the interiors of their homes thus reflected their choices in organising workshop spaces and professional interactions within domestic settings. This dual function of interior space makes the house an essential component of painters' business practice, offering an excellent opportunity to observe painters' behaviours in the art market. The arrangement and use of interior spaces would also reveal their business practices: where and how they produced paintings and received clients, and if or how they adapted interior spaces in response to varying market conditions. Together with painters' choices of locations, social relations, and economic standing, the interiors help uncover painters' playbooks, such as their efforts to embed themselves into their client circles or optimise house arrangements for business purposes. Examining painters' homes not only provides a window into their daily lives but also connects the broader discussion of art and market development to the tangible space where art was created, displayed, and sold. This chapter thus introduces a methodology for reconstructing painters' houses, laying the groundwork for the detailed discussion of playbooks in Chapters 3 to 7.

The study of interior spaces in early modern homes requires understanding their construction and use. Existing research on domestic spaces has proceeded in

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two main directions. On the one hand, architectural historians use archaeological evidence to understand building structures, often without probing into the details of their contents.[1] On the other hand, historians and art historians focus chiefly on itemised cultural goods without embedding these objects into their actual physical environments.[2] In recent years, both disciplines have made efforts to bridge this divide – architectural historians have started to incorporate inventories into their sources, while art historians have categorised possessions by room and divided houses into public and private spaces.[3] Nevertheless, these efforts have not yet fully integrated house layouts with the lived experience of objects within them. The spatial arrangement of objects and their functions in domestic interiors remains underexplored in the early modern social and cultural context.

To fill this gap, this chapter combines architectural and art historical approaches, introducing the 'spatial reading of inventories'. This method first extracts spatial information, such as room names, from estate inventories to reconstruct room sequences based on the routes of notaries or their clerks during the inventory process. It then links these room sequences to extant building floor plans to identify typical house typologies in Amsterdam.[4] These house types help capture the distinctive uses of interior spaces and variations in painting display in each type. By employing inventories in a novel spatial way, this research connects architectural historians' interest in building structures with art historians' fascination with paintings and other cultural objects.

Inventories as sources for reconstructing painters' interiors

Death, divorce, and debt: the three Ds that drive the auction business of Old Master paintings today also spurred the compiling of inventories of these same seventeenth-century masters. Driven by the same factors, painters' material possessions were meticulously catalogued in inventories, transforming their physical assets into

1 Cf. Zantkuijl, *Bouwen in Amsterdam*.

2 For typical studies using inventories, see, for instance, Fock, 'Kunstbezit'; Fock, 'Het interieur in de Republiek'; Molen, Ruempol, and Dongen, *Huisraad van een molenaarsweduwe*; Baarsen, *Wonen in de Gouden Eeuw*. The Rapenburg project is a notable exception to this line of inventory research, as it combines architectural evidence into its analysis.

3 Notable examples include (from an architectural historical perspective) Van Tussenbroek, 'Functie en indeling van het Amsterdamse woonhuis'; and (from an art historical angle attempting to locate artworks back to their original location) Sluijter, 'Paintings in Wealthy Interiors'; Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*.

4 For more detailed explanation for the spatial reading method, see Li, 'Spatial Reading of Inventories'.

written (and legal) records preserved in various archives. In seventeenth-century Amsterdam, an inventory typically began with a brief introductory statement, indicating the author(s) of the inventory, the owner(s) of the property concerned, the reason for its compilation, the date(s) of its documentation, and sometimes the location of the residence. Following this statement, the inventory listed movable goods, at times organised room by room. This sequence often followed the path taken by the notary or appraiser as they moved through the house, documenting each item. Many inventories concluded with a section on immovable properties, credits, and debts, followed by signatures of the notaries, appraisers, and witnesses. These inventories are invaluable for historical research, as they not only list the possessions of seventeenth-century masters but also provide insights into the layout and use of their domestic spaces.

Interest in examining early modern inventories coincided with the emergence of art history as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century, driven primarily by provenance research.[5] Although mostly focusing on the more sizable holdings of art, early twentieth-century art historians began using inventories to examine the taste of collectors, the organisation of collections, the attributions of paintings, and the lives of painters.[6] Notably, Dutch art historian Abraham Bredius published the seven-volume *Künstler-Inventare* between 1915 and 1921, which accounted for the belongings of over 300 early modern painters from various cities in the Dutch Republic, fuelling numerous studies of individual artists for an entire century. Since the 1970s, the new economic history and quantitative social history have introduced statistical methods to bring the study of inventories to scale.[7] In the 1980s John Michael Montias applied these methodologies to Dutch art in his *Artists and Artisans in Delft*.[8] Since then, quantitative analyses and inventory-based research have become standard methods in the study of Dutch art.[9] Parallel to this quantitative turn was the increasing popularity of Dutch *wooncultuur* studies, many of which

5 The late nineteenth century saw the publication of inventories, such as those of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) and the Medici Grand Duke Cosimo I (1519–1574), centred on wealthy, royal, and even imperial collections.

6 Keating and Markey, 'Introduction'.

7 On the value of probate inventories for historical study, especially for the study of domestic material culture, see Van der Woude and Schuurman, *Probate Inventories*; Schuurman, 'Some Reflections on the Use of Probate Inventories'; Schuurman, 'Probate Inventories: Research Issues'. A later book by Schuurman, De Vries, and Van der Woude provides a good introduction to the specificity of various locations in urban and rural northern Netherlands from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century; see Schuurman, De Vries, and Van der Woude, *Aards Geluk*.

8 Montias surveyed the works of art in over 1,200 seventeenth-century inventories in Delft, assembled evidence of the preference for subject matter and attribution of paintings, and neatly packed his findings in tables, a rarity in art historical publications before him.

9 For the studies after Montias, see Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'. Recently, Jager, *Mass Market*.

have mined the rich vein of inventories.[10] Among them, the Rapenburg Project combined probate inventories, wills, and auction catalogues with archaeological evidence and residents' biographies to examine household possessions and building specifications for houses along the distinguished Rapenburg canal in Leiden.[11] While the project provides a wealth of information on the use of domestic space, its labour-intensive methods are hard to replicate.[12] As studies of *wooncultuur* expanded beyond the grand canal houses of affluent burghers to the homes of ordinary citizens, they demanded a scalable methodology to manage the growing body of sources.[13]

Blending these two strands of research, Montias applied a statistical approach to *wooncultuur* studies when he expanded his inventory collection from Delft to Amsterdam – an undertaking now preserved in the Montias Database at the Frick Collection and, in part, in the Getty Provenance Index.[14] In *Public and Private Spaces* co-authored with John Loughman, Montias used the Amsterdam inventory database to study the display patterns of artworks across rooms in urban houses, demonstrating the value of scaled inventory analysis.[15] This pioneering study, however, did not fully investigate the use of interior spaces because their statistics were mainly categorised by room names, without accounting for the actual spatial context, resulting in misleading aggregation.[16] For example, rooms with identical names in different houses may have served different functions, while the same room could be labelled differently from one house to another. As shown in Philips

10 *Wooncultuur* encompasses 'domestic culture', 'domestic lifestyle', 'culture of living', and 'material culture'. See Westermann, 'Wooncultuur in the Netherlands'.

11 Scheurleer, Fock, and Van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg*. In particular, see Willemijn Fock's articles on the painting collections: Fock, 'Wonen aan het Leidse Rapenburg'; Fock, 'Kunstbezit'; Fock, 'The Décor of Domestic Entertaining'; Fock, 'Semblance or Reality?'; Fock, 'Het interieur in de Republiek'.

12 It took the large project team twenty years to study houses on a single canal. But it did inspire many following studies of individual objects or a particular room or space mentioned in the inventories, such as Dibbits, 'Between Society and Family Values'; Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 'De sociale geschiedenis van het gordijn'; Van der Veen, 'De verzamelaar in zijn kamer'; Van der Veen, 'Eenvoudig en stil Studeerkatners'.

13 Cf. Molen, Ruempol, and Dongen, *Huisraad van een molenaarsweduwe*; Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, *Achter de gevels van Delft*; Fock, 'Het interieur in de Republiek'; Westermann, *Art & Home*. Willemijn Fock argued that the checkered marble floor, chandelier, Turkish carpets on the floor, and window curtains depicted in many house interior paintings are rare finds in the inventories. They are idealised for their luxurious touch and artistic harmony. See Fock, 'Semblance or Reality?'

14 Montias, 'Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam'; Montias, 'Works of Art in a Random Sample of Amsterdam Inventories'; Montias, 'Artists Named in Amsterdam Inventories'; Montias, 'Works of Art Competing with Other Goods'.

15 Their research yielded several insights, including the observation that larger numbers of paintings were exhibited in rooms which, judging by their names, were intended for public use, such as the *voorhuis* (front entrance hall), the *beste kamer* (best room), and the *zaal* (hall). See Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*.

16 Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 51–69.

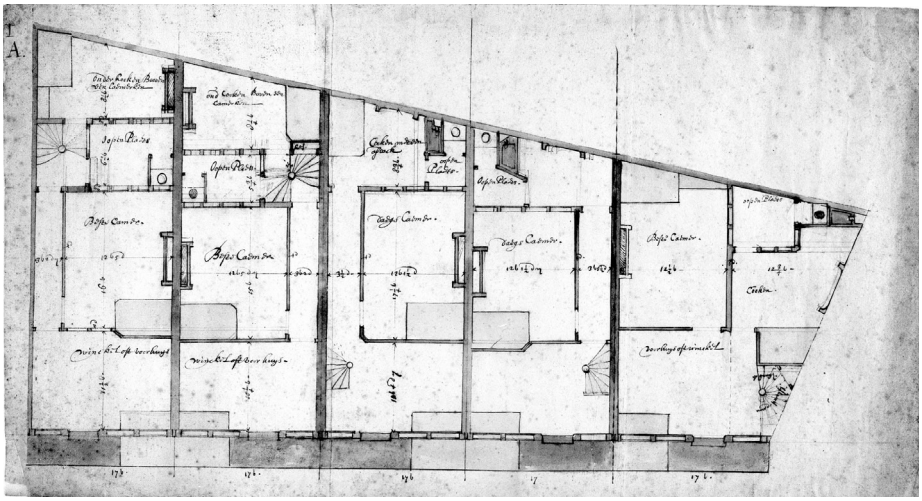

Figure 2-1: Philips Vingboons, *Floorplan of Five Houses on the Sint Luciënsteeg*, 1652, Amsterdam: Amsterdam City Archives, inv. 010056916906.

Vingboons' drawing (Figure 2-1), the room right behind the *voorhuis* (front hall) could be referred to as *binnenhaard* (inner hearth), *binnenkamer* (inner room), *dagskamer* (day room), *beste kamer* (best room) or even *kelderkamer* (cellar room). This confusion over room names often stems from limited knowledge of domestic architecture and the conventions of spatial labelling in the early modern period.[17] To understand how interior spaces were actually used, it is essential to study the rooms mentioned in inventories within the context of the overall spatial layout and organisation of Amsterdam houses.

Fortunately, the spatial arrangement of Amsterdam houses has long captivated architectural historians, who have dedicated significant efforts over the past fifty years to establishing a typology of historical dwellings using historical floor plans, archival documents, and archaeological evidence.[18] Recently, architectural historians have started to incorporate inventories into their research to gain insights into the functions of individual rooms within these architectural structures. Gabri van Tussenbroek's work on sixteenth-century inventories, for instance, identified several house typologies and exemplifies what I call the 'spatial reading' of inventories.[19]

17 For the categorisation, see all the tables in Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 51–69. For an example of *kelderkamer*, see Fock, *Nederlandse interieur*, 120. Following Montias and Loughman's approach, some studies combined *voorhuis* and *voorkamer* (front room upstairs) into one group, but they actually pointed to quite distinct locations within the house (on the ground floor and first floor, respectively). Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 144.

18 Zantkuijl, *Bouwen in Amsterdam*; Dolfin, Kylstra, and Penders, *Utrecht: De Huizen binnen de Singels*.

19 Van Tussenbroek, 'Functie en indeling van het Amsterdamse woonhuis'.

Nevertheless, Van Tussenbroek did not fully investigate the inventories' content inside the houses, thus leaving a gap between understanding the physical structure of buildings and the lived experience within them.[20]

This study thus attempts to bridge this gap by coupling the use of interior spaces and painting display patterns with the physical structures of Amsterdam houses, as recorded in selected inventories. In this study, I assembled 274 inventories belonging to artists (37), art dealers (11), and ordinary citizens (226) in early modern Amsterdam, some of which are partially published in Bredius' *Künstler-Inventare*, the Montias Database, and the Getty Provenance Index (see Appendix I).

House typologies revealed in Amsterdam inventories

Houses in seventeenth-century Amsterdam were often built in a haphazard fashion, customised to the shape of the plot, the financial position of the owner, as well as the stages of development. The house owner may alter the layout to expand the living space or extend the depth by adding an often freestanding annexe to the back (so-called *achterhuis*).[21] The idiosyncratic nature of Amsterdam houses made it challenging to generalise a single, standardised layout, even just within the inventory sample of this study. However, careful examination of spatial information in inventories often reveals room sequences that indicate adjoining spaces, offering insights into the organisation of interior space. In addition to these sequences, the total number of rooms, supported by extant building floor plans from the seventeenth century, provides a basis for identifying house typologies. From the analysis of the inventory sample, patterns of house types have emerged. Except for a few rental rooms occupied by some painters, the houses in the rest of the sample correspond roughly to three main types (Figure 2-2). Table 2-1 shows the distribution of the inventories across house types.

20 Van Tussenbroek has tried to fill in this gap recently; see Van Tussenbroek, *De houten eeuw van Amsterdam*.

21 The diversity of Amsterdam houses is visible through many historical maps. For the various layouts of residential houses and their details in early modern Amsterdam, see Zantkuijl, *Bouwen in Amsterdam*. In addition, the parcels and buildings in Amsterdam were highly heterogeneous, which persisted for centuries: the tax on the rental value of the residence – *verponding 1647–52* – revealed a wide range of properties with their rental value ranging from *f* 6 to over *f* 3,000, and the first cadastre had forty-five tax classes (see SAA 5044). There was little residential segregation, at least at the block level, as Lesger illustrated. See Van den Berg, Van Leeuwen, and Lesger, 'Residentiële segregatie', 431–34; Stenvert, 'Het bouwblok in de oude stad', 41. The same idea was expressed in Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 22.

Table 2-1: Number of inventories by house type

	Burghers	Painters	Art dealers	Total
Type I	60	4	4	68
Type II	133	25	5	163
Type III	33	2	2	37
One room	-	6	-	6
Total	226	37	11	274

The first and most modest type is a single-storey 'deep house', characterised by its narrow construct – a layout with greater depth than width – and a gable roof perpendicular to the façade.[22] These Type I houses typically feature a simple interior layout consisting of two main areas: a street-facing *voorhuis* (front hall) and a *binnenkamer* (inner room) behind it. Although some families, after the 1650s, modified the original *voorhuis* by dividing it into two separate rooms – a *voorhuis* and a newly designated *zijkamer* (side chamber) – the basic layout remained unchanged (Type I-b in Figure 2-2). The *binnenkamer*, a heated space with a *haard* (fireplace), is also referred to as the *binnenhaard*. Above these two main rooms is the *zolder* (attic). Behind the *binnenkamer*, there is often an additional *keuken* (kitchen) or *achterkamer* (back room), as illustrated in Type I-a (Figure 2-2).[23] In some cases, an (*achter*)*zaal* (back hall) or *beste kamer* (best room) could supplement or replace the *keuken,* forming Type I-b in Figure 2-2.[24] These additional rooms – *keuken* or *achterzaal* – frequently appear in inventories after the *gang* (corridor), *portaal* (passageway), or *open plaats* (inner courtyard), suggesting that they were more likely located in a separate annexe, the *achterhuis* (back house).

The second house type is the two-storey 'deep house' (Type II in Figure 2-2), which retains the narrow construct of the Type I house while adding an extra floor between the ground level and the attic. In the *voorhuis* of Type II houses, a spiral

22 A typical deep house occupied a parcel between 20 and 25 Amsterdam *voet* (approximately 5–7 meters) in width and generally consisted of one or two main floors, along with attics and cellars. Type I house discussed here represents a modest version. For more discussion on house types, see Dolfin, Kylstra, and Penders, *Utrecht: De Huizen binnen de Singels*, 59. The authors summarised a few house types using the cases in Utrecht, and the same observations also apply to Amsterdam.

23 For a detailed discussion on the location and function of kitchens in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch houses, see Corbeau, 'Pronken en koken'.

24 It is worth noting that the term *beste kamer* (and less often *grote kamer*), unlike other rooms, did not point to a fixed space in the house. It seems to have been used interchangeably not only with the *achterzaal* but also with the *binnenkamer/binnenhaard*. Judging by the sequence of rooms registered in the inventories, the *beste kamer* in Type I houses repeatedly turned up right after the *voorhuis* and thus is likely to take the place of the *binnenkamer*, which, in turn, went missing from the registration. See the inventories in the Montias Database with inventory numbers 124, 178, 325, 465, 467, 474, 1116, 1133, 1257, 1308, 1352.

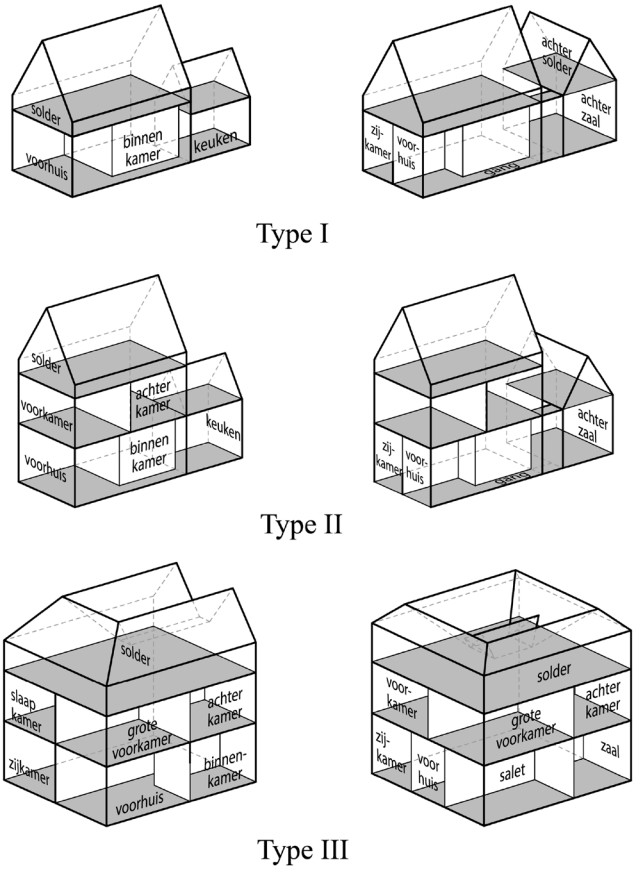

Figure 2-2: Three major house types derived from inventory samples with two variations (a on the left and b on the right) in the *achterhuis*.

staircase often leads to the first floor, which is typically divided into a street-facing *voorkamer* (front room) and a courtyard-facing *achterkamer* (back room).[25] From the first floor, additional stairs lead up to the *zolder*.[26] Like Type I houses, Type II houses often included an *achterhuis,* which could contain a z*aal*/*beste kamer* or *achterkeuken* (back kitchen) on the ground floor, with an *achterzolder* (back attic) on the upper level.

The last house type represents the grand 'double houses', built on at least two adjacent plots and usually fronting one of the city's prestigious canals (Type III in

25 Fock, *Nederlandse interieur*, 22.

26 In many Amsterdam houses, the steep gable roofs often allowed for the attics to be sliced into two levels: a regular attic and a *vliering* (upper attic), maximising the available vertical space.

Figure 2-2).[27] Type III houses boasted ample spaces, allowing for multiple rooms arranged parallel to the *voorhuis* and the *binnenkamer*. The additional ground-floor rooms were often referred to as *salet* (salon), *zaal* (hall), *dagskamer* (day room), and, when situated toward the rear, sometimes as *eetkamer* (dining room) or *slaapkamer* (bedroom). In the second half of the seventeenth century, the newly built Type III houses often strived for greater symmetry in their layout (Type III-b in Figure 2-2). In this new design, the *voorhuis*, flanked by two large *zijkamers*, tapered into a narrow corridor that connected to the rear of the house. The large *salet* was positioned in the far-right corner, with its door opening onto a staircase leading to the upper floor.[28] The first floor typically features multiple *voor-* and *achterkamers*, often assigned to family members or household staff. Above these are the *zolders*, each serving different purposes. The kitchen, pantry, and other service areas were relocated to the basement (*souterrain*), which extended beneath the entire house.

These house typologies illustrated in Figure 2-2 provide a spatial framework for aggregating and analysing the use of interior space, allowing for a comprehensive understanding of how rooms and objects fit into the overall spatial structure of the houses. They also help identify the functions of different rooms within each typology, thereby addressing the room-labelling issues that often arise due to variations in house size. For painters, these typologies are particularly valuable. Operating painting businesses from home required artists to negotiate between spaces of production and domestic life within ordinary residential dwellings. However, we know little about how artists arranged their homes and activities beyond isolated case studies and fragmentary evidence. Nor do we know whether – or how – their use of space and business practices evolved over time.[29] Spatial analysis grounded in house typologies helps fill this gap by revealing how painters organised their interior space, shedding light on the

27 Sometimes the double houses are considered a 'cross house' (*dwarsehuis*). Different from the deep house, the cross house is identified by a gable roof parallel to the façade with a floor plan of greater width than depth. Cross houses often exist in a line joined by two or more parcels and therefore are mostly found in institutional buildings, like the Leprozenhuis, where painter Pieter Codde rented his place. Aside from these distinctive features, the layout does not deviate much from the deep house described in previous parts. However, single-standing cross houses were costly and inefficient in the use of land and therefore were more often found in the country than within the city. Many cross-houses appearing in Philips Vingboons's design collection were meant for the country houses of the patrons, see Vingboons and Vingboons, *Afbeeldsels der voornaemste gebouwen uyt alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft*. The trend of favouring deep houses instead of cross houses within Amsterdam persisted for centuries: in the first cadastre map of Amsterdam of 1832, cross houses were still considered exceptional. For the analysis of parcels in the 1832 cadastre map, see Stenvert, 'Het bouwblok in de oude stad', 40.

28 For the discussion of the new design of stairs, see Zantkuijl, *Bouwen in Amsterdam*, 441–68.

29 Most existing research on painters' homes focuses on painters' workshops or their painting tools. See, for instance, Van de Wetering, *Painter at Work*; Kleinert, *Atelierdarstellungen*; Faries, *Making and Marketing*; Lehmann et al., *Ateliergeheimen*; Peeters, *Invisible Hands?*; Maclot, 'Artists' Houses in 16th-Century

placement of workshops and shops, as well as the arrangement of exhibition spaces designed to facilitate sales.

Painters at home

Informed by the house typologies, this study aims to reconstruct painters' homes through a spatial reading of inventories.[30] Although far from covering the entire artists' community, the sample of about forty painters helps place artists' living and working environments in context and links individual choices to the shifting conditions of the art market.[31] This chapter focuses on painters' general use of interior spaces across house types, reserving detailed analyses of individual artists' homes and their location choices to the chapters corresponding to their active periods. The examination of painters' interiors begins with the most modest living environment among painters: the rented rooms and Type I houses.

Limited space and cluttered studios in rental rooms and Type I houses

Six painters in the sample were documented as living in rented rooms. These included history painter Rombout van Troyen (1605–after 1656); church interior painter Emanuel de Witte (1617–1692); history painter Gerrit Lundens (1622–after 1683), best known for his small-scale copy of Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*; landscape painter Aert van der Neer (1603/4–1677), famous for his moonlight scenes; copyist Edo Quiter (?–1694); and the lesser-known Emanuel Wouters (1668–1717).[32] All, except for Quiter, faced financial difficulties of sorts that led to the inventory or sale of their belongings to satisfy creditors and settle debts. The financial struggles of these artists contrast sharply with the allure of wealth, fame, and status that

Antwerp'; Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt's Surprising Start'. However, these studies often treat the workshop as an isolated space rather than an integrated component of the house.

30 For a similar analysis of the houses of art dealers, see Appendix III.

31 The representativeness of this sample is hard to measure, as the sample covers all the inventories known to us that had assigned objects to rooms. It is possible that more inventories of artists' possessions will come to light as more documents in the notarial archive in Amsterdam are digitised.

32 Several of the painters in this group were featured in Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*, 162n15. For Rombout van Troyen's inventories, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 584, fols 30v–31 (23-11-1651). For Emanuel de Witte's, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 1129, fol. 113, inv. 5088, fols 291–93 (11-09-1685), not. Mr. Elbert Buijs, and Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 5:1830. For Gerrit Lunden's inventory, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 597 '2F', fol. 273 (16-06-1671) and Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:966–73. For Aert van der Neer's 1662 bankruptcy and the inventory, see Bredius, 'Aernout (Aert) van Der Neer', 70–72. For Edo Quiter's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 3374, fols 139–45 (10-12-1694), not. Hendrick Outgers. For Emanuel Wouter's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 6193, no fol. (01-11-1698), not. Pieter Carel, and Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:942.

often drew individuals to the painting profession.[33] Slightly better off than those in rented rooms were four painters who lived in single-storey Type I houses: the obscure painter Maerten Karelsz de Wolff (ca. 1594–1636), history painter Francoys Dancx (1636–ca. 1703), wall-hanging painter Alexander Roswel (1633–1680), and still life painter Juriaen van Streeck (1632–1687).[34] The inventories of these painters reflect their struggles to please the market and make a decent living.

The inventories of artists living in these modest abodes illustrate how painters worked under reduced circumstances, often squeezing their workshops into whatever space was available. Those residing in rented rooms, though able – or perhaps forced – to continue painting, likely found it difficult to sell their works directly from their impoverished homes. Type I houses offered limited options for painters to set up their workspace in the *voorhuis* or *zolder*, but neither was ideal. Still, painters in Type I houses were 'privileged' to have at least a *binnenkamer* reserved for family life compared to those in rented rooms.

Rented rooms and Type I houses were by no means typical residences for painters. Despite many paintings and drawings depicting artists in rundown studios – implying that many painters lived and worked in such humble settings – these artworks offer only limited documentary value. For instance, a close examination of Adriaen van Ostade's *The Painter in His Studio* (Figure 2-3) reveals that the artist not only had a separate space for his assistant to prepare the paint but also worked in an upper-level room, as indicated by the spiral staircase from the ground floor and a ladder leading to the attic. Neither the dedicated studio space (*schilderkamer*) nor the first-floor location aligns with the humble setting typical of the low-genre peasant scenes. Rather, these features are characteristic of Type II houses, which housed the majority of painters in this sample. This discrepancy in Van Ostade's depiction of a painter's studio confirms that his portrayal of the workspace is fictional, crafted to fit within the pictorial tradition of low genre scenes.[35] This raises the question:

33 Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, 169. An established master painter could expect to earn somewhere between *f* 1,000 and *f* 2,500 per year, favourable when compared to the income of masters in many other trades. For the cost of basic education, see Jager, 'Meester, leerjongen, leertijd'; Goosens, 'Schilders en de markt, Haarlem 1605–1635', 87. And for the cost of painting apprenticeships, see Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, 169. For the barriers to entry facing artists, see Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*, 232; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod', 53–97. I have argued elsewhere that there was a social bubble in Dutch society in the first few decades of the seventeenth century. Aspiring painters then were attracted to the profession by a few handsomely paid role models. They overestimated the chance of success and underestimated the risk involved in a painting career. See Li, 'Innovative Exuberance'.

34 For De Wolff's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 918, fols 514–16 (05-12-1636). For Dancx's inventory, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 587, fols 222–23 (08-07-1659). For Roswel's inventory, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 586, fols 239–239v (05-10-1659). For Van Streeck's inventory, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 613, fols 201–2 (13-07-1687).

35 Kleinert argued that the studio scenes were primarily produced by genre painters, mostly from Leiden and Haarlem, working in their familiar pictorial style. That is why the Leiden studio scenes fall within



Figure 2-3: Adriaen van Ostade, *The Painter in His Studio*, 1663, oil on panel, 38 × 35.5 cm, Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. 1397. ⏎

would most painters in larger, two-storey houses put their workshops in the exact same location that Van Ostade suggested?

Varied exhibition spaces and fixed studio locations in signature Type II houses

The majority of painters (68 per cent) in the sample could afford a decent two-storey Type II house. Despite the competitive art market, which proved difficult for some artists, many painters managed to live a comfortable life even in Amsterdam. This aligns with Montias's observations in Delft, where most painters came from middle- or upper-class backgrounds with some financial stability and could retain similar economic status or even climb up the social ladder.[36] Occasional downward social mobility was, as Paul Crenshaw argued, often the result of personal issues, debts, or failed investments, rather than the art market itself.[37] Aside from three painters who ceased painting by the time their inventories were drawn up, the remaining twenty-two painters in Type II houses can be categorised by the features

the tradition of the local *fijnschilders*, while those made in Haarlem fit within the low-life genres. This also explains why the Haarlem painters, like Adriaen van Ostade, often situated painters in a setting that resembles the peasant scenes. See Kleinert, *Atelierdarstellungen*.

36 Twenty-five out of the total thirty-seven inventories in my sample were drawn from Type II houses.

37 Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*.

of their homes: thirteen artists resided in the basic two-storey deep house with at most a kitchen at the back; five occupied slightly larger houses with an additional side chamber; and the last four lived in houses with a *zaal* extending to the back of the main house. While these variations in layouts may not have significantly altered the functions of spaces in ordinary households, as we shall see, they held greater significance for painters who strategically adapted their available spaces for their business needs.

Typical residences in basic Type II houses

Among the thirteen painters who occupied basic Type II houses, we find a wide range of artistic profiles active throughout the entire seventeenth century (Figure 2-4). This group includes history painters Adriaen Boogaert (ca. 1587–after 1631) and Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman (1583–1633), both active during the first decades of the century. It also features artists who worked during the burgeoning years of the art market: marine painters Hendrick van Anthonissen (1605–after 1656) and his less successful contemporary Claes Claesz Wou (ca. 1592/95–1665); genre painters Pieter Jansz Quast (ca. 1606–1647) and Pieter Symonsz Potter (ca. 1597/1600–1652), the latter best known as the father of the acclaimed animal painter Paulus Potter; still life painter Simon Luttichuys (1610–1661); minor portrait painters Isaack van Hooren (ca. 1619–1652) and Jacob Colijns (1614–1686), son of David Colijns.[38] The group further includes two obscure painters, Frans van Hocxbergen (1629–1679) and Laurens Floor (ca. 1634–1667), from whom no surviving works or contemporary mentions in inventories are known. Most of these artists did not live to see the last phase of market development after the 1670s. Only Johannes de Maber (1659–1702) and Justus van Huysum (1659–1716) remained active during the last decades of the seventeenth century.[39] Both contributed to the new fashion for painted illusionistic ceilings and overmantel pieces. Although their inventories date from the early

38 For the inventory of Adriaen Boogaert, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 568, fols 15–19 (20-01-1628), not. Laurens Lamberti; Pieter Lastman: see SAA NA 5075, inv. 568, fols 511–18 (07-07-1632), not. Laurens Lamberti; Hendrick van Anthonissen: SAA NA 5075, inv. 1165, fols 85–88 (03-10-1647), not. Joost van de Ven; Claes Wou: SAA NA 5075, inv. 2852, fols 479–89 (15-05-1665), not. Dirck Danckerts; Pieter Quat: SAA NA 5075, inv. 819, fols 27–29 (06-06-1647), not. Johan Dirksz Verhij; Pieter Potter: SAA NA 5075, inv. 2154, fols 229–36 (11-10-1652), not. Nicolaes van Born; Simon Luttichuys: SAA NA 5075, inv. 1717, fols 139–41 (12-01-1662), not. Pieter de Bary; Isaack van Hooren: SAA NA 5075, inv. 2088A, fols 527–37 (22-08-1652), not. Johannes Hellerus; Jacob Colyns: SAA NA 5075, inv. 5514A, fols 70–75 (07-02-1686), not. Johannes van den Kerckhoven; Frans van Hocxbergen: SAA NA 5075, inv. 2730, fols 300–303 (20-07-1662), not. Jan Hendrickz, and SAA DBK 5072, inv. 590, fols 163v–164v (05-08-1662); Laurens Floor: SAA DBK 5072, inv. 593, fols 192–94 (24-07-1665).

39 For Johannes de Maber's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 7061B, fols 361–69 (23-11-1702), not. Isaak Beukelaar. For Justus van Huysum's, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 6459, no fol. (12-05-1716), not. Hendrick de Wilde.

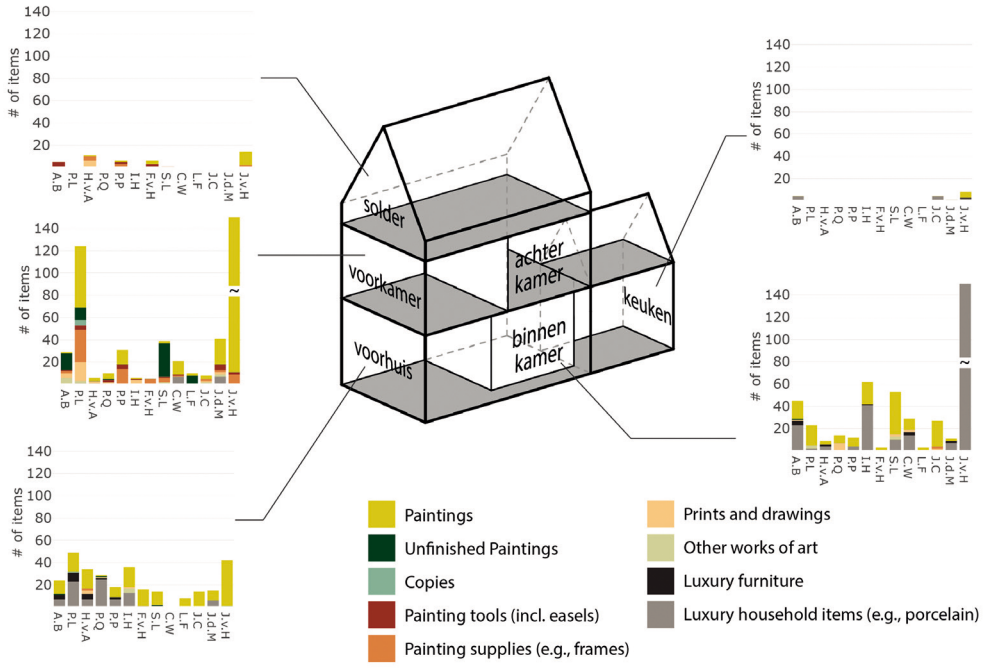

Figure 2-4: Distribution of paintings, tools, and luxury items within basic Type II houses occupied by (ordered by inventory year) Adriaen Boogaert (A.B.,1628), Pieter Lastman (P.L,1632), Hendrick van Anthonissen (H.v.A, 1647), Pieter Quast (P.Q, 1647), Pieter Potter (P.P, 1652), Isaack van Hooren (I.H, 1652), Frans van Hocxbergen (F.v.H, 1662), Simon Luttichuys (S.L, 1662), Claes Wou (C.W, 1665), Laurens Floor (L.F, 1665), Jacob Colijns (J.C, 1686), Johannes de Maber (J.d.M, 1702), and Justus van Huysum (J.v.H, 1705). Two bars under Van Huysum's name are marked with a '~' sign, which means the total number of objects exceeds the scale of the graph. Van Huysum had more than 400 paintings in his upstairs rooms. The diagram pointing to the *voorkamer* contains information for the entire floor, as not all inventories have a separate *voor-* and *achterkamer* upstairs.

eighteenth century, they encapsulate the lives and businesses of painters in the period following the market contraction.

Figure 2-4 visualises the distribution of painting-related objects and luxury items in painters' houses. It shows that the painting workshop (*schilderkamer*) was invariably located on the first floor, either spanning the entire floor or occupying a room with better lighting conditions. Consequently, workshops were found both in the street-facing *voorkamer* and the courtyard-facing *achterkamer* upstairs, depending on the orientation of the house. These painting workshops are easily identified by clusters of sketches, drawings, prints, and unfinished works in almost every painter's home, even when some notaries were rather sloppy in their documentation of art supplies. These objects helped pinpoint the workshop when it was disguised under other names like *bovenkamer* or *voor-* and *achterkamer*. For instance, Pieter Lastman's workshop was located in the

north-facing *achterkamer* in his south-facing house on Sint Antoniesbreestraat.[40] The content of Lastman's upstairs rooms suggests that his workshop occupied most of the space on the first floor.[41] Lastman's studio adjoined a messy living area with a chaotic working space where the master and his pupils worked side by side. If we are to believe that the notary registered the goods as he toured around the room, we see the first corner upon entering the studio was cluttered with everyday household items – cooking and dining wares, clothes, candleholders – all indicating that it was a living space.[42] The opposite corner from the door – the last records before the notary moved to the next room – held a bed with pillows and blankets, a few chairs, and an iron furnace (*kachel*) with a fire stick. It seems that the entrance side of the workshop was a messy living space, as objects were scattered around with no storage in mind. A crucifixion carving with an ebony cross (found alongside clothes and other household goods) was presumably intended for devotional use (Lastman was a Catholic), attesting to the private nature of the space.

The rest of the workshop was equally untidy. It contained about seventy paintings (fifteen attributed), including eleven *gedoodverfde* (blocked in with colours), six principals by Lastman, and a handful of copies, perhaps made by his pupils, interspersed among the rest. This famous and revered artist likely shared his studio with his pupils in the same way as depicted by Jan Josef Horemans (1684–1759) in Figure 2-5. Although Horemans was active in Antwerp a century later, his unflattering, highly functional arrangement of studio space mirrors what we read in Lastman's inventory. The attributed paintings in Lastman's inventory and the portrait of Lastman's brother Claes (ca. 1586–1625) may have adorned the whitewashed walls with or without frames, as in Horemans's work, adding a more private touch to the studio space. Paints and other art supplies in Lastman's studio were stowed away in one chest and prints and drawings in another. Only the most valuable ultramarine

40 The exact location of Lastman's house was on Sint Antoniesbreestraat 59 (opposite the Zuiderkerk), identified in Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 71, 100–102n71.

41 Lastman's *voorkamer* contained merely a bed with bedding, a mirror, a crucifix (painting or woodcut), an oak wood table, a stool, and three foot warmers. This room seems to have been used by the maid, too, since the notary mentioned some black trousers that Neeltge (perhaps the maid) said that she got from her master ('een swarte lakense broeck die Neeltge seijt dat haer van haer meester gegeven is'). Lastman kept a large print book, some drawings, and a box of paint, together with about 150 books in the *comptoir*. For Lastman's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 568, fols 511–18 (07-07-1632), not. Laurens Lamberti. This inventory was drawn up in 1632, when Lastman, after leading a successful career in Amsterdam for almost two decades, fell seriously ill in 1629 and 1632. The painter subsequently died in the spring of 1633.

42 There may have been a fireplace, as the mantelpiece curtain was mentioned. We cannot ascertain whether Lastman's studio had an open hearth or not. But even if there was one, it was likely not used because no fireplace tools (such as fire sticks) were mentioned near the mantelpiece; instead, a fire stick was listed next to a furnace (*kachel*), which was perhaps the main heater of the studio.



Figure 2-5: Jan Josef Horemans, *A Painter's Studio*, oil on canvas, 49 × 60 cm, Stockholm: National Museum, inv. NM340.

paint was carefully stored in a small hanging cupboard, together with Lastman's important paperwork (e.g., obligations and letters). Lastman owned merely two plaster heads and no collectables, and both the living and working sides of the studio were unpresentable to any visitors outside the family.[43] It seems that the painting studios of artists of the early generation were rather secluded, and the idea of building an art collection and engaging in self-promotion gained momentum only a generation later, after Lastman passed away in the 1630s. It is questionable whether visitors to Lastman's house were allowed beyond his well-adorned *voorhuis*.

The inventories suggest that the *voorhuizen* of painters' homes in this group blended well into typical Amsterdam houses, revealing little about the profession of the residents. Expensive cupboards laden with their finest textiles, Spanish chairs, and decorative porcelains appeared in many painters' *voorhuizen.* Occasionally, cupboards with glass doors (*glaskas*), cabinets, dressers (*tresoor*), and even birdcages

43 Since Lastman's inventory was drawn up a year (or more) after he had moved to his older brother's house, Seifert raised the question of whether objects in Lastman's house remained in their original space. Because Lastman had only few pupils, it is unlikely that someone continued to work in his studio during his absence. It is likely that the objects and their placement in the studio remained largely intact. See Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*.

appeared in this street-facing entrance room.[44] The *voorhuis* in a painter's house was often crowded with several pieces of large furniture, often the best of the whole house, especially in the first decades of the century. Function-wise, the *voorhuis* in a painter's house served as a reception hall as well as a gathering/salon space, probably the most appropriate place for painters whose business required a certain degree of publicity. Conversely, if a painter could hardly make ends meet by selling paintings, the *voorhuis* could accommodate a side business. For instance, the obscure Laurens Floor (1665) kept a shop (probably selling spices or candlesticks) in his *voorhuis*, and his painting studio was located upstairs.[45]

As the seventeenth century progressed, the trend of heavily furnished *voorhuizen* declined. By the last quarter of the century, while paintings and chairs remained, these rooms in painters' houses were generally devoid of bulky furniture, opening up the previously cluttered space (as seen in the diminishing black and grey bars in Figure 2-4). Concurrently, painters' workshops evolved from messy, chaotic working areas in the early decades into presentable spaces, exhibiting painters' artistic and intellectual abilities. This shift in decor and spatial arrangement in painters' homes coincided with a growing interest among art lovers in visiting painters at work or even engaging with artistic practice.[46] Although paintings were sold in the open market in various ways, the purchase of top-notch artworks (ready-made or on commission) still involved direct contact with the artists, necessitating visits to their studios.[47] Such visits – to view, discuss, and purchase art – were considered cultural experiences, paralleling visits to collectors' cabinets or professors' libraries, integral to the lifestyle of educated individuals.[48] Thus, studios of famous artists grew into attractions in their cities, drawing visitors from near and far.[49] In the first

44 The birdcage substantiates English traveller Peter Mundy's famous account of the domestic decoration: 'Full off pleasure and home contentment, as Ritche Cupboards, Cabinetts etts., Imagery, porcelain, Costly Fine cases with birds, etts.; all these commonly in any house of indifferent qualities; wonderfull Nett and cleane, as well in their houses and Furniture, service, etts. Within doors, as in their streetes.' Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, 4:70.

45 There were scales and weights ('een Isere eevenaer met houte schaelen', 'Omtrent 90 ll Iser gewicht') and even a shop counter ('Een toonbanck ende voort de winckel plancken') mentioned together with eight paintings in Laurens Floor's insolvency inventory. Unfortunately, we know next to nothing about the obscure painter, who went bankrupt in 1665. For Floor's inventory see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 593, fols 192–94 (24-07-1665).

46 Yeager-Crasselt, 'Knowledge and Practice', 192–95.

47 Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display', 213–16.

48 Roodenburg, 'Visiting Vermeer: Performing Civility'.

49 Although such visits left only scanty traces in written documents, the few examples known to us may help imagine the scale and frequency of travellers' visits to studios. As early as 1629, Constantijn Huygens visited the young Rembrandt and Jan Lievens in Leiden. See Strauss and Van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, 1630/5. However, most accounts of similar visits date to the second half of the century. In 1663 French diplomat Balthasar de Monconys visited Johannes Vermeer in Delft, Gerrit Dou in

decades of the century, most visitors to painters' homes likely did not go beyond the well-embellished *voorhuis*, but by the century's end, they were more likely to be invited to painters' studios upstairs. The *voorhuis* thus became a gallery, a liminal space leading to painters' workshops, which now took over the luxury furniture once placed in the *voorhuis*.

This analysis of painters' houses also suggests that an artist's genre or speciality had little impact on the organisation of their interior space. Instead, factors such as the painter's active period, market conditions, prevailing fashion, and target market segment played far more significant roles in shaping the use of interior spaces, especially in the *voorhuis* and workshop.

Later developments in the Type II house with a side chamber

This house type modifies the basic one by dividing the street-facing ground floor with an additional side chamber next to the *voorhuis* (Figure 2-6). This layout became popular in the second half of the seventeenth century, which explains why most painters in my sample who occupied such houses developed their careers mainly after 1650: Otto Marseus van Schrieck (1619/20–1678), best known for his paintings of woodland flora and fauna featuring snakes, lizards and insects; Karel Dujardin (1626–1678), who worked in Italianate landscape scenes and portraiture; Cornelis Kick (1634–1681) who specialised in still life; and Michiel van Musscher (1645–1705), one of Amsterdam's most prominent portraitists after the 1670s.[50] The only exception is Pieter Codde (1599–1678), whose inventory was drawn up from his rented house in the Leprozenhuis, a typical *dwarshuis* (thwart/cross house)

Leiden, and Otto Marseus van Schrieck at the artist's farm outside Amsterdam, and several other artists in cities around Holland. See Monconys, *Journal des voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, 2:149 (Vermeer), 2:161 (Marseus van Schrieck). Cosimo de' Medici also bought artworks worth *f* 500 from Otto Marseus van Schrieck but had the artist come to him instead. See Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo de Medici*. Huygens' son, Constantijn Junior, viewed Rembrandt's collection after he moved into the rented house on Rozengracht, and in 1667 Cosimo de' Medici visited Rembrandt, perhaps in the same house (see Strauss and Van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, 1663/9 and 1667/6). And in 1687 the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin admired Gerard de Lairesse's studio (which he shared with Johannes Glauber). See Upmark, 'Ein Besuch in Holland 1687', 125.

50 For more on Marseus van Schrieck's work and especially his curiosity about natural knowledge, see Hildebrecht, 'Otto Marseus van Schrieck'. For his inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 3440A, no fol. (05-07-1678), not. Cornelis van Poelenburgh. For more about Karel Dujardin, see Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 3:57–61; Bredius, 'De nalatenschap van Carel du Jardin'; Kilian, *Du Jardin*. For Dujardin's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 4495AC, fols 584–601 (19-10-1678), not. Jacob Matham. For Kick's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 2412A, fols 1–9 (09-08-1681), not. Jacob de Winter. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 1:334–41. On Michiel van Musscher, see Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 3:211–12; Bakker, 'Michiel van Musscher'. For Van Musscher's inventories, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 4864, fols 82v–90v (pp. 165–81) (30-07-1699) (after the death of his second wife), and SAA NA 5075, inv. 4837, fols 143–60 (20-07-1705), not. Samuel Wijmer (after the passing of the artist himself).

with its width greater than its depth, offering a parallel side chamber in place of a *binnenkamer*.[51]

Despite their varied specialities and success levels, these artists used interior spaces in a similar manner, akin to the arrangement we see in the basic Type II samples. That is, their *voorhuis* was sparsely furnished and displayed paintings in relatively low numbers; the *binnenkamer* was a cosily appointed family space; and the *schilderkamer* occupied most of the upstairs space. The *schilderkamer* upstairs (shown as *voor-* and *achterkamer*) can hardly be mistaken in the inventories, due to the presence of art supplies, canvases still on stretchers, paintings to be finished, and a myriad of prints and drawings (see the dark and light green bars in Figure 2-6). Post-1650 inventories often show expensive furniture pieces like ebony inlaid cupboards and Spanish chairs exclusively in painters' studios. This trend of well-furnished studios coincided with the decline of the *voorhuis* as a reception space and an increase in visitors to the studios. As we shall see in Chapter 7, the *schilderkamers* of Dujardin, Marseus van Schrieck, and Van Musscher became increasingly public and well-embellished spaces, where painting and art marking became part of the performance and display.[52] Artists appear to have responded to the market conditions after the 1650s by offering staged performances in their well-appointed, art-laden studios in their homes, a phenomenon that will be further explored together with their location choices in Chapter 7.

Besides the *schilderkamer*, what stands out in Type II houses with a *zijkamer* is, as expected, the side chamber. Although adding a side room may seem trivial to the entire house typology, this additional area provided a buffer between the entrance and the studio and offered a relatively formal exhibition space. Pieter Codde (1636) mounted sixteen, mainly ebony-framed paintings by various contemporary and old masters other than himself. Codde's side chamber also contained costly furniture and luxurious household goods: crystal glassware and porcelain figures probably rested on an ebony inlaid buffet filled with linen.[53] The side chambers in the houses of Dujardin, Marseus van Schrieck, and Van Musscher were similarly used for displaying even more paintings. The notary who drew up Van Musscher's

51 The limited depth of the house eliminated the *binnenkamer* behind the *voorhuis*, replacing it with a side room, as seen in Pieter Codde's inventory. For a detailed account of such *dwarshuizen*, see Stenvert and van Tussenbroek, *Inleiding in de bouwhistorie*, 39–41; Dolfin, Kylstra, and Penders, *Utrecht: De Huizen binnen de Singels*, 147–223. The book that contained Pieter Codde's inventory is presumed lost and cannot be located in the Amsterdam City Archives. The current inventory relies on Bredius' selection in Bredius, 'Iets over Pieter Codde en Willem Duyster'.

52 See Chapter 7, section 'Schilderkamers as showrooms'.

53 Codde had more furniture in the *zijkamer*, but the extant transcription of the lost original archive document did not enumerate it. See Bredius, 'Iets over Pieter Codde en Willem Duyster'.

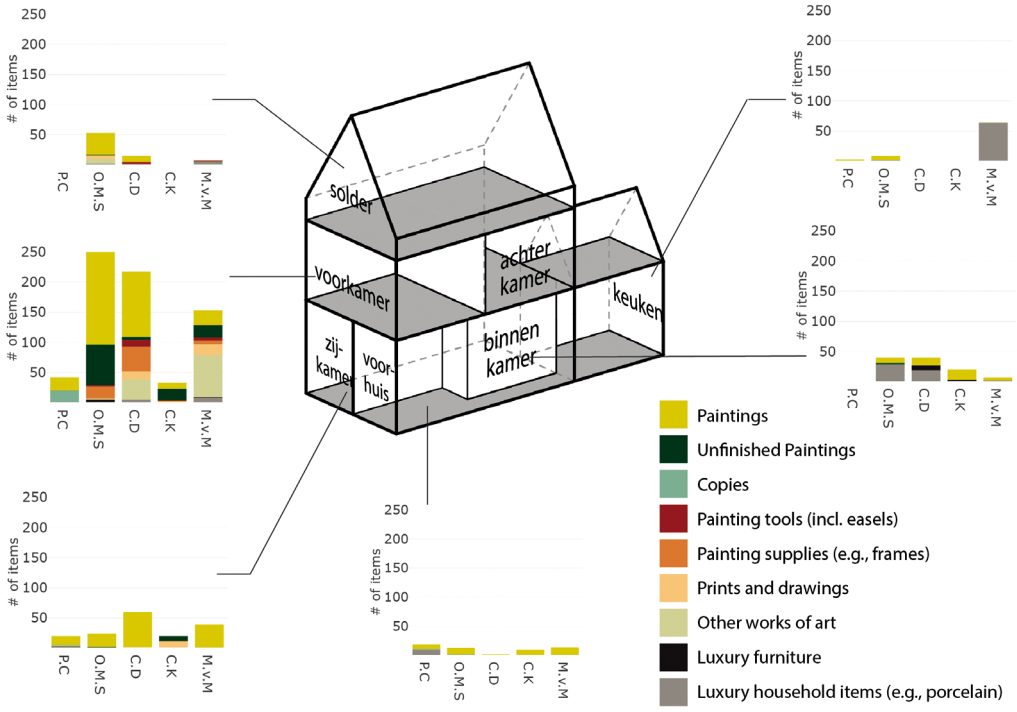

Figure 2-6: Distribution of paintings, tools, and luxury items within Type II houses with *zijkamer* occupied by Pieter Codde (P.C, 1636), Marseus van Schrieck (O.M.S, 1678), Carel Dujardin (C.D, 1678), Cornelis Kick (C.K, 1681), and Michiel van Musscher (M.v.M, 1705).

inventory (1705) incidentally called his side chamber 'constsael' (art salon) in one instance.[54] Clearly, these upmarket painters (except Pieter Codde) embedded themselves within contemporary cultural trends, both in their choice of house and interior design and in their self-fashioning strategies to navigate the high-end market successfully.

Flexible spaces in Type II houses with an achterzaal

Four painters in the sample occupied houses with a full-fledged *achterzaal/beste kamer* attached to the rear of the house (Figure 2-7). Although these rooms are often considered public reception spaces similar to those in Type III houses, in painters' homes, they were used in idiosyncratic ways, catering to individual business

54 Under the side room section, the notary noted, 'nogh 5 schilderijen op de constsael' (SAA NA 5075, inv. 4837, fol. 151). There was also a painted table and cupboard laden with jewellery, silverware, as well as scores of silver or gold ducatons. For the full inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 4837, not. Samuel Wijmer, fols 143–60 (20-07-1705).

practices. Among these painters was Jan Christiaensz Micker (ca. 1600–1664), a minor master whose works appeared mostly in low-end art dealers' stocks.[55] Besides Micker, the other three painters living in this house type all specialised in marine scenes but belonged to various segments of the market. Ludolf Bakhuizen (1631–1708) emerged as a leading figure in marine subjects after Willem van de Velde the Elder and his son left for England in 1672.[56] Jan Abrahamsz Beerstraaten (1622–1666) found himself on the border between the upper- and mid-layer of the art market (see further discussion in Chapter 6). Barent Cornelisz Kleeneknecht (1610–1674) supplemented his painting career with work as a skipper and shopkeeper of a marine supply shop.[57]

These artists' diverse market positions and career stages were reflected in their functional arrangement of interior spaces. A consistent feature, however, was that their workshops all occupied most of the upper floor (Figure 2-7). Apart from the common studio location, the use of ground-floor spaces, especially the *zaal*, varied greatly. Micker, who served low-end art dealers and likely had no need to sell paintings from his house, used the *zaal* (under the name *beste kamer* in the inventory) as a living space for the lady of the house. In contrast to Micker's private use of interior space, Barent Kleeneknecht's business was spread throughout his house, with his *voorhuis* functioning as a marine supply store and his *achterzaal* dedicated to his painting business, containing nothing but artworks and art supplies. The high-end painter Bakhuizen adorned his *zaal* with his own works and those of his colleagues like Johannes Lingelbach, alongside luxurious furnishings such as an ebony cupboard, dozens of porcelains, and pieces of silverware. Therefore, despite its fancy label, the *achterzaal* or *beste kamer* in painters' homes did not imply any particular function but rather provided additional space and flexibility for artists to arrange their professional and family lives. The difference in the use of interior space largely stemmed from the painters' market segments, the active period, and the market conditions they faced.

55 On Jan Micker's life and work, see Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 295–98; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 247–58. For the inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 2693, fols 317–27 (18-04-1658), not. Gerrit Meijer. I would like to thank Angela Jager, who generously provided her draft transcription of Micker's inventory.

56 The inventory of Bakhuizen's possessions in 1680 before he married his fourth wife, two years after the death of his third wife Alida Greffet (1625–1678), captures his living conditions as a rising star. Unfortunately, his painting tools were not mentioned in the inventory. For the inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 2507A, not. Jacobus Hellerus, fols 268–70 (16-05-1680).

57 For the inventory of Kleeneknecht, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 3465A, not. Johannes Paerslaken, fols 35–46 (01-02-1674).

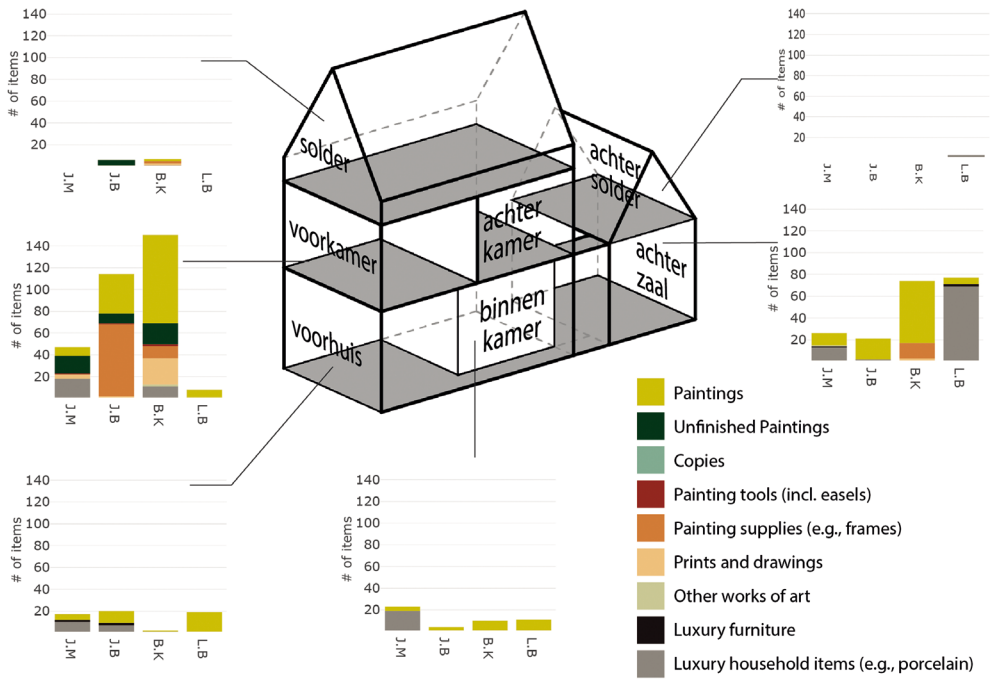

Figure 2-7: Distribution of paintings, tools, and luxury items within Type II houses with *zaal* occupied by Jan Micker (J.M., 1658), Jan A. Beerstraaten (J.B., 1671), Barent Kleeneknecht (B.K., 1674), and Ludolf Bakhuizen (L.B., 1680).

Unattainable opulence in Type III houses

Only two highly successful artists in my sample could afford to live on a fairly grand scale, even if only temporarily: Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) and Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712). The latter is known for his cityscape paintings and his invention of firefighting techniques.[58] Van der Heyden made his fortune from firefighting equipment and died a wealthy man in 1712, leaving behind a legacy of over *f* 80,000.[59] His house on Koestraat near Nieuwmarkt had at least four spacious rooms on each floor and thus met the criteria for a Type III house, albeit not on one of the grand canals. The inventory of his house shows that Van der Heyden had little need to sell his art to make a living, even though his work was in great demand; he kept four of his own works valued at *f* 400 in total, within a collection of over a hundred paintings. Van der Heyden's financial ease explains the relatively empty

58 See Bredius, 'De nalatenschap van Jan van der Heyden's weduwe'; De Vries, 'Heyden, Jan van Der'. For the inventory of Van der Heyden's possessions, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 4669, not. Johannes Backer, fols 280–96 (18-05-1672).

59 Wheelock, 'Jan van Der Heyden'.

workshop compared to other painters and makes his inventory a poor reflection of how a typical high-end painter used interior spaces. In this case, Rembrandt's house offers a better example.

Hardly any house in Amsterdam has been more meticulously examined than the extant building of Rembrandt's house on Jodenbreestraat (the present Rembrandthuis Museum), where he lived from 1639 to 1658. Although scholars have yet to reach consensus on the exact layout of the house, it is clear that Rembrandt's house, although not a full-fledged Type III double house, exceeded the scope of typical Type II houses in grandeur, providing ample space for his artistic and business pursuits.[60] Since previous studies have enumerated Rembrandt's possessions at length, this study seeks to emphasise his use of interior space for self-promotion and situate his practices in the context of other painters discussed in this chapter. Perry Chapman argued that Rembrandt's entire house – his collection, his studio, his *kunstkamer* – constituted a collective display integral to his self-fashioning strategy and a project of self-invention.[61] Other painters of a later time, such as Michiel van Musscher, exhibited similar behaviours and intentions, marking a departure from practices prevalent before 1630. This trend of using interiors as a performing stage seems to have started in Rembrandt's time and prevailed after the 1660s. By 1670, the functional arrangement of space in high-end painters' houses and their decoration patterns all gave the impression that painters strove to exhibit artistic knowledge, studio practices, and perhaps business prowess at home once their financial situation permitted. This suggests that painters' use of interior spaces was tied closely to the development of the art market over time.

Evolution of studio interiors and the art market

Painters' varying use of interior spaces suggests that these artists followed the fashion of interior décor of their time. The analysis indicates a significant transformation in the use of studio space by renowned artists catering to the upper segment of the art market. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, studios like that of Pieter Lastman were messy, chaotic, and secluded workspaces. However, after

60 The present interior of the Rembrandthuis Museum is based on the reconstruction by architecture historian and conservator Henk Zantkuijl (1999). For different reconstructions of Rembrandt's house, see Meischke, 'Het Rembrandthuis'; Dudok van Heel, 'De galerij en schilderloods van Rembrandt'; Zantkuijl, 'Het huis waar Rembrandt woonde'. Chiara Piccoli from our Virtual Interiors project is working on a new reconstruction that revisits some of the questions left by Meischke and Zantkuijl.

61 Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display'. Chapman goes as far as to suggest that Rembrandt's bankruptcy inventory was a purposeful act of display as a final presentation of his curiosity, erudition, and creativity because the master seems to have assisted the officials from the Chamber of Insolvency (*Desolate Boedelkamer*). It seems more plausible to me that Rembrandt's assistance and the detailed attributions of artworks and identifications of rarities, books, and other objects that filled his *kunstkamer* were attempts to elevate the estimated value of his possessions to fetch more money in the ensuing auction.

mid-century, the studios of artists like Rembrandt, Marseus van Schrieck, and Van Musscher evolved into carefully arranged showrooms and painting shops, open to visitors and clients. The studios became showrooms, with curated accoutrements and the act of painting on display.[62]

This shift in the use of studio space also coincided with a change in market dynamics. The art market experienced rapid growth in the first three decades of the seventeenth century before reaching its first plateau around 1635.[63] In a rapidly expanding market, artists like Pieter Lastman were not under much competitive pressure and had little motivation to seek alternative venues (such as their homes and studios) to promote their works. Lastman died in 1633, just before the market showed the first sign of stagnation and saturation. Between 1635 and 1640, artists struggled to come up with new inventions to keep the public interested, an audience that was partially distracted by the plague of 1635.[64] Meanwhile, more aspiring painters entered the market, intensifying the competition.[65] By the time Rembrandt bought his house on Jodenbreestraat in 1639, he was certainly feeling market pressure. His local competitor, Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688), had already established himself in an imposing residence on Keizersgracht and secured prestigious commissions from the elite circle to which he was introduced by his cousin, art dealer Michiel le Blon (who will be discussed in Chapter 5).[66] Later in the same year, Rembrandt deliberately announced himself as a competitor to Raphael and other famous Renaissance masters through his 1639 etched self-portrait and 1640 painting now in the National Gallery, London.[67] Moving into a grand house and filling it to the brim with artworks and luxury goods could have been Rembrandt's response to the competitive pressure and stagnating market, a way to gain leverage by staging himself in an imposing venue.

The self-fashioning strategy that Rembrandt applied to his house and studio was repeatedly seen in the inventories of high-end painters such as Otto Marseus van Schrieck, Karel Dujardin, Michiel van Musscher, and Justus van Huysum. These artists pursued their careers during a period when the art market was contracting, with either a steep decline or at least stagnation in demand for paintings. During

62 For the analysis of how painters displayed paintings at home, see Li, 'Painters' Playbooks', Appendix II.

63 See Figure 1 in Li, 'Innovative Exuberance'.

64 Elmer Kolfin observes the same phenomenon in the case of 'merry company'. He shows that the artistic development of this scene stagnated in quantity and quality due to the lack of true innovation and could no longer keep the public interested from the 1640s onward. See Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play*, 117. The possible impact of plague on the art market was recently discussed in Sluijter, 'Holland's Last Epidemic of Plague (1663/4) and the Decline of the Art of Painting'.

65 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*, 205–9.

66 Dickey, *Rembrandt: Portraits in Print*; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 71–75.

67 Dickey, *Rembrandt: Portraits in Print*.

this period, the urban elite whom artists served increasingly adopted customs traditionally used by aristocrats to display their wealth and status.[68] The circle of prestigious collectors – who relished an opulent lifestyle and assembled costly works for their painting cabinets – may have favoured or even demanded an erudite and cosmopolitan image of the artist and an elaborate display in the artist's home. In response to these expectations, high-end artists adapted their studios and homes to align with the cultural tastes and expectations of their prestigious clients. This self-fashioning tactic, however, did not trickle down to painters who served the lower market segment. For these artists, studios remained highly functional, from their location to furnishing, and often contained household goods and furniture next to art supplies and painting tools. As we shall see in Chapter 7, this behaviour was consistent with how the lower-end market functioned after the art market entered the final stage after the 1670s.

Conclusion

By coupling building structures with their contents, this chapter has established three typologies of Amsterdam houses through spatial reading of inventories. These typologies not only bridged the gap between studies of art and material culture and those of contemporary architecture but also enabled an examination of how variations in interior spaces affected the behaviours and choices of painters in the seventeenth century.

This analysis reveals that an artist's chosen genre or speciality had little impact on the organisation of their interior space and the arrangement of their workshops. History painters arranged the interior space in much the same manner as marine or still life painters. The houses of portrait painters whose clients would come over to get their likenesses sketched were almost indistinguishable from the rest, except that their studios may have been more presentable (as in the case of Michiel van Musscher). By contrast, a painter's active period and business considerations left clearer marks on the use of interior space than did the artistic profiles that art historians tend to value. The active period imposed *au courant* decorative styles that painters strove to follow, while their business tactics determined the display

68 The phenomenon was once considered the so-called 'aristocratisation' of the Dutch patriciate, which has been challenged by historians. See Kooijmans, 'Patriciaat en aristocratisering in Holland'; Prak, *Gezeten burgers*, 242–50; De Jong, *Met goed fatsoen*, 236–43; Kooijmans, *Onder regenten*, 174–78. The disputed 'aristocratisation' of elites in the late seventeenth century has been used by art historians to explain the refinement in painting styles and the choice of subject matters. See the exhibition catalogue *De kroon op het werk: Hollandse schilderkunst 1670–1750* and in particular Weber, 'Een steile klim'. The self-fashioning of high-end painters is discussed in Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'.

of artworks and furniture as part of their coordination of behaviours to serve their business practice. When painters ventured into art dealing or retail business, their houses often accommodated exclusive shopping spaces (as in Kleeneknecht's house in 1674). Painters who both produced and sold their works from their homes likely set up well appointed reception and exhibition spaces with decent studios to facilitate business conversation, a behaviour evident in most Type II and III houses in this sample. In particular, the houses of high-end artists after the 1650s had become a performing stage to put their artistry on display, while those of low-end painters remained highly practical and functional. In short, the spatial analysis suggests that interior spaces revealed much about painters' behaviours and choices, becoming a critical part of their playbooks. In the following chapters, the study of interior space will be integrated with three other layers of deep mapping – locations, social networks, and economic standing – to construct a comprehensive socio-spatial narrative of the art market in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

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3. Changing Artistic Landscape in Amsterdam, 1585–1610

Abstract: This chapter examines the early phase of art market development from 1585 to 1610 from a socio-spatial perspective, visualising the changing landscape of the artistic community shaped by the influx of immigrants from the Southern Netherlands. During this period, the art market evolved from a small, highly coordinated market into a larger, open market in which various modes of coordination coexisted in relatively isolated artistic clusters within Amsterdam. Only in the 1600s did the expansion of the art market and the city itself influence painters' collective location choices, bringing painters of various backgrounds to the east of the city. This collective choice led to the formation of the 'artists' quarter' on Sint Antoniesbreestraat, which laid a solid foundation for rapid artistic development in the following decades.

Keywords: Southern immigrants, *Capitale Impositie*, art market, spatial clustering

On 17 August 1585, Antwerp fell to the forces of Philip II of Spain after enduring a year-long siege. Thousands of merchants, artists, and artisans fled the Spanish regime and sought refuge in the northern provinces of the Low Countries. Many of these Southern immigrants eventually settled in Amsterdam, then a medieval town sprawling along both banks of the Amstel (Figure 3-1a). By this time, the construction of a new defence system and the first city expansion had just begun, and the second expansion was soon to follow in 1593. In the decade after 1585, the city almost doubled in size due to economic development and population growth. Among the Southern immigrants was the Antwerp-born cartographer Pieter Bast (1570–1605), who documented the changing layout of Amsterdam in his engraving (Figure 3-1b). This new cityscape would remain unchanged until the first stone of the third city expansion was laid in 1611.[1]

1 Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg*, 50.

Li, Weixuan. *Painters' Playbooks in the Art Market of Early Modern Amsterdam*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2025.
DOI: 10.4324/9781003701040-3

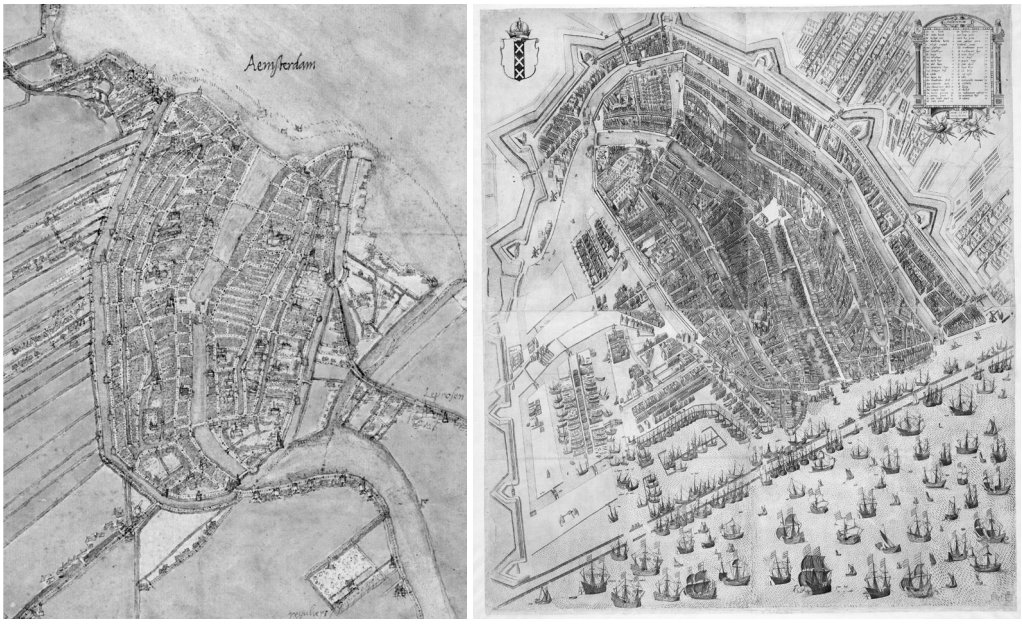

Figure 3-1: (a) (Part of) Jan van Deventer, Map of Amsterdam, ca. 1560, drawing, Haarlem: Noord-Hollands Archief, inv. 1220; (b) Pieter Bast, Map of Amsterdam, 1597, engraving and print on paper, Amsterdam: Amsterdam City Archives, inv. 010001001030.

The period from 1585 to 1610 witnessed significant growth in Amsterdam's artistic community. The number of painters in the city surged from around twenty in 1585 to over seventy in 1610, outpacing the city's rapid population growth from 30,000 to over 80,000.[2] While scholars have emphasised the importance of immigrant painters in this remarkable artistic development, few have left traceable records of their work.[3] Eric Jan Sluijter argued that it was in fact the children of these Southern immigrant artists and artisans – raised and trained or even born in Holland – who rose to prominence in the early seventeenth century.[4] Nevertheless, it remains unclear how artists and art dealers of different origins organised themselves within Amsterdam's rapidly developing art market. Applying a socio-spatial approach, this chapter explores how painters – native to Amsterdam and originating in the Southern Netherlands or elsewhere – coordinated their behaviours and location choices in response to the rapid expansion of the art market.

2 For the painters' population, see *ECARTICO*. For the population estimation, see Nusteling, 'The Population of Amsterdam', 74.

3 De Vries, 'Art History', 265; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, 73; Montias, 'Cost and Value', 459; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod', 97–98; Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*. For the lack of traceable work, see Van der Linden, 'Coping with Crisis'; Sluijter, 'Brabantse vodden'.

4 Sluijter, 'Brabantse vodden', 117–18.

Amsterdam in 1585

Before 1585, only a handful of painters were active in Amsterdam. Up until the Alteration in 1578, churches had been the most important patrons of art, and the area near the Oude Kerk was traditionally known as a centre for the craftsmen serving the church and churchgoers. The famous Pieter Aertsen, alias Lange Pier (1508–1575), ran his workshop on the church square with his two painter sons. After the Alteration, art patronage shifted from the sacred to the secular, and painting portraits of the affluent burghers or visitors became Amsterdam painters' main line of business.[5] To understand the art market and the artistic landscape in Amsterdam in 1585, we first need to sketch the socio-economic situation in the city to contextualise painters' choices of location. In this regard, the siege of Antwerp provided (art) historians with a fortuitous opportunity.

On 30 July 1585, shortly before the Fall of Antwerp, Reinier Cant, the burgomaster of Amsterdam, announced that the States of Holland requested financial contributions from the cities for 'hiring horsemen and footmen for the relief of Antwerp'.[6] This so-called *Capitale Impositie* made tax collectors walk through the city to raise money from residents to support the young Republic's military action.[7] The *Capitale Impositie* provides us with a snapshot of Amsterdam's socio-economic landscape in that year, including taxpayers' personal information – name, location, occupations (occasionally) – and the amount of tax paid in proportion to the value of their wealth.[8] This tax record, while not exhaustive, presents a valuable window into this urban context through the spatial distribution of wealth and occupations in Amsterdam.[9]

Among the 2,953 taxpayers registered, 1,382 had known occupations, including ten listed as *schilders* (painters).[10] Six of these are identified by art historians as *kunstschilders* (artistic painters), but only four had left known works.[11] Alongside artists, many *liefhebbers* (art lovers) and collectors that Karel van Mander mentioned in his *Schilder-Boeck* appeared as taxpayers. Figure 3-2

5 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten*, 64.

6 '[H]et aannemen van ruiters en voetknechten voor het ontzet van Antwerpen', quoted in Van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585*.

7 The *Capitale Impositie* was not a voluntary contribution, but rather an obligation, as argued in Reuvekamp, 'Welvaartsspreiding', 15–17.

8 A part of the *Capitale Impositie* is published in Van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585*, and is fully digitised and geo-referenced by Bart Reuvekamp. I thank Bart, who generously shared this data.

9 The *Capitale Impositie* 1585 covered around 10 per cent of the population, but it is unclear what the actual wealth threshold was. For the related discussion, see Reuvekamp, 'Welvaartsspreiding', 15–17.

10 Van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585*.

11 The six *kunstschilders* identified in *Capitale Impositie* are Dirck Barentsz, Cornelis Ketel, Pieter and Aert Pietersz, Adriaen van Conflans, and Jacob Lenarts. There are three additional *schilders* whose

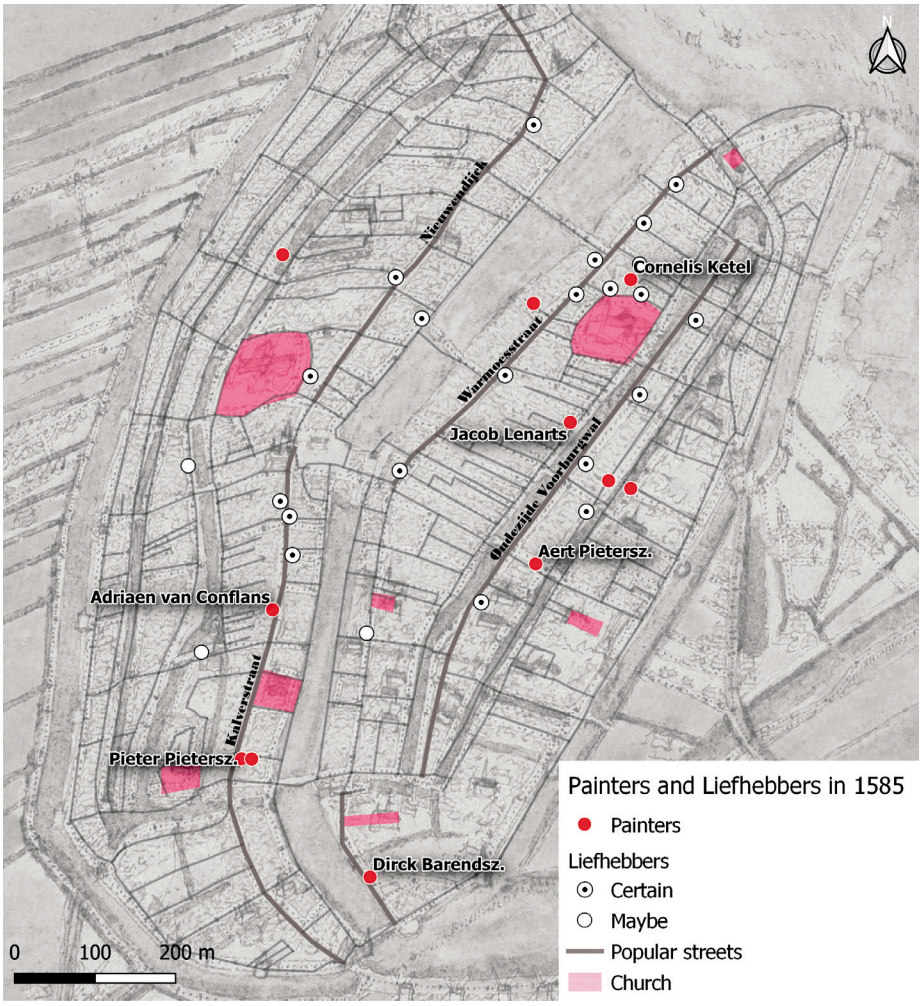

Figure 3-2: Spatial distribution of painters together with *liefhebbers* and collectors mentioned by Van Mander identified from the *Capitale Impositie*. Data source: Van Dillen, Amsterdam in 1585; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*; Reuvekamp, 'Welvaartsspreiding'.

visualises the location of artists together with *liefhebbers*. It shows that the neighbourhood around the Oude Kerk, flanked by the prestigious Warmoesstraat and Oudezijds Voorburgwal, was home to many art lovers named by Karel van Mander, including Jacob Rauwaert (?–1597) and Jacques Razett (?–1609), who

artistic status cannot be confirmed. These include Jan Symonsz, Willem Thonisz, Mathijs Adamsz, and a Mr. Lucas Schilder.

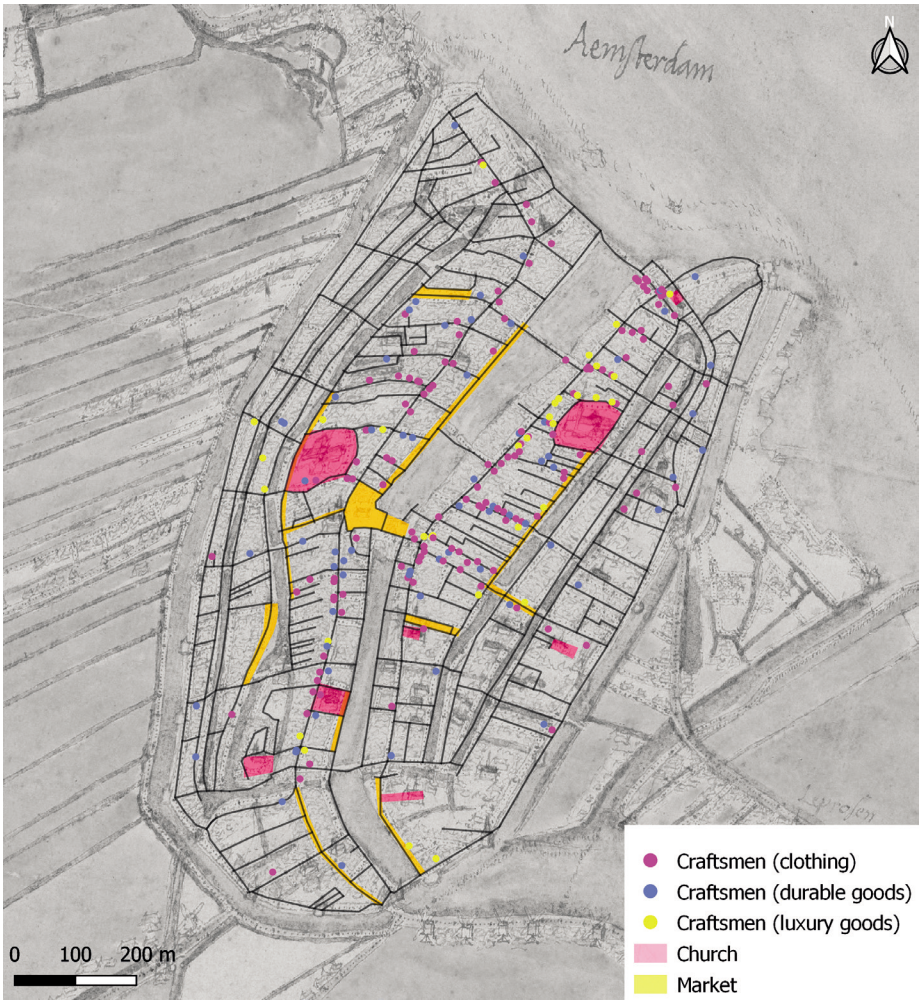

Figure 3-3: Spatial distribution of craftsmen in the *Capitale Impositie* of 1585 (Craftsmen for clothing include shoemakers, stocking makers etc.; durable goods include utensils, tin-, glass-, and earthenware etc.; craftsmen for luxury goods include painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, tapsters, bookbinders, etc. Source: see Figure 3-2. ⏎

mediated between artists and their patrons.[12] The artistic tradition and the presence of art connoisseurs and wealthy merchants helped the Oude Kerk area maintain its significance in Amsterdam's art world, attracting several artists to its vicinity even after the ecclesiastical commissions had dried up. Beyond

12 The art lovers are identified in Bok, 'Art-Lovers and Their Paintings', Appendix I. The locations of the art lovers are collected from Van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585*; Reuvekamp, 'Welvaartsspreiding'; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten*, 64; Van Mander, *Het Leven*, fol. 293v.

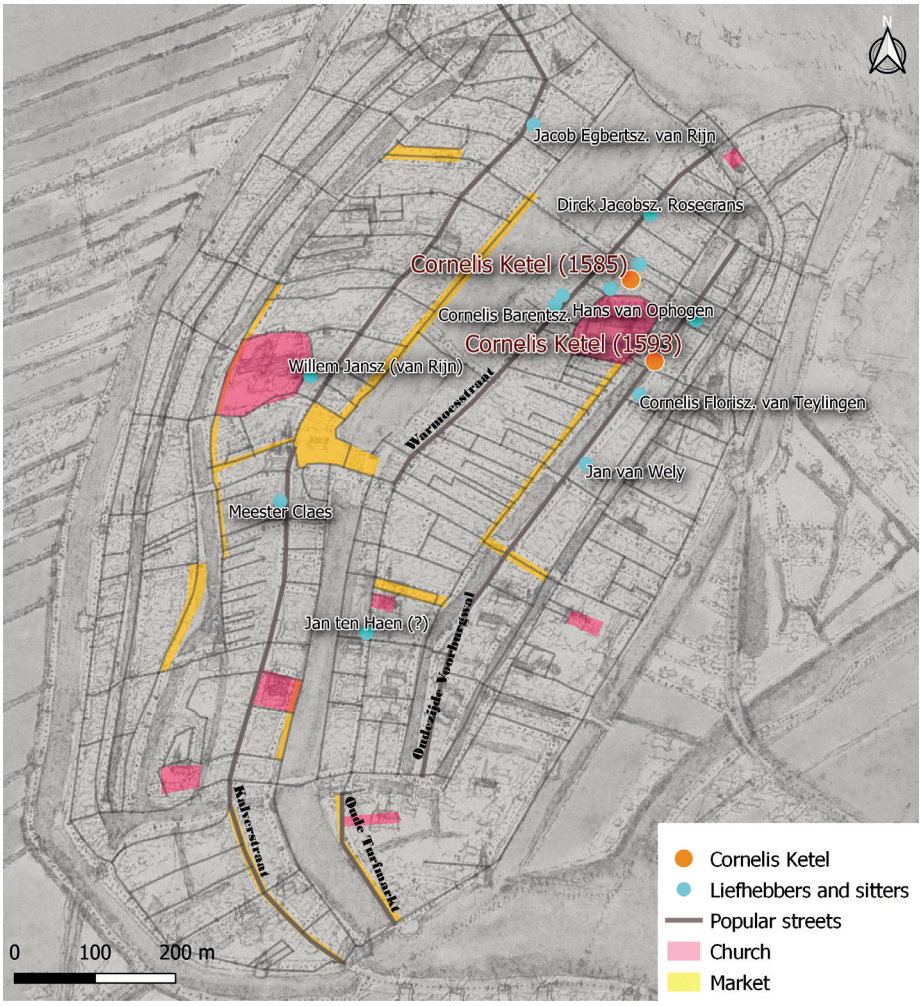

Figure 3-4: The location of Cornelis Ketel's workshop and his clients. Source: see Figure 3-2.

painters, Figure 3-3 shows that the Oude Kerk neighbourhood remained a hotspot for luxury goods in 1585, where eight out of the fifteen goldsmiths listed in the *Capitale Impositie* operated their workshops (Figure 3-3, yellow dots). The spatial distribution of craftsmen suggests that by 1585 this area may still have been the place to go for luxury shopping, as it continued to attract customers with its established tradition.[13]

13 A similar observation is discussed in Lesger, *Amsterdam Market*, 104–7; Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 109.



Figure 3-5: Cornelis Ketel, *The Company of Captain Dirck Jacobsz Rosecrans and Lieutenant Pauw*, 1588, oil on canvas, 208 × 410 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-C-378.

Painters appeared to be well aware of the crucial role location played in their artistic success, particularly the benefits of being situated near the Oude Kerk. History painter Cornelis Ketel (1548–1616) chose this area upon his return from England in 1581 and situated himself within reach of many wealthy residents who later became collectors of his history paintings and sitters of his portraits. Besides the memorable anecdote of painting with his feet, Van Mander mentioned that Ketel made a life-size *portrait historié* of Rutger Jansz for Hans Ophoghen, both of whom were the painter's close neighbours (Figure 3-4).[14] Likewise, the leading figure in Ketel's only known *schuttersstuk* (civic guard group portrait) – Captain Dirck Jacobsz Rosecrans – lived just a few steps from Ketel's home. In this group portrait, Ketel depicts his close neighbour, dressed in black wearing a red sash, holding a pikestaff, and presenting his men with a proud gesture to the viewer (Figure 3-5). In 1593, Cornelis Ketel moved to his own house nearby, on the east side of Oudezijds Voorburgwal facing the Oude Kerk, where he remained until his death in 1616.[15] This location put the artist in close contact with many 'gentleman art lovers' and 'devotees of art', as Van Mander describes them, who had both the appreciation and the means to acquire Ketel's works (Figure 3-4).

Likewise, Pieter Pietersz (ca. 1541–1603), son of Pieter Aertsen, moved back to his childhood neighbourhood after a brief stay on Kalverstraat (as registered in the *Capitale Impositie*). In 1587, he bought a house from the art lover Jacob Rauwaert on

14 Van Mander, *Het Leven*, fol. 275v.

15 This location was mentioned in the probate inventory of Aeltgen Jans, widow of Cornelis Ketel; see Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:936–41. For the exact location, see Dudok van Heel, 'Enkele adressen', 6.

Molensteeg and returned to the Oude Kerk area, perhaps to pick up relations his family had near their old home.[16] In the same year, the sitter of Pieter Pietersz's earlier portrait, Cornelis Cornelisz Schellinger, became a churchwarden (*kerkmeester*) of the Oude Kerk. Schellinger appears in the *Capitale Impositie* of 1585 as a merchant (*koopman*) living in the Kolk near the Haarlemmerpoort, amongst other herring merchants in this convenient location for their trade. Perhaps Schellinger had introduced his neighbours and colleagues to Pietersz and his brother Aert, as the brothers painted several group and family portraits for herring merchants living around the Nieuwendijk.[17] It was a clientele and neighbourhood Cornelis Ketel had not reached. Besides the herring merchants, Pieter Pietersz, after moving back to Molensteeg, (re)connected with the drapers' guild, for whom he later made a group portrait of their six wardens, now in the Rijksmuseum. The guild's warden-in-chief, Hendrick Boelensz, resided on Warmoesstraat in the shadow of the Oude Kerk.[18] Boelensz's neighbour four doors north, Pieter van Neck, appears to have been the captain of Pieter Pietersz's painter brother Aert's civic guard portrait of 1603 in the Amsterdam Museum.[19] Clearly, physical proximity to the desired clientele helped painters build relationships and secure commissions. A propitious location could make artists visible to the clients and their workshops accessible to them.[20]

While not every painter chose the Oude Kerk neighbourhood, they did adhere to a common playbook that can be described as 'staying close to your patrons'. This diversity in location choices reflects painters' efforts to target different audiences – a practical consideration rather than an artistic one. For instance, Dirck Barentsz (1534–1592), whose *schuttersstukken* were lauded by Van Mander enthusiastically and whose likeness was captured in a remarkable portrait by Cornelis Ketel (Figure 3-6), operated his workshop for decades on the Oude Turfmarkt between the Kloveniersdoelen and the Hand- and Voetboogdoelen, the three training grounds for the civic guard companies (*schutterijen*) (Figure 3-7). Barentsz catered specifically to the increasing demand for the *schuttersstukken* and commissions from the *doelen*.[21] Barentsz's artistic agency likely lay in his Italian style but not so much in his choice of location or patrons, as most works mentioned in the *Schilder-Boeck*

16 Dudok van Heel, 'Enkele adressen', 6.

17 The paintings of herring merchants Cornils Jorisz, and Pieter Dircksz Hasselaer are in the Amsterdam Museum (inv. SB 2536) and Rijksmuseum (inv. SK-C-404), respectively.

18 Van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585*, 41.

19 Aert's 1603 painting is titled *Civic guardsmen of the company of Captain Pieter van Neck*, now in Amsterdam Museum (inv. SA 3018). For the map of Pietersz's clientele, see the dissertation Li, 'Painters' Playbooks', 87.

20 Bok, 'Art-Lovers and Their Paintings', 166.

21 The earliest known *schuttersstuk* was *A group of Guardsmen* by Dirck Jacobsz dated 1529, now in the Rijksmuseum (inv. SK-C-402). See Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk', 121–22, 448–49.



Figure 3-6: Cornelis Ketel, *Portrait of Dirck Barendsz (1534–1592), Painter,* 1590, oil on canvas, 53 × 47 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3462. ⏎

were made for the *doelen*.[22] Unlike Cornelis Ketel, Barentsz's known clientele was scattered around the city (Figure 3-7), suggesting that the location of his workshop was a tactical business decision. Since the civic guard companies could come from all districts (*wijken*) of the city, having a workshop near their headquarters and training grounds would ensure maximum visibility to potential clients. In doing so, Barentsz relied not only on personal connections (like Ketel) but also on institutions and the accessibility of his painting shop to secure commissions. The area between the *doelen*, especially the south end of Kalverstraat and Oude Turfmarkt, was a shopping area and a marketplace with heavy pedestrian thoroughfare from within and outside the city.[23] This location must have served painters well, as Barentsz had enjoyed a long and prolific career there and was followed by several painters to Oude Turfmarkt in the coming decades.[24]

22 Van Mander, *Het Leven*, fol. 259v.

23 Kalverstraat had always been busy since the fifteenth century, as it connected *Bindwijkerpoort*, one of the three medieval city gates, to Dam Square and led the traffic from both ends to a famous pilgrimage site, the Heilige Stede. This street also housed the earliest known Amsterdam painter, Jacob Corneliszn (ca. 1472–1533). For the artistic landscape in early sixteenth-century Amsterdam, see Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten*, 57.

24 Barentsz seems to have only moved to a new location near the Nieuwe Kerk before his death. See Dudok van Heel, 'Enkele adressen', 6–7; Bok, 'Badens'.

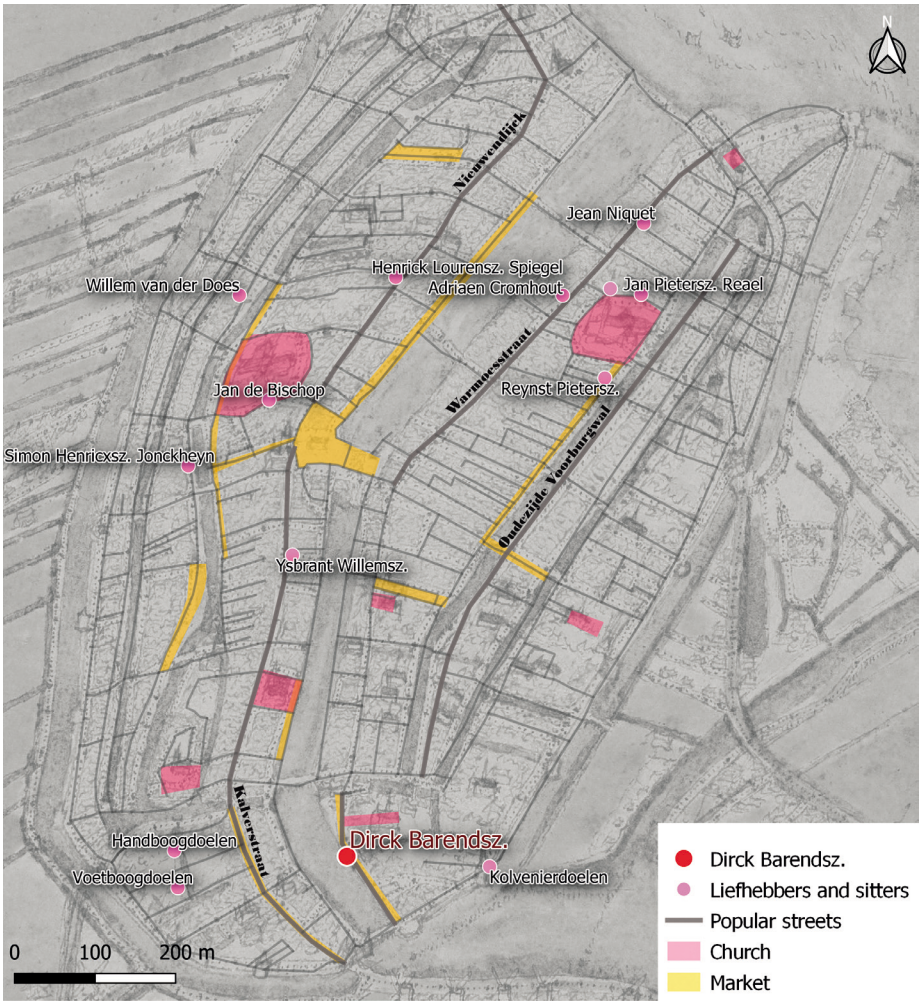

Figure 3-7: The location of Dirck Barentsz's workshop and that of his clients. Source: see Figure 3-2.

The same pattern is also found in the location choice of the lesser-known portrait painter Adriaen van Conflans (?–before 1607), who lived on Kalverstraat during the *Capitale Impositie*. He left only one known painting, a grand portrait of thirty-five guardsmen (twenty-six in the surviving painting in the Amsterdam Museum), of whom thirteen are identified by name based on later drawings after the painting.[25] Notably, six of the sitters, including Captain Dirck Thymansz Brouwer and Lieutenant Rijkert Ouwerol, who were registered in the *Capitale Impositie* of 1585,

25 The painting, *The Company of Captain Dirk Thymansz Brouwer and Lieutenant Ryckert Ouwerol* (fragment), is now kept in the Amsterdam Museum (inv. SA 7303).

lived within two blocks from the painter's studio. Similar to the cases of Ketel and Pietersz, it is likely that interpersonal contacts with neighbours brought Conflans this portrait commission.

The playbook of 'staying close to your patrons' served these portrait painters well, partially because their works were relatively homogeneous. Painters of this period seldom signed their portrait paintings, and art historians have encountered difficulties in identifying the hands behind the portraits, as many have undergone changes in attribution, alternating among Cornelis Ketel, Pieter and Aert Pietersz, and (less often) Dirck Barentsz.[26] This confusion in attributing portraits indicates a certain degree of homogeneity in portrait production and the lack of artistic preference among the clients. It also means that the art market, albeit small, was highly coordinated, and even mediocre painters like Adriaen van Conflans could receive large commissions. Nevertheless, with the influx of immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, the artistic landscape and the highly coordinated market would soon change. A new era was dawning.

1585–1600: Emerging from an artistic backwater

Between 1585 and 1590, an increasing number of painters from the Southern Netherlands started settling in Amsterdam, even though it was not their preferred destination.[27] At the time, Amsterdam was still considered an artistic backwater, with fewer than twenty painters – just a tenth the size of Antwerp's artist community.[28] The Guild of St. Luke in Amsterdam was founded only in 1579, where painters sat together with the glaziers, sculptors, embroiderers, and tapestry makers.[29] As expected, before 1590, only a minority of Southern immigrant painters took the risk of settling in Amsterdam. Among these adventurers, only a handful like Hans Bol (1534–1593) still worked as *kunstschilders* in their new city, while most have no artworks known to us.[30]

26 For example, *Portrait of Christina Six (?–1645)* (1615: Amsterdam, Six Stichting, inv. 2) is attributed to Cornelis Ketel or Aert Pietersz (https://rkd.nl/explore/images/50792, accessed 19 August 2019).

27 Van der Linden, 'Coping with Crisis', 32–39.

28 There were at least 221 painters active in Antwerp between 1580 and 1585. See Van der Linden, 23; Hoogewerff, *St. Lucasgilden*, 142.

29 Van Eeghen, 'Amsterdam Guild', 2.

30 Only Hans Bol (1534–1593), his pupil and stepson Frans Boels (1555–1596), and Gillis Coignet (ca. 1542–1599) have left known work. Others, such as Frans Badens the Elder (ca. 1549–1604), Crispiaen Colyn (ca. 1547–1618), Adriaen van Crieckebeeck (?–before 1620), Philips Vinckboons (ca. 1545–1601), Hans van de Velde (ca. 1552–1609), and Adriaen van der Burch (?–1602) seem to have dropped painting but remained in the painting trade. See *ECARTICO* and Van der Linden, 'Coping with Crisis', 35.

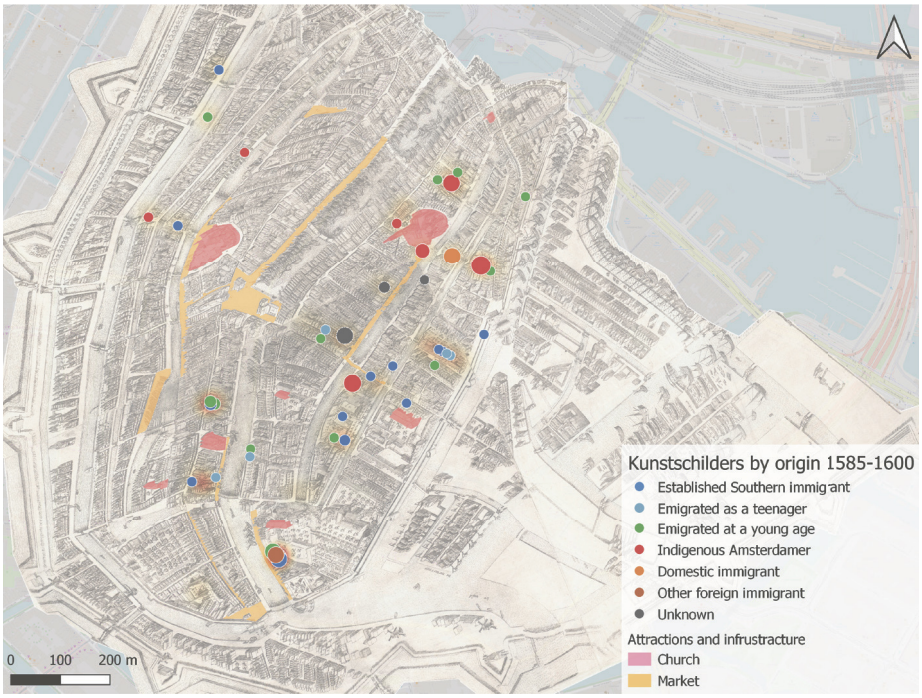

Figure 3-8: Deep maps of artistic painters in Amsterdam 1585–1600, coloured by origin. The size of the nodes and the blurred area signify the level of uncertainty regarding the location. The larger the node is (and the smaller the blur is), the more certain we are about the exact location.

The decade after 1590 saw the rise of Amsterdam as the new commercial centre of Northern Europe.[31] The massive influx of labour, skills, and capital boosted the urban economy. It also transformed Amsterdam from a provincial town into a bustling metropolis, doubling its population from 30,000 in 1585 to 60,000 by 1600. The flourishing urban economy and the existing community of artists, albeit small, made Amsterdam a less risky destination for immigrant painters who had made temporary stops in Germany, Zeeland, and other cities in Holland.[32] Several artists critical to the development of Dutch art came to settle in Amsterdam between 1590 and 1600. Many already had professional or familial ties to the existing painters' community, such as Bol's pupil Jacob Savery (1565–1603) and their fellow painter in Antwerp, Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1607).[33] Coninxloo, Bol, and Savery would soon popularise in Amsterdam the new specialisations developed in Antwerp – landscapes, still life, and peasant scenes – possibly within the circle of the Southern Netherlandish

31 Lesger, *Amsterdam Market*.
32 Van der Linden, 'Coping with Crisis'.
33 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*; De Roever, 'De Coninxloo's'.

immigrants.[34] In addition to these established masters, a new generation of artists, who had emigrated with their parents at a young age, also began entering the art market before 1600. The most notable example is Frans Badens (1571–1618). After returning from his trip to Italy in 1596, the young Badens quickly became a highly sought-after artist, known for his work in history painting and portraiture.[35]

The arrival of immigrants also marked a shift in painters' location preferences. The spatial distribution of *kunstschilders* by origin, illustrated in Figure 3-8, reveals that, while native Amsterdam artists continued to cluster around the Oude Kerk, much as in 1585, Southern immigrant painters sought out new locations. The immigrant artists venturing into art dealing businesses made their way to some of the old favourite locations like Kalverstraat and Oude Turfmarkt, while the others, mostly landscape painters associated with Hans Bol, explored new frontiers to the east side of the city centre. The subsequent subsections will delve into how the location choices of these immigrants reflect their diverging career choices.

Kalverstraat-Oude Turfmarkt: Immigrant painters in the art trade

Between 1590 and 1600, the emerging profession of art dealer took root in the ever-popular Kalverstraat. It probably started with Crispiaen Colyn (ca. 1547–1618) in 1591 and later Frans Badens the Elder (ca. 1549–1604), who bought the house next to Van Conflans's in 1598.[36] They were soon joined by Frans de Keersgieter (ca. 1573–1647), whose family kept his painting shop running for over a century.[37] All these so-called *schilders* (painters) from the South left no known work of their own but frequently appeared in auction and sales records. This circle of market-oriented, painter-turned-art dealers from the South seems to have astutely detected the lack of an open market for painting outside the highly coordinated and enclosed art market in 1585 and subsequently endeavoured to instigate the art trade and marketise the production of paintings. Their efforts likely fostered the open market for art, as new marketing strategies – auctions and art dealers' painting shops, among others – were soon introduced. Like Badens the Elder, most of these so-called painters may have been too busy dealing with the blooming and likely lucrative art trade to pick up their brush again, consequently leaving no traceable work in their adopted city. To develop an open art market, they strategically embedded

34 Bruyn, 'Turning Point', 112; Sluijter, 'Brabantse vodden'.

35 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 296–97; Bok, 'Badens'.

36 Briels, *Vlaamse Schilders*, 313. For the house purchase of Badens the Elder, see SAA KSR 5062, inv. 11, fols 117–117v (20-04-1598).

37 Two of Frans de Keersgieter's sons, Joris (1604–1651) and Jan I (1602–1661), both art dealers, lived on Kalverstraat for most of their lives. Jan de Keersgieter II (1639–1722), who remained on Kalverstraat for his entire career (1666 to 1722), continued the family's art dealership into the eighteenth century. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 6:2056–69.

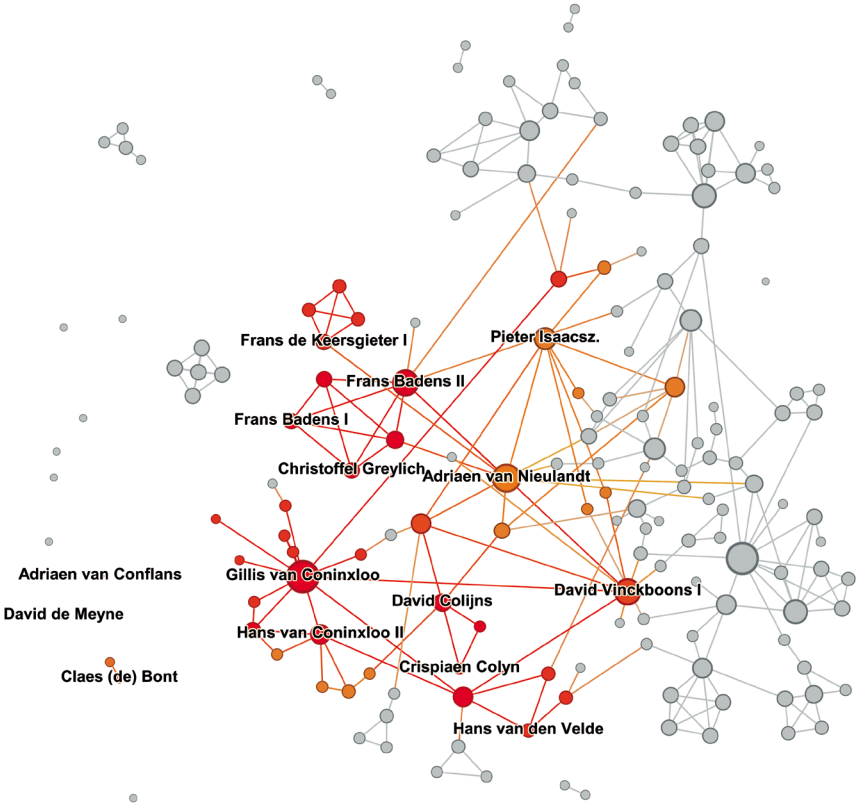

Figure 3-9: Social network of painters and art dealers in Amsterdam 1585–1610 (those in the Kalverstraat-Oude Turfmarkt area and their connections are highlighted in orange, the rest in grey). Data source: *ECARTICO*.

themselves within the busy, commercial Kalverstraat. Socially, they were very well-connected, primarily among themselves, as indicated by the network in Figure 3-9, but they also extended their reach into other artists' communities through the next generation of Southern immigrants (like Adriaen van Nieulandt and David Vinckboons). Unsurprisingly, these business-savvy dealers gathered around the advantageous location of Kalverstraat to establish their new trade. Perhaps because of this auspicious start and shrewd choice of location, the Badens, the Colyns, and the Keersgieters – their children, in-laws, and grandchildren – enjoyed long-lasting success in the art market.[38]

One block east of Kalverstraat, on Oude Turfmarkt, other Southern immigrants Hans van den Velde (ca. 1552–1609) and Gillis van Coninxloo picked a location

38 Bredius, Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 6:2056–69.



Figure 3-10: Pieter Isaacsz, *Company of Captain Jacob Gerrits. Honing and Lieutenant Wybrand Appelman*, 1596, oil on canvas, 171 × 502 cm, Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. SA-7338.

near Dirck Barentsz's workshop.[39] Barentsz's workshop itself was later taken over by the only notable non-Southerner in this area, Pieter Isaacsz (1569–1625). This history and portrait painter, originally from Denmark and a pupil of Cornelis Ketel, launched his career from Oude Turfmarkt in 1594. Interestingly, he chose this location instead of the Oude Kerk area after returning from his travels in Italy and Germany. He likely aimed at catering to the portrait demands of militia companies from the three *doelen* nearby, a role that had remained unfilled since the death of Dirck Barentsz in 1592. Isaacsz quickly made a name for himself, completing a large militia group portrait within three years after his return (Figure 3-10).[40] The young artist certainly had an eye for the market, and his savvy choice of location mirrored that of Coninxloo and other Southern art dealers. Isaacsz, too, later began trading art on an international scale.[41] Unlike most of the painters from the local Amsterdam community, he married a woman from Antwerp and thus forged a close bond with the immigrant community.[42]

East end of the old town: Established Southern masters

Established immigrant painters who continued to work as *kunstschilders* – including Hans Bol and his pupils – chose the east side of the city between Oudezijds

39 Dirck Barentsz passed away at 'Nieuwstad buiten de Jan Rodenpoort', though it remains unclear how long he had lived there prior to his death. For Barentsz's burial record, see SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1052, fol. 54 (26-05-1592). For Hans van den Velde, see Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*.

40 Middelkoop, 'Pieters Isaacsz's Group Portrait'.

41 Roding, 'The Isaacsz Family'.

42 Pieter Isaacsz posted banns with Susanne Crayborn Willemsdr (1596–1625) from Antwerp in 1593, which was uncommon for painters within the Amsterdam group. His willingness to connect with the immigrant community was evident in his artistic collaborations (with Paul Vredeman de Vries and Karel van Mander) and in his taking on pupils from the South (like Adriaen van Nieulandt). See *ECARTICO*. For a collaborative work, see Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4947.

Achterburgwal and the old Sint Antoniespoort, an area that had hardly any artistic or even commercial activities as of 1585. This group of artists, mostly from Mechelen and specialised in landscapes, began to explore new frontiers in Amsterdam.

Hans Bol, the leading figure in this group, rented a house on the west side of Oudezijds Achterburgwal from the former burgomaster Maerten Coster for *f* 120 annually.[43] The status of his landlord and the rent Bol could afford attested to his success in Amsterdam, both economically and socially, while his artistic achievement was lauded by Karel van Mander.[44] Bol's 1589 miniature view of Amsterdam from the river Amstel, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was painted with gouache and gold on parchment, as a costly collector's item for wealthy connoisseurs.[45] Van Mander tells us that Bol profited from producing his precious miniatures and enjoyed certain financial ease. Similarly, Bol's pupil and stepson, Frans Boels (1555–1596), lived nearby and produced miniatures in a similar style, likely for the same clientele.[46] Another notable pupil of Bol's, Jacob Savery, is said to have joined the Walloon community around 1590, probably residing near the Walloon church close to where Bol and Boels lived.[47] A few blocks north, on Bethanienstraat, lived Savery's pupil and son-in-law Joos Goeimare (1573/4–1611) at the time of his marriage to Savery's daughter.[48] Frans Boels would later move to Koestraat, next to Bethanienstraat. On the same street resided Adriaen van Crieckebeeck (?–1620) and his two painter sons, Jaques (1571–?) and Francois (1576–1614).[49] Jaques van Crieckebeeck's master in Antwerp, Philips Vinckboons (ca.1545–1601), father of David Vinckboons, also settled only two blocks away, near the old Sint Antoniespoort (which later became the *Waag* or the weighhouse).[50]

These pioneers of Amsterdam's evolving artistic landscape in the east came from a tightly knit community of immigrant painters who either shared roots in

43 Coster seems to have rented out the house on the west side of Oudezijds Achterburgwal between Prinsenhofssteeg and Sint Agnietensteeg to Bol. See Nuijens, 'Burgemeester'; Van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585*.

44 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 301.

45 Van Suchtelen and Wheelock, *Dutch Cityscapes*, 96–98.

46 For an example of Boels's work, see Frans Boels, *Hunting Scene in Landscape with a Castle*, gouache and gold on parchment, 9.5 × 15.5 cm, Sotheby's London, 2002-07-10, lot no. 160.

47 Savery's subscription to the Walloon community is mentioned in Bauer, 'Savery', 20–23. For the artistic importance of Savery and Bol, see Hand, *The Age of Bruegel*, 71–74, 251–59. Between 1594 and 1599, Savery had Guilliam van Nieulandt (1584–after 1635) in his studio as a pupil.

48 SAA DTB 5001, inv. 665, fol. 115.

49 In 1598, Adriaen Criekebeeck bought 'loods en erf' on Koestraat and later his sons were known to have lived there as mentioned in their marriage registers. See SAA KSR 5062, inv. 11, fols 209v-210v (25-06-1598) and Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 320.

50 Vinckboons lived near the old Antoniespoort from 1593 until his death in 1601. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 400.

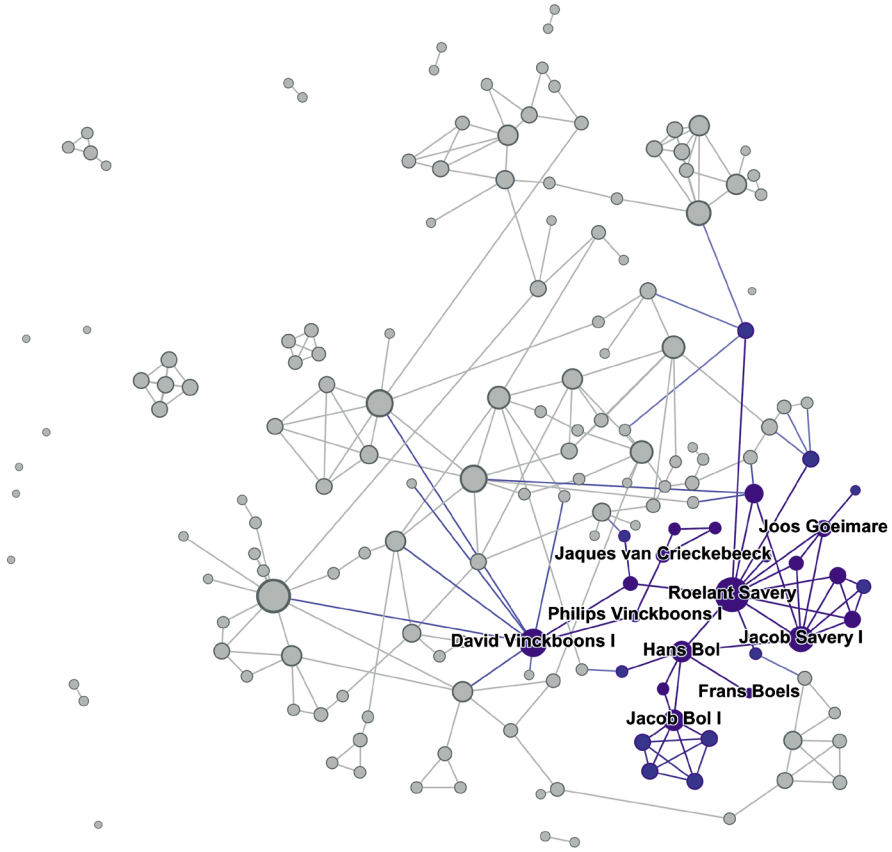

Figure 3-11: Social network of painters and art dealers in the east of Amsterdam 1585–1610 (highlighted in blue). The rest of the painters and art dealers are marked in grey. Data source: *ECARTICO*.

Mechelen or had existing professional connections initially developed in Antwerp, as illustrated in Figure 3-11. These painters established a significant artistic presence on the east side of the city centre, foreshadowing a spatial shift of the city's art centre in the coming decades as Amsterdam expanded. The old Sint Antoniespoort eventually became home to the painters' Guild of St. Luke, while Koestraat housed generations of artists and art dealers throughout the seventeenth century.

The Amsterdam coterie near the Oude Kerk

Despite the growing presence of immigrant painters in the city, local Amsterdam artists working in history painting and portraiture appeared impervious to the innovations and new specialities introduced by the immigrants. Cornelis Ketel, Pieter Pietersz, and his brother Aert remained popular for prestigious portrait commissions, as many of their large group portraits are dated between 1590 and

1610.[51] Both Ketel and Pietersz bought their houses near the Oude Kerk, permanently settling within the established circle of clients before 1600. Joining them were a few young, mostly Amsterdam-born painters in history painting and portraiture. Two examples include Christoffel Lerdich (1568–?), son of the earlier portraitist Hans Lerdich (?–1589), who opened his workshop on the south corner of the Oude Kerk,[52] and the more famous history and portrait painter Gerrit Pietersz (1566–ca. 1610). After his apprenticeship under Cornelis Cornelisz in Haarlem and his sojourns in Antwerp and Rome, he returned to his native city in 1595. Upon his return, Gerrit Pietersz settled in Niezel, one block north of the Oude Kerk, where his brother, composer and organist, Jan Pietersz Sweelinck (1562–1621), lived.[53] As a native of Amsterdam, Gerrit Pietersz was well-acquainted with the local artistic community, as his earlier apprenticeship with Cornelis Cornelisz in Haarlem was made possible by the prominent *liefhebber* Jacob Rauwaert.[54] In Amsterdam, Gerrit Pietersz was so sought-after that Van Mander recalled in a regretful tone that he 'had to spend much time painting portraits and other small works', likely catering primarily to private individuals, as many of his works 'could be seen at the burghers' and art lovers' [homes] in Amsterdam'.[55] His residence in this propitious location likely helped him build and maintain relationships with his patrons and clients.

Before 1600, the Oude Kerk area continued to serve as the artistic hotspot of the city, dominated by local Amsterdam painters – a circle that very few immigrants and their descendants could penetrate, as the network in Figure 3-12 suggests. The notable exception, Cornelis van der Voort (1576–1624), stood out for his high-level integration into the local community, becoming the most successful portrait painter from the South before 1600. Van der Voort was exceptional among the children of immigrant parents in several ways. Although his family left Antwerp before 1590, he did not study – at least not exclusively – under Flemish masters, and is believed to have been trained by Cornelis Ketel.[56] Moreover, he married Amsterdam native Truytgen Willemsdr (1579–?), which was quite unusual within the immigrant communities, as people with roots in the South mostly married partners of similar

51 See Middelkoop, 'Pieters Isaacsz's Group Portrait'.

52 The exact location was Oudezijds Voorburgwal 82, as indicated by records of Christoffel Lerdich purchasing the house in 1597 'op de zuidhoek van de Slapersteeg waar Erasmus in de gevel staat en de schilder Lucas uithangt'. The same house was sold in 1615. SAA KSR 5062, inv. no. 10, fols 414v–415v, inv. 23, fols 363v–364.

53 Gerrit Pietersz's portrait of his brother Jan in 1606 is kept in the Amsterdam Museum (inv. SB 6391).

54 Van Mander, *Het leven*; Bok, 'Art-Lovers and Their Paintings', 148–49; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod', 85–88.

55 'daer [in Amsterdam] hy veel den tijdt door moet brenghen, met te maken Conterfeytselen, en ander cleen wercken, welcke dinghen by den Borghers en Const-liefdighe t'Amsterdam…', cited from Van Mander, *Het leven*, fol. 293v.

56 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 402; De Roever, 'Drie Amsterdamsche schilders'; De Roever, 'Cornelis van der Voort. Een naschrift'; Six, 'Cornelis van der Voort'.

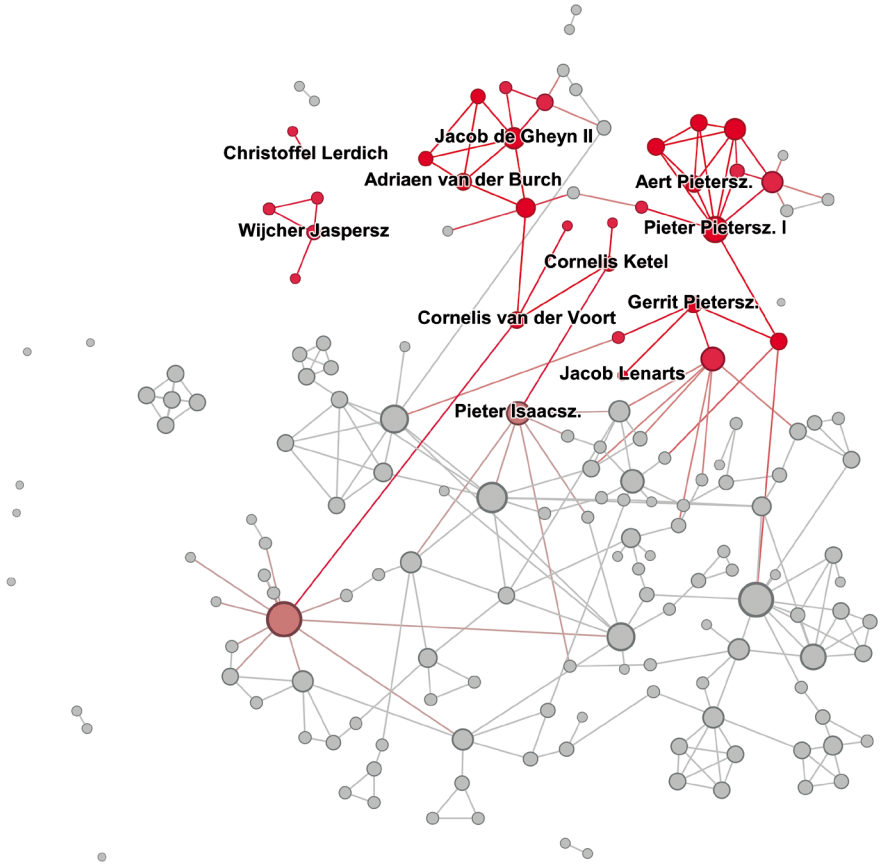

Figure 3-12: Social network of painters and art dealers near Oude Kerk 1585–1610 (highlighted in reds). Data source: *ECARTICO*.

backgrounds.[57] Through this marriage, Cornelis van der Voort later became the brother-in-law of Amsterdam landscape painter Govert Jansz (1577–1619), who married a sister of Van der Voort's wife, further solidifying his ties to the local painters' community.[58]

Despite his integration, Van der Voort was unable to secure any prestigious commissions for group portraits until the 1610s, as this speciality remained primarily in

57 Jan Briels observes that the Southerners formed a closed circle through marriage and training, sometimes lasting until the third generation. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 28.

58 Van der Voort was married to Truytgen Willemsdr (1579–?) from Amsterdam in 1598. The bride's younger sister Grietgen Willemsdr (1582–1612) married to Govert Jansz Poelenburg (1577–1619) in 1603. See Bok and Dudok van Heel, 'Govert Janszn'.

the hands of local Amsterdam painters.[59] The situation was even more challenging for history and portrait painter Adriaen van der Burch (?–1602), who lived in the same neighbourhood but was much less integrated – his painting career hardly took off. Likely supplementing his income as a surgeon (*chirurgijn*), Van der Burch eventually moved to Leiden in 1598, probably seeking better career opportunities alongside his better-known brother-in-law Jacques de Gheyn (1565–1629).[60] His portrait pieces appeared in Leiden inventories, but none from his Amsterdam period are known. The business of history painting and portraiture in Amsterdam was dominated by a close-knit network of local painters and those who managed to integrate, leaving little room for outsiders like Van der Burch.

In a nutshell, prior to 1600, artists and art dealers with different geographic origins and artistic specialisations coordinated their location choices in a relatively independent and isolated manner. The local artistic community seemed unwelcoming and largely ignored the innovations brought by immigrants. They could do so because they worked for local clientele and specialised in history painting and portraiture, sectors largely untouched by the immigrants. Unlike the close-knit circle of native Amsterdam painters, the immigrant artists' community was also far from unified: the landscapists who explored the east side of the city seemed relatively detached, both spatially and, to a certain extent, socially from the market-oriented group clustered around Kalverstraat and Oude Turfmarkt (Figure 3-9 and Figure 3-11). This state of relative separation represented a delicate equilibrium between specialised supply and demand. This balance was soon toppled by a new generation of painters who were raised or trained in Amsterdam and entered the stage in the next decade.

1600–1610: Continuity and transformation

The decade after 1600 marked a transitional era for Amsterdam, both artistically and spatially (Figure 3-13). On the one hand, established masters who had dominated the art market prior to 1600 continued to influence artistic development in the new century. On the other hand, a younger generation of artists – descended from both local and immigrant families – rose to prominence. These young painters breathed new life into the art scene and steered the artistic landscape in Amsterdam eastward to the newly developed Sint Antoniesbreestraat. This clustering pattern of artists,

59 Van der Voort painted his first civic guard portrait in 1614 after moving to Jodenbreestraat. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt's Surprising Start', 131; Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk', 226–29.

60 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 308. Van der Burch lived on Niezel when he married the sister of Jacques de Gheyn, who lived on Molensteeg nearby. SAA DTB 5001, inv. 406, fol. 408 (1593-12-04). For his move, see Briels, 297, 330.

however, was limited to *kunstschilders*. *Schilders* (who may have been house and decorative painters) remained almost evenly distributed throughout the city.

Continuity in the new century

Despite the city's rapid expansion and the growing art market, several of the aforementioned artistic 'hotspots' retained their appeal for decades after 1600. The area around the Oude Kerk, once the hub for Amsterdam portrait painters like Cornelis Ketel, Pieter Pietersz, and Gerrit Pietersz, was subsequently occupied by their successors, such as Cornelis van der Voort, his pupil Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (1588–ca. 1653), and Pieter Pietersz the Younger (ca. 1578–1631).[61] This new generation of artists near the Oude Kerk upheld the area's reputation as a 'portrait corner' for another decade, even as they navigated a declining social milieu of artists and their patrons, especially following the deaths of notable art lovers Jacques Razett (?–1608) and Jean Niquet (1539–1608).[62]

On the Oude Turfmarkt, Dirck Barentsz's workshop was first taken over by Pieter Isaacsz in 1594 and then by Gillis van Coninxloo after 1602.[63] After Coninxloo's death in 1607, his possessions were inventoried from this house, which provides an excellent opportunity to examine Coninxloo's business practice and the spatial arrangement of the interior space.[64] The spatial reading of the inventory shows that Coninxloo occupied a Type II house and turned two upstairs rooms into workshops that contained over 90 per cent of Coninxloo's stock of more than 200 paintings.[65] The street-facing *voorkamer* was referred to as 'Coninxloo's (work)shop' (*Boven opde voor camer wesende Coninxloos Winckel*), which held mainly finished works as well as paints (presumably also for sale). The *achterkamer,* registered as his *achter winckel* (back workshop)*,* contained unfinished paintings and tools where his pupils and assistants copied his and other famous painters' work next to their master.[66] This

61 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten*, 64–65.

62 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten*, 64–66; Dudok van Heel, 'Artists' Quarter'.

63 Li and Piccoli, 'Dealing with Multidimensional Uncertainty'.

64 For Coninxloo's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 262, fols 55–75. It was partially published in De Roever, 'De Coninxloo's'.

65 The detailed house structure beyond the schematic drawing is discussed in Li and Piccoli, 'Dealing with Multidimensional Uncertainty'; Piccoli, 'The House of Gillis van Coninxloo'.

66 There were six easels in the *achterkamer* upstairs, only one of which held Coninxloo's unfinished work. In the inventory, the notary often listed Coninxloo's original pieces first, followed by copies, which were noted as 'the copy of the previous piece'. The four consecutive entries read: 'Een principael Pauwels bekeringe van Coninxloo/Een copie vande zelve grootte/Een Lantschap daer de boeren in vorschen veranderen/Een copie op doeck vant selve twelck [landschap] noch nyet opgemaeckt is'. See SAA NA 5075, inv. 262, fol. 63. Coninxloo also had two pairs of easel and stools in the attic, presumably for the pupils. In the attic, the inventory registered a *Tower of Babel* by Pieter Brueghel (the Elder?) positioned before two easels and stools, perhaps intended for the pupils to copy. However, this painting, which would have been quite valuable, did not appear in the subsequent auction of Coninxloo's painting collection.

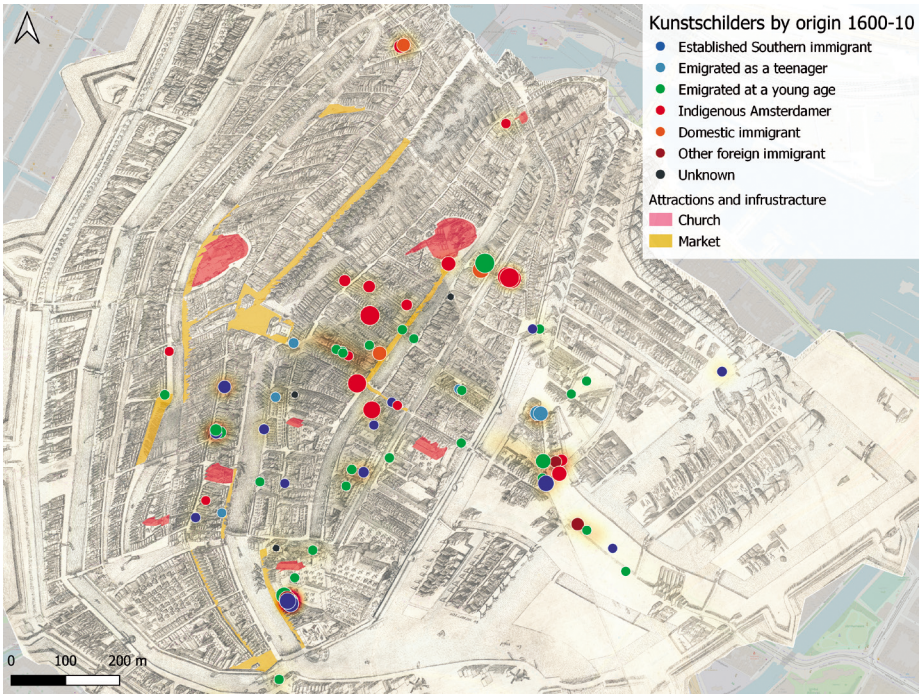

Figure 3-13: Spatial distribution of artistic painters in Amsterdam 1600-1610. Source and other details: see Figure 3-2.

interior space and the location of this house worked very well for artists, as after Coninxloo's passing, Frans Badens took over the house and workshop and likely stayed there until his death.[67] Similarly, after the death of Hans van den Velde, his house around the corner from the Oude Turfmarkt was taken over by marine painter Aert Anthonisz (ca. 1580–1620).[68]

On Kalverstraat, the art-dealing scene continued to thrive, dominated by Southern immigrants like Crispiaen Colyn (ca. 1547–1618), Frans Badens the Elder, Hans van den Velde, Frans de Keersgieter, and Hans II van Coninxloo (ca. 1565–after 1620). Their presence, reinforced by familial connections, established Kalverstraat as a centre for the art trade. The nephew of Gillis van Coninxloo, Hans II, took a house named 'Olycan' on Kalverstraat (no. 30) in 1609, where his family, including

It is possible that the *Tower of Babel* was a copy itself. For the inventory of the *voor-* and *achterkamer*, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 262, fols 63–71. See also Appendix III, Figure A3-2 for the details of Coninxloo's use of interior.

67 Bok, 'Badens', 3–6; Li and Piccoli, 'Dealing with Multidimensional Uncertainty'.

68 Aert Anthonisz rented the house of Hans van der Velde after the latter died in 1609. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 293.

his painter/dealer son Hans III (ca. 1589–1645), stayed for over three decades.[69] Their house was likely particularly suitable for the art dealing business, as it was later occupied by the dealer son of Frans de Keersgieter, Joris (1604–1651), until his death in 1651.[70] Frans Badens the Elder's son-in-law Christoffel Greylich (1572–after 1638) continued Badens's art-dealing business, likely from the same location.[71] In addition to establishing art trades on Kalverstraat, these art dealers also contributed to the increasing demand for art, mainly from the Southern immigrants who were accustomed to buying paintings on the open market, primarily still lifes and landscapes, genres cultivated by painters sharing the same roots, strengthening the social and cultural ties within the immigrant community.[72] Unfortunately, comprehensive data on the residential patterns of Southern immigrants beyond the artistic community remain scarce. Whether the locational preferences observed among artists were also prevalent among the broader immigrant population in Amsterdam at the time remains an open question for future research.

As the art market grew in complexity, these three key locations – the Oude Kerk area for portrait studios, Oude Turfmarkt for market-oriented workshops, and Kalverstraat for art dealers – remained favourable for their specialised activities. Of course, workshops were subject to takeovers, but the subsequent owners generally continued in the same line of business as their predecessors. The spatial memory of locations, as observed in the shopping landscape in Amsterdam and trade routes in the Low Countries, also applies to the art market.[73] While these three locations enjoyed enduring popularity, the artistic landscape in Amsterdam was undergoing a profound transformation.

New locations in a new era

Between 1600 and 1610, a new group of painters from non-artistic backgrounds entered the art market in Amsterdam. This era saw a few key contributors to the development of Dutch art emerging from families of shopkeepers and artisans living on Sint Jansstraat and Pijlsteeg. These two streets ran parallel to the main arterial road leading to Dam Square from the east, connecting Warmoesstraat and

69 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 318; Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 6:2063. Aert Anthonisz was the father of Hendrick van Anthonissen featured in Chapter 5.

70 In 1639 Hans III van Coninxloo claimed that he had lived for twenty-nine years with his parents in the house 'Oliekan', which was occupied by Joris de Keersgieter at the moment. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 6:2063. The house is identified as Kalverstraat 30 according to a series of house transactions, such as '[het huis] Olikan over de Gapersteeg met uithang in de Melkmeisjessteeg'. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 6:2064.

71 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 332, 375.

72 Montias, *Art at Auction*, 62–63.

73 The spatial memory is elaborated in Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*; Lesger, *Amsterdam Market*.

Oudezijds Voorburgwal. As early as 1585, the advantageous location of these two alleys attracted many artisans, small merchants, and shopkeepers (Figure 3-3). After 1585, they were popular among immigrant artisans who resumed their business in Amsterdam. Consequently, this area became a melting pot where a web of social connections between communities unfurled.

Living along Pijlsteeg was Amsterdam glass painter Jacob Lenarts (?–1596), the master of Gerrit Pietersz, during the last decade of his life (1587–1596).[74] On the same street resided Adriaen van Nieulandt the Elder (?–1603) – father of Guilliam (1584–1635), Adriaen (1587–1658), and Jacob (ca. 1597–1634) – who emigrated from Antwerp and settled in Pijlsteeg as a *cramer* (salesman) of quills, together with his brother Joris, a cobbler, around 1590.[75] It was from Van Nieulandt's family house that the Amsterdam painter Jan Tengnagel (1584–1635), perhaps a childhood friend of Van Nieulandt brothers, was married in 1611.[76] Also on the same street lived Jan Thivaert (1576–ca. 1633), who had migrated from the Southern Netherlands with his parents and became a sugar refiner (*suickerbacker*) while also working as a part-time art dealer.[77] In 1602, painter and art dealer Valerius van der Hoeven (1572–1645) listed his residence as Pijlsteeg in his marriage registration.[78] Van der Hoeven may have encountered his fellow painter/dealer Lucas Luce (1575–1661), who was born to immigrant merchant parents from Kalverstraat and moved to Pijlsteeg briefly in 1601 before buying his own house on the west side of Oudezijds Voorburgwal.[79] Nearby, on Sint Jansstraat, stood the family house of Pieter Lastman (1583–1633), where the family had lived for years and where Lastman likely grew up.[80] Slightly north of Sint Jansstraat resided the landscapist Govert Jansz (1577–1619) and the Muller family of printmakers.[81]

Among the new generation of painters who were raised or lived in this area, Gerrit Pietersz's pupils Govert Jansz and Pieter Lastman warrant further attention. Both entered the market with new ideas and styles, modernising the Dutch

74 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 65, 115.

75 The Van Nieulandts lived in a house named *Gulde Cnop*. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:171; Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 163; Sluijter, 'Career Choices', 104.

76 Sluijter, 'Career Choices', 125–26.

77 Montias identified Jan Thivaert as a part-time art dealer. He was recorded as living on Pijlsteeg at the time of his marriage in 1596. SAA DTB 5001, inv. 408, fol. 86. Montias, *Art at Auction*, 126–29.

78 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 338.

79 Luce may have grown up on Kalverstraat, see Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 354–55.

80 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 56.

81 Between Pijlsteeg and Sint Jansstraat was Claes Moyaert's family home, located just one block north of the residence where Gerbrand Bredero (1589–1618) lived for over a decade. Moyaert resided on Oudezijds Voorburgwal, at the northern corner of Jan de Vriesesteeg in a house known as 'De Rode Oven' (no. 228), while Bredero lived further along the same street, in the third house from Damstraat (no. 244). Dudok van Heel, 65.

Mannerist style they learned from Gerrit Pietersz. Govert Jansz became the first local Amsterdam painter to take on the then-novel genre of landscape. Karel van Mander introduced him as one of Pietersz's best pupils 'who makes very lively landscapes and small figures'.[82] Govert Jansz also achieved great market success: his works appeared frequently in the contemporary auctions and inventories and were held in high regard by art dealers and *liefhebbers*.[83] This success allowed him to open a workshop on the prestigious Warmoesstraat, a few blocks south of the Oude Kerk.[84] However, we do not know whether his landscape paintings resembled those of the Southern immigrant masters, as no paintings by this 'mysterious' master have survived.[85] Nevertheless, since he later collaborated with Frans Badens, he was certainly aware of the new artistic developments in his home city. His style is believed to have linked the Flemish tradition with emerging Dutch landscape paintings.[86] The other pupil of Pietersz, Pieter Lastman, was still in Italy when the *Schilder-Boeck* was published in 1604, and Van Mander expressed high expectations for Lastman's future.[87] As Van Mander foresaw, Lastman, together with his colleague Jan Pynas (ca. 1581–1631), would soon introduce new styles and subject matters that became immensely popular in the following decades.[88] Located between the Oude Kerk and Kalverstraat, the area around Sint Jansstraat and Pijlsteeg and its artists bridged the communities of Amsterdammers and Southern descendants, both spatially and socially, as seen in Figure 3-14.

Soon after they became independent master painters, this new generation began to explore locations beyond the existing artistic hotspots in Amsterdam. Pieter Lastman started from his childhood home on Sint Jansstraat and then moved to Sint Antoniesbreestraat.[89] Jan Pynas and his brother Jacob (ca. 1592–1650) remained in their family house on Nieuwendijk until 1622, when they relocated to Nieuwmarkt.[90] The Sint Antoniesbreestraat and Nieuwmarkt neighbourhood, newly developed

82 Translation quoted from Van Mander, *Lives*, 1:432–33 (fol. 293v).

83 For the contemporary reputation of Govert Janszn, see Bok and Dudok van Heel, 'Govert Janszn', 73–76; Montias, 'Artists Named in Amsterdam Inventories', 326–30.

84 Govert Jansz lived on Warmoesstraat in the 'Blauwe Scheer' (no. 154), opposite the family house of the famous engraver Jan Harmensz Muller (1571–1628) ('Vergulde Passer' no. 151). The latter house was later taken over by the Catholic book dealer Cornelis Dircksz Cool (1593–1669), who owned Govert Jansz's work. Bok and Dudok van Heel, 'Govert Janszn', 79–80; Kam, *Warmoesstraat*, 372–73.

85 Bok and Dudok van Heel, 'Govert Janszn'.

86 Bok and Dudok suggest that Govert Jansz's style was likely a link between Flemish masters and the Dutch landscape painters. Bok and Dudok van Heel, 'Govert Janszn', 74–75.

87 Bok and Dudok van Heel, 'Govert Janszn'.

88 Von Sandrart suspected that Lastman and Jan Pynas worked together in Rome. Von Sandrart, *Teutscher Academie*, bk 3 (niederl. u. dt. Künstler), 294; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 134.

89 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 73–78.

90 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 136–37.

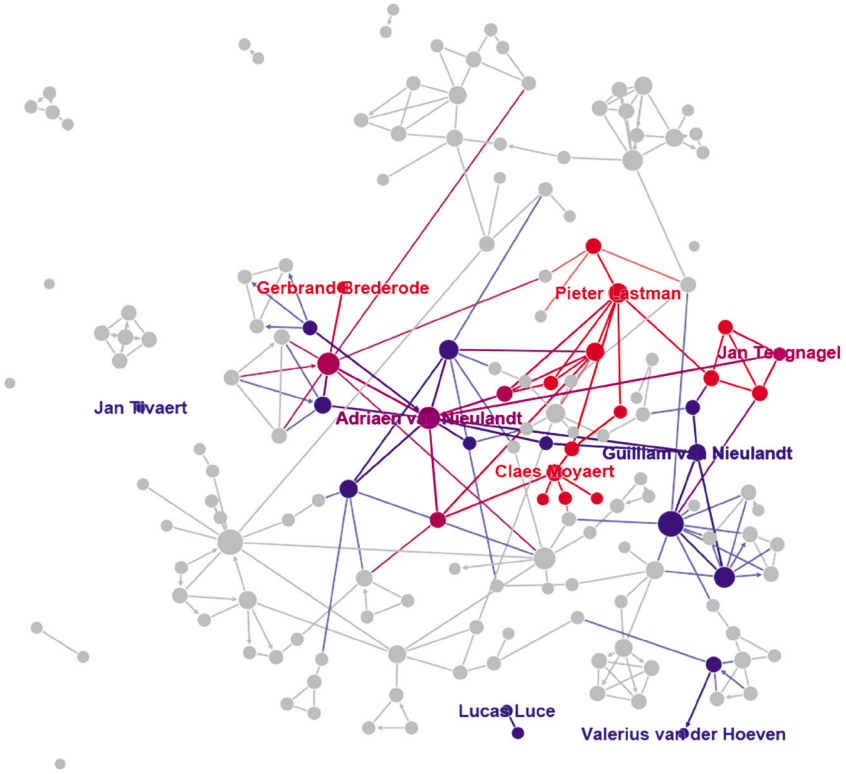

Figure 3-14: Social network of painters and art dealers near Pijlsteeg 1600–1610 (people with immigrant backgrounds are coloured in blue, native Amsterdammers in red; mutual connections in purple; the rest in the network in grey). Data source: *ECARTICO*.

after the second city expansion, would soon become a uniting force, amalgamating local painters with their immigrant colleagues in Amsterdam and giving rise to what Dudok van Heel described as the 'artists' quarter'.[91]

The emergence of the 'artists' quarter'

When the first and second city expansions (1585–86 and 1592–93) pushed the cityscape eastward (see Figure 3-1b), Sint Antoniesbreestraat and Jodenbreestraat became the main thoroughfare on the east side of the city, connecting the old and new Sint Antoniespoort.[92] These roads followed the old Antoniesdijk, which had been an important trade route connecting Amsterdam to the eastern hinterland

91 Dudok van Heel, 'Artists' Quarter'.

92 For the various city expansions of Amsterdam, see Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg*.

(Weesp, Muiden, and Naarden).[93] The brand-new city streets were wider – as their names *breestraat* (broad street) suggested – than the narrow, medieval ones, such as Sint Jansstraat and Pijlsteeg. These wider roads would guarantee a smooth journey from the new city gate to the old, which was then converted into a weighhouse (*Waag*) in the middle of a market square. By 1610, this area, given its ample space, frequent traffic, and the weekly market on Nieuwmarkt, became an ideal location for painters in Amsterdam.

Dudok van Heel first observed that many influential artists had moved to the neighbourhood of Sint Antoniesbreestraat in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[94] He illustrated the clustering of painters in this neighbourhood that had transformed this quarter of the city into an artistic centre and brought the guild room of the Amsterdam painters' guild in the Waag to their vicinity in 1619.[95] Dudok van Heel's observation stemmed from the wealth of information he assembled regarding the exact locations of artists' and their clients' houses. However, he paid limited attention to the temporal development and did not elaborate on the factors that may have attracted painters, except for the possibility of staying closer to their patrons. Building on Dudok van Heel's research, I aim to 'replay' the emergence of this artists' cluster in slow motion, tracing the process of spatial clustering while situating this development within the broader artistic landscape in Amsterdam.[96]

Kick start

Before artists flocked to Sint Antoniesbreestraat, landscapists associated with Hans Bol or with roots in Mechelen had already resided in the adjacent eastern area of the old city and the newly expanded district, becoming the first group to venture into the new neighbourhood (Figure 3-11). As early as 1602, Jacob Savery and his brother Roelant (1576–1639) were recorded as living on Sint Antoniesbreestraat, while Hans Bol's nephew, Pieter Bol (ca. 1562–1602), resided around Nieuwmarkt, where Philips Vinckboons and his son David had already been living for a few years.[97] These pioneers kick-started, unwittingly, the clustering process. They may have simply intended to improve their living conditions by moving into new and spacious houses close to the neighbourhood they knew. These landscape painters from the

93 The importance of Amsterdam in this regional trade network is discussed in Part I of Lesger, *Amsterdam Market*.

94 Dudok van Heel, 'Een veranderend schildersportret', 56–59; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 74–75 (fig. 34), 78–79; Dudok van Heel, 'Artists' Quarter'.

95 Regarding the establishment of the guild room, see Hoogewerff, *St. Lucasgilden*.

96 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 74–75 (fig. 34), 78–79.

97 The Savery brothers lived on Sint Antoniesbreestraat in 'De Indische Rave' (no. 30). Pieter Bol was buried from 'Achterdyckstraet oft Buytendyckstraet', a parallel street to Sint Antoniesbreestraat. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 302.

South were soon joined by the history and portrait painter Pieter Isaacsz, who left Oude Turfmarkt to build a large house on Jodenbreestraat (no. 1) in 1603, likely seeking ample space to accommodate large-scale militia portrait commissions.[98]

By then, the Kalverstraat-Oude Turfmarkt and the Oude Kerk areas were still predominant in the art trade and high-end painting production in history and portraiture. But many young painters, most of whom had immigrant backgrounds, completed their training in one of the two established art centres and then left these areas where their masters resided to open their own workshops in the newly developed eastern quarter. Among them were Coninxloo's pupil and son-in-law Jonas van Merle (1578–1616) and pupil Willem van Bundel (1576–1655), both established their businesses around the Nieuwmarkt in 1606/7.[99] Likewise, landscape painter Gerrit de Buck (1577–1630), brother-in-law of Lucas Luce, relocated from the Kalverstraat area to this burgeoning artists' neighbourhood.[100] Around the same time, marine painter and dealer Hans Rem (1566–ca. 1622) and his brother-in-law Barent Prays (ca. 1570–1608) appeared in the same neighbourhood.[101] In 1607, when the sale of the late Gillis van Coninxloo's estate brought together a large proportion of the artists' community, more than one-third of the painters who bought works at the auction were from the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area.[102] The same sales record reveals that two key figures in this neighbourhood – Pieter Isaacsz and David Vinckboons – were running workshops with pupils lodging in their homes.[103] Except for Pieter Isaacsz,

98 Isaacsz later moved to Sint Antoniesbreestraat in 'Cronenburgh' (no. 53) and stayed there until his departure for Denmark in 1615. His old house in the Oude Turfmarkt was likely taken over by Gillis van Coninxloo. Dudok van Heel, 'Parentela', 247; Dudok van Heel, 'Enkele adressen'; Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 118n208.

99 Jonas van Merle and his pupil Salomon de la Tombe both appeared in Coninxloo's sale in 1607 from the same address (Montias Database inv. 733). Willem van Bundel was likely close to the art lover Burchman Claesz Dob, as Van Bundel served as a witness to Dob's will before his death in 1610. Bok, 'Art-Lovers and Their Paintings', 139.

100 De Buck lived in 'Houtmarkt in de Wijdesteeg' behind Kalverstraat when he married Lucas Luce's sister Elisabeth (1583–1618) (SAA DTB 5001, inv. 4, fol. 315). In 1607 he was recorded in 'Sint Janshof' in Coninxloo's sale (Montias Database inv. 733).

101 When Rem's sister Maeyken (ca. 1575–1653) was married to Barent Prays in 1606, both were living on 'breestraat'. Hans Rem appeared at Gillis van Coninxloo's sale in 1607 and indicated he was from the 'St. Anthonyssluys', near Pieter Isaacsz's house.

102 Among the twenty-seven painters/dealers identified as buyers at Coninxloo's sale, whose locations were registered or known, seven were from the Kalverstraat-Oude Turfmarkt area, and another seven from the Oude Kerk area. Eight painters and one sculptor were from the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area. Pieter Lastman and Adriaen van Nieulandt were from Sint Jansstraat and Pijlsteeg, where several goldsmiths and jewellers were also among the buyers. A few others lived in the area between the three artistic centres. Pieter Stalpaert was the only buyer residing along Singel. For the source, see Montias Database inv. 733.

103 A Job Pouwelsz was said 'tot Pieter Isaacxsz', and Jacob Kina (Quina) 'by David Boins (Vinckboons)' (Montias Database inv. 733). Vinckboons was living in 'Sint Thonisdijk', near or even in the same house on Antoniesbreestraat (no. 64), which he bought in 1611 for *f* 4,621. For more details about the house, see Huisken et al., *Kunstbedrijf*, 6.

this neighbourhood in 1607 was unmistakably dominated by second-generation Southerners who mainly specialised in landscape.

David Vinckboons, who probably spent his adolescent years in this area, became the new standard-bearer of Flemish landscape painting after the death of Hans Bol and the departure of the Savery brothers. Given their shared origin, Vinckboons maintained close ties with immigrant painters and art dealers in the Kalverstraat-Oude Turfmarkt area, particularly the Coninxloos. Artistically, Vinckboons is considered to have been inspired by Gillis van Coninxloo, with whom he collaborated on several occasions.[104] Business-wise, Gillis van Coninxloo's art dealer nephew Hans II living on Kalverstraat was one of the three clients of Vinckboons mentioned by Van Mander.[105] It was likely Hans II van Coninxloo who promoted Vinckboons' works in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands, as several of Vinckboons' works and copies soon appeared in inventories in both Amsterdam and Antwerp.[106] Besides the Coninxloos, Vinckboons collaborated with other artists from the immigrant community, such as Frans Badens and Paul Vredeman de Vries (ca. 1567–1616).[107] His influence and popularity were not restricted to the immigrants alone. In 1603 Vinckboons was commissioned by the Oude Mannenhuis to produce a nocturnal painting depicting the lottery held by the same institution to raise funds for its expansion.[108] This large piece was even more impressive (measuring over four by two meters) and perhaps more prestigious than Gillis Coignet's work on a similar subject a decade earlier.[109] Besides commissions, Vinckboons also worked for the open market and produced many designs for engravings and book illustrations. With his network of connections and varied artistic skills, Vinckboons attracted several talented pupils, such as Gillis d' Hondecoeter (ca. 1575–1638), Claes Jansz Visscher (1586/87–1652), and probably Esaias van de Velde(1587–1630), all of whom would lead the development of art in the following decades.[110]

With the multitude of artists settling in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area, the question arises: why did painters start to relocate to the Sint Antoniesbreestraat

104 Huisken et al., *Kunstbedrijf*, 17.

105 Van Mander, *Het leven*, fol. 299v.

106 Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen*, 2:177; Huisken et al., *Kunstbedrijf*, 18.

107 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 400.

108 For the detailed description of David Vinckboons's work for the Oude Mannenhuis, see Van Mander, *Het leven*, fol. 299v.

109 Gillis Coignet received a commission for a nocturne painting (now in the Amsterdam Museum) in 1592 to commemorate the lottery to finance the expansion of the Amsterdam Dolhuis (madhouse) right behind the Walloon church. Coignet was then perhaps also active in the area near the Dolhuis where Bol and his circle lived. However, Coignet was likely chosen for his skill in painting convincing night scenes, rather than solely for his location. For a more detailed analysis of Coignet's nocturne piece, see Middelkoop, 'Gillis Coignet'.

110 Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 315–17.

neighbourhood? Dudok van Heel argued that the wealthy residents in this area were a key attraction, but this explanation does not fully account for the shift, as Sint Antoniesbreestraat was never the most affluent part of the city. The early city expansion plan had already designated a specific zone for the well-heeled on the west side along Singel and Herengracht.[111] The area's wealth profile was not substantially different from other districts in Amsterdam, suggesting that factors other than proximity to wealthy residents might have influenced artists' collective choice to cluster in Sint Antoniesbreestraat.[112] What, then, brought painters to the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area? To tackle this question, I will use Pieter Lastman as an example to examine the possible reasons behind painters' collective behaviour.

Lastman's location choice

In 1608, Lastman's mother, Barbara Jacobs, bought a house on Sint Antoniesbreestraat from Coninxloo's son-in-law, Jonas van Merle, and moved her family there. With this move, Pieter Lastman became the first top-tier local Amsterdam painter to join this burgeoning community of artists. Dudok van Heel argued that Lastman may have orchestrated this family relocation.[113] Indeed, a newly developed, still sparsely populated area may not have been advantageous for Barbara Jacobs as an estate appraiser and *uitdraagster* (secondhand goods retailer) who often bought her wares at property sales.[114] For her, their old family house on bustling Sint Jansstraat in the middle of the densely populated inner city was ideal. She may have stayed after buying the new house, as the family still owned the house on Sint Jansstraat at least until Lastman's death.[115] Whether it was Pieter Lastman's choice or not, this relocation to Sint Antoniesbreestraat proved strategically advantageous, both to his contemporaries and in retrospect.

Lastman had just returned to his home city from Italy a year before the move and was likely keen on establishing his own workshop. His family house on the narrow and crowded Sint Jansstraat was likely too small to accommodate the young artist's workshop, which may have urged Lastman to seek out new locations. As a native Amsterdammer who received his training in the Oude Kerk neighbourhood,

111 Regarding the original city expansion plan, see Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg*, 58.

112 For the prominent figures living near Sint Antoniesbreestraat, see the discussion of Jan Tengnagel's militia piece of 1613 in the Rijksmuseum (inv. SK-C-407) in Sluijter, 'Career Choices', 125–26. A similar composition can be found in almost all districts that commissioned civic guard portraits. See Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk'.

113 Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 78.

114 Barbara Jacobs was a successful businesswoman who left behind a substantial legacy upon her death. Her estate included numerous houses and securities, amounting to an impressive *f* 2,2637:16:05. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 78.

115 Pieter Lastman spent the final year(s) of his life living with his elder brother on Sint Jansstraat. Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*, 52.

Lastman might naturally have positioned himself among his former colleagues. However, the artistic vitality there had faded after the departure or death of several key collectors such as Jacques Razett and Jean Niquet, and the remaining painters focused primarily on producing portraits.[116] This change perhaps kept Lastman, a history painter, away from the Oude Kerk. On the other hand, the Kalverstraat-Oude Turfmarkt neighbourhood was not a viable option either. Southern immigrants had put down their roots there for over two decades and had formed a close-knit group devoted to the art trade. Pieter Lastman probably had little interest in associating himself with this group of art dealers.

For these reasons, the newly developed, spacious Sint Antoniesbreestraat became the best option for Pieter Lastman to set up his studio. Unlike the other established artists' hotspots, this new neighbourhood was not stamped with any ingrained artistic tradition or deep-rooted social relations. As early as 1603, Pieter Isaacsz had brought his portrait and history painting business to this area. The Southerners in this neighbourhood, mostly in their late 20s or early 30s, had only begun their painting careers there a few years earlier, which may have offered a fresh outlook and a creative and collaborative environment for young Lastman to launch his painting practice. This neighbourhood offered, by and large, a blank slate for all its residents, a newer and grander version of Sint Jansstraat and Pijlsteeg where artists, artisans, and merchants of different backgrounds and specialities blended.[117]

Choosing to reside on Sint Antoniesbreestraat among the younger generation of artists did not isolate Lastman from other artistic centres in the city. The area was conveniently located between the Oude Kerk and Oude Turfmarkt areas, both accessible within a five- to ten-minute walk.[118] Moreover, two of its key residents – David Vinckboons and Pieter Isaacsz – were among the most sought-after and best-connected painters in Amsterdam (measured by the degrees of connections in the social network). Isaacsz, in particular, later brought lucrative commissions to Lastman and other painters in this neighbourhood.[119] As the spatial network visualisation in Figure 3-15 illustrates, this neighbourhood fanned out into numerous artistic, social, and commercial connections, as the artists studied or collaborated with painters in other districts or worked for art dealers at times.

116 Razett (?–1609) and Niquet (1539–1608) died around the same time.

117 The only restriction for the residents was that fire hazard professions like ironsmiths were not allowed for safety reasons. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 78.

118 The path lengths from Sint Antoniesbreestraat to the Oude Kerk and the Oude Turfmarkt are around 500 and 800 meters, respectively, measured by the digitised road network in the map of 1625.

119 In 1618/19 Isaacsz commissioned twenty-three paintings on behalf of the Danish King Christian IV. This commission is discussed in Sluijter, 'Career Choices'. For more about this commission, see Johannsen, 'Frederiksborg Castle'.

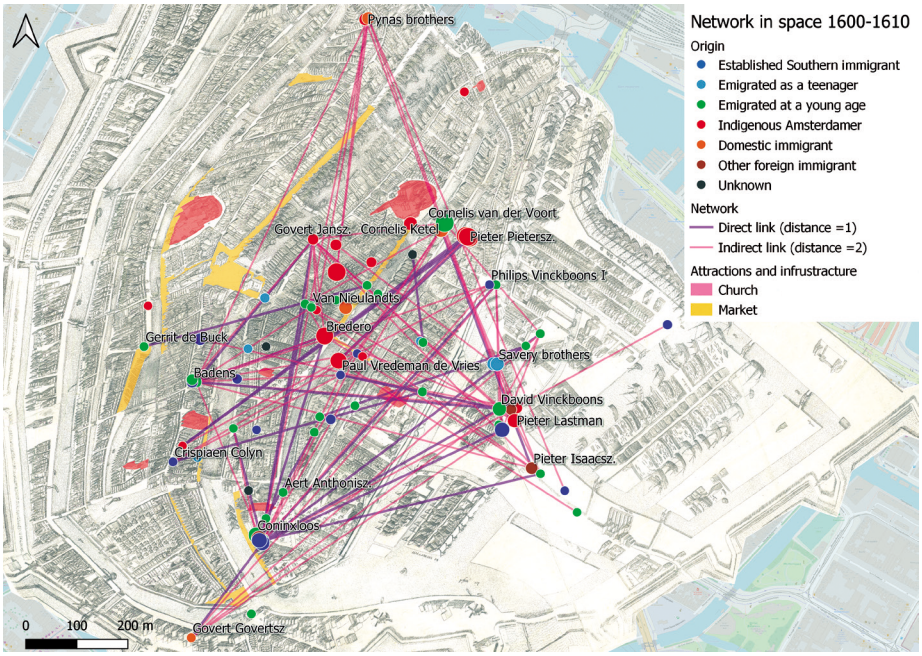

Figure 3-15: Mapping the social network among painters and art dealers in Amsterdam 1600–10. The network is mapped by converting the distance in the social network into direct connections between painters in Amsterdam. For instance, if Painter A and B working in Amsterdam in the same period have a direct social link, then they are linked on this map with a distance of one (marked by a thick, purple line). If A and B have a mutual connection C in between, then the distance between A and B is two, marked by a thin, pink line. See Appendix II for the methodology.

The area successfully united local and immigrant communities and integrated commission-based and market-oriented business practices.

The bustling art scene, vibrant community, influential fellow artists, and ample space may have convinced Lastman to join this endeavour. In 1608, Pieter Lastman and his brother Claes moved to Sint Antoniesbreestraat (no. 59) opposite the Zuiderkerk. Lastman's relocation not only reinforced the artistic significance of the area but also underscored the diversity of its painters' community, laying a solid foundation for its future development into *the* artists' quarter in Amsterdam.

Clustering around Sint Antoniesbreestraat: Push and pull factors

The emergence of an artists' quarter in the newly developed area of Sint Antoniesbreestraat can be attributed to several push and pull factors that influenced painters' collective choices and led to the formation of an artistic cluster. The primary push factor was the burgeoning art market, which, due to its rapid expansion, made popular locations overcrowded and unable to accommodate the growing number of both established and emerging painters. This overcrowding naturally

propelled artists to seek new locations. Additionally, changing market conditions rendered existing artistic centres unattractive, as they became relatively closed to only a clique of specialised painters or dealers (as we see in the Oude Kerk and Kalverstraat areas). By 1600, however, the art market had evolved from a primitive market offering a limited number of costly and, to a degree, homogeneous products to a select clientele into a diverse and complex marketplace with various products catering to a wide array of buyers. This expansion in the art market made a rigid profile of a neighbourhood inadequate for serving both emerging painters who wished to reap the benefit of a diverse clientele and the buyers who sought diversity in their purchase. As a result, young painters like Pieter Lastman stayed away from the existing art centres and opted for a more lively neighbourhood where artists of diverse backgrounds and specialities blended together.

Alongside these push factors, several pull factors drew painters to the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area. First, its proximity to where artists like Hans Bol, the Savery brothers, and Philips Vinckboons lived in the 1590s made it a natural choice for these artists and their families, kick-starting the clustering process. Second, its advantageous location along a busy thoroughfare connecting the city gate (Sint Antoniespoort) and a marketplace (Nieuwmarkt) generated sufficient pedestrian traffic and ensured the visibility of painters' workshops. Third, the new, spacious houses in this developing area could accommodate a growing number of painters, likely at more affordable rates than in the newly developed Singel area. Young artists who trained with masters nearby could establish their own studios in the vicinity, as Adriaen van Nieulandt did. Lastly, the presence of influential and popular painters such as David Vinckboons, Pieter Isaacsz, and later Pieter Lastman attracted customers and talented pupils, fostering social connections with clients and other artists across Amsterdam. By 1610, this neighbourhood had transformed into a bustling artists' quarter serving the entire city, if not beyond.

Painters in this cluster likely profited from what clustering theories identify as a favourable industrial atmosphere, including synergies, knowledge spillovers, and a shared pool of pupils and assistants.[120] The new market conditions in this period also eliminated the need for painters to stay close to their targeted clientele, as their customers became more diverse in profiles and scattered in locations. This allowed painters to cluster for their own artistic and business interests. However, these clustering benefits were not the reasons that initiated and motivated the clustering

120 For instance, Hendrick Avercamp is said to have studied with Pieter Isaacsz and David Vinckboons subsequently. For the benefits of spatial clusters, see Porter, *On Competition*; Bathelt, Malmberg, and Maskell, 'Clusters and Knowledge'; Pratt, 'Creative Clusters'; Kelly and O'Hagan, 'Geographic Clustering'; Lazzeretti, Capone, and Boix, 'Reasons for Clustering'; Andersson et al., 'Location'; Grodach et al., 'Location Patterns'. For the specific discussion in the early modern Dutch context, see Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*.

process in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area. Instead, practical considerations of space and the desire for a fresh start in response to these new market conditions brought artists to the neighbourhood.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the rise of Amsterdam's art market between 1585 and 1610 through a socio-spatial lens. As the art market expanded from a small group of painters catering to local clientele in a highly coordinated manner to a diverse and relatively uncoordinated community of painters organised in clusters to meet the demands of a broader customer base, embeddedness and coordination were crucial to the success of painters' careers. In this period, family origins and business orientations were the most important factors determining painters' choices and behaviour. Painters seem to have developed and followed playbooks according to their family backgrounds and business types, and clustered within their own communities of shared roots. Choices of locations and social relations (mainly determined by their family contacts or shared origins) played a large role in painters' playbooks during this period. The Southern origins seemed to have naturally embedded painters within an expanding and increasingly important social network of immigrants. Consequently, the Amsterdam art scene developed into a tri-centre market in different locations, catering to the specific needs of painters with distinctive profiles. The spatial separation of three artistic hotspots reflected the relative isolation and equilibrium among various artists' communities in Amsterdam.

The city expansion provided extra space to accommodate the increasing population of painters after 1600. Beyond practical considerations, changes in the artistic landscape were driven by the need for a fresh start – unencumbered by tradition – in order to accommodate the new demand in the art market. Artists appear to have formed clusters for reasons distinct from the benefits typically associated with clustering in modern industries, such as knowledge spillovers and cost efficiencies. While the advantages of physical proximity may have sustained existing clusters, the formation of new ones was likely triggered by more immediate factors, such as overcrowding or the constraints of established conventions. In this context, the emerging artists' quarter in Sint Antoniesbreestraat presented an alternative to the traditional hotspots near Kalverstraat and the Oude Kerk and attracted young painters establishing their careers. This new cluster developed alongside the established centres instead of replacing them. In the following decades, as we shall see, these artistic centres coexisted and evolved in different directions as the market matured.

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4. Formative Years of the Art Market, 1610-1630

Abstract: This chapter examines how painters collectively coordinated their behaviours in a seller's market between 1610 and 1630 and how their socially informed choices established the tripartite structure of the art market from different locations in Amsterdam. Following the market segment-specific playbooks, high-end painters clustered near Sint Antoniesbreestraat, attracting patrons from all over the city to their studios. Lower-end painter-art dealers explored the new area to the west, while mid-tier painters, situated in various parts of the city, struggled to define a playbook of their own. However, the favourable market conditions did not translate into significant financial gains for most artists. Instead, family support and established social networks remained crucial, underscoring the inherently social nature of the art market.

Keywords: spatial clustering, Sint Antoniesbreestraat, *Kohier 1631*, portrait sitters, art market, Amsterdam

Amsterdam continued to prosper between 1610 and 1630. In 1611, the grand Amsterdam Exchange, designed by Hendrick de Keyser (1565–1621), opened for business on Dam Square, gathering merchants from all over the world to trade commodities or the highly profitable securities of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* or VOC). After making a trade in VOC shares, these merchants could register the transactions in the official ledger of the VOC's Amsterdam Chamber, located in the East India House (*Oost-Indisch Huis*) along Kloveniersburgwal, 500 meters to the east.[1] From there, the burgeoning 'artists' quarter' in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat neighbourhood was merely a stone's throw away. The stock exchange, the money, and the love of art converged in the narrow, busy streets of Amsterdam.[2]

1 Petram, 'Stock Exchange', 30.

2 See Asselijn's poem op. cit. Chapter 1.

Li, Weixuan. *Painters' Playbooks in the Art Market of Early Modern Amsterdam*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2025.
DOI: 10.4324/9781003701040-4

In 1610, with the city's Second Expansion (1592–96) still a recent memory, Amsterdam was once again grappling with overcrowding. The city's population nearly doubled from about 60,000 in 1600 to 104,932 in 1622, driven by the thriving trade, expanding shipping and other industries, and a constant influx of newcomers.[3] This population boom was mirrored in the city's artistic community, with the number of painters rising from 97 in 1610 to 169 in 1630.[4] Amsterdam's limited space led to a proliferation of unauthorised dwellings beyond its walls. Before long, expansion was again on the city government's agenda. After much discussion and negotiation, in 1611, the municipality decided to expand the city to the west, from the IJ to the location of present-day Leidsegracht, where the city wall would take a sharp bend to join the old wall.[5] This so-called Third Expansion was meticulously documented in Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode's spectacular map of Amsterdam, published in 1625 (Figure 4-1), and by 1631, the engraver himself had moved to the 'Nieuwe Werk', west of the canal ring, an area that was later known as the Jordaan.[6]

This period between 1610 and 1630 marks the formative stage of the art market in Amsterdam, characterised by the emergence of a new structure and segmentation. Many studies have shown that the art market in the Dutch Republic expanded rapidly in scale and complexity within decades, accommodating buyers from all social strata and painters of diverse styles, genres, and skill levels.[7] Amsterdam exemplifies this diversity, where renowned artists of international stature worked alongside fellow painters who subsisted on daily wages (so-called *galey-schilder*).[8] Painters, often functioning as entrepreneurs, employed business strategies, social networks, and innovative techniques to gain and maintain a market edge or simply to eke out a living.[9] Contemporary art theorists like Philips Angel (1616–1664), Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678), Gerard de Lairesse (1641–1711), and Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719) recognised the complexity of the market and offered guidance to their

3 For population estimates, see Nusteling, 'Population', 73–74. The exact number for 1622 comes from the first and only complete census.

4 Among the total population of painters, 68 were identified as *kunstschilders* in 1610, increasing to 108 by 1630. See *ECARTICO*.

5 Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg*, 50. The decision to expand the city to the west was likely influenced by the fact that members of the city government owned land in that area, as argued in Dudok van Heel, 'Regent Families', 129.

6 The engraver was listed in *Kohier 1631*, as 'Balthazar Floris, Landtmeter' from Egelantiersgracht, taxed *f* 5.

7 Cf. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*; De Marchi and Van Miegroet, 'Art, Value, and Market Practices'; De Marchi, 'Auctions and Lotteries'; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'; Bok, '"Paintings for Sale"'.

8 Jager, *Mass Market*.

9 Notable examples are Chong, 'Market for Landscape'; Sluijter, 'Marktleider'; De Marchi and Van Miegroet, 'Art, Value, and Market Practices'; Falkenburg, 'Onweer'; Bok, '"Paintings for Sale"'; Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*.



Figure 4-1: Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode, *Map of Amsterdam*, 1625, engraving, 140 × 160 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. RP-P-1892-A-17491D.

fellow painters on navigating the competitive environment.[10] Lairesse, in particular, divided artists, artworks, and their buyers into three categories – aristocratic, average, and inferior.[11] This tripartite division, further elaborated by scholars like Bok and Schwartz, revealed a pyramidal structure of the art market. At the base of this pyramid was a vast group of anonymous painters producing low-quality, cheap works. The middle tier consisted of a considerable number of artists who supplied the open market with relatively inexpensive works of reasonable quality.

10 Angel, *Lof*; Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*; De Lairesse, *Groot Schilderboek*; Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*.

11 Lairesse's distinctions focus more on social backgrounds and artistic genres than on market segments. According to Lairesse, aristocratic artists produced history paintings, average painters focused on landscape, still life, and genres, and inferior ones churned out so-called low-life genres, like peasant scenes. For the social model of Lairesse, see De Vries, *How to Create Beauty*, 40–41.

At the pinnacle, a small elite group of painters catered to the urban elites, offering high-quality works for substantial sums.[12] It remains unclear, however, how this intricate, multi-layered market system came into being. This chapter therefore traces the process of its development by examining the growth of the art market in Amsterdam through a socio-spatial approach.

Behaviours and choices: Citywide distribution of painters and art dealers

Between 1610 and 1630, a growing number of local Amsterdammers – and even more migrants from the Dutch Republic and abroad – joined the painting profession, as shown in Figure 4-2. This deep map visualises the distribution of artistic painters (*kunstschilders*) in Amsterdam during this period (excluding *schilders*, whose artistic status remains unconfirmed), with colours indicating origins and sizes representing their ages at the time of relocation. This map suggests that painters' places of origin, which were crucial in the previous period, continued to influence their location choices. Established artists from the Southern Netherlands (marked in blue) often favoured areas where their predecessors had lived. For instance, Abraham Willemsz Vinck (ca. 1574–1619) and Louis Finson (1578–after 1617) settled in the same area where Hans Bol and his circle lived, next to the arterial road connecting Dam Square and the East India House, the VOC's Amsterdam chamber.[13] Other Southern immigrants sensed the opportunity in the Jordaan and carried on the entrepreneurial spirit of their predecessors in this new district.[14] Conversely, local Amsterdammers (red in Figure 4-2) began appearing in more desirable parts of the newly built areas, mostly along or near the radial streets crossing Herengracht and Keizersgracht, capturing pedestrian traffic moving between the old and new quarters of the city. Artists from other cities in the Dutch Republic (marked in orange) preferred markets and shopping streets near the Dam, Kalverstraat, and Nieuwmarkt. It was in the busy commercial streets and in the newly developed areas in the Jordaan where the relatively open, free art market started to flourish.

12 Cf. Schwartz and Bok, *Pieter Saenredam*; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'. The bottom layer is well described in Jager, *Mass Market*.

13 Both Vinck and Finson lived at Oudezijds Voorburgwal 179, see Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 81, 84. Other examples include Antoon van den Velde (1557–1616), who moved to Bethaniënstraat near the residences of Hans Bol's pupil and nephew mentioned in Chapter 3.

14 The Jordaan likely appealed to immigrant communities more broadly. However, due to the lack of data on the general distribution of immigrants across the city, it is difficult to determine whether this trend was unique to participants in the art market.

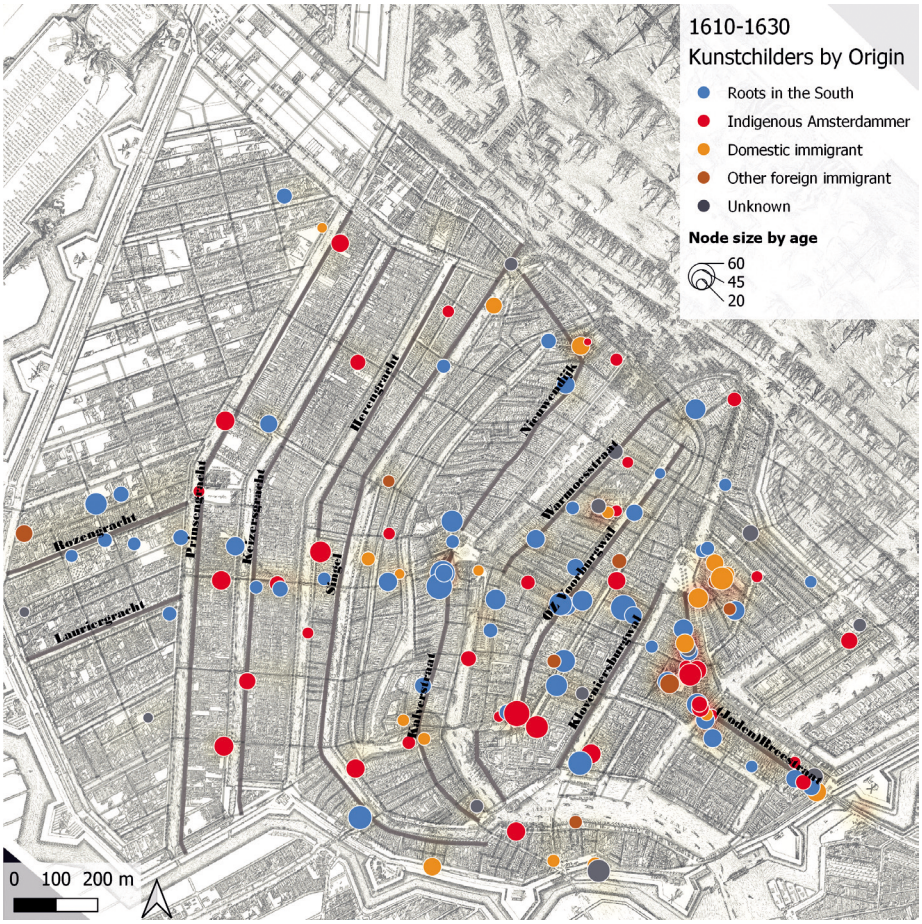

Figure 4-2: Spatial distribution of *kunstschilders*, coloured by origin, and sized by the age when they moved to this location.

Contrary to expectations, genre specialisation was not a significant factor in determining painters' location choices. Even though new genres – still life and scenes of everyday life (so-called genre scenes) – began to emerge in the city during this period, painters who developed these new subject matters lived among artists who produced portraiture and history works. It was painters' social connections, partially implied by their place of origins, and the chosen market segments that influenced their choices of locations. Despite a tendency to cluster by origin, the neighbourhood near Sint Antoniesbreestraat appealed to artists of all backgrounds. As discussed in Chapter 3, this young and lively area in the artistic landscape had grown into *the* artistic centre of Amsterdam. To understand how this artistic centre contributed to the market development,

Table 4-1: Samples of *kunstschilders* by prominence or success level in Amsterdam, 1585–1700

Rank	N	Definition	Criteria	Sources
A	62	Artistic appreciation **AND** market success	Mentioned by contemporary biographers or lauded by poets **AND** with >20 inventory mentions or museum holdings	Van Mander 1604; Houbraken 1718-1721; Van Gool 1750-1751, Getty Provenance Index, Montias Database, *Künstler-Inventare*, *RKDimages*
B	131	Artistic appreciation **OR** market success	Meet either one criterion from A level	
C	182	Left traces of works in inventories or modern holdings	<20 inventory mentions or museum holdings, and not mentioned by contemporary biographers	Getty Provenance Index, Montias Database, *Künstler-Inventare*, *RKDimages*
D	246	All known painters	Only mentioned in archival records	*ECARTICO*

it is crucial to examine the relative prominence of its painters alongside their location choices.

Table 4-1 presents the criteria used to evaluate artists' success during their lifetime, introducing a quantitative measure for the market reception (assessed either by the frequency with which an artist was mentioned in contemporary inventories or the number of artworks that have survived in modern collections).[15] The prominence or success level of painters is gauged based on contemporary reception by biographers and the market, combining the methods used by Rasterhoff and Jager.[16] Rasterhoff offered a detailed categorisation but relied chiefly on modern art historical lexicons and surveys to identify prominent painters. Jager, on the other hand, employed contemporary sources, but her classification – based on whether or not an artist was mentioned by biographers or in inventories – could benefit from further elaboration. Combining the advantages of both approaches, the criteria used here account for both artistic achievements and market success, addressing the underrepresentation of some top-tier artists whose works were rarely found in inventories and the overrepresentation of certain mediocre artists who were frequently mentioned in the same sources.[17]

Based on the ranks, Figure 4-3 visualises the spatial distribution of painters according to their success level. It shows that the Sint Antoniesbreestraat neighbourhood

15 High-quality paintings often have a higher survival rate. Cf. Li, 'Deciphering the Art and Market'; Jager, *Mass Market*.

16 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*, 177–78; Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 49–54.

17 Both phenomena are described in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 234–38, 359–61, 372–73.



Figure 4-3: Distribution of painters in Amsterdam, coloured by ranks and sized by age. The uncertainty is visualised from the heatmap at the back (the larger the scope of the heatmap, the less certainty about the location).

was home to the majority of top-tier artists who achieved both market and artistic success (A level, marked in red), surrounded by many minor masters with few or no known works (C and D level, in green and blue, respectively). While the established upmarket artists typically resided along the spacious main street, painters of C and D levels were mostly found in the narrow side streets near Nieuwmarkt, such as Keizersstraat and Koningsstraat. This neighbourhood accounted for over one-third of all *kunstschilders* and half of the art dealers, yet only one-fifth of *schilders* (marked in grey) appeared in the same area. Unlike *kunstschilders*, *schilders* were widespread throughout the city like bakers, presumably due to their artisanal nature and local

clientele.[18] The popularity of this neighbourhood among all *kunstschilders* signals a new form of coordination among high-end painters in response to the changing market conditions.

The high-end artistic cluster near Sint Antoniesbreestraat/Nieuwmarkt

After 1610, the bustling artists' quarter in the Nieuwmarkt–Sint Antoniesbreestraat quickly became a magnet for the city's most celebrated artists. Diplomat and playwright Theodoor Rodenburgh (1574–1644) composed a laudatory poem in 1618, listing thirteen living artists whom he believed epitomised the pinnacle of artistic achievement in Amsterdam.[19] Nine of these artists lived in or soon moved to this neighbourhood. Pieter Lastman, Pieter Isaacsz, Roelant Savery, and David Vinckboons had moved into this area in the 1600s (see Chapter 3);[20] Jan Tengnagel and Cornelis van der Voort followed suit before 1618; and finally, Jan Pynas, Adriaen van Nieulandt, and François Venant (1591–1636) joined shortly after 1620. The remaining four on Rodenburgh's list – Frans Badens the Younger, Abraham Vinck, Govert Jansz, and Claes Moyaert (ca. 1591–1655) – were scattered in different parts of the city. The establishment of the Guild of St. Luke room in the Waag (the former Sint Antoniespoort) in 1619 further solidified the significance of this neighbourhood in Amsterdam's art scene.[21] Never before or after had so many talented painters clustered in a single neighbourhood in Amsterdam. This unprecedented concentration marks a unique yet short-lived phase in Amsterdam's art market during which a multi-layered market structure emerged within a seller's market.

Artists living in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area came from two important artistic and social circles. The first comprised the so-called pre-Rembrandtists or the Amsterdam School of history painting, led by Pieter Lastman and joined by Lastman's friend and colleague Jan Pynas, Pynas' brother-in-law Jan Tengnagel, and Lastman's brother-in-law François Venant.[22] The second group consisted of artists with roots in the Southern Netherlands who developed their careers in

18 Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 102–4.

19 Rodenburgh proclaimed in a poem that the artistic achievement in Amsterdam had surpassed that of Italy and enumerated the best artists in Amsterdam. Along with the ones mentioned above, he listed the late Pieter Aertsen, Dirck Barendsz, and Cornelis Ketel in 1618. This poem is cited in Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*, 63–64, with references to the older literature.

20 Pieter Isaacsz had already left Amsterdam for Denmark by 1618, but he still travelled back and forth, acting as an agent for the Danish king Christian IV (1588–1648). Roelant Savery had returned to Amsterdam two years earlier, after serving as a court painter for Rudolf II (1583–1612) in Prague.

21 Van Eeghen, 'Amsterdam Guild'.

22 The term 'Pre-Rembrandtists' was coined in the 1974 exhibition bearing the same name. See Tümpel, Tümpel, and Stechow, *Pre-Rembrandtists*. Tengnagel married Pynas' sister Meynsje Simons Pynas (1591–1643) in 1611; and Venant married Lastman's sister Agnieta Pietersdr. Lastman (1595–1631) in 1625. See *ECARTICO*.

Amsterdam, such as David Vinckboons, Adriaen van Nieulandt, Roelant Savery, and Cornelis van der Voort.[23] Despite their varied origins, the painters in these two groups formed a tightly knit social circle, as indicated by the network in Figure 4-4. Cornelis van der Voort, for instance, owned works by Pieter Lastman, who also served as a witness for Van der Voort's wife.[24] But no one was better connected in the artistic community than Adriaen van Nieulandt. His central position across the Amsterdam group and the immigrant communities is evident in the social network (Figure 4-4), in which he enjoyed the highest degree of connections. In addition to forging links among artists, Van Nieulandt and Tengnagel sought to embed themselves within the neighbourhood's social sphere. Tengnagel's militia piece of 1613 (Figure 4-5) portrays the two artists as officers within the civic guard group led by a mixed coterie of powerful residents with different origins.[25] As sergeant of the company, Tengnagel included his own portrait (the third from the right in the bottom row) and his friend Van Nieulandt (who is bent over and pointing at the cushion on a stool in the foreground). As we shall see, these two friends, both keenly aware of the importance of networking for their careers, pursued different career trajectories.

This period was certainly the heyday for the Sint Antoniesbreestraat. Prestigious and lucrative commissions from affluent merchants and institutions flew into the artists' workshops in the neighbourhood. It was also a privileged time for painters because the demand for high-quality paintings exceeded supply, making Amsterdam's art market before 1630 a seller's market. This favourable market environment allowed artists to adopt the playbook of clustering among themselves and integrating within the circle of artists and clients to secure commissions from all over the city.[26] In this seller's market, the artistic cluster in Sint Antoniesbreestraat brought patrons to painters. We know that Pieter Lastman's works were collected by wealthy merchants from Kalverstraat and Warmoesstraat outside his immediate vicinity, possibly during the artist's lifetime.[27] Prominent painters thus served clients throughout the city.

23 Van der Voort moved his portrait shop to the corner of Jodenbreestraat, which was taken over first by Hendrick Uylenburgh and then by Van der Voort's pupil, Nicolaes Pickenoy, through the 1640s. See Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt's Surprising Start', 131; Dudok van Heel, 'Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy'.

24 De Roever, 'Drie Amsterdamsche schilders', 195.

25 The group was composed of local Amsterdammers and wealthy merchants and prospering craftsmen of Southern Netherlandish descent. For a full list of sitters, see Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 118.

26 For the summary of playbooks, see Conclusion.

27 Lastman's work appeared in the collection of Elbert Symonsz Pool, a wealthy merchant living in a side street between Rokin and Kalverstraat 'in de Niewenzyts Capelsteech in de Pool'. His father invested *f* 1,200 in VOC shares, and his children were taxed *f* 150 in *Kohier 1631*. See Montias database inv. 644. Lastman's work also appears in the collection of the silk merchant Hendrick Hoochcamer who paid *f* 120 in *Kohier 1631* from Warmoesstraat. See Montias database, inv. 482. In addition to inventories, the public sales

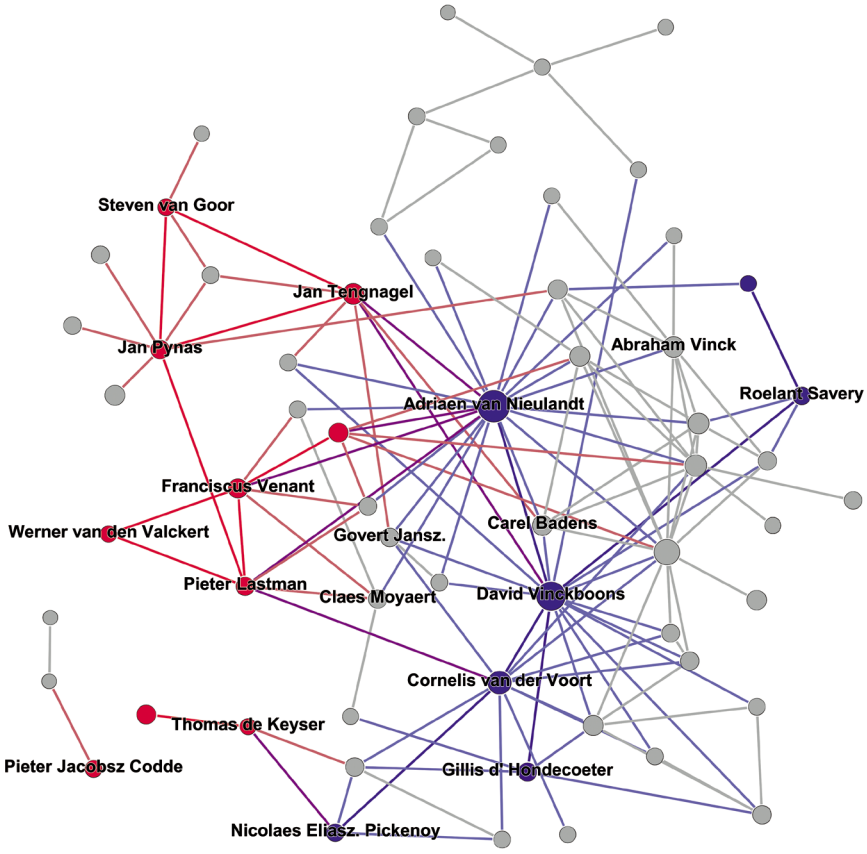

Figure 4-4: Artists active near Sint Antoniesbreestraat within the known social network among artists and art dealers in Amsterdam between 1610 and 1630. Blue nodes mark the immigrant circle and red ones the Amsterdam group. The grey dots stand for the intermediate painters/art dealers who belonged to neither group. Data source: *ECARTICO*.

The successful artistic practice on Sint Antoniesbreestraat attracted more talented painters to settle there. Among them was Werner van den Valckert (ca. 1580–after 1635), an established master who had already made a career in history painting in The Hague. Trained under Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) in Haarlem, Van den Valckert had no known connection to the Amsterdam art community and had to start over after his relocation around 1613.[28] This lack of local connection may

of famous painters in this neighbourhood all fetched respectable prices. See Montias, *Art at Auction*, 97.

28 For Van den Valckert's training, see Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 2:215–16 (as Warnard vanden Valkert).



Figure 4-5: Jan Tengnagel, *Officers and Other Civic Guardsmen of the XIth District of Amsterdam, under the Command of Captain Geurt Dircksz van Beuningen and Lieutenant Pieter Martensz Hoeffijser,* 1613, oil on canvas, 152.5 × 264.5 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-C-407. ⏎

explain why Rodenburgh oddly overlooked Van den Valckert in his 1618 poem, despite the artist's excellence in both painting and engraving.[29] Perhaps in an attempt to strengthen his ties to local artists and seek recognition from the public, Van den Valckert made a bold move. He hosted a party in his workshop (*winckel*) on the occasion of St. Luke's Feast in 1618 and shared with his guests a printed laudatory poem honouring the patron saint of painters, which was accompanied by his meticulously crafted engraving (Figure 4-6a).[30] Had Van den Valckert meant to manoeuvre himself into the circle of his worldly patrons with the praise of the saint? We may never know. But this printed poem clearly targeted the learned, likely affluent members of society and his fellow artists, the same audience that Karel van Mander praised in his *Schilder-Boeck*.

Like Adriaen van Nieulandt and Jan Tengnagel, Van den Valckert was aware of the need to cultivate social relations. He received *liefhebbers* in his studio and appeared in several *alba amicorum* (books of friendship).[31] In the album of Daniël de Kempenaer (likely the former secretary to Willem the Silent), Van den Valckert addressed De Kempenaer as both 'learned gentleman' and 'my

29 This omission is also noted in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 12.

30 Taverne, 'Lucasfeest', 22. Taverne argued that this party was definitely not the official celebration, but rather a private endeavour.

31 Buchelius recorded visiting the artist (as well as Cornelis van der Voort) in 1620 'near the St. Antoniespoort'. Buchelius, *Res pictoriae*, 47.

special friend'.[32] Although it is difficult to gauge the impact of his networking efforts on his career, he did start to receive important commissions from 1618 onwards. Through Pieter Isaacsz, Van den Valckert was chosen to create two large paintings with New Testament subjects for the Danish king Christian IV, alongside Adriaen van Nieulandt, Pieter Lastman, Jan Pynas, and Pieter Isaacsz himself.[33] Soon after, in 1620, he painted a large *portrait historié* of Michel Poppen, a relative of the three-time burgomaster and famous art collector Jacob Poppen (1576–1624) (Figure 4-6b).[34] In this portrait, the artist placed himself among the supporting figures in the central background, looking directly at the viewer. This inclusion signifies his close personal relationship with this influential family in Amsterdam. The commission from the Poppen family marked the start of a peak period in his career, leading to several significant portrait commissions from guild aldermen, institutional regents, and civic guard groups in the 1620s.[35] Van den Valckert's success in Amsterdam's art scene illustrates how top-tier painters coordinated their location choices and established their social networks, revealing the functioning of the close-knit circle of the upper-end art market.

Towards the end of this period, a younger generation of talented artists began to appear in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat neighbourhood. Unlike Van den Valckert, who built his social network from scratch, these young artists often had familial ties to the established groups of artists and their patrons. Deeply embedded in the right social circle, these artists would reap the benefits of social and spatial embeddedness. Among them was Thomas de Keyser (1596–1667), son of the prominent sculptor and architect Hendrick de Keyser, who designed both the Amsterdam Exchange and the East India House. Hendrick de Keyser befriended many renowned artists, including Cornelis Ketel, and may have sent Thomas to study under Cornelis van der Voort.[36] Though De Keyser's family was well-off, Thomas's 1626 marriage to

32 'Dit heb ick ter liefden gedaen voor den geleerden heer Daniël Cempener mijnen bisonderen goeden vrynd te Amsterdam 29 September 1623', cited in Van Oven, 'Sociale misstanden', 11. For more about De Kempenaer, see Van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek*, 10:108.

33 These paintings were part of the lost series of twenty-three paintings for the Oratory at Frederiksborg by the best Amsterdam artists, demonstrating the artistic achievements of Amsterdam at that time. For the details of this commission, see Johannsen, 'Frederiksborg Castle'.

34 Jacob Poppen, one of the wealthiest men in Amsterdam, left an estate valued at an astonishing *f* 920,000 upon his death. His notable art collection was also referenced by Van Mander. See Montias database, inv. 292.

35 In the 1620s, Van den Valckert painted several group portraits for the large merchant's guild (1622), regents of the Leprozenhuis (1624), and a *schutterij* for District 8 (1625). Van Thiel, 'Valckert', 157–68.

36 Adams, 'Thomas de Keyser', 27–42.



Figure 4-6: Werner van den Valckert, (a) *St. Luke as Patron of Painters*, 1618, etching/letterpress printing on paper, 24.5 × 20 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. RP-P-1944-3161; (b) *Portrait Historié of Michel Poppen and His Family*, 1620, oil on panel, 200 × 157 cm, Utrecht: Museum Catharijneconvent, inv. ABM S127. Photo: Ruben de Heer.

a goldsmith's daughter elevated him into an even more affluent circle.[37] His first wife, Machtelt Andries, brought not only a substantial dowry to this marriage but also several lucrative commissions from her family. Newlywed, Thomas portrayed Machtelt's uncle Loef Vriedericx, her two maiden aunts, and created four group portraits for the goldsmiths' guild.[38] These important commissions placed the talented artist directly among the most sought-after portraitists in Amsterdam. De Keyser's success suggests that, within the upper end of the art market, artistic talent and social connections played equally significant roles in shaping an artist's career.

Not all artists chose or were able to join this artistic cluster. Claes Moyaert, who had already earned his place in Rodenburgh's poem, was the only pre-Rembrandtist who never lived on Sint Antoniesbreestraat. Instead, Moyaert was, for much of his career, involved in the intellectual and cultural world of Amsterdam through his participation in the Chambers of Rhetoric (*rederijkerskamers*) and later through the

37 The economic status of both families was reflected in the couple's respective marriage pledges: Thomas de Keyser contributed ƒ1200, while Machtelt brought ƒ1650. De Keyser was living 'aan het einde van de Breestraat bij de poort' in 1626 when he married Machtelt Andries. For their marriage arrangement, see Adams, 'Thomas de Keyser', 73. For De Keyser's family network, see Battjes, 'Het netwerk'.

38 Adams, 'Thomas de Keyser', 79.

Amsterdam Schouwburg.[39] His social circle was centred around the theatre (first the Duytsche Academy and later the Schouwburg on Keizersgracht 384), leading him to reside on Singel. Through his personal relations and religious association as a devout Catholic, Moyaert would reap substantial financial rewards for his paintings while gaining access to the urban elite.[40] Likewise, Nicolaes Pickenoy inherited the connections from his teacher Cornelis van der Voort and held his ground in the 'portrait corner' near the Oude Kerk.

Within this concentration of talent, artists capitalised on the high demand of a seller's market. This unique situation afforded them the privilege of having patrons come to their cluster in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area. They also likely enjoyed the benefits of spatial clustering suggested by clustering theories, such as synergies among peers, knowledge spillovers, and a shared pool of assistants and pupils. This cluster, in turn, bolstered the artistic achievements in Amsterdam, leading to international recognition and prestigious commissions, including those from King Christian IV of Denmark mentioned earlier.[41] It also nurtured the next generation of artists, like Rembrandt and Jan Lievens, who both studied in Pieter Lastman's workshop around 1625 and later returned to the city as independent artists. Even though the Amsterdam art community continued to expand after 1630, no single artistic centre could command the entire art scene in the city as this neighbourhood did during this time. This suggests that, when supported by favourable market conditions (a seller's market), painters preferred spatial clustering to profit from its benefits while remaining embedded within the social networks of their clientele across the entire city. Painters' spatially coordinated and socially informed choices helped art in Amsterdam reach new heights.

Art trade and business adventures to the West

The high-end art production cluster near Sint Antoniesbreestraat certainly stimulated the art trade in its vicinity. Hendrick Uylenburgh (ca. 1587–1661), the art dealer best known as Rembrandt's employer, had just started to develop his business in the high-end market. By contrast, most art dealers, particularly those of immigrant background such as Hans Rem and Abraham Jansz Decker (ca. 1587–after 1625), built flourishing businesses mainly around the trade in inexpensive paintings. For most of these dealers, however, being in an area dotted with the workshops of the city's finest artists was not particularly advantageous. In fact, it could have

39 Moyaert became a regent of the Schouwburg in 1640/41. Groenendijk, *Biografisch lexicon*.

40 Moyaert came from an old and respectable Roman Catholic family in Amsterdam and died a rich man. Dudok van Heel, 'Moyaert en zijn familie'.

41 Porter, *On Competition*, 221.

been detrimental, especially for those involved in selling imported paintings from the Southern Netherlands, who were accused of violating the guild's regulations.

As early as 1608, members of the Amsterdam St. Luke's Guild protested to the city council about the illegal sales of cheap paintings, so-called 'Brabant rubbish', from Antwerp and its surroundings.[42] A year later, the signing of the Twelve Years Truce (1609–1621) may have exacerbated the influx of these imports. The painters' guild again appealed to the city council in 1613, leading to a 1617 regulation that banned the sale of paintings made outside the Seven Provinces except during the annual market (*jaarmarkt*). Stricter regulations of the same kind were issued again in 1623 and 1626, indicating that the trade in cheap paintings remained both lively and profitable and that these ready-made, inexpensive paintings were clearly in great demand. This influx of 'Brabant rubbish' eventually stimulated the production of relatively inexpensive paintings by mid-tier painters.[43]

The 'Brabant rubbish' and its promise of substantial profits also motivated Amsterdammers into action. Jacques van der Wyhen (1586–?), the pupil/assistant to both Gillis van Coninxloo and David Vinckboons, entered the business in 1617, facilitating a large sale or auction of paintings through an Antwerp dealer with two fellow art dealers, Lucas Luce and Adriaen van Nieulandt's younger brother Jacob (ca. 1594–1634).[44] Although it is unclear to what extent local art dealers helped the sales of the Antwerp imports at public auctions, they certainly used these auctions to replenish their painting stock.[45]

Art dealers likely resold their auction purchases in their own painting shops, which were often located on busy shopping streets or main thoroughfares lined with shops for durable goods (Figure 4-7).[46] Jacques van der Wyhen himself chose a location just off Dam Square on Stilsteeg, which translates to 'quiet alley' in Dutch. Contrary to its name, this 'quiet alley' was actually one of two busy thoroughfares extending from the Dam, cutting through the canal ring and leading to the Jordaan. Similarly, his collaborator Lucas Luce ran his shop at the corner of Oude Doelenstraat, a key route from the Dam to the east, frequented by traders shuttling between the Exchange and the East India House. The third collaborator, Jacob van Nieulandt, combined art dealing with inn-keeping near the Dam, capitalising on this central location. His inn and that of his neighbouring art dealer Barent van Someren

42 For more details, see Sluijter, 'Brabant Rubbish'.

43 This point is first made by Eric Jan Sluijter. He argued that the guild's protests were not so much triggered by the low quality but rather by the fact that buyers were willing to pay prices higher than these works' worth (estimated by the guild). Sluijter, 'Brabant Rubbish', 6–8.

44 This sale of *f* 2,100 is mentioned in the Montias database, Montias2 Record: 21322.

45 Montias, *Art at Auction*, 97.

46 In several instances, auctions of paintings were held in houses or inns near the Dam. See Montias, *Art at Auction*, 21, 26.



Figure 4-7: Distribution of art dealers in Amsterdam 1610–30.

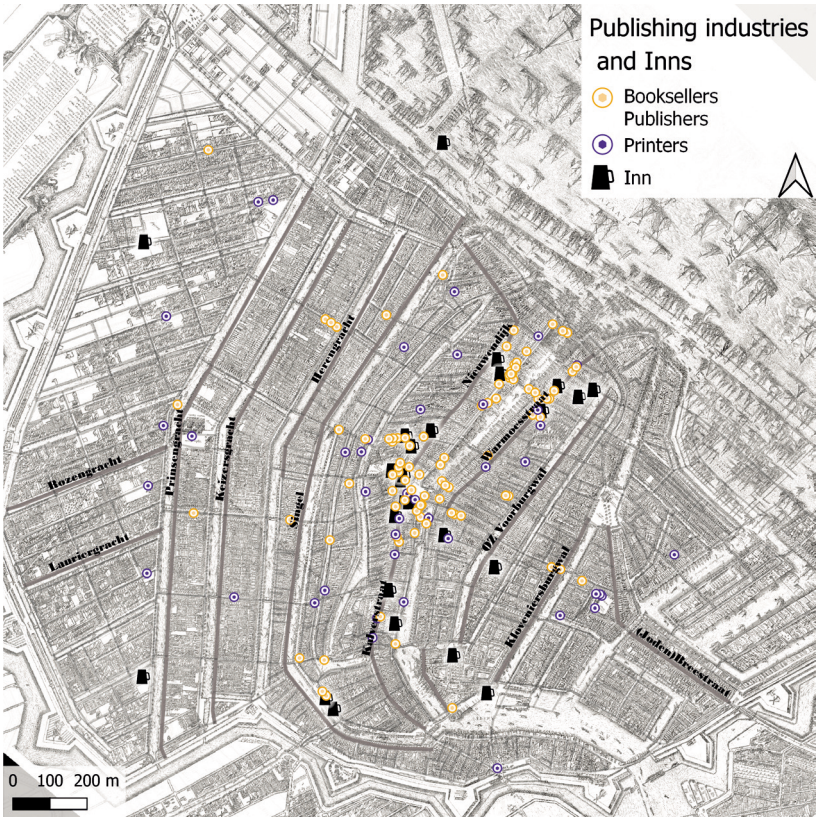

Figure 4-8: Locations of the publishing industries (bookseller/publishers) and inns. Data source: Paul Dijstelberge and Maarten Hell.

(1572–1632) hosted many public auctions, not only for paintings but also for books, taking advantage of the clustering of publishing houses in the same area (Figure 4-8).

Although most art dealers (or their families) mentioned in Chapter 3 continued to run their shops on Kalverstraat, many more gravitated towards the west side of the city. Anyone walking from Dam Square via Stilsteeg to the west in this period would have encountered at least one art dealer's or painter's shop on every street – Louys Rocourt (?–1627) on Gasthuismolensteeg, Nicolaes Coop (1592–1629) on Hartenstraat, and Jacob Lyon de Fuijter (ca. 1586–1649) on Reestraat, and upon reaching the Jordaan, Jacques de Ville (ca. 1589–1667) on Prinsengracht at the corner of Rozenstraat and his brother-in-law, art collector Jan Bassé (1572–before 1637), on the same street.[47] The 1627 probate inventory of the Antwerp-born dealer Louys Rocourt shows that he was selling mid-priced paintings from a simple, single-storey Type I house and had filled his street-facing *voorhuis* with over a hundred mostly unattributed paintings.[48] The few exceptions of attributed works in Rocourt's collection named artists from both Amsterdam and Antwerp. Like Van der Wyhen, Rocourt likely profited from selling Antwerp imports.

These dealers' location choices demonstrated their business acumen. A similar shrewdness was observed in the auction of land lots in 1614.[49] The city's decision to add an extra radial street, the Huidenstraat, to the canal ring was met with resistance from the owners of lots on nearby Wolvenstraat, who feared that an additional radial street would reduce the traffic flow passing their houses, thereby reducing the profits of their shops. Clé Lesger noted how these citizens astutely understood the influence of street networks on traffic flows and commercial potential, an acumen shared by art dealers and painters.[50]

More than simply recognising the value of important thoroughfares, art dealers saw the potential of the canal ring and the neighbouring Jordaan before everyone else. As mentioned above, several relocated to these new neighbourhoods from the traditional artistic centres near the Oude Kerk or Sint Antoniesbreestraat.[51] Gillis van Coninxloo's nephew Isaac (ca. 1580–1634) moved what Montias called 'the Coninxloo dynasty' to the corner of Leliegracht and Keizersgracht. The network

47 For De Ville's location and activities, see Montias inv. 632; and for Bassé's, see Montias inv. 832.

48 Rocourt had nothing else but paintings (including a few copies) in the *voorhuis*. It is unlikely that paintings in Rocourt's house were gathered for the convenience of the inventory, as the notary explicitly stated that the items 'remained the same as of the day of his death' ('gelyck de selve op zynen sterff dach tsynen huyse bevonden syn'). See SAA DBK 5072, inv. 562B, fols 63–65v. See also the sources of this study in Appendix I.

49 Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 110–11.

50 Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 110–11.

51 Coop moved to Hartenstraat in 1622 from Heintje Hoekstraat, the gathering spot for the Guild of St. Luke before a guild room was granted in 1619; and De Ville moved to Prinsengracht in 1619 from a house 'op de hoek van de Nieuwe Hoogstraat' near the Zuiderkerk. See *ECARTICO*.

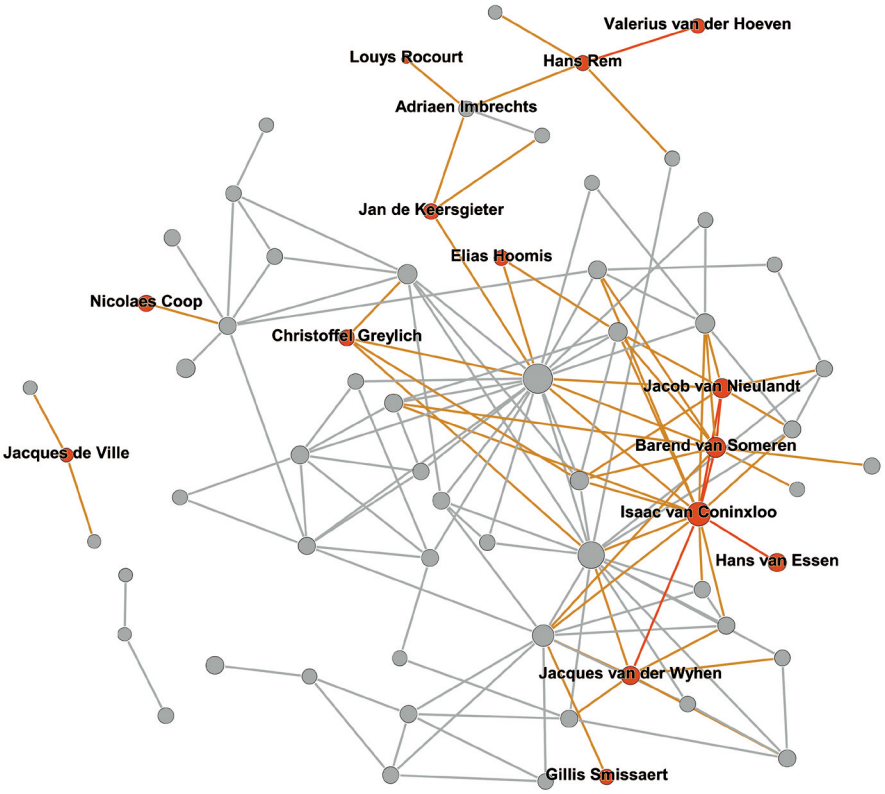

Figure 4-9: Art dealers in the social network of artists and dealers between 1610 and 1630. Orange nodes mark the art dealers, while the grey dots stand for the intermediate painters in the network.

of art dealers in Figure 4-9 shows that these pioneers in new districts were often established and well-embedded in the artistic communities through their training (like Van der Wyhen) or family contacts (De Ville, Coop, and Coninxloo). In other words, these enterprising art dealers who explored the new districts were often backed by their social networks, ensuring sufficient contacts to established artistic communities, especially that of the Southern immigrants. As we shall see in the next chapter, when the demand for paintings from affluent residents in the canal ring surged, more dealers and painters flocked to this area in the 1630s and 1640s. Art dealers' choice of popular shopping streets or busy thoroughfares indicates that they developed their own playbooks tailored for selling low- to mid-priced paintings, independent from the clustering high-end painters in the east.[52] It also

52 Uylenburgh and Le Blon were the notable exceptions.

shows that, by 1630, the mid- to lower-end art market segments had already taken shape, driven primarily by art dealers.

A burgeoning group of mid-range painters everywhere

During this period, mid-tier painters began to establish themselves as a distinct market layer, a group that produced quality, relatively inexpensive or mid-priced paintings on spec. These mid-tier painters tried to gain a foothold between the top-tier artists who vied for a few prestigious commissions and the low-end dealers who peddled scores of cheap imports. Unlike their colleagues in other layers of the market, these mid-range painters had no established playbooks to follow. On the one hand, they lacked the talent and skills to apply the playbooks of the high-end market and command prices high enough to reserve their services exclusively for a select clientele. On the other hand, they could not let the market dictate their production to the same extent as full-time dealers, due to their specialised painting skills. Confronted with an open market, mid-tier painters struggled to adjust their production to shifting market demands as quickly as art dealers, who only needed to replenish their stock. This limitation effectively prevented them from adopting art dealers' playbooks in their practices. The mid-tier painters were sandwiched between the upper-end market, which they probably aspired to join, and the mass market from which they wished to stand out. Therefore, they had to develop new playbooks and establish new coordination appropriate for their own market segment. This newly formed group was not well coordinated in this period.

Their lack of coordination was evident in their scattered location choices across the city. Some chose to stay close to the cluster in Sint Antoniesbreestraat, like Pieter Codde, who became a neighbour of François Venant on Jodenbreestraat. Some positioned themselves near the art trade, such as Hans van Essen (1590–ca. 1648), dealer Isaac van Coninxloo's brother-in-law, who lived on Warmoesstraat; and Joachim Govertsz Camphuysen (ca. 1601–1659), who ran his workshop behind the Nieuwe Kerk, not far from art dealer Jacques van der Wyhen. Several others resided on Singel. These include Camphuysen's brother Rafael (ca. 1594–1657), Pieter Stalpaert (1572–ca. 1636), Gillis d' Hondecoeter, and Jan Jansz den Uyl (ca. 1596–1639).[53] Den Uyl's brother-in-law Jan Jansz Treck (1606–1652) was a block away, living in his family house on Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal. The rest moved west, like Paulus van Hillegaert (ca. 1596–1640) and the Imbrechts brothers, Adriaen (1592–1648) and Marten (1596–1665), who settled on Rozengracht; Hendrick Cuijper (ca. 1599–after

53 Stalpaert began renting a house on Singel across the Voetboogsdoelen in 1624, eventually purchasing it in 1629. He lived there until his death, after which his widow sold the house to their son Daniël for *f* 4000. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 387–88. Hondecoeter and Den Uyl both appeared in *Kohier 1631* from this location.

1634) and Arent Arentsz Cabel (ca. 1586–1631) moved to Prinsengracht across the Noordermarkt.[54] Given that most of these painters specialised in landscapes and seascapes, genres of specialisation seemed to have little influence on painters' location choices.

Operating without an established playbook in an uncharted market territory made mid-tier artists particularly vulnerable.[55] Some, like Van Hillegaert, struggled to break into the upper layer despite their mediocre talent. Others, as Eric Jan Sluijter puts it, strove to 'supply higher-quality works that were more technically clever, appealing, interesting, and lifelike, while keeping the production costs low'.[56] Pieter Codde, for instance, offered cheaper, smaller-scale portraits and history paintings in the manner of Thomas de Keyser and Pieter Lastman.[57] These mid-tier painters sought security in the market by creating their own playbook of innovating and taking risks in painting techniques, a strategy that would transpire in the following decades.

Embedding painters' behaviours into society: Insights from *Kohier 1631*

Considering all these playbooks, how well were painters faring financially, and what was their relative status within the city? Answering these questions requires situating painters' choices within the broader urban and economic context of Amsterdam. Tax records once again prove indispensable. The 200th penny wealth tax of 1631 or *Kohier 1631*, levied on residents with an estimated wealth of *f* 1,000 or above, provided a snapshot of wealth distribution in Amsterdam after the Third Expansion.[58] Although it is difficult to gauge how accurately these tax assessments reflect a taxpayer's absolute wealth, they remain valuable for understanding the relative economic differences of upper- and middle-class citizens in various districts

54 Both the Imbrechts brothers and Van Hillegaert were very well connected. Adriaen Imbrechts served as the executor of Louys Rocourt's will, while Marten Imbrechts was a pupil of Hans Rem. Van Hillegaert, together with Frans de Keersgieter, witnessed the baptism of Adriaen van Nieulandt's son and joined the civic guard. See *ECARTICO*, Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk', 3:800–801.

55 Admittedly, personal circumstances and market life cycles may also have played a role. However, mid-tier painters were particularly vulnerable compared to others in the profession. See Nijboer, 'Een bloeitijd als crisis'.

56 Sluijter, 'Brabant Rubbish', 9.

57 Rosen, *Pieter Codde*, 22–26, 34–36.

58 *Kohier van de tweehonderdste penning* [henceforth *Kohier 1631*] published in Frederiks and Frederiks, *Kohier*. My special thanks go to Clé Lesger, who generously shared the digitised data compiled from the publication.

in Amsterdam.[59] *Kohier 1631* registered several well-known painters and/or their families and some of their known clients, aiding in the contextualisation of painters' economic status in society and location choices.

All the celebrated artists (or their families) in Rodenburgh's list who were still alive and active in Amsterdam by 1631 appeared in the *Kohier*.[60] They paid taxes ranging from *f* 5 to 40 (corresponding to taxable wealth estimated between *f* 1,000 and *f* 8,000), placing them in the lower third of this affluent taxpaying population in Amsterdam (Figure 4-10).[61] Table 4-2 lists all identified painters mentioned in *Kohier 1631* and shows that while renowned artists were able to earn a comfortable living, their profits were far from excessive. Painters' economic standing pales in comparison to that of their counterparts in the (capital-intensive) printing industries. Leading publishers like Willem Blaeu (1571–1638) and Hendrick Laurensz (1588–1649) paid significantly higher taxes (*f* 150 and 100 respectively), comparable to those of painters' wealthy patrons.[62] Some goldsmiths were also well-off, such as Hans van Merlen (ca. 1570–1637), who was taxed *f* 135. The auction of Van Merlen's estate following his death in 1637 fetched an astonishing *f* 41,755, a level of financial affluence unattainable for any of the painters active during this period.[63]

This comparison of painters' financial standings with other professionals in the creative industries reveals that, despite their fame and talent, even the most accomplished artists of this period could hardly reap substantial financial rewards from painting. Financially, top-tier painters in this period were on par with high-end craftsmen and were likely perceived as such. The considerable wealth disparities

59 The accuracy of tax assessments of wealth varied significantly. The nineteen wealthy Amsterdammers who ranked among the 250 richest individuals in the Dutch Republic had actual wealth ranging from one to ten times the amounts estimated for tax purposes in 1631. It is possible, though, that many had yet to accumulate their wealth by 1631. Guillielmo Bartolotti (1602–1658) was taxed on an estimated wealth of *f* 400,000. During his lifetime, he accumulated over *f* 1.2 million. Therefore, the relative wealth suggested by *Kohier 1631* is more indicative than the absolute net worth. The following section will compare the tax paid instead of the estimated wealth. For the wealthy Amsterdammers, see Zandvliet, *250 rijksten*.

60 The widow of the late Cornelis Ketel was taxed *f* 20 in *Kohier 1631* from Oudezijds Achterburgwal by the corner of Oude Hoogstraat.

61 *Kohier 1631* registered 3716 unique names or households out of 4187 entries. The number of households in Amsterdam is estimated at 16,051 in 1632 with a population of over 100,000. Therefore, the tax captured only the top quarter of the families in Amsterdam. For the population estimates, see Nusteling, 'Population', 74–75.

62 Willem Blaeu had his portrait made by Thomas de Keyser before 1631 (whereabouts unknown, see RKD, image 167411).

63 By contrast, Seger Pietersz, Lastman's elder brother and also a goldsmith, paid *f* 25 in taxes (likely together with Lastman). Seifert suggested that Pieter Lastman may have already moved in with Seger Pietersz by 1631 due to his declining health. It is possible that the two brothers were jointly taxed on a wealth of *f* 5000 from their residence on Sint Jansstraat. Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*.

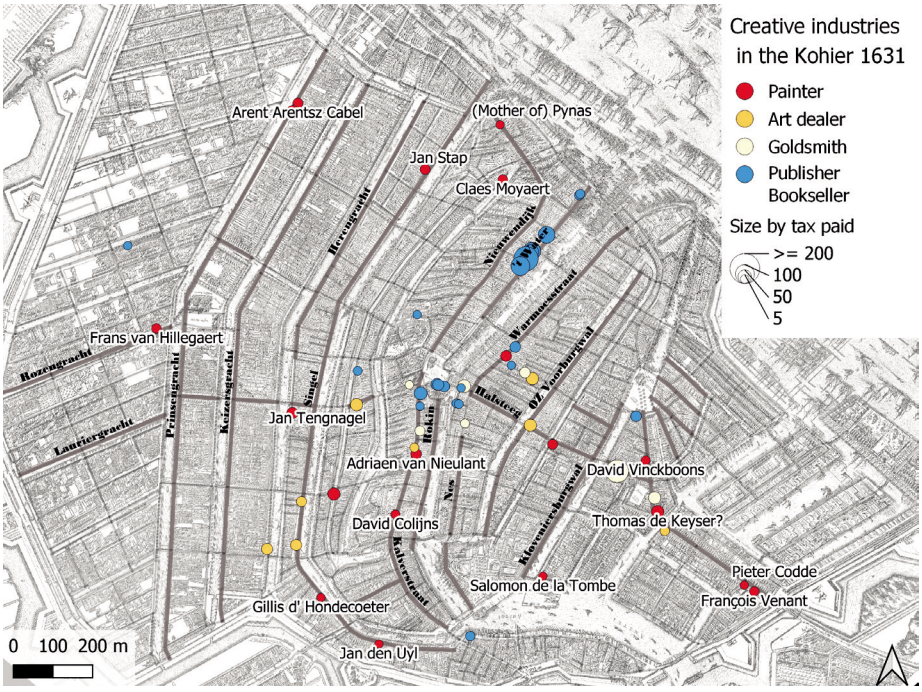

Figure 4-10: Agents in the creative industries registered in *Kohier 1631*.

Table 4-2: Tax paid by painters and art dealers in *Kohier 1631*

Painters	Tax paid
Jan Tengnagel	*f* 30
Adriaen van Nieulandt	*f* 25
(Brother of) Pieter Lastman	*f* 25
Arent Arentsz Cabel	*f* 20
Claes Moyaert	*f* 15
François Venant	*f* 15
Nicolaes Pickenoy	*f* 15
(Father of) Paulus van Hillegaert	*f* 15
David Vinckboons	*f* 10
David Colijns	*f* 10
Gillis d' Hondecoeter	*f* 5
(Mother of) Jan Pynas	*f* 5
Pieter Codde	*f* 5
Salomon de la Tombe	*f* 5
Jan Jansz den Uyl	*f* 5

Art dealers	Tax paid
Jacques van der Wyhen*	*f* 40
Isaac van Coninxloo	*f* 40
Lucas Luce*	*f* 40
Hans van Essen*	*f* 25
Michiel le Blon	*f* 20
Hendrick Uylenburgh	*f* 15
Christoffel Greylich	*f* 10
Frans de Keersgieter	*f* 5

* They were also active as painters.

among these distinguished artists suggest that factors beyond painting skills and styles influenced financial status. Judging by their backgrounds and their observed behaviour, family support and social networks emerge as key factors in the economic success of upper-end artists.

The first and perhaps less glamorous factor is family background. Artists with family support – such as Pieter Lastman and his brother-in-law François Venant – likely faced little to no financial pressure. Lastman's mother, Barbara Jacobs, was a successful businesswoman who left a legacy in 1624 comprising movable goods valued at over *f* 20,000 and several properties for her five heirs.[64] From this, Pieter Lastman received over *f* 4,500 and two houses worth an additional *f* 4,250, alleviating the financial worries associated with the unpredictable income from painting.[65] His probate inventory indicates a comfortable middle-class lifestyle in a Type II house, with a well-furnished *voorhuis* and a library of over 150 titles, a rarity among painters.[66] This financial ease seems to have given Lastman enough time to read and labour on deriving new subject matter from literature.[67] He was never married and probably did not have to pay rent, so his painting income was sufficient for his lifestyle.[68] Lastman seemed far less concerned with economic rewards than with his artistic reputation. This financial comfort might explain his lack of visible efforts in cultivating relationships, vying for commissions, actively engaging in the art trade, or (like his pupil Rembrandt) using his studio and house interior for self-fashioning purposes.[69] Unlike Rembrandt, who entered a highly competitive and somewhat saturated market in the 1630s, Lastman enjoyed the peak period of his career (1610–30) during the early stages of the art market's expansion when demand for high-quality painting exceeded supply.[70] Despite these favourable

64 Barbara Jacobs left a substantial legacy of *f* 27,008:8:0, with *f* 22,637:16:5 to be divided equally among five heirs, giving each an inheritance of *f* 4,527:11:4. In addition, immovable properties were distributed among the heirs: Seger Pieters received the family house on Sint Jansstraat valued at *f* 3,800; Pieter Lastman inherited a house and plot (*huis en erf*) on Rusland valued at *f* 1,750 and another on Taksteeg valued at *f* 2,500; Agnitie Pieters got a house and plot on Sint Jansstraat 'tegenover de Oitmoedige Coningh' valued at *f* 3,400; Claes Pieters received the house on Breestraat valued at *f* 3,300, and another on Shoutensteeg valued at *f* 550. For transcriptions, see Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, 14. Also cited in Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 119n309.

65 Pieter Lastman's will of 1628 bequeathed *f* 3,200 to his late brother Jacob's children and named his brother Segers and sister Anietje (wife of François Venant) as heirs. In 1629 this number was reduced to *f* 2,800 in his second will. SAA NA 5075, inv. 576, fols 93–94 (05-03-1628) and 571–73 (27-02-1629), not. Laurens Lamberti. For a summary of Lastman's wills, see Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, 18–19.

66 For the reconstruction of Lastman's library, see Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*, 320–23.

67 For further discussion of Lastman's reading, see Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*, 97–176.

68 Lastman's house on Sint Antoniesbreestraat was owned by his brother Claes, inherited from their mother. See note 64 above.

69 For the discussion of using interiors for self-fashioning, see Chapter 2 and Chapter 7.

70 The same reasoning applies to Lastman's brother-in-law François Venant, who paid *f* 15 in *Kohier 1631* and whose inventory was valued at over *f* 30,000 in 1634. See SAA NA 5075, inv. 597, fols 1–6. For a

market conditions, however, Lastman did not accumulate much wealth; his legacy was even less than what he inherited.[71]

For other painters, social relations became a factor of paramount importance for financial success. Jan Tengnagel and Adriaen van Nieulandt, as discussed earlier, forged connections between the very wealthy and the middle- and lower-middle classes to which they themselves belonged.[72] Such relations paid off handsomely: in 1631, Tengnagel was taxed *f* 30 and Van Nieulandt *f* 25, making them the most financially successful among the celebrated artists in Rodenburgh's poem. But these two close friends 'cashed in' on their social connections quite differently. Tengnagel, who was from a well-to-do family, climbed the social ladder by taking up posts in the Guild of St. Luke and the civic guard. He eventually moved out of Sint Antoniesbreestraat and stopped painting in 1624.[73] *Kohier 1631* registered him as a deputy sheriff living on the fashionable Herengracht in a house he bought in 1629.[74] Van Nieulandt, by contrast, took a deep dive into the prospering art trade alongside his painting career. Using his connections with the Southern Netherlands and his local relations in Amsterdam, he was able to deploy a small army of over sixty direct and indirect contacts who bid in auctions.[75] He was listed in *Kohier 1631* as living on Kalverstraat, a suitable location for his business dealings.

Similarly, Nicolaes Pickenoy, taxed *f* 15 even before entering his heyday in the 1630s, likely benefitted from inheriting his teacher Cornelis van der Voort's portrait commissions and social networks after the latter's passing in 1624. Portraitists like Pickenoy were usually better rewarded than history painters, as they fed the constant yet insatiable need of the rich to display prestige and status. In contrast, David Vinckboons and Jan Pynas, taxed *f* 10 and 5, respectively, were in the lower region among the celebrated artists. Their families provided little financial security, and their personal

summary of Venant's inventory, see Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 320n315.

71 Lastman's will of 1632 further reduced the inheritance designated for his late brother Jacob's children to *f* 2,000. Following the death of his sister in 1631, the 1632 will allocated her share to her two children (*f* 2,400 in total). Earlier in 1631, Lastman arranged the purchase of another house on Sint Antoniesbreestraat for which he borrowed *f* 3,475. This deal fell through probably due to Lastman's declining health. On the day of his sister's death, he bought a VOC bond of *f* 2,000 (with 5 per cent interest, matured in one year as listed in his probate inventory), a good investment to deposit his cash presumably meant for buying the house. For Lastman's last will, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 578, fols 213–15 (13-05-1632), not. Laurens Lamberti. For the full transcription of Lastman's inventory, see Seifert, *Pieter Lastman*, 312–20.

72 Montias, *Art at Auction*, 60–62.

73 Jan Tengnagel served as an overman in the Guild of St. Luke in 1619. Within the civic guard, he held the rank of sergeant in 1613 for *Wijk* 11, as depicted in his group portrait of 1613, and later served as provost from 1619 to 1625. From 1626 onward, he assumed the role of substitute magistrate. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 157.

74 He was listed as 'De supstituijt Tengnagel' in *Kohier 1631*. Dudok van Heel located his house as Herengracht 233, see Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 157.

75 Montias, *Art at Auction*, 60–62.

relationships offered no obvious avenue to wealthy patrons. They could certainly afford a comfortable life, but were unable to achieve significant financial success.

Some mid-range painters also leveraged family support and social connections (Table 4-2). Frans van Hillegaert, probably together with his son Paulus, was taxed *f* 15. On Prinsengracht, Arent Arentsz Cabel, whose winter landscapes and fishing scenes recurred in Amsterdam inventories from the 1630s onwards, paid *f* 20 in *Kohier 1631*. Among the several artists living on Singel, still life painter Jan Jansz Treck was likely still living with his mother, who paid a handsome *f* 40 in tax, revealing the family's solid economic standing. But Treck himself probably earned no more than his brother-in-law and alleged teacher Jan Jansz den Uyl or his neighbour, landscapist Gillis d' Hondecoeter, both of whom were taxed *f* 5. The only two mid-range painters near Sint Antoniesbreestraat, however, were just above the taxable threshold. Both Pieter Codde, who was still early in his career, and Salomon de la Tombe (1590–1660), who married Thomas de Keyser's aunt, were taxed *f* 5. Therefore, family background and social connections were crucial factors influencing painters' financial success in the art market, underscoring its nature as a social construct. Even in a seller's market, financial rewards depended more on social factors than on artistic merits or market segments alone.

Kohier 1631 also reveals that art dealing was more financially rewarding than painting, even at its highest levels (Table 4-2). Art dealers Isaac van Coninxloo, Jacques van der Wyhen, and Lucas Luce, each paying *f* 40 in taxes, were more prosperous than all of the listed painters.[76] These successful dealers, born in the South or descended from immigrant families, likely profited from the vigorous art trade between the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch Republic in the first decades of the century. Likewise, Hans van Essen, a still life painter and art dealer, was taxed *f* 25, in addition to *f* 20 paid separately by his wife and children. Van Essen traded in both textiles and art, selling fancy fabrics and paintings from his well-located shop on Warmoesstraat.[77]

Interestingly, the early dealers who established businesses on Kalverstraat before 1600 did not fare as well as their successors (Table 4-2). Frans Baden the Elder's son-in-law Christoffel Greylich, and Crispiaen Colyn's son David, continuing their family businesses, were taxed *f* 10 each, while Frans de Keersgieter, the only early settler who was still alive in 1631, was taxed only *f* 5. In contrast, Hendrick Uylenburgh, who had just begun to build his business empire, had already tasted

76 Van der Wyhen and Luce were also active as painters, but their success in the field was not sufficient to amass significant wealth through their art.

77 Van Essen and his wife's assets were valued at *f* 15,320:19:-- in an inventory from 1634, reflecting his successful business ventures in both the textile and art industries. See SAA NA 5075, inv. 568, fols 713–22 (30-01-1634).

success – he was taxed *f* 15 in 1631.[78] Likewise, Michiel le Blon (1587–1658), who was about to start his prestigious post as an agent of the Swedish crown, was taxed *f* 20 from his early residence on Singel.[79] Clearly, in the 1630s, the upper-end art dealership was on the rise.

This analysis shows that painting was not a particularly lucrative profession and that clustering in the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area did not necessarily translate into financial success for painters. While art dealing was clearly more profitable, many artists – particularly those from affluent backgrounds like Lastman and Tengnagel – focused on mostly artistic achievement and social ascension rather than monetary reward. Alongside painting skills, it was mainly family support, social networks, and positioning in the city that contributed to the economic success of painters.[80] For art dealers, by contrast, a propitious location and promising business line trumped almost everything.

Portraitists and their sitters in urban space

Beyond revealing artists' economic status, *Kohier 1631* also sheds light on the consumption side of the art market. This geo-referenced source enables an examination of the wealth of painters' clientele and a spatial analysis of the relationship between the location choices of painters and those of their clients.[81] The focus here is primarily on the clients of upmarket portraitists, who constitute the majority of the identified clients for painters. To visualise the spatial distribution of portrait sitters, this study links *Kohier 1631* to sitters in group portraits made around the 1630s identified in Norbert Middelkoop's seminal work as well as identified sitters in individual and family portraits dated to the same period from the RKD database, pinpointing 251 sitters in *Kohier 1631*, 190 of whom had known locations[82]. Figure 4-11 shows the spatial distribution of clients for four popular portraitists before 1630 – Cornelis van der Voort, Werner van den Valckert, Nicolaes Pickenoy, and Thomas de Keyser – as well as the relatively obscure Jacob Lyon de Fuijter.

78 Hendrick Uylenburgh was listed as 'Abraham van Uleburch' from the same address – the first house on Jodenbreestraat after the Sluijs (Jodenbreestraat 2) in *Kohier 1631*.

79 A 'Michiel Christoffelsz Bloem' listed in *Kohier 1631* was from the same location as Le Blon's address in 1636: 'Singel tegenover de Appelmarkt'.

80 This finding echoes Van Mander's claim that fame (as a result of talent and hard work) came before financial reward.

81 *Kohier 1631* has spatial information for most taxpayers except for members of the patrician class who were registered in a separate list without location.

82 The sitters were extracted from Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk'.

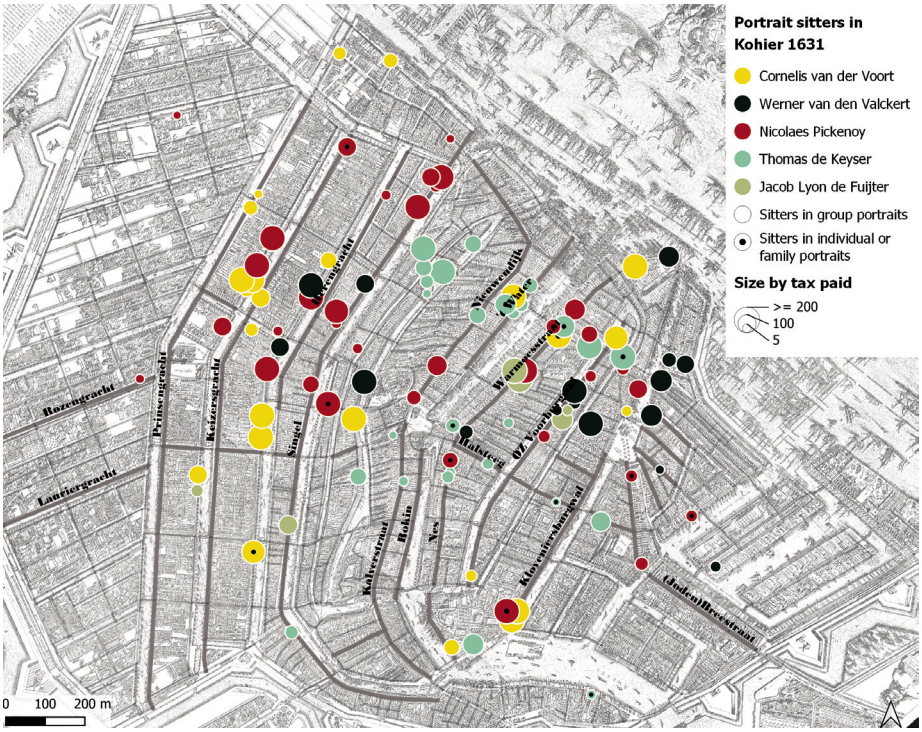

Figure 4-11: Distribution of portrait sitters listed in *Kohier 1631*, sized by tax paid and coloured by artists.

Many portrait sitters in Figure 4-11 were identified from group portraits of militia companies whose officers were selected from members of the *vroedschap* in Amsterdam and typically represented the wealthiest and (politically) reliable residents of each district. Other sitters in group portraits include regents of charitable institutions and board members of guilds, usually drawn from affluent and respectable families or representing the most successful professionals in their fields. The spatial distribution of portrait sitters in Figure 4-11 mirrors the wealth and residential locations of these urban elites and institutional leaders. In this seller's market, these illustrious members of Amsterdam society sought out painters within the artistic cluster to get their portraits painted, allowing talented portraitists to serve clients throughout the city. Portraitists like Van der Voort, Van den Valckert, and De Keyser likely drew significant traffic to Sint Antoniesbreestraat, while Pickenoy attracted clients to the Oude Kerk area.

The wealth and location of identified sitters in Figure 4-11 also highlight the diverse clientele for all portraitists who entered the market before 1630. Table 4-3, summarising the tax on 251 identified sitters listed in *Kohier 1631*,

Table 4-3: Statistics of the economic standing of individual painters' portrait clients in four kinds of group and individual portraits, measured by the tax paid in *Kohier 1631*

	Sitters per type	Sitters in militia portraits					Sitters in regents portraits				
				Tax paid (*f*)					Tax paid (*f*)		
	Painter	ptg[2]	ppl[3]	med[4]	max	min	ptg	ppl	med	max	min
Entry < 1630[1]	C. van der Voort	2	19 (21)	100	1270	10	3	12 (16)	153	700	40
	W. van den Valckert	1	11 (12)	75	200	10	5	13 (17)	240	1000	70
	Nicolaes Pickenoy	4	26 (48)	123	2000	10	1	3 (4)	200	240	190
	Thomas de Keyser	2	19 (21)	90	1100	5	1	4 (4)	405[5]	650	200
	Jacob Lyon de Fuijter	1	4 (4)	250	600	30	-	-	-	-	-
>= 1630	Dirck D. Santvoort	-	-	-	-	-	2	2 (2)	210	350	70
	Rembrandt	1	15 (18)	50	300	15	-	-	-	-	-
	Jacob Backer	1	15 (23)	30	200	10	1	4 (4)	500	600	80
	Govert Flinck	1	4 (5)	650	1600	200	-	-	-	-	-
	Sitters per type	Sitters as guild aldermen					Individual/family portrait sitters				
				Tax paid (*f*)					Tax paid (*f*)		
	Painter	ptg	ppl	med	max	min	ptg	ppl	med	max	min
Entry < 1630	C. van der Voort	-	-	-	-	-	13	9 (20)	350	1625	80
	W. van den Valckert	2	1 (4)	25	25	25	-	-	-	-	-
	Nicolaes Pickenoy	3	22 (26)	50	750	5	9	9 (13)	208	750	45
	Thomas de Keyser	4	12 (15)	43	150	5	14	9 (15)	70	300	5
	Jacob Lyon de Fuijter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
>= 1630	Dirck D. Santvoort	1	2 (4)	90	100	80	13	9 (24)	500	1625	10
	Rembrandt	1	4 (7)	30	300	10	23	9 (31)	100	875	5
	Jacob Backer	-	-	-	-	-	10	8 (14)	450	600	5
	Govert Flinck	-	-	-	-	-	13	5 (16)	360	650	115

1 Entry <1630 and >=1630: painters who entered the market before or on/after 1630.
2 pgt: the number of paintings by each category made by respective painters; pendants of a couple are considered as one.
3 ppl: the number of sitters per artist listed in *Kohier 1631*; (inside brackets) the number of all identified sitters.
4 med/max/min: The median/maximum/minimum tax paid by sitters per portraitist listed in *Kohier 1631*.
5 Thomas de Keyser's portrait of the four burgomasters was made for the occasion of Maria de' Medici's visit to Amsterdam, which may have been commissioned by Cornelis van Davelaer, the cavalcade leader, rather than the sitters themselves.[83]

83 This commission is discussed in Adams, 'Thomas de Keyser', 381–87.

indicates a wide range of patrons in group portraits, especially in militia ones.[84] These patrons spanned from urban patricians and wealthy merchants who paid over *f* 1,000 in taxes (as suggested by the maximum tax paid by people in the respective group in the 'max' column in Table 4-3) to the middle and lower-middle classes where the artists themselves belonged (indicated in the minimum tax paid by members of each group in the 'min' column). It suggests the high demand for portraits spread widely, and portraitists could attract clients of various profiles and locations to their studios.[85] This analysis also confirms Middelkoop's observation that leading figures in civic guard portraits were wealthier than institutional regents and that guild aldermen ranked lower in the financial hierarchy than other sitters in group portraits.[86] The median tax paid in Table 4-3 presents a more nuanced picture: civic guard officers were generally from the upper-middle class, taxed around *f* 100, while regents typically came from the wealthier, more exclusive upper echelons. The median wealth of guild aldermen, mostly from the more prosperous guilds such as surgeons or gold/silversmiths, was on par with that of painters, but no painters could match the capital accumulated by the *most affluent* guild aldermen they portrayed (seen in the 'max' column).

This analysis of the spatial distribution and wealth of sitters also implies that no single artist could dominate the market or exclusively cater to elite patrons. Although Van der Voort and Pickenoy clearly outperformed their peers (possibly because of their style or connections), other artists also found their way to diverse client groups throughout the city. However, attracting patrons to a painter's studio still required work. For top-tier artists, positioning in the social network and cultivating strong relationships with the urban elite became far more important than serving people in their immediate vicinity. Painters hence coordinated accordingly: Van den Valckert hosted a social gathering, and De Keyser leveraged his family connections. Van der Voort and Pickenoy, likely aided by their mixed Southern and Amsterdam heritage and traditional styles, embedded themselves into broader networks, securing prestigious commissions. Their clients, often from affluent areas like Herengracht and Keizersgracht, mirror Amsterdam's wealth distribution after the Third Expansion (Figure 4-12).

84 Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk', 35–39, 80–82.

85 It should be noted that many sitters in these artists' portraits remain unidentified, and wealthy, powerful individuals are more likely to be identified than those from the upper or upper-middle classes. While unidentified sitters may lower median wealth values, the maximum and minimum wealth figures are less affected by incomplete identification. Nevertheless, this incomplete identification makes direct comparisons of wealth levels across artists' client circles unreliable.

86 Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk', 35–39.

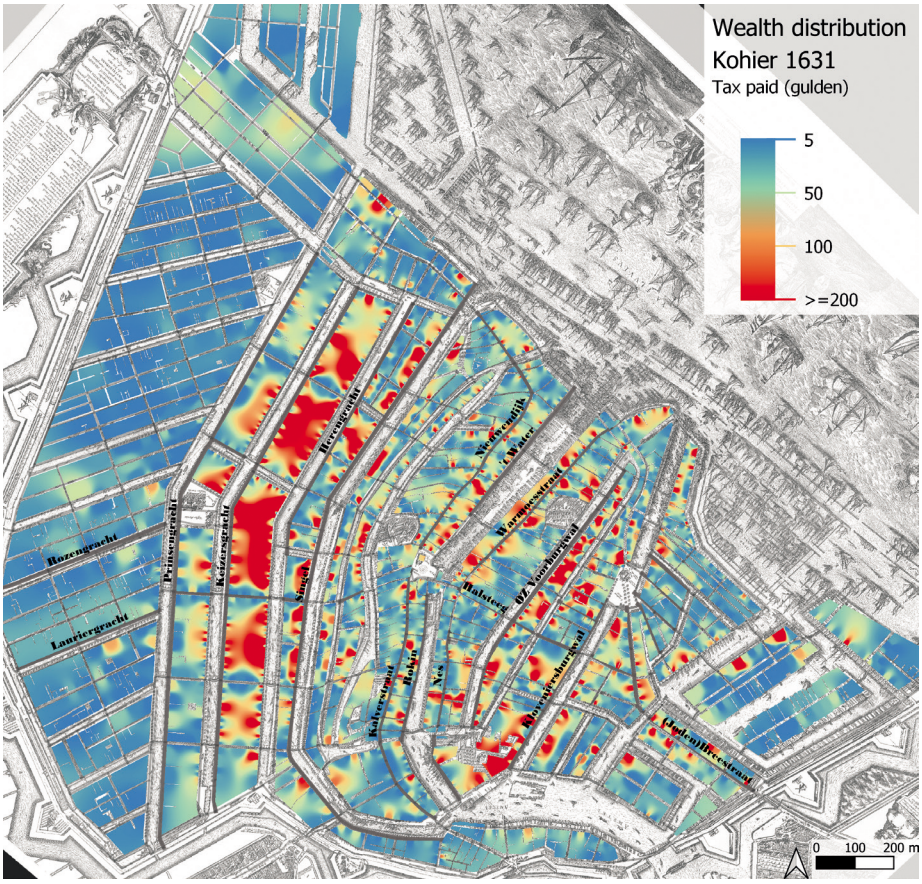

Figure 4-12: Wealth distribution of Amsterdam in 1631 (excl. regent families who registered no address).

Conclusion

The period from 1610 to 1630 represents what Claartje Rasterhoff calls a 'critical juncture' in the development of the Dutch art market.[87] In Amsterdam, these formative years witnessed the establishment of a fundamental, tripartite market structure within a favourable seller's market. Responding to these favourable market conditions, painters collectively coordinated their behaviours, focusing on social and spatial embeddedness, and exhibited three sets of behaviours according to their market segments. Top-tier painters formed their own cluster while attracting clients beyond the painters' immediate vicinity. While social embeddedness remained critical in securing commissions, the increasing demand for high-quality paintings

87 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*, 211.

brought patrons to painters in their cluster. This privileged era, however, did not boost artists' financial gains beyond sustaining a middle-class lifestyle, unlike their counterparts in the publishing industry. Alongside upmarket painters, art dealers in the middle- and lower-end markets sought propitious locations along thoroughfares or shopping streets away from the painters' cluster. They were also quick to recognise the potential of the newly developed Jordaan area after the city expansion and relocated accordingly. By 1631, their business acumen had helped them accumulate more wealth than most prominent painters in the city. Mid-tier painters, by contrast, struggled to establish their own playbook and their position in the city. They were not well coordinated, scattering across the city and attaching themselves to either the upper or lower segments of the art market. These market segment-specific playbooks not only shaped the artistic landscape in Amsterdam but also increased market segmentation and product differentiation. These, in turn, influenced the artistic production of various groups of painters, their economic well-being, and their choices of clientele.

In this seller's market, talented artists showed a tendency to cluster spatially among themselves rather than follow their patrons. The social and physical proximity likely benefitted their art as well as their business, as clustering theories suggest. However, the tendency for painters to cluster – and reap its benefits – was more pronounced when market conditions were favourable, as there was little need to impress clients with elaborate social skills and self-presentation at home. However, this advantageous market situation was short-lived and never returned during the rest of the seventeenth century.

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5. Tripartite Art Market in Urban Space, 1630–1650

Abstract: As the number of painters in Amsterdam increased and competition intensified after 1630, a single spatial cluster could no longer accommodate artists' diverse career aspirations. This chapter's socio-spatial analysis suggests that painters strategically coordinated their behaviours by selecting various locations and cultivating relationships aligned with their specific career goals and market segments. This collective behaviour reinforced the tripartite structure of the art market and brought about several distinctive playbooks, some of which actively promoted artistic innovation as a strategy to gain a market edge. Consequently, painters' coordinated actions became a dynamic process driving up artistic creativity and innovation.

Keywords: market coordination, artistic innovation, network, *verponding*, Amsterdam art market

In the two decades after 1630, Amsterdam reached international prominence and became a world centre of commerce. Thomas Asselijn, in his 1653 prose cited at the beginning of this book, extolled Amsterdam's trade, wealth, and art, emphasising how the city's burgeoning trade generated wealth that fuelled the demand for luxury goods, including art.[1] Just as commodity and security trading fostered diverse, specialised financial markets where merchants jostled for profits, the booming art market saw cultural entrepreneurs – painters and art dealers – vie for prestigious clients, lucrative commissions, or simply rapid turnovers of their painting stock.[2] By 1650, Amsterdam's flourishing art market had attracted a plethora of highly skilled artists who were drawn by the large local market and the manifold international trade links. The city was teeming with painters producing a large number of artworks in varying styles, genres, and qualities. As Constantijn Huygens, the renowned

1 For the connection between wealth and the growth of the local art market, see Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam'.

2 Notable studies include: Schwartz and Bok, *Pieter Saenredam*; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'; Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*; Jager, *Mass Market*.

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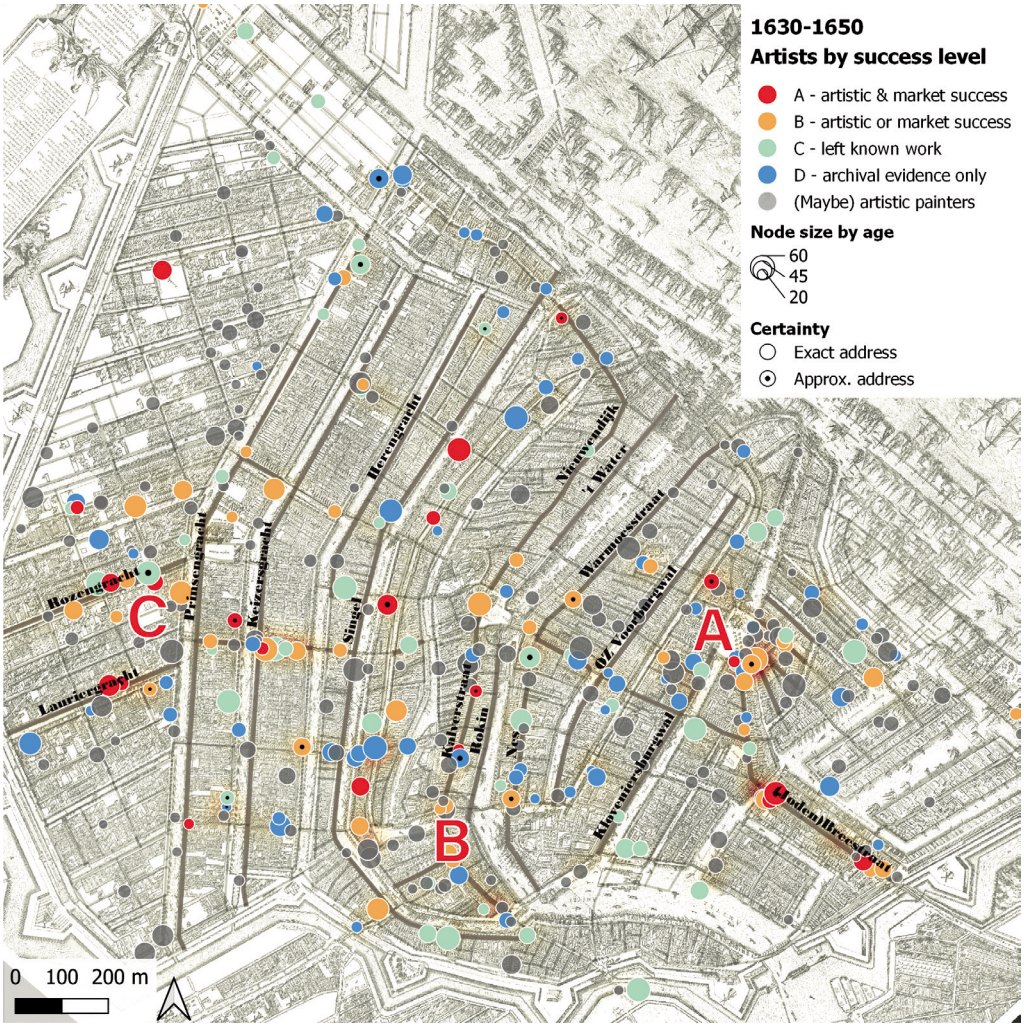

Figure 5-1: Distribution of painters in Amsterdam 1630–50, coloured by rank, size by age. The letters stand for three clusters: A – Sint Antoniesbreestraat, B – Kalverstraat/Rokin, C – Rozen-/Lauriergracht.

art connoisseur, observed in 1631, paintings were ubiquitous.[3] The art market in Amsterdam was becoming saturated, and the abundance of skilled painters intensified competition.[4] What had been a seller's market, favouring artists and dealers, transformed into a buyer's market where consumers held greater power in choosing painters and artworks to their liking.[5]

3 Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, 70–71.

4 This market saturation is discussed in Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod', 124–27.

5 This competitive market is described in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 19.

Parallel to the rapid expansion of the art market was the remarkable change in the spatial distribution of wealth and residences of patrons revealed in *Kohier 1631* after the Third Expansion in the 1620s (see Chapter 4). Many patrons within the upper crust of urban society had moved to the canal rings in the west, away from the artists' cluster in Sint Antoniesbreestraat in the east. These changes in wealth distribution and market conditions challenged the existing playbooks, reshaping the coordination between painters and their clients as well as among painters themselves. Artists and art dealers had to adapt and create new playbooks. Consequently, this period marked a shift in the artistic landscape as the single artistic centre in Sint Antoniesbreestraat dissolved and its artists relocated to various parts of the city. This new artistic landscape, in turn, increased the segmentation and specialisation in the art market, prompting painters to make stylistic and iconographic innovations in their paintings and cater to specific audiences. Montias interpreted these specialisations and artistic inventions as product and process innovations to attract buyers and reduce costs.[6] Expanding upon his insights, this chapter presents socio-spatial examinations of painters' collective behaviour in this period.

Figure 5-1 visualises the distribution of painters in Amsterdam between 1630 and 1650. At first glance, painters spread throughout the entire city. A closer look reveals three major artistic hotspots: the areas around Sint Antoniesbreestraat-Nieuwmarkt (A), Kalverstraat-Rokin (B), and Rozengracht-Lauriergracht (C), each attracting painters with distinct profiles. Corresponding to multiple clusters in the city, several behavioural patterns emerged. This chapter first explores the collective behaviour of artists operating in market segments across clusters.

The high-end art market

High-end artists in this period adopted different strategies from their counterparts before 1630 who had clustered in a single artistic centre. These artists, working primarily or even exclusively on prestigious projects, were instead distributed across the city (Figure 5-2). Two playbooks informed their locational choices: 1) the *crème-de-la-crème* of Amsterdam's art world chose to stay close to their prestigious patrons and used prime locations and luxurious houses to gain access to their clients' circles; 2) other prominent artists preferred to cultivate professional networks with dealers and colleagues, deploying Amsterdam's international trading network.

6 Montias, 'Cost and Value', 456–57.

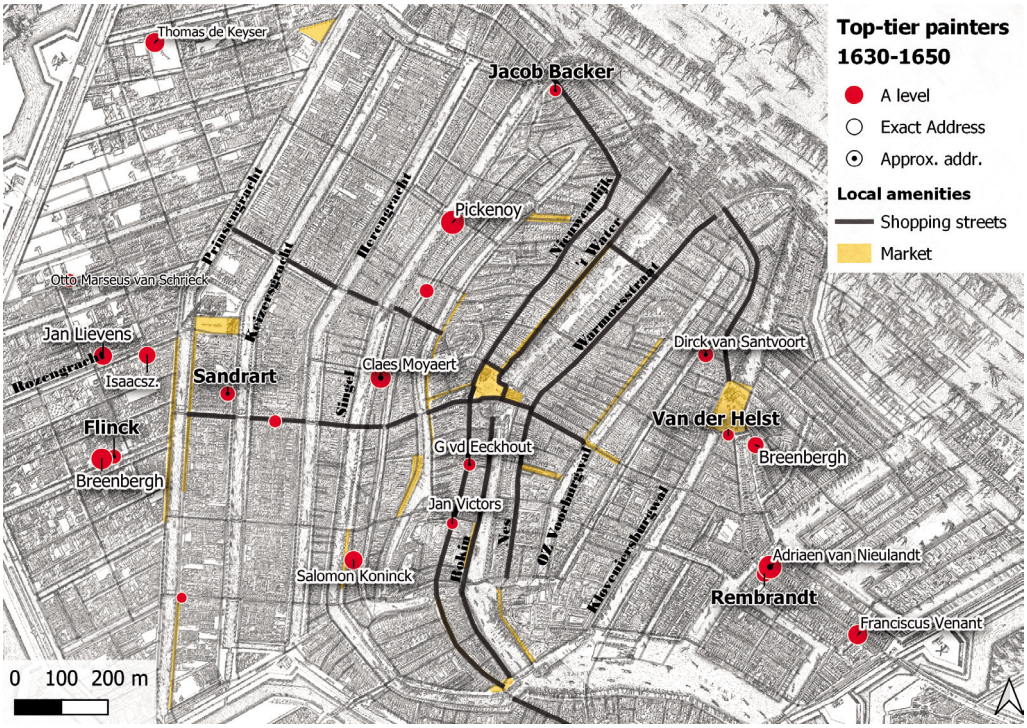

Figure 5-2: Spatial distribution of top-tier painters in Amsterdam 1630–50. Data source: Artists – *ECARTICO*, shopping streets and markets – Lesger 2013, Kistemaker 1984.

Embedded in space and network: High-end artists' endeavour to blend into elite circles

High-end artists often mirrored the behaviour of the urban elite by cultivating personal and professional networks. According to contemporary painter and art theorist Samuel van Hoogstraten, top-tier artists needed to navigate the circles of political and cultural elites with ease.[7] Similar to merchants, upmarket artists grew their businesses through far-reaching personal networks. Like urban patricians, they strengthened their social positions through heritage, marriage, and exchange of favours. Thanks to Erna Kok's detailed account of the artistic and socio-economic strategies of prominent artists who worked primarily on portrait commissions, we know that high-end painters as cultural entrepreneurs operated their painting businesses where personal relationships were paramount, second only to talent and skill.[8] Kok outlined four rubrics – values, norms, practices,

7 Weststeijn, *Visible World*, 68–69.

8 Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'.

and symbols – in 'the economy of service and return' that dictated the interactions among urban elites.[9] At its core, common values—honour, reputation, and trust—underpinned relationships, with norms of binding reciprocity and solidarity safeguarding mutual interests. In addition to emphasis on values and norms, the upper class maintained their relationships through face-to-face contact and communicated through symbols like houses, art collections, and even the artists they befriended.

Although artists and their works might seem like mere decorations in elite social life, studies showed that successful A-list artists readily catered to the urban elite's accustomed modes of interaction.[10] A handful of painters likely maintained decent relationships with local art collectors or high-end art dealers who helped painters reach collectors beyond Amsterdam. However, little is known about this relatively small market for connoisseurs.[11] In general, face-to-face contact and courteous conduct were essential in elite circles. When these well-heeled art buyers were offered ample options by many gifted artists in town, they could afford to be highly selective and would have appreciated – even expected – well-mannered personal interactions with the artists before acquiring their artworks.[12]

These patrons' expectations about social ties and behaviour made clustering less appealing to top-tier painters. In the 1630s, changes in wealth distribution revealed in *Kohier 1631* (discussed in Chapter 4) and the presence of many talented painters (as shown in Figure 5-1) had put an end to the short-lived 'seller's market', where clients and patrons were drawn to the artists' cluster. High-end artists after 1630, instead of clustering among themselves, spread out in the city to cultivate and maintain strong social ties with their often exclusive circles of clients, especially when seeking to establish themselves in Amsterdam. Figure 5-3 shows the distribution of sitters in portraits made around the 1630s and the early 1640s, painted by artists who peaked in their careers in Amsterdam between 1630 and 1650. It shows that many of Rembrandt's clients, who commissioned individual or family portraits, were from the more affluent area in the east around Kloveniersburgwal and his own neighbourhood, Jodenbreestraat. Rembrandt had limited reach to audiences along the Herengracht and Keizersgracht areas.[13]

9 Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers', 28–31.

10 Dickey, 'Portraits of Prosperity', 156.

11 The market for collectors, albeit small, likely functioned much like the high-end market for portraiture, where personal relationships with connoisseurs and art dealers played a key role for painters.

12 Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'.

13 The same limited reach is observed in the experience of Jacob Backer, whose patrons either came from the area around Damrak and Nieuwendijk near his parental home or shared the same Mennonite faith that he held fast. Unlike Flinck, Backer did not change his religious affiliation for his career. Van der Veen, 'Jacob Backer, schets van zijn leven', 14–16; Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers', 87–88.

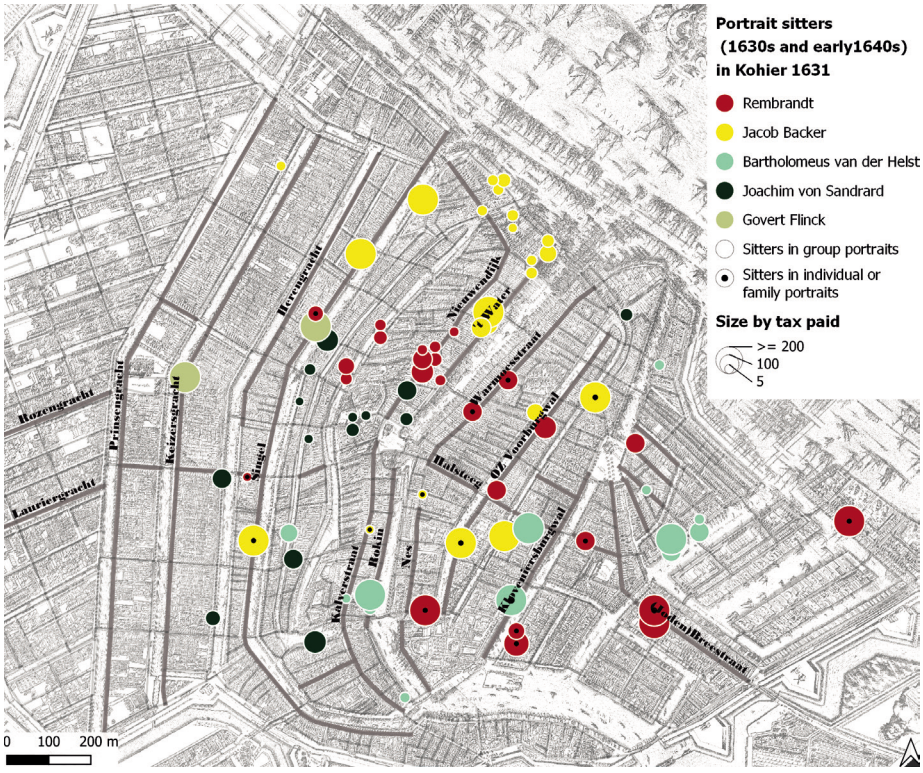

Figure 5-3: Spatial distribution of sitters in the portraits made in the 1630s and the early 1640s, who were listed in *Kohier 1631*(Many of Flinck's clients belonged to the regent class and therefore had no address mentioned in *Kohier 1631*). ⏎

Unlike Rembrandt, who remained on Jodenbreestraat, several other portraitists like Pickenoy moved out from this neighbourhood to the west.[14] None of Rembrandt's best pupils, Govert Flinck (1615–1660) and Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680) in particular, stayed in their master's neighbourhood. Likewise, when Jan Lievens moved back to Amsterdam in 1644, he did not return to Sint Antoniesbreestraat, where he (and Rembrandt) had studied under Pieter Lastman around 1620. Instead, Lievens established himself on Rozengracht, not far from the residence of his first portrait sitter in Amsterdam, Andries Trip, on Herengracht.[15] Lievens, Flinck, and Bol

14 Pickenoy moved to Singel in 1647. See *ECARTICO*. De Keyser had almost given up painting and turned to his family business in architecture and sculpture. He moved to Lindengracht in the Jordaan, joining his brother(s) for the convenience of his new vocation. Adams, 'Thomas de Keyser', 439–41.

15 Jaap van der Veen argued that the portrait was made for Andries Trip's mother, the widow of Elias Trip. In 1647 she resided in a house on Herengracht, likely at Herengracht 58, with a rental value of *f* 900 per year. This house was within a ten-minute walk of Jan Lievens's studio on Rozengracht 66. It is likely for similar reasons that Rembrandt moved to the same canal in the 1650s. Van der Veen, 'Patronage for Lievens', 30–31.



Figure 5-4: Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Militia Company of District VIII under the Command of Captain Roelof Bicker*, ca. 1640-1643, oil on canvas, 235×750cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-C-375. ⏎

relocated to where their connections took them – just as their predecessors had clustered around the Oude Kerk in the late sixteenth century (see Chapter 3).

Among the artists who competed at the highest level in this period, Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613–1670) was the only one who launched his career near Sint Antoniesbreestraat, on Nieuwmarkt. He chose this location not to huddle with his master Pickenoy or Rembrandt on Jodenbreestraat but to present himself to the Walloon community to which Van der Helst's wife belonged. This strategic choice, similar to those made by Hans Bol in the 1590s (see Chapter 3) and Gerard de Lairesse in the 1660s (see Chapter 7), proved highly rewarding for Van der Helst, as commissions from distinguished members of the nearby Walloon community helped to launch his career as a leading portraitist.[16] Shortly thereafter, he received a commission for an exceptionally large civic guard portrait, measuring over two by seven meters, of District Eight led by Roelf Bicker from Oude Schans. This notable artwork (Figure 5-4) featured many members who resided along Geldersekade, a canal running from the IJ to Nieuwmarkt, where the artist lived.[17] As seen in Table 5-3 later in this chapter, around 1650, Van der Helst was able to rent a grand house near Nieuwmarkt – a residence even more costly than Rembrandt's on Jodenbreestraat – while keeping a smaller one near the Sint Jorishof next to the Walloon church. From both locations, he maintained close connections with his religious affiliates and his new patrons on Kloveniersburgwal and beyond.

Anchored in Nieuwmarkt, Van der Helst engaged in the cultural life on the east side of the city, exemplified by his frequent visits to the *Oudezijds Heerenlogement* (Gentlemen's Inn) for social gatherings.[18] Berckheyde depicts this luxurious hotel

16 Van Gent, 'Bartholomeus van der Helst', 48–49.

17 Van Gent, 'Bartholomeus van der Helst', 207–13.

18 Van der Helst was accused of misconduct in the *Heerenlogement* by his fellow painter David de Decker in 1653. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:401.



Figure 5-5: Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, *The Grimburgwal with the Oudezijds Herenlogement*, 1665–85, oil on panel, 31.8 × 41.3 cm, Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. SB 329.

in Figure 5-5, which lodged many distinguished guests, including Amalia van Solms (1655) and Willem III van Oranje (1672), whose painting collection would be auctioned at the same spot in 1713.[19] The *Heerenlogement* also marked the south end of Fluwelen Burgwal, the grandest part of Oudezijds Voorburgwal, where upmarket art dealer Johannes de Renialme (1594–1657) ran his business.[20] Ferdinand Bol, after his first marriage in 1653, moved to the same area, just steps away from the *Heerenlogement*.[21]

For artists operating at the highest level of the market hierarchy, choosing the right location was critical to their success. A well-positioned studio facilitated direct contact with patrons and clientele in their cultural and social lives, embedding artists into their target social circles. This meant that artists would use the same 'language' as their patrons, which was often communicated through

19 Hell, 'Amsterdamse herberg'. For the auction, see Jonckheere, *King William's Paintings*.

20 Renialme was buried from 'Fluwelen Burgwal' (SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1100A, fol. 76). The exact location of his residence at the time of his death remains uncertain. Despite examining the *Verponding* registers (discussed later in this chapter), no record of him appears in the tax records. However, his 1657 post-mortem inventory reveals that he resided in a grand Type III house, where he conducted his art dealership from the *grote zaal* and the upstairs *voorkamer*. For his inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 1915, fols 663–92 (27-06-1657). For a detailed list of his house, see Appendix III, table A3-1.

21 Bol moved into a house on 'Fluweleburgwal bij de Bank van Lening' where he remained until 1669, likely after completing the decoration of the Trippenhuis in the mid-1660s. The Bank was situated approximately 150 meters north of the *Heerenlogement*. Jacob van Loo (1614–1670) joined this area in 1656. Despite being as talented as Bol and Van der Helst, Van Loo, as Judith Noorman noted, worked only for the scions of regent families, but not the men in power, and was 'outranked by the *crème-de-la-crème* of Amsterdam's art world.' Noorman, *Art, Honor and Success*, 82.

symbols.[22] That is why a well-located, nicely furnished house – a symbol of the artist's status – seems to have been the final step to full acceptance into the highest social and cultural circles. No artist used symbols more effectively than Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688), a direct rival of Rembrandt from his arrival in Amsterdam in 1637 until his departure in 1645. He settled directly into the best possible location on Keizersgracht, only a few houses from the busy radial street, Reestraat, leading to the city centre (Figure 5-2). This location, handpicked by Sandrart's successful dealer cousin Michiel le Blon, demonstrated Le Blon's business prowess as a high-end art dealer.[23] This house enhanced Sandrart's image as an erudite, cosmopolitan artist and proved to be an immediate success. Although no inventory of Sandrart's Amsterdam residence is known, his impressive art collection fetched over *f* 20,000 in a private sale and subsequent auction upon his departure.[24]

Besides Sandrart, Rembrandt's gifted pupil Govert Flinck mastered hobnobbing and understood the importance of self-fashioning for a better position in the market coordination process.[25] In 1644, he bought a large double house only 300 meters away from Sandrart-Le Blon's mansion on Lauriergracht for *f* 10,000.[26] This relocation also signalled a shift in his social circles. After serving his Mennonite and family connections in the 1630s, Flinck turned to the powerful regents and affluent merchants from the Remonstrant network residing along the grand canals in the 1640s.[27] His new house, built on two plots near the property of burgomaster Joan Huydecoper (1599–1661), was sizable for the Jordaan.[28] It was probably the only area where he could afford a house large enough for self-fashioning while remaining close to his new acquaintances. His interior setting was certainly important for his high-profile friends and patrons to visit. Houbraken tells us that Andries de Graeff, a regent and burgomaster of Amsterdam from the powerful De Graeff family, frequented Flinck's

22 Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers', 28–31.

23 Michiel le Blon purchased a house on Keizersgracht (no. 226) in 1639 and this house was valued in the *Verponding* registers (discussed later in this chapter) at an annual rent of *f* 450 in 1647, significantly higher than Rembrandt's house, which was valued at *f* 350 in the same register. SAA 5044, inv. 184, fol. 242v.

24 Perhaps rivalling Sandrart's self-fashioning in his grand house, Rembrandt bought his large house on Jodenbreestraat and filled it to the brim. For an overview of Rembrandt's house interior, see Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display'; Zantkuijl, 'Het huis waar Rembrandt woonde'; Meischke, 'Het Rembrandthuis'.

25 The self-fashioning of high-end painters is discussed in Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'. Rembrandt, Flinck, and Bol used self-portraits for this purpose. For Rembrandt's self-fashioning practice using his house, see Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display'.

26 Dudok van Heel, 'Schilderhuis'.

27 For the change of clientele, see Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers', 71.

28 Huydecoper's grand house on Lauriergracht is visible on Berckenrode's map of 1625. The *Verponding* registers valued the annual rent for this property at *f* 425 in 1647.

house and emphasises that Flinck also often visited De Graeff in the evenings and other high and mighty on Sundays after church.[29] Flinck's hobnobbing obviously became legendary, and his symbolic presentation with his house seems to have been well received. After Flinck's sudden death in 1660, Hendrick Uylenburgh took over the house for his equally high-end art dealership. The successful use of Sandrart's and the Flinck/Uylenburghs' houses illustrates how locations and house interiors, on top of networking and artistic skills, embedded artists into the elite circles they served. Like successful publishers of the period, painters' behaviours 'epitomised the qualities of the Dutch Republic itself: ingenious, beautifully crafted, and with a sly awareness of the psychology of affluent consumers'.[30]

Conversely, Rembrandt, despite buying a grand house on Jodenbreestraat in 1639, struggled to integrate into high society. He seemed very much drawn to Sandrart's image as a learned and worldly artist. Perhaps in an effort to emulate this image, Rembrandt selected a residence with an exquisite façade and subsequently filled it to the brim with luxurious objects.[31] The detailed inventory of Rembrandt's house following his bankruptcy reveals how Rembrandt put his house, his collection, his painting practice, and himself 'on display'.[32] But he never deigned to learn the rules and decorum to fully embed himself into the high-society cultural business, as complying with these social norms was at odds with Rembrandt's ambition and lifestyle.[33] His grand residence served its symbolic function, but it did not work for Rembrandt, simply because he did not abide by the underlying codes that preceded the symbols: practices, norms, and core values, as Kok explained.[34] His house on Jodenbreestraat, albeit extravagant, was not conveniently located to facilitate casual interactions with elite patrons. His discourtesy already botched the patronage he had enjoyed as a youthful prodigy from Prince Frederick Henry and Constantijn Huygens, and his imprudent spending and

29 Houbraken tells us that Flinck 'des avonds moede van schilderen, ongenood hem [Andries de Graeff] ging bezoeken' and that on Sundays after church Flinck visited men like 'de Heeren Ontfanger Uittenbogaert, en de Schepenen Pieter en Johan Six'. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 2:22.

30 Pettegree and Weduwen's characterization of the publishing industry fits perfectly with the painting industry. Pettegree and Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, 286.

31 For the size and façade of Rembrandt's house, see Dudok van Heel, 'Miskoop', 7; Zantkuijl, 'Het huis waar Rembrandt woonde'.

32 Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display'. My inventory analysis shows that Rembrandt probably set the new trend of using the *zijkamer* (side chamber) as a painting gallery, as he filled the walls of the *zijkamer* to the ceiling with about forty paintings, a quantity on par with houses of sought-after painters decades later, like Karel Dujardin (1678), Michiel van Musscher (1705), and Jan van der Heyden (1712).

33 Scholars have convincingly linked Rembrandt's precipitous fall to his failure to follow social norms. For Rembrandt's financial difficulties, see, among others, Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*; Schwartz, *Rembrandt, zijn leven*. For discussions about the social norms specifically, see Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers', 37–40; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 50–52.

34 Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers', 28–31.

family affairs eventually distanced him from his friends and patrons in the 1650s, leading to financial turmoil and social isolation from which he never recovered.

Latching onto the trade network: Relations and locations

Networking and self-fashioning were essential for the social and spatial embeddedness of top-tier Amsterdam portraitists who mainly targeted local clientele. For history painters, however, their achievement was not as closely tied to locational choices. While knowing the right person at the right time remained important, history painters had greater flexibility to leverage connections within and outside Amsterdam, and could even tap into the international market, where professional relationships with fellow artists/art dealers and connections to trade networks were equally important.

The surviving high-end Pre-Rembrandtists continued to cultivate and maintain professional relationships with fellow artists and art dealers in the 1640s, adhering to the playbook from the previous period. Although the old close-knit artistic network had shrunk greatly after the passing of Jan Pynas in 1631 and Pieter Lastman and David Vinckboons in 1633, the remaining artists of that generation still attracted sufficient audiences for their paintings in a traditional style through their established networks until they fell out of favour in Amsterdam by the 1650s. Claes Moyaert, for instance, stayed on Singel and remained close to his longstanding connections to the Schouwburg and the Catholic community. Through these ties, he got involved in several important cultural commissions between 1630 and 1650, such as the design for the Joyous Entry of Maria de' Medici (1638), the decoration of the new Schouwburg (1639/40), the regent portrait for the Oude Mannen en Vrouwengasthuis (1640), and altarpieces for several Catholic house churches in Amsterdam.[35] In 1639, Moyaert, along with Adriaen van Nieulandt, Salomon Koninck (1609–1656), and Isaac Isaacsz (1599–1665), received a prestigious and lucrative commission from King Christian IV of Denmark to decorate the Great Hall in Kronborg Castle.[36] These four painters came from a small, close-knit network comparable to that of the Pre-Rembrandtists (Figure 5-6). Isaac Isaacsz was the son of Pieter Isaacsz, the artist and art dealer who introduced Amsterdam history painters to the Danish court and was also Van Nieulandt's teacher. Salomon Koninck, the youngest of the four, studied with Moyaert and married one of Van Nieulandt's daughters. Their

35 Dudok van Heel observed that Moyaert had his most productive period between 1635 and 1645, during which many pupils, like Salomon Koninck, Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683), Jan Weenix (1619–ca. 1663), and Jacob van der Does (1623–1673), were likely working in his studio. Dudok van Heel, 'Moyaert en zijn familie', 29–30. Moyaert's commissions for altarpieces are discussed in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 167–68.

36 A document of 1646 shows that Moyaert was supposed to have received *f* 800 for both paintings, the equivalent of an annual salary for a skilled craftsman. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:264–66. Also cited in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 165–66.

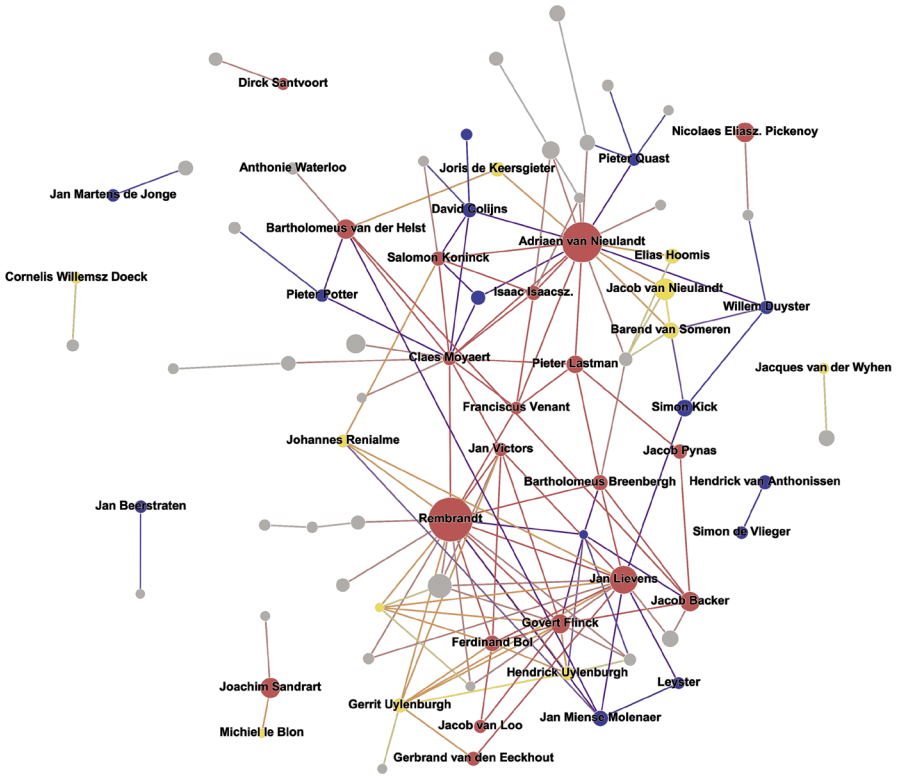

Figure 5-6: Social network of painters and art dealers 1630–50: high-end painters (red), mid-range painters (blue), and art dealers (yellow). Intermediate painters not belonging to any of the three groups are marked in grey. ⏎

established, strong social ties granted these artists certain freedom in choosing where to live. As a result, they were dispersed across the city (Figure 5-2).

In this period, Koninck may have been the most successful within this small network, as his works appeared in many inventories in Amsterdam and beyond, indicating a broad reach comparable to that of earlier artists like Cornelis van der Voort and Nicolaes Pickenoy.[37] Koninck lived on Singel behind the Appelmarkt between Heisteeg and Raamsteeg. He appears to have established strong relationships with prominent art dealers across the city, including Marten Kretzer on Keizersgracht, Johannes de Renialme on Fluwelen Burgwal, and Lodewijk van Ludick possibly on Nes. These connections likely helped him reach a broader

37 According to Sluijter, Koninck's collectors came mainly from Keizersgracht and Herengracht, Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal, Fluwelen Burgwal (part of Oudezijds Voorburgwal), Oude Turfmarkt, Prinsengracht, Rozengracht and Lauriergracht. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 211.

audience beyond his immediate location and social circle. Koninck's success attests to the rise of professional dealers in Amsterdam's art world. These upmarket connoisseur-dealers, well-versed in the nuances of the economy of service and return, thrived by integrating themselves into the upper echelons of Dutch society. These dealers' connections to international trade networks provided prominent painters like Koninck greater flexibility in choosing their locations. Moyaert and Koninck stayed on Singel; Van Nieulandt returned to Jodenbreestraat in 1645, becoming Rembrandt's neighbour across the street; and Isaac Isaacsz settled in the Jordaan, first on Rozengracht in 1635 and then on Lauriergracht in 1647, near many notable artists like Jan Lievens, Govert Flinck, and later Bartholomeus Breenbergh (1598–1657).[38] These history painters developed a playbook that allowed them to reach a wide audience through close social connections with art dealers.

Other painters took advantage of a different network – Amsterdam's trading network. They did so by launching their businesses from the centre of international trade: the area around the Amsterdam Exchange. Among them were the alleged pupils of Moyaert and Koninck, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674) and Jan Victors (1619–1676), who entered the market from the bustling shopping street Kalverstraat. Van den Eeckhout grew up on Kalverstraat, where his grandfather Pieter and father Jan Pietersz ran successful businesses from the corner house of Spaarpotsteeg, an alley that linked Kalverstraat to the Exchange.[39] Gerbrand's family house, valued highly in the *Verponding*, was steps away from the print publisher Cornelis Danckerts (1604–1656) and the painting shops of the Keersgieter and Baden families.[40] Van den Eeckhout likely worked on commissions because his production – thirteen paintings in the 1640s – was too low to bear the risk of working on spec.[41] However, as Eric Jan Sluijter pointed out, few paintings by him were found in Amsterdam inventories during his lifetime, and he received almost no public commissions despite his network

38 Around Lauriergracht, Isaacsz would have met Bartholomeus Breenbergh (1598–1657), who since 1648 rented a house near Govert Flinck's residence owned by the powerful burgomaster Joan Huydecoper. If Breenbergh rented the whole house owned by Huydecoper, he must have been quite wealthy. By then, Breenbergh had likely turned to seeking profit from the trade network as a merchant, as he was registered as a *koopman* after 1650 and had painted little after 1647. After Breenbergh's relocation to Lauriergracht and then Prinsengracht, his works appeared in the inventories of collectors and art dealers in the west, mostly Prinsengracht. For inventories, see Montias Database, inv. 42, 1153, 167.

39 Pieter van den Eeckhout was known as a *koopman* with no specific trade mentioned; Jan Pietersz was a goldsmith. For the source of their professions, see *ECARTICO*.

40 'Pieter van der Eeckhout' was taxed *f* 20 in *Kohier 1631*. A 'Jan Pietersz van Eckhout' appeared in the *Verponding* register and was taxed based on a rent of *f 300* for his house on Kalverstraat and another adjacent (back?) house on Spaarpotsteeg for *f* 80. (SAA 5044, inv. 283, fols 169–169v). Two houses south, we find Cornelis Danckersz renting a larger house for *f* 530 (SAA 5044, inv. 283, fol. 170). Joris de Keersgieter owned two houses, *f* 250 and *f* 275 from the same street. (SAA 5044, inv. 283, fol. 175). See the discussion of *Verponding* in the last section of this chapter.

41 For Van den Eeckhout's production, see Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 348.

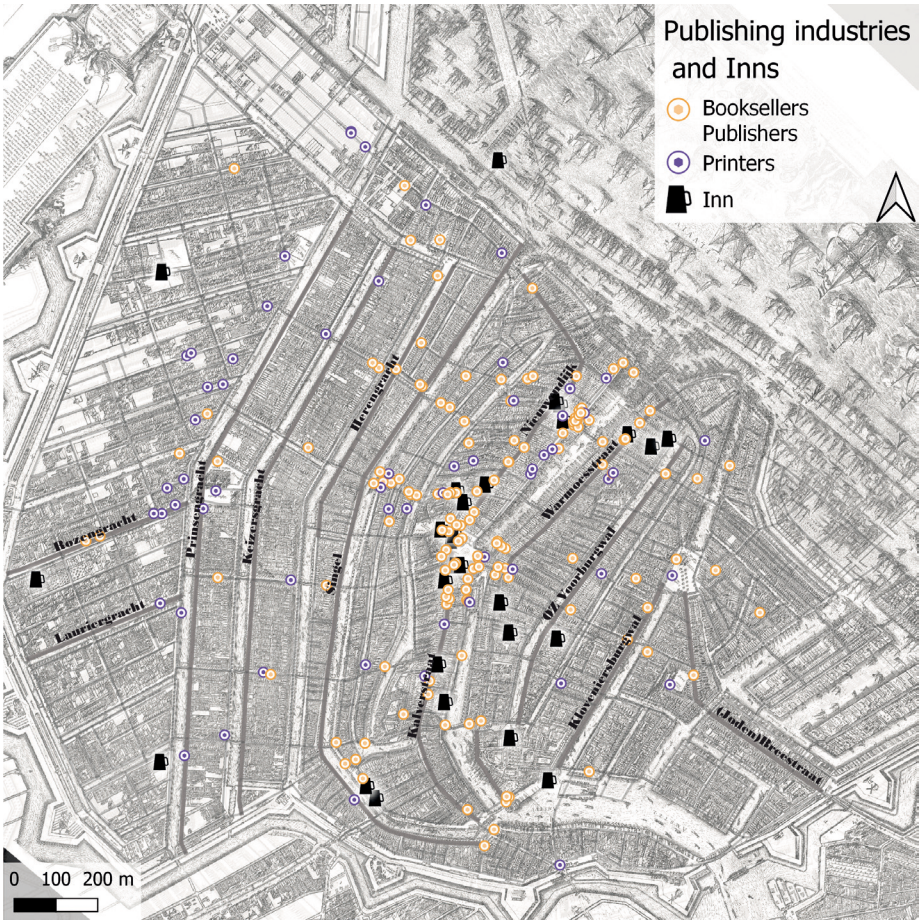

Figure 5-7: Locations of the printing industries (bookseller/publishers) and inns 1630–50. Data source: Paul Dijstelberge and Maarten Hell. ⏎

encompassing almost the entire cultural world of Amsterdam.[42] Sluijter suggested that he might have worked for one or several art dealers who exported his works abroad, a hypothesis that aligns well with his chosen location.

Growing up and launching a painting career from Kalverstraat near Dam Square, Van den Eeckhout sat at the centre of international trade. His neighbours and friends were art dealers, print and book publishers (Figure 5-7), and other

42 Sluijter enumerated Gerbrand van den Eeckhout's many connections to famous poets, upmarket artists and collectors, and large publishers. However, there were only two 'public' commissions given to Van den Eeckhout: two group portraits of the aldermen of the coopers' and wine controllers' guild, in 1657 and 1673, respectively. Sluijter suggested that he secured these two commissions through his brother, who had been the dean of the guild. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 359–61.

merchants engaged in international trade, many of whom congregated in inns around Dam Square and near the Exchange. In addition to his connections with Amsterdam's cultural elite, Van den Eeckhout likely maintained close relationships with neighbouring art dealers and booksellers, who might have solicited sales and commissions for him.[43] He seemed content with producing few but steady streams of paintings over time (on average 2.5 paintings per year), according to Sluijter.[44] He was under little financial pressure as he came from a well-to-do family like Pieter Lastman and inherited a house on Kalverstraat, a propitious location for his career.[45]

Jan Victors, unlike Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, did not have strong family connections to advance his career. However, he still leveraged Amsterdam's trade network to his advantage. Growing up on bustling commercial streets Sint Jansstraat and later Nieuwe Hoogstraat, Victors likely understood the value of auspicious locations and profited from his father Louis's house on Rokin next to the Chapel of the Heilige Stede.[46] Working primarily in relatively large formats (between one and a half and two meters wide), Victors, like Van den Eeckhout, probably relied on commissions, at least during the 1640s. Also like Van den Eeckhout, Victors received few public commissions and was rarely mentioned in Amsterdam's inventories.[47] But unlike Van den Eeckhout, he had almost no connections with poets and humanists, and even Houbraken is silent about him.[48] Although scholars have speculated about his social circles, ranging from Calvinistic merchants to affluent Jews, Victors apparently did not target any exclusive group. Instead, he likely benefitted from his conveniently located workshops near the Dam or the Amsterdam Exchange, areas frequented by merchants and traders. Throughout his career, Victors remained in locations conducive to business, first on the lively Kalverstraat/Rokin and later along thoroughfares (Hartenstraat and Leidsestraat).[49] By situating his workshop in these areas, he made

43 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 361.

44 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 348.

45 Van den Eeckhout was already rather well off in 1655 at the age of thirty-four. Sluijter argued that it was due to the inheritance from his father, who passed away in 1652. See Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 346. He probably stayed in his family house for a long time because there is no evidence that he sold the house, and no other document suggests he lived elsewhere. By the time of his death in 1674, he had relocated to Nieuwe Herengracht near Vijzelstraat. See *ECARTICO* for the burial record.

46 This house had an annual rental value of *f* 340, as indicated in the *Verpondings* register. SAA 5044, inv. 283, fol. 171v, 'Louis Victor per Jan Sobben'. Louis Victors paid the 'property tax' of *f* 42:10:-- each year from 1650 to 1654.

47 Sluijter mentioned that one possible explanation is that Victors's works were fixed chimneypieces and therefore not listed in inventories. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 393.

48 That Jan Victors is missing from contemporary literature is observed in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 362. Sluijter estimated that the selling price of his large history works fell somewhere between *f* 100 to 150, which would earn him about *f* 600 a year.

49 Victors was mentioned as being on Kalverstraat (more likely Rokin) when he posted the banns in 1642, and then on Hartenstraat in 1644. He likely returned to Kalverstraat/Rokin after his father's death

himself and his work visible to a wide range of potential clients who were attracted to his signature large Old Testament scenes. When demand for religious subjects declined, Victors adeptly transitioned to producing genre scenes of comparable large scale, suggesting that his clientele valued his artistic skill and style as much as, if not more than, the religious themes of his earlier works.[50] Although targeting the wealthy and relying on commissions, Jan Victors demonstrated the business acumen of the artists who faced an open, anonymous market by picking the right locations.[51]

In short, painters in the high-end market exhibited two main playbooks: the most fashionable ones followed their patrons and clientele, and the rest relied on their social relations or stayed close to trading networks. This socio-spatial examination reveals that top-tier artists may have been located in various places in the city, but this dispersion was not random. Rather, it resulted from following playbooks of embedding into elite circles spatially and socially, cultivating professional networks, and staying close to the international trade centre. These distinctive playbooks expanded high-end painters' target audiences and offered incentives to innovate and develop their own styles, which subsequently pushed the diversity and quality of paintings in Amsterdam to new heights.

Mid-tier painters' divergent responses to the place between patronage and the open market

Mid-tier painters in Amsterdam, who produced relatively high-quality paintings on spec, understood the value of thoroughfares, shopping streets, and markets. From this perspective, they behaved more like well-to-do craftsmen and shopkeepers than their upmarket counterparts. As mentioned earlier, during the Third Expansion, artisans and tradesmen of means deliberately purchased land along major thoroughfares to capitalise on propitious locations and traffic flows. Similar behaviours and location choices are observed among the mid-tier painters who sold their works to the anonymous open market. Although a burgeoning group of mid-range painters had already emerged across the city between 1610 and 1630, it was only after 1630 that this market segment started to gain real momentum.[52]

in 1658 and stayed until 1666. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 2:597–98.

50 In 1648 Jan Victor depicted a pig slaughter scene in a relatively large painting (79.5 × 99.5 cm) now in the Rijksmuseum (inv. SKC259), and painted a few more in the 1650s of similar sizes.

51 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 362–73; Miller, 'Jan Victors', 25–26. The propitious location only helped Victors in the blooming years of the art market. As we will see in Chapter 6, changes in the market eventually forced him to seek his livelihood elsewhere.

52 For the application of the product life-cycle to the cultural industries and their implications, see Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*.

Sandwiched between the high-end market and the lower-end mass production, mid-tier painters were vulnerable. Lacking financial security from patronage, they faced a large but fickle market. At the same time, they aimed for high artistic quality, seeking to distinguish themselves from both direct competitors and the trite mass production sold in the low-end shops. This uncertainty prompted many to pursue commissions and even patronage, often with little success; others collaborated with art dealers or took on side jobs unrelated to painting. Although mid-tier painters varied widely in genre, style, and skill, their collective behaviour reveals shared strategies. They adhered to established playbooks by choosing commercially advantageous locations to mitigate risk while also attempting to disrupt the existing coordinated stage through innovation to gain a competitive edge in the market. It was precisely this precarious position that spurred high levels of productivity and creativity, resulting in what Montias described as 'product and process innovations'.[53] These painters introduced new styles, subject matters, and (often cost-cutting) techniques – more than any generations before or after them – in an effort both to respond to existing demand and to stimulate new interest. Their adaptability and willingness to innovate allowed them to move beyond the constraints of existing market coordination and to establish a new dynamic where they had a competitive advantage. To effectively reach and engage their audience, painters needed to stay close to where sales were made. Consequently, these mid-tier painters formed three neighbourhood-level clusters with distinctive profiles: Kalverstraat, Nieuwmarkt, and the thoroughfares leading to the Jordaan.

Springboard for outsiders and newcomers: Kalverstraat

Kalverstraat, due to its unique position in the city and its popularity for various businesses, had become a launchpad for both emerging and established artists. Running southward from the Dam to the markets at the old Regulierspoort and Munt, the street was not just a commercial hub but also a cultural and social hotspot.[54] Its northern section housed many large inns and bookshops where public auctions were frequently held, not far from Gerbrand van den Eeckhout's family house and Joris de Keersgieter's art shop. Midway, Kalverstraat provided access to the *Burgerweeshuis* (the Civic Orphanage), the Chapel of the Heilige Stede (a pilgrimage site), the medieval Begijnhof cloister, and the English chapel. The southern section was a bustling junction where traffic from two city gates – the Heiligewegspoort and the new Regulierspoort – converged. It was also home to the hall of the furniture makers' guild (*Kistenmakerspand*). The far south end of

53 Montias, 'Cost and Value'.

54 The *Ossenmarkt* is visible on Berckenrode's map. For more details on the livestock market held each October, see Kistemaker, Wagenaar, and van Assendelft, *Amsterdam marktstad*, 36–42.

Kalverstraat bordered the back of the *Voet-* and *Handboogdoelen*, gathering places for civic guard officers and beyond.[55] Notably, on 20 October 1653, the *Voetboogdoelen* hosted the banquet for St. Luke's Feast, drawing many key figures in Amsterdam's cultural and art scene.[56] The combination of heavy traffic flow, lively commercial activities, and proximity to social and cultural venues made Kalverstraat, especially the south end, an ideal location for both newcomers and established artists seeking to expand their audience in Amsterdam.

Jan Miense Molenaer (ca. 1619–1668) and his wife Judith Leyster (1609–1660) exemplified artists who leveraged such strategic positioning (Figures 5-8 and 5-9). Both were established masters in Haarlem by the early 1630s, recognised for their genre scenes and portraits. The couple moved to Amsterdam in 1637 following their marriage. Initially, they settled into Gasthuismolensteeg, a radial artery leading from the Dam to the Jordaan area, where Louys Rocourt had run his painting shop a decade earlier.[57] They relocated in 1639 to the southern part of Kalverstraat near the *Doelen* and remained there until 1648. This location must have worked so well for them since Molenaer pledged even his paintings in 1655 to acquire a house on Voetboogstraat (*Voetboogdoelen*), probably only steps away from his old residence.[58]

This location was clearly well suited to Molenaer and Leyster. The couple was versatile in art, enterprising in business, and perhaps cheerful and gregarious – evident in their self-portraits (Figures 5-8 and 5-9) – much like the numerous merry company scenes they both produced.[59] Archival records show that Molenaer was actively socialising with a diverse group of artists, friends, and clients on or near Kalverstraat. These social connections likely helped him sell a wide range of work, from Ostade-like low-genre farmer scenes to polished, bright portraits and elegant company scenes, which explains his highly diverse oeuvre. This location also eased the couple's integration into the artistic circles in Amsterdam. For instance, gentleman-dealer Johannes de Renialme, who was already familiar with Molenaer before the move, later owned twenty of his paintings (including two sets of five small *tronies* and *bortjes*) valued at *f* 271.[60] The art dealer Jan I de Keersgieter, whose

55 Hell, 'Amsterdamse herberg'.

56 Postma and Blok, 'Amsterdamse St. Lukasfeesten'.

57 This choice of location may have been prompted by Molenaer's first prestigious large commission for the wedding portraits of Willem van Loon and Margaretha Bas in 1637 (Amsterdam: Museum van Loon, inv. no. 158). The Van Loon family was living on Keizersgracht.

58 Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:15. Voetboogstraat (and Handboogstraat) was constructed after 1650 when the city granted permission for houses to be built on the former shooting ranges of the *Hand-* and *Voetboogdoelen*. Molenaer likely bought one of the newly built houses around 1655.

59 For the couple's cheerfulness and versatility, see Weller, 'Molenaer'; Westermann, 'Comic Mode'; Hofrichter, *Judith Leyster*, 23. For archival records, see Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:1–36, and 7:154–61.

60 Molenaer testified for a deal Johannes de Renialme made in Haarlem in 1637 after Molenaer moved to Amsterdam. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:11–12. In a 1640 inventory of Renialme's stock stored outside



Figure 5-8: Jan Miense Molenaer, *Self-Portrait*, 1639/40, oil on canvas, 87 × 68 cm, Munich: Alte Pinakothek, inv. 4872.



Figure 5-9: Judith Leyster, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1630, oil on canvas, 74.6 × 65.1 cm, Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, inv. 1949.6.1.

family had been living on Kalverstraat since the 1590s, appeared alongside Molenaer as a witness.[61] Jan Lievens was among the couple's guests and stayed with them in 1644.[62] Judith Leyster, renowned in her own right during her early days in Haarlem, likely contributed to her husband's production when she was not overwhelmed by household chores.[63] Her foray into flower still life and contribution to the *Book of Tulips* could have been influenced or encouraged by the neighbouring publisher Cornelis Danckerts.[64] Molenaer and Leyster effectively leveraged the social and economic advantages of their location near Kalverstraat. Unlike Jan Victors, who limited his subject matter due to his orthodox Calvinistic beliefs, Molenaer proved more pragmatic. Although from the Reformed Church, he likely cultivated relationships with Roman Catholics in the Kalverstraat neighbourhood, connections that

his house, Molenaer appeared again in this list of appraised paintings. The average price for his works was around *f* 25. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:13.

61 Von Bode and Bredius, 'Molenaer in Amsterdam', 69.

62 Hofrichter, *Judith Leyster*, 18.

63 For the impact of childbirth and nursing on Leyster's career, see Hofrichter, 'Intimate Look'.

64 An example of Leyster's contribution to a Book of Tulips is kept in the Frans Hals Museum (inv. no. oboe 73-52.1). Cornelis Danckerts and later his son lived, from 1640 onwards, in 'Calverstraet, bij de Regulierstooren in de Danckbaerheyt' (by the south end of Kalverstraat), no more than 50 to 100 meters away from Molenaer-Leyster's house. Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *Boekhandel*, 1:167–68, 2:1251.

apparently helped him secure an altarpiece commission for the Catholic church in Assendelft.[65]

Still life painter Cornelis Brisé (ca. 1621–1670) is a notable example of how Kalverstraat served as an incubator for young artists launching their careers. After returning from Rome as an independent painter in 1644, Brisé moved to Kalverstraat, where he seems to have made a living selling ready-made works while presumably trying to solicit commissions.[66] No work has passed on to us from this period, and his works in inventories were only valued between *f* 3 to 8.[67] Within a decade, he had moved a few blocks west, to Singel overlooking the *Doelen*, near where Italianate landscapist Jan Asselijn (ca. 1613–1652) settled in the early 1650s and close to the powerful burgomaster and art collector Joan Huydecoper.[68] This relocation and his weak tie with neighbouring Huydecoper marked a turning point in Brisé's career. He was present at the St. Lucas Feast in 1653 held across the canal alongside Huydecoper and others, and his contribution of festoons to the banquet was mentioned by poet Jan Vos (1610–1667), who also resided on Kalverstraat (no. 220).[69] From this point forward, Brisé started to receive public commissions: first came the profitable painting restoration job at the *Voetboogdoelen* (1655), then the large trompe l'oeil for the Treasury in the new City Hall (1656) (Figure 5-10), and finally the organ shutter for the Oude Kerk (1658–63).[70] These commissions marked a significant rise in his professional standing. However, the (weak) ties with neighbouring influential figures like Huydecoper did not last, and Brisé struggled to find similar patrons thereafter. His decision to live on Singel might have overextended him financially.[71] Brisé became the keeper of the Schouwburg

65 Schillemans, 'Katholieke kerken', 50. There were no fewer than eight house churches near Kalverstraat and Singel. For the list of Catholic churches in 1656, see Van Eeghen, 'Eigendom', 271–77. For their altarpieces, see Schillemans, 'Altaarstukken'. I thank Eric Jan Sluijter for both references.

66 Before leaving for Rome, Brisé was married from Bloemgracht in the Jordaan in 1640, likely from his parental home.

67 Dudok van Heel, 'Cornelis Brize'.

68 Dudok van Heel, 'Cornelis Brize'. Asselijn returned to Amsterdam in 1647 and was buried in 1652 from 'Westzijde Singel bij de Heiligewegspoort tegenover het Leidse veer.' It is likely that he stayed in this location since 1647, but we cannot be sure. Therefore, he is not included in the deep maps of 1630–50 but will appear on the maps of the 1650s.

69 Weber, *Lobtopos*, ch. 2. For the overall design of the town hall, see Fremantle, *Townhall*.

70 Dudok van Heel argued that it was Brisé's neighbour Huydecoper who gave Brisé the commission for the Treasury. Huydecoper was not only one of the two burgomasters (together with Cornelis de Graeff) in charge of the decoration of the new City Hall but was also the head of the *Voetboogdoelen* in 1653. In 1655 Brisé was paid *f* 325 for the 'cleaning'(*vernissen*) of paintings in the *Voetboogdoelen*. See Dudok van Heel, 'Cornelis Brize', 14.

71 By the end of 1655, Brisé had already accumulated rent arrears amounting *f* 198. SAA NA 5075 inv. 1115, fol. 340 (16-12-1655), not. J. van der Ven, cited in Dudok van Heel, 'Cornelis Brize', 10n11.



Figure 5-10: Cornelis Brisé, *Documents from the Treasury*, 1656, oil on canvas, 192 × 247 cm, Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. A 3024. ⏎

in 1663 and found new buyers from its regents.[72] After two years in the post, Brisé left Amsterdam in 1665 for Paris, probably in search of a more promising career as a still life painter.[73]

Kalverstraat also served as a springboard for painters who worked exclusively for the open market. Amsterdammer Pieter Jansz Quast had an ill-fated start to his career on Molensteeg (where portraitist Pieter Pietersz achieved his success in the 1590s) and left Amsterdam in 1634.[74] After living in The Hague for a decade, Quast returned to Amsterdam in 1644 as a painter of low-life guardroom and peasant scenes and settled on Kalverstraat between the *Doelen* where Molenaer and Leyster were living at the time.[75] Two accounts of violent incidents at Quast's Kalverstraat house suggest that he had rented a typical Type II house and was quite hospitable, as both incidents took place in relatively private spaces (the kitchen and *schilderkamer* upstairs).[76] However, similar to Brisé, Quast found living on Kalverstraat financially burdensome and later moved to the nearby Nes.[77] By the time of his move, he had already gained recognition, and his works appeared in many inventories, valued at a few guilders apiece. Quast died in 1647 on Nes. His probate inventory shows

72 Two regents of the Schouwburg – Willem van Campen (1611–1661) and Jan Meures (1604–1672) – owned a few works by Brisé. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 2:426, 4:1120–21.

73 Brisé had no luck in Paris as a painter either. This forced his second wife Marrike Marcus (wed. 1663) into trading with Spain, which brought in substantial capital. Levert, 'Étrangers', 308.

74 Quast's paintings were inventoried at the request of presumably his creditors. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:273–74.

75 Bredius, 'Quast', 70–71.

76 Bredius, 'Quast', 70–71.

77 Bredius, 'Quast', 71.

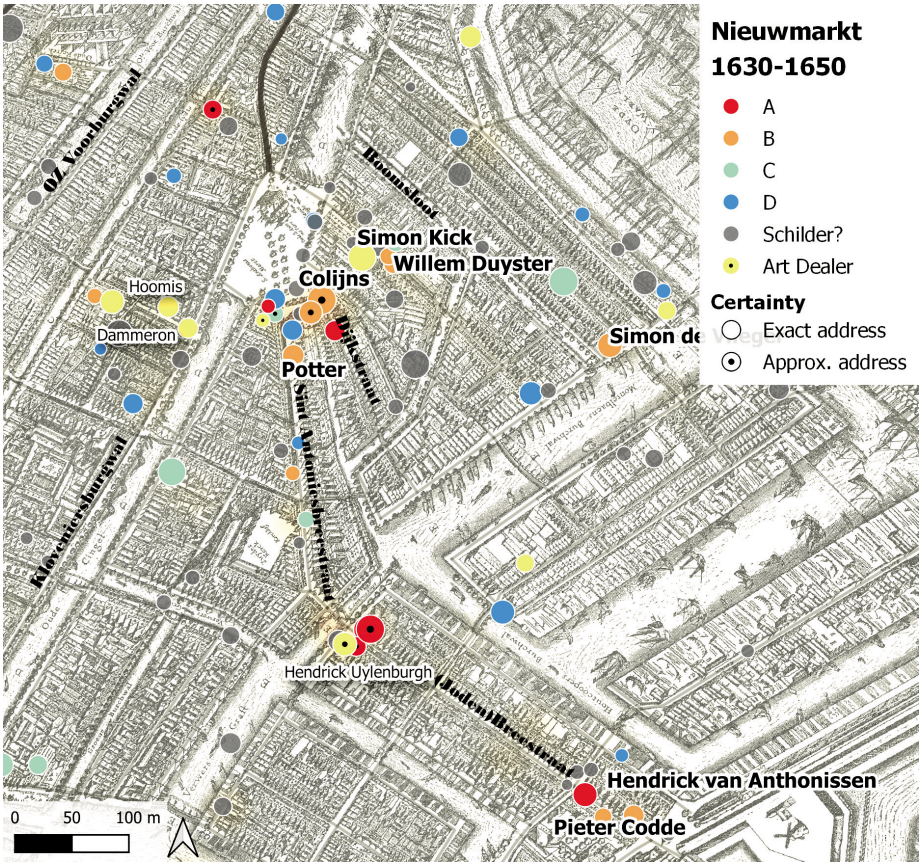

Figure 5-11: Painters near the Nieuwmarkt/Sint Antoniesbreestraat 1630–50.

he again lived in a Type II house, where he worked in the upstairs *voorkamer* and received his clients in the well-appointed *voorhuis,* decorated with porcelain and other luxury objects.[78] Although he did not die wealthy, he was not impoverished, as is often assumed.[79] Quast's experience also shows that while Kalverstraat was an excellent location for artists to (re)launch their careers due to its visibility and traffic, the high cost of living there posed a significant challenge for many mid-tier painters, especially those relying on the open market. That said, Kalverstraat remained a valuable springboard for early-career artists, offering opportunities to find quality clients and establish essential social networks.

78 For details of Quast's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 819, fols 27–29 (06-06-1647), not. Johan Dirksz Verhij.

79 For an example, see Rosen, *Pieter Codde*, 97–98.

Direct access to market: Nieuwmarkt and Breestraat

The Nieuwmarkt area emerged as a favoured location for many mid-tier painters catering to the open market. The presence of several top artists and the guild room in the area guaranteed its significance in the art market. The weekly market and the annual *Jaarmarkt* kept Nieuwmarkt lively even after the departure or passing of many high-end artists from nearby Sint Antoniesbreestraat. Between 1630 and 1650, this neighbourhood transitioned from a cluster of renowned, high-end artists to a marketplace for paintings as well as other durable goods like textiles. During this period, artists no longer spread along the main Sint Antoniesbreestraat but clustered around the Nieuwmarkt square (Figure 5-11). Unlike the more expensive Kalverstraat, the Nieuwmarkt neighbourhood provided ample options for affordable housing along its many side streets. From there, many artists could stay attuned to new trends, make paintings on spec, and sell their wares in the market or to dealers. The Nieuwmarkt neighbourhood was well-suited to painters who produced works quickly and were willing to adapt to market trends. This environment stood in contrast to the high-end, prestigious artists' quarter that had existed until the 1630s. Accordingly, the area attracted a diverse mix of artists, including history painters like David Colijns and Daniël Thivart (ca. 1611–1656?) and genre painters such as Pieter Codde, Willem Duyster (1599–1635), Simon Willemsz Kick (1603–1652), and Pieter Symonsz Potter (ca. 1599–1652). The high-end history painter Bartholomeus Breenbergh also spent most of his Amsterdam painting career (ca. 1630–1647) in Dijkstraat near Nieuwmarkt, but his audience remains a mystery.[80]

David Colijns serves as a prime example of artists who profited from this location. Raised on Kalverstraat, he diverged from his art dealer father's path and gradually advanced in his artistic career. Colijns worked his way up from a *kladschilder* to a copyist and eventually became a *kunstschilder* in history later in his life.[81] He spent most of his career near the Sint Antoniesbreestraat area, first on Hoogstraat and later on Keizersstraat, where he bought the second house off Nieuwmarkt and remained there for over two decades.[82] Although Colijn's house was less valuable than those of his top-tier fellow painters, it still ranked within the top 35 per cent of

80 Breenbergh probably worked for high-end art dealers or wealthy connoisseurs, but little is known about the whereabouts of his works. Two of his works were listed in art dealer's stocks (Renialme and Pieter van Meldert, the latter was from Prinsengracht in 1653 after Breenbergh moved to the Jordaan). Sluijter suspected that his paintings were also sold to collectors in France. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 147–48.

81 Sluijter has suggested that Colijns may have worked mainly in the *waterverfdoeken* (large canvases painted in watercolours), a tradition from his parental hometown Mechelen. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 216; Hillegers, 'David Colijns'.

82 Colijns' house was not a big one with the annual rental value estimated at *f* 150 in *Verponding 1647–52*. SAA, 5044, inv. 281, fol. 53v.

all Amsterdam properties listed in the *Verponding*. This places his living conditions on par with those of well-to-do shopkeepers, indicating a comfortable lifestyle. Colijns was keenly aware of his ability and position in the market. He painted relatively large histories while keeping costs low 'by employing a visibly rapid manner and by recycling figures and poses'.[83] Eric Jan Sluijter described him as a 'jack of all trades' in style and subject matter because 'he is able to cater to every wish, be it organ shutters or familiar biblical subjects that had been popularised by the Pre-Rembrandtists, or favourites from classical mythology and classical history.'[84] Well-positioned in the market and urban space, Colijns enjoyed a long and reasonably successful career. His works appeared in more Amsterdam inventories than most of his colleagues (thirty-one inventories, fifty-five pieces), with a median value of *f* 25, much cheaper than those of his upmarket counterparts.[85] Although many of Colijns' customers were wealthy merchants living within the canal ring, his market position – offering large but inexpensive history paintings in an 'old-fashioned' style highlighting the Flemish tradition – did not require close proximity to his affluent clients. The relatively low cost and broad appeal of his work – especially among clients who favoured traditional styles and were reluctant to spend lavishly on paintings – allowed him to operate successfully from the Nieuwmarkt area, a bustling marketplace where he could organise copies in his workshop or take on assignments as a guild alderman or an appraiser of paintings.[86] A different market position, including a higher pricing strategy, would have led to a different choice of location.[87]

A similar but more bizarre example comes from the story of Daniël Thivart. Like Colijns, Thivart's father Jan, had a hand in the art trade and even commissioned works from Roelant Savery.[88] Also like Colijns, Thivart became a *kunstschilder,* specialising in quickly executed, cheap history paintings for the market (e.g.

83 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 220.

84 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 220.

85 Montias, *Art at Auction*, 329–30.

86 Throughout his career, Colijns frequently collaborated with colleagues to appraise paintings: in 1613 with Bontepaert, 1629 with Pickenoy, 1633 with Luce, 1634 with Pickenoy, 1636 with Jan Bassé, 1636 with Gillis d' Hondecoeter, Luce and Bontpaert. In 1644 he appraised with Jan Keersgieter and Van Nieulandt, followed by collaborations in 1650, 1651, 1655, and 1658 with Pickenoy, Uylenburgh, Bol, and Luce, respectively. Hillegers, 'David Colijns', 15–17.

87 Colijns's fellow painter Rombout van Troyen serves as a striking example of a contrasting career path. Van Troyen was known for his unreliable character and worked at the lower end of the art market. He began his career near Nieuwmarkt but frequently moved across the city, leaving behind a trail of rent arrears and paintings used as payments. Eventually, Van Troyen faked his own death to skip town, abandoning the few belongings he had in a rented room. See Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 226–27. For Van Troyen's inventories, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 584, fols 30v–31 (23-11-1651).

88 Montias, *Art at Auction*, 127.



Figure 5-12: Daniël Thivart, *Theagenes and Chariclea*, 1625–40, 45.2 × 53 cm, oil on panel, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4668.



Figure 5-13: Daniël Thivart, *The Laborer of Gibea Offering Hospitality to the Levite and His Wife,* 1640–45, 162 × 188 cm, oil on canvas, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1988.15.

Figure 5-12). He worked, at least for a period, on Breestraat.[89] It was not until art historians discovered Thivart's Boston piece (Figure 5-13) that the full extent of his ability and the challenges he faced as a mid-tier painter came to light. The Boston painting, *The Laborer of Gibea Offering Hospitality to the Levite and His Wife*, measuring 162 by 188 cm, is one of the only two large paintings by Thivart we know. This painting depicts a rather obscure subject, which had been popularised by Lastman or Rembrandt and later taken up by Jan Victors and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout. Thivart took considerable care in narrating the story through carefully modelled figures and polished details. Although his composition resembles some of his small paintings, as Werner Sumowski remarked, one would never have thought of attributing this canvas to Thivart had it not been signed 'D. THIVART'.[90] This remarkable exception within Thivart's oeuvre illustrates the peril of the art market: a talented artist working in the wrong circles and from an ill-suited location had to churn out cheap, mediocre pieces to survive. Thivart's story raises intriguing questions about the role of location and social circles in an artist's career. Had Thivart worked in a more advantageous location like Kalverstraat and Singel, or had he enjoyed the social connections of contemporaries like Van den Eeckhout and Koninck, might he have lived up to his full artistic potential and achieved greater recognition and success? We will never know.

89 Thivart purchased two houses on Oudezijds Achterburgwal and nearby Prinsenhofsteeg on the same day, 3 August 1641, and sold them again in 1644, mentioned in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 239.

90 Sumowski, *Rembrandt-Schüler*, 4:27–29. Cited in Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 240.



Figure 5-14: Pieter Codde, *Tric-Trac Players*, 1628, oil on panel, 19.9 x 26.9 cm, The Hague: Mauritshuis, inv. 445.



Figure 5-15: Willem Duyster, *Soldiers beside a Fireplace*, 1632, oil on panel, 41 × 45.7 cm, Philadelphia: The John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. 445.

Pieter Codde was much luckier than Thivart. He positioned himself in the right place at the right time and was able to do so at a relatively young age.[91] He rented a house on Jodenbreestraat in the late 1620s when many great masters were still around. As Jochai Rosen has argued, Codde absorbed and integrated their styles and techniques into his own works.[92] In addition to his knowledge of the elder masters' work, Codde was likely influenced by – or at least aware of – the works by his neighbouring colleague Willem Duyster, as reflected in the similarities in their works (Figures 5-14 and 5-15, for instance). Both artists produced innovative paintings of good to excellent quality.[93] When the opportunity for a public commission arose, Codde seized it, completing the large civic guard painting Frans Hals had begun but failed to finish.[94]

As the neighbourhood began to gravitate towards the open market, talented painters like Codde and Duyster adapted accordingly. Codde began producing merry company and guardroom scenes on spec.[95] He had his only pupil copy his works, capitalising on both the marketplace and the cheap labour nearby.[96] A 1636 inventory drawn up from Codde's house on Jodenbreestraat shows that his disciple

91 Codde was already mentioned in the *Kohier 1631* at age thirty-two, see Chapter 4. On Pieter Codde, see Dozy, 'Pieter Codde'; Brandt, 'Notities'; Rosen, *Pieter Codde*.

92 Rosen, *Pieter Codde*, 13–53.

93 Both Duyster and his brother-in-law Simon Willemsz Kick (1603–1652) resided on Koningsstraat. Rosen, *Simon Kick*, 3–4. For Codde's innovative history paintings, see Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 295–310.

94 Rosen, *Pieter Codde*, 171–72.

95 The similar observation applies to Pieter Symonsz Potter, albeit less talented and innovative.

96 There were a few *schilders* living on Markensteeg, a side street overlooking the Leprozenhuis.

was painting/copying alongside Codde from his *schilderkamer* upstairs.[97] His house offered several exhibition spaces where he mounted beautifully framed works by his fellow Amsterdam artists and others, likely available for sale.[98] Codde's financial comfort stemmed not only from family legacies but also from a combination of artistic talent and business acumen. His financial stability gave Codde the freedom to innovate in his artistic practice, as seen in the diversity and quality of his works. Although his output declined sharply by the late 1630s and nearly ceased after 1645, Codde did not seem to take on side jobs, further indicating his financial ease. In the rare instances when he returned to painting later in life, he remained innovative in his portraits and guardroom scenes even in his late period.[99]

In addition to history and genre painters, the Nieuwmarkt area also attracted a few landscape and marine painters, including copyist Cornelis de Bie (1622–1664, not to be confused with the writer), landscapist Emanual Murant (1622–ca. 1700), and marine painters Abraham Joosten de Verwer (ca. 1585–1650), Simon de Vlieger (1601–1653), Hendrick van Anthonissen (1605–1656), Willem van de Velde the Elder (1610–1693) and Barent Cornelisz Kleeneknecht. These artists of various styles and specialities worked both on commission and for the open market. However, only Van de Velde and Kleeneknecht maintained a long-term presence near Nieuwmarkt. Van de Velde developed a successful career after 1650, serving the admiralty and the VOC near the harbour, while Kleeneknecht combined painting with dealing both marine supplies and artworks from his house. As for the rest, De Vlieger moved to Weesp to enjoy his country house in 1649.[100] Van Anthonissen and De Verwer, as will be discussed in the following section, relocated westward, probably seeking better clientele.

Paths to the west: Options for the brave and ambitious

After 1630, more mid-range artists began to recognise the advantages of the Jordaan and the radial streets leading to it, a path that art dealers had already explored

97 Albert Jansz Klomp (1625–1688) was the only pupil of Pieter Codde we know. The inventory used the singular 'disciple', which may have referred to Klomp. Bredius, 'Iets over Pieter Codde en Willem Duyster'.

98 For instance, Codde's studio mounted no fewer than twelve attributed works from nine different masters. These twelve attributed works were enumerated regarding subject matter, attribution, and their frames (most were in expensive ebony frames), while Codde's own paintings, copies, and his pupil's works were mentioned without frames and some in bundles ('17 stucx copijen, soo groot als cleyn, sonder lijsten'). Besides paintings and two musical instruments, Codde's *schilderkamer* contained a mannequin and three chairs with cushions. For the details of Codde's inventory (the original is lost), see Bredius, 'Iets over Pieter Codde en Willem Duyster'.

99 Rosen, *Pieter Codde*, 174–95.

100 De Vlieger was listed in 1647 in the *Verponding 1647–52* from Uilenburg. He bought a house in Weesp in 1649, probably after his 1648 commission for the design of the southern transept window of the Nieuwe Kerk, for which he received over *f* 6,000. For De Vlieger's commissions, see Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, 'De Vlieger', 223–24.

two decades earlier (see Chapter 4). High-quality decorative pieces in landscape, marine, and still life were certainly in demand there. Several art dealers – from Louys Rocourt and Jacques de Ville in the 1620s to Pieter van Meldert and Lucas Luce in the 1650s – operated shops in this area that stocked many paintings in these genres. The inventories of these art dealers show that they traded works primarily by mid-tier painters.[101] The presence of several high-end artists in the vicinity, including Lievens, Flinck, and Sandrart, likely enhanced the appeal of these shops for clients, making the purchasing experience more pleasant than at Nieuwmarkt. These dealers on the radial streets offered precisely the type of decorative pieces that the elite buyers used to fill the spaces between imposing family portraits. As such, these radial streets connecting the city centre to the Jordaan attracted a very specific kind of painter: those who were willing to produce visually pleasing, decorative works while also aspiring to win prestigious commissions.

Among these painters, Abraham de Verwer and Hendrick van Anthonissen left Nieuwmarkt for Rozengracht around the mid-1640s, perhaps unsatisfied with selling their works indiscriminately to the open market from Nieuwmarkt. In 1641, De Verwer bought a house on Prinsengracht near Rozenstraat, across the street from art dealer Jacques de Ville (Figure 5-14). At the time, he had just delivered two townscapes to Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik and might have been seeking elite clientele near his new home.[102] He certainly succeeded. De Verwer received a prestigious commission for a large chimneypiece (141 by 187 cm) in the Regent's room of the Civic Orphanage (*Burgerweeshuis*).[103] His works also appeared in the inventories of two wealthy merchants on Herengracht, as well as that of Joris van Oorschot, a silk merchant on Keizersgracht, whose impressive collection included works by nearly all prominent artists active in the Rozen-/Lauriergracht area.[104]

Hendrick van Anthonissen, by contrast, struggled to attract wealthy patrons from the Rozengracht, despite his efforts to present himself in a refined and well-appointed house.[105] Like several of his fellow artists, he embellished his *voorhuis* with paintings, sculptures, porcelain, shells, marble columns, and even a harpsichord

101 See Appendix III.

102 For De Verwer's house purchase, see Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 397. For De Verwer's offering of paintings to Frederik Hendrik mentioned in his letter to Constantijn Huygens in 1639, see Alsteens, Buijs, and Mathot, *Paysages de France*, 247, 255n3, 255n6.

103 The painting depicts the naval battle of the Slaak (which took place on 12 and 13 September 1631), the kind of subject a marine painter would get on commission.

104 In his inventory of 1671, Van Oorschot, who had elevated himself into the elite class through his marriage to Isaac Coymans's daughter, owned works by nearly all the prominent artists active in the Jordaan. His collection included pieces by Rembrandt, Lievens, and Flinck. For Van Oorschot's inventory, see Montias Database, inv. 449 (1671).

105 For Van Anthonissen's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 1165, fols 85–88 (03-10-1647), not. Joost van de Ven.

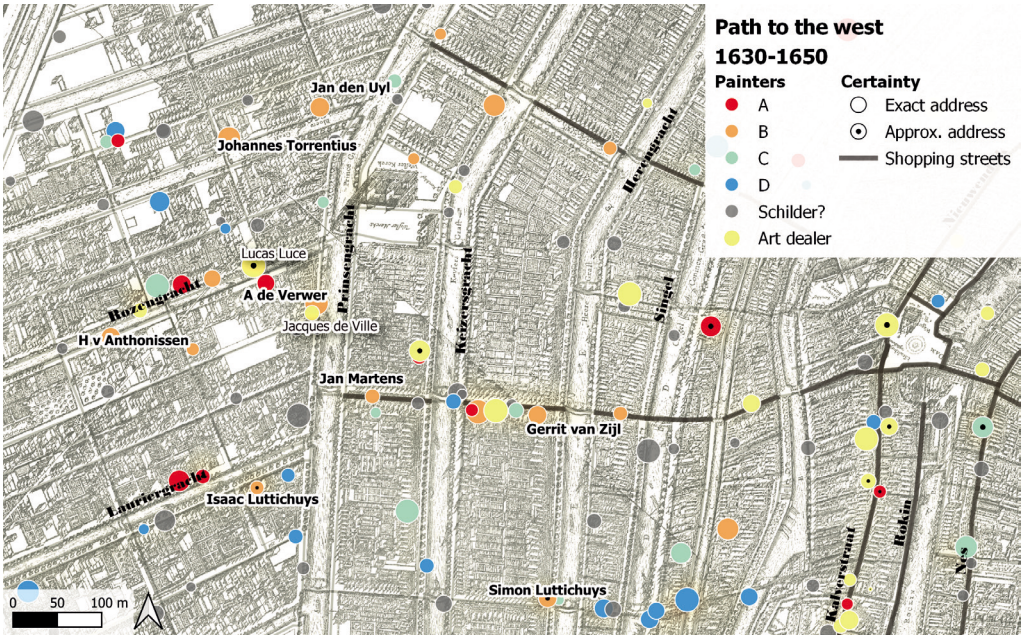

Figure 5-16: Painters and art dealers in the radial streets to the west and near Rozen- and Lauriergracht 1630–50.

(*klavecimbel*). This extravagant display, however, appears to have overextended his finances.[106] In 1647, his house was inventoried by court order, revealing the details of its interior. Van Anthonissen never secured the lucrative commissions from Rozengracht that he had hoped for.[107] The owners of his works were mostly middle-class craftsmen and individuals in the art trade.[108] Rembrandt, for instance, displayed a seascape by Van Anthonissen in his *voorhuis*, flanked by two of his own works.[109] The only truly elite collector of Van Anthonissen's paintings was Dirck Tholincx, a member of the Amsterdam *vroedschap* since 1625. However,

106 Many objects in Hendrick van Anthonissen's *voorhuis*, including the *zoldertje*, had finishes like marble, perhaps to boost the sense of luxury. His *voorhuis* contained cupboards, chairs, benches, a table, and even a birdcage. Together with the harpsichord, the contents of the *voorhuis* were probably worth more than those of any other room in the house. No wonder this opulent lifestyle had gotten Van Anthonissen into financial trouble. The present inventory of 1647 was made upon the request of his creditor. See SAA NA 5075, inv. 1165, fols 85–88 (03-10-1647), not. Joost van de Ven.

107 His *Ships near Zierikzee with the Zuidhavenpoort* in the Rijksmuseum (inv. SK-A-2970) may have been commissioned, due to its large size (98.8 × 133.4 cm), and the detailed portrayal of the warship in the left foreground.

108 Montias Database, inv. 104 (wealthy bleacher Hester Jans Ellegoot), 131 (clerk Harman Claesz Spaeroogh, whose daughter married Cornelis Kick), 285 (dealer Laurens Mauritsz Douci), 505 (innkeeper Joost Joosten), 1183 (Leonora van Someren within the dealer's family), 1261 (Rembrandt), 1248 (Dirck Tholincx).

109 For Rembrandt's bankruptcy inventory, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 585R, fol. 29v.

Tholincx declared bankruptcy in 1644 and was subsequently removed from the city council.[110] Eventually, Van Anthonissen relocated to Vliegendesteeg near Singel, close to Salomon Koninck and only two blocks from Molenaer and Leyster's house. There, he finally found a fitting social circle. A neighbour later testified to the heavy traffic to his house and praised his warm hospitality.[111] It was during his stay on Vliegendesteeg, in 1653, that Van Anthonissen received an important commission for a large painting (152 × 275 cm) depicting the Dutch naval victory against the Portuguese in the Bay of Goa (India) in 1639.[112]

In addition to these marine painters, Landscape artists in the Rozen-/Lauriergracht area also shared a similar trajectory. In 1639, Jan Martens de Jonge (1610–1639), the nephew and pupil of Esaias van de Velde, who was known for his battle scenes with cavalry, lived on Reestraat, the radial street between Keizersgracht and Prinsengracht leading to Lauriergracht. His choice of location heralded the popularity of this area for landscape painters in the following decades.[113] As we shall see in the next chapter, for Italianate landscapists, the Rozen-/Lauriergracht in the 1650s became the equivalent of Sint Antoniesbreestraat for the Pre-Rembrandtists in the 1610s.

This period also saw the emergence of a small cluster of still life painters in Bloemgracht in the Jordaan, one block north of Rozengracht. Jan Jansz den Uyl had moved from Singel to Bloemgracht before his death in 1639. One street further north lived the early-career Otto Marseus van Schrieck on Nieuwe Leliestraat before leaving for Rome. Painters who chose to relocate to the west, from the radial streets to Rozen /Lauriergracht, often aimed to enter the high-end market, serving a better clientele than the anonymous market. By relocating to the west, they embedded themselves within the social and physical milieu of the wealthy elite and gained exposure to their target audience in a manner similar to the top-tier artists discussed earlier.

The mid-tier painters constituted a highly diverse group. They exhibited three discernible behavioural patterns that can be loosely categorised as opportunity seekers on Kalverstraat, a diverse group of market-oriented painters around Nieuwmarkt, and social ladder climbers near Rozen-/Lauriergracht. Each group collectively chose to embed into locations that best suited their artistic specialisation, target audience, and career ambitions. This diverse positioning reflects the emergence of distinct playbooks corresponding to three loose spatial clusters of mid-tier painters. These patterns of painters' collective behaviour shaped the art market development as

110 For Dirck Tholincx's biography and inventory, see Montias database, inv. 1248.

111 Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 2:632.

112 The large painting is now in the Rijksmuseum (inv. SK-A 2126). It is unclear who commissioned this painting or how Van Anthonissen secured this commission.

113 Martens de Jonge's own pupil Jan Asselijn, however, did not choose this area. He stayed where Joan Huydecoper lived during the brief time he stayed in Amsterdam.

they advanced market segmentation and specialisation and motivated painters to distinguish themselves through product differentiation. Meanwhile, the expanding consumer base remained open to new and varied products, offering further incentives for painters to innovate and embed themselves socially and spatially within suitable client circles. Consequently, painters' coordination and choices made painting production in Amsterdam the most diverse and innovative in the seventeenth century.

Low-end art dealers' and painters' attachment to marketplaces

The behavioural patterns and locational choices of low-end art dealers and painters in Amsterdam were relatively straightforward compared to their higher-end counterparts. The Nieuwmarkt neighbourhood met most of their essential needs: it was an area known for its artists' presence, offered affordable housing and labour, and provided easy access to transportation via road and waterway. Additionally, the neighbourhood's heavy pedestrian traffic – driven by the weekly market and the presence of the Waag, then functioning as a guildhall and an anatomical theatre – made it an ideal location. No wonder most of the low-end dealers operated their shops in this area, with several even on the same street, Koestraat, a side street one block south of Nieuwmarkt. This street, albeit small, had been accommodating artists since the 1590s.[114]

One such resident was the art dealer and painter Elias Hoomis (ca. 1600–1636), who ran his art dealership from Koestraat until his death in 1636.[115] Following his passing, Hoomis' widow remarried the painter and art dealer Anthonie Waterloo (1609–1690). Given that most of Waterloo's artistic output came after he left Amsterdam in 1653, he might have been too busy with the art trade to pick up his brush.[116] After Waterloo's departure, the family business was likely taken over by Johannes Croon (1630–1664), Hoomis's son-in-law. Croon's probate inventory reveals the low-end nature of their trade, typical of dealers on Koestraat.[117]

According to the inventory, Croon operated his painting business from a typical Type II house, alongside his textile business – an arrangement not unusual for art dealers in the 1650s.[118] He kept a large painting stock of over 300 paintings of

114 Before 1600, Koestraat already housed artist Frans Boels and art dealer Adriaen van Crieckebeeck; see Chapter 3. This section leans heavily on the dissertation of Angela Jager. See Jager, '"Galey-schilders"'.

115 Liedtke and Bakker, 'Murant and His Milieu'.

116 Most known works by Waterloo were drawings made during his travels.

117 For Croon's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 3101, fols 673–80.

118 The inventories suggest that Pieter van Meldert, Mathijs Hals, and later Hendrick Meijeringh all ran side textile businesses from their homes, as objects like scales, textiles, and even shop countertops were among their possessions. For instance, Van Meldert's inventory listed 318 entries as shop ware of textiles (*winckelwaren*), in addition to the 20 pieces of 'wool clothing' (*wolle cleeren*) and 33 fabrics (*lijwaat*), far

varying sizes, priced between *f* 1 to *f* 10 when an average of *f* 4 each. This stock also included a few dozen frames, sixty panels, and two rolls of canvas. Most paintings were stored in the attic while the *voorhuis* served as the primary exhibition space, displaying thirty-six paintings of various sizes (valued on average at around *f* 4). The absence of painting tools or materials in the inventory suggests that Croon dealt exclusively in inexpensive, ready-made artworks. In addition to his art dealership, Croon's textile business occupied the upper floor.[119] His 'winckel' – probably the street-facing *voorkamer* upstairs – was filled with expensive textiles such as wool serge (*saij/say*) valued in total at *f* 846. The *camer* – likely *achterkamer* – provided a more intimate yet richly furnished space to shop for textiles and paintings. It contained nineteen paintings with an average value of *f* 9, more expensive than those stored elsewhere in the house.[120] This spatial arrangement suggests that Croon operated his businesses mainly from the street-facing sections of the houses across multiple floors, offering customers ample space and opportunity to browse his diverse stock. Another example is art dealer Carel van Houten (ca. 1601–1645), who moved to Koestraat following his bankruptcy in 1638. His insolvency inventory indicates that he had traded inexpensive history paintings from Spui – a small canal west of Kalverstraat, parallel to the *Handboogdoelen* – which might not have been optimal for a low-end art dealership. While it remains unclear whether Van Houten set up his shop again or entered the employment of other dealers after his move, Koestraat would have been a more favourable setting for his business.

The painting shop of Jan Fransz Dammeroen (1605–1658), located at the corner of Koestraat facing the Kloveniersburgwal, was later taken over by Cornelis Doeck (1613–1664).[121] Dammeroen's 1646 insolvency inventory provides a glimpse into the operations of a low-end art shop near Nieuwmarkt. Dammeroen's house was a simple, Type I house, with the street-facing *voorhuis* packed with over a hundred paintings. A chest full of frames in the same room suggests that customers could select or change frames for their chosen paintings on the spot. In addition to the shop, the attic housed a workshop where, as Angela Jager argued, hired painters worked 'in the galley'.[122] For painters collaborating with or employed by dealers like

more than the 87 paintings. For their inventories, see (Van Meldert) SAA NA 5075, inv. 1202T, fols 270–86 (01-10-1653); (Hals) SAA NA 5075, inv. 2617D, fols 736–42; (Meijeringh) see Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 218–45. For the spatial distribution of art dealers' homes, see Appendix III.

119 After the notary registered the *Sycamertje* and the *voorhuis*, he moved on to *de winckel* and then *de camer*, before reaching *de binne haert* and *koockentje*, which were located on the rear of the ground floor. The notary likely took stairs from the *voorhuis* to reach the upstairs room (*de camer*) and went down to continue to the other ground-floor rooms. SAA NA 5075, inv. 3101, fols 673–80.

120 The *camer* held luxurious furniture, such as an ebony half-cupboard valued at an astonishing *f* 110 and a bed for *f* 65. See SAA NA 5075, inv. 3101, fol. 667.

121 Jager argued that Doeck may have bought Dammeroen's shop. See Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 30.

122 Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 31, 101–8.

Dammeroen, the dealer's established location and networks spared them the burden of selling their works. One such example is the minor painter Jan Christiaensz Micker, who worked for Dammeroen, at least at times. Although Micker did not reside near Nieuwmarkt, he sustained his career by collaborating with art dealers based in the area. The inventory of his Prinsengracht house suggests that, although he produced paintings at home, he did not sell them from there.[123] Despite living outside the area where paintings were bought and sold, Micker was nonetheless able to benefit from the convenient location through his connections with Nieuwmarkt-based dealers.

Not all painters at the lower end of the market, however, could afford to stay away from the market. Many instead squeezed into the alleys (*steegje/slopje*) east of Nieuwmarkt.[124] Among them was Maerten Karelsz de Wolff on Koningsstraat, a close neighbour of Willem Duyster and Simon Kick, though socially and artistically positioned further down the hierarchy. His posthumous inventory of 1636 reveals the life of a struggling low-end painter living in a modest Type I house with only a single living space and an attic. The furnishing in De Wolff's house was reduced to a bare minimum, and most of the paintings present in his house were *tronies* and (possibly copies of) portraits of famous people, many in an oval shape and without frames. His attic workshop contained nothing but an easel, a grinding stone, some print books, two portraits (unattributed, likely his own work), and three garments, perhaps used as props or study material.[125] Despite these humble conditions, the inventory suggests a high level of productivity. De Wolff might have worked for the dealer Carel van Houten, who claimed to have spent considerable time with him.[126] A frame maker also reported making many frames for De Wolff, pointing to a substantial output.[127] His decision to reside near several art dealers and a vibrant marketplace likely enabled him to earn a living by producing lower-quality works for the mass market. Likewise, the real estate tax *Verponding 1647–52* shows that low-end painter Guilliam du Gardin lived in reduced circumstances on the Uilenburg island near Sint Antoniesbreestraat.[128] Du Gardin and many other lower-end painters had to rely more directly on the market. They benefitted from the lively atmosphere around Nieuwmarkt – its busy market, affordable housing, and active art trade – which provided a vital platform for sustaining their modest painting careers.

123 For Micker's inventory, see Chapter 2.

124 If the alley near Nieuwmarkt was still too expensive to afford, some painters moved to the eastern islands. For instance, Guillian du Gardijn (1596–1647) lived on an island (Uilenburg) north of the Jodenbreestraat.

125 For De Wolff's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 918, fols 514–16 (05-12-1636).

126 Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:1006.

127 Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:1006.

128 The rental value of Guilliam du Gardin's residence was estimated at *f* 55 in the *Verpoding 1647–1652*, comparable to that of ordinary simple artisans.

Economic landscape around 1650: Artists, dealers, and their patrons

To embed painters' playbooks into the broader socio-economic context of Amsterdam, it is crucial to examine the artists' living conditions and their relative economic standing within society. This study therefore turns once again to tax records, specifically the *Verpondings- quohieren van den 8sten penning*, or *Verponding*, a real estate tax first introduced in 1647.[129] The *Verponding* was levied on the eighth penny of the estimated annual *rental* value of properties, a system that would later evolve into the cadastre system in the nineteenth century. Applied to nearly all households in Amsterdam – both property owners and tenants – the *Verponding* provides a unique and comprehensive view of the city's economic landscape. It serves as a proxy for the spatial distribution of economic conditions, using housing costs as an indicator. Although the *Verponding 1647–52* does not always reflect the actual market rent paid by tenants, it remains a valuable source for understanding the relative living conditions and economic standing across locations and professions. Unlike *Kohier 1631,* which was taxed on wealth, the *Verponding* reveals the housing conditions and the premiums associated with favourable locations.[130]

Within the roughly twelve thousand registries in *Verponding 1647–52*, twenty-one painters and thirteen art dealers have been identified, as listed in Table 5-1, alongside the estimated rental value of their residences or properties. While some of these records have previously been used to evaluate the financial status of individual artists and their clients, broader comparative analysis has remained lacking.[131] This study addresses that gap by analysing and mapping the full *Verponding 1647–52* dataset to position these painters and dealers within the wider occupational and social hierarchy, using property value and location as key indicators.

Based on registered occupations in the *Verponding*, Table 5-2 summarises rental value variation by occupation, ranked by median rent.[132] Unsurprisingly, individuals at the core of municipal power –members of the city council, *schepenen*, burgomasters, and those serving public posts – occupied the most valuable properties, predominantly located along the grand canals in the west and on Kloveniersburgwal.

129 SAA 5044, inv. 254-290.

130 For instance, the average rental value for properties along the two most prominent commercial streets in the old town – Damrak and Warmoesstraat – was *f* 693 and *f* 565, respectively, significantly higher than the most prestigious modern residential location like Herengracht (with an average *f* 398) and Keizersgracht (*f* 371).

131 For instance, Gent's monograph on Van der Helst traced several sitters of his portraits in the *Verponding*. See Van Gent, 'Bartholomeus van der Helst', 30–35, 167–70.

132 The occupations in this analysis align with those recorded in the tax registers. However, some individuals involved in cultural industries have been identified through additional sources, such as *ECARTICO*.

Table 5-1: Rental value of houses occupied/owned by identified painters and art dealers in *Verponding 1647–52*

Artists	Rent (*f*)	Art Dealers	Rent (*f*)
Bartholomeus van der Helst	456 & 250	Hendrick Uylenburgh	750 & 380
Huygh Pietersz Voskuyl[1]	500	Joris de Keersgieter	525
Bartholomeus Breenbergh (prob.)	425	Anthonie Waterloo	520
Gerbrand vd Eeckhout (family)	380	Michiel le Blon	450
Rembrandt	350	Lodewijk van Ludik	450
Frederik Hendriksz Vroom	350	Adriaen /Salomon van Nieulandt	442
Jan Victors (family)	340	(Late) Jacques van der Wyhen	370
Dirck van Santvoort	334	Jan I de Keersgieter	345
(Late) Dirck Pietersz Bontepaert	318	Isaac van Coninxloo	312
Hans van Essen	300	Barent van Someren (widow)	300
Pieter Pietersz II/Dirck Santvoort[2]	274	Lucas Luce	230
Simon de Vlieger	250	(Daughter of) Frans Badens I[3]	200
Adriaen van Nieulandt	230	Johannes Croon (family)	150
Salomon de la Tombe /Pieter de Keyser	200		
Pieter Potter (prob.)	165		
Pieter Codde	160		
David Colijns	150		
Jan Micker (prob.)	60		
Guilliam du Gardin	55		

[1] Voskyl was trained by Pieter Isaacsz in 1607, but it is unclear if he still kept painting in the 1640s.
[2] Dirck Santvoort rented the house of Pieter Pietersz Schilder (grandson of Pieter Aertsen) on Oudezijds Achterburgwal (no. 41) in addition to his residence on Sint Antoniesbreestraat.
[3] The offspring of early art dealers (Badens, Keersgieter, and Van Nieulandt) seem to have kept their shops on Kalverstraat running.

Their properties fell within the top 5 per cent of Amsterdam's total taxable real estate (see Figure 5-17). In contrast, those from labour-intensive industries like service, shipping, and transport lived in more modest dwellings, typically in the lowest quartile of rental values, clustered in the northern Jordaan and eastern islands like Uilenburg (Table 5-2 and Figure 5-17). Artisans (such as bakers, butchers, and shoemakers) and retail merchants were found throughout the city, though they were more concentrated in the relatively inexpensive commercial districts. This spatial distribution aligns with Clé Lesger's observations that artisans like bakers populated the Jordaan and radial streets in the city centre.[133] Relatively well-known agents in cultural industries (painting, publishing, architecture, etc.) could afford larger houses in more desirable locations. Their median rent of *f* 300 placed them within the top 15 per cent bracket, comparable to the upper range paid by artisans

133 Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 103–4, table 3.2.

(maximum rent around *f* 400). Agents in cultural industries also gained access to prestigious residential areas near or along the grand canals, areas generally out of reach for lower-ranking occupations.[134]

Table 5-2: Rental value of houses occupied/owned by residents of various occupations indicated in the *Verponding 1647–52*, ranked by median rental value (in guilders) by occupation ⏎

Category	Definition	No.[1]	Median	Min[2]	Max	St. Dev.
Schepen	As indicated in the register	17	420	50	950	208.0
Burgomaster	*Burgermeester* (including *oude burgermeester*)	36	400	46	1,100	247.2
Gov. Official	*pensionaris, admiraal, generaal, majoor tresorier, schout, procureur, etc.*	27	400	110	1,200	237.0
Heer	As indicated in the register	23	388	32	1,050	282.6
Liberal prof.	*dr., notaris, advocaat, provoost, etc.*	50	316	20	1,100	211.4
Cultural industries[3]	*kunstschilder, schilder*, art dealer, publisher, goldsmith, architect, and other artists	101	300	16	900	197.7
Mr./*Meester*	As indicated in the registration	14	300	80	723	195.0
Retail merchants[4]	*(laken/tabak/spek, etc.)koper, kramer, etc.*	35	150	29	1,200	302.7
Artisan	*(glazen/schoen/kisten/kleer, etc.) maker, bakker, slager, kuiper, timmerman, smit, etc.*	370	100	8	400	81.4
Service	*bode, knecht, etc.*	19	74	28	320	87.8
Shipping	*scheepstimmerman, kapitein, mastenmaker, etc.*	97	60	16	425	78.1
Labour	*(waag/turf, etc.)drager*	53	48	16	150	28.6

[1] 'No.' denotes the number of identified residents in a category; 'St. Dev.' refers to the standard deviation that measures the amount of variation within the samples.
[2] The low 'Min' value often suggests a split property, such as a back house (*achterhuis*), to rent out.
[3] Agents in the cultural industries were identified with the help of *ECARTICO* and may not be exhaustive.
[4] Wholesale, large merchants were often not mentioned by their occupations.

From the consumption side of the art market, over a hundred clients or patrons can be identified in the *Verponding*, along with around eighty of their family members (siblings, children, widows, etc.) and their properties (many of which were rented out). Unsurprisingly, those commissioning relatively expensive paintings – mostly portraits – generally lived in or owned houses within the top 5 per cent of all taxable

134 The city's deliberate attempts to create a spatial division of economic functions and social group are discussed in Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 87–88.

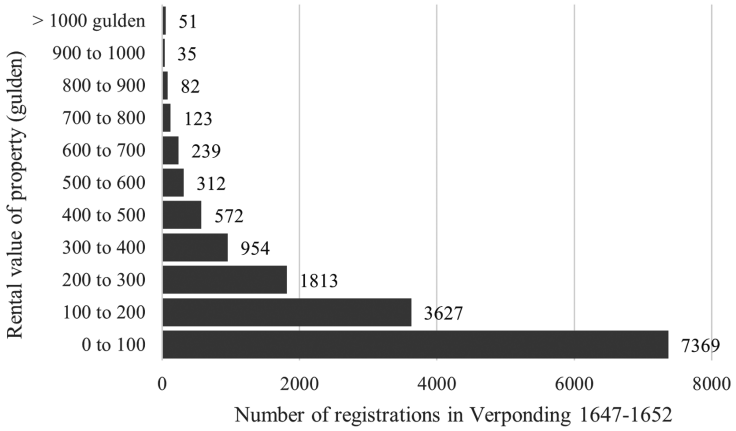

Figure 5-17: Distribution of rental value in Amsterdam in *Verponding 1647–52*.

Table 5-3: Rental value of houses occupied or owned by patrons or portrait sitters and their families identified in *Verponding 1647–52* (rental value in guilders)

Category	No.	Median	Min	Max	St. Dev.
Patron (commissioned portraits/other paintings)	131	550	120	1,500	232.7
Patron family (family members of portrait sitters)	81	500	50	1,400	270.5
Patron property (marked as *erven* to patrons)	53	450	32	1,000	212.5
Art dealer	13	380	200	750	144.3
Kunstschilder	21	274	55	521	130.2
Schilder	10	62	16	180	56.7

properties in Amsterdam, with a rental value of *f* 500 or more (Table 5-3). Ten of these art patrons, including Frans Banninck Cocq (the captain in Rembrandt's *Night Watch*), Balthasar Coymans, and Guillielmo Bartolotti, occupied some of the city's most luxurious residences with annual rents that exceeded a thousand guilders.[135] Figure 5-18 visualises the spatial distribution of patrons alongside the painters and art dealers who served them. Many patrons and portrait sitters, identified through militia portraits from various *wijken* (districts), were dispersed throughout the city, with their

135 The rental values of prominent residences reflected the status of their occupants. Frans Banninck Cocq's house was valued at *f* 1,300, Balthasar Coymans's at *f* 1,500, and Willem Bartolotti's at *f* 1,400. Others included Michiel Hoopesack (*f* 1,000), Jan van Erpicum (*f* 1,150), and Frederick Aluwijn (*f* 1,100). Meanwhile, the influential families like the Bickers and De Graeffs occupied homes with rental values ranging from *f* 500 to *f* 700. For example, Jan Bicker lived in a house on Keizersgracht with a rental value of *f* 700 (SAA 5044, inv. 284, fol. 243v).

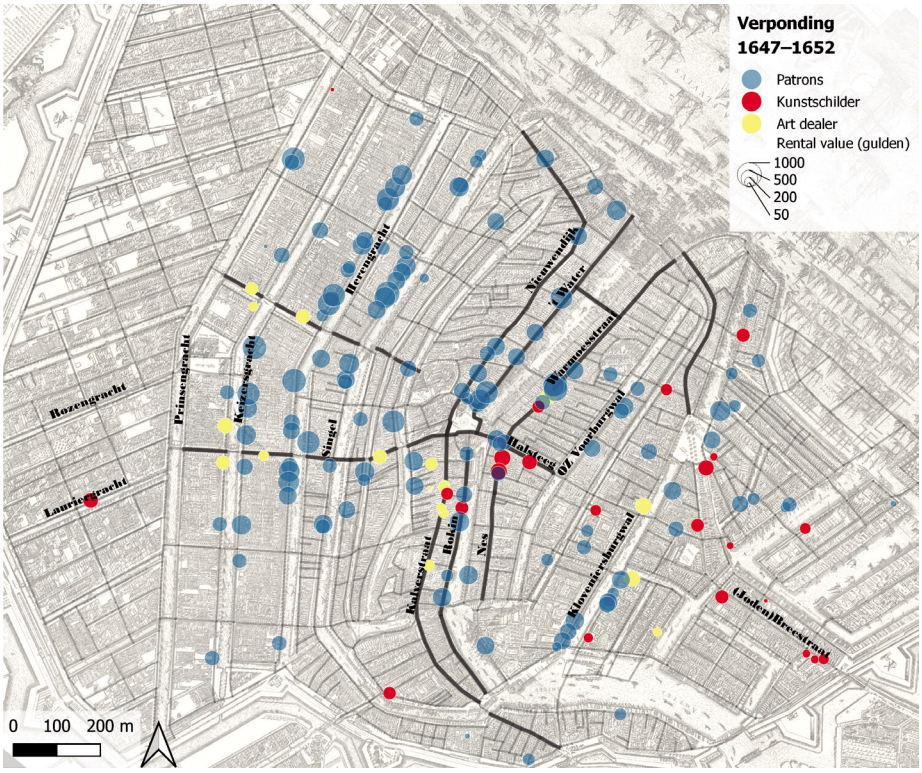

Figure 5-18: Locations of identified patrons/portrait sitters (blue), artists (red), and art dealers (yellow) in the *Verponding 1647–52*.

locations corresponding to the districts they represented.[136] Still, around half of the identified sitters (56) resided on Singel, Herengracht, and Keizersgracht and another quarter (31) on shopping streets like Damrak, Warmoesstraat, and Kalverstraat/Rokin.

Figure 5-18 also shows that, around 1650, most established art dealers (marked in yellow) occupied propitious locations near their clients and that they owned or rented houses with a median value of *f* 370. Their thriving businesses likely demanded large houses to display their ware. Prominent dealers like Michiel le Blon and Lodewijk van Ludick operated their high-end dealerships from grand but not extravagant houses in prime locations – Keizersgracht and Warmoesstraat, respectively – with rental values around *f* 450 (see Table 5-1).[137] The Uylenburghs rented two houses, one on Dam Square with a rental value of an astonishing *f* 750 and the other on

136 Middelkoop has shown that the Amsterdam civic guard districts (*wijken*) were deliberately laid out to incorporate areas that housed all social strata. Each *wijk* includes a portion of the wealthy areas where the captain often lived. For visualisations of his findings, see Middelkoop, 'Corporatiestuk', app. 2d.

137 SAA 5044, inv. 255, fol. 96v.

Leliegracht between Keizersgracht and Herengracht assessed at *f* 380.[138] Other dealers like Jan and Joris Keersgieter, Isaac van Coninxloo, and Lucas Luce operated their businesses near shopping streets or thoroughfares. Joris de Keersgieter ran his large shop – judging by the rental value of *f* 525 – from Kalverstraat, while Coninxloo and Luce set up shop in the radial streets through the canal ring (Leliegracht and Hartenstraat, respectively).[139] The low-end dealer Johannes Croon discussed earlier likely inherited his father's house with a modest rental value of *f* 150, where he traded paintings and textiles under one roof near Nieuwmarkt.[140]

By 1650, only a handful of high-end painters could rival successful art dealers in the grandeur of their homes, although more painters than before began using their residences as performance spaces, a trend initiated by Joachim von Sandrart and Rembrandt in the 1630s.[141] Table 5-3 shows that several painters could afford to live in houses on par with or even more luxurious than Rembrandt's grand house on Jodenbreestraat, which had a rental value of *f* 350. However, most of these painters came from affluent families and had inherited their expensive homes. Unfortunately, many of their upmarket peers like Bol, Flinck, Lievens, Bronckhorst, Van Loo, Holsteyn, and art dealers like Renialme cannot be located in the *Verponding 1647–52*. In contrast, mid-level painters' living conditions and location choices mirrored those of retail merchants, as did their playbooks. Low-end painters, however, remain underrepresented in the sample due to the lack of sufficient information to confirm their identities in the *Verponding 1647–52*. Yet the few identified cases show that they belonged to the bottom quarter of society living in small, inexpensive houses on side streets like manual labourers.

Conclusion

Between 1630 and 1650, the tripartite structure of the art market fully manifested itself in the urban space of Amsterdam as a result of painters' collective coordination following various playbooks. This resulting artistic landscape advanced segmentation and specialisation in the art market, fostering a diverse and innovative art scene in various parts of the city. These findings, once again, attest to the social and spatial nature of the art market beyond the economic dimension suggested in the literature. In contrast to the earlier period (1610–30), when many top-tier painters

138 The rental value of *f* 750 for Uylenburgh's house on the Dam is inferred from the eighth penny tax paid (*f* 93:15:--), as Hendrick Uijlenburgh from SAA 5044, inv. 273, fol. 6. The other one on 'Lelygraft noortsyde' is from SAA 5044, inv. 284, fol. 232v.

139 SAA 5044, inv. 273, fol. 175 (Joris de Keersgieter), inv. 273, fol. 219 (Jan I de Keersgieter), inv. 284, fol. 236v (Coninxloo), inv. 284, fol. 321v (Luce).

140 Unfortunately, I was unable to locate Johannes de Renialme in the *Verponding 1647–52*.

141 See Chapters 2 and 7 for the discussion of using the home as a stage.

clustered in a single area, painters after 1630 diverged in their market positioning and locational choices. The increasing diversity and complexity of Amsterdam's artistic landscape echoed the equally diverse and complex market reality, which was rooted deeply in the social and economic composition of the urban space.

High-end painters were spread throughout the city, guided by playbooks that connected them with exclusive social circles – patrons, professional and trade networks – in various locations. A noticeable trend among these upmarket painters was the conscious incorporation of house interiors into their playbooks. Toward the end of this period, well-decorated residences increasingly functioned as status symbols, helping painters integrate into the social milieus of their clientele. Among the three market segments, mid-tier painters were the most diverse and innovative, leading the product and process innovations. Given the internal variation within this group, their playbooks diverged, resulting in three distinct locational preferences aligned with their ambitions, skills, and market orientations. Those who relied primarily on the open market embedded themselves in commercial districts and marketplaces. The more ambitious among them – those seeking commissions or aiming to enter the upper-end market – gravitated westward, toward the radial streets connecting the centre, and near Rozen-/Lauriergracht. The lower-end art dealers and painters clustered around Nieuwmarkt to capitalise on the busy marketplace, guild room, and high traffic flow for making and selling inexpensive works.

The tripartite structure of the art market is also reflected in painters' living conditions. *Verponding 1647–52* reveals that prominent art dealers and successful painters inhabited homes commensurate with their social standing and their cultural status, while mid-tier painters occupied dwellings similar in value and location to those of craftsmen and shopkeepers. Painters in the lower-end market belonged to the bottom rung of society, subsisting in humble abodes comparable to those of unskilled labourers. The rental values of residences and properties further underscore the class distinctions between patrons and the artists who served them. While successful artists aspired to live in grand houses to match their public image, very few could afford such homes solely through income from painting, without relying on family wealth. *Verponding 1647–52* thus suggests that painters' artistic agency and their freedom of choice were often influenced by practical factors, especially family background. Coming from well-to-do families conferred considerable advantages, such as inheritance of valuable properties, access to renowned teachers, and entry into influential networks. Artists lacking these privileges – like Daniël Thivart –often struggled to exercise their artistic agency and realise their full potential. Despite their talent and skills, social and economic barriers relegated them to producing inexpensive works.

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6. Diverse Reactions to a Competitive Art Market, 1650–1670

Abstract: A considerable disparity in wealth and status emerged within the painting profession after 1650. Between 1650 to 1670, artistic innovation shifted from mid-tier to high-end painters as the upper art market expanded beyond traditional genres of history and portraiture. This transformation was driven by the urban elite's growing preference for styles that expressed prestige. In response, landscape, genre, and marine painters began adopting playbooks characteristic of high-end artists, such as relocating to areas that aligned them with the tastes and networks of their clientele. Meanwhile, mid-tier painters, facing economic stagnation and declining demand, lost innovative momentum and increasingly adapted their practices, which came to resemble those of shopkeepers. These shifts altered painter-client dynamics and had a broader impact on both innovation and diversity within Amsterdam's art market.

Keywords: market segmentation, artistic innovation, Italianate landscape, Rozengracht, Sint Antoniesbreestraat

The art market in Amsterdam reached its pinnacle shortly after the mid-seventeenth century, with the subsequent decades marking a shift from its period of greatest expansion. At its height in 1654, poet Jan Vos celebrated the founding of the *Broederschap der Schilderkunst* (Brotherhood of the Art of Painting) with a poem honouring the achievements of sixteen renowned Amsterdam painters.[1] Yet Vos could not have foreseen how dramatically these artists' careers would diverge within a decade, leading them along distinct paths and into different social classes.[2]

1 Jan Vos's poem discusses the following painters: Rembrandt, Govert Flinck, Emanuel de Witte, Nicolaes van Helt Stockade, Bartholomeus van der Helst, Salomon Koninck, Philips Koninck, Artus Quellinus, Jacob van Loo, Rombout Verhulst, Carel van Savoyen, Gerrit van Zijl, Jan Gerritsz van Bronchorst, Willem Kalf, Ferdinand Bol, Barent Graat, and Jan Blom. For the full poem, see Jan Vos, '*Strydt tusschen de doodt en natuur of zeege der schilderkunst*', *Alle de gedichten van den Poëet Jan Vos* (Amsterdam, 1662) 1:123–41. For discussion of the poem, see Weber, *Lobtopos*, ch. 2 (the German translation is on pp. 255–69).

2 For the life stories of these painters, see, for example, Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*; Schwartz, 'Gerard Pietersz. van Zijl the Portraitist'; Noorman, *Art, Honor and Success*; Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*; Gerson, *Philips Koninck*.

Li, Weixuan. *Painters' Playbooks in the Art Market of Early Modern Amsterdam*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2025.
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Figure 6-1: Spatial distribution of painters in Amsterdam from 1650 to ca. 1665 before the Fourth Expansion, coloured by ranks, sized by the move-in age. The letters stand for three clusters: A – Sint Antoniesbreestraat, B – Kalverstraat/Rokin, C – Rozen-/Lauriergracht.

Often considered the final phase of the Dutch art's golden era, the period between 1650 and 1670 was marked by a peak in the painter population and early signs of instability within the market.[3] This chapter explores the roots of this divergence in painters' careers by examining how artists across various market segments

3 The exact turning point of the decline remains open to debate. Current estimates range from 1650 to 1680. See De Vries, 'Art History'; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'; Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam'; Li, 'Innovative Exuberance'.

responded to shifting conditions from 1650 to roughly the completion of the Fourth City Expansion that gave Amsterdam its famous half-moon shape (ca. 1665–70).[4]

Figure 6-1 visualises the spatial distribution of painters prior to the Fourth City Expansion. The cityscape remained largely unchanged from the previous period, and the artistic landscape consolidated the spatial patterns established before 1650. Three major hotspots that emerged earlier – Sint Antoniesbreestraat/Nieuwmarkt (A), Kalverstraat/Rokin (B), and Rozengracht/Lauriergracht (C) – attracted more painters to these established clusters. Although the painter population continued to grow, newcomers largely adhered to existing behavioural and locational patterns. While the locations of hotspots remained the same, however, the profiles of painters in each cluster underwent significant changes. This chapter first outlines painters' responses to the market circumstances in all three market segments and then examines painters' relative economic positions within Amsterdam's social hierarchy to further contextualise their locational and professional choices.

The expanding high-end market

For portrait and history painters, the upper segment of the art market remained largely stable, continuing the patterns established in the previous two decades. Despite individual variations in circumstance, these elite artists generally adhered to the same playbook and continued to favour the popular locations established between 1630 and 1650. For instance, after his bankruptcy in 1658, Rembrandt relocated from one established location (Sint Antoniesbreestraat) to another (Rozengracht).[5] Two years later, Jacob van Loo moved to the same street, before the charge of manslaughter forced him to skip town.[6] Rembrandt's more successful pupil Govert Flinck died at the height of his career in 1660 while living on Lauriergracht. His house was subsequently taken over by art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh.[7] Meanwhile, Bartholomeus van der Helst remained professionally anchored in Nieuwmarkt, where he continued to thrive.[8] Notably, new entrants to this market segment also gravitated toward these

4 All maps in this chapter depict the cityscape before the Fourth Expansion fully took shape around 1665.

5 Rembrandt moved to Rozengracht 184 after his bankruptcy; see Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 214–15. For Rembrandt's bankruptcy, see Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*. For the legal matter concerning Rembrandt's house, see Bosman, *Rembrandts plan*.

6 Van Loo was recorded living on Rozengracht in August 1660, two months before the accident. See Bredius, 'Waarom Jacob van Loo in 1660 Amsterdam verliet', 50. For Van Loo's life and career, see Noorman, *Art, Honor and Success*.

7 Dudok van Heel, 'Schilderhuis'.

8 Van der Helst rented the large corner house between Kloveniersburgwal and Sint Antoniesbreestraat (Nieuwmarkt 27) at least between 1663 and 1666. See Van Gent, 'Bartholomeus van der Helst', 44.

established locations: Jürgen Ovens (1623–1678), Cornelis Holsteyn (1618–1658), and Jan Gerritsz van Bronchorst (1603–1661) were drawn to the Rozen-/Lauriergracht area; Nicolaes van Helt Stockade (1614–1669) settled near the *Doelen* on Singel; and Carel van Savoyen (1618–1665) established himself on Kalverstraat.[9]

During this period, affluent painters like Savoyen, Philips Koninck (1619–1688), and Barent Graat (1628–1709) emerged, deriving income mainly from sources outside painting.[10] This financial independence provided them with greater economic stability and, to some extent, artistic autonomy. The image of the 'gentleman-painter' likely appealed to a new generation of patrons who had become wealthy enough to step away from business and live off the interest of their accumulated wealth.[11] Pieter Spierenburgh's study of cultural elites in seventeenth-century Holland indicates that it was in the 1650s that the patricians and regents stabilised their authority and deliberately sought to distance themselves from the middle and lower classes, even though they had already evolved into a distinct social class above the burghers by the end of the sixteenth century.[12] This new 'leisure class' was at ease with their prosperity, thus demanding more glamour in their portraits and probably also in the painters they engaged with. Various studies on painters in this group have demonstrated how the upper crust's preference for elegance and refined style influenced the artistic development and self-presentation of painters in the high-end art market after 1650.[13] From a socio-spatial and business perspective, top-notch portrait and history painters still followed the same strategies developed in the previous two decades, as discussed in Chapter 5. The most significant change, however, was the high-end market's growing openness to painters specialising in genres other than history and portraiture.

Embracing new specialisations from old locations: Italianate landscape and genre of everyday life

The rise of painters with diverse specialisations coincided with the development of new genres and increasing diversity in both public commissions and private collections. Among the genres that gained favour in the upper-end market, the

9 See *ECARTICO* for the location information. Van Helt Stockade moved to Singel in 1652, near where his brother-in-law Jan Asselijn died in the same year.

10 Koninck owned a shipping business which allowed him to paint without economic concerns. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 349. Graat ran an academy. Ferdinand Bol later joined this group after his second marriage, but he subsequently stopped painting.

11 Lesger, 'Merchants in Charge', 87.

12 Spierenburg, *Elites and Etiquette*, 19, 22, 28, 31. In his seminal works, Norbert Elias outlined the civilising process centred in the formation and development of the new taste. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*.

13 The impact of the changing taste for art is specifically mentioned in several monographic studies of genre painters, such as Waiboer, *Metsu*; Kilian, *Du Jardin*; Kuretsky, *Ochtervelt*; Von Bode, *Meister*. The more recent exhibition *Rembrandt in Amsterdam* explored and visualised this phenomenon by comparing three portraits of the siblings/cousins from the Trip family. See Dickey, 'Portraits of Prosperity'.

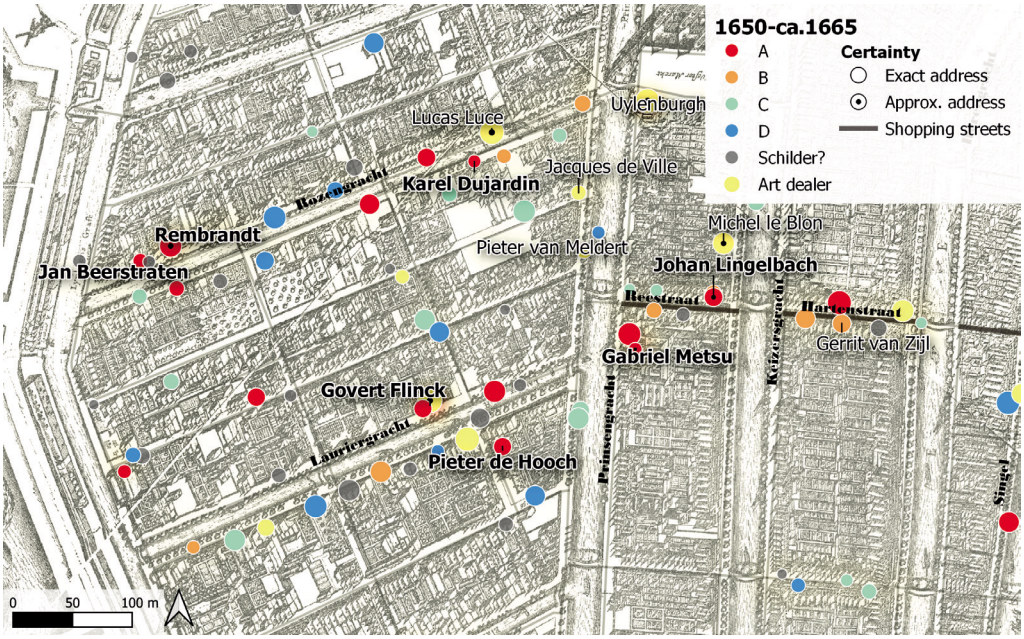

Figure 6-2: Details of Figure 6-1 around Rozen- and Lauriergracht.

Italianate landscape (with staffage or animals) proved to be a particularly effective path for artists to ascend the social hierarchy. Pioneers such as Jan Asselijn and Bartholomeus Breenbergh had already paved the way for their fellow landscapists to reach wealthy and powerful patrons, who were already accustomed to acquiring high-priced landscapes in Amsterdam and from other cities (like that of Cornelis van Poelenburch from Utrecht).[14] In the public sales and estate inventories, Italianate landscapes consistently commanded higher prices than more traditional landscape types, often by a significant margin.[15] Houbraken recounts that, in 1652, Nicolaes Tulp brought the animal painter Paulus Potter, the gifted son of Pieter Potter, from The Hague to Amsterdam, offering him full patronage and later commissioning a portrait of his son by the artist.[16] Although Potter's early death in 1654 curtailed his

14 More works by Van Poelenburch appeared in Amsterdam inventories than those of local landscapists. For the discussion of the reception of works by Breenbergh and Van Poelenburch, see Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 144–48.

15 Chong calculated the average prices for various kinds of landscapes, mostly attributed, between 1625 and 1675, and found that the Italianate landscapes had an average price of *f* 58.14, only a close second to landscapes with mythological figures (*f* 58.22). Other subjects, such as waterfalls, winter scenes, and battle scenes, fetched on average *f* 35 for attributed works. Chong, 'Market for Landscape', 116, table 2.

16 The full patronage was mentioned in Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 2:129. The portrait of Tulp's son Dirck Tulp is known from the Six Collection in Amsterdam.

promising career, he enjoyed financial security from patronage, and his specialisation was embraced by the upper class.

Like those who targeted the upper market segment, several painters who specialised in the highly decorative genres – particularly Italianate landscape and animals – flocked to the Rozen- and Lauriergracht area (Figure 6-2). Among them were Jan Abrahamsz Beerstraaten, Karel Dujardin, Jan Blom (ca. 1622–1685), Johannes Lingelbach (1622–1674), Frederik de Moucheron (1633–1686), Melchior d' Hondecoeter (1633–1695), and possibly Willem Schellinks (1623–1678), who might have stayed with his masters (Dujardin and Lingelbach) until his departure to England in 1661.[17] As discussed in Chapter 5, this area had already attracted several ambitious painters vying for prestigious clients along the canal ring before 1650. It is unsurprising that these emerging stars chose this location that best suited their business strategies and goals. While both the popularity of Italianate landscapes after 1650 and the painters' cluster in the Rozen-/Lauriergracht area are known to scholarship, their interrelation only becomes evident through a socio-spatial lens.[18]

Among the high-end landscapists, Karel Dujardin (Figure 6-3) might have been the most successful. In addition to his versatile painting skills, Dujardin possessed a keen ability to read and respond to the expectations of Amsterdam's patrician elite – an aptitude that helped make him one of the highest-paid painters of the seventeenth century.[19] His location choices attested to his business acumen. The son of a fat-renderer (*smeersmelter*), Dujardin, was raised on Kalverstraat, an area known for its concentration of mid-tier artists and art dealers.[20] This environment likely exposed him early to the commercial aspects of the painting industry.[21] Dujardin's talent and ambition seemed to have outgrown his childhood neighbourhood. He spent several years in France to further his education and returned to his home city around 1651. Instead of returning to Kalverstraat, he chose to establish himself on Rozengracht. This decision proved to be a sensible and strategic move, positioning him among like-minded and equally talented painters with easy access to the

17 See *ECARTICO* for the location information. For Schellink's training, see Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 2:273.

18 The representation of the Italianate landscape artists as a group appeared first in the 1965 exhibition in Utrecht. Since then, several monographic studies on individual artists like Adam Pynacker, Jan Both, Jan Weenix, Cornelis Poelenburgh, Karel Dujardin, and Johannes Lingelbach have been published, but the Italianate landscape artists in Amsterdam as a group have not attracted sufficient attention. Blankert, *Italianiserende landschapschilders*; Burger-Wegener, 'Lingelbach'; Kilian, *Du Jardin*; Sluijter-Seijffert, *Cornelis van Poelenburch, 1594/5–1667*; Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, *Weenix*. The cluster around Rozengracht is observed in Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 216–17, fig. 97.

19 For Dujardin's patrons and the prices of his works, see Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 28–39.

20 Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 4–5.

21 For Dujardin's biographical and family information, see Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 3–12.



Figure 6-3: Karel Dujardin, *Self-Portrait*, 1662, oil on copper, 28.5 × 22 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-190. ⏎

elites nearby.[22] Dujardin likely remained in this location until his departure to The Hague in 1656.

Dujardin's career experienced a significant upswing after his return to Amsterdam around 1659. By 1661, he had gained recognition from biographer Cornelis de Bie (1627–after 1711) as a celebrated artist, and his work was praised by the poet Jan Vos.[23] By the mid-1660s, Dujardin's paintings were sought after by distinguished collectors, and he was commissioned to portray members of the city's patrician elite.[24] Among his clients was Jacob de Graeff, whose portrait commission was noted by Jacob's brother Pieter de Graeff in his *Almanach* of 1669.[25] Portraying a core member of one of the most distinguished families in Amsterdam signified his

22 Dujardin was recorded living on Rozengracht in 1652. Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 102.

23 Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 10.

24 Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 28–39.

25 Pieter de Graeff wrote in his diary on 9 April 1669 that his brother Jacob agreed to sit for Dujardin in Pieter's house: 'op dinghsdagh 9 April heft myn broeder Jacob de Graeff myn belooft, sich selven met ons … door … du Guardyn te doen uytschilderen, in myn kleyne sydelkamer voor de schoorsteen' (SAA De Graeff Archive; GAA.PA 76, no. 189A). For the details about Pieter's 'kleyne zydellamer', see Li and Piccoli, 'Placing Value in Domestic Interiors'. The almanacs were first analysed in Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*. Dujardin's *Portrait of a Man* from 1670 in the Rijksmuseum, commonly identified as Jacob de Graeff, may have been this commission.

full acceptance into high society.[26] Jennifer Kilian has partly attributed Dujardin's success to his acute sensitivity to his clients' and sitters' ideals of self-presentation, an ability to reflect their status and affluence in an up-to-date style. This sensitivity extended beyond his art to his locational choices. When the Fourth Expansion brought wealthy families to the newly developed sections along Herengracht and Keizersgracht, Dujardin followed suit, relocating to the extended Keizersgracht. There, he resided in a Type II house with a side chamber (see Chapter 2), a sub-house type found mainly after 1650 and mostly among relatively well-to-do artists.[27]

The inventory of Dujardin's canal house reveals how he strategically deployed interior space for self-fashioning and professional advancement. Following contemporary interior design trends, Dujardin used his sparsely decorated *voorhuis* as a vestibule, leading to the more imposing side chamber. This room exhibited fifty-eight paintings (most unattributed except one to Dujardin and one to Cornelis van Poelenburch) together with a cabinet, two chairs, and a table. The *binnenkamer* and kitchen, located behind the *voorhuis* and side chamber, served as the only living quarter of this house. Upstairs, the house was divided into a *schilderkamer* and a *kunstkamer*. The *schilderkamer* housed not only all painting tools and supplies but also several unfinished portraits of Dujardin's prominent clients.[28] In the same space, a paint box rested on an old table, and ten empty canvases remained on their stretchers. Although this inventory was drawn up in 1678, three years after Dujardin's sudden departure for Italy, the placement of objects in his workshop suggests that the space might have been left intact, waiting for his return.[29] Adjacent to the *schilderkamer* was a *kunstkamer*, which served as a secondary gallery filled with over a hundred paintings. Among them was a self-portrait (referred to in the inventory as *een Conterfijtsel van Carel Gardyn*), likely displayed as a promotion device for himself and his profession. This *kunstkamer* was possibly where he received guests to socialise and facilitate the sales of his work. The interior of Dujardin's house exemplifies how domestic spaces were deliberately arranged to serve both practical and symbolic purposes within the painting profession. Unlike Flinck and Bol, who leveraged family connections or marriage to enter the elite circle, Dujardin likely

26 For the details about the De Graeff family and its political and social importance, see Piccoli, *Pieter de Graeff*.

27 Dujardin purchased a plot of land on Kerkstraat in 1670 and lived on 'Nieuwe Keizersgracht beosten van de Nieuwe Spiegelstraat' from 1673 to 1675. See Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 105–6, doc. 88 and 95.

28 The inventory listed unfinished portraits for 'Pieter van Beuningen', 'Hr. Secretaris Spiegel', and two for 'Hr. De Ruiter'. The latter was likely Dujardin's travel companion to Italy toward the end of his life. For the transcription and translation of the inventory, see Kilian, Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 107–12. For the original source, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 4495AC, fols 584–601 (19-10-1678), not. Jacob Matham.

29 Houbraken offered a vivid account of Dujardin's abrupt departure and subsequent travel in Italy during his last years; see Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 3:59–60. Like in the *schilderkamer*, the art supplies in the attic such as the grinding stone were placed on the table ('een verfsteen op een tafeltje') instead of being stowed away. For the details of Dujardin's inventory of his house, see Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 107–12.

advanced from his strategic positioning, careful interior display, and awareness of his patrons' wishes, in addition to his artistic skills, which adeptly catered to the taste for glamour and elegance among Amsterdam's prosperous elites.

Several painters of Italianate landscape, although less successful than Dujardin, still managed to serve the same group of clients and received public or private commissions. This group – including Jan Blom, Jan Beerstraaten, Frederik de Moucheron, and Melchior d' Hondecoeter and Dujardin's pupil Johannes Lingelbach – all gained access to the upper-end market.[30] Like Dujardin, all of them chose to live along Rozen-/Lauriergracht or nearby radial streets like Reestraat, which connected the grand canals to the Jordaan. Their locational decisions suggest an awareness of the strategic value of such settings. Contemporary sources confirm the desirability of these areas. In his 1662 city guide, Melchior Fokkens described 'commercial streets' and 'respectable shopkeepers' and noted the presence of *groote winkeliers* (large shops) on Hartenstraat and Reestraat, further validating the appeal of these locations.[31] Although location alone did not determine success, these favourable positions undoubtedly facilitated entry into the high-end market. As these painters' artistic skills matched collectors' and patrons' tastes for a bright, decorative style, this location offered the right artistic environment and business connections for them to thrive. To a certain extent, the Rozen-/Lauriergracht area after 1650 became a cluster of high-end painters, like the Sint Antoniesbreestraat before 1630. Arguably, the Rozen-/Lauriergracht cluster offered even greater advantages, as it also housed several mid- to high-end art dealers. Figures like Michiel le Blon, the Uylenburghs, Lucas Luce, Pieter van Meldert, and Jacques de Ville acted as intermediaries between artists and patrons, expanding painters' reach and market visibility. In 1653, mid-tier art dealer Pieter van Meldert relocated from Nieuwmarkt to the Rozen-/Lauriergracht neighbourhood, a move that not only aligned with the choices of painters but also signalled a broader shift in the buyers' preference. Increasingly, collectors sought high-quality, ready-made paintings in this new cluster, rather than in traditional marketplaces like Nieuwmarkt.[32]

Beyond strategic positioning in the urban space and their use of interior settings, these artists also diversified their subject matter. Contrary to Montias's observation

30 Jan Blom served as a provost of a civic guard company and had noted connections to the family of Cornelis Witsen, who was an important figure for Rembrandt. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 5:1531–48. In addition to these successful painters, Jan Wijnants (ca. 1632–1684) and Albert Klomp (1625–1688) tried to do the same but had only had limited success. A few of Albert Klomp's works were appraised at over *f* 30, although the average was a mere *f* 8. Low-end art dealers Cornelis Doeck and Hendrick Meijeringh had Klomp in their stock. For more details, see Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 315–17.

31 Fokkens, *Beschrijvinge*, 96.

32 Pieter van Melder's painting stock and his debtors covered most of the well-known artists in Amsterdam and Haarlem. For the inventory of his house, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 1202T, fols 270–86 (01-10-1653), and Appendix III.

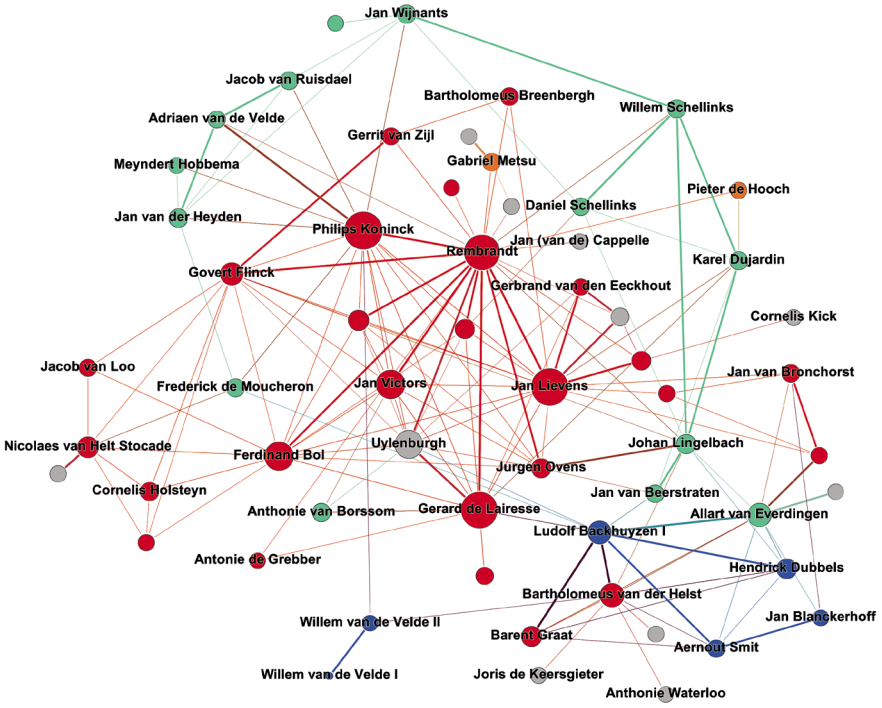

Figure 6-4: Social network of painters active between 1650 and 1670. Coloured by their expertise: history/portrait (red), landscape (green), genre (orange), marine (blue), and other intermediaries (grey). Thick lines between nodes indicate direct connections; thin lines represent indirect links. ⏎

of specialisation among painters, these upper-end Italianate landscapists developed oeuvres that spanned multiple genres, while maintaining a recognisable style or set of motifs.[33] I have argued elsewhere that the trend of specialisation took a different turn after the mid-century and that these artists often pivoted around their 'unique selling point' and reached far and wide to appeal to the new taste of their targeted clientele.[34] Moreover, this group of painters collaborated more extensively than their predecessors or their mid-tier contemporaries, presumably to keep the clients interested by introducing variety. As illustrated in Figure 6-4, these Italianate landscapists were well connected, particularly to painters of other expertise. For instance, Johannes Lingelbach was known to have worked with Jan Beerstraaten and Ludolf Bakhuizen and bought his house on Reestraat from his fellow landscapist Jan Blom. In addition to their strong intra-group ties, these artists stayed close to the core

33 Dujardin and Beerstraaten, among others, were seemingly versatile and took on various subjects. For Montias's specialisation hypothesis, see Montias, 'Cost and Value', 457.

34 Li, 'Spotting Specialists'.

circle of upmarket painters in the traditional genres of portraiture and history – such as Flinck and Bol – as evident in the social network visualised in Figure 6-4.

The success of several Italianate landscapists did not mean, however, that the Rozen-/Lauriergracht neighbourhood guaranteed success for all painters. Painters specialising in genre scenes of everyday life living in the same area, such as Gabriël Metsu (1629–1667) and Pieter de Hooch (1629–after 1679), struggled to attract patrons after moving to this neighbourhood, at least in the beginning. Metsu, for example, lacked neither talent nor skills when compared to the Italianate landscapists. Yet during the 1650s, he could hardly find the patronage that Potter and Dujardin enjoyed in Amsterdam, or that their fellow genre painters Johannes Vermeer and Gerrit Dou had in Delft and Leiden.[35] Over time, however, Metsu managed to break into the upper market and serve wealthy clients, mainly after he began depicting high-class men and women at leisure around 1660.[36] Adriaen Waiboer has observed that Metsu's numerical output declined in the 1660s, which may suggest an increase in his sales prices.[37] In 1661, he painted *The visit to the nursery* (Figure 6-5) for Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen, who was elected *schepen* in the same year. Two years later, Hinlopen commissioned another painting from Metsu, a family portrait in an ornate interior, now housed in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. This portrait proved so successful that the setting was subsequently adopted by Emanuel de Witte, Pieter de Hooch, and Jacob Ochtervelt.[38] Metsu's commissions for Hinlopen, combined with his reduced production levels, suggest that he secured a relatively stable income in the 1660s, primarily, if not exclusively, by serving elite patrons rather than producing for the open market. When the Fourth Expansion started to draw members of the upper class to the newly expanded canal ring after 1665, Metsu adapted, relocating to Leidsestraat, one of the newly added radial streets, where he died in 1667.[39] Although Metsu had not deliberately chosen to settle in the Rozengracht area – he initially moved there for convenience, living in the back house of his affluent relative Philip Metsu – he did take advantage of the location by embedding himself in the milieu of rising artists and patrons to develop his career. When the market circumstances changed, Metsu responded accordingly by deliberately choosing a more advantageous area closer to his clientele.[40]

35 For Vermeer's clients and patrons, see Montias, *Vermeer and His Milieu*, 246–62 . For the discussion of Dou's patronage, see Martin, *Leven en werken*, 41–46; Gaskell, 'Dou'; Sluijter, *Lof der schilderkunst*, 26–30.

36 Waiboer observes that Metsu started to favour high-life subjects since the early 1660s. Waiboer, *Metsu*, 135.

37 Waiboer, *Metsu*, 135.

38 The influence of this painting is discussed in Waiboer, *Metsu*, 136–37. For the broader discussion of Metsu's engagement in the artistic rivalry, see Waiboer, 188.

39 Waiboer, *Metsu*, 10.

40 When Metsu died in 1667, he was living on Leidsestraat, a radial street that crosses the Heren- and Keizersgracht. SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1055, fol. 185v (24-10-1667).

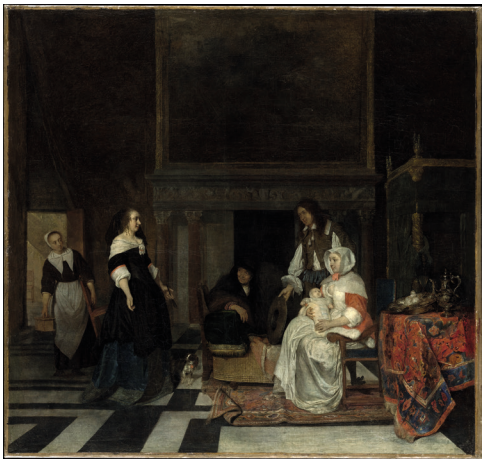

Figure 6-5: Gabriël Metsu, *The Visit to the Nursery*, 1661, oil on canvas, 77.5 × 81.3 cm, New York City: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.190.20.



Figure 6-6: Pieter de Hooch, *Portrait of the Jacott-Hoppesack Family*, ca. 1670, oil on canvas, 98.2 × 112.8 cm, Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum, inv. SA 41337.

In contrast to Metsu's fortunate timing, Pieter de Hooch relocated to Konijnenstraat (a side street off Lauriergracht) in 1667, when the artists' cluster started to dissolve. The ongoing Fourth Expansion had by then begun to drain the talent and wealth from this neighbourhood (see Chapter 7). Like Metsu, De Hooch turned to high-life genre scenes and managed to find privileged clients such as the Jacott-Hoppesack family (Figure 6-6). However, unlike his more successful peers, De Hooch's artistic skills and his earlier success in Delft did not translate into sensible pictorial responses to the new wishes of his clientele in Amsterdam. His relocation to the Rozen-/Lauriergracht neighbourhood likely came too late to benefit from the clustering effects that had earlier supported artists' success. Due to this unfortunate timing, along with the shrinking market, De Hooch never attained the same recognition in Amsterdam as he had in Delft.[41] In the absence of wealthy patrons, his later work became less refined and was likely produced more quickly to reduce costs and appeal to a broader, less affluent audience. Consequently, the artistic quality of his paintings declined in his final years.[42]

Bordering between patronage and market: Marine painters near the sea and Dutch landscapists close to the market

As the upper-end market opened the door to the Italianate landscapists and genre painters in the Jordaan, several marine painters started to knock on the same door,

41 De Hooch's tri-city career has recently been discussed in Van der Veen, 'Contouren'.

42 De Hooch's paintings in Amsterdam were criticised by many early twentieth-century scholars, see Von Bode, *Meister*, 86–89; Valentiner, *Meisters Gemälde*, xxiii–xxv. But many attributed such a decline wrongly to his mental illness, a misunderstanding that is clarified in Grijzenhout, 'New Information'.

though from a different location and for a different reason. The First Anglo-Dutch War and the heroic death of Maarten Harpertsz Tromp (1598–1653) at the Battle of Scheveningen spurred widespread interest in commemorating Dutch naval power through paintings and prints.[43] Willem van de Velde the Elder (ca. 1610–1693), and later his son Willem (1633–1707), were in the right place with the right artistic skills. Residing on Korte Koningsstraat, just off Nieuwmarkt and close to the harbour, the Van de Veldes were involved in naval activities. Van de Velde the Elder sailed with the Dutch fleet on at least six occasions, directly observing naval battles to create detailed drawings from life.[44] Each battle Van de Velde the Elder witnessed became an opportunity for high-profile commissions. He produced at least eight major pen paintings of the Battle of the Sound (1658), one of which was acquired by Cosimo de Medici in 1667 or 1668, indicating the international demand for such marine subjects.[45] His clientele included prominent naval commanders and their families, such as Jacob Wassenaer and Tromp's family, who commissioned an entire series of large pen paintings (such as Figure 6-7).[46] The Van de Veldes also worked closely with Michiel de Ruyter: the elder Van de Velde sailed alongside the commander, while the younger Van de Velde later collaborated with Ferdinand Bol to produce his portraits (see Figure 6-8).[47] Through these connections, the Van de Veldes entered the high-end market by serving individuals and institutions tied to the navy and particularly to the Amsterdam Admiralty. Just as upmarket portraitists rendered the likeness of urban patricians as status symbols, the Van de Veldes offered seaborne elites an equally potent form of status display: visual records of their heroic deeds and the ships under their command, intended for display in domestic interiors or public buildings. Like the upmarket portraitists who stayed close to their network, the Van de Veldes never lost touch with the maritime world including the officials of the VOC and Admiralty near the harbour.[48]

Alongside marine painters, landscapists Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675) and Jacob van Ruisdael (ca. 1628–1682) straddled the upper and middle layers of the art

43 Before that, during the Eighty Years' War, the naval feats had aroused great public interest, from which several publishers profited by issuing prints and portraits of naval heroes. Van de Velde the Elder provided ship drawings and designs for the publishers around 1640. Marine painter Reinier Nooms (Zeeman) collaborated with his brother-in-law on two popular engravings of Tromp. For more discussion of the market for marine paintings, see Daalder, *Van de Velde*, chs 5 and 7.

44 For the discussion of Van de Velde's position in the fleet, see Daalder, *Van de Velde*, 85–86.

45 Daalder, *Van de Velde*, 91–92.

46 Daalder, *Van de Velde*, 87–90.

47 For the five copies of Michiel de Ruyter, Van de Velde the Younger only directly painted the Greenwich one, because technical research shows that the ships in the background were painted on a separate canvas inserted into the rest. The ships in other versions, including the Mauritshuis one in Figure 6-8, were probably copied by Bol's assistants, following the design by Van de Velde the Younger. Daalder, *Van de Velde*, 100–101.

48 At this moment, however, there is alas insufficient evidence to visualise networks/locations of all patrons of Van de Velde the Elder and his son.

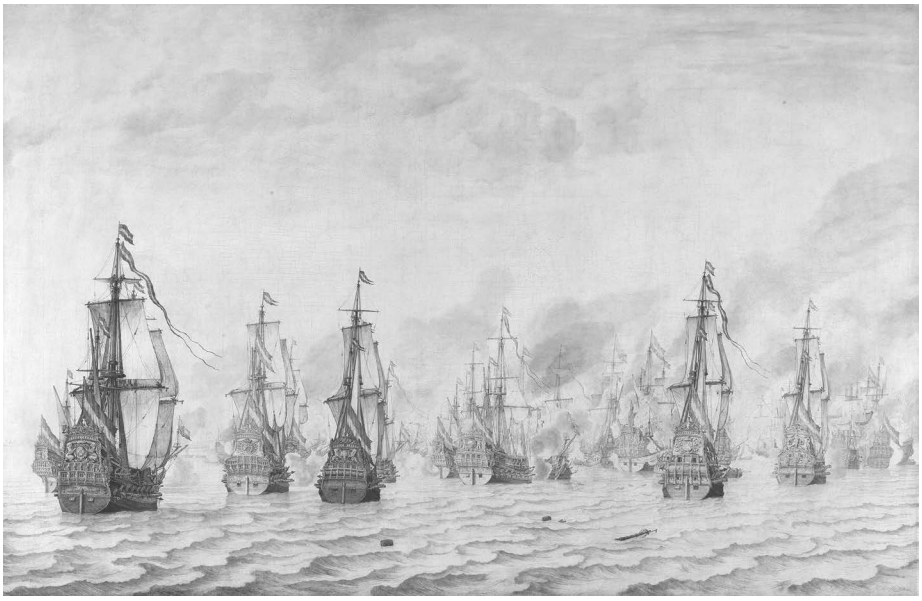

Figure 6-7: Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Naval Battle against the Spaniards at Dunkirk*, 1659, ink on canvas, 123 × 185 cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1362. ⏎



Figure 6-8: Ferdinand Bol, *Portrait of Michiel de Ruyter (1607–1676)*, 1667, oil on canvas, 135 × 157 cm, The Hague: Mauritshuis, inv. 585. ⏎

market. Already successful in Haarlem, these painters of Scandinavian and Dutch landscapes moved to Amsterdam in the 1650s.[49] They managed to elevate their careers, but only to a limited degree. Studies indicate that both received prestigious commissions from prominent Amsterdam families like the Trips and the De Graeffs, capitalising on the elite's desire to showcase views of their properties.[50] Lucrative commissions from the upper class, however, remained sporadic, and both painters continued to produce work for the open market. This is perhaps why Everdingen and Ruisdael each chose to reside near established marketplaces: Everdingen on Koningsstraat (no. 4), just two houses down from Nieuwmarkt, and Ruisdael on the Dam.[51]

For Everdingen, Nieuwmarkt offered almost everything he needed. The houses of his most important clients – Louys (1605–1684) and Hendrick Trip (1607–1666) – were within easy reach (only 260 meters door-to-door), and his overdoor landscapes remain in their original setting in the Trippenhuis to this day.[52] Everdingen supplemented his painting with art dealing, taking full advantage of the location to run a successful business. He paid a yearly rent of *f* 216 for the house on Koningsstraat, living in better housing than many fellow painters nearby (see later in this chapter). The rent suggests that the house was spacious enough to accommodate both the production of relatively large landscapes (around one by one meter) with his art dealership.[53] Unfortunately, we do not have a complete inventory of his house to reconstruct his use of interior space. In addition to commissions, Everdingen painted on spec. After his death, his widow offered to sell his remaining stock, described as 'all the beautiful landscapes of the painter Allart van Everdingen

49 The average sales price for landscape paintings between 1650 and 1675 was *f* 24.9. However, Everdingen's works sold for an average of *f* 36.1, and Ruisdael's for *f* 43.2, significantly exceeding the average and highlighting their success. For the full list of the sales prices for various landscape painters, see Chong, 'Market for Landscape', 117–18, table 2.

50 Everdingen received commissions for at least two overdoor paintings and one large piece to decorate the Trippenhuis with his signature Scandinavian landscapes to honour the Trip family's business endeavour in Sweden (now in the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences). Davies and Duparc, *Allart van Everdingen*, 123. Ruisdael is said to have collaborated with Thomas de Keyser on the family portrait of Cornelis de Graeff (now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin). His works appeared in Pieter de Graeff's probate inventory. In 1674 Ruisdael was commissioned by Pieter de Graeff to overpaint (*overschilderen*) and enhance (*verbeteringh*) landscapes depicting De Graeff estates at Soestdijk and Polsbroeck. For these works, Ruisdael received lucrative fees of *f* 30 and *f* 40, respectively. Although neither painting has been identified, both were listed in De Graeff's inventory and valued at ƒ36 each. See SAA NA 5075, inv. 5001, fols 482–87, 07-07-1708; Slive, *Ruisdael*, 2.

51 Davies, *Allart van Everdingen*, 38; Slive, *Ruisdael*, 1.

52 Davies and Duparc, *Allart van Everdingen*, 123.

53 In Davies's monograph on Everdingen, I identified 82 paintings measuring approximately 1 by 1 meter out of the total 179 attributed works of various sizes. Davies and Duparc, *Allart van Everdingen*.

as well as paintings by other masters'.[54] Aware of the importance of location, his widow – likely continuing the art dealership – moved the family to Kalverstraat near the Dam, where painting shops and bookshops clustered and where his colleague Ruisdael lived (see Figure 6-10).[55] Like Everdingen, Ruisdael operated between the upper and middle segments of the art market, though he leaned more towards the mid-tier, mostly producing smaller landscapes presumably on spec, which made the Dam a perfect choice for his practice.[56] Alongside Everdingen and Ruisdael, this group of ascending painters also included still life painter Willem Kalf (1619–1693). He is known to have initially stayed with a family relative on Singel upon moving to Amsterdam and relocated several times before settling near the Nieuwmarkt area in the 1660s.[57] He was buried from Oude Waal near Schippersstraat in 1693 after a long and successful career in the city.[58] According to Houbraken, Kalf likely worked with art dealers and might have traded art himself.[59] His interest in the art trade might have brought him to Nieuwmarkt, but we do not know enough about his clientele to fully understand his location choice.

In a nutshell, the decades following 1650 witnessed a notable expansion of the high-end art market. Painters working in genres like Italianate landscape, 'high society' scenes of everyday life, marine painting, and, to a lesser extent, Dutch/Scandinavian landscape and still life, successfully ascended into the upper segment of the art market. While the popularity of these genres after mid-century is well-known, a socio-spatial examination reveals that the upmarket playbook originally developed by portrait and history painters was increasingly adopted by artists working in other genres. As more painters started to follow the playbooks that catered to relatively exclusive clientele, their artistic choices and innovative drive inevitably revolved around the preferences of this narrow social group. Once these clients reached a consensus on taste, artistic output became less diverse, a trend that crystallised and intensified in the next period.

54 Van der Willigen, *Les Artistes de Harlem*, 128. Cited in Davies, *Allart van Everdingen*, 41.

55 The advertisement for the auction of Everdingen's widow suggested that she died 'in de Kalverstraet bij den Dam over de Vergulde Eendracht'. Davies, *Allart van Everdingen*, 41.

56 The Dam was also where several Roman Catholic painters such as Carel van Savoyen and Anthonie de Grebber (ca. 1622–1691) lived. When they posted banns for marriage, De Grebber lived on Kalverstraat in 1651 and Savoyen on the Dam in 1649. For their marriage registers, see *ECARTICO*.

57 Kalf was mentioned in the probate inventory of his wife's uncle Johan Le Thor from his house on Singel as 'Willem Calff, schilder, coijn daer ten huyse'. This phrasing suggests that Kalf was living with Johan Le Thor and Margarita Pluvier's household in the early 1650s. Kalf and Cornelia Pluiver's children were baptised in different churches between 1657 and 1663 (Weseterkerk, Oude Kerk, Waalse Kerk and Zuiderkerk) which may suggest that the couple was moving across the city, before settling in the area near the Zuiderkerk (close to Nieuwmarkt). See Grisebach, *Willem Kalf*, 20, 25.

58 Kalf's burial record showed he was from 'Nieuwlant [Waal] aen de Binnekant bij de Schipperstraat'. SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1092, fol. 138 (3-8-1693).

59 Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 2:218–220.

The shrinking mid-level market and the struggling painters

While many artists profited from the expansion of the upper-end market, the mid-tier painters began to falter after 1650. Socio-economic studies have often attributed these struggles to factors such as shifts in fashion, economic stagnation, decades of structural overproduction, and the expanding second-hand market, which offered paintings at lower prices.[60] These macro-level explanations, albeit insightful, overlook the continued success of the high-end market and the flourishing careers of upmarket artists who remain the focus of most art-historical research.[61] Given the complex and multi-tiered nature of the art market, such economic reasoning applies primarily to mid-tier painters, who were particularly vulnerable due to their dependence on a large, relatively affluent middle-class clientele – a demographic significantly affected by economic stagnation. While the difficulties faced by artists after the 1650s have been well documented, this section examines the collective responses of mid-tier painters to increasingly adverse market conditions.

Seeking security elsewhere or changing professions

One response to the shrinking market was to seek financial stability and security by becoming court painters abroad or relocating to cities with larger or emerging markets.[62] This trend, which became popular after the 1670s, began to emerge in this period. Landscapists Johannes Ruyscher (ca. 1625–1675) and Govert Dircksz Camphuysen (1623–1672) were early adopters of this path.[63] Notably, Camphuysen retreated from Rozengracht to the established mid-tier painters' cluster on Kalverstraat near the *Doelen* by 1652 – presumably after failing to secure a foothold in the upper segment of the art market – only to be driven from the city entirely by debts the following year.[64] Camphuysen's 1652 insolvency inventory shows that he could

60 For the impact of wars on the Dutch art market in general, see Montias, 'Cost and Value'; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'. For the impact on individual artists like Rembrandt and Uylenburgh, see Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 213–214; Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son*, 105. For the impact of structural overproduction of paintings and the expanding second-hand painting market, see Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam'. For the change of fashion, see Mai et al., *De kroon op het werk*; Fock, 'Het interieur in de Republiek'. In addition to existing explanations, I proposed the social-bubble hypothesis in an earlier article. See Li, 'Innovative Exuberance'.

61 Cf. Blankert, *Italianiserende landschapschilders*.

62 Kolfin, 'Going to the Market'. For the socio-economic strategies of Dutch painters in the emerging art market in London, see Karst, 'Schilderen in een land zonder schilders'.

63 Veldman, 'Ruijscher, Jan'. Ruyscher left Amsterdam in 1660 and served courts in Cleve and Dresden, see *ECARTICO*.

64 Camphuysen married from his mother's house on Lindengracht in 1647 and moved in 1648 to Rozengracht where his wife's family lived. In 1652, he lived on Kalverstraat near the *Doelen*, where his inventory was drawn up by the Chamber of Insolvency. SAA DBK 5072, inv. 577I, akt. 91. For the full transcription of the inventory, see Bredius and Moes, 'Camphuysen', 207–208.

only afford a small Type I house, yet he still maintained appearances by painting in his well-furnished *voorhuis,* which featured Spanish chairs and even a piece of gilded leather behind a *zoldertje* (a raised wooden platform to protect the sitter from drafts and the cold floor).[65] Despite this financial debacle in Amsterdam, Camphuysen managed to secure patronage from various clients from the Swedish court from 1653 to at least 1663.[66]

Another common response was to take up a secondary occupation or even drop painting altogether. This path was pursued by several mid-tier painters, who failed to break into the upper market and had to supplement their artistic income by venturing into other businesses. Many opened taverns or traded wine, including landscape painters Jan Wijnants (ca. 1632–1684), Aert van der Neer, and Johan Lagoor (?– after 1660); genre painter Gerrit Lunden; and still life painter Juriaen van Streeck.[67] These painters often selected locations that supported their new ventures. Aert van der Neer, for instance, took over a rather popular inn (*herberg*) – the *Graaf van Holland* – near the Dam (Kalverstraat 12).[68] All of them seem to have put their painting career aside to focus fully on business.[69] However, these entrepreneurial efforts proved more precarious than painting itself. Except for Wijnants, each of them ended up in financial ruin, as evidenced by their insolvency inventories.[70]

Beyond running full-fledged businesses, some painters took on side jobs. Still life painter Cornelis Brisé (featured in Chapter 5), for instance, worked as a keeper for the Schouwburg. Marine and landscape painter Hendrick Dubbels (1621–1707) appears to have taken over his second wife's stocking shop on the textile shopping street Nieuwendijk and was listed as a *winckelier* (shopkeeper) in his 1665

65 SAA 5072, inv. 577 'I', fols 91–93.

66 Bredius and Moes, 'Camphuysen', 209.

67 Facing a difficult market, Wijnants and Van der Neer lowered the quality of their paintings presumably to reduce costs. Bachmann, *Van der Neer*.

68 Van der Neer rented this inn from 1658 to 1662 for *f* 1,100 a year. This high operating cost probably crushed Van der Neer. In 1662, he declared insolvency. His subsequent inventory mentioned no painting studio or art supplies. The details of Van der Neer's 1662 bankruptcy and the inventory of his possessions were published by Bredius, 'Aernout (Aert) van Der Neer', 70–72. See also Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*, 162, note 15. This inn survived Van der Neer for almost a century and was used as a bookshop in the eighteenth century. For more details regarding this inn, see Hell, 'Amsterdamse herberg', 110, 210, 251–52. Van der Neer managed to settle his debts with some money remaining after auctioning off his possessions. He lost his wife and son Jan in 1665, possibly to the plague that raged in Amsterdam in 1663/64. See Hell, 'Amsterdamse herberg', 275; Bachmann, *Van der Neer*, 12.

69 When their insolvency inventories were drawn up, these painters' possessions showed no trace of their painting professions (studio or art supplies). For instance, the contents of Jan de Lagoor's inventory show that he was more of a wine merchant who kept 'some wine-seller's tools' (*eenich wijncoopers geretschap*, fol. 264) instead of painting tools. For the Lagoor inventory, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 586, fols 259–264v (02-12-1659).

70 The risks included initial investments, high operating cost for renting the inn, business decisions, and external factors.

insolvency inventory.[71] For painters who could hardly make ends meet by selling paintings, their houses were often used to accommodate a side business. The obscure painter Laurens Floor, for example, kept a shop (probably selling spices or candlesticks) in the *voorhuis* of his house on the Dam while his *schilderkamer* was located upstairs.[72] Due to limited space and financial means, Floor had his maid sleep in his *schilderkamer* at night.[73]

The best business practice of combining painting with other professions is found in the case of Barent Cornelisz Kleeneknecht. A respected marine painter by 1661, Kleeneknecht was invited to inspect a painting attributed to Jan Porcellis alongside other rising artists such as Allart van Everdingen, Jacob van Ruisdael, and Willem Kalf.[74] Unlike his more successful peers, however, Kleeneknecht likely struggled to support himself solely through painting. He therefore took up work as a skipper and ran a marine supply shop from his conveniently located house on the Oude Schans near the harbour.[75] His 1674 post-mortem inventory shows that both of his businesses spread into most areas of his Type II house with an *achterzaal* (discussed in Chapter 2).[76] Kleeneknecht's marine supply store took up most of the *voorhuis*, while the *achterzaal* was dedicated to his painting business, containing only artworks and studio materials. The *achterzaal* held fifty-seven finished paintings and some standalone frames, suggesting the room may have served as a shop or exhibition space. Kleeneknecht's workshop likely spanned the entire first floor, recorded under two *comptoirs*, where over a hundred paintings – mostly seascapes, including nineteen unfinished works – were stored alongside art supplies and simple storage furniture. His attic was divided into a *turf zolder* (peat attic) and a *kooren zolder* (grain attic). Despite their suggestive names, they were primarily used for storage and as additional sleeping quarters, perhaps for pupils and assistants. The only space reserved for the family was the *binnenkamer*, which included an elevated *hangkamer* (mezzanine) built into the room for sleeping. Kleeneknecht had effectively turned his house into a 'painting factory' upstairs and two shops below, likely adapting to the shrinking demand for his works.

71 Hendrick Dubbels's inventory recorded a *winckel* in the place of a *voorhuis*. The presence of a shop counter, along with a significant amount of textiles and clothing, suggests that the *winckel* functioned as a textile shop. Notably, there were no indications of Dubbels's painting profession in the inventory. For details of his insolvency inventory, see SAA DBK 5072, inv. 592, fols 189v–193 (25-02-1665).

72 Laurens Floor's insolvency inventory listed scales and weights ('een Isere eevenaer met houte schaelen', 'Omtrent 90 ll Iser gewicht') as well as a shop counter ('Een toonbanck ende voort de winckel plancken') alongside eight paintings. See SAA DBK 5072, inv. 593, fols 192–94 (05-08-1662).

73 Floor had 'Een meijts bedt met sijn toebehoor' in 'de schildercaemer'. He probably combined his studio space during the day with the maid's room at night to save space. SAA DBK 5072, inv. 593, fols 192–94 (05-08-1662).

74 Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:348.

75 Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 1:348–363.

76 For Kleeneknecht's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 3465A, not. Johannes Paerslaken, fols 35–46 (01-02-1647).

Among the many examples, few illustrate the plight of struggling artists better than the relatively obscure history and portrait painter Francoys Dancx (1636–ca. 1703). Despite his talent and training in Italy, his career in Amsterdam ran aground. According to Houbraken, Dancx specialised in small history paintings and portraiture, and had spent a few years in Rome before returning to his native city in 1653.[77] Although Houbraken quotes laudatory poems praising Dancx's art, his Amsterdam career hardly took off, with no known painting from this period.[78] Soon after his return, in 1654, he had already taken up work, perhaps on the side, as a *deurwaerder* (a warrant server or bailiff) for the Court of Holland, likely to supplement his meagre income from painting.[79] Still working in this capacity in 1657, Dancx sued a client for underpaying his portrait work.[80] Two years later, he filed for bankruptcy. His insolvency inventory captures him confined to a small Type I house.[81] Within its limited space, Dancx painted from the *voorhuis*, where several drawings and prints of naked figures and antiquity were recorded – but no original paintings, apart from a single copy.[82] Had clients come to sit for their portraits, the *voorhuis* would have been the only possible place. Yet painting income appears to have fallen short: his inventory shows that he resorted to producing cheap copies of portraits of royalty, stored in his attic, likely intended for sale through art dealers. In 1676, Dancx boarded a Dutch East India Company ship and likely made a living by drawing landscapes and places in Asia as book illustrations.[83] His life and career story bring to light the precariousness of the Amsterdam art market for young, mid-tier artists who failed to establish themselves after mid-century.

77 Houbraken tells us that Dancx was nicknamed *Schildpad* in the Bentvueghels. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 3:319-320.

78 The failure could be partially attributed to the unfortunate timing of his return amidst the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54), which led to a slump in the art market. See Li, 'Innovative Exuberance'. Only a few drawings made during his last years in the East Indies are attributed to Dancx, but no painting is known.

79 Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*, 20.

80 For this case, Hendrick Uylenburgh and Guilliam de Ville – both were painters and art dealers in Amsterdam – were called in by the court as experts to evaluate a portrait by Dancx of the wife of Daniel Fransz, a surgeon in Amsterdam. This portrait was initially valued at 3 Flemish pounds (approximately *f* 19), but both appraisers thought it was worth much more. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:965.

81 For his inventory, see SAA DTB 5001, inv. 477, fol. 58; and inv. 316, fol. 58.

82 Painting tools and easels were often excluded from insolvency inventories, as they were considered essential professional tools. It is also possible that Dancx was living in his parents' house with more rooms. However, judging by the inventory, the painter may not have used the rest of the house. His parental house was on Schoutensteeg, a small alley on the west side of Oudezijds Voorburgwal behind Sint Jansstraat, as indicated by Dancx's brother Cristaan's marriage registration in 1657 and his younger sister's burial record in 1658.

83 Dancx was active in the Dutch Indies from 1676 to 1682. His drawings were used in 1682 for Johan Nieuhof's book *Zee- en lantreize door verscheidene gewesten von Oost Indien*. Bok, 'European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company', 177–204, esp. p. 193.

Even Jan Victors, who had been relatively successful in the earlier period, struggled to maintain his position in the 1650s. As Eric Jan Sluijter observed, Victors's former patrons and clients stopped buying his history paintings in the 1650s, leading to a decline in his production and a noticeable drop in quality.[84] By 1673, he went into service with the East India Company as a low-ranking *ziekentrooster* (comforter of the sick, an assistant to the preacher on board a VOC ship) and died en route in 1676/77.[85] Although Paul Crenshaw has noted that only a small fraction of seventeenth-century Dutch painters fell to the depths of insolvency or poverty, this study suggests that such misfortune befell mid-tier artists most acutely in the decades following 1650.[86] As the market polarised towards the high and low ends, the playbook that once served mid-tier painters lost its efficacy, driving many to abandon painting or seek alternative livelihoods.

The predicaments of the remaining mid-tier painters

The remaining mid-tier painters who continued to follow the established playbook from the previous period increasingly shifted toward the art trade, as reflected in their location choices. In the 1650s, these painters began expanding into other major shopping streets such as the Damrak. By the end of their lives, both landscapist Jochem Camphuysen (ca. 1601–1659) and portraitist Hendrick Gerritsz Pot (1580–1657) had settled on Damrak, the centre of international trade.[87] Collectively, the choices of mid-tier painters seen in Figure 6-9 overlap with the distribution of book publishers after 1650 (Figure 6-10). In particular, publishing houses and bookshops had spread along Kalverstraat toward the *Doelen*, transforming this area into a marketplace for cultural goods.

Kalverstraat continued to serve as a launching pad for artistic careers in Amsterdam. As seen with Pieter Quast and Jan Molenaer in Chapter 5, several painters chose to reside on Kalverstraat near the *Doelen*. These included genre painter Egbert Jaspersz van Heemskerck (ca. 1634–1704) and landscapist Roelof van Vries (ca. 1631–after 1681), both part of a social circle of Haarlem artists. They were joined by painter-art dealer Reinier Hals (1627–1672), son of Frans Hals, and his painter brother-in-law Pieter van Roestraten (1630–1700), who lived nearby on Singel by the *Doelen* and on Beulingstraat, respectively.[88] Aert van der Neer is said to have

84 Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*, 362, 373.

85 The monthly salary for a *ziekentrooster* was *f* 30–36, as opposed *f* 80–100 for the preacher, but still more than *f* 7–10 for a sailor. Miller, 'Jan Victors', 25–26.

86 Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*, 17–27.

87 Camphuysen was buried from 't water bij de vrouwensteegh int witte klaverblat' (Damrak 59 or 61) (SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1068, fol. 39, 21-01-1659), and Pot from 'opt Water, in de Seespiegel' (SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1057, fol. 11, 15-10-1657).

88 Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 359–361. Van Roestraten moved from Sint Antoniesbreestraat to Beulingstraat (where Pieter Potter lived by the end of his life), presumably to join the Haarlem group nearby.



Figure 6-9: Spatial distribution of mid-tier painters.

mingled with this group, perhaps while running the inn on Kalverstraat.[89] Beyond social connections, this group likely conducted business together, as Hals and Van der Neer might have sold artworks by their peers in the art shop or the inn. They were also likely acquainted with fellow Haarlemmer Jacob van Ruisdael, who lived near the Dam on the same street. Van Vries's landscape works bear a strong resemblance to Ruisdael's, though he offered more affordable alternatives.[90] Most painters in this group worked closely with a range of art dealers, including mid-level figures like Pieter van Meldert and Mathijs Hals, as well as lower-end dealers such as Cornelis Doeck and Hendrick Meijeringh.[91]

In addition to the Haarlem group, the neighbourhood also housed painter-art dealer Pieter Fris (1628–1706), who would later sell paintings to Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708), and landscape painter Adriaen van Eemont (1626–1662), who lived on Handboogstraat (no. 7) and worked for art dealer Dirck van Cattenburch (1616–1704).[92] Notably, Rembrandt considered buying Eemont's neighbouring house (Handboogstraat no. 5) in 1654 while attempting to settle his debts by moving

89 Van Thiel-Stroman, 'Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850', 188.

90 Van der Willigen and Meijer, *Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Landscape and Marine Painters*.

91 Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 359–361. For the spatial analysis of art dealers' homes, see Appendix III.

92 Adriaen van Eemont bought Handboogstraat no. 7 for *f* 7,200, *f* 2,700 of which were paid in paintings. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 214. Groenendijk, *Biografisch lexicon*. For Pieter Fris, see Bredius,

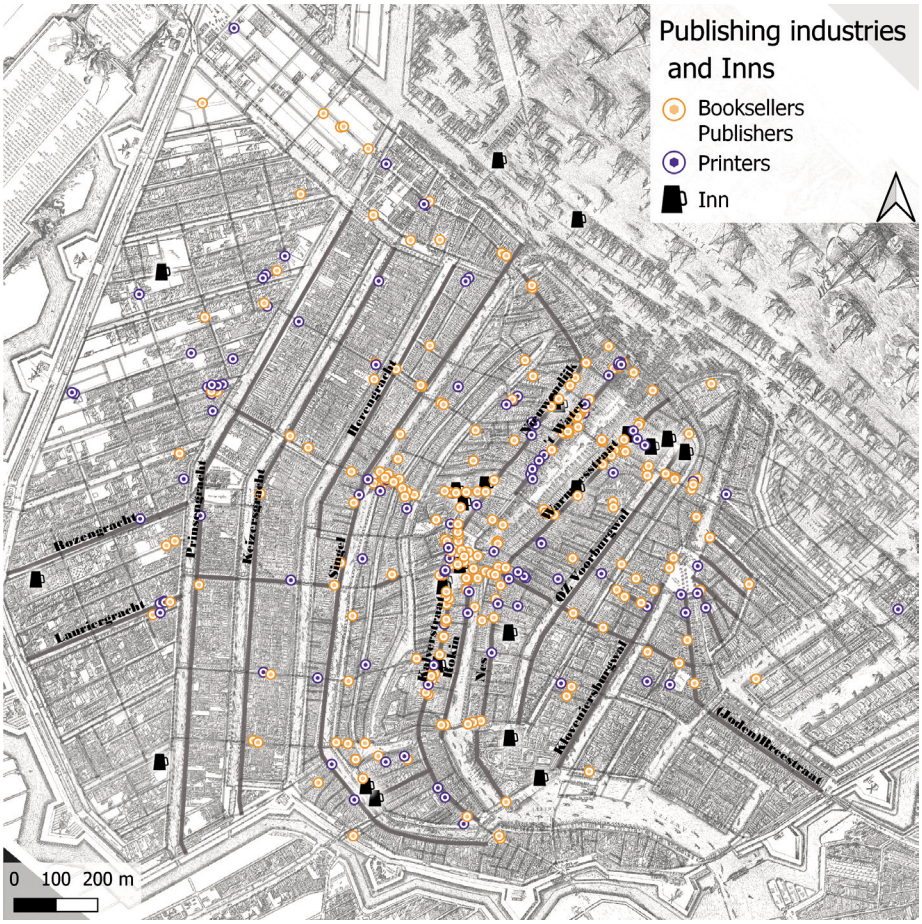

Figure 6-10: Locations of the printing industries (bookseller/publishers) and inns as social gathering spaces 1650–70. Data source: Paul Dijstelberge and Maarten Hell.

into a cheaper house.[93] Although this plan fell through, probably due to the lack of cash during the Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), his interest in this particular location attests to the continued appeal of this neighbourhood. But for an upmarket painter, considering a location popular among mid-tier painters once again reflects Rembrandt's misreading of both market dynamics and the strategic value of location.

Painters' collective presence in the Kalverstraat neighbourhood and in art dealers' stocks suggests that the remaining mid-tier painters after 1650 increasingly

Künstler-Inventare, 6:1984–2005. The transaction with Romeyn de Hooghe took place during Fris's sojourn outside Amsterdam in 1666.

93 Eemont's neighbouring house on Kalverstraat was valued at *f* 7,000, as opposed to *f* 13,000 for his house on Jodenbreestraat. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt*, 214. Groenendijk, *Biografisch lexicon*.

gravitated toward the business side of the art trade. While previous studies have suspected that some painters operated more like retail traders, this socio-spatial analysis reveals that this was particularly true for mid-tier painters, who adopted strategic location choices akin to those of shopkeepers and tradesmen.[94] In this sense, they echoed the behaviour of Southern immigrants before 1600, who settled on Kalverstraat and adopted a commercial approach to the production and distribution of paintings (see Chapter 3).

The low-end market and the transformation of Sint Antoniesbreestraat

Between 1650 and 1670, the low-end art market in the Nieuwmarkt/Antoniesbreestraat area transitioned from an artistic centre to a broader production hub and marketplace for cultural goods. As shown in Figure 6-10, publishers and engravers began to seep into this neighbourhood, capitalising on Nieuwmarkt's location and the cultural environment established by painters over previous decades. The number of agents in publishing and other creative industries like gold- and silversmiths in this area continued to rise throughout the 1670s (Figure 6-11). Although the area still housed several upmarket painters – Bartholomeus van der Helst, Rembrandt (until 1658), Allart van Everdingen, and Willem van de Velde – who served patrons nearby, this neighbourhood lost much of its appeal to mid-tier painters. Except for those who had settled there during the flourishing years before 1650, such as David Colijns, Simon Kick, and Steven van Goor (ca. 1608–after 1659), few mid-tier painters moved into this area after 1650. Many, like the aforementioned Pieter van Roestraten, left after a brief stay.[95]

The low-end market, by contrast, was flourishing near Nieuwmarkt. All of the low-end dealers identified by Angela Jager operated their painting shops in this area, making a living through trading and commissioning inexpensive pictures, primarily from obscure painters.[96] In particular, Jan Dammeroen, Cornelis Doeck, and Hendrick Meijeringh all ran their dealership on the same narrow street, Koestraat, which also housed three publishers (Figure 6-10) and a Latin school. This location,

94 Cf. De Marchi and Van Miegroet, 'Art, Value, and Market Practices', 462–63; Montias, 'Economic Factors'; Schwartz and Bok, *Pieter Saenredam*, 193.

95 In addition to the artists mentioned in the chapter, Pieter Janssens Elinga was mentioned as 'painter and musician (*schilder en speelman*) from Berenstraat. He seems to have moved to Berenstraat before his death in 1682. Since his wife was mentioned as a widow on 10 July 1682, it is likely that he was the Pieter Jansen from Berenstraat who was buried in the Karthuizer Kerkhof on 27 January 1682. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 324.

96 Three out of the four low-end dealers' inventories were transcribed and published together with the study of their painting stocks by Angela Jager. Jager, '"Galey-schilders"'. Although she did not publish Johannes Croon's inventory, she compiled a detailed biography of him.

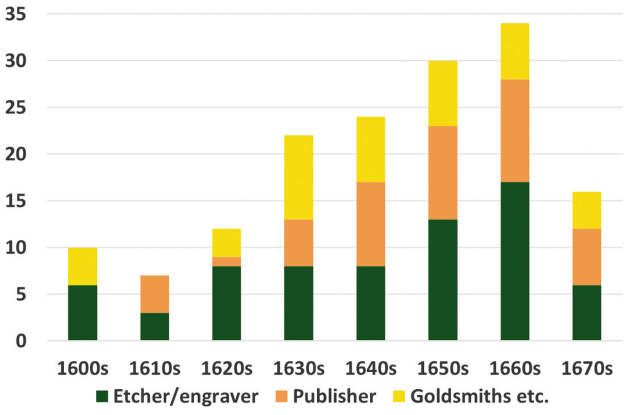

Figure 6-11: The number of craftsmen in other creative industries living near Nieuwmarkt/Sint Antoniesbreestraat over time.

just off Nieuwmarkt, offered not only traffic to the weekly market and the triannual *jaarmarkt* but also visitors to the guild halls in the Waag, including that of the painters' Guild of St. Luke.[97]

Art dealers in this area sold paintings not only by minor masters squeezing into cheap side streets or nearby islands, but also by painters working in other parts of the city (such as the 'Haarlem group' in Kalverstraat). Jager's research highlighted that these art dealers even employed painters from outside Amsterdam to 'sit in the galley', working from the attic of the dealer's house.[98] Building on her findings, the present research sheds light on the types of houses these art dealers occupied. Dealers Dammeroen and Doeck lived in a relatively small Type I house, having only the *voorhuis*, *binnenkamer*, and attic as usable spaces.[99] Like their predecessor, Louys Rocourt, who operated an art dealership from the same house type, they used the *voorhuis* mostly as a shop, filled with paintings. Dammeroen even kept an extra chest of assorted frames for his customers to pair with their purchases. Given the limited space, the painting shop and storage extended into the *binnenkamer*, further reducing the family's living area.[100] As a result, the attic became the only feasible place for their workshop. In essence, these art dealers near Nieuwmarkt fully mobilised every part of their homes to maximise the production and sale of

97 Kistemaker, Wagenaar, and van Assendelft, *Amsterdam marktstad*, 78, 81–83.

98 For instance, Jager observed that Barent Jansz Slordt lived in a small village near Hoorn while working for Meijeringh. She argued that Slordt worked from Meijeringh's attic during his job and returned to his home in Schermerhorn between jobs. Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 337–339.

99 Doeck was later recorded as living in the same house, 'De Friese Os', where Dammeroen's insolvency inventory was drawn. Jager argued that Doeck may have bought Dammeroen's shop. See Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 30.

100 Doeck kept over 200 paintings in his *voorhuis,* see Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 30.

inexpensive paintings, reinforcing Nieuwmarkt's transformation into a marketplace and a production centre for cultural goods.

Conclusion

After 1650, artistic innovations shifted from the mid-tier painters to the expanding group of upmarket painters, as the upper-end market started to embrace genres beyond history and portraiture. During this period, the urban elite began to favour styles and subjects that suited their converging taste for the ostentatious display of prestige. In response to shifting market conditions, more landscape, genre, and marine painters began adopting the strategies of high-end artists, relocating to areas that embedded them within the spatial and social milieu of their target audience. These rising stars were united in a well-connected social network that fostered collaboration. Beyond location and network, many also followed the examples of Rembrandt, Flinck, and Sandrart and consciously engaged their house interiors for self-fashioning, updating their playbooks accordingly.

In contrast to the growing and innovative high-end painters, the mid-tier ones largely lost their creative momentum after 1650, influenced by a mix of external and internal factors such as economic stagnation and shifts in fashion. No longer the most diverse or innovative group, many fell into financial hardship or abandoned painting altogether. Facing a shrinking demand for their works, the remaining mid-tier painters aligned their playbooks more closely to those of shopkeepers or retailers and coordinated their location choices accordingly.

Artists adapted their playbooks to the new market conditions in this period, as reflected in their location choices, social relations, and the use of interiors. Their collective behaviour shifted the coordination among actors in the market towards the buyers' side, either catering largely to the upper echelon of society or reducing painters to retail traders. These new playbooks had a profound impact on the diversity and innovation in painting production. Without a broad and varied consumer base, innovation was confined within fashionable boundaries, and mid-tier painters, in particular, drifted toward craftsmanship over artistry, prioritising business concerns over creative exploration.

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7. Transition into a New Market for Art, 1670–1700

Abstract: Chapter 7 explores the transformation of the Amsterdam art market after 1670, analysing the combined effects of economic change, shifting social dynamics, and urban expansion on painters across segments. Drawing on the diary of Amsterdam patrician Pieter de Graeff, this chapter reveals new channels in market coordination and their influence on painters' playbooks. It shows that painters from all market segments adapted their approaches to cater to the upper echelons of society, relying more heavily on personal and professional networks for their livelihoods. While these adaptations brought financial gains, as reflected in *Kohier 1674*, they also contributed to a decline in artistic innovation and diversity.

Keywords: market coordination, domestic interiors, painters' workshop, *Kohier 1674*, Pieter de Graeff, Michiel van Musscher

It was not until the 1670s that the citizens of Amsterdam could fully enjoy the city's iconic half-moon-shaped canal ring, prominently featured in many engravings such as Nicolaes Visser's map shown in Figure 7-1. The Fourth City Expansion – the last for centuries to come – was planned and implemented in the 1660s and gradually populated from the 1670s onward.[1] This well-thought-out expansion was, according to Jaap Abrahamse, 'wholly concerned and designed in a functional respect and in relation to traffic, urban planning, and water management'.[2] The extension of the canal ring not only improved living conditions by adding backstreets, such as Kerkstraat, with spaces for coach houses, but also enhanced the radial streets to ensure smooth and efficient traffic flow from the centre to the city gates.[3] The newly developed area quickly gained popularity among the upper echelons of society, who invested their considerable wealth in building splendid houses. As a result, this expansion allowed urban patricians to further distance themselves from

1 The design was approved by the city in 1662. Abrahamse, *Metropolis*, chap. 3.
2 Abrahamse, *Metropolis*, Conclusion.
3 Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 90.

Li, Weixuan. *Painters' Playbooks in the Art Market of Early Modern Amsterdam*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2025.
DOI: 10.4324/9781003701040-7

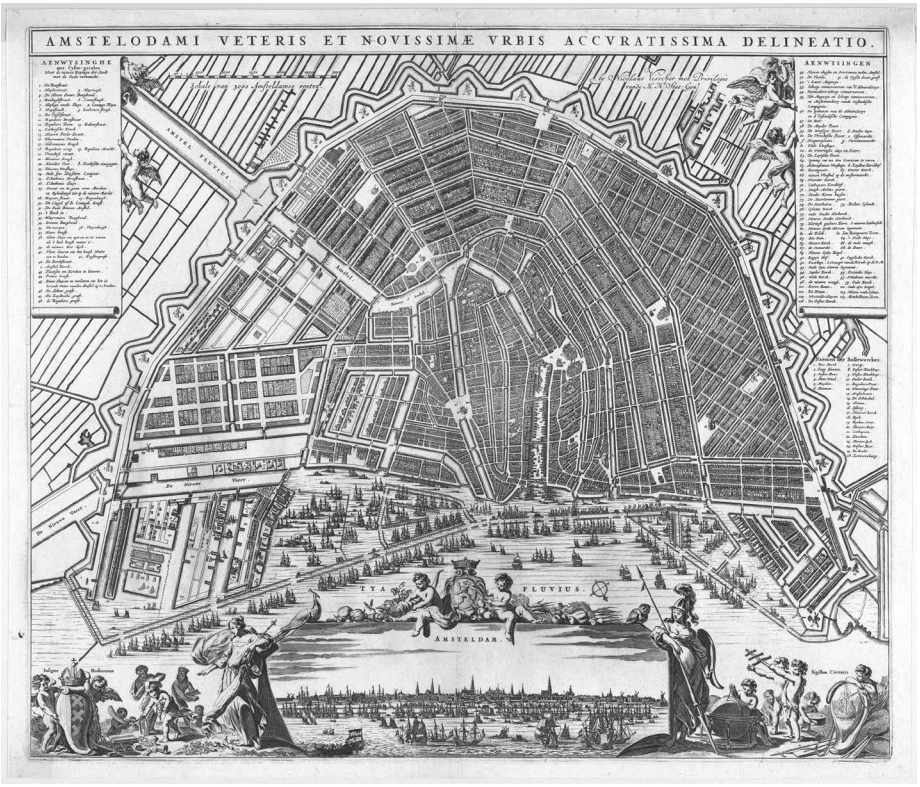

Figure 7-1: Nicolaes Visscher, *Map of Amsterdam*, print, 1688–95, Amsterdam: Amsterdam City Archives, inv. KOKA00109000001.

the middle and lower classes and solidify their authority. The younger generation of the elite, raised along the old grand canals, left their parental neighbourhoods and built their own houses in the new area. As we shall see, this relocation of patrons and collectors of art would permanently alter the artistic landscape in Amsterdam.

Despite this new city development, the last decades of the seventeenth century are often viewed as a period of artistic and market decline.[4] The flourishing era of Dutch art is considered to have ended in the 1670s, partly due to an oversupply of paintings from earlier periods, as well as the economic stagnation and political strain caused by the French invasion of the Dutch Republic in 1672 – the *Rampjaar* ('year of disaster').[5] This so-called 'age of decline' in Dutch art, as Wilhelm Martin argues, began 'approximately after Rembrandt's death [in 1669] and continued into

4 For an overview of the concept of 'decline' in art, see Wieseman, *Netscher*, 46–47.

5 Montias, 'Cost and Value', 462–464.

the eighteenth century'.[6] Like Martin, most twentieth-century art historians were highly critical of Dutch Classicism and the increasing incorporation of foreign, primarily French, elements into late seventeenth-century paintings.[7] This critical stance has left Dutch art and the art market after 1670 largely understudied and underrepresented in both academic research and museum collections.[8]

In recent decades, scholars have reevaluated the art and market of this period, considering the shifting preferences for art among the Dutch patriciate.[9] Rather than focusing solely on artistic quality, recent research has situated artistic production within the broader cultural and economic contexts of Dutch society.[10] Scholars have identified the changes in taste for 'the bright, polished look and amalgam of classicizing elements' in genre paintings and portraiture, as well as the classic beauty reflected in history and ceiling works by Gerard de Lairesse.[11] As Junko Aono has observed in her study of Dutch genre painting between 1680 and 1750, painters adapted their choices of subject matters and motifs to align with collectors' preferences.[12] Aono's findings confirmed contemporary biographers' remarks that artists, in response to the shrinking open market, became increasingly dependent on individual patrons for their livelihood.[13] While this line of research offers valuable insights, it continues to focus primarily on individual artists or small groups of elite painters, which makes their observations hardly applicable to other segments of the art market.

Painters working in the middle and lower tiers of the market appear to have suffered more from the waning open market than their better-studied upmarket counterparts. The weight of the economic stagnation fell more heavily on lower- and middle-class wage earners than on the wealthy elite, thus reducing the client base for the mass market for paintings.[14] Economic art historians have observed a decrease in both the number of painters and the volume of painting production during this period.[15] With the passing of older artists and the lack of new entrants

6 Martin, *Schilderkunst*, 1:95–98. Martin defines the period 1670–1700 as an era of decline.

7 See, for instance, Haak, *Golden Age*, 499. The hostility to the late seventeenth-century Dutch art and the influence of Francophiles on Dutch art is observed and convincingly discussed in Franits, 'Young Women Preferred White to Brown'.

8 For the discussion of this phenomenon, see Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age*, 11.

9 Notable studies include, to name a few, Wieseman, *Netscher;* Franits, 'Young Women Preferred White to Brown'*;* Aono*, Confronting the Golden Age*.

10 For studies of paintings as an integrated part of the new fashion of interior design, see, for instance, Mai, Paarlberg, and Weber, *De kroon op het werk*; Fock, 'Het interieur in de Republiek'.

11 Franits, *Genre*, 220; Beltman, Knolle, and Van der Meer Mohr, *Eindelijk! De Lairesse*.

12 Aono, *Confronting the Golden Age*.

13 De Vries, 'Felicitous Age', 36.

14 Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*, 246–48; Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam', 204–8.

15 Li, 'Innovative Exuberance', fig. 3; Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*, 246; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod', 120–30; De Vries, 'Art History', 264, table 2.

to replace them, the mass market for painting seems to have vanished before 1700. In contrast, the production of other luxury goods increased significantly. The growing number of silversmiths, goldsmiths, and textile decorators suggests a shift in consumer preference towards decorative arts.[16] This trend is also evident in the painting industry. Piet Bakker has noted that in late seventeenth-century Leiden, the dwindling pool of *kunstschilders* was offset by an increasing population of *kladschilders* who decorated interiors, such as ceilings, wall panelling, and mantelpieces or even furniture and carriages.[17] Instead of being purged from the art scene, mid-tier and lower-end painters in Leiden survived the bleak market conditions by shifting their focus to decorative arts. Bakker's finding suggests that the decline in the art market may not have been as abrupt as many economic historians assumed, as the mere count of painters and the production of easel paintings cannot fully capture this market transformation.[18]

After 1670, many painters from diverse market segments continued to operate in the newly expanded Amsterdam. However, it remains unclear how artists across market segments survived or even thrived in this challenging market environment. By employing a socio-spatial approach, this chapter aims to visualise and analyse the collective location choices and social networks of painters from various market segments, thereby offering insights into the organisation of the late seventeenth-century art market.

New market coordination reflected in Pieter de Graeff's almanacs

To fully comprehend the market changes and the adaptive strategies of painters, it is essential to consider sources and evidence that cover all market layers. For this period, alongside sources used to generate deep maps, we have an exceptional and highly informative document that illuminates the market coordination between painters and their clients, offering insights from the other side: the patrons. Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707) was an Amsterdam regent and a director (*bewindhebber*) of the VOC from one of the most illustrious regent families in Amsterdam, who had a grand house built on Herengracht (no. 573) in 1665–66.[19] Over the course of approximately forty years, De Graeff kept a diary using almanacs that offer a wealth of information about the patron's decision-making process regarding art consumption and his interactions with artists.[20]

16 Lesger, 'Vertraagde groei', 68.

17 Bakker, 'Crisis?', esp. 242–52 on the skills and activities of *kladschilders*.

18 Jan de Vries describes the decline as 'a sudden pulling of a curtain'. De Vries, 'Art History', 273.

19 The first stone of the house was laid on 17 April 1665 and the couple moved in around a year later, on 29 April 1666. Piccoli, 'Visualizing Domestic Interiors'.

20 The original *almanacs* are kept in SAA De Graeff Archive, inv. 186-226. Most of the *almanacs* have been preserved from 1665 until Pieter's death in 1707. See Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*, 21n14.

This rich source has not escaped scholarly attention. Willemijn Fock emphasised the diary's importance in understanding the construction phases of the house, the engagements with artisans and painters, and the materials used.[21] More recently, Chiara Piccoli used this diary, together with other archival sources, to reconstruct De Graeff's Herengracht residence in 3D.[22] Building on the work of Fock and Piccoli, this study approaches the almanacs from a market-oriented perspective, using them to examine market coordination in the late seventeenth century. Although the construction of De Graeff's house was completed around 1666, its decoration and maintenance progressed incrementally over several decades, providing abundant material for examining his interaction with painters over time.[23]

Pieter de Graeff's almanacs pointed to three primary channels to find and employ painters. The first and most intuitive one is direct commissioning to the artists with whom De Graeff or his family had personal contact. A prime example is De Graeff's multiple commissions to Jan Lievens, mentioned in several correspondences between De Graeff and his brother-in-law, the Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt (1625–1672). Both men admired Lievens' artistic prowess and commissioned him to paint the now-lost posthumous portraits of their parents-in-law, Jan Bicker (1591–1653) and Agneta de Graeff (1603–1656).[24] However, they expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of the portraits delivered relative to the price paid in letters to the artist. Lievens managed to placate his patrons by explaining the inherent difficulty of posthumous portraiture, referencing the pricing of his previous works, and assuring them of his commitment to future commissions. These interactions illustrate Lievens' social skills in managing relationships with high-profile patrons.[25] In addition to Lievens, De Graeff commissioned portraits from other fashionable artists like Caspar Netscher (ca. 1635–1684), Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681), and Karel Dujardin, all through direct personal contact.[26] Beyond portraiture, De Graeff asked the celebrated engraver Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708) in 1691 to create drawings for ten large feigned 'bas reliefs' for his *voorhuis,* suggesting a pre-existing personal relationship or familiarity prior to the direct commission.[27] This first marketing

21 Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner.*

22 Piccoli, 'Visualizing Domestic Interiors'; Piccoli, *Pieter de Graeff.* For the discussion of 3D reconstruction, see Huurdeman and Piccoli, '3D Reconstructions'.

23 Piccoli, 'Visualizing Domestic Interiors'.

24 Van der Veen, 'Patronage for Lievens', 35–37.

25 Van der Veen, 'Patronage for Lievens', 36.

26 In the entry of 9 April 1669, De Graeff described that his brother Jacob sat for Karel Dujardin before the fireplace in his 'Kleijne Zijdelkamer'.

27 For the details of this commission and De Graeff's earlier encounter with De Hooghe, see Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner* , 10–11n32.

channel was largely reserved for famous artists, whose reputation, talent, and social contacts enabled them to secure direct commissions.

De Graeff's diary further reveals that a second group of artists was brought to his attention by his social circle. For instance, De Graeff's friend Dirck Tulp and his cousin Cornelis Backer recommended sculptors Claes Kaaskamer (1629–1669) and a certain G. Barentz for the carving work in De Graeff's house.[28] De Graeff also recorded the artists' names when he encountered appealing works in the homes of friends or acquaintances. In August 1666, he noted having seen a ceiling painting of birds painted by a certain Smit in the house of Alderman Hendrik Roeters (Herengracht 48), which reminded him of a similar work by a certain Kipshaven in Backer's house (Herengracht 548).[29] It was likely that De Graeff learned about the artist Paulus de Fouchier (1644–1717) through his social circle, eventually leading to the commission of large ceiling works for his *Kleijne Zijdelkamer* and above the main staircase, as well as an overdoor piece for his *comptoir* for a relatively large sum of *f* 400.[30] Although De Graeff did not specify how he got to know Fouchier, he seems to have brought the artist to Amsterdam in 1682 from Fouchier's hometown of Bergen op Zoom for this particular commission, suggesting his prior knowledge of the artist's capabilities.[31] While De Graeff might not have acted on all the active recommendations and passive impressions of artists through his social circles, they certainly formed an important channel connecting him to mid-tier artists.

The third channel for painters to gain access to De Graeff was through other artisans, which was probably a new practice in this period and has been largely overlooked by art historians. De Graeff's diary records the intermediate role played by chest maker (*kistenmaker*) Pieter Heroman (1630–1709) on two occasions.[32] In 1686, Heroman brought Philip Tiedeman (ca. 1657–1705), a successful pupil of Gerard de Lairesse, to De Graeff's house for a commission of two paintings on both sides of the chimney in the *Groot Kamer* upstairs.[33] Despite Tiedeman's credentials, De Graeff referred to him as a 'certain artistic painter named Philip Tiedeman', suggesting that he had no prior knowledge of the artist and that it was Heroman

28 Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*, 8, 21.

29 Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*, 8, 21.

30 Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*, 9–10.

31 Fouchier registered in Bergen op Zoom's Guild of St Luke. Bredius, 'Fouchier', 244. In addition, in the entry of 5 December 1685, De Graeff mentioned that they agreed on a certain sum as payment 'buyten kost of dranck of Huysvesten', which suggests that Fouchier was lodging in Amsterdam at the expense of his employer. I thank Chiara Piccoli for this note.

32 Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*, 10, 22.

33 De Graeff's *almanac* entry of 10 September 1686. For the location and decoration of the *Groote Kamer*, see Li and Piccoli, 'Placing Value in Domestic Interiors'.

who facilitated this commission.[34] In 1701, Heroman was consulted again, this time recommending Timotheus de Graef (ca. 1648–1724) for cleaning the painted staircase.[35]

This brief overview identifies three primary channels through which artists could gain access to their patrons or employers. It becomes evident that, aside from a few well-known painters, most artists were called upon to make or maintain De Graeff's house decoration, together with other artisans. While De Graeff was neither an avid art collector nor a connoisseur – his city residence featured few collector's pieces – his interactions with artists, including lesser-known ones, arguably reflect the new market coordination in the late seventeenth century. In this new situation, high-end artists relied on fame and personal contacts to secure commissions, mid-tier artists often turned to wall decorations and received commissions through intermediaries, and lower-end painters or *kladschilders* depended on professional networks with artisans and convenient locations to find jobs. With this understanding of market coordination, subsequent sections will return to deep mapping and explore how painters responded to this new market situation in urban space.

Adapting to a changing market and cityscape

New patterns of coordination in the art market and shifts in the artistic landscape unfolded alongside – and were shaped by – significant changes to Amsterdam's urban space following the Fourth City Expansion. On the one hand, the newly developed areas emerged as competitive grounds for urban elites vying for the most impressive residences in town, which made the area between Leidsegracht and Amstel a new frontier for artists seeking commissions. On the other hand, the extension of the grand canals stretched the privileged neighbourhood to such an extent that it could no longer be effectively serviced by a single artistic cluster as had been possible for the Rozen-/Lauriergracht area in earlier decades. In response to both the new cityscape and market coordination, painters started to adjust their location choices according to the nature of their business and the segment of the market they served.

34 '10 dito September is hier nae de middagh aen mijn huys Pieter Heromansz mede brengende seker konstschilder gen[aamd] Philip Tiedeman. NB heeft een swager gen[aamd] Johann[es] de Maber, ten eynde om te schilderen op de twee doeken aen ieder syde van[de] Schoorsteen in myn groote Sael'; see De Graeff's almanac entry of 10-09-1686.

35 Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*, 10, 22.

High-end painters: Following their clients

Artists catering to the upper echelons of the art market made distinct choices regarding their locations. The very few highly successful painters aiming to attract a broad clientele across the entire canal ring gravitated towards the old city centre. Among these was Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693), a pupil of Rembrandt and a genre-painter-turned-portraitist, who relocated from his native town of Dordrecht to Amsterdam in 1673, taking up residence on Barndesteeg.[36] This side street, connecting the Oudezijds Achterburgwal to Nieuwmarkt, was a strategically chosen location that aligned well with Maes's artistic trajectory as he transitioned to producing refined portraits. His depictions of sitters resonated with the elite's taste for elegance, securing his success and wealth over the following two decades.[37] Maes died in 1693 as a wealthy man and a renowned artist.[38] While it is difficult to fathom how broad his client base was, as most of the sitters in his numerous surviving portraits remain unidentified, the sheer volume of his output suggests that his workshop near Nieuwmarkt had wide and lasting coverage in the city. Likewise, Gerard de Lairesse (1640–1711), arguably the most prominent painter in late seventeenth-century Amsterdam, chose to reside in the same vicinity. After leaving Hendrick Uylenburgh's studio on Lauriergracht, Lairesse settled on Spinhuissteeg, a side street connecting the Oudezijds Achterburgwal to the Kloveniersburgwal, where he actively engaged in the cultural world of Amsterdam.[39] In 1684, Lairesse rented a large building nearby on Oudezijds Achterburgwal (no. 213–15) for a remarkable sum of *f* 750 per year.[40] This large workshop accommodated his many pupils, assistants, and collaborators, including Johannes Glauber (1646–1726), who worked on commissions from all over the city and beyond. This studio not only functioned as a hub for artistic production but also became a tourist attraction. Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin, during his travels to Holland, visited Lairesse's studio in 1687 and reported that the artist was busy with various projects ranging from large ceiling paintings to small cabinet pieces.[41] The location choices of prominent painters like Maes and Lairesse mirror

36 Maes appeared in *Kohier 1674* from the Nieuwmarkt area (see later this chapter), and his burial record shows he was from 'Barndesteegh'. SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1048, fol. 14v. Maes did purchase another house on Passeerdersstraat on the west corner of Prinsengracht in 1686 for *f* 975, which was sold in 1696 after Maes's death, for *f* 600. The value suggests that Passeerdersstraat house was a rather small one for his stature, and it is unclear whether Maes had lived there or not. For the real estate transaction, see SAA KSR 5062, inv. 64, fol. 410 (17-11-1686) and inv. 72, fol. 178 (4-10-1696).

37 Franits, 'Young Women Preferred White to Brown', 395.

38 Franits, 'Young Women Preferred White to Brown', 395.

39 Houbraken tells us that Lairesse was brought to Amsterdam by Gerrit Uylenburgh in 1665 and worked subsequently in Uylenburgh's studio. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh,* 3:109–10. For Lairesse's engagement in the theatre world, see Li and Van der Deijl, 'The Anatomical Atlas'.

40 Van der Veen, 'Very Proud', 25n15.

41 Upmark, 'Ein Besuch in Holland 1687', 125.

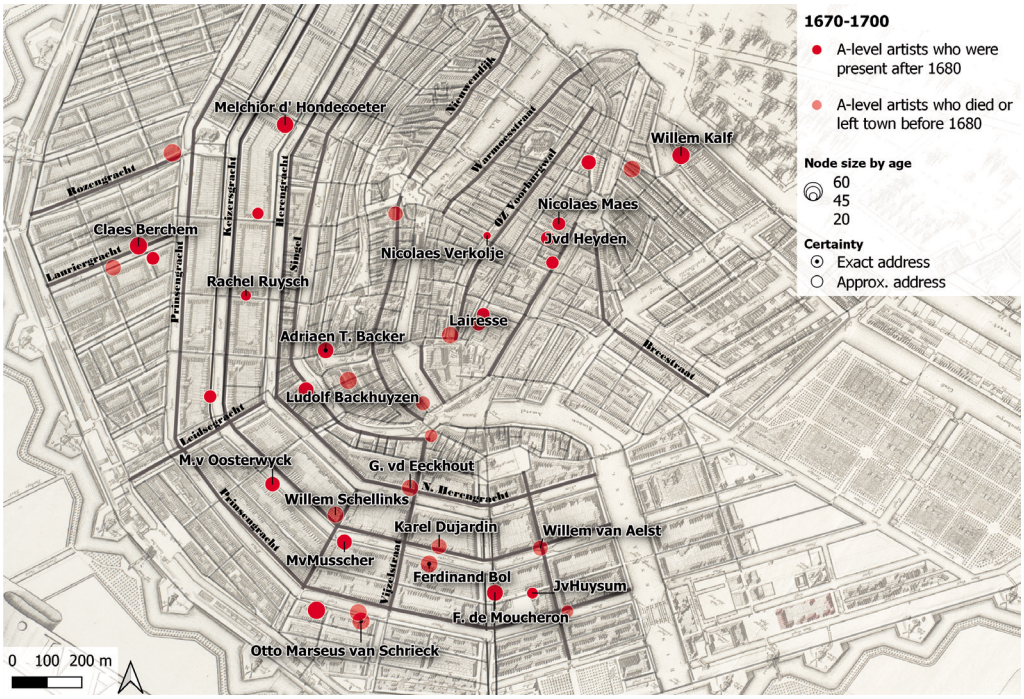

Figure 7-2: Spatial distribution of top-tier painters in Amsterdam 1670–1700.

patterns that Clé Lesger identified among retail traders of durable and luxury goods, who likewise favoured central locations to overcome the logistical challenges posed by the canal ring's elongated shape and ensure broader market coverage.[42]

Most painters, however, did not achieve the same level of success as Maes and Lairesse. Most upmarket painters continued to serve relatively small, exclusive circles of patrons or turned to decorating interiors. When the city expansion brought the wealthy elite to the newly developed luxury quarter in the southeast of the city, these artists, adhering to the age-old playbook of 'staying close to your clients', followed suit, as shown in Figure 7-2. Italianate landscapist and portraitist Karel Dujardin and history painter Gerbrand van den Eeckhout relocated to the new Keizersgracht and Herengracht from Rozengracht and Kalverstraat, respectively.[43] Some others first tried out markets and shopping streets in the old city centre, presumably in the hope of serving a broader clientele, as Maes and Lairesse had done. However, unable to replicate the success of these distinguished painters,

42 Lesger, *Shopping Spaces*, 107.

43 Dujardin lived on 'Keizersgracht ten oosten van de Spiegelstraat'. Kilian, *Du Jardin*, 106. Van Eeckhout died from 'Nieuwe Herengracht bij de Vijzelstraat'. SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1063, fol. 153 (29-09-1674).

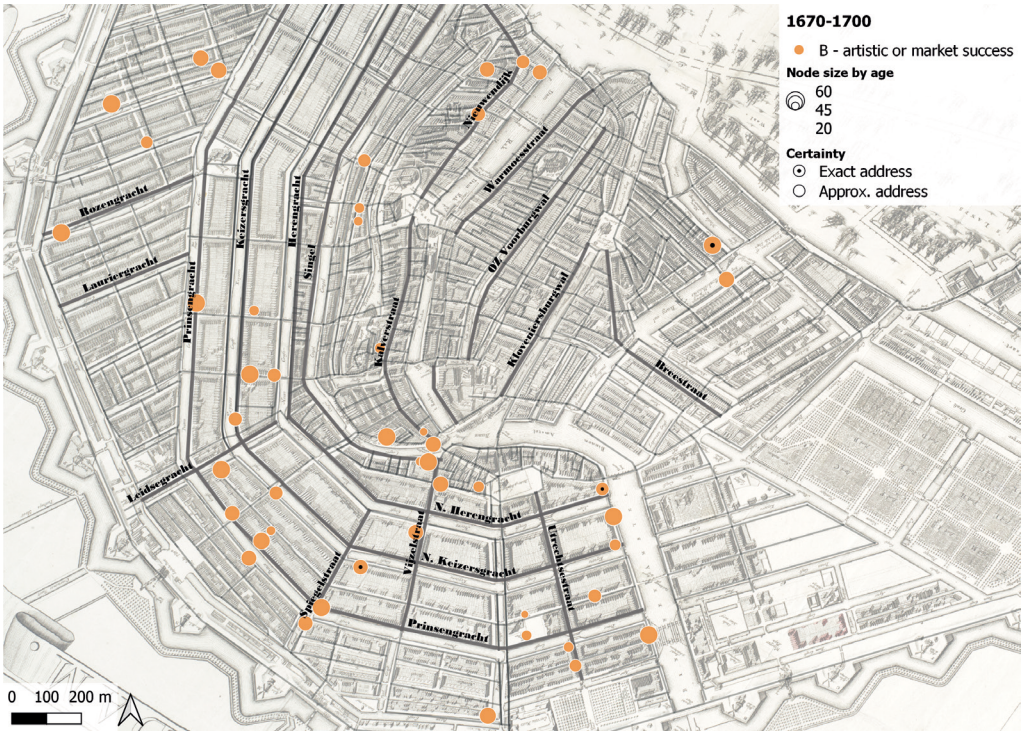

Figure 7-3: Spatial distribution of mid-tier painters in Amsterdam 1670–1700.

many eventually moved to the newly developed area. Italianate landscapist Frederik de Moucheron, for example, initially settled around the Dam after leaving the Lauriergracht area but ultimately relocated to Kerkstraat. Still life painter Willem van Aelst (1627–1683) tried Rokin but soon moved to Keizersgracht. The rising portraitist Michiel van Musscher (1645–1705) hopped from the radial street Hartenstraat to the thoroughfare Oude Hoogstraat and then made his move to the new Keizersgracht.[44] By contrast, the Rozen-/ Lauriergracht area had lost most of its artistic vitality. Except for Claes Berchem (ca. 1621–1683), who moved to Lauriergracht after 1670, this formerly upmarket artists' cluster had dissolved and was taken over by lower-end painters presumably working on house decorations.[45]

44 Moucheron passed away on 'Amstelkerkstraat by de Uytersse[straat]'. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders*, 361. Van Aelst lived on Rokin between 1669 and 1672, moved to Keizersgracht by Utrechtsestraat in 1674, and eventually settled on Prinsengracht in 1683, near the Walenweeshuis and close to Otto Marseus van Schrieck. Bredius, 'Archiefsprokkelingen'. Van Musscher moved a few times, and he eventually settled in the city centre (Spui near the Ossensluis), attesting to his success as a sought-after portrait painter. For a map of his many locations, see Gerhardt, 'The Van Musscher Family of Artists', 119.

45 Berchem was buried from Lauriergracht. See SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1102, fol. 113 (23-02-1683).

Mid-tier painters: Vacating the city centre

Mid-tier painters, as shown in previous chapters, found themselves in a precarious position between their upmarket peers and their production-oriented low-end counterparts. This made them particularly vulnerable to external economic shifts. After the 1670s, they faced several compounding challenges: economic stagnation and the rise of the secondary market eroded their middle-class consumer base, and the shift in decorative preferences among the wealthy reduced demand for easel paintings. As a result, many mid-tier painters struggled to adapt and sought alternative means to sustain their livelihoods. While the decline of the mass market for paintings after the 1670s has been well-documented, little attention has been paid to how mid-tier painters adapted and persevered in these altered market conditions.[46] The spatial distribution in Figure 7-3 reveals that many mid-tier painters relocated to the newly developed area between Leidsegracht and Amstel, indicating a strategic pivot from serving the open market to directly competing and collaborating with higher-end painters for elite clientele. This shift is evident in their location choices and social networks, reflecting a profound transformation in their approach to obtaining work. The social relations in Figure 7-4 illustrate a dense network among painters of various kinds. Although Gerard de Lairesse occupied the central position in this network due to his many pupils, the mid-tier painters (marked in orange) were also notably well connected among painters in Amsterdam.

Spatially, a close reading of Figure 7-3 reveals two preferred locations among the remaining mid-tier painters. The first was along radial streets and thoroughfares near (but not directly on) prestigious canals, such as Huidenstraat, Leidsestraat, and Utrechtsestraat, to ensure visibility to potential buyers. The second was south of Kalverstraat near the Munt tower, where painters and artisans clustered to form professional networks. As Pieter de Graeff's almanacs suggest, such networks could provide access to lucrative, high-profile commissions. However, these location choices drew mid-tier painters away from the city centre, abandoning the successful market-focused playbooks of their predecessors. Together with the vanishing mass art market, formerly attractive areas like Nieuwmarkt and Kalverstraat lost their appeal for mid-tier painters. Even the remaining art dealers in these areas faced difficulties selling paintings and often diversified their offerings with prints, textiles, and other commodities.[47]

As a result, both Kalverstraat and Sint Antoniesbreestraat became increasingly populated with bookshops rather than painting studios (Figure 7-5). The spatial distribution of bookshops remained largely unchanged, as they continued to thrive

46 Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam', 204–9.

47 Jan II de Keersgieter (1639–1722) sold prints and books, while Hendrick Meijeringh was selling textiles from the same shop. Kleerkooper and Van Stockum, *Boekhandel*, 115; Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 34.

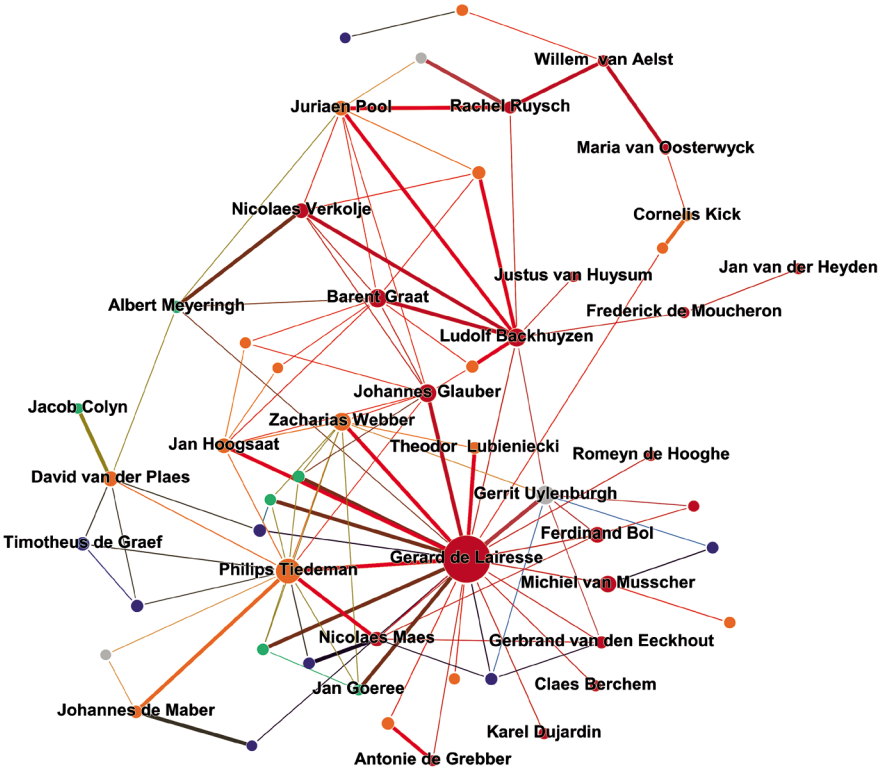

Figure 7-4: Social network of painters active in Amsterdam between 1670 and 1700. Colour by rank: A-level (red), B (orange), C (green), D (blue), and other intermediaries (grey). Thick lines between nodes indicate direct connections; thin lines represent indirect links. For the definition of painters' ranks, see Chapter 4. ⏎

in the bustling commercial districts in the city centre, with only very few appearing in the prestigious neighbourhood between Leidsegracht and Amstel (Figure 7-5). Meanwhile, most mid-tier painters left the city centre for the new wealthy district (see Figure 7-3), supporting the observation that the painting industry had shifted its focus away from the broad, open market and toward serving elite clients through producing interior decorations. These divergent spatial patterns underscore the distinct nature and strategies of the painting and publishing industries.[48] The few mid-tier painters who remained in the city centre often took on side jobs. For example, animal and portrait painter Johannes Spruyt (ca. 1627–1671) also worked as a moneychanger (*wisselaar*), still life painter Cornelis Kick as a shopkeeper

48 There are still many similarities between these two industries, although their market mechanisms were different. The similarities and synergies are well elaborated in Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*.

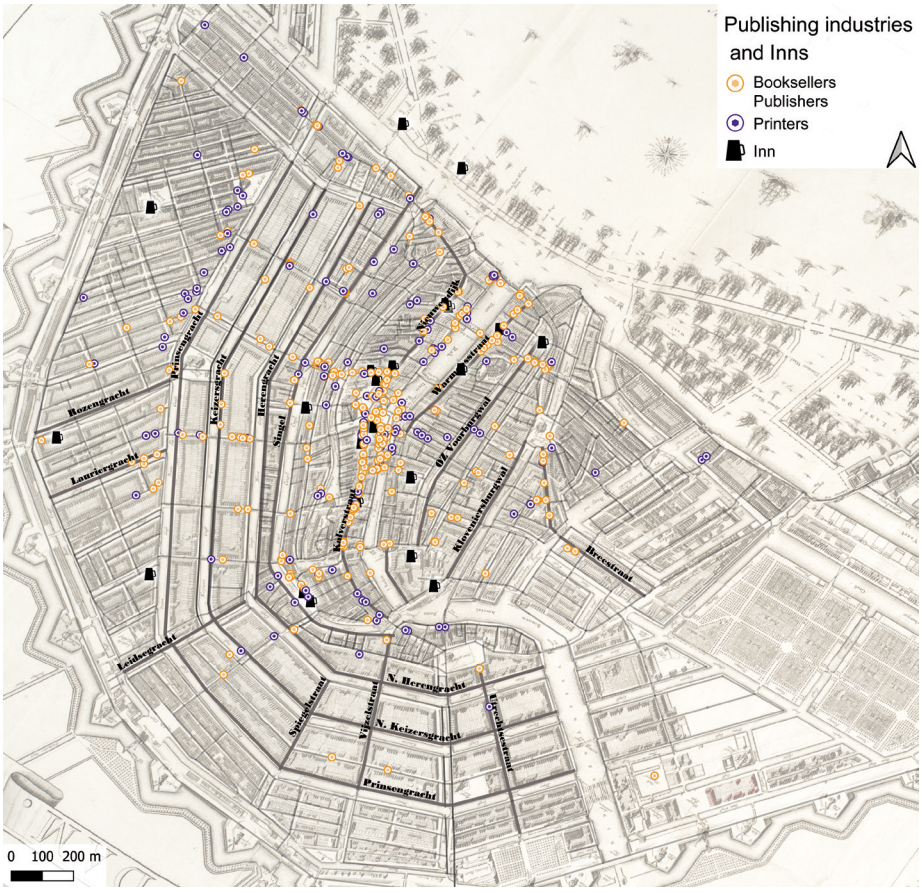

Figure 7-5: Locations of the printing industries (bookseller/publishers) and inns as social gathering spaces 1670–1700. Data source: Paul Dijstelberge and Maarten Hell.

(*winkelier*), and Italianate landscapist Nicolaes Piemont (ca. 1644–1709) as a paint seller. All three lived near Nieuwendijk.[49]

As mid-tier painters moving away from the old city centre, many sought new opportunities in the area stretching between Leidsegracht and Amstel. Unlike their upmarket fellow peers who could afford residences along the main canals, mid-tier artists often found homes on the periphery or along the transverse streets linking the main canals and the city centre. For instance, three painters

49 For Spruyt, see Bredius, 'Spruyt'. Piemont lived in 'De Braak' near the Nieuwendijk when he remarried in 1690. Around the same time, Piemont received commissions to paint the Italianate landscape wall hanging for Petronella Oortmans's doll's house now in the Rijksmuseum (inv. NM 1010). For Cornelis Kick, see Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:792.

in the circle of the famous Haarlem painter Philips Wouwerman (1619–1668) – his brother Pieter (1623–1682), his pupils Barent Gael (1630–1698), and Jan van Huchtenburg (1647–1733) – chose to live on three radial streets intersecting the canal ring: Spiegelstraat, Leidsestraat, and Huidenstraat, respectively. They probably sought to take advantage of passers-by from the luxury quarter and the through traffic between the city gates and the centre to attract attention from prospective clients with an interest in works stylistically related to those of the late Wouwerman.

For the many mid-tier painters who turned to decorating houses, the area between Prinsengracht and the city's outer ramparts bordering the grand canals became a natural choice. Their preference for this new neighbourhood is most clearly illustrated by the location choices of Lairesse's many pupils. Although none matched their master's skill and fame, at least five of them carved out reasonably successful careers in Amsterdam. Except for Lairesse's early pupil Zacharias Webber (1644–1696), who later became a portraitist, the others sooner or later moved to the newly developed districts after their training in Lairesse's studio in the city centre.[50] Jan Hoogsaat (1654–1738), who promoted himself as 'the artistic son of Lairesse', took up residence on Kerkstraat in 1692.[51] Philip Tiedeman, mentioned in Pieter de Graeff's diary, initially lived on Prinsengracht by Utrechtsestraat in 1684 before moving two blocks west along the same canal to a section between Spiegelgracht and Weteringstraat, where his collaborator and brother-in-law Johannes de Maber lived from 1686 until his death.[52] De Maber's posthumous inventory of 1702 reveals a decent yet simple lifestyle in a basic Type II house, suggesting that an economic standing was likely common among mid-tier painters of the time.[53] Around 1700, Lairesse, who had lost his sight a decade earlier, relocated to the same block where De Maber and Tiedeman lived and started to offer lessons in art theory to support his family.

These mid-tier painters likely found themselves navigating a competitive arena, often vying with their upmarket counterparts for decoration commissions. Pieter de Graeff's encounter with Philip Tiedeman underscores how artists leveraged client

50 Theodor Lubieniecki (ca. 1653–after 1716) left Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal for Prinsengracht by Reguliersgracht in 1680. Lastly, Ottomar Elliger (1666–1732) lived on Amstelkerkstraat in 1702. See *ECARTICO*.

51 For the reputation of Hoogsaat, see Li, 'Hands Behind Lairesse's Masterpieces', 15. For the location, see SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1251, fol. 233 (11-09-1692).

52 For Tiedeman, see SAA DTB 5001, inv. 1070, fol. 51v (15-06-1705); inv. 1250, fol. 223 (18-06-1684); inv. 1251, fol. 77 (11-04-1688) & inv. 1252, fol. 122 (19-05-1697). For De Maber, see Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:975–76.

53 The only gold and silverware in the house amounted to a meagre *f* 42:19. For De Maber's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 7061B, fols 361–69, (23-11-1702), not. Isaak Beukelaar.

networks and connections with artisans to promote their services. By residing along or near the canal ring's back and side streets, they benefitted from proximity to potential projects in nearby homes and maintained vital links to their professional community that encompassed both upmarket and lower-end painters. While most mid-tier painters opted for locations within the canal ring, few ventured beyond its bounds, hoping to capture business along radial streets leading to the Jordaan or near commercial hubs like Dam Square, Kalverstraat, or Nieuwendijk.[54] By the turn of the century, the middle segment of the art market appears to have largely transitioned from producing quality easel paintings on spec into providing decoration services to the upper echelons of Amsterdam society.

Lower-end painters: Clustering for professional networks

Unlike their struggling mid-tier colleagues, lower-end painters seem to have transitioned more readily to creating and maintaining house decorations in response to the new market situation. The rise of *kladschilders* over *kunstschilders* in Leiden likely applies to Amsterdam after 1670 as well. However, due to the loss of Amsterdam's St. Luke's Guild archives, the exact number and types of painters registered cannot be directly verified. Nevertheless, an estimate of *kladschilders* (or related professions like *grofschilders*, *decorateur-schilders*, or *behangselschilders*) can be inferred by examining those listed as *schilders* or *kunstschilders* without known works (D level), suggesting their probable engagement as *kladschilders*, thus leaving behind no identifiable oeuvre. Figure 7-6 shows a steady stream of possible *kladschilders* known from archival sources, who likely engaged in house decoration or other related work, even as the number of *kunstschilders* declined after ca. 1665. These figures suggest that low-end painters adapted well to the changing market and even flourished in this supposedly bleak market. As we shall see in the next section, the tax records from *Kohier 1674* reveal that the most affluent *kladschilder* attained a higher economic standing than many celebrated *kunstschilders*.[55] How was this possible?

Although surviving evidence is limited, several records indicate that this sizable group of over a hundred painters leveraged professional networks – both among themselves and with other artisans – to secure commissions for decorative works and maintenance tasks such as varnishing and cleaning paintings. Pieter de Graeff's almanacs mention several lesser-known painters who were recommended to him by a master mason, a chest maker, and other craftspeople, highlighting the

54 Unlike in previous periods, the harbour district (the Lastage, Oude Schans, Waal, etc.) no longer housed many seascape painters catering to the demand from marine officials and seafaring people.

55 Three *kladschilders* were mentioned in *Kohier 1674*: two of them were taxed *f* 5 and one, a Joris Maurits, was taxed *f* 20 from Elendsgracht in the Jordaan. See SAA 5028, inv. 662, fols 187v, 347, 360.

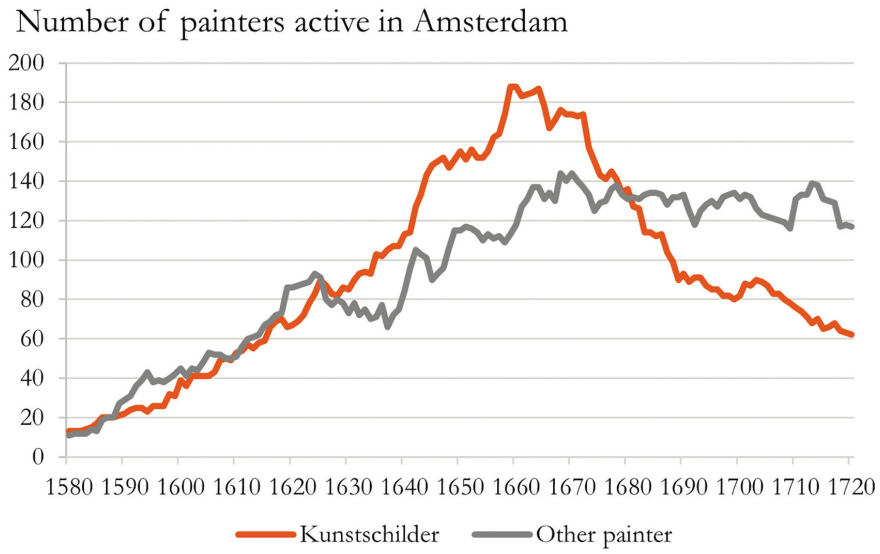

Figure 7-6: Number of painters active in Amsterdam by year. *Kunstschilders* include only artistic painters whose work or genre is known; other painters include *kunstschilders* known only from archival sources without known work or genre, as well as *schilders* and decorative painters (*kladschilders*, *grofschilders*, *behangselschilders*, *decorateurs*, etc.). Source: *ECARTICO*.

importance of such networks.[56] Given that many decorative and maintenance tasks required less artistic skill than easel painting, it was often challenging for low-end painters to gain recognition solely through their work. Consequently, their ability to obtain work relied more heavily on their connections with other craftsmen and their strategic location choices, rather than on proximity to the bustling shopping streets that had once benefitted their predecessors. While specific details about their social networks remain scarce, the clustering of these painters within the same streets or neighbourhoods suggests potential collaboration and mutual support.

While the shift towards decorative work was common among lower-end painters, not all followed this path. Some persisted in creating easel paintings, often facing financial challenges and living in reduced circumstances. The posthumous inventory of the obscure painter Edo Quiter provides insight into such living conditions. The inventory shows that Quiter lived in a rented room where he kept art supplies and nearly sixty unframed paintings, mainly political portraits and *tronies*, along with some copper plates for printing.[57] He likely collaborated with his landlord, jeweller

56 Fock, *Het stempel van de bewoner*.

57 Edo Quiter's inventory was drawn from a room in the house of the couple Daniel Breda and Anna Minne. The husband was registered as a 'diamantslijper' in the couple's marriage registration (SAA DTB

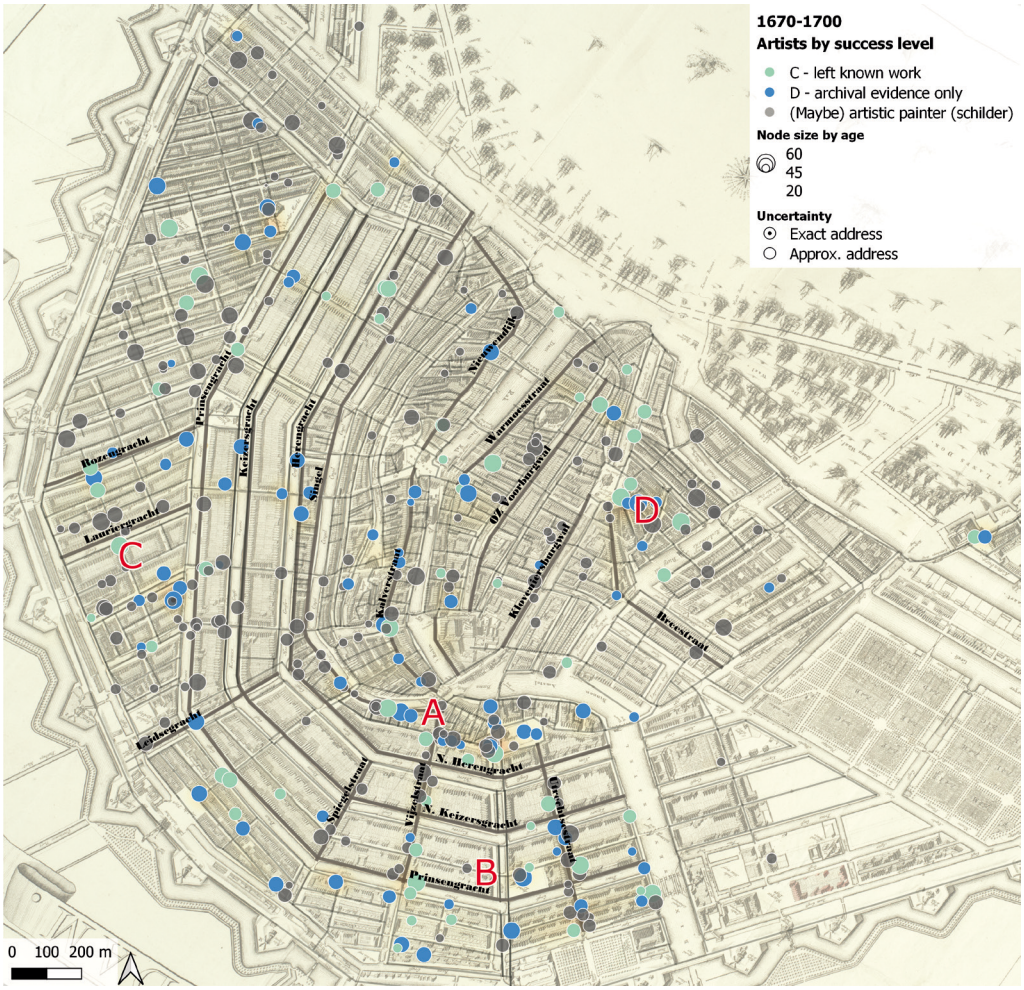

Figure 7-7: Distribution of lower-end painters in Amsterdam 1670–1700, coloured by ranks, sized by the age when moved to the address. The letters stand for three loose clusters: A) Singel near the *Doelen* to the Botermarkt, B) transverse streets through the main canals, C) Jordaan, and D) Nieuwmarkt.

Daniel Breda, to sell his paintings from Breda's jewellery shop on the busy radial street, Reestraat. Just one block away, on Wolvenstraat, another lesser-known painter, Emanuel Wouters, also resided in a rental room (see Chapter 2). His 1698 inventory listed an easel, panels, and prints scattered amongst miscellaneous household goods. Unlike Quiter, Wouters possessed only three unattributed paintings of unknown

5001, inv. 581, fol. 235, 29-10-1689). For Quiter's inventory see: SAA NA 5075, inv. 3374, fols 139–45 (10-12-1694), not. Hendrick Outgers.

subjects, suggesting that he may have taken on decorative tasks, worked for an art dealer, or even both, given the absence of a personal stock of paintings in his home.[58]

Taken together, the spatial distribution of painters across various market segments attests to the three marketing channels observed in Pieter de Graeff's diary. Except for very few highly sought-after artists whose fame brought in commissions from all over the city, most upmarket painters followed their patrons to the newly developed area, seeking to maintain close personal contacts. Meanwhile, mid-tier painters, moving away from traditional marketplaces, turned to collaborate with other artists and artisans in house decorations. This shift led to a new playbook of clustering among colleagues instead of remaining close to commercial districts as in previous periods. Consequently, radial streets in the newly developed area and the neighbourhood between the *Doelen* and Botermarkt became the new hotspots for mid- and low-end painters. These location choices allowed them to strengthen professional networks and positioned them advantageously to access various marketing channels.

Keeping abreast with patrons: Conspicuous display in painters' homes

The new market conditions presented unique challenges to painters, particularly those at the upper end who focused primarily on easel paintings rather than decorative projects. These artists not only followed their patrons to the newly developed areas of the city but also sought to remain attuned to prevailing fashion trends, both in their artistic creations and in their self-presentation within their studios and homes.[59] Gaining greater importance compared to earlier decades, painters' house interiors reflected their grasp of the latest fashion and served as exhibition spaces to showcase their knowledge and artistic abilities. This was often accomplished through a deliberate and conspicuous display in their studios, effectively incorporating these spaces into their playbooks.

More exhibition space

Several painters made active use of their houses by picking a new house type with a spacious *zijkamer.* This house type modifies the basic Type II, two-storey deep house by dividing the street-facing ground floor space into two compartments and

58 For Emanuel Wouter's inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 6193, no fol. (01-11-1698), not. Pieter Carel; Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 3:942.

59 For painters' use of interiors for symbolic, self-fashioning purposes, see Chapter 2 of this book and Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display'. For the general self-fashioning behaviours among painters, see Kok, 'Culturele ondernemers'.

adding a side chamber next to the *voorhuis*, a layout that became popular in the second half of the seventeenth century (see Chapter 2). Although the addition of a *zijkamer* did not reshape the overall spatial arrangement of Type II houses, it did take over some functions traditionally associated with the *voorhuis*. For painters, the *zijkamer* provided a transitional space between the entrance and the upstairs workshop, offering a relatively formal exhibition area apart from the workshop. The presence of a *zijkamer* next to the *voorhuis* was particularly appealing to sought-after upmarket painters such as Karel Dujardin (inventory year 1678), Otto Marseus van Schrieck (1678), and Michiel van Musscher (1705), who profited from the additional space for display. The only exception was the mid-tier still life painter Cornelis Kick (1681). Just as he sought to emulate the sumptuous flower and fruit still life of his upmarket counterparts, he also adopted a similar house layout. However, this ambition appears to have led to financial distress. His posthumous inventory of 1681 listed modest belongings valued at only *f* 272:18 – insufficient to cover debts amounting to *f* 300. He died insolvent.

Adapting to the latest trends, all the aforementioned painters used their *zijkamer* as a gallery. The notary who drew up Michiel van Musscher's 1705 inventory incidentally called his side chamber 'constsael' (art salon), after listing over thirty portraits in the room.[60] In addition to paintings, Musscher's *zijkamer* also contained a painted table, a cupboard (laden with jewellery, silverware, as well as scores of silver or gold coins), five chairs, and even a bed.[61] Despite the substantial furnishing, the room's exhibition function remained prominent. Karel Dujardin's *zijkamer* was loaded with an astonishing fifty-eight paintings, only two of which were attributed. This painting collection of various subject matters was too varied to consist solely of his own work, suggesting the space was used as a gallery.[62] Similarly, Otto Marseus van Schrieck's 1678 inventory recorded twenty-four paintings in his side chamber, half of which were by his own hand, including three unfinished pieces. Portraits of Marseus van Schrieck and his wife were also present in this room, in line with conventions found in typical Amsterdam households.[63] In contrast to these successful painters, Cornelis Kick (1681), who operated within the mid-tier segment of the market, where artistic self-fashioning was less common, kept only a few sketches, a frame, and eight unfinished paintings of flower and fruit still lifes in his *zijkamer,* along with a single old table and one chair. Since his main workshop was located upstairs, it opens the possibility that Kick used the *zijkamer* to offer customised

60 Under the side room section, the notary noted, 'nogh 5 schilderijen op de constsael'. SAA NA 5075, inv. 4837, fol. 151.

61 SAA NA 5075, inv. 4837, fol. 150.

62 The paintings in Dujardin's *zijkamer* encompass nearly all genres, including history, portraiture, seascapes, still lifes, and genre scenes, featuring a wide variety of subject matters.

63 Li, 'Painters' Playbooks', ch. 8.

services, displaying works in progress to clients and tailoring the motifs in his still lifes to meet their preferences.

In addition to using their *zijkamers* as exhibition spaces, these painters maintained traditional arrangements in the other areas of their homes. The *voorhuis* typically featured minimal furnishings and displayed a limited number of paintings, serving more as an entry space than a principal living area. The *binnenkamer*, by contrast, was more comfortably furnished, acting as a cosy family living space. The *schilderkamer* occupied much of the upper floor, indicated by the assortment of art supplies, canvases on stretchers, unfinished paintings, and a myriad of prints and drawings.

Schilderkamers as showrooms

Towards the century's end, as argued before, the upper segment of the art market became increasingly exclusive and patron- or collector-oriented. This shift likely required painters to receive their clients at home, reinforcing personal and professional relationships. Consequently, painters' studios, especially those of upmarket artists, evolved into semi-public, highly curated spaces, turning the practical act of art-making into a staged performance and display.

Michiel van Musscher, a highly sought-after portraitist, exemplified this approach with his *schilderkamer*, making it the most elaborately staged among the painters examined in this study. His posthumous inventory records a large walnut cabinet filled with hundreds of household textiles and costly apparel, including 'a purple satin *Japonse rok*' and 'a red satin *tabbaard*' (a mantle akin to the better-known Japanese gown).[64] The *Japonse rok* appears in the master's self-portraits of his later years (the Rijksmuseum piece from 1685 and the Uffizi one from 1692), while the *tabbaard* can be seen in two earlier portraits from the 1670s (Figures 7-8 and 7-9). In examining artists' self-portraits in their studios, scholars often view their studio accoutrements and curtains as visual props.[65] Typically, such elements in self-portraits, as in Gerrit Dou's 1647 self-portrait in Dresden, function as instruments of self-promotion and as vehicles for elevating the painting profession through the well-thought-out placement of symbolic or allegorical motifs.[66] Globes, books,

64 For a detailed discussion about the clothes painters wore at work, see Kleinert, *Atelierdarstellungen*, 89. For the *Japonse rok*, see De Winkel, 'Rollenspel'. This *Japonse rok*, the exotic and relatively costly kimono, was often worn as an informal housecoat. Because of its elegant appeal and the different possible variations, it was common for men in the late seventeenth century to wear this garment in portraits. For more discussion regarding Van Musscher's Leiden Collection self-portraits, see Van Tuinen, 'Portrait of the Artist in His Studio'.

65 Van Tuinen, 'Portrait of the Artist in His Studio'; Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display'.

66 Gerrit Dou famously used books and globes generically for their symbolic value. Chapman, 'Rembrandt on Display', 226.



Figure 7-8: Michiel van Musscher, *Self-Portrait*, 1679, oil on panel, 56 × 46.5 cm, Rotterdam: Museum Rotterdam, inv. 10567-A-B. ⏎



Figure 7-9: Michiel van Musscher, *Artist in His Studio*, 1670, oil on canvas, 77 × 63 cm, formerly Christie's, London, 6 December 2018, lot 36. ⏎

musical instruments, exotic curiosities, Persian carpets, and even fancy apparel are often considered visual fantasies. They are used both as a testimony to artists' skilful rendering of objects and, perhaps more importantly, to craft the image of a learned and curious artist of high stature.

Michiel van Musscher intended a similar projection and applied the same allegorical use of pictorial embellishments. In his self-portrait now in Rotterdam (Figure 7–9), the open pocket watch hints at mortality, while the architecture book asserts his mastery of perspective. Unlike Dou, Van Musscher orchestrated no fantasies – he owned most, if not all, of the accoutrements featured in these self-portraits, all placed in his *schilderkamer*.[67] To my knowledge, he was the only painter besides Rembrandt who had a globe listed in his inventory. His collection extended to plaster sculptures stored in two cupboards, a bookshelf (*boeke kasje*) filled with volumes adjacent to the globe, and an array of musical instruments on display in the *schilderkamer* sufficient

67 In Van Musscher's *schilderkamer*, the inventory recorded 'een uytsetbort verbeeldende de schilderkonst' (a standing signboard representing the art of painting). It was probably meant as a showpiece for the display of his art for visitors; it may have resembled his *Artist in His Studio*. Sluijter convincingly argued that the *uytsetbort* should not be mistaken for the shop signboard, which was called *uithangbort* for both the size and function. He reasons that the verb *uytsetten* was used in the seventeenth century for the display of merchandise by the shopkeeper in his shop window or on the street and could also be used for displaying works of art. Van Musscher's work clearly served that purpose. Sluijter, 'Vermeer, Fame and Female Beauty', 265, 266n11.

for a chamber orchestra, including a *viola da gamba*, a guitar, two zithers, two violins, a harp, and a bagpipe.[68] These items, alongside the longbow depicted in *Artist in His Studio* (Figure 7-8) – be it a self-portrait or not – and the green upholstered chair in the Rotterdam piece (Figure 7–9), on which the painter rested his arm and the x-formed *beugel stoel* in the background, were verified through inventories taken after the deaths of Van Musscher and his wife in 1705 and 1699, respectively.[69] There were also two old (oriental?) carpets, several tablecloths, fifteen curtains, and a purple wall hanging, resonating with the rich furnishings in his pictures.

Beyond common art supplies like easels and paintboxes, Van Musscher's *schilderkamer* was fitted with a *zoldertje* (a wooden platform) and a *kachel* (heater), creating a warm and comfortable setting for portrait sittings. The display of the large allegorical portrait of his own family, now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, within his studio not only showcased his artistic skill but also provided visitors and clients with an intimate view into his personal life. This strategic presentation of both personal and professional spheres underscored the studio as a curated space, setting a stage for him to perform his art and artistry.

Similarly, Otto Marseus van Schrieck (1678) transformed his *schilderkamer* into an extensive gallery with over two hundred paintings, including around seventy unfinished works, rivalling the stock of an art dealer. The explicit notation of two artworks as 'said to have been sold' ('segt verkoft te sijn') for *f* 50 and *f* 200 confirms the studio's dual role as both workspace and sales venue where clients could view and purchase pieces directly.[70] Marseus van Schrieck's studio was further enhanced by substantial, possibly lavish furniture (two glass cupboards, an oak cupboard, and a table), luxurious storage for his art collection and supplies (a chest of black leather with white iron band and a Chinese lacquer coffer), and other costly decorations (a marble carving or sculpture, a French plate, a serpentine stone, two chiming clocks).[71] His urban residence, much like his country house – famous for its garden and animal specimens featured in his paintings and described in contemporary travel diaries – was a setting designed to showcase his artistry and knowledge.[72]

68 For Michiel van Musscher's posthumous inventory, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 4837, fols 143–60 (20-07-1705), not. Samuel Wijmer.

69 SAA NA 5075, inv. 4837, fols 143–60 (20-07-1705), not. Samuel Wijmer.

70 The inventory of Otto Marseus van Schrieck was not appraised. Only a few prices were mentioned as almost anecdotal price tags that the notary heard. Cosimo de Medici bought paintings from the artist, but it is not clear whether the purchase was made for the ready-made paintings or for commissioned ones. See Wagenaar and Eringa, *Een Toscaanse prins bezoekt Nederland*; Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo de Medici*.

71 For the inventory of Otto Marseus van Schrieck see: SAA NA 5075, inv. 3440A, no fol. (05-07-1678), not. Cornelis van Poelenburgh. Transcription partially published in Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, 2:697–707.

72 Marseus van Schrieck kept the specimens (e.g. frogs, lizards), which he painted at this country house, visited by De Monconys. For the ownership of his country house, see Hildebrecht, 'Otto Marseus van Schrieck', 78–80.

The artist responded to the visits of clients and *liefhebbers* by offering a staged performance in his well-appointed, art-laden studio in his final years.[73]

Kunstkamers as painting galleries

To further enhance this self-conscious performance of creating and displaying art, artists like Karel Dujardin (1678) and flower still life painter Justus van Huysum (1716) established separate *kunstkamers* adjacent to the *schilderkamers* – spaces that functioned more as galleries than cabinets of curiosities. Dujardin's *kunstkamer* held around a hundred paintings, including a portrait of the artist himself. Although it contained a substantial collection of works on paper, *kunstboeken* (albums of prints and drawings), and luxurious textiles and collectables, there is little evidence that Dujardin sought to present his full range of universal knowledge or to put his intellectual cachet on display.[74] His *kunstkamer*, as well as his *schilderkamer*, appears to have served the practical needs of artistic production for himself and his pupils as well as the commercial objective of exhibiting works for sale.[75] Admittedly, Dujardin's inventory was drawn up three years after he left Amsterdam. Nevertheless, his studio seems to have remained intact, if not fully operational. The presence of unfinished paintings in their original positions, alongside scattered painting tools and materials, suggests that his workshop was neither dismantled nor repurposed. It is possible that the *kunstkamer* and *zijkamer* continued to receive clients, offering them the opportunity to browse a stock of ready-made paintings. The artist's self-portrait in the *kunstkamer* may have served as a symbolic presence, continuing to preside over the business practice of the workshop.

Similarly, Justus van Huysum's *kunstkamer* functioned as a massive gallery – or even a storage space – crammed with over 400 paintings of diverse subjects and varying quality.[76] It acted as an extension of his *schilderkamer* where he kept 'only'

73 The purchase of the Prinsengracht house took place in 1677, a year before his death. Despite this short time, experts like Douglas Hildebrecht did not question the validity of the probate inventory in reflecting the artist's career and work. This study therefore follows the same reasoning, using his inventory as a critical source that reflected Marseus's choices and behaviour. Hildebrecht, 'Otto Marseus van Schrieck', 78–82.

74 Dujardin's inventory mentioned about thirty art books (portfolios and bundles) and another thirty-seven printed books stowed away in a chest. For the inventory see SAA NA 5075, inv. 4495AC, fols 584–601 (19-10-1678), not. Jacob Matham.

75 By the time of this inventory, Dujardin had left Amsterdam for three years to travel through Italy. He lingered longer in Italian cities and subsequently died there. His inventory suggests that his workshop in Amsterdam continued operating in his absence between 1675 and 1678. See Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 3:57–61; Bredius, 'De nalatenschap van Carel du Jardin'; Kilian, *Du Jardin*.

76 The inventory mentioned a group of 'mediocre' paintings: '240 stux gemeene schilderijen van allerhande soort' (240 pieces of mediocre paintings of various kinds) in SAA NA 5075, inv. 6459, fol. [7], (12-10-1716), not. Hendrick de Wilde.

130 pictures.[77] In some ways, Huysum's *kunstkamer* compensated for the lack of exhibition space in the absence of a *zijkamer*. Both Dujardin and Van Huysum catered to clients who valued artistic skill over the creators' intellectual backgrounds, making their studios and *kunstkamers* centres for the display and sale of art rather than venues for showcasing the artistic process. This stands in contrast to painters such as Rembrandt and Van Musscher, who infused their studios with personal narratives and intellectual symbolism. Thus, for Dujardin and Van Huysum, the *schilderkamer* and *kunstkamer* were not merely creative spaces but integral components of a commercial enterprise, where clients browsed, discussed, and purchased ready-made paintings. In this sense, the *schilderkamer* and *kunstkamer* became venues for the conspicuous display of the painters themselves, their art, and, at times, their stock as art dealers.

Uylenburgh and the art dealer's gallery

The burden of self-presentation and keeping abreast of the latest fashion fell as heavily on high-end art dealers as it did on painters. Since the 1640s, art dealers serving high-profile, international clients probably felt compelled to match the style and grandeur of their clients in their dwellings and interiors. The city expansion and the construction of fashionable houses along the canal ring further encouraged the ostentatious display in art dealers' homes. In this context, Gerrit Uylenburgh (ca. 1625–1679), who took over his father Hendrick's art dealership, committed to a substantial annual rent of *f* 975 for a large double house on Keizersgracht (no. 567 today, between Spiegelstraat and Vijzelstraat) and even got involved in its design.[78] Despite its initial promise, this very property likely contributed to Uylenburgh's bankruptcy, which occurred shortly after he was taxed for a wealth of *f* 7,000 in 1674 (see the next section).[79] This insolvency inventory, together with the layout of the house delineated in a rental contract between Uylenburgh and his then landlord Daniel van Gheel in 1670, reveals how a high-end dealer engaged interior space to boost his business.[80]

The first impression of Uylenburgh's house is its impressive size and the tailor-made layout. According to the rental contract, this double house measured 38

77 Most of the paintings depicted subjects that have been found in Van Huysum's oeuvre, such as flower still lifes, landscapes, and battle or hunting scenes, mostly mentioned in dozens. But there were also paintings of other subjects beyond his specialty, like the Passion.

78 Uylenburgh's downfall was instigated by the Brandenburg Elector's unwillingness to accept a cargo of paintings with bloated attributions and overrated prices. See Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son*, 79.

79 The inventory shows that the estimated value of Uylenburgh's possessions exceeded the taxable wealth, which attests to the suspicions of how accurate the estimated taxable wealth was in reflecting the actual wealth.

80 SAA, NA 5075, inv. 3610, fol. 289 (12-12-1670), not. A. v.d. Ven. Bredius, 'Italiaansche Schilderijen in 1672', 44; Dudok van Heel, 'Schilderhuis', 82, 82n51.

Amsterdam feet wide and 48–49 feet deep (approximately 11 by 14 meters) – dimensions comparable to patrician Pieter de Graeff's residence (14.8 by 18.4 meters) and significantly larger than typical Type I and II houses in the city (approximately 5 by 7 meters). Composed of two adjacent dwellings with identical floor plans, this double house merged two *voorhuizen* into a grand entrance hall and the two *achterkamers* into a spacious *zaal*, as indicated in the inventory.[81] Uylenburgh also turned half the entire first floor into a large hall, extending to the neighbouring coach house (also owned by Van Gheel).[82] In Uylenburgh's rental contract, this particular upper-level hall was designated 'for hanging paintings, and, at his discretion, for painting.'[83]

Although Uylenburgh's inventory did not record artworks by room, the combination of contractual stipulations and the contents in the painting gallery confirms that the upstairs space functioned as both a showroom and a workshop. The presence of a single easel suggests that it may have been used either by the principal workshop painter – a role previously held by artists like Govert Flinck or Gerard de Lairesse – or as a display tool for presenting individual works to clients.[84] The gallery was sparsely furnished, containing only one armchair, two rush-seat chairs, and sixteen plaster sculptures, a setup likely designed to maximise wall space for painting display. Despite its sparse furnishings, the fireplace ensured that the room remained warm and suitable for receiving clients.[85] The attic, by contrast, contained two easels and basic household items (a pinewood table, a chest containing a few household textiles, a handful of kitchenware, and a dismantled bedstead). These suggest that the attic served as an auxiliary workspace and accommodations for assistants or junior painters involved in the workshop's daily operations.

Uylenburgh's house was modestly decorated, lacking the porcelain and silverware typical of someone of his standing. This absence, as Van der Veen and Lammertse argued, may indicate that such valuables were sold off to relieve financial pressures

81 There was no *achterkamer* in the inventory, but rather a *zaal*, which was not mentioned in the contract. Since the two houses described in the contract were later merged into one, the two *achterkamers* were likely connected into a large *zaal*. See also Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son*, 104–5, 295–99.

82 This capacious *zaal* spanned over two houses, measuring 8.5 by 14 meters. The inventory shows that the other half of the first floor retained the traditional layout of a *voor-* and *achterkamer*. See also Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son*, 104–5.

83 Cited in Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son*, 77.

84 This practice of examining artworks is depicted in Adriaen de Lelie's painting in the Rijksmuseum. The painting depicts an elegant woman sitting in front of an easel to inspect the painting in the gallery. It is unlikely that a high-end art dealer like Uylenburgh would ask his clients to bend or kneel before his collection. See Adriaan de Lelie, *The Art Gallery of Jan Gildemeester Jansz*, 1794–1795, oil on panel, 63.7 × 85.7cm, Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4100. An easel can also be used for viewing paintings in large art collections. Sluijter suggested that the easel found in the home of the medical doctor and art lover Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius was 'undoubtedly used to view paintings that were taken down from the wall.' Sluijter, 'Paintings in Wealthy Interiors', 115.

85 The fireplace is inferred by the mention of a mantelpiece cover in the inventory.

in the period leading up to his insolvency.[86] In the inventory, the notary went through the *voorhuis*, the *zaal* (on the ground floor), and the upstairs *achterkamer* in succession. The *voorhuis* appears to have functioned primarily as an entrance hall, stripped of any notable furnishings. In contrast, the *zaal* and the upstairs *achterkamer* were richly appointed and seem to have served as the main reception areas. Both rooms featured multiple chairs with elaborate upholstery and expensive furnishings, including a large walnut cabinet and an oak chest, suggesting their use for hosting guests. The inventory sequence implies a convenient connection between the two rooms, as the notary proceeded directly from the *zaal* to the upstairs *achterkamer*, likely via an internal staircase. While it is difficult to determine with certainty how Uylenburgh used these two rooms without knowing what paintings and other works of art they contained, the furnishing and the location of these rooms within the house, especially in relation to the painting gallery, allow for an informed guess. The *zaal* likely served social functions, much like those in elite households, as a space for entertaining and socialising, possibly without immediate commercial intent. Guests who had a serious interest in art may have been escorted through the upstairs *achterkamer* to the painting gallery, thereby bypassing the family's more private quarters in the front of the house.[87] Uylenburgh's use of interior space reflects his awareness of the expectations and social norms of his target clientele. Nevertheless, his business acumen could not shield him from broader structural pressures. A combination of a failed deal, high rental costs, and economic stagnation after 1672 ultimately brought an end to his enterprise.

From Uylenburgh's painting gallery to Michiel van Musscher's studio, art dealers and artists in the late seventeenth century increasingly utilised their interior spaces for self-promotion and business advancement, much more so than their predecessors in earlier decades. Confronted with a contracting market and a highly selective clientele, high-end painters and dealers transformed their homes and workshops into spaces of curated engagement where clients could view the art of painting in action, converse about art, and browse their extensive collections of paintings for sale.

Painters' enhanced socio-economic standing

As the art market entered its final stage, one may wonder whether the socio-economic standing of painters had improved over the preceding prosperous decades, as suggested by their increasingly refined interiors and desirable home locations.

86 Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son*, *Uylenburgh & Son*, 105.

87 No bed or household goods were found in the *zaal*, *achterkamer*, or *schilderkamer*.

To contextualise painters' choices within the broader economic framework of Amsterdam's citizens, this study once again turns to tax registrations to compare the economic conditions of painters with those of other professions.

Holland introduced a new register in 1674 recording the assessed taxable wealth of its inhabitants, known as the *personele kohier*. Based on this assessment, a 200th Penny (0.5 per cent) Wealth Tax – *Kohier 1674* – was levied on all residents in Amsterdam whose estimated wealth exceeded *f* 1,000.[88] Like *Kohier 1631*, this tax record captures a snapshot of the economic conditions of painters and other citizens in the 1670s. While the precision of these tax assessments in reflecting absolute wealth remains difficult to determine, *Kohier 1674* is nonetheless a valuable source for understanding the relative economic standing of upper- and middle-class citizens in Amsterdam. Unlike *Kohier 1631,* which preserved detailed spatial information at the street level, *Kohier 1674* recorded the taxpayers by *wijk* (district) (Figure 7-10).[89] While art historians have drawn on this source to investigate the economic status of individual painters, systematic comparisons within the art profession and across other occupations are lacking.[90] This analysis addresses this gap by situating painters' and art dealers' tax contributions in a broader occupational context, assessing their relative wealth alongside a range of social and professional strata. This study incorporates approximately 2,500 entries of individuals whose occupations were either explicitly recorded in *Kohier 1674* or known from supplementary historical sources.[91]

Table 7-1 summarises the variation in wealth across different occupational groups in *Kohier 1674*, ordered by the median tax contribution of each group ('Median' column).[92] As expected, individuals in the city's governing elite, such as members of the city council (*schepen*, *burgermeesters*, and *heren*), topped the wealth rankings. They were followed, at a considerable distance, by those in liberal professions like notaries and lawyers. Notably, individuals engaged in cultural industries such as the painting and publishing industries possessed greater wealth than those of simple shopkeepers and artisans by a remarkable margin. Table 7-2 further examines the

88 SAA 5028, inv. 662.

89 Amsterdam was divided into sixty *wijken* with intricate borders to ensure balanced average economic composition in each *wijk*.

90 For instance, Kuretsky used Jacob Ochtervelt's tax payment of *f* 5 to suggest his good economic standing. See Kuretsky, *Ochtervelt*.

91 *Kohier 1674* is not fully transcribed, but Leon van Wissen attempted to digitise its name index (preserved in SAA 5028, inv. 622A). This digital index was made through simple OCR and listed only names and occupations, but not the tax paid. Therefore, I revisited the original *Kohier* book, corrected some OCR errors, and supplemented tax payments to individuals whose occupations are known. For the published data, see https://github.com/LvanWissen/kohier-1674 (accessed 21 November 2021).

92 The occupations in this analysis align with those recorded in the tax registers. However, some individuals involved in cultural industries have been identified through additional sources like *ECARTICO.*

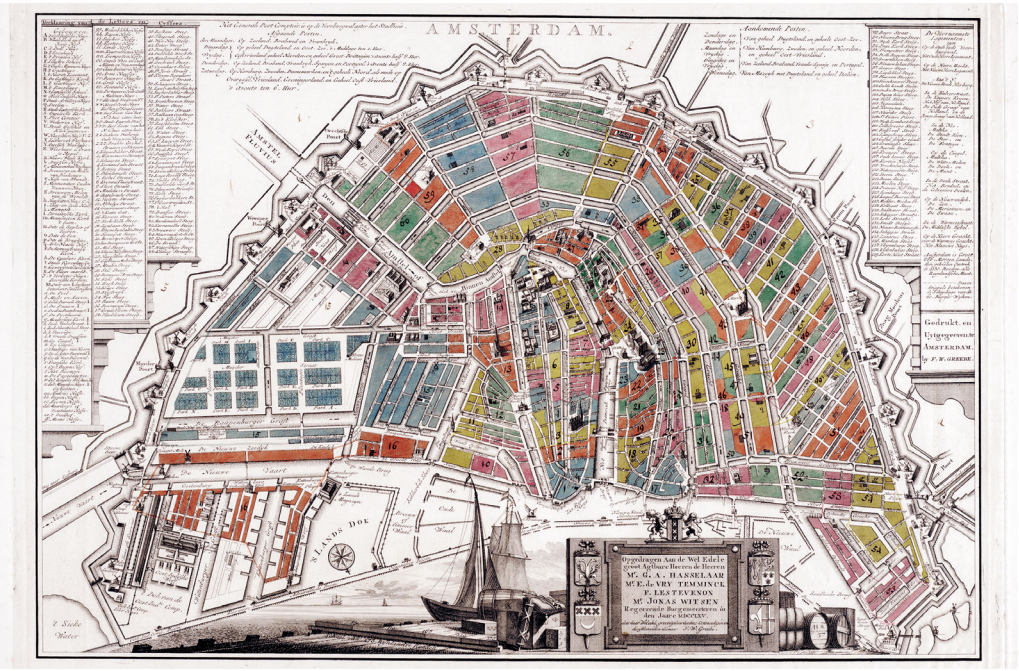

Figure 7-10: Caspar Philips Jacobsz, *Map of Amsterdam with Districts (wijken)*, 1766, Amsterdam: Amsterdam City Archives, inv. KOKA00153000001.

wealth of individual occupations. It reveals that, on average, painters accrued more wealth than gold- and silversmiths and other minor artists. A comparison of data from *Kohier 1631* and *Kohier 1674* indicates an overall improvement in the economic status of painters over time, although this upward trend was accompanied by increasing disparities within the community. Despite this improvement, painters – unlike certain industries such as publishing that allowed for considerable business expansion – faced limitations in scaling their operations and accumulating wealth to comparable levels (see 'Max' column in Table 7-2).[93]

Zooming in on individual cases, Table 7-3 details the tax contributions of selected painters in *Kohier 1674*. Ferdinand Bol, who had ceased painting by this time, was the wealthiest among all painters listed, with an estimated wealth of *f* 20,000 (taxed *f* 100). Notably, his wife's wealth far exceeded his own, with an assessment of *f* 46,000 (taxed *f* 230). Their combined wealth set a benchmark unmatched by any other painters. Dirck Ferreris (1639–1692), a successful history painter known for his ceiling and chimneypieces, was taxed *f* 65 on a wealth of

93 The lack of scalability in the painting business applied to most painters. However, some artists outside Amsterdam, such as Rubens, managed to operate large workshops with numerous assistants.

Table 7-1: 200th penny tax payments by occupational categories in *Kohier 1674*, ranked by median tax (in guilders) ⏎

Category	Definition	No.[1]	Median	Min	Max	St. Dev.
High-official	*schepen, burgermeester, heer, etc.*	36	*f* 131.3	*f* 15	*f* 1,520	413.5
Liberal prof.	*dr., notaris, advocaat, provoost, etc.*	124	*f* 47.5	*f* 5	*f* 2,000	223.0
Official	*procureur, provoost, commissaris, schout, etc.*	42	*f* 20.0	*f* 5	*f* 400	86.6
Cultural industries	*kunstschilder, schilder*, art dealer, publisher, goldsmith, architect, and other artists	248	*f* 17.5	*f* 5	*f* 270	39.6
Tradesman	*(laken/tabak/spek, etc.)koper, kramer etc.*	964	*f* 11.5	*f* 3	*f* 700	63.1
Craftsman	*(glazen/schoen/kisten/kleer, etc.) maker, bakker, slager, kuiper, smit etc.*	483	*f* 10.0	*f* 5	*f* 1,050	59.7
Service	*bode, knecht, etc.*	165	*f* 10.0	*f* 5	*f* 250	33.2
Shipping	*scheepstimmerman, kapitein, mastenmaker etc.*	140	*f* 10.0	*f* 5	*f* 400	49.8
Labour	*timmerman, metselaar, (waag/turf, etc.)drager*	324	*f* 5.0	*f* 5	*f* 250	21.1

[1] See Table 5-2 for more explanation about the category.

Table 7-2: 200th penny tax payments by occupations in *Kohier 1674*, ranked by median tax (in guilders) ⏎

	Occupations	No.	Median	Min	Max	St. Dev.
Culture related	Patron or their family	44	*f* 718	*f* 50	*f* 3,250	848.5
	Art dealer	11	*f* 30	*f* 5	*f* 175	54.6
	Painter family (widow etc.)	9	*f* 30	*f* 5	*f* 230	76.5
	Publisher/Bookseller	18	*f* 23	*f* 5	*f* 205	45.6
	Painter (*kunstschilder/schilder*)	38	*f* 20	*f* 5	*f* 100	18.8
	Gold/silversmith	65	*f* 15	*f* 5	*f* 150	23.8
	Other artists	21	*f* 10	*f* 5	*f* 250	52.1
Other occupations	Lawyer	51	*f* 85	*f* 5	*f* 2,000	317.1
	Notary	29	*f* 30	*f* 5	*f* 200	38.3
	Minister (*Predicant)*	28	*f* 30	*f* 5	*f* 350	63.7
	Lux. textile seller	37	*f* 20	*f* 5	*f* 600	101.2
	Pharmacist	59	*f* 20	*f* 5	*f* 220	40.6
	Barber/Surgeon	57	*f* 10	*f* 5	*f* 100	21.5
	Tabaco seller	40	*f* 10	*f* 5	*f* 100	18.8
	Textile worker	59	*f* 10	*f* 5	*f* 390	62.3
	Shoemaker	38	*f* 5	*f* 5	*f* 35	7.0
	Transport (*drager*)	131	*f* 5	*f* 5	*f* 50	8.8

f 13,000.[94] However, this sum may not have been earned through painting alone. According to Houbraken, Ferreris came from an old and respectable family and was financially independent, suggesting inherited wealth.[95] Table 7-3 also suggests that economic status among painters did not always correspond to artistic acclaim. Painters like Mattheus Pellekum (ca. 1630–1679), who decorated interiors, and Jacob Colijns, who painted coats of arms, accrued or inherited wealth on par with prominent painters, each assessed at *f* 6,000. Christiaen Dusart (1618–1682), best known as the guardian of Rembrandt's daughter Cornelia, also had a significant wealth of *f* 10,000. By contrast, several celebrated artists working in popular genres, such as Karel Dujardin, Willem Schellinks, and Melchior d' Hondecoeter, were taxed at or below *f* 20. This wealth could support a decent middle-class lifestyle, but they were certainly not affluent. In terms of location, most painters followed their clients to the newly developed canal ring or settled in areas surrounding it (see the 'Location' column in Table 7-3). Few remained near Rozen-/Lauriergracht, and by this time, just two upmarket painters – Nicolaes Maes and Jan van der Heyden – lived near Nieuwmarkt.[96] Gerard de Lairesse cannot be located in *Kohier 1674*, possibly because his taxable wealth fell below the threshold of *f* 1,000.[97]

Kohier 1674, while extensive, lists only a handful of art dealers (see Table 7-4). Among those identified, Frederick de Wit (1630–1706), Hugo Allard (ca. 1625–1684), and Hieronymus Sweerts (1629–1696) were registered as *kunstverkopers* (literally 'art sellers') near the Dam. However, their primary business lay in the publishing sector, dealing in books and prints rather than easel paintings. Dealers in paintings – Gerrit Uylenburgh and Jan de Keersgieter – were listed without a stated occupation in *Kohier 1674*. Both were relatively well off. Uylenburgh, in particular, possessed a substantial art collection that overshadowed his estimated wealth of *f* 7,000, a collection that came under scrutiny following his bankruptcy in 1675.[98] When the tax was collected in 1674, it had already been two years since his business was destabilised by his conflict with Hendrick Fromantiou and the failed transaction

94 Ferreris's paintings were praised by Houbraken. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh,* 3:184–86.

95 Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh*, 3:184–86.

96 Also, a 'Romijn de Hooge' from *wijk* 9 was taxed *f* 225 along with a 'Jan de Hooge', listed together and taxed at exactly the same amount. These two entries were likely heirs dividing a single estate, which does not align with the profile of the engraver Romeyn de Hooghe (1648–1708).

97 I could not locate Gerard de Lairesse (or his early pupils) in *Kohier 1674*. Although Lairesse had lived in Amsterdam for almost a decade, by 1674, he had only recently completed his first major commission, explaining his absence from the *Kohier*. For an analysis of Lairesse's production trends, see Li, 'Hands Behind Lairesse's Masterpieces'.

98 For Uylenburgh's financial difficulties, see Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh & Son*, 105–10.

Table 7-3: 200th penny wealth tax payments by identified painters in *Kohier 1674*

Name	Taxed (*f*)	Location[1]	Specialisation(s)
Ferdinand Bol/wife	100/230	New development	Portrait/History
Dirck Ferreris	65	New development	History/Interior decoration
Nicolaes Roosendael	55	New development	Portrait/History
Christiaen Dusart	50	New development	Portrait
Antoon Isendoorn	35	Jordaan	Portrait
Jacob Colijns	30	Nieuwmarkt	Other decoration
Mattheus Pellekum	30	New development	Interior decoration
Barent Graat	25	Old grand canals	Portrait/History
Johannes Lingelbach	27.5	Rozen-/Lauriergracht	Italianate landscape
Maria van Oosterwyck	27.5	New development	Flower still life
Ludolf Bakhuizen	25	Rozen-/Lauriergracht	Marine
Gerbrand van Eekhout	25	New development	History
Nicolaes Maes	25	Nieuwmarkt	Portrait
Jan van der Heyden	20	Nieuwmarkt	Cityscape
Willem van Aelst	20	New development	Flower still life
Willem Schellinks	20	New development	Italianate landscape
Adriaen Backer	20	Kalverstraat	Portrait/History
B. van der Helst (wid.)	15	New development	Portrait
Johannes Post	15	New development	Foreign landscape
Melchior d' Hondecoeter	12.5	Rozen-/Lauriergracht	Animals
Jacob van Ruisdael	10	Kalverstraat	Landscape
Karel Dujardin	10	New development	Portrait/Italianate landscape
Antonie de Grebber	5	Rozen-/Lauriergracht	History
Johannes Kessel	5	New development	Italianate landscape
Jacob Ochtervelt	5	New development	High-society genre

[1] The locational groups are derived from the *wijken* as in Figure 7-10. New development accounts for *wijken* 55–60, covering the newly developed area between the Leidsegracht and Amstel.

Table 7-4: 200th penny wealth tax payments by selected art dealers in *Kohier 1674*

Name	Taxed (*f*)	Location	Mentioned as
Michiel le Blon (widow)	150	Old grand canals	
Frederick de Wit	45	Dam	*Constvercoper*
Gerrit Uylenburgh	35	New development	
Jan de Keersgieter	30	Kalverstraat	
Hieronymus Sweers	15	Dam	*Constvercoper*
Hugo Allard	10	Dam	*Constvercoper*

with Elector Friedrich Wilhelm.[99] In the market conditions of the 1670s, Uylenburgh was unable to replicate Michiel le Blon's success, whose widow still possessed considerable wealth of *f* 30,000 in 1674.

Overall, *Kohier 1674* reflects a marked improvement in the socio-economic standing of painters compared to earlier in the century. However, it is important to note that it excludes artists whose wealth fell below the *f* 1,000 threshold and captures only a single moment in time. As such, it may not fully represent the financial conditions of the painters' community by the century's end. Nonetheless, it illustrates the potential for upward mobility within the profession, extending beyond renowned artists to include those engaged in decorative arts and those from affluent backgrounds. This suggests that financial security was not exclusively tied to artistic success. That said, upmarket painters could still reap sufficient financial awards to sustain a decent, middle-class lifestyle, and many could afford to follow their patrons to the newly developed area along the canal ring between Leidsegracht and Amstel.

Conclusion

After 1670, most artists shifted away from the open market that had sustained them since the beginning of the century. On the one hand, external factors like wars had reduced the purchasing power of the middle and lower classes, thereby eroding the broad client base for the mass-produced paintings.[100] Painters serving the mid and lower-end markets faced not only their buyers' tightening purses but also the growing supply of inexpensive, second-hand paintings of relatively high quality.[101] On the other hand, although the high-end art market escaped the headwind of economic stagnation, its clients from the upper strata of society embraced an increasingly opulent lifestyle. The wholesale adoption of noble aesthetics and status symbols made the elite treat their interior design as an organic whole and hence favoured costly wall hangings over easel paintings.[102] This shift in fashion gradually undermined the decorative function that had been central to easel paintings. In this new situation, Amsterdam's painters adapted to market changes by altering their methods of coordination and location strategies, mid- and low-end painters particularly relying on professional networks and spatial clustering among themselves.

99 For the details of the controversial case with Elector Wilhelm, see Lammertse and Van der Veen, 79–91.

100 Cf. Rasterhoff, *Cultural Industries*; Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam'; Bok, 'Vraag en aanbod'; De Vries, 'Art History'.

101 Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam', 206–8.

102 The contemporary biographer Johan van Gool attributed the impoverishment of artists to the rise of new interior decoration trends. See De Vries, 'Felicitous Age', 29–30.

Contrary to common belief, painters experienced an elevation in economic standing, at least in the 1670s. *Kohier 1674* suggests that financial gain was not limited to high-end artists; lower-end *kladschilders* also managed to accrue or sometimes inherited wealth to sustain a middle-class lifestyle in fashionable locations. These observations challenge the conventional narrative of a collapsing art market in the late seventeenth century. Instead, the socio-spatial analysis suggests a structural transformation of the market, in which lower-end painters could also prosper under the new conditions. However, the evolving market coordination also posed significant constraints on artistic development. Innovation required painters to break away from the existing coordination, which became an increasingly risky move that could jeopardise careers built on professional networks. The rise of a singular, dominant taste among elites made deviations from the mainstream preferences even riskier, as consumers of this period proved less receptive to experimentation than in earlier decades. The coordination mechanisms that once encouraged artistic diversity and invention began to falter. As a result, the art market, though still economically viable, left little room for innovation and ultimately stifled artistic creativity. The golden age of Dutch art had come to an end.

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Conclusion

This book introduced an integrated socio-spatial approach to examine the development of the art market in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. It operationalised the concept of 'deep mapping' to address the methodological challenges in sociological and spatial analysis for historical research. Using deep mapping methodologies, the socio-spatial approach enabled a detailed examination of the early modern art market at the meso level, capturing broader market trends without losing touch with the individuality of painters' choices and actions. The art market was thus studied through actors' collective behaviours, including their location choices, social relations, use of house interiors, and, to a limited extent, artistic decisions. Taken together, these diverse aspects of behaviour suggest that the art market was not merely an abstract platform for economic exchange but also a socio-spatial phenomenon in which painters and other actors coordinated their actions and embedded themselves in the spatial and social milieu suitable for their careers. Through the socio-spatial readings of diverse sources, this book argued that the changing patterns in painters' collective behaviour and coordination in locations, social relations, interior spaces, and artistic choices – conceptualised as 'playbooks' – not only gave shape to a multi-layered market structure but also spurred and stifled artistic development. This study therefore added a behavioural perspective to traditional economic explanations for the surge in artistic innovation in the early modern Dutch Republic.

Methodologically, this study introduced deep mapping as a methodological framework for studying complex historical phenomena. It used georeferenced historical maps to align various sources such as works of art, biographical information, economic data, social ties, and estate inventories. This alignment allowed a spatial presentation of multi-layered historical information that enhanced observation and analysis. In addition to mapping, the introduction of 'spatial reading' of inventories further brought artworks and objects back to their original context to understand the use of interior spaces in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Drawing on extensive archival sources, this study accounted for uncertainties of early modern locations, addressing issues of ambiguity and imprecision in historical data. Citywide deep maps of artists and art dealers proved effective for organising and analysing large bodies of historical materials holistically. They facilitated visual storytelling

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that revealed diachronic patterns in the sources. Using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to store, organise, and visualise large historical datasets, the deep maps became a scalable platform, allowing for smooth transitions between the observation of macro-level market trends and the examination of individual life trajectories. Although deep mapping has its own limitations – such as challenges with the readability of complex information on maps and the inability to visualise artistic choices or institutional behaviours – it enabled a socio-spatial reading of the art market and led to observations unattainable through traditional text-based approaches.

The early modern art market as a socio-spatial phenomenon

Through deep mapping, this study presented the art market in seventeenth-century Amsterdam as a socio-spatial phenomenon, marked by changing behavioural patterns of painters that influenced the market's development over time. Since the late sixteenth century, an increasing number of painters in Amsterdam began to diverge in their location choices, social relationships, and use of house interiors, giving rise to distinct playbooks that evolved throughout the seventeenth century. These playbooks became evident in the deep maps, which revealed multiple spatial clusters coexisting and developing simultaneously within the urban landscape. Meanwhile, painters' social networks shifted from being relatively disconnected across these clusters to forming a cohesive whole. Throughout the seventeenth century, changes in market conditions prompted painters to coordinate and adjust their behaviours, as shown in their choices regarding location, social embeddedness, and interior design, alongside their artistic choices. Their adaptive playbooks, summarised in Table 8-1, helped them better integrate into the social-spatial environment that best supported their art and business.

Admittedly, this study focused primarily on the practical aspects of painters' playbooks and only briefly touched on the question of artistic agency. As Montias and Bok noted, the need for painters to earn a living often constrained their artistic freedom.[1] Only painters with alternative income or family support, like Philip Konick and Jan van der Heyden, could exercise greater artistic agency. Yet, as this book demonstrated, even these artists largely adhered to the playbooks of their respective groups. Thus, artistic agency is closely tied to, or even dependent on, the practical aspects of the playbooks. This further supports the observation

1 Montias once noted that '[f]ew artists could afford the luxury of ignoring the desires of their patrons'. Bok made the same point: '[c]reative freedom was an ideal rather than a reality'. Montias, 'Economic Factors', 50; Bok, 'The Rise of Amsterdam', 202.

Table 8-1: Summary of the socio-spatial aspects of playbooks employed by painters and art dealers (1585–1700)

	Top-layer painters/ art dealers	Mid-tier painters/ art dealers	Lower-end painters/ art dealers
1585–1610	– Staying close to patrons	–	– Settling into established commercial districts
1610–1630	– Clustering among themselves (near Sint Antoniesbreestraat) while building relationships across the city	– (Underdeveloped, rather idiosyncratic behaviours)	– Operating from shopping streets, markets, and radial streets, maintaining professional relationships with dealers
1630–1650	– Following patrons to their new homes in the West – Embedding socially and spatially into clients' circles – Cultivating professional and trade networks – Starting to use house interiors for self-fashioning	– Choosing established shopping streets and marketplaces to get access to potential buyers and to sense and respond to market demand promptly – Venturing to the West to seek better clientele	– Staying attached to established market-places with artists' presence (Nieuwmarkt) – Maximising interior spaces for painting shops (art dealers)
1650–1670	– Staying close to clients and wealthy neighbourhoods – Using interior spaces more often for self-fashioning or exhibition	– Sticking to commercial districts and behaving like retail merchants – Seeking alternative profes-sions or going abroad	– Focusing on the production near marketplaces – Feeding art dealers with cheap paintings – Staying close to established marketplaces, taking advantage of consumers' spatial memory – Maximising interior spaces for painting shops (art dealers)
1670–1700	– Anchoring in the city centre to serve the entire city or following patrons to their new homes in the canal ring – Cultivating relationships with patrons or building their fame to attract clients – Turning their studios into showrooms and setting up multiple rooms for exhibition	– Cultivating professional relationships among artists and artisans to secure commissions – Following potential clients to the canal ring and vacating the city centre	– Cultivating professional relationships among artists and artisans to secure commissions – Clustering among themselves in convenient locations or radial streets near or across the canal ring

that the art market functioned as a socio-spatial collective, with painters, art dealers, and clients coordinating their behaviours and choices in the production and consumption of art. Their changing collective behaviours, in turn, influenced

the structural features of the art market, including segmentation, specialisation, product differentiation, and major coordination channels.

This socio-spatial interpretation of the art market also suggests that artistic innovation was an issue of market coordination, a process through which artists and their consumers aligned their behaviours and interactions to establish order in the art market. When the market evolved quickly from a small and highly coordinated state in 1585 to a large, multi-layered yet uncoordinated one after the 1610s, the growing population of painters began to serve a broad consumer base, who had not yet formed a consensus on taste regarding styles, subject matters, and quality. Lacking unified preferences, consumers welcomed artistic innovations, which in turn fuelled the desire for novelty and diversity in their art collections. Catering to this demand, painters, especially the mid-tier ones, stayed close to shopping streets and marketplaces, where they could interact directly with buyers and adapt their artistic outputs based on immediate feedback. The period between the 1630s and 1640s marked the peak of this uncoordinated and highly innovative phase, characterised by a proliferation of styles and approaches. When the art market was not well coordinated, both artists and consumers were willing to challenge existing norms and pursue new artistic directions for mutual benefit. However, after the 1670s, the market dynamics shifted. It increasingly catered to the city's wealthy elite whose dominant tastes began to dictate artistic production, steering the market back toward a state of high coordination, reminiscent of its earlier days. In this highly coordinated market, the drive for innovation waned. A shared preference in art and the risks of diverging from established networks made artistic inventions costly and unrewarding. The balance between cost and benefit had tilted decisively – and with it, the flourishing era of Dutch art drew to an end.

Therefore, a less coordinated market, without a dominant preference, allowed both artists and consumers to embrace new trends, creating conditions highly conducive to artistic innovation. This more open and uncoordinated art market before the mid-seventeenth century offered artists the prospect of high returns on their creative endeavours, while simultaneously fuelling consumers' appetite for novelty and diversity. While this observation aligns with existing economic explanations for the rapid flourishing of Dutch art, this study further pinpoints that it was the uncoordinated nature of the interactions among a wide range of market actors, coupled with their relative open-mindedness, that created an environment where artistic creativity was both encouraged and rewarded.

Viewing the art market as a socio-spatial phenomenon has opened up more questions than it has answered. Many social factors influencing painters' behaviours, such as family economic backgrounds and connections, religious affiliations, or workshop size, remain underexplored due to a lack of comprehensive data. Further investigation into these factors will offer deeper insight into the constraints and

opportunities that shaped painters' decisions, beyond artistic talent alone. While this book touched upon the impact of family support and shared religious ties on artists' success and financial stability, more systematic research into the professions and wealth of painters' families, as well as the religious affiliations of both painters and their clients, is needed to place these elements within a broader social context. In addition, the social connections between painters and their consumers deserve closer attention to further clarify the mechanisms of market coordination. With a few exceptions, this social interplay between art consumption and production in the early modern period – particularly regarding taste formation and valuation process – remains largely understudied.[2] A thorough exploration of patronage, purchasing habits, and systems of appraisal would complement this book's analysis of painters' behaviour in the art market, enriching our understanding of its dynamics from both the producer and consumer perspectives.[3]

Broadening the scope of this socio-spatial reading of the art market, behaviours of other agents in the cultural industries, particularly supporting roles such as panel and frame makers or the canvas, paint, or brush sellers, could provide additional insights. These sectors were interconnected and may have influenced one another in terms of location choices and social networks. However, such analysis would require systematic data collection on the biographical, social, and locational information of these auxiliary professionals, a group often overlooked in major art historical datasets. With more comprehensive data on the broader cultural industries, future research and digital infrastructure could move beyond the realm of painting, enabling a more thorough examination of socio-spatial dynamics within early modern cultural industries.

Combining sociological and spatial narratives

The integrated approach in this study demonstrates that the social and spatial elements in the art market were interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Concepts from the sociology of markets such as embeddedness and market coordination are firmly rooted in space. Shared locations not only strengthen existing social ties but also facilitate the development of new professional relationships beneficial to art and business. For instance, when portraitist Werner van den Valckert relocated to Amsterdam as an established artist in 1613, he chose to settle in the painters'

2 For art theoretical discussions, see, for instance, De Vries, *How to Create Beauty*; Weststeijn, *Visible World*; Sluijter, *Lof der schilderkunst*. For connoisseurship, see the essays in Tummers and Jonckheere, *Art Market and Connoisseurship*.

3 The topic of patronage has already gained some traction in Kolfin, 'Going to the Market'.

cluster near Sint Antoniesbreestraat and consciously cultivated relationships with neighbouring high-end painters and potential clients. His social integration into Amsterdam's artistic milieu was underpinned by his choice of location. Therefore, social embeddedness must be considered together with spatial embeddedness. A propitious location helps actors to stay attuned to market trends, as clustering theories suggest, and facilitates social interactions that enhance their embeddedness and market coordination. Many mid-tier painters between 1630 and 1650, including Jan Miense Molenaer and Judith Leyster, capitalised on such spatial embeddedness by settling on the commercial Kalverstraat. This location not only provided first-hand information about consumers' preferences but also granted direct access to neighbouring fellow painters and other agents in cultural industries to expand their social networks. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the use of interior spaces added another dimension to spatial embeddedness. Painters such as Govert Flinck and Karel Dujardin, in addition to following their respective clientele to maintain face-to-face contact, used their homes as sites for self-fashioning to integrate into the elite circles they served. This empirical evidence thus highlights that location and interior spaces are vital components of embeddedness and market coordination. Spatial strategies were central to how actors adapted to market changes.

Likewise, geographical theories of spatial clustering and retail location choices need to account for the social nature of urban and interior spaces, where professional and personal relations are formed and maintained. This social dimension of space shows that neighbourhood-level clustering was not universally beneficial, especially for painters who relied on close interaction with consumers beyond their artistic circle. Except for a brief period between 1610 and 1630, no single painters' cluster could dominate the art scene in Amsterdam or attract painters of all market segments and specialisations. Instead, painters were drawn to different parts of the city by the need to connect with a consumer or patron base that matched their artistic profile and ambitions. Urban space thus became a social sphere not only for artistic exchange but also for engagement with consumers and intermediaries. Kalverstraat, for instance, offered painters informal contacts with publishers, innkeepers, retail merchants, and traders who either operated their businesses on the same street or passed through en route to the Stock Exchange or Dam Square. This street provided a rich social space that supported artists across market segments, from upmarket painters like Gerbrand van den Eeckhout and Jan Victors to mid-tier figures such as Jan Miense Molenaer and Pieter Quast. The social aspect of urban space also explains why painters' spatial clusters often formed near urban amenities (like commercial districts) or target audiences, rather than simply following benefits typically associated with spatial clustering theories, like knowledge spillover or access to cheap labour. Unlike firms in modern industries, painters derived limited

benefit from clustering exclusively with peers, particularly in a buyer's market. Only during the seller's market of 1610–30 could painters afford to form their own cluster while serving a citywide clientele.

The social nature of urban space is further highlighted by the shifts in the artistic landscape that followed every city expansion, which continually reshaped Amsterdam's social environment. For example, the Third City Expansion in the 1620s drew the urban elite to the grand Herengracht and Keizersgracht, prompting artists seeking elite patronage to settle nearby – in the Jordaan or along radial streets connecting the city centre to the west – thereby altering the artistic landscape in Amsterdam. The same pattern repeated after the Fourth Expansion in the 1660s, as artists again followed their patrons and clients to the newly extended canal ring between Leidsegracht and Amstel. These behaviours reveal that artists' location choices were influenced not only by the benefits of proximity to peers (as suggested by spatial clustering) but also by the evolving social sphere in the city, which changed with the relocation of its residents and art consumers after city expansions. Therefore, this book's integrated approach, which joins and balances social consideration and spatial thinking, points to a new direction for applying sociological and geographical theories to the historical studies of the art market.

This combined social and spatial narrative also brings to light some unique features of the early modern art market that have slipped under the radar in studies of the modern and contemporary art market. The socio-spatial analysis reveals a complex market structure in which different segments were dispersed across the city, with participants seeking the social environments best suited to their professional needs. Unlike the modern art market – often characterised as a universal market for singularities, where artworks are seen as incommensurable and of uncertain quality – the mid- and lower-end markets for paintings in early modern Amsterdam operated much like markets for durable goods.[4] Artists in these segments often conducted their businesses in much the same way as retail merchants and shopkeepers. For instance, the mid-tier painter Barent Kleeneknecht combined the sale of marine goods and paintings from his strategically located home in the Oude Schans, a neighbourhood populated by seafarers. He used the street-facing *voorhuis* as a marine supply store, the rear *achterzaal* as a painting shop, and maintained a workshop upstairs for artistic production. This pragmatic, business-oriented approach to location and interior space sets him apart from the artists featured in studies of the modern art market, who were driven primarily by artistic pursuits. Only the upper segment of the early modern art market shared characteristics with the modern model of singularities.

4 For the discussion of the market for singularities, see the seminal work by the French economic sociologist Lucien Karpik. See Karpik, *Valuing the Unique.*

These diverse practices and behaviours within the early modern art market underscore the need for more encompassing methodologies to capture the full complexity of its participants' actions and interactions. The findings of this study, I hope, may inspire future research to develop the concept of playbooks further and to apply the socio-spatial approach and deep mapping methodology to studies of other time periods or locations and research at individual, regional, national, and global scales. The contribution of this study therefore lies mainly in offering a new perspective and a flexible analytical framework for research on early modern Dutch art and the broader field of art market studies.

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Appendix I: Data and Sources

This research builds on and expands three types of data: 1) structured data in *ECARTICO* for the information about artists' lives and artworks they created, 2) tax registrations (*capitale impositie*, *kohieren*, and *verpondingsregisters*) from the Amsterdam City Archives, and 3) the inventories of Amsterdam burghers in the Montias Database (at the Frick Collection) and the Getty Provenance Index, and of painters' houses mostly published in art historian Abraham Bredius's *Künstler-Inventare* (1915–22).[1]

The main reference to painters' locations comes from the *ECARTICO* database. *ECARTICO*, built on a wealth of archival sources and literature, provides a comprehensive collection of structured biographical data concerning painters, engravers, printers, booksellers, gold- and silversmiths, and others involved in the 'cultural industries' of the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *ECARTICO* has its roots in a research project led by Eric Jan Sluijter and Marten Jan Bok.[2] Since it was first published online in 2011, *ECARTICO* has been expanding: as of November 15, 2024, *ECARTICO* contains biographical data on 65,619 persons, including 9,699 painters in its collection.

This study systematically collects location-related data from archival and published sources, expanding on the *ECARTICO* database. The enriched dataset is used to map painters and art dealers in QGIS and visualise their social networks in Gephi. *ECARTICO* contains over 2,000 descriptions of addresses of painters and art dealers in Amsterdam, an abundance of locational information that has not been used in existing research due to difficulties dealing with vague references to early modern descriptions.[3] Applying the deep mapping methodology, I systematically supplement and geo-translate the location data in *ECARTICO* by drawing on both literature and archival documents in the Amsterdam City Archives that have locational information, such as marriage and burial registrations (*ondertrouw-/begraafsregisters*), tax registrations (*kohieren* and *verpondingsregisters*), real estate transaction records (*transportakten/kwijtscheldingen*), and notarial deeds to optimise the accuracy of historical geo-locations.[4] I include both *schilders* whose

1 *ECARTICO*: http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/ (accessed 21 September 2022); *RKDImages*: https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images (accessed 21 September 2022); The Getty Provenance Index: http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/search.html (accessed 18 December 2020); Montias Database: http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php (accessed 18 December 2020).

2 The *ECARTICO* database is currently hosted by the University of Amsterdam and the Huygens Institute and is managed by Harm Nijboer, Judith Brouwer, and Marten Jan Bok.

3 Accessed September 2022.

4 The Amsterdam City Archives have gone through an extensive digitisation process and opened up over six million scans, which are available online: https://archief.amsterdam/indexen/index.nl.html. In

artistic status is unknown and artistic painters (*kunstschilders*) who took painting as their main profession (thus excluding amateur painters and other agents in creative industries who painted on the side). In particular, I exclude painters who only visited Amsterdam briefly because their short stay did not contribute much to the artistic landscape within the city, and they were unlikely to leave any traces of locations during their sojourn. The final dataset for this study is composed of 2,203 locational records for 1,385 painters and art dealers with at least one known address in Amsterdam, making up around 85 per cent of the total population of painters and dealers who lived for more than a year in the city between 1585 and 1700 (Table A1-1).[5]

Table A1-1: Number of painters in Amsterdam from the enhanced *ECARTICO* data ⏎

Occupation	Location(s) known	Location(s) unknown	Total
Kunstschilder	681 (86%)	107 (14%)	788 (100%)
Schilder	669 (80%)	170 (20%)	839 (100%)
Art dealer	35 (88%)	5 (12%)	40 (100%)
Total	1,385 (83%)	282 (17%)	1,667 (100%)

Admittedly, this locational dataset is not complete, but its high coverage should already allow us to discern long-term trends within an acceptable margin of error. Moreover, among the 107 *kunstschilders* with no trace of locations (Table A1-1), thirty (28 per cent) were family members, pupils, or employees of better-known painters with known locations. The locations of these painters, although not mentioned in the source, can be derived from those of their relatives, masters, or employers. Another thirty-two (30 per cent) stayed in Amsterdam only for a few years and therefore may have had a limited impact on the artistic landscape over time. For these reasons, although incomplete, this dataset could be regarded as sufficiently representative and could reveal patterns that are unlikely to change substantially with additional data.[6] This study subsequently extracts the social relations of these artists and art dealers from *ECARTICO* to construct spatially grounded social networks, a methodology detailed in Appendix II.

past few years, the city archives launched the *Alle Amsterdamse Akten* project, targeted at digitalising and indexing thousands of notarial books in the archive. http://alleamsterdamseakten.nl/overhetproject/ (accessed 15 June 2019)

5 For these painters and art dealers, we do not have the full sequences of their residential locations within Amsterdam. Only partial information was available, and at times, only one address was known.

6 For the discussion about the potential of incomplete data, see Nijboer, Brouwer, and Bok, 'Painting Industries'.

The second group of sources consists of tax registrations. Between 1585 and 1700, three major city-wide taxes on wealth – the *Capitale Impositie* in 1585 and the *Kohieren* in 1631 and 1674 – were levied on all residents whose wealth exceeded the threshold specified for each tax.[7] In addition to the three wealth tax records, the Virtual Interiors project in which this research is embedded also collected the tax registers on the rental value of properties – *Verponding* – between 1647 and 1652, which was levied on all property owners and renters living in the city.[8] These tax records often listed taxpayers' names, their payable taxes, and occasionally occupations that allow us to gauge the relative economic standing or living conditions of actors in the art market. More importantly, the *Capitale Impositie*, *Kohier 1631*, and *Verponding* also documented the tax collectors' routes within the city. This allows us to locate the taxpayers on the map by tracing back where they were being visited by the tax collectors. Bart Reuvekamp from our Virtual Interiors project reconstructed the tax collectors' routes and mapped all taxpayers in the *Capitale Impositie, Kohier 1631*, and *Verponding* on geo-referenced historical maps of Amsterdam.[9] Using the geo-referenced tax records, I visualise the distribution of wealth and property values within the urban space and highlight painters, art dealers, and their clients to compare their location, economic standing, and living conditions across time. The *Kohier 1674*, however, did not record the exact route but rather divided the registrations by districts (*wijken*), which makes the same kind of detailed mapping impossible. Actors in the *Kohier 1674* are hence located at the district level. These geo-referenced tax records contextualise the urban space, adding a valuable layer to the deep maps of Amsterdam.[10]

The last source is estate inventories to delve deeper into the actual houses of painters, art dealers, and other Amsterdam burghers, since most of the production and consumption of paintings took place in private dwellings in the seventeenth century. My sample of inventories is composed of two parts: around fifty fully

7 The three tax records will be explained in Chapters 3, 4, and 7, respectively.

8 The Virtual Interiors as Interfaces for Big Historical Data project focuses on the question of how we can develop and publish 2D/3D/4D user interfaces to the linked data of the Semantic Web in the form of digital maps and virtual rooms using historical data on the production and consumption of early modern cultural products. For the details of this project, see https://www.virtualinteriorsproject.nl/ (accessed 21 November 2022)

9 The *Verponding* data is published as Weixuan Li, Spatial distribution of housing rental value in Amsterdam 1647–1652 (Version V0) (2022) [data set]. Zenodo. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7473120. I am grateful for Bart Reuvekamp's work in mapping the *Kohier 1631* and collecting and locating the *Verponding 1649–1652*. I also thank Clé Lesger for sharing the digitised *Kohier 1631* data.

10 For an example of the application of the tax records, see the Amsterdam Time Machine pilot project 'Living with Water in Amsterdam', https://www.amsterdamtimemachine.nl/living-with-water-in-amsterdam-a-thematic-pilot/ (accessed 21 November 2022)

transcribed inventories for artists and art dealers, and over two hundred inventories of artworks drawn from Amsterdam burghers outside the painting industries. The first part is based on published sources, mainly from the widely used yet strangely underexplored *Künstler-Inventare* by art historian Abraham Bredius. In particular, the *Künstler-Inventare* includes around fifty inventories that describe the full interiors of painters' houses room by room, offering an excellent opportunity to reconstruct painters' houses to understand how they decorated their houses and studios and how the interiors were related to their location choices. However, Bredius did not transcribe all objects present in painters' homes but rather cherry-picked those he deemed of art historical interest. To overcome Bredius's limitation, our research team traced forty-eight inventories published in the *Künstler-Inventare* and other literature back to the original source in the archives, transcribed the entire inventories, and compiled these records into a database.[11] This *Künstler-Inventare* database encompasses all belongings present in painters' workshops and art dealers' shops, filling in the missing information that once hindered our comprehension of how artists and art dealers organised their studios, shops, and living quarters.

The second part of my sample comprises 226 inventories of seventeenth-century Amsterdam houses. These inventories, published in both the Montias Database and the Getty Provenance Index, are selected because they list objects by room and can be traced back to archival sources.[12] The Montias Database at The Frick Collection includes 1,280 Amsterdam inventories (562 of which registered objects by room) from 1597 to 1681, selected and transcribed by John Michael Montias.[13] Since the last record in the Montias Database dates to 1681, I consulted the Archival Inventories within the Getty Provenance Index to fill in inventories from the last two decades of the seventeenth century.[14] The Getty database contains 159 inventories in Amsterdam drawn up between 1680 and 1699 (out of 731 Amsterdam inventories spanning from 1620 to 1798).[15] The wealth of information offered by

11 The *Künstler-Inventare* database is published online in Weixuan Li, Inventories of 17th-century Dutch painters and art dealers: the Künstler-Inventare database (Version 1) (2022) [data set]. Zenodo. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7473926. I thank Bart Reuvekamp for transcribing the inventories and Judith Brouwer for improving the quality of the transcriptions.

12 The data used for this research was acquired through the Golden Agents project, in collaboration with the Frick Collection (for the Montias Database), and the Getty Provenance Index. Both institutes offered their full collections in the csv format, suitable for computer processing.

13 The Montias Database: https://research.frick.org/montias (accessed 12 December 2021)

14 The Getty Provenance Index: https://piprod.getty.edu/ (accessed 12 December 2021)

15 The inventories in the Getty between 1680 and 1699 were collected and transcribed by Marten Jan Bok based on Abraham Bredius's unpublished notes. Marten Jan Bok used only the unpublished notes in the personal archive of Bredius and purposefully eschewed the published ones, such as those in *Künstler-Inventare*. The personal archive of Bredius is preserved in the Netherlands Institute for Art History. See RKD, Archief A. Bredius [NL-HaRKD.0380]. The Virtual Interiors project selected and transcribed

both databases has informed various studies into the buying, selling, and collecting of art in Amsterdam.[16] Combining these databases of a similar kind will offer a comprehensive, albeit incomplete, collection of artworks present in Amsterdam houses in the seventeenth century.[17]

The major drawback of the Montias and Getty databases for this research is their lack of information concerning the location of the objects listed. Both datasets document room names only when they contain art objects. More rooms may have been mentioned in the inventory but omitted from the datasets. To study the display pattern of artworks within houses, it is critical to have a full picture of all spaces available in the house, including unadorned rooms. For this reason, I revisited the original archival documents of the inventories to supplement the existing datasets with all rooms mentioned in the inventories and screen out the incomplete ones.

The sample comprises 226 inventories, including 88 that were appraised, selected from the Montias and Getty databases, spanning the years 1610 to 1699. These inventories were chosen based on three criteria: 1) the inventories must assign objects to rooms, covering the entire house; 2) they are probate inventories from the Notarial Archive (excluding insolvency inventories from the Bankruptcy Chamber or the *Desolate Boedelkamer*); and 3) they can be traced back to the original documents in the archive.[18] The reason to dismiss insolvency inventories lies in the fact that these inventories only itemised the possessions of the liable individual and were hence a partial account of items

around fifty inventories mentioned in Bredius's *Künstler-Inventare* and other publications. The Getty inventories before 1680, compiled mostly by Montias, overlapped greatly with the Montias Database and are therefore excluded from my sample. The exact overlap between the Montias Database and the Getty Provenance Index was not clear. To reconcile these two databases, researchers from the Golden Agents project are currently developing computational models to match the overlapping inventories and to detect the differences. However, it is still a work in progress at the time of writing.

16 For examples of such studies, see Montias, *Art at Auction*; Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*; Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals*; Jager, '"Galey-schilders"'.

17 Regarding the representativeness of the inventory databases, Montias tested his database against a random sample and concluded that the inventories in the Montias Database represent relatively affluent families who owned (attributed) paintings. Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 51. Montias also collected a random sample of inventories, which included fewer works of art. Montias, 'Random Sample'. As for their descriptions, I have argued elsewhere that the description of paintings in the inventories are not consistently or significantly biased towards high-value, larger collections. Li, 'Deciphering the Art and Market in the Dutch Golden Age', 46 and Appendix I.

18 To select these 226 inventories, I prioritised the inventories that have the most complete information in the Montias database, including not only the archive and inventory number but also the folio number. For a recent study of the archive of the Bankruptcy Chamber, see the master's thesis by Marleen Puyenbroek, who looked into the female appraisers who appeared in the insolvency inventories. Puyenbroek, 'Gezworen schatsters'.

present in the house.[19] Consequently, this sample consists mainly of inventories of large merchants and the 'middling sort' – tradesmen, brokers, petty officials, and craftsmen – who enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle. This sample inevitably inherits the selection bias in the Montias and Getty databases. It represents primarily, as Montias said, inventories of art consumers who decorated their homes with works of art.[20]

For every selected inventory in the Montias and Getty databases, I first traced it back to the original documents in the City Archive of Amsterdam and transcribed all indications of location within the house mentioned by the notary and their clerks. Then I connected these locations to the content registered in the two existing databases. If a room in the original document is absent from the Montias or Getty database, it is assumed that the room contained no works of art.[21] There are, on average, ten spaces mentioned in the inventory (including the *gang*, or corridor, and *op de plaats*, or the courtyard), and fewer than half of them are adorned with artworks. By bringing back the omitted spatial information, this study develops house typologies and uses the spatial arrangement of rooms to bring art objects back to their original location. Although doubts arise in rare cases where objects were moved to a particular room (usually the *voorhuis*) before they were inventoried, such cases seem to have been exceptional.[22] Very few inventories, at least in my sample, have a lopsided distribution of artworks skewed towards one room.[23] In most cases, the paintings were found in all principal spaces. Combining the inventories of Amsterdam burghers with those of artists and art dealers, my data sample introduces a new parameter – the house type – to analyse the functions of interior spaces for agents in the painting industries and the patterns of art display in Amsterdam houses. In short, it is the wealth of location and network data from *ECARTICO*, tax registers, and inventories that enables the

19 The difference between probate inventories and insolvency inventories is discussed in Montias, 'Random Sample', 68; Jager, '"Galey-schilders"', 119–20.

20 The representativeness of this sample should be similar to that used by Montias and Loughman. The comparison between their sample and the random sample is discussed in Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 51–52.

21 The authors explained the coverage of their data as covering 'only art objects that were assigned to rooms and omits entirely any information concerning rooms in which such objects were not recorded.' See Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 52.

22 Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 53n2.

23 The few inventories with lopsided distribution of paintings towards one or a few rooms are spread across house types and time. It is unlikely that they reflect the wealthy houses with a painting cabinet, while other rooms were covered with costly textiles or other wall hangings. See Montias Database inv. 286, 1049, 1141 as examples.

socio-spatial analysis of painters' behaviours and the development of the art market presented in this book.

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Appendix II: Deep Mapping Methodologies

To operationalise the deep mapping concept discussed in Chapter 1, this research develops several methodologies, including 'geo-translation' of written sources and visualising networks on maps. The geo-translation introduces a mechanism to convert the textual descriptions of location-related information found in archival sources into concrete, geo-referenced locations on a map. Early modern sources often registered locations only by street names. For such location descriptions, a polygon covering all houses on both sides of the street will be created to include every potential residence of a painter, preserving the uncertainty in the historical source. In cases where descriptions are more detailed, indicating intersections of streets or landmarks (e.g., churches and markets), the polygon will be narrowed down to just the street section or the area surrounding the landmark. For example, painter Zacharias Webber (1644–1696), a pupil of Gerard de Lairesse, is recorded to have lived at 'Singel op [de] hoek [van de] Huiszittensteeg' (Singel on the corner of Huiszittensteeg), which is geo-translated using the geometries of both the street and the canal to define a small polygon (marked in red in Figure A2-1) covering only a handful of houses near the intersection.

When sources include specific details like the name of the house, its gable stone (*gevelsteen*), or its street signboard (*uithangbord*), additional archival sources – such

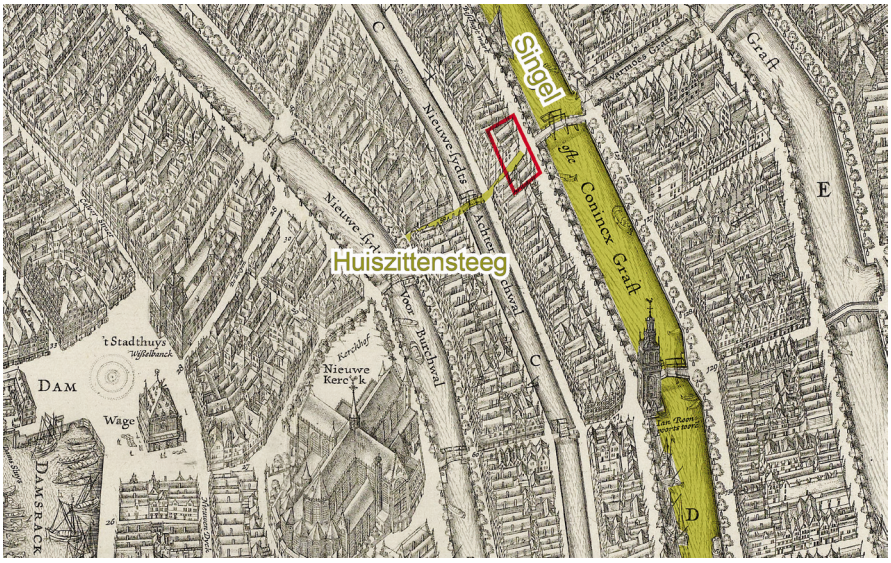

Figure A2-1: The red rectangle marks the polygon capturing the possible location of Zacharias Webber's house.

as notarial deeds and real estate transaction records in the archive – are used to further refine the possible locations.[1] While pinpointing the exact house may not always be possible, this method of cross-referencing multiple sources can significantly narrow down the possible location of a painter's house to a relatively small area, sufficient for spatial analysis at the city level. Using these polygons to visualise uncertainties in geolocations, I first generate a random point within each polygon in the foreground to represent a possible location to observe spatial patterns. In cases where multiple painters lived in the same area, such as a street, and therefore share the same polygon, I evenly distribute their points to avoid any false impressions of clustering. Then I turn polygons into a heat map in the background, using visual cues like fuzziness and transparency to effectively convey uncertainty.[2] For locations where modern house numbers are available from the literature, their corresponding polygons will be extracted directly from the first cadastral map of Amsterdam from the HisGIS project.[3] These geo-coded locations or polygons serve as anchors for aligning historical maps, archival materials, and modern databases like *ECARTICO* and *RKDimages* (see Figure 1-2).

Social relations among artists and other actors in the art market form an important layer of the deep map as they illustrate the social and artistic milieu in Amsterdam. A deep map as a platform to integrate information can make social relations visible within the urban context to facilitate observations. However, the existing social network visualisations usually have no reference to specific locations, presumably because many people in the social network have no known location or have a location outside Amsterdam. For instance, some Amsterdam painters were connected through intermediaries living in other cities, who cannot be depicted on the Amsterdam map. To address this issue, I introduce a method that 'folds' the social network spatially.[4] Figure A2-2 illustrates a network with painters who can be geo-coded (marked in red) and intermediate figures who cannot be mapped within Amsterdam (in black). The size of each node is proportional to the number of connections (or the degrees) a person had in the original network. Then, to 'fold' this network, the intermediaries are removed, and the distance between the two geo-coded nodes in the original network becomes the weight of the new direct link. For instance, in the folded network (Figure A2-2), nodes A and C are

1 For historical gable stones in Amsterdam, see https://www.gevelstenenvanamsterdam.nl/ (accessed 21 September 2022)

2 For the comparison of visual language for uncertainties, see MacEachren et al., 'Visual Semiotics Uncertainty Visualization'; MacEachren et al., 'Visualizing Geospatial Information Uncertainty'.

3 For the HisGIS project, see https://hisgis.nl/ (accessed 21 September 2022). Several historical maps are geo-referenced and published online from the Amsterdam Time Machine project: https://amsterdamtimemachine.nl/(accessed 21 September 2022).

4 This methodology has been presented and published as an abstract at the HNR+ResHist 2021 conference.

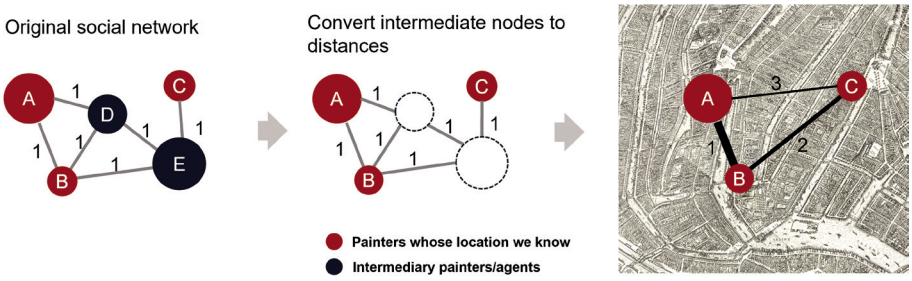

Figure A2-2: Methods to visualise social networks on historical maps.

now linked with a weight of 3, indicating a much more distant relation compared to the direct connection between nodes A and B, which has a weight of 1. In this way, the social network of painters in Amsterdam is layered over the maps without losing the shape of the original network. However, it is important to note that a spatial network as a visualisation tool is most effective in the early stages of the art market when the number of actors is relatively small. As the art market expands, the spatial network may become too complex to discern spatial and social patterns from the map. In such cases, I visualise networks produced in the first two steps of the process without further plotting them on the map.

Like any methodological approach, deep mapping is not without its limitations, even though this study has demonstrated its potential as a valuable tool for historical research. As noted in the challenges associated with spatial networks, the primary limitation of deep mapping lies in its visualisations. Despite incorporating multi-layered sources, the rich information of deep maps often cannot be effectively presented simultaneously in a single, static map due to readability constraints. For instance, overlaying painters' locations onto wealth distribution maps can result in visuals that are too cluttered to discern clear patterns. Similarly, visualisations of spatial social networks only work for smaller datasets, again restricted by readability challenges. The readability issue also affects the communication of uncertainties. This study experimented with various methods to represent uncertainties such as colour codes alongside other layers of spatial information. However, these attempts to illustrate uncertainty often fell short, as they hardly conveyed any additional information besides the uncertainties themselves, thus missing the true purpose of deep mapping. After negotiating the pros and cons of various means of visualising locational uncertainties in static maps, I settled on using heat maps in the background to present uncertainties together with painters' data. While this method provides food for thought, it highlights the need for further research into more effective and clear representations of uncertainty in deep mapping. Future studies could, for instance, develop a visual language that better captures the ambiguity and uncertainty inherent in historical sources

and socio-spatial analysis. Moreover, transitioning from static maps to interactive platforms could mitigate some of these visualisation limitations.[5] Given that the primary challenge of deep mapping is the static visualisation of complex data, it is essential to develop enhanced publications and interactive platforms to realise the full potential of deep mapping.

Deep mapping painters' playbooks has its own limitations. The playbooks, focusing on individual behaviours, did not make explicit the roles of formal and informal institutions both in the creative process and market transactions. Maarten Prak has shown that the painters' guild contributed to the art market by controlling painting quality and facilitating consumer interactions.[6] He also noted the conflicts of interest between the painters' community as a whole and individual artists, which led to the guild's loss of market control. This tension between the guild and individual painters, along with its direct and indirect consequences, remains an overlooked element in the playbooks. In addition, the group dynamics among painters, only partially captured through social network analysis, could benefit from a more detailed exploration, particularly when more data on painters' social and family backgrounds become available. Such information would enhance our understanding of the weak and strong ties within their social connections and illuminate the nature of creative exchange among painters. Moreover, this study's emphasis on the practical aspects of the playbooks leaves the exploration of artists' agency in their artistic choices to future research.

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5 This approach has already been adopted in the Virtual Research Environment of the Virtual Interiors project: https://2d-demo.virtualinteriorsproject.nl (accessed 3 January 2023).

6 Prak, 'Guilds'.

MacEachren, Alan M., Anthony C. Robinson, Susan Hopper, Steven Gardner, Robert Brent Murray, Mark Gahegan, and Elisabeth Hetzler. 'Visualizing Geospatial Information Uncertainty: What We Know and What We Need to Know'. *Cartography and Geographic Information Science* 32, no. 3 (2005): 139–69. https://doi.org/10.1559/1523040054738936.

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Appendix III: Spatial Arrangement of Art Dealers' Homes

The interior spaces of art dealers' homes in my sample inventories fit neatly into the typology of Amsterdam houses discussed in Chapter 2. Nine out of the eleven art dealers in my sample are divided between the single-storey Type I house and the two-storey Type II house. Only the residences of two high-end dealers – Johannes de Renialme and Gerrit Uylenburgh – qualified for the third and grander house type with more than nine rooms, a house type that is shared by few painters. This appendix illustrates the spatial distribution of art dealers' homes from all three types of houses, supplementing the discussion of painters' homes in Chapter 2.

House type I

Four dealers in my sample ran their business from Type I houses: two mid-tier dealers, Louys Rocourt and Pieter van Meldert, and two lower-end dealers, Jan Fransz Dammeroen and Cornelis Doeck. Pieter van Meldert's painting collection was registered separately and was therefore excluded from Figure A3-1. None of the four inventories was appraised. Figure A3-1 suggests that these art dealers used their *voorhuizen* as painting shops, and two lower-end art dealers, Dammeroen and Doeck, operated workshops in their attics. No easels or unfinished paintings were found in the homes of the two mid-market dealers.

House type II

The Type II house adds one floor between the ground floor and attic to the Type I house, offering dealers more space to display paintings and to live comfortably with their families. It is the model that housed the first-generation dealer Gillis van Coninxloo (1607), mid-tier dealers Lucas Luce (1661) and Matthijs Hals (1662), and low-end dealers Johannes Croon (1664) and Hendrick Meijeringh (1687) (except for Croon's, none of the inventories included prices). As modern viewers, we may think that one additional floor would allow a spatial division between work and life so that the families of these dealers could finally enjoy the privacy of living upstairs while restricting business activities to the floor below. Instead, Figure A3-2 shows that their business encroached on the space upstairs. The art dealers in my sample often moved their shops upstairs to the *voorkamer*, receiving (serious) buyers to view and evaluate the paintings in their stock and perhaps to negotiate prices. For instance, Lucas Luce likely used his *voorhuis* as a reception space for initial viewings. His main shop was then located in the *voorkamer*, accessible directly from the *voorhuis*. Luce kept fifty and eighty-three paintings (as well as many prints,

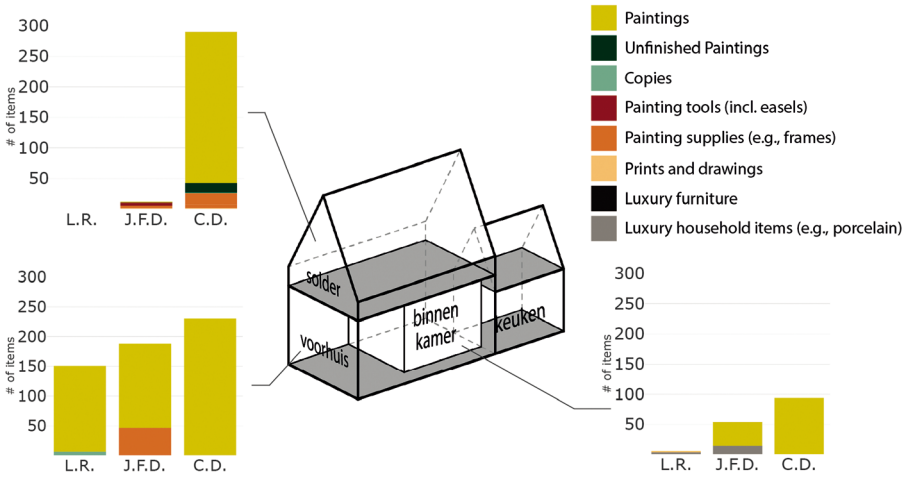

Figure A3-1: Distribution of paintings, tools, and luxury items within Type I houses occupied by three dealers: Rocourt (L.R., 1627), Dammeroen (J.F.D., 1646), and Doeck (C.D., 1667). Van Meldert is excluded, for his painting collection was not registered by room. ⏎

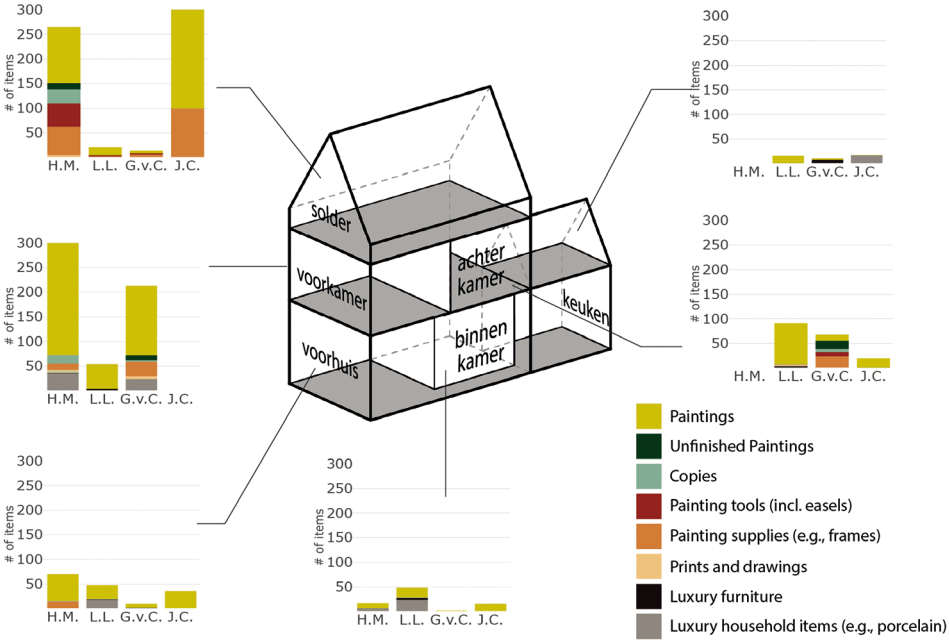

Figure A3-2: Distribution of paintings, tools, and luxury items within Type II houses occupied by four dealers: Meijeringh (H.M., 1687), Luce (L.L., 1661), Coninxloo (G.v.C., 1607), and Croon (J.C., 1664). ⏎

drawings, and books) in his upstairs *voorkamer* and *achterkamer*, respectively, more than anywhere else in the house.[1] The paintings in Luce's upstairs rooms were said to be listed in detail in a 'book kept by the deceased' and were therefore clearly meant for sale.[2] However, the dealers used their *voorkamer*s as shops, quite different from those of the wealthy burghers who often reserved the upstairs rooms for families. In Type II houses, the art dealing business often occupied the street side of the two-storey house, and the workshop, if any, was placed in the attic or, less often, the upstairs *achterkamer*. Easels, painting tools, and supplies (including paint mortars, canvases, and panels) appeared in the attics of Coninxloo, Meijeringh, and Luce (see Figure A3-2). The rear side of the house – the *binnenkamer*, *achterkamer*, kitchen, and the *achterhuis* – remained for private use.[3]

House type III

Only two top-notch art dealers, Johannes de Renialme (1657) and Gerrit Uylenburgh (1675), could afford to live in lavish Type III houses, which were grand in size and had many divisions. Uylenburgh's house is discussed in Chapter 7. While the layout of Uylenburgh's house was rendered in lurid detail in the contract and the inventory, the arrangement of rooms revealed in Johannes de Renialme's probate inventory remained enigmatic. There are twenty-seven rooms/spaces mentioned in the household goods section and fifteen in the painting/valuables section of the inventory, and these two sets of room registries followed different orders and left a few inconsistencies between them. Piecing the two sections together, I try to sketch a possible layout of Renialme's house (Figure A3-3). This schematic drawing helps locate Renialme's painting collection, which is summarised in Table A3-1. It shows that the street-facing *voorkamer* upstairs was the space where the most precious paintings in Renialme's stock were displayed or stored, a collection that, by appraised value, was crowned by two pieces by Rembrandt – *Woman Taken in Adultery* (almost certainly the picture in London's National Gallery) and *The Raising of Lazarus* (likely the one in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art), appraised at *f* 1,500 and *f* 600, respectively. Besides the ninety paintings, there

1 For the contents in Luce's *voorkamer* and *achterkamer,* see SAA NA 5075, inv. 1209D, fols 303–4.

2 '(op de achterkamer) Dartich stucken schildeij van verscheiden soorten/Drieenvijftich stucx schilderijen als voorsch. Naerder uyt gedrycht in des oveledens boeckie by hem daer van gehouden.' See SAA NA 5075, inv. 1209D, fol. 304. This list, however, has not been found.

3 Loughman and Montias discussed the public and private spaces to suggest the 'front and back stage' of the houses, but Fock warned that such a dichotomy should not be taken literally, as the functional spaces are often mixed without a clear-cut division. Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 55–64, 71; Fock, 'Het interieur in de Republiek', 86. This research, however, shows that the concept of 'front and back stage' works very well in a spatial sense. The street-facing front side of houses is likely to be used as shops and ateliers, while the quiet rear side (often overlooking gardens or courtyards) is often for families only.

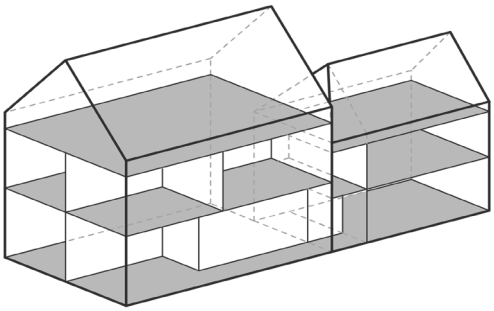

Figure A3-3: Schematic drawings of a possible layout of Renialme's house.

were hundreds of agate carvings, some mounted in gold; a few dozen statues made of wood, wax, and even ivory; some jewellery in silver, gold, and with pearl, turquoise, or diamond; and impressively, a 100-guilder 'table with ebony feet and natural stone inlaid', all of which added up to another *f* 2,000.[4] The *grote zaal* housed another ninety-two (seventy-seven attributed) paintings by forty-nine masters – ten more than the collection in the *voorkamer*. Since there were only eleven masters whose work showed up in both rooms, the *grote zaal* and the *voorkamer* were likely complementary shopping spaces, with the *voorkamer* covering more old masters and other works of art, and the *grote zaal* presenting pictures by popular contemporary masters, highlighted by an unidentified 'kitchen maid' by Gerard Dou (*f* 600).

The spatial arrangements of art dealers' homes across different market segments varied similarly to those of painters (discussed in Chapter 2), with their art dealership heavily influenced by the available space within their homes. Unlike painters, however, high-end art dealers such as Renialme were able to occupy grand residences and display costly painting stocks, surpassing even prominent painters like Jan van der Heyden.

4 'No. 148 Een taeffel met een ebben hout voet ingeleijt met natuijr steen *f* 100:--:-- '. For the inventory of the valuables, see SAA NA 5075, inv. 1915, fols 685–89. The entire inventory of valuables is appraised at *f* 2,324:10, out of which most items were found in the *voorkamer*, valued at *f* 2,023:10. The rest includes two mirrors (*f* 50 each) and a wood *tronie* (only *f* 1) in the *groot zaal*, and a few dozen *tronies* (wood carving?) in the room above the *groot zaal* (*f* 200 in total). Besides the two mirrors, the *grote zaal* was only sparsely furnished with only a table and six Spanish chairs (*f* 53 in total).

Table A3-1: The number of paintings (and attributed ones) and their value registered in Renialme's painting collection by room in comparison to the values of household goods in the same room, following the original order of registration in the painting inventory. ⏎

Floor	Original room register	Total pt/ Attr.[1]	Total value	Avg. value	Max. value	Other art/ luxe value	Other object value
1st Floor of the main building (***Voorhuis***)	*Op de voorcamer /Op de camer boven 't voorhuijs*	90/57	*f* 12,518	*f* 142.3	*f* 1,500	*f* 2,023	*f* 20
	Op t steene camertje/ (maybe)Opt cantor	57/14	*f* 1,304	*f* 23.3	*f* 60	-	*f* 49
	Op de eerste achtercamer	174/63	*f* 2,979	*f* 20.2	*f* 120	*f* 378 (silverware)	*f* 195
	Op de tweede achtercamer	8/3	*f* 25	*f* 3.6	*f* 6		*f* 141
Ground floor ***Voor- and achterhuis***	*In t voorhuys*	19/8	*f* 755	*f* 44.4	*f* 300	-	*f* 39
	In de groote sael	93/77	*f* 11,428	*f* 136.1	*f* 600	*f* 101	*f* 53
	In 't portael voor de sael	10/3	*f* 166	*f* 20.8	*f* 48	-	*f* 26
	In t saeltge	22/4	*f* 278	*f* 13.2	*f* 60	-	*f* 57
	In 't groote portael/Int portael voorde voorts. Sael (?)	13/5	*f* 1,169	*f* 89.9	*f* 350	-	*f* 190
	In 't garderobbetje	3/-	*f* 98	*f* 32.7	*f* 48	-	*f* 42
	In 't saelleth	10/6	*f* 481	*f* 48.1	*f* 120		*f* 299
1st Floor ***achterhuis***	*Op de camer boven de groote saal*	68/21	*f* 1,846	*f* 28.0	*f* 150	*f* 200 (paint)	*f* 83
	In 't eerste portael/In het portael	6/-	*f* 226	*f* 37.7	*f* 60	-	*f* 4
Ground floor (***achterhuis***)	*In 't achterkoockentje*	2/-	*f* 6	*f* 3.0	*f* 3	-	*f* 64

1: 'Total pt/Attri.': the total number of paintings, and if applicable, the number of attributed paintings after the slash

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