

## ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: ADAPTING TO THE MARKET: GABRIEL  
METSU IN AMSTERDAM

Jihyun Sophia Lee, Doctor of Philosophy, 2018

Dissertation directed by: Professor Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr.  
Department of Art History and Archaeology

This dissertation examines the impact that the vicissitudes of the political and economic environment of the mid-seventeenth century Dutch Republic had on the stylistic and thematic character of paintings that Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667) executed after he moved from Leiden to Amsterdam in 1654. In the early 1650s the Dutch Republic faced a multitude of difficulties. Shortly after its independence from Spain in 1648, the sudden death of Stadholder Willem II of Orange in 1650, the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654), and a plague outbreak in the mid-1650s, the country was in a perilous state. The political and economic uncertainties facing the country had a direct impact on art markets. This study examines how Metsu adapted his paintings to succeed in this changing environment. After he moved to Amsterdam, which was a much larger market than Leiden, he adopted Gerrit Dou's (1613-1675) subject matter and Jan Baptist Weenix's (1621-1659) fluid brushwork to create a new genre style. He also looked carefully at other contemporary genre painters, including Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681), Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675), and Pieter de Hooch (1629-1684), to broaden his

thematic and compositional ideas. Metsu also applied his unique sense of humour, evident in expressive facial expressions and body language, to enliven his paintings and invite his viewers' engagement. By utilizing personal connections to expand his clientele to include wealthy patrons, as well as by diversifying the sizes and subjects of his paintings, Metsu succeeded in broadening his reach to include both wealthy patrons and a broad base in the Amsterdam art market.

ADAPTING TO THE MARKET: GABRIEL METSU IN AMSTERDAM

by

Jihyun Sophia Lee

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
2018

Advisory Committee:

Professor Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., Chair  
Professor Anthony Colantuono  
Professor J. Robert Dorfman  
Professor Emily Egan  
Professor Jason Kuo

© Copyright by  
Jihyun Sophia Lee  
2018

## Disclaimer

The dissertation document that follows has had referenced material removed in respect for the owner's copyright. A complete version of this document, which includes said reference material, resides in the University of Maryland, College Park's library collection.

## Acknowledgements

No words can properly describe the gratitude that I have for my advisor, Professor Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., for his patient guidance and mentorship. Sometimes as a stern coach, other times as a supportive mentor and editor, he was generous with his time and insightful comments, and guided me in every step of this long journey. Without his guidance, this dissertation might not have come to fruition.

I also want to thank Professor Emeritus Larry Silver of University of Pennsylvania who first introduced me to Professor Wheelock. He taught me to keep asking questions even when things seem self-evident. This mindset, I believe, would keep encouraging me in future scholastic pursuits.

I would like to express my gratitude to all faculty members of the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Maryland as well, who showed unfailing support and trust in me, even when I doubted myself, and Debora Down, Coordinator of Graduate Studies, for all the help she provided with paper works, scheduling, and many administrative procedures. This journey was made possible through the generous financial support from the University of Maryland, including several teaching and researching assistantships as well as the museum fellowship from the Department of Art History and Archaeology.

I also want to thank Patti Cossard, Art Librarian, with whom I have worked for the last four years, for her generous support in providing a graduate assistantship at the Art Library of the University of Maryland and her endless encouragement.

Last but not least, I want to express my sincere gratitude to my family who have supported me in every possible way throughout this journey and kept their trust in me.

I learned a lot from writing this dissertation about art history as well as life. It is a great treasure that I will cherish not only in my future academic career but also in my whole life.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures.....	v
List of Tables.....	x
List of Gabriel Metsu’s Paintings <sup>1</sup> .....	xi
List of Appendices.....	xvi
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	12
Chapter 1. Economic and Political Background of the Dutch Republic in the Mid-Seventeenth Century.....	19
Chapter 2. Art Markets in Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century.....	35
Chapter 3. Gabriel Metsu’s Early Amsterdam Years (1654–1657).....	53
Chapter 4. Gabriel Metsu’s Middle Amsterdam Years (1658–1662).....	79
Chapter 5. Gabriel Metsu’s Late Amsterdam Years (1663–1667).....	106
Conclusion.....	130
Table 5-3. The Groupings of Metsu’s Paintings by Size and Periods.....	135
Appendices.....	136
Bibliography.....	144

---

<sup>1</sup> Gabriel Metsu’s paintings in this dissertation are not discussed in strict chronological order. Thus, a list of his paintings is separately prepared for easy reference.



## List of Figures

Intro-1. Nicolaes Knüpfer, Jan Baptist Weenix, Jan Both, *Il Contento*, 1651, oil on copper, 44 x 55.6 cm, Staatliches Museum Schwerin, Schwerin

1-1. Artus Quillianus, *Vredesmaagd (Maiden of Freedom)*, The Dutch Royal Palace (previously, The Amsterdam Town Hall), Amsterdam

1-2. Daniel Stalpaert, *Map of Amsterdam*, 1657, etching and engraving, 54.2 x 64.9 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

2-1. Real Wages and Consumer Price Index in the Dutch Republic

2-2. Number of Artists Active in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century

2-3. Number of Artists Active in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, Utrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam, 1640–1670

2-4. Places of Births of Painters Active in Amsterdam between 1650 and 1660

2-5. Expenditure on Public Works in Amsterdam, 1580–1708 (million guilders in constant prices)

2-6. Rembrandt, *The Shooting Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch*, also known as *Night Watch*, 1642, oil on canvas, 363 x 437 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

3-1. Number of History Painters Active in Amsterdam, Leiden, and Utrecht

3-2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, 1632, oil on canvas, 169.5 x 216.5 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague

3-3. Number of Genre Painters Active in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, and Utrecht

3-4. Jacob van Loo, *Amorous Couple*, c. 1650, oil on canvas, 73.1 x 66.8 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague

3-5. Jan Baptist Weenix, *Mother and Child with a Cat*, 1647, oil on canvas, Private Collection

3-6. Jan Baptist Weenix, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, c. 1647–1650, oil on canvas, 55.2 x 50.8 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia

3-7. Gerard ter Borch, *The Reading Lesson*, c. 1652, oil on panel, 27 x 25 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

- 3-8. Gerard ter Borch, *Mother Combing Her Child's Hair*, c. 1652–1653, oil on panel, 33.5 x 29 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague
- 3-9. Gerrit Dou, *An Old Woman at Prayer before Her Meal*, c. 1645–1650, oil on panel, 27.7 x 28.3 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich
- 3-10. Gerrit Dou, *The Hermit*, 1670, oil on panel, 46 x 34.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC
- 3-11. Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait with Hauberk*, c. 1629, oil on panel, Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, Germanischen Nationalmuseums, Nürnberg
- 3-12. Gerard ter Borch, *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Munster*, 1648, oil on copper, 45.4 x 58.5 cm, National Gallery, London
- 3-13. Gerrit Dou, *The Physician*, 1653, oil on copper, 72 x 60 cm, Christchurch Art Gallery, Christchurch, New Zealand
- 3-14. Frans van Mieris, *Doctor's Visit*, 1657, oil on copper, 34 x 27 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
- 3-15. Frans van Mieris, *Allegory of Painting (or Pictura)*, 1661, on copper, 12.7 x 8.9 cm, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles
- 3-16. Rembrandt van Rijn? Gerrit Dou? *A Biblical or Historical Nocturnal Scene* (fragment), 1628, on copper, 21.5 x 16.5 cm, Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo
- 3-17. Rembrandt van Rijn? Gerrit Dou? *Man Writing by Candlelight*, c. 1629, on copper, 13.9 x 13.9 cm, Alfred Bader Collection, Milwaukee
- 3-18. Johannes Vermeer, *A Maid Asleep*, oil on canvas, 87.6 x 76.5 cm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York
- 3-19. Frans van Mieris, *Portrait of Florentius Schuyl*, 1666, on copper, 21.3 x 16.5 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague
- 3-20. David Teniers the Younger, *The Peasants Celebrating the Twelfth Night*, 1635, oil on panel, 47.2 x 69.9 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC
- 3-21. Jacob Jordaens, *As the Old Sing, So the Young Pipe*, 1638–1640, oil on canvas, 155 x 180 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes
- 3-22. Adriaen van Ostade, *Saying Grace*, 1653, 15.6 x 13 cm, The British Museum, London
- 3-23. Adriaen Brouwer, *Peasants Brawling over Cards*, c. 1630–1638, oil on panel, 26.5 x 34.5 cm, Gemaldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

3-24. Adriaen van de Venne, *Doddus Holding Death Captured in His Magical Chair*, 1634

3-25. Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait*, 1640, oil on canvas, 91 x 75 cm, National Gallery, London

3-26. Raphael, *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, c. 1514–1515, oil on canvas, 82 x 67 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

3-27. Jan Steen, *Rhetoricians at a Window*, c. 1658–1665, oil on canvas, 75.9 x 58.6 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia

3-28. Adriaen Brouwer, *The Smokers*, c. 1636, oil on panel, 46.4 x 36.8 cm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York

4-1. Gerard ter Borch, *Woman Spinning*, c. 1652–1653, oil on panel, 34.5 x 27.5 cm, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

4-2. Gerard ter Borch, *Woman Writing a Letter*, c. 1655, oil on panel, 38.3 x 27.9 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague

4-3. Anthonie de Grebber, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Desert*, 1659, oil on copper, 59.5 x 84.5 cm, Museo de Guadalajara, Guadalajara

4-4. Gerard ter Borch, *Paternal Admonition*, c. 1654, oil on canvas, 71 x 73 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

4-5. Frans van Mieris, *Brothel Scene*, c. 1658–1659, oil on panel, 42.5 x 33.3 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague

4-6. Frans van Mieris, *Oyster Meal*, 1659, oil on panel, 44.5 x 34.5 cm, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

4-7. Frans van Mieris, *The Cloth Shop*, 1660, oil on panel, 55 x 43 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

4-8. Frans van Mieris, *Duet*, 1658, oil on panel, 31.7 x 24.7 cm, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin

4-9. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman with a Balance*, c. 1664, oil on canvas, 39.7 x 35.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC

4-10. Pieter de Hooch, *The Bedroom*, c. 1658–1660, oil on canvas, 51 x 60 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC

4-11. Gerard ter Borch, *Curiosity*, c. 1660–1662, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 62.2 cm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York

- 4-12. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *The Governors of the Longbow (Handboog) Civic Guards*, 1653, oil on canvas, 183 x 268 cm, Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam
- 4-13. Pieter de Hooch, *Woman Weighing Gold Coin*, c. 1659–1662, oil on canvas, 61 x 53 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin
- 5-1. Raphael, *The Ecstasy of Saint Cecilia*, 1517, oil on canvas (transferred from panel), 236 x 149 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna
- 5-2. Domenichino, *Saint Cecilia with an Angel Holding a Musical Score*, 1617, oil on canvas, 160 x 120 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris
- 5-3. Anthony van Dyck, *Saint Cecilia*, c. 1632–1640, Location Unknown
- 5-4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Prodigal Son in a Tavern*, c. 1637, oil on canvas, 161 x 131 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden
- 5-5. Pieter Saenredam, *Choir of the St. Bavokerk, Haarlem, from West to East*, 1660, oil on panel, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA
- 5-6. Pieter Saenredam, *Choir of the St. Janskerk, 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1646, oil on panel, 128.9 x 87 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC
- 5-7. Abraham Bloemaert, *Adoration of the Shepherd*, 1612, oil on canvas, 287 x 229 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris
- 5-8. Abraham Bloemaert, *God with Christ and the Virgin Mary as Intercessors*, 1615, oil on canvas, St. Janskerk, 's-Hertogenbosch
- 5-9. Maria de Grebber, *Portrait of Augustinus de Wolff*, 1631, oil on panel, 69 x 48.5 cm, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht
- 5-10. Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman Nursing an Infant, with a Child and a Dog*, c. 1658–1660, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco
- 5-11. Johannes Vermeer, *A Lady at the Virginal with a Gentleman (The Music Lesson)*, c. 1662–1665, oil on canvas, 74.1 x 64.6 cm, Royal Collection, London
- 5-12. Johannes Vermeer, *The Concert*, c. 1664, oil on canvas, 74.6 x 64.1 cm, Location unknown since the theft from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston in 1990
- 5-13. Pieter Aertsen, *Christ and the Adulterous Woman*, c. 1557–1558, oil on panel, 122 x 178 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
- 5-14. Joachim Beuckelaer, *Kitchen Scene, with Jesus in the House of Martha and Mary in the Background*, 1569, oil on panel, 110 x 140.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
- 5-15. Gerard ter Borch, *The Suitor's Visit*, c. 1658, oil on canvas, 80 x 75 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC

5-16. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman Writing a Letter, with Her Maid*, c. 1670–1671, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 60.5 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

5-17. Gerard ter Borch, *Woman Washing Hands*, c. 1655, oil on panel, 53 x 43 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

## List of Tables

Table 1-1. Revenues of Admiralties from Customs Duties in 1650

Table 2-1. Actual Prices of Rye

Table 2-2. Actual Prices of Wheat

Table 2-3. Wealth Inequality in Leiden, 1498–1675

Table 5-1. Estimates on Plague Victims during Epidemics in Holland-Utrecht, 1620–1670

Table 5-2. Estimates on Plague Mortality during Epidemics in Holland-Utrecht, 1620–1670

Table 5-3. The Groupings of Metsu's Paintings by Size and Periods

Table Conclusion-1. Wealth Inequality in Amsterdam, 1631–1674

Table Conclusion-2. Wealth Inequality in Amsterdam, 1631–1674

## List of Gabriel Metsu's Paintings

- A-1. Gabriel Metsu, *The Widow's Mite*, 1650–1652, oil on canvas (on panel), 80.4 x 64.6 cm, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin
- A-2. Gabriel Metsu, *Dives and Lazarus*, 1650–1652, oil on canvas, 73.7 x 61 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg
- A-3. Gabriel Metsu, *The Parable of the Prodigal Son*, 1650–1652, oil on canvas, 72 x 65 cm, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
- A-4. Gabriel Metsu, *The Parable of the Prodigal Son*, 1650–1652, oil on panel, 55 x 43.5 cm, Location Unknown
- A-5. Gabriel Metsu, *The Triumph of the Prodigal Son*, 1651–1653, oil on canvas, 152.5 x 120 cm, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague
- A-7. Gabriel Metsu, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, 1653, oil on canvas, 134 x 165 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris
- A-8. Gabriel Metsu, *A Notary with a Book*, c. 1653, oil on panel, 40.6 x 33 cm, Private Collection
- A-9. Gabriel Metsu, *A Notary Sharpening His Pen*, c. 1653, oil on panel, 40 x 32.5 cm, Kila Collection, Switzerland
- A-10. Gabriel Metsu, *The Dismissal of Hagar*, 1653–1654, oil on canvas, 112 x 86 cm, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden
- A-11. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Selling Poultry and Game*, 1653–1654, oil on canvas, Private Collection
- A-12. Gabriel Metsu, *Doddus and the Covetous Woman*, 1653–1654, oil on canvas, 105 x 120 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
- A-16. Gabriel Metsu, *Twelfth Night*, 1653–1655, oil on canvas, 80.9 x 97.9 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich
- A-18. Gabriel Metsu, *A Hunter Getting Dressed after Bathing (Self-Portrait in Nude)*, 1654–1656, oil on canvas, 52.1 x 63 cm, Private Collection
- A-20. Gabriel Metsu, *An Old Woman at Her Meal*, 1654–1657, oil on canvas, 81.9 x 69.2 cm, Private Collection
- A-24. Gabriel Metsu, *As the Old Sang, So the Young Pipe*, 1654–1657, oil on canvas, 51 x 42 cm, Private Collection

- A-25. Gabriel Metsu, *An Old Couple Feeding a Dog*, 1654–1657, oil on canvas, 41.7 x 30.5 cm, The Marquess of Bute, The Isle of Bute, Mount Stuart
- A-26. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man Holding a Pipe*, 1654–1657, oil on copper, 22.3 x 18.7 cm, Private Collection
- A-28. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman at Her Toilet*, 1654–1657, oil on panel, 64.8 x 57.8 cm, The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena
- A-35. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Tapping from a Cask, with a Boy*, 1656–1658, oil on panel, oil on canvas, 36.9 x 33 cm, Private Collection
- A-40. Gabriel Metsu, *A Kitchen Maid Peeling Apples*, 1655–1658, oil on panel, 28.6 x 26.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris
- A-42. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Holding up a Plaice*, 1656–1658, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 27.3 cm, Private Collection
- A-45. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Selling Poultry and Fish*, 1656–1658, oil on canvas on panel, 40.8 x 35.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Kassel
- A-49. Gabriel Metsu, *Self-Portrait as a Painter*, 1655–1658, oil on panel, 38 x 31.4 cm, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Royal Collection
- A-58. Gabriel Metsu, *Still Life with a Dead Cockerel*, 1655–1658, oil on panel, 57 x 40 cm, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
- A-59. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Holding a Book, with a Dog*, 1657–1659, oil on panel, 22.1 x 18.8 cm, Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati
- A-60. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman with a Letter*, 1657–1659, oil on panel, 32.4 x 29.5 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore
- A-62. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Drawing*, 1657–1659, oil on panel, 36.3 x 30.7 cm, The National Gallery, London
- A-63. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Giving Alms to a Boy*, 1657–1659, oil on panel, 56.3 x 41.8 cm, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Kassel
- A-65. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman at Her Toilet with a Page*, 1657–1659, oil on panel, 50 x 43 cm, Private Collection
- A-68. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man Tuning a Violoncello and a Woman Descending the Stairs*, 1658–1660, oil on canvas, 62.8 x 47.6 cm, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Royal Collection



A-70. Gabriel Metsu, *A Musical Company*, 1659, oil on canvas, 62.2 x 54.3 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A-71. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man Peeping over the Shoulder of a Woman Writing a Letter*, 1658–1660, oil on panel, The Wallace Collection, London

A-72. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man Writing a Letter*, 1658–1661, oil on panel, Musée Fabre, Montpellier Agglomération

A-73. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Receiving a Letter from a Messenger*, 1658–1661, oil on panel, 25.7 x 25.4 cm, Timken Museum of Art, San Diego

A-77. Gabriel Metsu, *The Artist as the Prodigal Son*, 1661, oil on panel, 35.5 x 30.5 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

A-83. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man and a Woman at the Virginal*, 1659–1662, oil on panel, 31.4 x 25 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

A-84. Gabriel Metsu, *The Intruder*, 1659–1662, oil on panel, 66.6 x 59.4 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC

A-85. Gabriel Metsu, *A Family Meal*, 1659–1662, oil on canvas, 62 x 67 cm, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

A-86. Gabriel Metsu, *A Visit to the Nursery*, 1661, oil on canvas, 77.5 x 81.3 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A-87. Gabriel Metsu, *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and His Family*, 1662–1663, oil on canvas, 72 x 79 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

A-88. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Reading a Letter*, 1658–1661, oil on panel, 25.5 x 20.5 cm, Private Collection

A-90. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Sewing*, 1660–1663, oil on panel, 28.5 x 22 cm, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

A-92. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Holding an Apple*, 1661–1663, oil on panel, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A-93. Gabriel Metsu, *A Hunter with a Drink*, 1661, oil on panel, 28 x 22.8 cm, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague

A-97. Gabriel Metsu, *An Old Woman Preparing Herrings*, 1661–1663, oil on panel, 28 x 24 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier Agglomération

A-98. Gabriel Metsu, *A Boy Stealing an Apple from a Sleeping Vendor*, 1661–1663, oil on panel, 29 x 21.5 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

A-100. Gabriel Metsu, *An Old Woman with a Book on Her Lap*, 1661–1663, oil on panel, 27.3 x 23.2 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

A-101. Gabriel Metsu, *An Old Man Holding a Pipe and a Jug*, 1661–1663, oil on panel, 22 x 19.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

A-102. Gabriel Metsu, *An Old Man Holding a Pipe and a Jug*, 1661–1663, oil on panel, 26 x 21.5 cm, Location Unknown

A-103. Gabriel Metsu, *A Pharmacist*, 1660–1663, oil on panel, 27 x 23.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

A-104. Gabriel Metsu, *A Baker Blowing His Horn*, 1650–1663, oil on panel, 36.5 x 30.7 cm, Private Collection

A-108. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Writing a Letter*, 1662–1664, oil on panel, 39.4 x 31.1 cm, Private Collection

A-109. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Artist (Le Corset rouge)*, 1661–1664, oil on panel, 28.6 x 24.1 cm, Private Collection

A-110. Gabriel Metsu, *Saint Cecilia*, 1663, oil on panel, 44 x 36 cm, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco

A-111. Gabriel Metsu, *Ecce Homo*, 1663–1665, oil on panel, 37 x 26 cm, Private Collection

A-112. Gabriel Metsu, *Christ on the Cross*, 1664, oil on canvas, 73 x 56.8 cm, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome

A-113. Gabriel Metsu, *Noli me Tangere*, 1663–1665, oil on panel, 63.7 x 51 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

A-114. Gabriel Metsu, *Saint Dorothy*, 1663–1666, oil on panel, 55.9 x 40.7 cm, Private Collection

A-115. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man and a Woman at the Virginal*, 1664–1666, oil on panel, 38.4 x 32.2 cm, The National Gallery, London

A-116. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man Writing a Letter*, 1664–1666, oil on panel, 52 x 40.5 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

A-117. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Reading a Letter*, 1664–1666, oil on panel, 52.5 x 40.2 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

A-118. Gabriel Metsu, *The Sick Child*, 1664–1666, oil on canvas, 32.2 x 27.2 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

A-119. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Eating*, 1664–1666, oil on panel, 23.5 x 20 cm, Willem Baron van Dedem, London

A-120. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman at Her Toilet*, 1664–1666, oil on panel, 23.7 x 19.5 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais, Paris

A-121. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman at Her Toilet*, 1664–1666, oil on panel, 27.2 x 22.2 cm, Private Collection

A-122. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Playing the Virginal*, 1664–1666, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais, Paris

A-123. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman at the Virginal with a Dog*, 1664–1666, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 85 cm, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

A-125. Gabriel Metsu, *A Hunter Visiting a Woman at Her Toilet*, 1663–1666, oil on panel, Private Collection

A-126. Gabriel Metsu, *A Man Visiting a Woman Washing Her Hands*, 1663–1666, oil on canvas, 83.7 x 67.4 cm, Private Collection

A-130. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Composing Music, with an Inquisitive Man*, 1664–1667, oil on panel, 57.8 x 43.5 cm, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague

A-131. Gabriel Metsu, *A Doctor's Visit*, 1664–1667, oil on canvas, 61 x 48 cm, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

A-132. Gabriel Metsu, *Portrait of Lucia Wijbrants (?)*, 1667, oil on panel, 57.2 x 43.2 cm, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis

B-2. Gabriel Metsu, *The Resurrection of Christ*, oil on copper, 60 x 86 cm, Location Unknown

B-4. Gabriel Metsu, *The Artist and Terpsichore*, support unknown, 41.9 x 31.1 cm, Location Unknown

## List of Appendices

Appendix 1. . Tables of Contents of Books on Art Markets of Early Modern Europe

Appendix 2. List of Eleven Paintings on Copper from the 1902 Museo de Guadalajara Inventory

Appendix 3. Jan Vos' Poem on Gabriel Metsu's *A Visit to the Nursery*, 1661

## Introduction

Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667) was a versatile artist. While he may not have been *the* most famous genre painter of his time, Metsu explored various painting styles and subject matters, and combined them with numerous variations to develop his repertoire. Metsu chose his subjects and painting styles with great care, while studying the dynamics of the contemporary art markets. As a result, he succeeded in creating unique and fashionable paintings that appealed to his potential patrons. This dissertation examines how Metsu adapted his painting styles and subjects to attract patrons in a constantly changing art market, mainly after he moved from his native city of Leiden to Amsterdam. By carefully considering the political, economic, and religious character of the Dutch Republic during Metsu's lifetime, this dissertation will assess the reasons he decided to seek advanced training in Utrecht, why he chose to move to Amsterdam, and why he changed his specialty from history painting to genre painting. It will also analyze the shift in the focus of his genre scenes in Amsterdam, from depictions of lower and middle class individuals to portrayals of the urban elite. This dissertation will demonstrate that the rapid changes in the economic and political spheres of the Dutch Republic had a considerable impact on the character of Metsu's artistic output.

Gabriel Metsu was born in 1629 in Leiden, the second largest city of the Dutch Republic. His parents, Jacques Metsu (c. 1587/89–1629) and Jacquemijntje Garniers (1590–1651), moved from Flanders to the Dutch Republic when they were young.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Metsu: <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/328874>; Jacquemijntje Garniers: The proclamation of the betrothal of the artist's mother and her first husband, Abraham Le Foittre, states that she was eighteen years old when this document was drawn up on June 5, 1608. See Adriaan E. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 329.

Jacques Metsu seems to have been a painter and designed tapestries and other textiles as well. Unfortunately, the artist's father died months before Gabriel was born.<sup>3</sup> Until his mother remarried a barge captain, Cornelis Bontecraey (d. 1649), in 1636, Metsu was raised by a single mother, a midwife, along with at least three older step-siblings.

No consensus has been reached on who might have taught Metsu the art of painting. Many earlier scholars stated that Gerrit Dou (1613–1675) was Metsu's teacher basing their assertion that the information came from Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719) in his *De groote schouburgh der Nederlandtsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (The Great Theatre of Dutch Painters).<sup>4</sup> However, Houbraken did not propose anyone particular for Metsu's teacher, noting instead that he had little information on the artist's early career.<sup>5</sup> Kronig proposes that David Bailly (1584–1657) was possibly the young artist's teacher. Kronig argues that Bailly's

---

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Metsu's burial record shows that the artist's father buried at the Sint Pieterskerkhof on March 6, 1629. Although we do not have a baptismal record for Gabriel Metsu, various later records indicate that Gabriel Metsu must have been born between November 27 and mid-December in 1629. See Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 4, 5, 335, docs. 72, 74, 82, and 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century, Based on the Works of John Smith*, vol. 1, trans. and ed. Edward W. Hawke (London: Macmillan and co., 1907), 253; Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, *Gabriel Metsu*. exh. cat. (Leiden: Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 1966), 10; Cynthia von Bogendorf-Rupprath, "Gabriel Metsu," in *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*. exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), 248.

<sup>5</sup> In his book, Houbraken starts the entry on Metsu with following sentences: "*Nevens hem verschynt ten Toneel de vermaarde Moderne gezelschapschilder GABRIEL METZU. Het is on sleet dat wy zoo weinig in opzigt van zyne levenswyze weten te zeggen. Want al wat wy daar van weten, is da thy tot Leiden is geboren in 't jaar 1615.* (Alongside him [Gerard ter Borch], the renowned contemporary society painter GABRIEL METZU appears on the print. It is our understanding that we know so little about his way of life. Since all we know about him is that he was born in Leiden in 1615.)" Thus, the only concrete information that Houbraken provided was Metsu's hometown and his birth year of 1615, but even that birth year is incorrect. Since Houbraken died in 1719, the volume 3, which includes the entry on Metsu, was published posthumously by his wife and children in 1721. For Houbraken's entry on Metsu in his book, see Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlandtsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: B. M. Israël, 1976), 40–41.

influence could account for Metsu's broad brushwork in his small paintings early in his career and his easy transition to large paintings, such as *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (A-7, 1653).<sup>6</sup> Another argument for Bailly having been Metsu's teacher was that he probably knew Metsu's late father, Jacques Metsu.<sup>7</sup> However, Waiboer dismisses Kronig's hypothesis since the stylistic similarities between Metsu and Bailly are unconvincing.<sup>8</sup>

Waiboer has argued instead that Metsu probably apprenticed with the silversmith, Claes Pietersz de Grebber (1590–1650).<sup>9</sup> However, a more likely possibility is that Anthonie de Grebber (1621/1622–after 1683), son of Claes de Grebber, was Metsu's teacher.<sup>10</sup> Metsu's earliest paintings consist of history paintings and portraits, and Anthonie de Grebber was one of the few history painters active in Leiden in the early 1640s who could have taught Metsu to paint

---

<sup>6</sup> J. O. Kronig, "Wie was de leermeester van Gabriel Metsu?" in *Feest-bundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden den achttienden April 1915*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam boek, kunst- en handelsdrukkerij, 1915), 137. The designated numbers for Metsu's paintings (A-x) are from Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work: A Catalogue Raisonné*.

<sup>7</sup> Jacques Metsu and David Bailly also appears on a document made in 1615, regarding their neighbor's paternity claim. See Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 3, 330, doc. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>9</sup> Adriaan E. Waiboer, "Gabriel Metsu's Life, Work and Reputation," in *Gabriel Metsu*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 3; Piet Bakker, "Gabriel Metsu," in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., New York, 2018, <https://www.theleidencollection.com/artist/gabriel-metsu/>.

<sup>10</sup> Waiboer previously considered Anthonie de Grebber could have taught Metsu as well, after the young artist left his father's silversmith workshop, based on the resemblance in style shown in Metsu's *Ecce Homo* (A-111). However, as Waiboer later changed the dating of the *Ecce Homo*, from the 1640s to the mid- to late 1660s, this argument is no longer valid. See Piet Bakker, "Gabriel Metsu," in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., New York, 2018, <https://www.theleidencollection.com/artist/gabriel-metsu/>; Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, 3; Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 117.

such subjects.<sup>11</sup> In fact, the only evidence that links Claes de Grebber to Metsu is a document, dated 1643, about a neighborhood conflict for which Metsu acted as a witness. It has been assumed that the thirteen-year-old Metsu's presence as a witness to De Grebber's testament demonstrates that Metsu was his apprentice.<sup>12</sup> However, this document does not preclude the possibility that Anthonie de Grebber, instead of his silversmith father, could have been Metsu's teacher. In 1643, Anthonie was in his early twenties and, as he did not marry until 1651, he would have been considered a minor at that time.<sup>13</sup> As a consequence, Anthonie probably stayed at his parents' home and worked alongside his father, the silversmith, but as a history painter. If this were the case, Metsu's serving as a witness to Claes de Grebber's testament is entirely conceivable.

Interestingly, a document from 1644, listing 31 names, identified Gabriel as a *schilder* (artist) rather than as an apprentice. In that year, Metsu was only fourteen years old.<sup>14</sup> Earlier scholars described this document as a petition to form a St. Luke's Guild in Leiden.<sup>15</sup> The fact that this list is included in the *Schilder-Schultboeck* (Painters'

---

<sup>11</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 332, doc. 65. In his *Schilder-boeck* (1604), Karel van Mander states that there is a hierarchy among different genres of paintings. The highest honor goes to history painting, as it requires painters to use their imagination – a highest faculty of man – and the ability to construct complex narratives into a plausible painting. It is followed by portrait, genre painting, landscape, animal painting, and still life painting. Probably for this reason, many young artists started their artistic training to become history painters, even though they later changed their specialties or diversified their output.

<sup>12</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, 3.

<sup>13</sup> In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, one stayed as a minor until he or she reached the age of 25 or got married.

<sup>14</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 331, doc. 50.

<sup>15</sup> De Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, 253; Kronig, "Wie was de leermeester van Gabriel Metsu?" 135; *Gabriel Metsu*, 17; Franklin W. Robinson, *Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667): A Study of His Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age* (New York: Abner Schram, 1974), 12; Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *Dutch Paintings of the*



debt book), and that it lists famous local artists, including David Balyi [Bailly] (1584–1657), Gerrit Douw [Dou] (1613–1675), Pieter Steenwijck (c. 1615–1666), and Philips Angel (c. 1618–after 1664), probably contributed to this conclusion. Waiboer, however, pointed out that the exact nature of this document remains elusive. The inclusion of Pieter Smidts, who was a *mathematicus* (mathematician), and Louris Engels a *smidt* (smith) shows that the list may have had another, yet undetermined, purpose.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, when the Leiden city council finally granted a petition to form a St. Luke’s Guild in 1648, Metsu, who was then seventeen years old, quickly signed up as a master painter.

While we do not have much information about Metsu’s early career, his possible apprenticeship with Anthonie de Grebber left him with a life-long friendship with him.<sup>17</sup> It was probably Anthonie de Grebber who encouraged Metsu to move to Amsterdam in the mid-1650s and who later introduced the young painter to his future wife, Isabella de Wolff (c. 1631–1718), whose mother, Maria de Grebber (1602–1680), was Anthonie’s cousin.

---

*Seventeenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 164; Judikje Kiers and Fiefke Tissink, *The Golden Age of Dutch Art: Painting, Sculpture, Decorative Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 176. These all recount that Metsu was one of the signatories of a petition that requested a permission to establish a Guild of St. Luke in Leiden in 1644.

<sup>16</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, Doc. 50, 331 shows the list of 31 individuals’ names. Number 19 on this list is “Doctor Hoogeveen.” Gerard van Hoogeveen was a physician and avid art collector from a Leiden’s prominent family. Inclusion of his name on this list makes one wonder whether the list shows the membership of a loosely formed organization of artists *and* art lovers, all of whom paid 16 guilders, before the official formation of St. Luke’s guild in Leiden in 1648. However, without more information on the other people, such as Pieter Smidts or Louris Engels, the true nature of this document stays elusive.

<sup>17</sup> Since Metsu’s earliest dated painting, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (A-7), is from 1653, it is hard to characterize his works in the late 1640s, before he sought out Nicolaes Knüpfer in Utrecht for a further training. Limited archival resources do relate that Metsu actively worked as a history painter and portraitist in the late 1640s, but no dated paintings from this period are known. See Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 11–12.

Around 1651, perhaps coinciding with his mother's death, Metsu traveled to Utrecht to study under Nicholaes Knüpfer (c. 1609–1655).<sup>18</sup> A native of Leipzig, Knüpfer came to Utrecht in 1630 to study with Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651). Already in 1637, at the age of 28, Knüpfer participated in a prestigious project from a Danish royal court to decorate the newly built Kronborg Castle in Denmark, perhaps through the recommendation of his former teacher. Other painters in this project were Abraham Bloemaert, Adriaen van Nieulandt (1587–1658), Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656), Jan van Bijlert (1597/98–1671), Anthonie Palamedesz (1601–1673), and Salomon Koninck (1609–1656).<sup>19</sup> By the late 1640s, Knüpfer's reputation as a teacher was such that he even attracted students from outside of Utrecht.<sup>20</sup> Knüpfer's reputation as a

---

<sup>18</sup> Nicholaes Knüpfer: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/45163>; RKD spells the artist's name as Nicholaes Knüpfer, but Getty ULAN spells it as Nikolaus Knüpfer.

Metsu paid his registration fee and annual membership fee when he joined *Deecken ende Hooft Mans Boeck van 't Gilde van St Luycas ordre Beginnende Anno 1648* (Saint Luke's Guild in Leiden) on March 18, 1648. He subsequently paid his annual dues to the Leiden's Guild of St. Luke on October 18, 1649 and October 18, 1650. October 18 was Saint Luke's day when the guild membership fee was supposed to be paid by the guild's members. Since Metsu paid his guild membership fee for both these years, he most likely worked in Leiden at that time.

Metsu's mother died and was buried in the Hooglandsekerk on September 8, 1651, and two documents dated October 18, 1651 formalized Metsu's guardianship. Since three guardians appointed by the will left by Metsu's mother were present before a notary in Leiden on October 18, 1651 and a slight change was made to excuse one guardian, Metsu's uncle Jan Adriaensz Keyser, from the duty, Metsu might as well have been present in Leiden on that day. However, the fact that he did not pay his guild membership due on that day in 1651, when the next due was supposed to be paid, or any following years indicates that Metsu probably left the city around that time. See Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 332, docs. 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, and 63.

<sup>19</sup> As an art advisor to Christian IV of Denmark, Simon de Passe (1595–1647), the eldest son of Crijspijn van de Passe I (c. 1564–1637), was in charge of recruiting talented Dutch artists to execute this commission. See J. Richard Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst: A Discussion of His Position in Dutch Art* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1959), 119–120; Simon de Passe: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/62019>.

<sup>20</sup> Jo Saxton, *Nicolaus Knupfer, An Original Artist: Monograph and catalogue Raisonné of Paintings and Drawings* (Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 2005), 39. Saxton noted that Knüpfer charged Pieter Crijnsen Volmarijn 72 guilders for one year's tuition in 1647, which makes him one of the most expensive teachers of the century.

history painter and his royal patronage would have made it easy for Metsu to choose Knüpfer as his mentor.

Strong endorsement from Knüpfer's former pupils would have bolstered Metsu's decision to study with Knüpfer as well. Jan Steen (1626–1679), a fellow Leiden artist, probably recommended Metsu to work with Knüpfer to hone his skills.<sup>21</sup> While no extant archival records connect either Steen or Metsu to Knüpfer, abundant pictorial evidence supports the idea that a mentor-mentee relationship existed between Knüpfer and these two young Leiden artists.<sup>22</sup> However, Steen may not have been the only one to steer Metsu to Knüpfer. Arie de Vois (1632/35–1680), another Leiden artist who would become a brother-in-law to Steen, was also trained by Knüpfer, probably in the 1640s.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Book Review," *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (1976): 458; Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Jo Saxton, "Biography of the Artist," in *Nicolaus Knupfer, An Original Artist: Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings and Drawings* (Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 2005), 29–46, esp. 38–41. Knüpfer-Steen relationship was first proposed by Jacob Campo Weyerman, in his book *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders* from 1729–1769. See Saxton's note 71, on page 38. For pictorial evidences attesting the relationship between Knüpfer and Steen, see Saxton's cat. nos. 2, 6, 17, 18, 28, 50, 76, 78, B9, and D16. For pictorial evidences that proves the close relationship between Knüpfer and Metsu, see Waiboer's *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 12–19.

<sup>23</sup> According to Houbraken, Ary [Arie] de Vois' father sent the young boy to Utrecht to be taught by Knüpfer first, and when he returned to Leiden, sent him to Abraham van den Tempel for further training ("ARY de VOIS ... Zyn Vader, die orgelist tot Leyden was, bespeurende dat zyne genegenheid tot her leeren van de Schilderkonst overhelde, bestelde hem eest tot Utrecht by Kniffert, narderhand by Abraham vanden Tempel." – *De groote schouburgh* (1718–1721), vol. 3, 162). Saxton explains that since De Vois' father, Alewijn Petersz de Vois, worked as an organist in Utrecht in 1631, in Leiden from 1635, he might have come in contact with Knüpfer in that city. Moreover, Nicolaes Knüpfer's extended family members in and around Leipzig, where Nicolaes was born, include many famous organists and choirmasters, so De Vois' father might have heard about them or been acquainted with them professionally. See Saxton, *Nicolaus Knupfer*, 33, 39–40.

While Leiden had no official guild of artists until 1648, local artists seem to have gathered regularly prior to this date.<sup>24</sup> Metsu, Steen, and De Vois could have met in one of these meetings. If both Steen and De Vois had studied and worked alongside with Knüpfer in the 1640s, they would have shared their recent experiences with Metsu.<sup>25</sup> Leiden's artistic scene in the mid to late 1640s was primarily dominated by Gerrit Dou and his pupils, who were establishing a distinctive style of fine painting. These *fijnschilders* were more interested in rendering textural differences of various objects than in creating complex scenes from the Bible or depicting allegorical subjects, such as Metsu preferred. For someone set on becoming a history painter, Leiden did not have many artists to serve as mentors. By comparison, Utrecht, where artists placed the highest value on images created from the imagination, proved to be fertile soil for history painters, and, as a mentor in this realm, Nicolaes Knüpfer was a perfect choice.<sup>26</sup>

Another reason Metsu chose to extend his training as a painter in Utrecht, a Catholic stronghold in the Protestant Dutch Republic is that he was probably Catholic.<sup>27</sup> This assumption about Metsu's Catholic faith is supported by the fact

---

<sup>24</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 5. Waiboer relates that the artists in Leiden seem to have had regular meetings as early as 1644.

<sup>25</sup> While it is hard to characterize Metsu's earliest output in Leiden with few solidly attributed extant paintings, a few documentary sources point that the young artist was interested in creating history paintings. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 11, points that the only works that we are sure that Metsu painted in the 1640s are a portrait of Nicolaes de Roy (C-184) and a "landscape from Ovid (C-19)," also for De Roy.

<sup>26</sup> Utrecht had a long artistic tradition of history paintings. From Abraham Bloemaert and his sons, to Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638), Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588–1629), Gerrit van Honthorst, and Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594–1667) to name a few, Utrecht had been full of history painters.

<sup>27</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 117.

that, in 1658, Metsu and Isabella went to a town hall to publish the banns of their marriage rather than to a Reformed church.<sup>28</sup> Isabella's religious affiliation to Catholicism is rather clear since both her parents came from prominent Catholic families, the De Grebbers and the Wolffs. Metsu's parents, Jacques Metsu and Jacquemijntje Garniers, were likely also Catholic as they were married *voor schepenen* (before magistrates), a usual practice for Catholics, or at least, for those of a non-Reformed faith.<sup>29</sup> The fact that Knüpfer, Steen, and Metsu shared their Catholic faith would have added a sense of belonging to the same community.<sup>30</sup>

Christian IV of Denmark was not the only courtly patron that Knüpfer enjoyed. The 1659 inventory of Willem Vincent (1613–1674), Baron of Wytttenhorst, includes Knüpfer's *Il Contento* (Figure Intro-1, c. 1651).<sup>31</sup> Willem Vincent van Wytttenhorst was a

---

<sup>28</sup> S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Frans Banning Cocq's Troop in Rembrandt's 'Night Watch': The Identification of the Guardsmen," *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (2009), 57. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) required Catholics "the mutual consent of the partner and publication of the banns for three consecutive Sundays." Thus, the banns of marriage were usually made about a month before an actual wedding to declare the intention of the marriage between two specific individuals. It could be made at a parish church or a town hall. This was to give anyone a chance to raise his or her concerns, if one of the two specified persons had any impediments for the upcoming nuptial, including a pre-existing marriage or lack of consent. Also see Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 61.

<sup>29</sup> Valerie Hedquist, "Dutch Genre Painting as Religious Art: Gabriel Metsu's Roman Catholic Imagery," *Art History* 31, no. 2 (2008), 160.

<sup>30</sup> When Knüpfer married his wife Cornelia Back in 1640, they did it before magistrates, rather than in the Dutch Reformed Church. This is often an indication that the marrying couple was Catholics. See Saxton, *Nicolaus Knupfer*, 38.

<sup>31</sup> Marion Boers, "De schilderijenverzameling van baron Willem Vincent van Wytttenhorst," *Oud Holland* 117, no. 3/4 (2004): 190, 221, 229–300.

*Il Contento* depicts an episode from a popular Spanish novel *Guzman de Alfarache* written by Mateo Alemán published in 1599. When people worshipped Contento, god of contentment and happiness, more than any Olympian gods and goddesses, Jupiter became jealous and sent Mercury to abduct Contento and replace him with his twin brother Discontento. According to the National Galleries Scotland, Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610) was the first artist who painted this episode around 1607 and he transformed the male god into a female goddess in his painting (<https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/4875/il-contento>).

Catholic noble in Utrecht who was a prominent art collector. He meticulously recorded when and where he purchased paintings and often their prices and from whom he purchased them.<sup>32</sup> Wytttenhorst and his wife Wilhelmina van Bronckhorst (1601–1669) had amassed 192 paintings by 1659, and many of them were painted by young contemporary Dutch artists, including Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594–1667), Pieter Molijn (1595–1661), Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685), Gerrit Dou (1613–1675), Philips Wouwerman (1619–168), and Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683).<sup>33</sup> Although *Il Contento* is signed by Knüpfer, the entry in the Wytttenhorst inventory distinctly states that the work was a collaboration between three artists: Nicolaes Knüpfer (c. 1609–1655), Jan Baptist Weenix (1621–1659), and Jan Both (1610–1652). It even expounds upon the fact that Knüpfer painted the figures, Weenix animals, and Both landscape.<sup>34</sup> Metsu probably was in Knüpfer’s studio when his mentor collaborated with Weenix and Both to paint *Il Contento* around 1651. This timing would also help explain the pictorial idioms of Jan Baptist Weenix that appear in Metsu’s paintings from 1653.<sup>35</sup>

After a year or two in Utrecht, Metsu returned to Leiden. However, he did not stay home long. He requested his guardians, appointed by his mother’s will in

---

[contento-about-1607](#)). Knüpfer must have seen Elsheimer’s painting or its copies, since his *Contento* is also a female goddess.

<sup>32</sup> For example, Wytttenhorst paid 300 guilders for the collaborated painting *Il Contento*. Boers, “Willem Vincent van Wytttenhorst,” 200.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 181–243, esp. 190.

<sup>35</sup> For the pictorial similarities between Metsu and Weenix’s paintings, see Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 21–24.

1651, to grant his financial freedom almost a whole year before its natural expiration date in December 1654, when he would turn 25 years old.<sup>36</sup> As soon as the guardians approved his wish in January 1654, Metsu moved to Amsterdam, probably with the encouragement of Anthonie de Grebber, who had already moved to the city shortly before.

---

<sup>36</sup> As previously mentioned in note 12, one was considered as a minor until he or she reached the age of 25 or got married in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. When Metsu's mother died in 1651, Metsu was 21 years old. Thus, his mother appointed, in her will, three guardians who would watch over her youngest child, until Metsu would reach the age of 25 in December 1654. Until then, Metsu would not have been able to appropriate his portion of inheritance from his parents without the expressed consents from his guardians.

## Literature Review

Since John Michael Montias' 1982 monograph *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, scholars have striven to explain how the socio-economic history of the Dutch Republic contributed to the uniqueness of the seventeenth-century Dutch art.<sup>37</sup> This socio-economic approach had previously been applied primarily to the art markets in Antwerp, Rome, Florence, and Venice from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries and the art markets in Paris and London during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>38</sup>

Although many agree that the economic prosperity of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century made it possible to bring the Golden Age to its art as well, the literature on the seventeenth-century Dutch art markets had been relatively limited. Most literature on this subject is written in general terms and routinely covers the entire seventeenth century. *Traders, Artist and Burghers: A Cultural History of Amsterdam in the 17th Century* (1976), *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (1997), *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (1998), and *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (2011) provide valuable overall

---

<sup>37</sup> John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).

<sup>38</sup> Following books are compilations of essays on art markets of Antwerp, Amsterdam, London, Burgundian Court, Bruges, Rome, Paris, Florence, Venice, Augsburg, and Naples. Patrick Karl O'Brien, ed., *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet, eds., *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006); Michael North and David Ormrod, eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Neil de Marchi and Sophie Raux, eds., *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014). Also, see Appendix 1 for sample tables of contents for these books.



surveys of the prolonged seventeenth-century, while they lack detailed accounts of a specific period or an artistic center.<sup>39</sup>

Articles and chapters that focus on art markets for shorter periods or specific genres do exist in various exhibition catalogues.<sup>40</sup> However, these do not provide a complete picture of the Dutch art markets. More thorough studies about the seventeenth-century Dutch art market, whether focused on a specific artist's studio practices; secondary markets or practices of used goods sellers; various public auction proceedings; how a family's painting collection grew or dispersed through multiple generations; or how specific art dealers ran their businesses would be

---

<sup>39</sup> Regin Deric, *Traders, Artists, Burghers: A Cultural History of Amsterdam in the 17th Century* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976); Michael North, *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); J. L. Price, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); John Loughman, "The Market for Netherlandish Still Lifes, 1600–1720," in *Still-life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550–1720*, eds. Alan Chong et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 87–102; Mariët Westermann, "Making and Marketing Pictures in the Dutch Republic," in *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585–1718* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 17–45; Peeters Natasja, ed., *Invisible Hands?: The Role and Status of the Painter's Journeyman in the Low Countries, c. 1450–c. 1650* (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007); Maarten Prak, "Painters, Guilds and the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age," in *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400–1800*, eds. Stephan Epstein and Maarten Prak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 143–171; Anna Tummers and Koenraad Jockheere, eds., *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and Their Contemporaries* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 2008); Ann Jansen Adams, "Cultural Power of Portraits: The Market, Interpersonal Experience and Subjectivity," in *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portrait and the Production of Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1–58; J. L. Price, *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011).

<sup>40</sup> Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), 104–120; Jan de Vries, "Searching for a Role: The Economy of Utrecht in the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1997), 49–59; Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Dou's Reputation," in *Gerrit Dou, 1613–1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2000), 12–24; Jonathan Bikker, "The Early Owners of Avercamp's Work," in *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009), 119–127; Pieter Roelofs, "Early Owners of Paintings by Metsu in Leiden and Amsterdam," in *Gabriel Metsu*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 97–125; Piet Bakker, "Painters of and for the Elite," in *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), 85–99.

indispensable resources to understand how the art industry worked in the Dutch Republic. At the moment, however, only some articles exist as a brief overview.<sup>41</sup>

Surprisingly few studies exist of Amsterdam's socio-economic circumstances and its art market in the 1650s and 1660s when the Dutch Republic's economy was at its zenith.<sup>42</sup> These two decades are usually described as an extension of the pre-1648 period. Filling in this gap in the literature by examining the socio-economic situation in Amsterdam from the 1640s to the 1660s and how art markets in the Dutch Republic responded to rapid political and economic changes during this period is one of the objectives of this dissertation. This information will provide a framework for understanding the market situation in Amsterdam when Metsu arrived there in 1654. By studying the Amsterdam art market until Metsu's death in 1667, this dissertation will also examine how the character of this society affected Metsu's paintings and public tastes for his paintings.

Four types of literature have been essential for the current research. The first of these is monographic studies of genre painters active in the mid-seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic. The splendid exhibition catalogues of *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller* (1996), *Pieter de Hooch, 1629–1684* (1998), *Gerrit Dou, 1613–1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt* (2000), *Gerard ter Borch* (2004), *Frans*

---

<sup>41</sup> Marten Jan Bok, "Paintings for Sale": New Marketing Techniques in the Dutch Art Market of the Golden Age," in *At Home in the Golden Age: Masterpieces from the Sør Rusche Collection*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 2008): 9–29.

<sup>42</sup> The only exceptions that I encountered are: Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, eds., *1648, War and Peace in Europe* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1999), vols. 1–3 and Willem Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). However, these monographs do not specifically deal with art markets in the Dutch Republic. Rather these are cross-sectional studies of a specific period of time that centered on the Treaty of Münster in 1648.

*van Mieris, 1635–1681* (2005), *Gabriel Metsu* (2010), *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (2015), and *Vermeer and the Master Painters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry* (2017), as well as monographic studies of *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work: A Catalogue Raisonné* (2012) and *Creating Distinctions in Dutch Genre Painting: Repetition and Invention* (2017) provide comprehensive understandings of Dutch genre painters and their works.<sup>43</sup> These studies provide the basis to conduct the research on genre paintings in general, as well as to evaluate and to place Metsu's oeuvre in the larger picture of mid-seventeenth century Dutch genre paintings.

Franklin W. Robinson's dissertation on Gabriel Metsu was the earliest groundbreaking effort to assess the character of Metsu's paintings and to place this artist within the history of Dutch genre painting.<sup>44</sup> Since then, scholarship on Metsu and his works has been sporadic and has mostly focused on individual paintings by the artist. Therefore, when Adriaan E. Waiboer published *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work: A Catalogue Raisonné* in 2012, following the monographic exhibition on the artist from 2010, this publication was most welcome.<sup>45</sup> This dissertation is greatly indebted to the

---

<sup>43</sup> H. Perry Chapman et al., *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Peter C. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch, 1629–1684*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Ronni Baer et al., *Gerrit Dou, 1613–1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. et al., *Gerard ter Borch*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Buvelot Quentin, *Frans van Mieris, 1635–1681*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2005); Adriaan E. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Ronni Baer et al., *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, exh. cat. (Boston: MFA Publications, 2015); Adriaan E. Waiboer, Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., and Blaise Ducos (eds), *Vermeer and the Master Painters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017).

<sup>44</sup> Franklin W. Robinson, *Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667): A Study of His Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age* (New York: Abner Schram, 1974).

<sup>45</sup> Adriaan E. Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Angela K. Ho, *Creating Distinctions in Dutch Genre Painting: Repetition and Invention* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

vast amount of information compiled in Waiboer's *Catalogue Raisonné*. It has been an indispensable resource for conducting research on Gabriel Metsu, and I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to Adriaan Waiboer for his scholarly contributions about Metsu and his work.

The second type of literature deals with political or economic development in Amsterdam or the Low Countries during the seventeenth century. These studies include: *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the 17th Century* (1963), *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (1997), *Dutch Society, 1588–1713* (2000), *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650–1770* (2003), *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (2008), *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic: Patronage and William Frederick of Nassau (1613–64)* (2008), and *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic* (2009).<sup>46</sup> While these books do not necessarily discuss the relationship between art and society, they provide a platform to assess the political and sociological context in which Metsu created his paintings.

The third category of literature examines the economic components of the Dutch art market in the seventeenth century, including studies of probate

---

<sup>46</sup> Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the 17th Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1963); Jan de Vries and A. M. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); J. L. Price, *Dutch Society, 1588–1713* (New York: Longman, 2000); David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Geert H. Janssen, *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic: Patronage and William Frederick of Nassau (1613–64)* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2008); Oscar Gelderblom, ed., *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

inventories, pricing of artworks, and guild regulations. The essays and articles by Montias, Marten Jan Bok, Maarten Prak, Neil de Marchi, Jan de Vries, and other scholars belong to this category.<sup>47</sup> While some of these discuss more specific case studies or shorter periods of time, such as “A Secret Transaction in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam” or “Auction Sales of Works of Art in Amsterdam (1597–1638),” most examine rather broad topics. Since political and economic situation had constantly changed in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and every locality had its own quirkiness, broad topics in these articles and essays can present only general ideas of the Dutch art markets. Many of these are products of diligent archival research and are facilitated by luck that these historical documents have survived for more than three centuries. These publications fill gaps between the economic circumstances of the period and our current understanding of the art markets in the seventeenth century.

Lastly, a noteworthy source of information, though not directly related to the scope of this dissertation, is literature that addresses various sociological aspects of Dutch life in the seventeenth century. These publications include *The Embarrassment of Riches*:

---

<sup>47</sup> John Michael Montias, “Art Dealers in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 18, no. 4 (1998): 244–256; John Michael Montias, “How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories,” *Simiolus* 30, no. 3/4 (2003): 217–235; Marten Jan Bok, “The Rise of Amsterdam as a Cultural Centre: The Market for Paintings, 1580–1680,” in Patrick Karl O’Brien, ed., *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 186–209; Maarten Prak, “Guilds and the Development of the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age,” *Simiolus* 30, no. 3/4 (2003): 236–251; Maarten Prak, “Painting, Journeyman Painters and Painters’ Guilds during the Dutch Golden Age,” in Natasja Peeters, ed., *Invisible Hands?: The Role and Status of the Painter’s Journeyman in the Low Countries, c. 1450–1650* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 133–149; Neil de Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, “Art, Value, and Market Practices in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (2014): 451–464; Neil de Marchi, “Size and Taste: Taking the Measure of the History of Art Markets,” *Economia e Arte Secc. XIII–XVIII* (2002): 79–91; Jan de Vries, “Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century after Fifty Years,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40 (2009): 151–194.

*An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (1987), *The Nobility of Holland: from Knights to Regents, 1500–1650* (1993), *Rome, Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (1997), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (1997), *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (2002), *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2003), *Well-Being in Amsterdam's Golden Age* (2008), and *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (2011).<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1987); Henk F. K. Van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland: From Knights to Regents, 1500–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Peter van Kessel and Elisja Schulte van Kessel, *Rome, Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997); Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck et al., *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (New York: Brill, 1997); Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Carroll Jane Louise and Alison G. Stewart, *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); Derek L. Phillips, *Well-Being in Amsterdam's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Pallas Publications, 2008); Lotte van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

## Chapter 1. Economic and Political Background of the Dutch Republic in the Mid-Seventeenth Century

Conflicting interpretations exist of the Dutch Republic's economic situation after the Treaty of Münster in 1648, which concluded the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648).<sup>49</sup> Some see the Dutch Republic in the early 1650s as a growing economy with consumers having increased buying power over that of previous decades.<sup>50</sup> Others believe that the Dutch Republic in the early 1650s was worse off than during the period of the Eighty Years' War.<sup>51</sup> Such conflicting views of the pros and cons of the peace treaty also existed in the seventeenth century.<sup>52</sup> While Amsterdam and the province of Holland had strongly advocated for peace, Zeeland opposed signing the treaty. Despite the Zeeland's objection, six other provinces – Holland, Gelderland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel, and Groningen – signed the peace treaty on January 30, 1648, with Zeeland reluctantly joining them a few weeks later.<sup>53</sup>

The public celebrations commemorating this historic event in cities and provinces

---

<sup>49</sup> The Eighty Years' War is essentially an independence war of the Dutch Republic against the Spanish Habsburg. Initially, all seventeen provinces in the Low Countries participated in the war. But, after 1581, the northern seven provinces (Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Friesland, Overijssel, and Groningen) were the only ones that kept fighting against Spain, until they acquired the official recognition of their independence from Spain in 1648 when the Treaty of Münster was signed.

<sup>50</sup> Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, 23.

<sup>51</sup> Paul Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy: The Artists, His Patrons, and the Art Market in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 28–43.

<sup>52</sup> The mixed feelings about the peace from the contemporaries: Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, 17–19, 39–46. Especially, the section titled “Dissention about the peace (41–46)” explains the competing relationships between the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. While Zeeland found its allies in House of Orange and its supporters, the army, and orthodox ministers of the Reformed Church, they were inadequate to change the tide.

<sup>53</sup> Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 596–597.

show their different attitudes towards the peace treaty. Amsterdam held public festivities celebrating the peace for two months: They played open-air performances, held pageants, commissioned militia portraits, and issued commemorative medals.<sup>54</sup> Prominent poets, including Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) and Reinier Anslo (1626–1669), dedicated poems for the occasion and published them under the title of *Olyf-krans der Vreede* (*Olive Wreath of Peace*) in 1649.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, Amsterdam finally decided to build its new Town Hall, a perfect edifice to the peace and the city's effort towards it. On the other hand, Leiden and Dordrecht, despite being located in the province of Holland, did not hold any public festivities at all.<sup>56</sup> Facing economic hardship by losing the constant presence of military camps in garrison towns, the provinces of Zeeland and Utrecht were not in the mood for celebrations either. The frigid weather and poor harvests from 1648 to 1650 added extra hardship to the already impoverished inland towns.

Abraham van de Velde (1614–1677), one of the most outspoken Protestant preachers against the peace treaty, openly denounced the Peace of Münster as a 'damned peace.'<sup>57</sup> The dissension on the treaty is confirmed by a contemporary

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 564, 597.

<sup>55</sup> Eymert-Jan Goosens, "Monuments to Peace in the Netherlands," in *1648: War and Peace in Europe*, vol. 2, eds. Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998), 629. The whole title of the book is *Olyf-krans der Vreede, door de doorluchtigste geesten, en geleerdste mannen, deezes tijds, gevlochten*. Reinier Anslo was a poet who was praised as the "young prince of the Amsterdam poets" in his days. He later converted to Catholic faith, and received a gold medal for his poems from the Pope Innocent X (Henry John Rose and Thomas Wright, eds., *A New General Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1 (London: T. Fellowes, 1857), 489).

<sup>56</sup> Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, 40. Since Leiden and Dordrecht were staunch supporters of the House of Orange, their reluctance to celebrate the occasion seems reasonable.

<sup>57</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 602. The original quotation came from: ARH Hof van Holland 5266/8. 'Contra Abraham van de Velde.' Abraham van de Velde was originally from Antwerp, and later studied theology in Leiden. In 1651 he became a preacher in Utrecht, but banned from the city in 1660 due



historian and diplomat, Lieuwe van Aitzema (1600–1669), who wrote: “outside Holland the common folk was generally opposed to Holland, and that inside Holland opinion was deeply divided.”<sup>58</sup> Even two years after the treaty, the situation changed little. When the Spanish ambassador to the Dutch Republic reported back to Madrid in 1650, he noted that “the growing instability and potential for unrest in the Dutch body politic was mainly due to ordinary artisans stirred up by the preachers” and “most ordinary Dutch folk considered themselves worse off now than during the war because bread prices were now considerably higher.”<sup>59</sup> The price of rye bread per 100 kg was 7.38 guilders in 1646. After the treaty, its price rose to 9.31 in 1648, 10.81 in 1649, 11.82 in 1650, and 12.49 in 1651.<sup>60</sup> In five years, the price of one of the staples went up by almost 70%. It is understandable why people were so easily stirred up by Protestant preachers who asserted that all the disastrous situations they were experiencing were the direct result of God’s wrath. Yet, why did these cities and provinces oppose the peace treaty in the first place? Why did these preachers incite the people against the peace treaty? Also, how did these contemporary political, social, economic situations affect art markets? To answer these questions, one needs to understand the unique situations of each of these cities or provinces and the power dynamics among the seven provinces and the House of Orange.

---

to a conflict with the city council. In 1663, he accepted a position in Middelburg and stayed there until his death.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 598. The original quotation came from: Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Herstelde Leeuw, of Discours over ‘t gepasseerde in de Vereenigde Nederlanden in ‘t jaer 1650, ende 1651* (The Hague, 1652), 90–91.

<sup>59</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 598. The original quotation came from: AGS Estado 2170. Brun to Phillip IV, March 25, 1650.

<sup>60</sup> The price of rye bread is from “The Prices of the Most Important Consumer Goods, and Indices of Wages and the Cost of Living in the Western Part of the Netherlands, 1450–1800” by Jan Luiten van Zanden. The file is accessible at: [www.iisg.nl/hpw/brenv.xls](http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/brenv.xls).

While the province of Holland, under Amsterdam's leadership, was the driving force behind the Treaty of Münster, Zeeland was the leading opponent of it. As the economic benefit was the guiding principle of Holland for the peace treaty, Zeeland's resistance to the peace treaty was also to protect its financial interest. Peace was bad for Zeeland and its economy, and the province had already experienced economic downfalls during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621).<sup>61</sup> That temporary peace between the Dutch Republic and Spain earlier in the century opened up Flemish seaports and disrupted the existing trade routes between the Dutch Republic and the South. The existing routes via Zeeland that had been circumventing the hostile areas during the war were abandoned in favor of shorter and more direct routes. As a result, trade and commerce on the Scheldt, Sas, and Zwiijn, the waterways linking Zeeland and Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, suffered immediate and severe setbacks.<sup>62</sup> The huge economic slump Zeeland experienced during the Truce recovered only after the Truce ended.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, Zeeland's apprehension about the permanent peace between the Dutch Republic and Spain rightly warranted reluctance on its part.

Zeeland's substantial involvement in the West India Company (*Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie*, WIC) was another reason.<sup>64</sup> From the

---

<sup>61</sup> The impact of Twelve Years' Truce on the Dutch art market, see Bok, "Paintings for Sale," 11–12.

<sup>62</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 509, 597.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 314–315, 532.

<sup>64</sup> The organization of the West India Company was comparable to the one for the East India Company. The West India Company had five *kamers*, in Amsterdam, Zeeland, Maze, Noorderkwartier, and Stad en Lande, and each *kamer* was affiliated with a number of towns. The delegates from each *kamer* formed the executive board, the *Heren XIX*. Amsterdam sent eight delegates, Zeeland sent four, each of the smaller three *kamers* sent two, and the States General had one delegate on this executive board. Since these

start, Holland was not enthusiastic about capturing Brazil.<sup>65</sup> When the WIC took Brazil from Portugal, Spain's ally, in 1630, the task of managing Dutch Brazil went to the Middelburg chapter of the WIC in Zeeland. From the early stages of the peace negotiation between the Dutch Republic and Spain, the only condition that Spain kept demanding to end the war was that the Dutch Republic should surrender Dutch Brazil, the primary source of sugarcane, to the Spanish crown. Spain was even willing to pay the reparations to compensate the WIC. However, if the peace treaty were to be signed, and the Dutch Republic were to surrender Dutch Brazil as a result, all profits from the colony would vanish altogether. Naturally, Zeeland and other inland cities with sizable holdings in the WIC would not accept the Spanish terms without a fight.<sup>66</sup>

The prospect of peace would have directly affected the textile industries in Leiden and Haarlem as well. Israel wrote that war between the Dutch Republic and Spain had so far "hampered the flow of wools and other raw materials from the Dutch entrepôt to the southern Netherlands, while simultaneously impeding imports of finished textiles from the south, by drastically raising import duties," transit costs, and insurance premiums.<sup>67</sup> If

---

19 delegates voted on their future action plans, the result usually reflected the interest for Amsterdam. For more detailed information on the organization of the West India Company and how it worked, see Henk den Heijer, "The Dutch West India Company, 1621–1791," in *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1583–1817*, eds. Johannes Postma and Victor Enthoven (Boston: Brill, 2003), 77–112. In the end, Brazil was returned to Portugal in 1654.

<sup>65</sup> According to Schama, unlike the East India Company, the West India Company had always been in need of subsidies from the Dutch Republic. If the company kept losing its money rather than profiting from the trades, it is understandable why the trade-savvy Amsterdam regents were not interested in keeping the colony and trades there. The West India Company was even being suspected as a front for fighting against the Catholics in the Atlantic, rather than an international trade company pursuing profits. For shrewd and practical merchants of Holland, fighting another religious war across the Atlantic, without monetary returns, must have felt a waste of money. See Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1987), 252.

<sup>66</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 510, 518, and 596.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 509.

the peace treaty were to be signed, all these benefits would disappear, and the textile industries in Leiden and Haarlem would have had a hard time competing with the South. As a result, to defend their major industries, these two Holland cities vehemently opposed the peace treaty.

These economic factors, however, were not the only reasons these provinces and cities fought against the peace treaty. Preachers of the Reformed Church stirred the general population against the treaty as well. From the beginning of the Dutch Revolt in the late sixteenth century, the Reformed Church strongly demanded that William the Silent, the stadholder at the time, should completely eradicate Catholicism from the Netherlands.<sup>68</sup> Fearing that he would lose the support of the local Catholic population, William the Silent was initially reluctant to agree to these militant Protestant advocates. He only acquiesced to the demand when he witnessed many city councils purging their own Catholic members.

This strained relationship between the regents and the Reformed church continued throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>69</sup> It was primarily the regents of the Holland and Zeeland, as Israel has pointed out, who had overthrown the old Roman Catholic Church by standing up against Spain.<sup>70</sup> What

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 362.

<sup>69</sup> Phillips explains in his *Well-Being in Amsterdam's Golden Age* that the civic hierarchy in the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century consisted of regents, common citizens, non-citizen residents, and temporary inhabitants. According to Oxford English Dictionary, the English term *regent* generally refers to “a person invested with royal authority by, or on behalf of, another; especially, a person appointed to administer the affairs of a country or state during the minority, absence, or incapacity of the monarch.” However, in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, the term was more broadly used as “a person who rules or governs,” including a person who rules on behalf of the monarch. In this dissertation, *regent* refers to “a person who rules or governs” and *regents* to the political elite in the Dutch Republic. See Derek Phillips, *Well-Being in Amsterdam's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 28–36.

<sup>70</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 369.

these regents wanted, in place of the old church, was a mild, non-dogmatic Protestantism. On the other hand, Protestant preachers wanted a theologically regulated society. The Reformed Church saw the war against Spain as “a struggle about religion, for the ‘true faith.’ For the regents, it was a struggle for freedom from oppression and tyranny.”<sup>71</sup> Since the majority of the population in the Dutch Republic, even by the mid-seventeenth century, did not officially belong to the Reformed Church, and the society was primarily controlled by the ‘ungodly’ tolerant regents, these Protestant preachers were not inclined to accept the peace. They blamed regents for everything: bad weather, skyrocketing price of bread and other daily staples, and the economic collapses in Zeeland. When these (mostly Holland) regents vigorously pursued the peace treaty for their commercial interest, the preachers turned the population against them.

Traditionally, the Princes of Orange had been governors who oversaw the Northern Provinces through their stadholdership, as stewards of the Dukes of Burgundy.<sup>72</sup> Willem the Silent (1533–1584, stadholder: 1544–1584) led the initial revolt against the Spanish Habsburg, while his sons, Maurits (1567–1625, stadholder: 1585–1625) and Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647, stadholder: 1625–1647), continued the vigorous military campaigns their father had started. It was during the stadholderate of Maurits that conflicts between the Reformed Church and the regents of Holland intensified. Maurits’

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 369.

<sup>72</sup> In the early sixteenth century, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V also held the title Duke of Burgundy that governed the Netherlands. The Duchy of Burgundy was acquired by the Habsburgs (Philip I of Castile, father of Charles V), after Charles V’s grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, died in 1482. During Charles V’s tenure, Willem I, the Prince of Orange, governed the Netherlands as Charles V’s stead. When Charles V abdicated himself in 1555, his son Philip II of Spain took over his father’s titles, including the Duke of Burgundy. The phrase *el imperio en el que nunca se pone el sol* (the empire on which the sun never sets) reflects the enormous territories of Spain during the Philip II’s reign. However, it was his heavy taxation to fund wars and expansion of territories that led to the Dutch Revolt.

preference for war over peace evidently added weight to the Reformed Church, and they clashed with the regents, most of whom amassed their wealth through international trade. However, by the 1640s, Frederik Hendrik saw enormous financial advantages in establishing peace rather than continuing the war.<sup>73</sup> Eventually, he started negotiating a peace treaty with Spain in 1646. Although Frederik Hendrik died in 1647, the peace negotiation he started the previous year was ratified, signed, and proclaimed in 1648, against the wishes of the new Prince of Orange, Willem II (1626–1650, stadholder: 1647–1650).

As a young man who recently became stadholder, Willem II was anxious to prove himself as a capable military leader, like his grandfather, uncle, and father. The Treaty of Münster denied Willem II the opportunity to assert himself as a strong military leader. Tensions rapidly escalated between Willem II and the regents of Holland in 1650 when negotiations were underway to reduce the size of the army. The regents of Holland, especially those of Amsterdam, saw no reason to keep the expensive army at its current size since the war had ended two years previously (Table 1-1).<sup>74</sup> To strong-arm Amsterdam and the province of Holland,

---

<sup>73</sup> It seems that Frederik Hendrik had intentionally kept his stance on Spanish Crown ambivalent throughout his stadholdership, unlike his brother Maurits, who was explicitly against Spain. Frederik Hendrik's ambivalence would have awarded him more maneuvering room to negotiate with both regents and the Reformed Church for domestic issues.

The Dutch Republic and Spain had not been constantly at war for 80 years. After a few decades of war, the war was at stalemate and the coffers of both sides – especially, on Spanish side – were drying up. Both parties agreed to cease fire and the Twelve Years' Truce commenced in 1609. Although elimination of external enemies brought up the internal conflicts on both sides, this cease-fire was a good opportunity for the Dutch Republic to test out what would be expected if, and when, the war would end. During the Truce, transportation between the Dutch Republic (i.e. the Northern Netherlands) and the Southern Netherlands became easier and more convenient, since each side did not have to detour to longer routes, and tariffs and war time insurance rates went down significantly. Obviously, these financial advantages did not go unnoticed by many in the Dutch Republic.

<sup>74</sup> Amsterdam paid more than a half of military expenses during the Eighty Years' War.

which relentlessly worked to reduce military costs to maintain the current size of the army, Willem II planned to siege Amsterdam in the summer of 1650. While the coup failed, this incident demonstrates that the newly recognized Dutch Republic was politically unstable at its core. However, the precarious political balance between Willem II and the regents of Amsterdam lasted only three months, because Willem II died of smallpox in November 1650.

What we now consider to be historical facts were, of course, not evident to the seventeenth-century Dutch. Although we now know when specific wars began and ended and what happened at every critical moment in history, the people living in the seventeenth century did not have that luxury. Thus, it would be useful to put ourselves in their shoes to understand their mindset at that time. Imagine what it would have been like to live in those uncertain times. The stadholder Frederik Hendrik had just died in 1647, and his young son who preferred war over peace had assumed the office of stadholder. Although the Treaty of Münster was signed and the peace was finally declared in 1648, Willem II and the Reformed Church railed against that peace. In 1649, the father-in-law of Willem II, Charles I of England, was executed by his own people at the end of their civil war. Willem II must have grown anxious when this regicide happened, particularly since he had not even had the chance to prove himself as a capable leader. While this young stadholder tried to change the course of the situation, his sudden death in 1650 left the Dutch Republic with only a posthumous heir Willem III (1650–1702), who was born eight days after his father's death. Suddenly, the young Dutch Republic had no stadholder. The delicate power balance between the stadholder and the Holland's regents was broken. Without the prescience to know what would happen next, nothing would

have seemed certain to the Dutch. The country might dissolve before too long.<sup>75</sup>

Already in the late 1640s, while peace talks were underway, the trade-savvy Amsterdam regents had begun to expand and restructure the overall scope of their international trade. Dutch prosperity of the first half of the seventeenth century was mainly from the bulk-carrying trades in grain, timber, salt, and fish in the Baltic, Germany, and Scandinavia. Towards the mid-seventeenth century, however, its wealth mostly came from ‘rich trades’ that handled low volume but high-value items and export-oriented industries.<sup>76</sup> The various wars that had broken out in Germany, Republic of Venice, Turkey, and England also had a direct impact on this restructuring of Dutch international trade.<sup>77</sup> When the ongoing Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) disrupted the production of daily staples

---

<sup>75</sup> This sentiment on the death of Willem II among the loyal Orangists are well expressed in a number of contemporary pamphlets and broadsheets: “O Prince William the First! In you did our state begin. Prince William the Second! Shall our state demise with you? The state, the republic that was so large, so mighty, so formidable in Europe, in all parts of the world...” This quotation is from Wheelock, Arthur K., Jr., “Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte: Architectural Painting in Delft around 1650,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8, no. 3 (1975 – 1976), 179. The original source from 1650, pamphlet 6869, is archived at the Royal Library, The Hague.

<sup>76</sup> Although the international trade by the East India Company in the earlier part of the seventeenth century was in an impressive scale, the main prosperity of the Dutch Republic during this period came from the bulk-carrying trades much closer to home. This changed during the mid-seventeenth century when the Dutch moved on their focus from trading bulk-carrying items to luxury goods. Transporting and selling expensive items from afar seems to have generated huge profit at the first glance, however, it also required tremendous amount of investment capital upfront and not without the comparable degree of risks in transporting people, ships, and the luxury goods back and forth securely. By the mid-seventeenth century, the infrastructures of conducting international trades with Asia had been in place for decades and the peace between the Dutch Republic and Spain helped cutting various costs significantly.

<sup>77</sup> During the seventeenth century, Venice was a sovereign state, called *Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia* (Most Serene Republic of Venice) whose major industry was maritime trades. The state existed from 697, when the first Doge of the Venetian was elected, to 1797, when the Napoleon’s army invaded and took over the control of the state. However, scholars seem to have different opinions about when the Republic of Venice came about. Parrott argues for the beginning of the 5th century, whereas Lane indicates it should be 537 when a Roman statesman Cassiodorus wrote a letter to the lagoon dwellers. Dial Parrott, *The Genius of Venice: Piazza San Marco and the Making of the Republic* (New York: Rizzoli Ex Libris, 2013); Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).



in Germany, for example, the Dutch were more than happy to export grain, meat, fish, and dairy products to them. After the war ended in 1648, however, German agriculture recovered quickly, and demands for imported daily staples were dramatically reduced. The Dutch Republic needed to find another market to compensate for this loss. The Venetian-Turkish War (1645–1669) provided Amsterdam exactly that. At the expense of Venice, Amsterdam took over Italian and Levant trades.<sup>78</sup>

This maritime expansion of the Dutch Republic in the late 1640s was not welcomed by neighboring countries. England was the main adversary against this Dutch hegemony. By the 1650s, major conflicts between the Dutch Republic and England were simply unavoidable, as both vied for the complete domination of international maritime trade. Until the late 1640s, the Dutch Republic controlled the spice market in northern Europe, while England prevailed in the staple markets in southern Europe.<sup>79</sup> After the signing of the Treaty of Münster, however, Dutch shipping no longer had to be subjected to Flemish privateering and Spanish embargoes. Without these restrictions, the Dutch became a major competitor in the previously English-controlled trade routes, including those to the Levant, Spain, Spanish-America, Italy, and Portugal.<sup>80</sup>

The Dutch take-over of English trade routes in the Mediterranean in the 1640s was so sudden and complete that England's shipping was utterly devastated.<sup>81</sup> However,

---

<sup>78</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 610–611; Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 204.

<sup>79</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 713.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 610.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 316, 611. This expansion to southern trade routes gave the Dutch direct access to important raw materials, including Spanish wool, Turkish mohair, Spanish-American dyestuffs, mercury

the on-going English Civil War (1642–1651) prevented England from acting upon this transgression. Until the Civil War was over, there was nothing that England could do but watch what was unfolding. As soon as the Civil War ended, the English Parliament, pressured by its own merchants, passed the Navigation Acts in 1651. These acts required that all goods imported into England and its colonies be shipped by English vessels or the ships of exporting countries. Any violation of these acts would be met with the confiscation of goods and vessels.

As the Dutch had, more or less, monopolized European shipping, the Navigation Acts were undoubtedly aimed to disrupt the Dutch maritime expansion. Nevertheless, even worse than the Navigation Acts for Dutch shipping was the active privateering that the English Parliament openly encouraged. Despite repeated protests from the Dutch States-General, the English Parliament showed no desire to stop the harassment. In 1651, no fewer than 140 Dutch merchantmen were seized on the high seas, and in January 1652 alone, another thirty Dutch vessels were captured.<sup>82</sup> The war between these two countries was inevitable. Before the Dutch Republic was able to relish its newly achieved peace and independence, the First Anglo-Dutch War broke out in late May 1652.

Rommelse noted that this war was “the direct result of English mercantilist

---

from Venetian Dalmatia and Caribbean sugar. These key ingredients to the ‘rich trades’ not only boosted the shipping of high-value goods, but also revamped the manufacturing industries of these items in Holland, such as “Leiden’s fine cloth (made from Spanish wool), camlets (Turkish mohair), silks, cottons, fine linen, copper, processed sugar, and tobacco.”

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 715.

policy-making and Dutch determination to defend their economic position.”<sup>83</sup> The Dutch lost about 1,200 merchant and fishing vessels during this war and were forced to suspend a large part of their shipping and fishing activities. Specifically, the disrupted grain imports from the Baltics and interruptions of the herring industry shook the new country’s economy, as these were the two main domestic food sources.<sup>84</sup> As if that were not enough, the Dutch lost Brazil to the Portuguese in 1654 as well.

Another major issue that the Dutch Republic faced around 1650 was the dangerously growing economic gap between Holland and the lesser provinces. Whereas Holland enjoyed expanding international trades at the expense of Republic of Venice and England, the drastic reduction of a military presence in inland provinces during the years of 1647–1651 almost paralyzed their economies.<sup>85</sup> Some cities lost almost a half of their population.<sup>86</sup> To the majority of the Dutch, the outspoken preacher Abraham van der Velde’s warning that God’s wrath was upon the Dutch Republic did not sound like an empty threat.

In this light, the new Amsterdam Town Hall epitomized this growing gap between Holland and other provinces. Despite the country’s political and economic turmoil, this large and expensive public building was under construction in the heart of Amsterdam.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Gijs Rommelse, “The Role of Mercantilism in Anglo-Dutch Political Relations, 1650–74,” *Economic History Review* 63, no. 3 (2010): 597.

<sup>84</sup> Crenshaw, *Rembrandt’s Bankruptcy*, 38.

<sup>85</sup> Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, 41, 152. The number of troops decreased from its greatest size of 60,000 in 1643 to 35,000 in 1648. The size of Dutch army would not reach 60,000 again, before the constant war after 1672.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 153–154.

<sup>87</sup> This new Amsterdam Town Hall was called “the eighth wonder of the world” by contemporaries.

Less than two weeks after the official proclamation of the Treaty of Münster in 1648, the entire Amsterdam city council gathered for a meeting to discuss its construction. Amsterdam had been badly in need of a new town hall since the 1630s, as the city had expanded rapidly in recent years and the old building was barely able to serve the growing population.<sup>88</sup> On June 18, 1648, the official go-ahead for the actual building project was given; and its foundation stone was laid four months later.<sup>89</sup>

From the start, the Town hall was an ambitious project. It was to be *the* biggest administrative building in Europe. On top of this magnificent building stands the *Vredesmaagd* (Maiden of Peace, Figure 1-1).<sup>90</sup> She holds an olive branch and the caduceus of Hermes in each hand and has a cornucopia at her feet. What better way to express the wishes of Amsterdammers that the peace would go hand in hand with commerce and bring prosperity to their city than this *Vredesmaagd*? Even before the building was inaugurated in 1655, Thomas Asselijn (1620–1701)’s poem of 1654, *De Broederschap der Schilderkunst* (The Brotherhood of Painting), showed no reservations about praising the greatness of the new Town Hall:<sup>91</sup>

“Een ieder maakt zich door zijne kunst vermaard.

---

<sup>88</sup> The construction of the new town hall was a part of the expansion of the city itself during the 1650s that Daniel Stalpaert’s *Map of Amsterdam* of 1657 (Figure 1-2) can attest. This thriving and energetic atmosphere of Amsterdam during the 1650s appealed to many architects and artists alike.

<sup>89</sup> Eymert-Jan Goosesns, “Monuments to Peace in the Netherlands,” in *1648, War and Peace*, exh. cat., vol. 2 (Munich: Bruckmann, 1998), 630.

<sup>90</sup> Artus Quellinus (1609–1668), *Vredesmaagd* (*Maiden of Peace*), The Dutch Royal Palace (previously, the Amsterdam Town Hall), Amsterdam.

<sup>91</sup> Although the new Town Hall was inaugurated in 1655, it was not until 1665 that the building was completed.

De Bouw- en Beeldhouwkunst aan haar Penseel gepaard,  
 Die schijnen onderling van liefde nu te blaken.  
 Men kan 'n staat, 'n rijk door kunst onsterflijk maken,  
 Wanneer men door zijn kunst zo tot de sterren gaat!  
 Wat wonderwerk schijnt daar ten hemel op te rijzen,  
 Dat zich vertoont gelijk een koninklijk paleis?  
 De zonne zelf en kan in al zijn ommereis  
 De weergâ met haar glans op aarde niet bestralen!  
 Dat is het Raadhuis van de wijdberoemde Raad [...]  
 Wiens lof gestadig nu de aardkloot ommegaat.  
 Geen wonder zal de prijs van zulk een praalstuk halen:  
 Haar marmeren wand en wijkt geen koninklijke zalen,  
 Nu zij de wereld toont een pronkstuk van haar tijd,  
 Dat wordt op 't sierlijkst met staatsie ingewijd,  
 Niet door 't beraden van een oorlogskans te wagen  
 Noch met triomfen van bebloede nederlagen,  
 Maar door een heilig vuur, bewierookt door de vreê!”<sup>92</sup>

In the end, the signing of the Treaty of Münster brought both prosperity and poverty to the Dutch Republic. Since the war against Spain had lasted so long, by 1648 few people could remember how it was before the war. Military bases and garrison towns lost their livelihoods after the cessation of this long and arduous war, but international merchants, particularly those in Amsterdam, benefited because of it. Freedom and

---

<sup>92</sup> Goosesns, “Monuments to Peace,” 636. Asselijn’s 1654 poem is a part of *Hollantsche Parnas*, published in Amsterdam in 1660.

“Everyone achieves fame through his art.  
 Architecture and sculpture coupled to its paint-brush,  
 It would seem to be now radiant with mutual love.  
 One can eternalize a state, a kingdom, through art,  
 When one thus, through art, reaches for the stars!  
 What work of wonder will rise up to the heavens like a vision,  
 Equal to a royal palace?  
 Even the sun itself travelling its full orbit  
 With its glow cannot illuminate upon the earth its splendor!  
 Behold it is the Town Hall of the greatly renowned Council...  
 Whose praises are sung throughout the world.  
 No miracle can equal the price of such a splendid work:  
 Its marble walls outshine royal halls,  
 Now that it presents to the world a showpiece of its time,  
 That will be consecrated in the utmost grandeur with state protocol,  
 [And] not by deliberating whether to wage war  
 Nor by celebrating bloody defeats,  
 But by a holy fire redolent with peace!”

independence from Spain were achieved, but this new reality also posed new threats and uncertainties to the people.

## Chapter 2. Art Markets in Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century

As a young artist, Metsu painted various types of subjects before he moved to Amsterdam in 1654. His earliest extant paintings range from biblical stories, market vendors, solitary male figures in niche frames, to blacksmith shops. Some of these early paintings employ compositional features similar to those in paintings by Nicholas Knüpfer (A-1, 2, 3, 4), with whom he studied in Utrecht, or Gerrit Dou (A-8, 9), his older colleague in Leiden.<sup>93</sup> Others depict popular subjects like *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (A-3, 4), which reflects Flemish traditions, or paintings with allegorical figures, such as *The Triumph of Justice* (A-5, 1651–1653). His talent at 24 years old to switch freely between different genres is remarkable for such a young artist. As someone fittingly noted, Metsu was like a chameleon.

Metsu, it seems, was searching for an artistic identity in Leiden. Tolerated as he was as Catholic, he appears to have been uncertain of the direction of his art, after his return from Utrecht.<sup>94</sup> It may be for those reasons that he persuaded his guardians to grant him financial freedom in early 1654, which he would have been awarded in less than 12-month time, the freedom that would allow him to move away from home and settle elsewhere.<sup>95</sup> The question remains, why did he decide to move to Amsterdam?

---

<sup>93</sup> *The Widow's Mite* (A-1, 1650–1652), *Dives and Lazarus* (A-2, 1650–1652), *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (A-3, 1650–1652), *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (A-4, 1650–1652), *A Notary with a Book* (A-8, c. 1653), *A Notary Sharpening His Pen* (A-9, c. 1653)

<sup>94</sup> As a Catholic, he may also have been uncomfortable living in that Protestant city.

<sup>95</sup> Metsu did not ask his guardians to release him from their financial oversight when he went to Utrecht to work alongside Nicolaes Knüpfer. It seems, therefore, he did intend to return to Leiden after the study with Knüpfer. However, when he headed out to Amsterdam in 1654, Metsu asked for the

What could Amsterdam offer that Leiden or Utrecht could not? To understand Metsu's decision to move to this city, it is necessary to know about the characteristics of different art markets in Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam in the mid-seventeenth century.

As previously noted, Metsu studied with Nicolas Knüpfer in Utrecht during the first few years in the 1650s. Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638) and Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651) had spearheaded the Utrecht's dynamic artistic community since the late sixteenth century. Their unique Northern Mannerist style exhibits characteristically elongated limbs, vibrant colors, and complex compositions, often based on biblical and mythological stories. As the former see of archbishops, about 40% of the Utrecht population remained loyal to the Catholic faith in the mid-seventeenth century, and even more among the upper echelons of that society.<sup>96</sup> This staunch adherence to Catholicism among the elite doubtlessly encouraged the production of paintings with biblical subjects, a rare characteristic in the Protestant Dutch Republic.

There is another aspect that sets Utrecht apart from other Dutch artistic centers, however. It was not a trade-oriented, mercantile city. In the mid-seventeenth century, Utrecht remained heavily dependent on its agricultural industries. Thus, a small group of landholding people and a handful of nobility

---

emancipation, so he could freely access to the inheritance from both his parents. The inheritance must have helped set himself up in a new city.

<sup>96</sup> Wayne E. Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 67.



dominated the city's social and economic power.<sup>97</sup> Fewer opportunities were available to the general public to accrue wealth through domestic and international trade than to their counterparts in Holland. As a result, the demographic composition of the art market in Utrecht presented an entirely different picture than those of Amsterdam and Leiden. As Utrecht's population was small, to begin with, and only a smaller portion of people could afford purchasing artworks, its artistic production tended to cater to those who were primarily Catholic.<sup>98</sup>

Until the mid-seventeenth century, Abraham Bloemaert and his studio prevailed in the Utrecht art market. Bloemaert executed paintings with strong Catholic connotations, particularly after the 1620s when his former pupils brought Italian artistic trends to Utrecht after their sojourns in Rome. Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588–1629) returned to Utrecht in 1615, while Gerrit van Honthorst (1592–1656) and Dirck van Baburen (1595–1624) returned in 1620, and Jan van Bijlert (1597–1671) returned in 1625. This young generation of artists came back after having encountered Caravaggio's style, which was characterized by its strong chiaroscuro effects and by a small number of large-scale figures depicted in the foreground of their canvases. Bloemaert, who had never been to Italy himself, embraced this new style wholeheartedly. However, the artistic climate in Utrecht became stale around 1630. Many of the Utrecht Caravaggisti

---

<sup>97</sup> Jan de Vries, "Searching for a Role: The Economy of Utrecht in the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1997), 49–59; Ben Olde Meierink and Angelique Bakker, "The Utrecht Elite as Patrons and Collectors," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, exh. cat. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1997), 72–85. In the Dutch Republic, Reformed faith was required to hold public offices. As many of these Utrecht nobilities remained Catholic, their political power was limited.

<sup>98</sup> The population of Amsterdam around 1650 is estimated at 175,000, while Leiden had 67,000 and Utrecht had 30,000 people (*1650: Hard-Won Unity*, table in 168). Since Utrecht had a proportionally smaller group of people who could easily afford acquiring artworks as well, than Leiden or Amsterdam, the size of its art market would have been quite smaller than those of Leiden or Amsterdam.

either had died or had left Utrecht for other artistic centers.<sup>99</sup> Honthorst left for the court of Charles I of England in 1628. Although he returned home again in Utrecht a couple of years later, Honthorst continued to paint for the English court and the Dutch court in The Hague and shifted his style to a rather bland Classicism that was more conservative than innovative.

While Utrecht masters Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594–1667), Jan Both (1615/1618–1652), and Jan Baptist Weenix (1621–1661) continued to paint beautiful Italianate landscapes and history paintings in the 1640s and 1650s, that previously vibrant artistic community lost its brilliance by mid-century. After Bloemaert's death in 1651, one of his sons, Hendrick (c. 1601–1672), took over his father's studio. Instead of challenging himself with emulating other contemporary painters as his father did, Hendrick satisfied himself in repeating his father's popular compositions and themes. The lack of young, ingenious, and ambitious artists caused the Utrecht art market to wane in the 1650s.<sup>100</sup> Although Knüpfer maintained a dynamic presence in Utrecht in the early 1650s when Metsu studied with him, Metsu must have witnessed the dying market condition in Utrecht and by 1653 he headed back to Leiden.

Leiden was the second biggest city in the Dutch Republic and Metsu's hometown, hence staying there to pursue his career must have been an attractive option. By 1650, Leiden's artistic community was led by Gerrit Dou, the earliest pupil of Rembrandt van

---

<sup>99</sup> Dirck van Baburen died in 1624 and Hendrick ter Brugghen died in 1629.

<sup>100</sup> Xander van Eck, "Paintings for Clandestine Catholic Churches in the Republic: Typically Dutch?" in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*, ed. Benjamin J. Kaplan (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009), 216–229.

Rijn (1606–1669)’s pupils. After his apprenticeship with Rembrandt in the late 1620s, Dou had started painting as an independent master from about 1631. Coincidentally, however, in that year, not only did Rembrandt leave for Amsterdam, but other Leiden masters also left, including Jan Lievens (1607–1674) who went to London, Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) to The Hague, and Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606–1684) to Antwerp. With other accomplished and ambitious competitors gone, Dou was gradually able to build his own artistic legacy, Leiden’s *fijnschilder* tradition.

When Philips Angel (c. 1618–after 1664) gave a lecture at a gathering of local artists and art lovers on October 18, 1641, the feast day of St. Luke, he could not praise sufficiently enough the twenty-eight years old Dou. Angel celebrated the artist’s painting technique that showed neatness without rigidity.<sup>101</sup> Dou’s contract with Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (c. 1594/1597–1652), which provided him the first-right-of-refusal at 500 guilders per year, was proudly mentioned by Angel at the lecture.<sup>102</sup> Dou achieved international fame even before he turned thirty.

While Dou established himself as the leading painter in Leiden, the city’s growing textile industries created a new class of wealthy individuals who were interested in acquiring art to enhance their social status. The expansion of this wealthy group of people undoubtedly drew artists from other urban centers to Leiden in the 1640s, with the result that the number of artists in Leiden reached its peak in 1649 with 54 painters.<sup>103</sup> While

---

<sup>101</sup> Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory, 1648–1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 253–260. This lecture was later published as *Lof der Schilder-konst* (Praise of the Art of Painting) next year.

<sup>102</sup> Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon was one of the art advisors to Queen Christina of Sweden.

<sup>103</sup> Piet Bakker, “Leiden Fijnschilders and the Local Art Market in the Golden Age,” in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., New York, 2017,

the growing number of artists made the Leiden's artistic community more vibrant, it also meant stiff competition. In the end, many who came to Leiden in the 1640s because they were attracted by the city's prosperity did not remain there long. While the textile industries in Leiden expanded and its population grew over time, the new immigrants were mostly low-wage workers who could hardly afford to buy paintings. With the realization that the population growth did not necessarily translate into higher demand for paintings, artists departed Leiden to seek better art markets. Metsu must have experienced this short-lived excitement firsthand. He enjoyed being an early member of the St. Luke Guild in Leiden in 1648, but upon the ebb and flow of artists after he returned to Leiden from Utrecht in the early 1650s, he decided to explore another artistic community that could better withstand economic challenges.

Although David Bailly (1584–1657), Joris van Schooten (1587–1651), Pieter de Ring (1615/1620–1660), and Abraham van den Tempel (c. 1622–1672) provided portraits, still life paintings, and history paintings for Leiden's art market, they were not able to shake the dominance of Dou and his pupils.<sup>104</sup> It is interesting to note that Dou and *fijnschilders* seem to have enjoyed their enormous success without ever leaving their hometown, while other artists were not satisfied with the local art market and moved along. The art market of Leiden was moderate in size and the number of people who could afford exorbitantly

---

[https://www.theleidencollection.com/scholarly\\_essay/updated-leiden-fijnschilders-and-the-local-art-market-in-the-golden-age/](https://www.theleidencollection.com/scholarly_essay/updated-leiden-fijnschilders-and-the-local-art-market-in-the-golden-age/).

<sup>104</sup> If Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) were to have stayed in Leiden, his monochromatic landscapes depicting local scenery that became broadly popular in the 1630s would have had a substantial presence in Leiden's art market. However, Van Goyen moved to The Hague around 1632. See Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Jan van Goyen," NGA Online Catalogue, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1354.html>.

expensive Dou's paintings must have been quite limited. Unless the demand for paintings with highly refined brushwork existed outside Leiden, the continued success of Dou and other *fijnschilders*, including his finest pupil, Frans van Mieris, would have been impossible. The fact that none of Metsu's earliest paintings show any resemblance to the paintings of the *fijnschilders* demonstrates that Metsu was not interested, or able, to paint in that manner. Since only the *fijnschilders* seemed to be able to operate successfully in Leiden, Metsu probably decided to try his luck elsewhere.

Where could Metsu have gone after leaving Utrecht and Leiden? A general understanding of the mid-seventeenth century Dutch art markets helps narrow down the options he faced. The art markets in the Dutch Republic during the mid-seventeenth century, more or less, mirrored its complicated economic and political situation. The hard-won peace seems to have helped the economy grow; which implies that the art markets also probably expanded. However, as Marten Jan Bok has pointed out, by the early 1650s, a steadily growing number of painters had been producing paintings at full speed for two generations.<sup>105</sup> About 650 to 750 painters were active in the Dutch Republic around 1650, and they produced somewhere between 63,000 and 70,000 paintings per year; about two paintings each week per artist.<sup>106</sup> According to Ad van der

---

<sup>105</sup> Gary Schwartz, "The Shape, Size, and Destiny of the Dutch Market for Paintings at the End of the Eighty Years War," in *1648: War and Peace in Europe*, exh. cat., vol. 2, ed. Klaus Bussmann et al. (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998), 242. The original quotation came from: Marten Jan Bok, "Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580–1700," (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1994), 120–127.

<sup>106</sup> Although Van der Woude's estimated number of paintings that each painter would have executed annually is possibly inflated, it does not dismiss the fact that the painting industry and art markets were a substantial part of the Dutch Republic's economy at the time. Bakker's article (2011) acknowledges that Montias also came to the similar number for the estimated numbers of artists working in the Dutch Republic around 1650 and their output, using different method. However, Bakker also says these numbers did not go unchallenged: B. Biemans, *Een schatting van het aantal schilderijen dat in de zeventiende eeuw in de Republiek is gemaakt*, master's thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam 2007. With another calculation method, Biemans calculated that the total production could have been no more than one million paintings

Woude's estimation, the number of paintings produced each year in the province of Holland alone was a little over 40,000 works. The total value of these paintings was equivalent to half the value of the annual North Holland cheese production at the beginning of the eighteenth century, one of the country's most important export products. Painting undeniably was a major industry.<sup>107</sup>

A critical difference exists, however, between paintings and the many staples that the Dutch shipped around the world, such as timber, grain, exotic spices, and tobacco. Paintings are mostly durable goods. Once painting was created and changed hands, it was not consumed but continued to give pleasure to generations of owners. According to inventories drawn up in Haarlem between 1620 and 1640, 57% of the households owned at least one painting; this ratio increased to more than 90% between 1660 and 1670.<sup>108</sup> In other words, anyone who had means possessed paintings. Inventories of Amsterdam collections also show that the size of these inventories grew larger over the course of the century.<sup>109</sup> People bought paintings at annual fairs, auctions, or through second-hand goods dealers. They also bartered, won lotteries, and inherited paintings. It is no wonder that the

---

(Bakker, "*Crisis? Welke Crisis?*" 238). Also, A. Kloos-Frolich made critique on Van der Woude's estimation on estimated number of paintings in the Dutch Republic in: A. Kloos-Frolich, "Art and Number: The calculation of the Paintings Production in the Province of Holland at the Time of the Republic," *Historisch Tijdschrift Holland* 37 (2005) 23–36.

<sup>107</sup> Frijhoff et al., *1650*, 491–492; Ad van der Woude, "The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic," in *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, 301–303.

<sup>108</sup> Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, 492.

<sup>109</sup> There are 1180 Amsterdam inventories in the Montias database in the Frick Collection from 1601 to 1681. Among those, 729 inventories (61.78%) have less than 30 paintings. Of these 729 inventories, 502 inventories are from 1601 to 1640 and 227 inventories are from 1641 to 1681.

average number of paintings per inventory increased towards the second half of the seventeenth century and that the art markets in the Dutch Republic began to be saturated.<sup>110</sup>

In the meantime, the Dutch consumer economy seems to have deteriorated around 1650. Real wages, calculated from the actual wages to reflect the inflation, plummeted from 1646 to 1652 (Figure 2-1). This sudden decrease in real wages meant a harder life for the general public. The price of daily staples, such as rye, wheat, milk, cheese, and herrings, rose after the Treaty of Münster. In some cases, the price of these staples more than doubled in comparison to prices before 1648. Tables 2-1 and 2-2 show that the price of rye and wheat began to increase sharply around 1648 and that they recovered to the pre-1648 price levels only after 1654. This fluctuation applies to the all three cities where Metsu resided during these years: Leiden, Utrecht, and Amsterdam. While suffering from the economic hardship, nobody was able to predict when this inflation would end.

As the political and economic turmoil introduced new uncertainties, and the size of the disposable income was quickly reduced, people started to tighten their purse strings. Since most people already owned quite a few paintings, they became more cautious about acquiring additional ones. A new trend among a group of collectors intensified the effects of this austerity even further. These new collectors, many of whom had acquired their wealth in recent years, began to prefer “old master paintings” to new

---

<sup>110</sup> Pieter Biesboer, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572–1745*, ed. Carol Togneri (Los Angeles: Getty Provenance Index, Getty Research Institute, 2001), 41.

works by contemporary artists.<sup>111</sup> It is doubtful that collectors who were new to the art of acquiring artworks would have possessed enough knowledge to discern which newly executed paintings would complement their enhanced financial status. Thus, they probably bought “old master paintings” that had already been vetted in the art market, just as some people today buy luxury brand name items as status symbols. As a consequence of these trends and economic forces, by the mid-seventeenth century, fewer people were purchasing the newly created paintings, even though many artists were still active in the Dutch Republic. In these saturated markets with fewer collectors willing to buy new artworks, making a living as an artist became more and more difficult.<sup>112</sup>

While the overall economy in the Dutch Republic had been deteriorating even before the peace treaty was signed in 1648, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the impact of this downturn must have been felt more severely in smaller cities that were dependent on international trade, such as Leiden and Haarlem. Nevertheless,

---

<sup>111</sup> Schwartz, “The Shape, Size, and Destiny of the Dutch Market for Paintings at the End of the Eighty Years War,” in *1648 War and Peace in Europe*, vol. 2, 242. According to Montias’ analysis shared by Schwartz, the share of the living masters’ paintings in the inventories, compared to that of dead masters’ paintings, began to shrink around 1640 when it was represented well over 65%. This trend continued towards the end of the seventeenth century when the share of living masters’ paintings in the inventories shrunk to all-time low at less than 20%.

On a related note, Marten Jan Bok and Paul Crenshaw also recognize a similar use of art to enhance the recently acquired social and financial standings. According to Bok’s article, it seems that Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619), Land’s Advocate of Holland, commissioned an epitaph for one of his fictional ancestors to enhance his standing in the society. Oldenbarnevelt was from a “noble but impoverished” family. While he acquired five seigniories by marrying an illegitimate, but wealthy woman, Oldenbarnevelt seems to have felt that he needed to prove his ancestors were affluent nobles. By commissioning a false epitaph with a luxuriously donned couple, the Land’s Advocate tried to aggrandize his position in the society. Marten Jan Bok, “Laying Claims to Nobility in the Dutch Republic: Epitaphs, True and False,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 2/3 (1996): 209–226; Crenshaw, *Rembrandt’s Bankruptcy*, 33 and note 26.

<sup>112</sup> Biesboer, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem*, 43.



Amsterdam's art market was also affected by this economic downturn. Figure 2-2 shows how many artists were active in Amsterdam throughout the seventeenth century and their proportion in comparison to the city's population.

The number of artists in Amsterdam had consistently grown since the beginning of the century, with minor setbacks in the mid-1620s and the early 1650s, but it began to trend downward in the mid-1660s. The plague epidemic during the mid-1620s probably caused that short-term decrease, as the mortality rate from the disease was extremely high. Some would have died of the disease and others, who could afford to move away from the city, would have left. The decreased number of artists in the early 1650s was probably due to the economic hardship that the city suffered in those years. The peace treaty in 1648 had brought high hopes to many people in Amsterdam, who expected more prosperity would come with the better trade conditions, and the number of artists active in Amsterdam started to increase in 1646 when serious negotiations for the peace treaty began. It seems that artists continued to hold high hopes for an expanding art market for the next couple of years, as their numbers kept growing until 1652. However, after the Anglo-Dutch Wars broke out in 1652, those expectations crushed.

It is understandable that the economic situation, in general, and the art market, in particular, did not significantly expand right after the peace treaty was signed in 1648. Reaping the profits from international trades takes time. After all, it takes time for merchant ships to travel and return with marketable goods. However, with continued high inflation, the economy worsened. The Anglo-Dutch War must have broken artists'

hopes.<sup>113</sup> The constant privateering by English pirates of Dutch merchant vessels caused a disastrous impact on the Dutch economy, and the new war with England escalated the situation even further. The reality did not meet the high expectation of contemporary Amsterdammers.

So, again, why did Metsu move to Amsterdam? Because the size of the art markets mattered. According to ECARTICO, the number of artists active in Amsterdam in 1654 was around 250. That puts Haarlem a distant second with about 100 artists, followed by Leiden, Utrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam, with around 50 artists each (Figure 2-3).<sup>114</sup> While Amsterdam and Haarlem both had bigger artistic communities than Leiden, the size of the market, based on the population, was another matter. Around 1650, Amsterdam's population is estimated at 175,000, whereas Leiden had 67,000 residents, Haarlem 38,000, Rotterdam and Utrecht 30,000 each, and Delft around 20,000 respectively.<sup>115</sup> Although Haarlem had had a lively artistic community since the late sixteenth century, its market size was much smaller than that of Leiden. Utrecht was also a small market. Its uniquely feudal socio-economical hierarchy, based on agriculture rather than

---

<sup>113</sup> Biesboer, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem*, 41. According to Crenshaw, even the commissions for the new Amsterdam Town Hall was suspended during the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654). Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*, 39 and note 58. See Marten Jan Bok, "Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580–1700" (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1994), 156–161, for increased bankruptcies in Amsterdam during the both Anglo-Dutch Wars during Metsu's lifetime; First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654) and Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667).

<sup>114</sup> ECARTICO has comprehensive data on various cultural industries during the early modern period in the Low Countries. Their focuses are the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries artistic industries. This project is still on-going and will expand as more data becomes available. The current website is hosted at the Amsterdam Center for the Study of the Golden Age, University of Amsterdam. Their website is: [www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico](http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico).

<sup>115</sup> Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, 168. To see how the art market of Haarlem became so active and had many artists with such a small population, see Biesboer, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem*, 40.

domestic and international trades, pretty much guaranteed that Utrecht had an even smaller number of potential buyers who could afford works of art. As the only city that had a larger population, i.e., a bigger market, than Leiden, Amsterdam was the logical choice for Metsu's move.

Another advantage of Amsterdam over Leiden was that the city had proportionally many more people with disposable income. Despite being the second largest city in the Dutch Republic and having the prestigious academic environment with its university, Leiden's population relied heavily upon its recent immigrants from the South working in the textile industry. The *Armenrapport* (Poverty Report) from 1577 indicates that the "greedy" textile entrepreneurs were responsible for the extreme poverty of their workers, and this situation had continued until the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>116</sup> Leiden had about 12,000 inhabitants in 1580. By 1650, the population had grown to over 60,000.<sup>117</sup> This population growth, despite the recurring outbreaks of plague, was simply not possible without immigrants.

While the labor-intensive nature of textile industries attracted and accommodated this massive influx over the decades, and the industry itself kept growing, Leiden citizens as a whole did not seem to have had a healthy income to spend on paintings. While wealth inequality was prevalent in the seventeenth century, according to Roos van Oosten, the extreme proletarianization of wealth distribution seems to have been unique to

---

<sup>116</sup> Roos van Oosten, "The Dutch Great Stink: The End of the Cesspit Era in the Pre-Industrial Towns of Leiden and Haarlem," *European Journal of Archaeology* 19, no. 4 (2016): 704–727.

<sup>117</sup> N.W. Posthumus, *De Geschiedenis van de Leidsche lakenindustrie, Vol. II, de Nieuwe Tijd* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939), 882.

Leiden.<sup>118</sup> These immigrants rarely had disposable income comparable to that of Amsterdam traders. The inequality of wealth in Leiden was so extreme that in 1600 only 23 percent of the population had enough wealth to pay tax and as little as 300 households (8.5 percent of total households) possessed fortunes above the average amount.<sup>119</sup> The city's wealth inequality (Table 2-3) shows that the number of people in Leiden with enough financial means to afford works of art during the mid-seventeenth century was insufficient to sustain a lively artistic community.<sup>120</sup> The continual shortage of housing in Leiden throughout the seventeenth century forced many families to share their residences.<sup>121</sup> When one has to worry about how to pay for basic living conditions, purchasing works of art would not have been on one's shopping list. This absence of substantial presence of upper- and middle-class population in Leiden also explains why, since the 1630s, so many artists had left the city or only temporarily stayed there before heading to other urban centers.

Amsterdam had a dynamic artistic community. Assuming that each immediate locality was the primary market for these painters, Amsterdam had almost twice as many painters per capita as did Leiden.<sup>122</sup> In fact, Leiden's

---

<sup>118</sup> Van Oosten, "The Dutch Great Stink," 707.

<sup>119</sup> Laura Cruz, *The Paradox of Prosperity: The Leiden Booksellers' Guild and the Distribution of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Oak Knoll Press, 2009), 172–173.

<sup>120</sup> Lee Soltow and Jan Luiten van Zanden, *Income and Wealth Inequality in the Netherlands, 16th–20th Century* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1998), 38, Table 3.6. The data shows the inequality of wealth distribution in the seventeenth-century Leiden became worse toward the end of the century.

<sup>121</sup> Van Oosten, "The Dutch Great Stink," 708.

<sup>122</sup> There were about 250 painters active in Amsterdam whose population around 1650 was estimated at 175,000. Leiden had less than 50 painters, while its population was about 67,000. Thus, the number of artists per 1000 people in Amsterdam is 1.429; while the number of artists per 1000 people in Leiden was only 0.746.

relatively low ratio of artists per capita is especially telling when one compares that number to those in other major cities in the Dutch Republic. In Alkmaar, Delft, Haarlem, The Hague, and Utrecht, the ratio of painters per thousand inhabitants ranged from 1.5 to 2 painters, whereas Leiden had only 0.75 painters per thousand people (Table 2-4).<sup>123</sup> Montias suspects that the absence of a painter's guild in Leiden until 1648 and the relatively small upper- and middle-class community of potential buyers, could explain why the ratio of artist per inhabitant in Leiden was so much lower than in other cities.<sup>124</sup> While more artists in Amsterdam meant more competition, it seems that the size of the art market mattered most to the artists. That is why the number of artists began increasing again in Amsterdam in the latter half of the 1650s.

The building boom in Amsterdam started with the construction of its new town hall in 1648, and it continued during the latter part of the 1650s and early 1660s with the expansion of the city itself. While this building boom stagnated during the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), it quickly recovered.<sup>125</sup> Daniel Stalpaert's *Map of Amsterdam* of 1657 (Figure 1-2) attests that the city almost doubled in size during this expansion. The thriving and lively atmosphere of Amsterdam during this period enticed many architects and artists alike. More than half of the painters active in Amsterdam between 1650 and 1660 were born elsewhere (Figure 2-4).<sup>126</sup> Metsu was one of them.

---

<sup>123</sup> John Michael Montias, "Estimates of the Number of Dutch Master-Painters, Their Earnings and Their Output in 1650," *Leidschrift* 6 (1990): 61. Table 1.

<sup>124</sup> Montias, "Estimates," 62.

<sup>125</sup> Once the economic downturn during the late 1640s and the early 1650s ended, Amsterdam attracted more artists to the city (Figure 2-3), and the city was able to spend more money on public works thereafter (Figure 2-5).

<sup>126</sup> ECARTICO Database

In addition to these economic factors, some evidence suggests that personal reasons also motivated Metsu's move to Amsterdam. The recent death of his mother in 1651 might have been one of them. Metsu's mother Jacquemijntje Garniers had married twice before she married the artist's father, Jacques Metsu. She and her first husband, Abraham Lefoutre (d. 1617), a school teacher and innkeeper whom she married in 1608, lived in Amsterdam, near the Oude Kerk.<sup>127</sup> In 1615, her sister, Anna, married an Amsterdam wine dealer, Jan Adriaensz Keyser (1595–1664).<sup>128</sup> Keyser, who was wealthy enough to become one of the sitters of Rembrandt's *The Shooting Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch*, also known as *Night Watch* (Figure 2-6), also worked as a steward in the *Handboogdoelen* in Amsterdam during the last ten years of his life.<sup>129</sup>

Jacquemijntje must have remained in close contact with her sister and brother-in-law after she left Amsterdam. In her last will, written three weeks before her death in 1651, she designated Keyser as one of Metsu's three guardians until her son came of age at twenty-five.<sup>130</sup> Metsu must have maintained his close

---

<sup>127</sup> We do not have document that shows the betrothal or marriage contract between Jacquemijntje Garniers and her second husband, Guillaume Fremout. However, multiple documents from 1624 show that Jacquemijntje was a widow of Fremout, a painter in Dordrecht. These same documents also testify that Metsu's mother was then living in Leiden, almost two years before she married Jacques Metsu. See Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 330, docs. 24, 28, and 31.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 4; note 21. 329, Doc. 9. October 8, 1615: Proclamation of the betrothal in Amsterdam of Jan Ariaensz. Keyser, wine dealer twenty years old, living on the Nieuzijds Voorburgewal, assisted by his mother, Geertjen Jans, to Anna Greyniers, twenty-one years old, living on het water (Damrak), assisted by her uncle Barent Schuylenborgh and Geertruit [illegible]; Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 31, note 23.

<sup>130</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 332, Doc. 59. August 20, 1651: Jacquemijntje Garniers, widow of late Cornelis Gerrisz. Bontekraey, living in Leiden, sick and lying in bed, has her will drawn up. She leaves Gabriel Matsu, her youngest son, a bed of his own choice. Her four children, Philips Abrahamsz Le Foutere, Mary Abrahamsr Le Foutere, Sara Abrahamsdr Le Foutere, and Gabriel Metsu will

relationship with his uncle as well. In 1658, Keyser helped his nephew during the proclamation of the young artist's betrothal in Amsterdam.<sup>131</sup> The document indicates that Keyser was living on Prinsengracht, one of the fanciest neighborhoods of the city. The earliest mention of Metsu in Amsterdam, from 1657, also states that he was then living on Prinsengracht, the same canal as his uncle.<sup>132</sup>

Waiboer has argued that Metsu probably received help from his rather distant paternal relatives, the children of Philips Metsu who also lived and had a bakery on the Prinsengracht.<sup>133</sup> Although no record shows that there was any direct relationship between Jacques Metsu, the artist's father, and Philips Metsu, Philips' father came from Belle, the hometown of Jacques. Thus, it is likely that those two knew each other. However, Philips Metsu was only remotely related to the young artist, and no

---

each receive a quarter of her possessions. She appoints notary De Haes, Cornelis Jansz., baker, and Jan Adriaensz. Keyzer as Metsu's guardians.

In the Dutch Republic, a child came under guardianship when both parents had died. The child could inherit his or her inheritance only at the age of twenty-five or when married.

In later document (doc. 62, October 18, 1651): Jan Adriaensz Keyser, Cornelis Jansz, baker, and Jacob Jansz de Haes, notary, exhibit a copy of Jacomyntge Garniers' will, last widow of late Cornelis Gerritsz Bontekraey. Notary Jan Jansz de Haes accepts the guardianship over Gabriel Metsu, who is still a minor, and proposes to excuse Jan Adriaensz Keyser as a guardian. The second guardian, Cornelis Jansz, baker, will only deal with paternal goods.

It is worth noting that Jan Adriaensz Keyser did not request to excuse himself from the guardianship over the young artist. It was one of the other guardians who requested it, probably because Keyser was residing in Amsterdam, not in Leiden. Another document notarized on the same day (doc. 63) indicates that Jacob Jansz de Haes, notary, and Cornelis Jansz, baker, were officially appointed as guardians over Metsu.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 335, Doc. 74. April 12, 1658: Proclamation of the betrothal in Amsterdam of Gabriel Metsu from Leiden, painter, twenty-eight years old, whose parents are dead, assisted by his uncle Jan Adriaensz Kayser, living on the Prinsengracht, to Isabella de Wolf from Enkhuizen and also living there, twenty-six years old, assisted by her mother, Maria de Grebber.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 334, Doc. 71. July 19, 1657: This document regards a neighborhood dispute.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 8.

documents exist that directly links Metsu or his father to Philips Metsu. Indeed, Philips Metsu died shortly before Metsu arrived in Amsterdam.<sup>134</sup> It is possible that the children of Philips Metsu, who inherited the father's house on Prinsengracht and bakery behind Prinsengracht, helped out the artist. However, it is more reasonable to assume that a closer relationship existed between Metsu and Keyser than between Metsu and the children of Philips Metsu.

---

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 8.



### Chapter 3. Gabriel Metsu's Early Amsterdam Years (1654–1657)

Once Metsu decided to move to Amsterdam, he had to consider carefully what kind of paintings he should offer to the Amsterdam art market. His recent training with Knüpfer and the earliest paintings he executed before the move suggest that Metsu's initial preference would have been history painting. However, history paintings were well represented in the Amsterdam market. About 60 history painters (out of 250, 24% of all Amsterdam painters) were active in the mid-1650s, and many of them were already entrenched in the market by 1654 (Figure 3-1). Some contemporaries might have considered Rembrandt to have been out of fashion by then, but he was still a prolific artist.<sup>135</sup> His former pupils, Govaert Flinck (1615–1660), Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674), and Jan Victors (1619–1676) were all well-established history painters active in the city. His colleagues, Jacob van Loo (1614–1670) and Jan Lievens (1607–1674), were also highly sought-after artists.<sup>136</sup> Thus, it would have been extremely challenging for a young, out-of-town artist to claim a market share in Amsterdam as a history painter. Metsu needed to find other options.

---

<sup>135</sup> Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy*. In 1654, Rembrandt painted a portrait of Jan Six in 1654. In 1655, Six became a son-in-law of Nicolaes Tulp (1593–1674), one of the four burgomasters of Amsterdam. This Nicolaes Tulp is the same individual who was the main protagonist of Rembrandt's *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (Figure 3-2), executed in 1632.

<sup>136</sup> Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals: History Painting in Amsterdam (1630–1650)*. One of the prestigious projects of that time for artists was the new Amsterdam Town Hall. The whole project drew various artists; architects, painters, sculptors, carpenters among others. Initially, Govaert Flinck was the only painter who was commissioned to execute paintings to decorate the interior. Unfortunately, he died before finishing the project. The remaining works were distributed among various painters, including Rembrandt, Jacob Jordaens, Jan Lievens, and Ferdinand Bol. But these painters were commissioned after Flinck died in 1660.

The relative dearth of prominent genre painters in Amsterdam in the mid-1650s offered an opportunity for Metsu. In 1654, Amsterdam had about 40 genre painters (out of 250, 16% of painters); as opposed to about 20 genre painters (out of 50, 40% of painters) in Leiden (Figure 3-3). Such a disproportionately large number of genre painters in Leiden confirms that genre paintings were indeed a specialty of Metsu's hometown. Nevertheless, the number of Leiden's genre painters was not always so high. The city had about only five genre painters around 1630 when Dou became a young master. It was the remarkable success of Dou and the high price he received for his works that made Leiden a hub of genre painters. In the following two decades, the number of genre painters in Leiden had almost quadrupled, during which time Metsu must have witnessed the latest trends in that genre.

Amsterdam surely had had its share of acclaimed genre painters as well, but by 1654, David Vinckboons (1576–1632), Willem Duyster (1599–1635), Pieter Codde (1599/1600–78), and Simon Kick (1603–1652) were either dead or had largely abandoned genre painting. Jacob van Loo (c. 1614–1670) did paint beautiful courtship paintings of young, elegant couples around 1650, such as *Amorous Couple* (Figure 3-4), but he favored creating classicizing history paintings with beautiful female nudes. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674) also painted elegant courtship scenes as well as guardroom scenes in the early 1650s, but he later switched to paint mostly history paintings and portraits. Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693), another former pupil of Rembrandt, painted his best genre paintings from the mid-1650s, but he had moved back to his native city of

Dordrecht by the end of 1653. Eglon van der Neer (1635/36–1703), a painter of elegant genre paintings, moved to France around 1654 after finishing his study with Van Loo and entered into the service of Friedrich von Dohna (1621–1688), Governor of the Principality of Orange.<sup>137</sup> Therefore, the supply side of the genre paintings in Amsterdam in 1654 was in dire need of new talent. While Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685), Jan Miense Molenaer (1610–1668), and Cornelis Bega (1632–1664) kept their strong presence as genre painters in nearby Haarlem, their market was primarily in that city, not Amsterdam.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, when Metsu moved to Amsterdam, he started as a genre painter.

Metsu seems to have decided that adopting Dou's subjects, such as an elderly man and woman, or a person at an arched stone niche, was the best approach for establishing himself in the Amsterdam market. By the mid-1650s, Dou had been a leading genre painter in Leiden for more than two decades, perfecting the meticulously detailed painting style for which he was so famous. His paintings commanded extremely high prices that not many people could afford them. By adopting Dou's popular subjects without the labor-intensive painting style of that master, Metsu was able to produce genre paintings, similar to those of Dou at a fraction of the price. Moreover, since Dou never left Leiden for Amsterdam, Metsu did not face the direct competition from him.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup> Eglon van der Neer: <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/59048>.

<sup>138</sup> Haarlem's high proportion of genre painters, compared to other genres or its market size, would have deterred Metsu to move to Haarlem.

<sup>139</sup> John Michael Montias, "The Influence of Economic Factors on Style," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6, no. 1 (1990): 50. Dou refused to leave his hometown of Leiden even when he was invited to be a court painter to Charles I of England.

The somewhat broad handling of paint evident in Metsu's early Amsterdam period probably reflects the influence of Jan Baptist Weenix, whom Metsu encountered during his training with Knüpfer in Utrecht. For example, the fluid brushwork and rather stocky figure types adjacent to the dilapidated building in Metsu's *The Dismissal of Hagar* (A-10, 1653–1654) show the irrefutable influence of Weenix.<sup>140</sup> It is also possible that Weenix inspired Metsu to switch his specialty of history painting to genre scene.<sup>141</sup> While Weenix mainly painted Italianate landscapes with ancient ruins or still life paintings with dead games, some of his paintings from the late 1640s and early 1650s feature a significant human presence. One of the most genre-like motifs Weenix favored during this period was the mother and child. He painted them in his Italianate landscapes as well as in domestic settings. Metsu likely saw Weenix's *Mother and Child with a Cat* (Figure 3-5, 1647) or *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Figure 3-6, c. 1647–1650) while he was in Utrecht. The *Mother and Child with a Cat* is especially interesting for it predates similar paintings by Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681), such as *The Reading Lesson* (Figure 3-7, c. 1652) or *Mother Combing Her Child's*

---

<sup>140</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 23–24; Adriaan E. Waiboer, "Woman Selling Game from a Stall," in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., New York, 2018, <https://www.theleidencollection.com/artwork/a-woman-selling-game-from-a-stall/>.

<sup>141</sup> Weenix, another pupil of Abraham Bloemaert, first learned painting in Amsterdam from his brother-in-law Jan Micker (1598/99–1664), before his sojourn in Rome from 1643 to 1646. Weenix returned to Amsterdam by 1647, but moved to Utrecht two years later.

Hedquist, Gifford, and Waiboer discussed the stylistic similarities found in Weenix's and Metsu's paintings, but the possibility that Metsu's exposure to Weenix in the early 1650s might have resulted in Metsu's specialization in genre scenes later in Amsterdam has never explicitly been ventured. Professor Wheelock recently suggested this idea during a meeting. See Valerie Hedquist, "Dutch Genre Painting as Religious Art: Gabriel Metsu's Roman Catholic Imagery," *Art History* 31, no. 2 (2008), 159; E. Melanie Gifford, "Fine Painting and Eloquent Imprecision: Gabriel Metsu's Painting Technique," in *Gabriel Metsu*, 159–161; Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 21–24.

*Hair* (Figure 3-8, c. 1652–1653). Traditionally, Ter Borch's paintings have been considered as the earliest examples of a new type of genre paintings featuring close interactions between family members in domestic settings. Although Weenix's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* is still technically a history painting, as it depicts the Holy Family's flight into Egypt, Weenix's mother interacting with a dog seems to be a precursor to a motif found in many genre scenes starting in the early 1650s.

Weenix's characteristically fluid brushwork and rather stocky figures featuring in both these paintings are particularly evident in Metsu's paintings from the early 1650s, such as *The Dismissal of Hagar* or *A Woman Selling Poultry and Game* (A-11, 1653–1654).<sup>142</sup> These works, as well as *Christ and the woman Taken in Adultery* (A-7, 1653), were probably all executed in Leiden before Metsu moved to Amsterdam.<sup>143</sup> Nevertheless, *A Woman Selling Poultry and Game* is similar to the outdoor vendor scenes that Metsu painted during his Early Amsterdam Period (1654–1657), although larger in scale. While two young women are engaging in the transaction, various animals, dead and alive, strewn around the foreground seize the viewer's attention.

Regardless of whether Metsu started painting genre scenes before or after his move to Amsterdam, his *An Old Woman at Her Meal* (A-20), was probably intended for

---

<sup>142</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 23.

<sup>143</sup> As both *Dismissal of Hagar* (A-10) and *A Woman Selling Poultry and Game* (A-11) were painted around 1653 and 1654, Metsu could have executed them in either Leiden or Amsterdam. Waiboer certainly put these paintings in Metsu's Leiden & Utrecht period. Since the unmistakably fluid brushwork is most prominent in these paintings than his later works, I concur with Waiboer that these were probably painted before Metsu left for Amsterdam. It seems reasonable that Metsu painted these paintings right after he returned to Leiden, when Weenix's influence would have been the strongest. Furthermore, the unusually large size of *A Woman Selling Poultry and Game* (159 x 125 cm) for a genre painting makes it more probable that this painting was executed in Leiden where Metsu already had a previously established network of possible patrons who could have commissioned the painting. *Ibid.*, 23–24.

the open market. In this painting, Metsu not only borrowed one of Dou's favorite subjects, an old woman in a domestic setting, but also adopted his composition, subdued palettes, and restrained brushwork from the Leiden master's paintings, such as *An Old Woman at Prayer before Her Meal* (Figure 3-9, c. 1654–1657). By portraying the old woman off center in three-quarters view, Dou and Metsu created believable spaces in their works. Slightly bending over the table, both women create a triangular form, which anchors them solidly in their space. The arched frame in Dou's painting and a diagonal timber in Metsu's painting reinforce these triangular compositions.

The artistic differences in these works, however, are unmistakable. In Dou's painting, strong light coming through the window centers around the solitary woman and the household items scattered around her on the floor. Throughout the painting, one observes Dou's masterly skills at differentiating the textures of various materials, from the white linen cloth to the wooden spinning wheel and the shiny surface of the earthenware. Unlike the varying textures emphasized in Dou's painting, Metsu intensely focused on the old woman. The room is sparsely furnished and quite somber, without strong daylight streaming through an open window. A few essentials, like a wicker basket, a broom, clay pots surround the old woman, but they are mostly in shadows and do not invade the sitter's space. The clear and crisp air in Metsu's painting and the starched white linen cloth that brightens the woman's face directs the viewer to look her first and foremost. She sits calmly in front of a small table, on which a loaf of bread, ham, and cheese constitute her simple fare. While nothing fancy, a slight

smile on her lips implies she is content with what she has. Even her cat heartily gnaws a little meat on its bone.

The gently permeating light in Metsu's *An Old Woman at Her Meal* creates a pool of light around the glass of wine near her feet. At first glance, Metsu seems to have used this pool of light to show off his skills at rendering light reflecting from the glass' surface, and how the light projected a colored shadow after penetrating the liquid. After all, this is how Dou used light in many of his paintings. However, the light specifically centered around the cup, adds another layer of meaning to the painting. Inconspicuous though it may seem, the wine, which is absent from Dou's painting, and the loaf of bread indicate the Eucharistic character of the meal. The old woman's quiet demeanor creates a sense of reverential air to the scene. Also, the rather large size (81.9 x 69.2 cm) of this humble-looking interior signals the importance of the scene.<sup>144</sup> Since transubstantiation was one of the main contentions between the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church in the seventeenth century, presenting bread and wine that symbolizes the Eucharist would not have gone unnoticed by trained eyes.

Would this *An Old Woman at Her Meal* have been aimed for Catholic patrons? Metsu seems to intentionally include this combination of bread and wine in this painting. This approach differs from that of Dou when he painted scenes of hermits at prayer. Dou painted at least eleven images of hermit throughout his career.<sup>145</sup> When Dou painted

---

<sup>144</sup> For a comparison, the size of Dou's *An Old Woman at Prayer before Her Meal* is 27.7 x 28.3 cm.

<sup>145</sup> Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Gerrit Dou's *The Hermit*, 1670," *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, NGA Online Catalogue, <http://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/46032>. Original citation for this information is from Wilhelm Martin, *Gerard Dou: Des Meisters Gemälde in 274 Abbildungen*, *Klassiker der Kunst in Gesamtausgaben*, vol. 24 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1913), 5–11, repro.

these hermits, he strenuously avoided providing attributes to identify them (Figure 3-10) as Catholic saints contemplating the meaning of death and the resurrection of Christ. Dou's decision to exclude saintly attributes to these images of hermits was probably due to the strong Protestant sentiment in Leiden. By removing possible associations with Catholicism in his paintings, Dou would have been able to appeal to a broader populace.

Metsu's decision to include Eucharistic associations in *Old Woman at Her Meal* would have appealed to the large Catholic population he encountered in Amsterdam. According to the Catholic authorities' own estimation, the number of Catholics in Amsterdam was about 30,000 in 1656, which was almost 20 percent of the population.<sup>146</sup> Although Amsterdam still prohibited observing Catholic mass in public, and one had to be of Reformed faith to hold public office, the city had many congregants and hidden Catholic churches.<sup>147</sup> The liberal and open-minded attitudes of the general population and officials in Amsterdam also provided a preferable environment for Catholics, unlike Leiden where the persecutions from officials were still rampant. In other inland provinces, Catholics were completely excluded from citizenship.<sup>148</sup> Being a Catholic himself, Metsu

---

<sup>146</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 640; Judith Pollmann, "Public Enemies, Private Friends: Arnoldus Buchelius' Experience of Religious Diversity in the Early Dutch Republic," in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 181. According to Pollmann, "Two contemporary estimates, both probably overoptimistic, suggested that one in five Amsterdammers was a member of the [Reformed] church in 1611, and one in four in 1684."

<sup>147</sup> Ronni Baer, "Introduction," in *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2015), 19.

<sup>148</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 638; Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, 211.



probably tapped into the Amsterdam Catholic community for patronage during his first years in the city.

It is reasonable to assume Metsu painted this work for the open market since it had certain pictorial charms, regardless of the Catholic overtones. Also, the subtle religious message of the painting would have been specifically appealed to Catholic buyers. In *An Old Woman at Her Meal*, Metsu clearly used Dou's style as a solid platform, but departed from it. Consequently, if a prospective buyer were looking for a Dou-like painting, but somewhat more affordable, this work could have done the trick. If another prospective buyer were looking for something similar to Dou but also interested in variations that Metsu could offer, Metsu might have found a potential repeat customer there. By creating something similar to the ones in high demand, i.e., Dou's genre paintings, but also adding something of his own, Metsu tested to see how this market would respond. Would the Amsterdam market only be interested in an exact likeness of Dou's style or would it be willing to acquire paintings similar to Dou's, but with something new and different at the same time?

If *An Old Woman at Her Meal* were intended for an open market, *A Man Holding a Pipe* (A-26) might have been a commissioned work. As one of the smallest paintings in Metsu's oeuvre, the painting presents a man seated in a simple setting. While the spatial composition is rather unconvincing, the man's direct gaze engages the viewer in an emphatic way. With half of the face in shadow, Metsu's *A Man Holding a Pipe* is reminiscent of Rembrandt's *tronies* or portraits, such as *Self-Portrait with Gorget* (Figure 3-11). By obscuring half of the man's features, these artists silently compel the viewer to

complete the faces of the sitters. This subconscious impulse to complete a human face opens up a possibility that the viewer would interact with these paintings.

Interestingly, Metsu deviated from his usual support of panel or canvas and painted *A Man Holding a Pipe* on a copper plate. The copper plate was favored by painters who executed their works with meticulous brushwork. This support had been popular among many Italian and Flemish painters since the early sixteenth century, but it was not until the 1560s and 1570s that the copper support became truly popular.<sup>149</sup> Its smooth and non-absorbent surface enabled artists to create precise and highly detailed paintings with subtle nuances of light and shade. The jewel-like finish of these small paintings on copper helped them become precious collector's items, and they soon found their places in many *kunstkamers*. This precious and exquisite nature of paintings on copper is probably the reason so many devotional paintings were painted on this support during the Counter-Reformation.<sup>150</sup>

By 1600, all manner of paintings were painted on this support. In the Southern Netherlands, Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), Frans Snyders (1579–1657), Frans Francken II (1581–1642), and Jan van Kessel I (1626–1679) preferred this support for their flower and animal paintings, while Peeter Neeffs the Elder (c. 1578–1645/1661) and Hendrik van Balen (1575–1632) painted their

---

<sup>149</sup> Edgar Peters Bowron, "A Brief History of European Oil Paintings on Copper, 1560–1775," in *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575–1775*, exh. cat. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 9–30.

<sup>150</sup> Annibale (1550–1609) and Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619), Domenichino (1581–1641), and Guido Reni (1575–1642) all produced devotional paintings on copper in Bologna and Rome. See Bowron, "A Brief History," 14.

church interiors on copper. Remarkably, over a quarter of the existing oeuvre by David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) is on copper.<sup>151</sup> Copper plates provided the perfect supports for the luminous colors and delicate renderings for which all of these artists were famous.

Although Dutch masters were less enthusiastic than their counterparts in the South in their use of copper, there still was a tradition of painting on a copper support in the North as well. Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638) produced many paintings on copper around 1600, and Roelant Savery (1576–1639) and Ambrosius Bosschaert (1573–1621) used copper plates for their flower paintings during the early years of the seventeenth century. Rembrandt painted on copper a few times during his Leiden years but ceased to use this support after moving to Amsterdam in 1631.<sup>152</sup> For *The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Munster* (Figure 3-12) of 1648, Gerard ter Borch used the copper support to utilize a smooth surface for capturing details. The durability of the material lent another advantage to copper plates for documenting the historic events. Ter Borch also painted portraits on this support in the 1650s and 1660s. These portraits are usually small in scale, but the figures are delicately rendered with a plain background, which compels a viewer to focus on the sitter. Amazingly enough, however, Dou showed less interest in this support than one would have imagined. While the copper would have been the perfect support for his highly detailed and meticulous brushwork, *The Physician*

---

<sup>151</sup> David Teniers the Younger, *Kitchen Interior*, 1644, Mauritshuis, The Hague; *Temptation of St. Anthony*, c. 1650, Private Collection, Boston; *Archduke Leopold Willem in His Painting Gallery in Brussels*, c. 1651–1652, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

<sup>152</sup> Rembrandt, *Laughing Man*, c. 1628, The J. Paul Getty Museum; *Old Woman Praying* (also known as *Artist's Mother*), c. 1629–30, Residenzgalerie, Salzburg; *Self-Portrait*, 1630, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

(Figure 3-13) of 1653 is the only known painting by Dou on copper.<sup>153</sup> Frans van Mieris painted about a dozen paintings on copper, including *Doctor's Visit* (Figure 3-14) and *Allegory of Painting* (or *Pictura*, Figure 3-15). However, since his earliest painting on copper comes from the same period as Metsu's, if not later, Van Mieris' paintings could not have been the inspiration for Metsu's use of copper.<sup>154</sup>

Regardless of what inspired Metsu to paint on copper, this smooth metal surface was ideal for him to emulate the meticulous brushwork of the Leiden *fijnschilders*. Would this painting have been a commissioned work? Metsu had never painted on copper before, but he would have welcomed the challenge if a patron requested a genre painting in the manner of the labor-intensive Leiden's *fijnschilders*. The young artist's willingness to explore various stylistic and technical possibilities aside, unless Metsu expected someone would definitely acquire this work when finished, he probably would not have put long hours that would have been required to execute this exquisite painting.

---

<sup>153</sup> Gerrit Dou, *The Physician*, 1653, Christchurch Art Gallery, New Zealand. The same composition on a panel, also dated 1653, is in Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. *Biblical or Historical Nocturnal Scene* (Figure 3-16, 1628) and *A Man Writing by Candlelight* (Figure 3-17, c. 1630), both on copper plates, are tentatively attributed to Dou in Rembrandt Research Project, "C10: A Biblical or Historical Nocturnal Scene," in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 1, 1625–1631 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 508–511; Rembrandt Research Project, "C18: *Man Writing by Candlelight*," in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 1, 1625–1631 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 554–558.

<sup>154</sup> Diane Wolfthal, "Entry on Frans van Mieris I's *Allegory of Painting* (*Pittura*, 1661) and *Doctor's Visit* (1657)," in *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575–1775*, exh. cat. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 237; Quentin Buvelot, "Entry on Frans van Mieris' *An Old Soldier with a Pipe*," in *Frans van Mieris, 1635–1681*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 100.

Datings for Frans van Mieris' paintings are: *Doctor's Visit*, 1657, Glasgow Museums, Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove; Frans van Mieris, *Allegory of Painting* (or *Pictura*), 1661, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

*A Woman at Her Toilet* (A-28) also seems to have been painted for a specific patron. In this painting, Metsu applied a layer of silver leaf on the panel where the curtain would be painted.<sup>155</sup> When oil paint was applied on top of this silver leaf, this costly additional process produced a shimmering effect of light shining through the curtain.<sup>156</sup> Depending on the thickness and transparency of the oil paint and glaze, underlying silver and gold leafs can enhance the sense of depth and give greater radiance to colors. Imagine sunlight or candlelight catching the metallic surface of silver or gold leaf under the thin layer of paint and being reflected by it! Metsu seems to have liked this technique, since he repeated the process with a gold leaf a few years later in his *Musical Party* (A-70, 1659) again, underneath the green curtain on the left.<sup>157</sup>

The cost of extra silver or gold leaf certainly increases the possibility that both these paintings were intended for a specific patron. Unlike the copper plates that were used by many contemporary artists as painting supports, the use of silver or gold leaf occurs only sporadically in the mid-seventeenth century. Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665) did regularly use gold leaf when depicting decorative letters on organs, chandeliers, and tapestries.<sup>158</sup> Although Rembrandt used gold leaf a few times when he was a young

---

<sup>155</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 42.

<sup>156</sup> On the use of gold leaf in the Dutch 17th century paintings, see Geraldine van Heemstra, “Space, Light, and Stillness: A Description of Saenredam’s Painting Technique,” in *Pieter Saenredam, the Utrecht Work: Paintings and Drawings by the 17th-Century Master of Perspective*, exh. cat. (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2000), 82–89.

<sup>157</sup> Walter Liedtke, “Entry on Gabriel Metsu’s *A Musical Party*,” in *Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 1 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 456.

<sup>158</sup> Jørgen Wadum, “Vermeer in Perspective,” in *Johannes Vermeer*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1995), 77.

master in Leiden, its use is mostly found in religious icons.<sup>159</sup> Although two paintings on copper, *A Biblical or Historical Nocturnal Scene* (Figure 3-16) in Tokyo and *Man Writing by Candlelight* (Figure 3-17) in Milwaukee, are tentatively attributed to Dou, it is not certain that Dou ever used gold or silver leaf for his paintings.<sup>160</sup> Among Metsu's contemporaries, Van Mieris and Vermeer experimented with gold leaf, but Vermeer's play with gold leaf has only been found in the studs on a chair in *A Maid Asleep* (Figure 3-18, 1656–1657).<sup>161</sup> Van Mieris seems to have used gold leaf throughout his career, as can be seen in *Doctor's Visit* in Vienna (c. 1655–1657), *Allegory of Painting* (1661), and *Portrait of Florentius Schuyl* (Figure 3-19, 1666).<sup>162</sup> Akin to Rembrandt, Van Mieris applied gold leaf on his copper plates. As a son of a goldsmith, Van Mieris probably felt comfortable with using gold leaf for his paintings, as Metsu would have been since he was likely a young apprentice to Anthonie de Grebber who probably shared his workspace with his silversmith father. Since Metsu, Van Mieris, and Vermeer's initial attempts to use silver or gold leaf in their paintings all occurred around 1656 to 1658, this may have been a shared experiment with

---

<sup>159</sup> Rembrandt's *Laughing Man* (Mauritshuis, The Hague), *Old Woman Praying* (also known as *The Artist's Mother*) (Residenzgalerie, Salzburg), and *Self-Portrait* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) are all painted on the same size of copper plates covered with gold leafs. See A. B. de Vries, Magdi Tóth-Ubbens, and W. Froentjes, "Entry on Rembrandt's *Study of a Man Laughing*," in *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis: An Interdisciplinary Study* (The Hague: Royal Pictures Gallery Mauritshuis, 1978), 48–55.

<sup>160</sup> Rembrandt Research Project, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, vol. 1, 1625–1631 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 508–511, 554–558.

<sup>161</sup> "Gold leaf, obtainable in small booklets, was only once applied by Vermeer, to the studs of the chair in *A Woman Asleep*" from Jørgen Wadum, "Vermeer in Perspective," in *Johannes Vermeer*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1995), 77.

<sup>162</sup> Quentin Buvelot, "Entry on Frans van Mieris' *The Doctor's Visit*," in *Frans van Mieris, 1635–1681*, ext. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 110.

unusual element among these young fellow painters. Thus, Metsu and Van Mieris' familiarity with silver and gold seemingly stems from their childhood experience, proximity to the silversmith and goldsmith workshops.

Another argument that Metsu's *A Woman at Her Toilet* was probably a commissioned piece is that, however much Metsu enjoyed the effect from the silver leaf, it is unlikely that he would have incurred this extra cost without a guarantee of a sale. The exquisite rendering of the shimmering light through the curtain, the embossed silver plate, luxuriously patterned cushion, and the sleek surface of the well-varnished viola da gamba resembles effects in Dou's paintings. It could have been the patron who suggested the use of a silver leaf to achieve a more Dou-like effect. At this patron's behest, Metsu seems to have put extra effort to add textural details such as Dou would have done. Although no information on the original owner of this painting is available, it is noteworthy that Metsu began to attract prospective clientele who believed this young artist could provide Dou-like genre paintings at a fraction of Dou's prices.

The wide range of subjects and styles Metsu explored before his move to Amsterdam further expanded during his first few years in Amsterdam. While Metsu started by emulating Dou's subjects and styles, his early repertoire also includes market vendors and young kitchen maids as well as self-portraits and still life paintings. *Still Life with a Dead Cockerel* (A-58, 1655–1658) demonstrates Metsu's talent at rendering various objects. This simple, but powerful *trompe l'oeil* of a dead cockerel beautifully captures the different textures of the soft and fluffy feathers, the scratchy twine, along with the rusted nail heads on the top. While Metsu preferred to include still-life motifs in

his genre paintings, *Still Life with a Dead Cockerel* shows that Metsu was able to execute a believable *trompe l'oeil* still life. Why he painted this work is unknown, but it might have been a simple showpiece that Metsu hung on his studio for a potential buyer's benefit.<sup>163</sup> His broad exploration of subjects, genres, techniques, and pictorial idioms defines Metsu's art during the early years (1654–1657) in Amsterdam.

Another avenue Metsu explored during his first years in Amsterdam was subjects popular among Flemish painters, particularly, David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) and Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678). Metsu's adaptations of *Twelfth Night* (A-16) of 1653–1655 and *As the Old Sang, So the Young Pipe* (A-24) of 1654–1657 show he was keen on expanding his repertoire.<sup>164</sup> Both themes usually have a group of people surrounding a table and sharing merry moments together. They are drinking, dancing, and making music; in general, they are having fun. Not surprisingly, these occasions often call for boisterous and mischievous

---

<sup>163</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, Doc. 70, 334. The document 70 is a notarized witness statement that Metsu's two neighbors made at the request of the artist. It says Metsu was missing some of his hens from his coop and when he complained about it to these neighbors they informed him that his missing hen was at another neighbor's coop. The dead cockerel in the *Still Life with a Dead Cockerel* may well have come from his own coop, when prospective patrons teased him about his abilities to execute still life paintings.

<sup>164</sup> It is not certain whether Metsu's *Twelfth Night* was painted in Leiden or Amsterdam. It does have some similarities with *The Dismissal of Hagar* (A-10), as the young woman on the right and the stupefied child next to "the king" look similar to Hagar and Ishmael in *The Dismissal of Hagar*. However, the fluid brushwork so prominent in *The Dismissal of Hagar* is more subdued in *Twelfth Night*. Also, the additional anecdotal scenes of cooking on the hearth, bringing more food from the back, with a child begging, and another person coming down the stairs on the right, surrounding the main table full of people seem reminiscent of tavern scenes of David Teniers, such as *The Peasants Celebrating the Twelfth Night* (Figure 3-21), where one can almost always find a secondary or tertiary scene on the side. Since Teniers' paintings would have been more easily accessible in Amsterdam than in Leiden, it seems reasonable to assume that Metsu's *Twelfth Night* was probably painted in Amsterdam.



behavior. These are perfect themes to depict varying degrees of facial expressions and body language that usually accompany these festivities.

The Twelfth Night is a traditional Catholic festival that celebrates the revelation of the Christ to the Three Magi. While the celebration was started as early as the end of the fourth century and mostly celebrated through the liturgical feast during the Middle Ages, the public celebration of the Twelfth Night was officially banned in the northern provinces in the late sixteenth century.<sup>165</sup> The growing admonition of Calvinist preachers against this Catholic feast around 1650 brought the most celebrations indoors. Since it was one of the most important family gatherings in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, the depictions of this feast usually feature multiple generations relishing the celebration by drinking and cheering, with the king identified by his paper crown.

In Teniers' *The Peasants Celebrating Twelfth Night* (Figure 3-20) of 1635, the jester openly points to this year's king while calling out "the king drinks!" Others seated around the table chime in as they also call out "the king drinks!"; even the man who relieves himself at the corner of the tavern joins in. While the young woman and the man next to her seem delighted by the jester's open manner, the older woman is intent on watching the "king" finishes his drink. Facial expressions of these people animate the scene. The owl on the perch signals the follies of this "role-playing" festivity, yet, no one seems to mind having a little fun. In the Dutch Republic, Jan Miense Molenaer (1610–1668) and Jan Steen (1626–1679) painted this subject multiple times, but they did not

---

<sup>165</sup> For more discussions on the celebration of the Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art, see Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22, no. 1/2 (1993–1994).

paint it until the 1660s.<sup>166</sup> Thus, Metsu was one of the earliest painters in the North to introduce this Catholic subject to the Protestant Dutch art market.<sup>167</sup>

*Zo de ouden zongen, zo pipen de jongen* was one of the popular old Netherlandish proverbs well-known in the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch Republic alike.<sup>168</sup> This proverb cautions adults about their behavior because young children imitate them without discrimination. Although Jordaens' paintings on this subject tend to depict boisterous adults partying hard with pipe and alcohol, Metsu's painting lacks any comparable unruly behavior.<sup>169</sup> A family of three is harmoniously making music in a rather sparsely furnished room. As the father plays the violin and the mother sings, the young one is playing with the pipe.

---

<sup>166</sup> Steen painted *Twelfth Night* at least in eight different versions. See Donna R. Barnes, "Entry on Jan Steen's *Twelfth Night*," in *Matters of Taste: Food and Drink in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Life* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 130.

Molenaer's *Twelfth Night* is from 1660–1665. Steen's are from 1661 (Royal Collection), 1662 (Boston Museum of Fine Arts), 1665 (Buckingham Palace, UK), 1668 (Kassel), 1670–1671 (Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estate), 1670s (Houston Museum of Fine Arts). Some of Steen's *As the Old Sang, So the Young Pipe* are from 1663–1665 (Mauritshuis), 1668 (Rijksmuseum), 1668–1670 (Mauritshuis) and 1670–1675 (Philadelphia Museum of Art).

<sup>167</sup> The earliest examples of *Twelfth Night* in the North includes Jan van Bronckhorst (1603–c. 1662)'s painting dated 1650. See Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night," 84.

<sup>168</sup> At least eight different versions of *As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe* by or after Jordaens, from 1638 to 1658, and another three variations of these works exist. *Zo de ouden zongen, zo pipen de jongen*, was one of the popular proverbs published in 1632 in the emblem book of Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Oden ende Nieuwen Tijd*. See "Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), *As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young*, "The Arenberg Painting," in Gallerie Heim's website: accessible at: [http://www.galerieheim.ch/img/JORDAENS\\_Arenberg\\_PART1.pdf](http://www.galerieheim.ch/img/JORDAENS_Arenberg_PART1.pdf).

<sup>169</sup> The *As the Old Sang, So the Young Pipe* in the Antwerp Museum of 1638 by Jordaens is considered to be the prototype of subsequent paintings in this subject matter. The Valenciennes paintings came in about two years after the Antwerp one, followed by ones in Berlin, Ottawa, and private collections. *As the Old Sing, the Young Pipe* (Figure 3-21), in Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, shows how the grandparents were singing and keeping the time, and the father plays the bagpipes, while the younger ones are trying to mimic their father by playing the pipes. See <http://valenciennesmusee.valenciennes.fr/fr/collections/chefs-doeuvre/les-jeunes-piaillent-comme-chantent-les-vieux.html>.

While it seems a contrasting approach to the old proverb, when one considers the main point of the proverb is to emphasize the importance of nurturing, Metsu's interpretation also conforms to the proverb. The way this child holds the pipe implies that she is not actually playing music, but is mimicking the music-making.

This rather genteel celebration in Metsu's painting almost resembles in its restraint Adriaen van Ostade's *Saying Grace* (Figure 3-22) from 1653. In *Saying Grace*, a father, a mother, and two young children peacefully surround a small table saying grace before their humble meal. A single bowl of soup with a spoon is all there is to it. Rather than being greedy and trying to monopolize on the simple fare, however, everyone is reverently saying grace over the shared dish. The warm and affectionate air in this serene painting is unmistakable. Metsu also portrayed other scenes, such as *As the Old Sang, So the Young Pipe* and *An Old Couple Feeding a Dog* (A-25, 1654–1657), with a similar tenderness.

Poor folks with uncharacteristically civilized manners started appearing in Van Ostade's works in the late 1640s, coinciding with recent political and social changes occurring in the Dutch Republic, especially in Holland. Earlier in the seventeenth century, Haarlem genre painters, such as Adriaen Brouwer (1605–1638) (Figure 3-23), who was active there until the early 1630s, and Van Ostade, portrayed peasants as brutish and rowdy people with coarse manners. Adhering to the pictorial tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525–1569), these earlier depictions of unruly peasants are satirical or didactic in nature. The increasing popularity of the concept of civility in the mid-seventeenth century, however, clearly transformed Van Ostade's paintings by the late 1640s.

Although the concept of civility had a long history, it received special attention in the Netherlands in 1530 when Erasmus (1466–1536) wrote a short treatise titled *De civilitate morum puerilium* (*On Civility in Children*).<sup>170</sup> He wrote this treatise for, and dedicated it to, a prince's son, Henry (1519–1532). In it, Erasmus argued that outward behavior reflects the inner self and described how one should behave to be perceived as civilized.<sup>171</sup> The treatise discusses gestures, dress, facial expressions, table manners, and proper manners at holy places, banquets, meetings, and even bed chambers.<sup>172</sup> The book enjoyed enormous success and was reprinted more than thirty times in the first six years of its publication. It was soon translated into English, German, Czech, and French, and was published in catechism form as to be used as a school book.<sup>173</sup>

It is unclear what exactly prompted the widespread concept of civility in the mid-seventeenth century Dutch Republic. As notions of domesticity and privacy were being developed during this period, the Dutch became increasingly interested in defining what kinds of behavior were socially acceptable in private

---

<sup>170</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, vol. 1 (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), 53–54. Elias' book was originally published as *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* in 1939 by Haus zum Falken, Basel. Elias acknowledges that the concept of civility has a long history. The people of the Middle Ages, and even of Greco-Roman antiquity, were also concerned about what considered to be socially acceptable behaviors. However, it was Erasmus' *De civilitate morum puerilium* that sparked the dialogues on this concept, and this became widespread in the mid-seventeenth century among the much broader population. For comparison, Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, which had set a standard for courtiers/gentlemen, was first published in 1528, two years before the Erasmus' treatise. For medieval and Renaissance concept of manners, see Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 60–84.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 55. Henry was a son of Adolf of Burgundy (1489–1540) and brother of Maximilian II of Burgundy (1514–1558). Maximilian II became a stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, and later succeeded by Willem the Silent. Erasmus often visited the court of Adolf and wrote instructional letters to Adolf's children.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 55–58.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 54. Even in the eighteenth century, thirteen editions were printed of this treatise.

and public life.<sup>174</sup> Civilized manners were subsequently used as “a means for artificially creating class distinctive behaviors at a time when the traditional borders and boundaries between classes were heavily threatened by social mobility.”<sup>175</sup> By acquiring paintings depicting people with a civilized demeanor, owners would have been able to demonstrate their good taste and refinement.<sup>176</sup>

After mid-century, increasing degrees of self-control and self-restraint were regarded as being civilized, and the opposite, being boorish or coarse, was scorned upon.<sup>177</sup> This attitude towards social norms and etiquette was also reflected in various genre paintings after 1650 where even the poorest peasants were depicted as being well-behaved and having civilized manners. The civilized and calm family scenes in humble settings, thus, demonstrate that Metsu was able to reflect the current political and social attitude of the time in his art.

Metsu often borrowed other artists’ subjects and ideas, but he also came up with unique subjects. *Doddus and the Covetous Woman* (A-12, 1653–1654), for example, has

---

<sup>174</sup> This phenomenon can be detected from various genre paintings of the time. The increasing number of paintings of domestic life and, especially, of ladies in toilet, i.e. in their private sphere, also reflect the rising interest in the notions of private and public. Wayne Franits, “Domesticity, Privacy, Civility, and the Transformation of Adriaen van Ostade’s Art,” in *Images of Women in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Domesticity and the Representation of the Peasant*, exh. cat. (Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 1996), 13.

<sup>175</sup> Nanette Salomon, “Domesticating the Peasant Father: The Confluent Ideologies of Gender, Class, and Age in the Prints of Adriaen van Ostade,” in *Images of Women in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Domesticity and the Representation of the Peasant*, exh. cat. (Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 1996), 55.

<sup>176</sup> Franits argues that, as the seventeenth century progressed, not only the paintings depicting people with a civilized demeanor but also the paintings executed in refined styles became increasingly associated with refined sensibilities or civility. In this climate, it is not surprising that Rembrandt’s rough manner of paintings after mid-1650s lost favors from public. See Franits, “Domesticity, Privacy, Civility, and the Transformation,” 16.

<sup>177</sup> This kind of attitudes was not only wide-spread among the riches, but also adopted by middle class who aspired to raise their standings.

no pictorial precedent. Indeed, we still do not fully grasp the real meaning of this painting. According to Sutton, the scene depicted here is an episode from a satirical poem by Adriaen van de Venne (1589–1662), *Sinne-Vonck op den Hollandtschen Turf* from 1634.<sup>178</sup> The specific episode portrayed in Metsu's painting is from the second part of the book, *Hollandsche Sinne-Droom op het nieuw Wys-Mal* where Van de Venne tells about the dream of a pipe-smoking Sicilian blacksmith Doddus and his assistant Julfus.<sup>179</sup> Marc van Vaeck relates that Doddus received a magical iron chair from which no one could escape without his permission in exchange for his hospitality to certain hermits. With this chair, Doddus freely eluded his creditors and even Death itself.<sup>180</sup> The woman depicted in this painting previously sold some food to Doddus with a promise to be paid on a later date. When she came by to collect her payment, however, Doddus accused her of being *Begeer-wijf* (Covetous Woman) and trapped her in the magic chair.

In Metsu's painting, the woman is strapped to the chair and is being forced to sign a paper that relieves Doddus from paying the bill, while his assistant sneers at the scene. Although there is no mention of signing a paper by the woman in Van de Venne's poem, Doddus' other victims do sign papers to relieve him of

---

<sup>178</sup> Peter Sutton, "Toward an Account of the Dutch Genre Paintings in Stockholm," in *Rembrandt och hans tid. Människan i Centrum* (Rembrandt and His Age. Focus on Man), exh. cat. (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1992), 77–78.

<sup>179</sup> Marc van Vaeck, "Leven en werk van de schilder-dichter Adriaen van de Venne (1589–1662)," in *Tafereel van de belacchende werelt* (Gent: Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1994), 30.

<sup>180</sup> Unlike the accounts from Sutton and Waiboer, Doddus does not seem to make this chair, but received it as a gift. See Marc van Vaeck, "Leven en werk van de schilder-dichter Adriaen van de Venne (1589–1662)," in *Adriaen van de Venne's Tafereel van de belacchende werelt* (Gent : Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1994), vol. 1, 29–30; Peter Sutton, "Toward an Account of the Dutch Genre Paintings in Stockholm," in *Rembrandt och hans tid. Människan i Centrum* (Rembrandt and His Age. Focus on Man), exh. cat. (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1992), 77; Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 24.

his dues. Metsu seems to have exercised poetic license here and shows Doddus demanding the trapped woman to sign a paper that would excuse him from paying her. Thus, the true villain in this poem is Doddus who is abusing the power of the magic chair, not the “Covetous Woman.”<sup>181</sup> The title of this painting *Doddus and the Covetous Woman*, therefore, should be read as ironic. It is not clear what Metsu tried to convey in this painting, but he seemed to know about Van de Venne’s own engraving of another episode in the same poem, *Doddus Holding Death Captured in His Magical Chair* (Figure 3-24, 1634), and derived his composition from it. Even the sneering Julfus behind Doddus matches the earlier print. Still, the subject of *Doddus and the Covetous Wife* is unique, and one might suspect that it was a commissioned work for an unknown patron.

Lastly, a comparison of two very different self-portraits demonstrates how Metsu’s self-image and his approaches to the Amsterdam art market changed during his first years in the city. Executed shortly after arriving in Amsterdam, *A Hunter Getting Dressed after Bathing* (A-18, 1654–1656), shows the young artist’s bravado.<sup>182</sup> Although there was a long tradition of artists portraying himself or herself, a nude self-portrait had

---

<sup>181</sup> Linda Stone-Ferrier, “Metsu’s “Justice Protecting Widows and Orphans,” in *The Public and Private in the Dutch Culture of the Golden Age* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 227–265, especially, note 109 on 262–263.

<sup>182</sup> Waiboer’s estimated datings for *Doddus and the Covetous Woman* (A-12), *Twelfth Night* (A-16), and *A Hunter Getting Dressed after Bathing (Self-Portrait)*, A-18) are 1653–1654, 1653–1655, and 1654–1656 respectively and his Catalogue Raisonné put these three paintings to the period *before* Metsu moved to Amsterdam. However, when one agrees with Metsu’s departure for Amsterdam happened in early 1654, as the current scholarship does, these three paintings could very well have been painted *after* Metsu moved to Amsterdam. Based on the rationale that Metsu would have to have tried various themes, painting styles, and techniques before finding what genres and styles would be a perfect way to establish himself in a new market, and different genres and themes could have attracted diverse groups of people in the metropolitan city of Amsterdam, it seems reasonable to consider that these three paintings were painted in Amsterdam while Metsu was exploring the new market.

no precedent. Most artists, instead, portrayed themselves as esteemed members of the society. Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* (Figure 3-25) from 1640 is a perfect example. The Dutch painters who were aware of Horace's phrase *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting, so is poetry) generally tried to place the art of painting on equal standing with the art of poetry (i.e., grammar), one of the seven liberal arts.<sup>183</sup> In this painting, Rembrandt based his image on Raphael's *Baldassare Castiglione* (Figure 3-26). Clothed in the "antique" attire that belongs to the previous century, Rembrandt imbued himself with virtuous respectability. His calm gaze, looking out at the viewer in a relaxed pose, exudes the *sprezzatura* that Castiglione pointed out as one of defining characteristics of a successful courtier in his book *Il Cortegiano* (The Book of Courtier).

Metsu's *A Hunter Getting Dressed after Bathing*, breaks every pictorial convention Rembrandt had strenuously followed. A male nude without any mythological or allegorical context was rare enough. Here, Metsu even looks out and smiles directly at the viewer with a gaze that is not confrontational, but rather amiable. As a newly arrived artist in Amsterdam, Metsu must have felt that it was paramount to make a strong impression. It is enticing to think that Metsu probably kept this rather large painting (52 x 63 cm) in his studio to showcase his skills; at the same time, he tried to shock and engage his viewers. Seated nude in an idyllic landscape with a Dutch windmill at the right, Metsu demonstrated his skills at

---

<sup>183</sup> This is a famous phrase from the Roman poet Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Poetry/Grammar is regarded as one of the seven liberal arts from the classical antiquity. Others include: logic, rhetoric, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, and music. Education in these seven liberal arts was considered essential for a person to be a competent member of a civic society, i.e. *liberalis* (a free person).



portraying the human body and rendering the likeness of himself as well as his talent at executing landscapes and still lifes.

Furthermore, Metsu's open smile in this painting shows one of the characteristics of his paintings, a sense of humor.<sup>184</sup> Metsu's sense of humor is quite different from that of Jan Steen whose paintings are often referred to as being comic or farcical, and sometimes somewhat self-deprecating.<sup>185</sup> Generally, the humor found in Metsu's paintings is more subdued than that in Steen's paintings. The exaggerated comic facial expression in Steen's paintings, such as in *Rhetoricians at a Window* (Figure 3-27, c. 1658–1665), makes one wonder whether Steen drew his models from the paintings of Adriaen Brouwer (1605/1606–1638), including *The Smoker* (Figure 3-28). Even the smile and attitude found in Metsu's sensational *A Hunter Getting Dressed after Bathing* are more attenuated than those in Steen's and Brouwer's paintings. Nevertheless, Brouwer, Steen, and Metsu all used their sense of humor to encourage viewers to engage with their paintings, and they succeeded. It is a shame that we do not have any written accounts of how Metsu's contemporaries received this painting. However, judging from his successful career in Amsterdam, potential patrons who saw this painting must have enjoyed Metsu's imagination and humorous presentation of self.

This sensational young artist portrayed himself a few years later as a respectable and ambitious artist. In *Self-Portrait as a Painter*, 1655–1658 (A-49), it is evident that

---

<sup>184</sup> More will be discussed about the sense of humor found in Metsu's paintings in later chapters.

<sup>185</sup> About the comic nature of Jan Steen's paintings, see Mariët Westermann, "Steen's Comic Fictions," in *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 53–67; Mariët Westermann, "How Was Jan Steen Funny? Strategies and Functions of Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century," in *A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1997), 134–178.

Metsu no longer felt that he needed to shake up the market to get noticed. Now, after practicing his trade for a couple of years in Amsterdam, he presented himself in a manner more appropriate to his current standing in the society. Gazing out at the viewer, Metsu sports a fashionable red brocade jacket with a matching beret and plume. This type of self-portrait would likely have been hung to greet viewers in an artist's own studio to attest to his or her talent in creating a likeness. Thus, these self-portraits (especially stand-alone pieces, artists not posing as "witnesses" to scenes revealed or in genre painting like settings) often depicted well-dressed individuals.

In this self-portrait, Metsu not only presented himself as a respectable member of the society, dressed in fashionable garb, but he also demonstrated his knowledge of artistic traditions by including a print after Gerard Seghers (1591–1651) and a statuette by François Du Quesnoy (1597–1643) of the Virgin Mary.<sup>186</sup> The stone arch window in which he positions himself and the surrounding vine along the trellis allude the dignified station he holds in the society and the success and accomplishment he expects. By placing himself in this stone arch, a motif made popular by Dou, Metsu probably referenced to his Leiden background with pride. Without a doubt, Metsu's *Self-Portrait as a Painter* signals an end of an era and the beginning of the next chapter in his career.

---

<sup>186</sup> In the same spirit, the tradition of creating self-portrait in a respectable manner with the attributes of artists is long and examples are numerous. Isaac Claesz van Swanenburgh's *Self-Portrait at the Easel* (1568, Museum De Lakenhal), Joachim Wtewael's *Self-Portrait* (1601, Centraal Museum, Utrecht), Abraham de Vries' *Self-Portrait* (1621, Rijksmuseum), Judith Leyster's *Self-Portrait* (1630/32, NGA), Gerrit Dou's *Self-Portrait* (c. 1645, Kremer Collection), and Frans van Mieris' *Self-Portrait with 'Woman Playing the Virginal'* (1676, Galleria degli Uffizi).

## Chapter 4. Gabriel Metsu's Middle Amsterdam Years (1658–1662)

At the end of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54), the Dutch Republic conceded control over the North Sea to the English, but that did not stop the expansion of the Dutch maritime hegemony in other places. While the rate of growth of the East India Company slowed during the second half of the seventeenth century, it still grew steadily until the early 1670s. Moreover, Dutch expansion into Spanish markets and Flemish ports after the peace treaty in 1648, along with trades with the Southern Italy and the Levant, more than made up for concessions the Dutch later made to English power over the North Sea.

This expansion of Dutch maritime trades brought a more comfortable life to the people in Holland. Moreover, the war between England and Spain from 1655 to 1660, right after the First Anglo-Dutch War, gave the Dutch Republic a much-needed reprieve.<sup>187</sup> Although there were huge gaps between the wealthy patrician families in Amsterdam and small-scale merchants and farmers in inland provinces, the Dutch Republic, especially the province of Holland, offered a better quality of life, with greater access to a variety of foods and hygiene than anywhere else in Europe. No serious food shortage existed until the 1690s.<sup>188</sup> Even when the populace complained about inflation after 1648, it was nothing compared to the constant shortages of food and riots pestering the rest of Europe. Beyond food and hygiene, there were other social and cultural innovations not found elsewhere. For example, Amsterdam had public street lamps by

---

<sup>187</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 727.

<sup>188</sup> Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 150–188.

1669 that remained in place until the mid-19th century, and, in the early 1670s, fire departments were equipped with improved fire hoses.<sup>189</sup>

With more people having disposable income, the number of potential patrons of art also increased. According to Peter Mundy (1597–1667), whose travel journal from the 1640s is frequently cited, the Dutch were so keen on owning paintings that not only butchers and bakers, but even blacksmiths and cobblers, would have a couple of paintings of their own.<sup>190</sup> Mundy's observation was made when the Dutch Republic was still fighting against the Spanish Crown. After the mid-1650s, or the Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), when the economic situations had improved, the number of potential buyers of paintings increased even more.

During the late 1650s, the general taste in paintings was shifting, and purchasers sought subjects to which they could easily relate. Understanding history paintings requires a certain familiarity with the Bible or mythology. However, in this rapidly expanding market, not every potential buyer of paintings

---

<sup>189</sup> The fire hoses and public street lighting both were Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712)'s achievements. According to 't Hart, Van der Heyden's 2,500 street lamps along the streets and canals were able to be lit within 15 minutes. This street-lighting system must have provided safer public space after dusk. See Marjolein 't Hart, "The Glorious City: Monumentalism and Public Space in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 147.

<sup>190</sup> Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, vol. 4: Travels in Europe (London: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 70; Eva Johanna Holmberg, "Writing the Travelling Self: Travel and Life-Writing in Peter Mundy's (1597–1667) *Itinerarium Mundii*," *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 4 (2016): 609–613.

Peter Mundy was an English merchant who travelled extensively throughout Europe and Asia. As a young boy, he travelled with his father to France and Spain where he learned the trade and languages. Later, the business led him to Istanbul, India, Japan, China, Italy, Prussia, Holland, Norway, Denmark, and Russia. At times, he also worked for the English East India Company. While traveling and doing business, Mundy was also a diligent writer who recorded his itineraries, his observations of local trades, government, buildings, people, flora, and fauna in his travel journal *Itinerarium Mundii* for a half a century. He even traced his routes on the maps of Hondius.

was equipped with such knowledge. The increasing popularity of landscapes and genre paintings during the third quarter of the seventeenth century might have been due to the rapidly broadened base of buyers of artworks in the Dutch Republic.<sup>191</sup> Similarly, one can imagine that the rising popularity of cityscapes was also related to the pride Amsterdammers must have felt when looking at the magnificent new Town Hall or ships in its port filled with exotic Asian goods. In Delft, artists began depicting the Tomb of Willem the Silent, father of the fatherland, when it became a pilgrimage site around 1650, after the Treaty of Münster.<sup>192</sup> The 1650s and 1660s saw the revival of group portraits as well. Many civic guard companies and governors of the boards of charitable institutions wanted to have their public service recorded in these works. Paralleling their developments was the rise of genre painting depicting the elegant and affluent.

While the potential pool of art patrons became more inclusive, the characteristics of existing patrons changed as well. The artistic tastes of the younger generation of patrician families and wealthy merchant families seem to have deviated from that of their elders. Whereas the previous generations had to act decisively and often aggressively to defend their interests and amass their wealth, many of the younger generation were now living off the interest earned from their huge inheritances. As a result, unlike their fathers and grandfathers who favored more exuberant and ostentatious façades on their

---

<sup>191</sup> Bok, "Paintings for Sale," 20; Angela Jager, "Everywhere illustrious histories that are a dime a dozen": The Mass Market for History Painting in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7, no. 1 (Winter 2015), Graph 1.

<sup>192</sup> While Pieter Saenredam had been painting church interiors and exteriors since the 1630s, it was during the 1650s when these architectural paintings became popular among Delft artists. Saenredam emphasized the beauty of the church itself by expertly manipulate the proportions of church interiors. Gerard Houckgeest (c. 1600–1661) and Emanuel de Witte (1617–1692), on the other hand, focused on the interactions among the people and how they respond to the architecture surrounding them. See Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte: Architectural Painting in Delft around 1650," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8, no. 3 (1975–1976), 179–180.

residences, this younger generation in the 1650s preferred a more elegant and refined style of art.<sup>193</sup> In this context, it is no wonder that the calmer and more nuanced interactions between a couple of figures in the paintings by Metsu and Gerard ter Borch became popular than the raucous genre paintings from the previous era.

After the unexpected death of William II of Orange in 1650, the Dutch Republic was in the hands of politically astute patrician families. Even before the stadholderless period (1650–1672), Andries Bicker (1586–1652) and his three younger brothers, Jacob, Cornelis, and Jan had been almost continuously in office, in one capacity or another, from 1628 to 1649.<sup>194</sup> Now, without a Prince of Orange to check and balance the power dynamics, the Bickers and the De Graeffs dominated the international trade and politics of Amsterdam and the Dutch Republic. When a young Johan de Witt (1625–1672) became the Grand Pensionary of Holland in 1653 and began to oversee the political and financial interest of Holland, the Bickers proposed Wendela Bicker (1635–1668) as his bride. Since her father was a Bicker and her mother a De Graeff, Wendela was a perfect candidate to unite both families with De Witt. When the marriage contract was signed, Johan de Witt became a member of the clan.

These political, social, and economic developments had a significant impact on the types of paintings Metsu executed in the later part of the 1650s. While the demand for history paintings in the Dutch Republic continued to

---

<sup>193</sup> Elisabeth de Bièvre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures, 1200–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 316, 318.

<sup>194</sup> De Bièvre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures*, 304.

decline after 1650, interest in genre paintings steadily increased.<sup>195</sup> One reason for this added interest was the new type of genre painting that Ter Borch introduced at the time. Depictions of peasants, whether boors brawling in a tavern, soldiers playing cards or entertaining prostitutes, no longer appealed to contemporary collectors. On the other hand, middle class subjects similar to those Ter Borch began to paint in the early 1650s, such as affectionate interactions between mother and child, as in *Mother Combing Her Child's Hair* (Figure 3-8, c. 1652–1653) or a woman conducting her domestic chores in a middle-class household, as in *Woman Spinning* (Figure 4-1, c. 1652–1653), found favor in the mid- to late-seventeenth century. Ter Borch created these scenes after he re-immersed himself in family life in his native town of Zwolle, subsequent to his travels to various countries in the 1630s and 1640s.<sup>196</sup> Being back in Zwolle and Deventer, where he moved in the mid-1650s, gave him the opportunity to observe close interactions among family members. No one surpassed Ter Borch's ability to capture the nuances of these human relationships, and his paintings of a few figures interacting in domestic settings resonated among his fellow genre painters.

Metsu's *A Woman Drawing* (A-62) around 1658 is one of those paintings in which he emulated Ter Borch's recent accomplishments. Like Ter Borch's *Woman Writing a Letter* (Figure 4-2, c. 1655), Metsu's young woman is completely absorbed in her own humanistic pursuit in a domestic setting. Their proximity to the picture plane

---

<sup>195</sup> Bok, "Paintings for Sale," 20; Jager, "Everywhere illustrious histories," Graph 1.

<sup>196</sup> Ter Borch studied in Haarlem with Pieter Molijn (1595–1661) in the early 1630s. He travelled to London, Spain, Amsterdam, Münster, and Brussels during the 1630s and 1640s. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch," in *Gerard ter Borch*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art Publishing Office, 2004), 5–10.

gives a viewer the privilege of studying these young women in their private moment. The young woman in Metsu's painting is probably Isabella de Wolff, the artist's new bride.

After a month-long betrothal, Metsu married Isabella, daughter of Maria de Grebber, on May 19, 1658. Metsu and Isabella probably met through their mutual acquaintance Anthonie Claesz de Grebber, an old teacher and friend of Metsu from Leiden, now living in Amsterdam. Anthonie's father, Claes Pietersz de Grebber, the silversmith, was a brother of the famous Haarlem painter Frans Pietersz de Grebber. Thus, Anthonie and Maria were cousins. Anthonie de Grebber had moved to Amsterdam in 1650–1651 and had married Margriet Pieters van Troyen in 1651. He subsequently became a *poorter* the following year.<sup>197</sup> It may well be that Anthonie's presence in Amsterdam encouraged Metsu to move there, for Metsu had only a handful of relatives living in the city, most of whom he probably had not met previously. Anthonie, being an artist himself, probably acted as a mentor to his younger friend.<sup>198</sup> Since Isabella was documented as

---

<sup>197</sup> Anthonie de Grebber: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/33498](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/33498); Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 367.

Becoming a *poorter* means obtaining a right to a full citizenship. While Amsterdam welcomed and tolerated people with various nationalities and backgrounds, being a *poorter* gave one and his family a social insurance net, such as an access to poor reliefs or gaining an admission to public orphanage if both parents died before their children reached adulthood. As it promised social benefits, the price for *poorterschap* was quite expensive. Whether De Grebber obtained his *poorterschap* by marrying an Amsterdam bride or purchasing the right is not clear. If he had to buy the right, he would have paid 50 guilders. Interestingly, Metsu also became a *poorter* in 1659, a year after he married Isabella de Wolff. Perhaps, Metsu acquired *poorterschap* for a social safety net. Although he and Isabella remained childless, it would have provided financial aid in case either or both of them died before their future children reached their adulthood. For more information on citizenship, see Derek L. Phillips, *Well-Being in Amsterdam's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Pallas Publications, 2008), 29–33.

<sup>198</sup> Despite the scarcity of information regarding Anthonie de Grebber, he seems to have been a competent artist. He had at least one pupil in 1658, Jan Baptist Wellekens (1658–1726), who later became a painter and poet. Anthonie de Grebber worked with Sandrart de Lairese for a time, and De Grebber and De Lairese met at the workshop of Gerrit Uylenburgh. See Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630–*



living in Enkhuizen at the time of her betrothal, Anthonie's ties to both Metsu and Isabella must have been crucial for this union.<sup>199</sup> The close relationship between Anthonie and this couple is evident in that he acted as a witness to their marriage settlement.

The relationship between these two artists in the late 1650s seems to have extended to a professional level as well. The evidence for this connection stems from a 1902 inventory of the Museo de Guadalajara in Spain. This inventory lists eleven religious paintings on copper, three of which were signed A. de Grebber and five were signed G. Metsu.<sup>200</sup> Three paintings from this group have survived, although only *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Desert* (Figure 4-3), signed and dated 1659, still remains in the Guadalajara collection.<sup>201</sup> Despite Metsu's signatures,

---

1730 (The Hague: Mauritshuis Nijhoff, 1953), 172; Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote schouburgh der Nederlandtsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: B. M. Israël, 1976), 109.

<sup>199</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 335.

<sup>200</sup> The paintings with A. de Grebber signatures are: *The Assumption of Our Lady*, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Desert*, and *The Visitation of Our Lady*; and the five paintings with G. Metsu signature are: *The Last Judgment*, *The Descent of Christ*, *The Notice of the Angel to Prepare the Holy Family for Flight to Egypt*, *Jesus Christ in the House of Publican (or Tax-Collector)*, and *The Ascension of the Lord Raised by the Eternal Father (or The Resurrection of Christ (B-2))*.

One of the remaining three paintings is unsigned, and the other two were recorded to have been painted by KAGEMOL. However, Rebollo suspects this could be either an acronym or pseudonym. He proposes that KAGEMOL could be either of the brothers Matheus or Jacob van Helmont. However, Rebollo's basis for this assumption - that these artists were mentioned in Valdivieso's list of Dutch artists whose paintings were found in Spanish collections - is not convincing. See Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, "El Museo de Guadalajara: Revisión de la Colección Pictórica," *Goya* 304 (January/February 2005): 29.

<sup>201</sup> Rebollo identifies these three extant paintings as: Anthonie de Grebber, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Desert*, 1659, oil on copper, Museo de Guadalajara, Guadalajara; Gabriel Metsu, *Ascension of the Lord Raised by the Eternal Father*, oil on copper, location unknown; and Anonymous, *Immaculate Conception with Saints Joaquín and Anne*, oil on copper, Diputación de Guadalajara, Guadalajara. See *Ibid.*, 29–31.

For detailed information on Anthonie de Grebber's painting on copper (59.5 x 84.5 cm), see Digital Network of Collections of Museums in Spain (CERES) by the Spanish Ministry of Culture: <http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/ResultSearch?txtSimpleSearch=GREBBER%20A.&simpleSearch=0&hipertextS>

Tormo seems unconvinced of these attributions and proposes an anonymous Flemish imitator of Rubens as a possible painter for these paintings.<sup>202</sup> On the other hand, Waiboer includes only *The Resurrection of Christ* (B-2, called *The Ascension of the Lord Raised by the Eternal Father* in the 1902 catalogue) in his catalogue raisonné and relegated it to the category of potentially authentic paintings.<sup>203</sup> Since most of these eleven paintings are lost, their titles and inventory records from 1902 are the only reliable source of information to determine how they were came to be grouped together. Significantly, other than the shared support of copper, the works all depict religious subjects with strong Catholic connotations.<sup>204</sup> As Van Eck notes, the people who “ordered works of art for Catholic clandestine churches tended to favor scenes from the life and Passion of Christ, but paintings depicting characteristic scenes from saints’ lives were also popular,” as De Grebber’s Guadalajara painting attests.<sup>205</sup> Hence, these paintings

---

[earch=1&search=simpleSelection&MuseumsSearch=MGU%7C&MuseumsRolSearch=31&listaMuseos=%5BMuseo%20de%20Guadalajara%5D](#)

<sup>202</sup> Elias Tormo y Monzó, “Cartillas Excursionistas: Guadalajara,” *Boletín de la Sociedad española de excursiones* 25 (1917): 10–11.

<sup>203</sup> Both Rebollo and Waiboer refer to Valdivieso’s assumption that *The Resurrection of Christ* might be the *Ascension of Jesus* in a private collection in Burgos; the painting’s current location is unknown, according to Waiboer’s Catalogue Raisonné. Since *The Resurrection of Christ* is only available as the black-and-white illustrations in Valdivieso’s monograph and is the only known image of this painting, the authorship of the painting is still uncertain. Moreover, the painting itself seems quite damaged. See Enrique Valdivieso, *Pintura Holandesa del siglo XII en España* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones y Departamento de Historia del Arte, 1973), 110–111, 306; Rebollo, “El Museo de Guadalajara,” 21–34; Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 273–274.

<sup>204</sup> For the list of eleven paintings on copper mentioned in the 1902 inventory, see Appendix 2. For more information on these paintings, see C. Baquerizo, *Catálogo de los cuadros de pintura, escultura y monedas existentes en el museo establecido en el Palacio de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial* (Guadalajara: Taller tipográfico de la casa de Expositos, 1902); Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, “El Museo de Guadalajara: Revisión de la Colección Pictórica,” *Goya* 304 (January/February 2005): 21–34.

<sup>205</sup> Xander van Eck, *Clandestine Splendor: Paintings for the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), 99.

could have been commissioned for a clandestine church, likely in Amsterdam, but just how they ended up in Spain is unknown.

The collaborative nature of this venture proves that a professional relationship existed between De Grebber and Metsu, years after the younger artist had settled in Amsterdam. This evidence also indicates that Metsu painted for Catholic clandestine churches and that, contrary to the current understanding of the artists, he continued to execute history paintings alongside the genre paintings for which he is so famous. Since the possibility of Metsu being a history painter after his move to Amsterdam has never been ventured before, it would be a worthy subject for future research. Likewise, while current scholarship doubts that Metsu used copper plates as supports more than once, the works listed in the 1902 inventory of Museo de Guadalajara proves that his *A Man Holding a Pipe* (A-26) was not his only painting on copper.<sup>206</sup>

Metsu probably had cultivated his own network of patrons by the time of his marriage in 1658, but this union gave him access to a wider network of artists and patrons. His bride came from two prominent Catholic families. Her maternal grandfather, Frans de Grebber (1573–1649), and her uncle, Pieter de Grebber (c. 1600–1652/1653) were both distinguished Catholic painters in Haarlem. Since both Frans and Pieter died

---

<sup>206</sup> An entry on Metsu's *A Man Holding a Pipe* in the Leiden Collection's online catalogue: <https://www.theleidencollection.com/artwork/a-smoker-seated-at-a-table/>.

Since Anthonie de Grebber was one of the artists who were invited to judge the mishap of Gerrit Uylenburgh's 1671 dispute with Frederick William (1620–1688), the Elector of Brandenburg, along with Jan Lievens (1607–1674), Willem Kalf (1619–1693), Philips Koninck (1619–1688), Adam Pijnacker (1622–1673), Willem van Aelst (1627–1683), Melchior d'Hondecoeter (1636–1695), and Gerard de Lairesse (1641–1711), he must have been a reasonably well-established artist. Also, he seems to have worked for Uylenburgh around 1665. See Friso Lammertse, "Gerrit Uylenburgh, Art Dealer and Painter in Amsterdam and London," in *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairesse, 1625–1675*, ext. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2006), 79–85, 101, 217–221.

some time before Metsu married Isabella, no direct connections can be established among these artists. However, Metsu's mother-in-law, Maria de Grebber, was a skilled artist in her own right, too. Samuel Ampzing (1590–1632) had already applauded the talent of the then twenty-six years old Maria in 1628 in his chronicle, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Description and Praise of the City of Haarlem in Holland), when he mentioned Maria, alongside her father and brother, as a great painter of the city. Two decades later, Theodorus Schrevelius (1572–1649) also praised Maria's expertise in perspective in his *Harlemias, of, Eerste stichting der stad Haarlem* (History of Haarlem, or First Foundation of the City of Haarlem) in 1648.<sup>207</sup>

There is no proof that Maria continued actively to practice as an artist after her marriage to Wouter Coenraetsz de Wolff (1590–1636) in 1629, except for two portrait paintings from 1631, of her brother-in-law and Catholic priest, Augustijn de Wolff (1585–1635).<sup>208</sup> However, Maria might have practiced as an artist in her husband's pottery studio, as she had done without registering with Haarlem painter's guild when she had worked at her father's painting studio. No documents indicate whether she practiced as an artist in Enkhuizen after her husband's death in 1636, as the guild records listing membership have been

---

<sup>207</sup> Irene van Thiel-Stroman, "Maria de Grebber," in *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 228–229. Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof de stad Haerlem in Holland*, (Amsterdam: Buijten en Schipperheijn, 1628), 370; Theodorus Schrevelius, *Harlemias, of, Eerste stichting der stad Haarlem*, 2nd ed. (Haarlem: Joannes Marshoorn, 1754), 385.

<sup>208</sup> Maria de Grebber, *Portrait of Augustijn de Wolff*, 1631, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht; *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World*, 1993, 228–229; Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof de stad Haerlem*, 230.

lost.<sup>209</sup> Nevertheless, Schrevelius' praise on Maria's artistic skills in 1648 implies that she may have kept practicing art. At the very least, Maria probably kept in touch with artists and potential patrons.<sup>210</sup>

As an accomplished artist, Maria de Grebber probably taught her only child, Isabella, the art of painting. In *A Woman Drawing* (A-62), Metsu depicted Isabella in a way that highlights her as a skilled draughtsman. While self-portraits of artists at work were not uncommon in the seventeenth century, paintings of a woman in creative artistic pursuits are rare.<sup>211</sup> *A Woman Drawing* also signals a new chapter in Metsu's career. The fur-trimmed jacket that Isabella wears appears in Metsu's paintings only after 1658, when he switched his subject matter from modestly adorned common folks, like young kitchen maids and fishwives, to more well-to-do ladies. Ter Borch's *Mother Combing Her Child's Hair*, from about 1652–1653, already shows the mother wearing a similar fur-trimmed jacket, which indicates that by 1658 such jackets had been in fashion for a number of years. The elegantly sculpted desk and columns as well as the stained glass window at the back in *A Woman Drawing* confirm that the woman comes from a prosperous household.

Metsu's *Self-Portrait as an Artist* (A-49) and *A Woman Drawing* make clear that the artist proudly portrayed himself and his bride as a prosperous young couple well-

---

<sup>209</sup> *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World*, 229.

<sup>210</sup> Maria definitely kept in touch with her cousin Anthonie de Grebber who was active in Amsterdam as a history painter. It would be interesting to speculate whether Maria also kept in touch with Pieter Saenredam, a painter devoted to paint church interiors and showed interest in perspectives. Maria and Saenredam must have studied side by side at her father's studio, since Saenredam had studied with the master for 10 years starting 1612.

<sup>211</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 70. Waiboer acknowledges that Metsu's *A Woman Drawing* is "possibly the first Dutch genre painting of a woman artist."

versed in artistic pursuits. Since female artists were rare in the seventeenth century, Metsu must have been proud that his wife was one of the few.<sup>212</sup> While Metsu may not have intended these paintings as pendants, when placed side by side, one can glimpse at Metsu's self-assurance.<sup>213</sup> Although it would be a mistake to read too much into an artist's biography when one appreciates the artist's paintings, ignoring new stimuli in an artist's life is equally inappropriate.<sup>214</sup>

The shift in the protagonists' social and financial standing in Metsu's painting was not unique to his career. Ter Borch also began to depict more elegant genre paintings after he moved from Zwolle to Deventer around 1654 subsequent to his marriage to Geertruyt Matthys. Geertruyt, whose late husband had been a member of a patrician family in Deventer, seems to have wasted no time in introducing her new husband to her circle of people. This introduction to the

---

<sup>212</sup> In the seventeenth century, the training to become an artist was an expensive venture. The long years of training that was required meant the parents of the child should be willing to pay for expensive tuition for years and also could afford the foregone wages that the child could have earned while in long years of training. The opportunity cost was simply quite high. As a result, most female artists in the seventeenth century were either daughters of artists who could teach his child at his own workshop or daughters from prosperous families.

<sup>213</sup> The sizes of these paintings are comparable: *Self-Portrait as an Artist* is 38 x 31.4 cm, while *A Woman Drawing* is 36.3 x 30.7 cm. Both paintings include the same attributes, Lucas Vorsterman's (1595–1675) engraving after Gerard Seghers' (1591–1651) *Christ at the Column* and a statuette of the Virgin Mary by François Du Quesnoy (1597–1643). See Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 57.

<sup>214</sup> When Otto Naumann talked about Frans van Mieris the Elder's painting styles, he also observed that significant stylistic changes occurred immediately after the artist's marriage to Cunera van der Cock in 1657. Van Mieris executed paintings with elegant figures in an elaborate interior (*Brothel Scene* (Figure 4-5), *Oyster Meal* (Figure 4-6), *The Cloth Shop* (Figure 4-7), *Doctor's Visit* (Figure 3-17), and *Duet* (Figure 4-8), all from 1657 to 1660), a big departure from his usual, heavily Dou-influenced old men and women in humble interiors or Ostade-like peasant scenes. Naumann explained the motive behind this change as to find a new clientele who could afford these elegant paintings by making a clean break from his teacher and mentor, Gerrit Dou. It seems to me that the general direction of the changes in genre painting around 1657/1658 was to paint elegant courtship paintings in sophisticated interiors. The recent marriages of Metsu and Van Mieris were the stimuli they took as a reason/excuse to move on. Otto Naumann, "Frans van Mieris' Personal Style," in *Frans van Mieris, 1635–1681*, exh. cat. 2005, 34.

Deventer patrician society probably prompted Ter Borch to abandon his modest middle-class household scenes and to move on to ones populated with more affluent young ladies and gentlemen, such as these seen in the *Paternal Admonition* (Figure 4-4). The luscious satin dress of a young lady, which became a trademark of Ter Borch, and the equally luxurious plumed hat in the man's hand, signal Ter Borch's departure from the neat but modestly adorned mother previously seen in his works.

The changes in Ter Borch's paintings are not limited to genre scenes. He also introduced ingenious ways to elevate patrician families' standings even further in his portraiture. Traditionally, full-length portraits were reserved for royals. However, Ter Borch painted patrician families of Deventer in a quasi-royal manner by portraying them in full-length portraits, but at a smaller scale. Ter Borch's marriage to Geertruyt seems to have paved his way seamlessly into the closely-knit patrician society in Deventer. By providing this patrician class a way to be memorialized in even more prestigious social standings, Ter Borch created a niche market for himself. His courteous and graceful courtship scenes among young ladies and gentlemen also reflected the lifestyles of the new patrons in Deventer. His refined subjects and fine techniques pleased patrons and ensured that his paintings were desirable to his clientele.

Metsu, thus, was not alone in his efforts to attract new potential patrons by introducing new subjects and finer techniques. His *A Woman at Her Toilet with a Page* (A-65, 1658–60) shows exactly what type of paintings his contemporaries were eager to acquire in Amsterdam at the end of the 1650s. In this painting, a beautifully dressed young lady stands next to a table with a luscious Persian carpet and an ornately decorated

jewelry box, while a page boy patiently awaits her attention. Yet, she seems oblivious to her surroundings. Lost in thought, she seems only to respond to the scent of a flower. Who might have sent that flower that made her so pensive? Despite that person's physical absence, a courtship between a young lady and her suitor is unmistakably implied. While it is unlikely that a Dutch seventeenth-century residence had marble floors and richly veined marble columns, as seen in this painting, the idea that Metsu's contemporaries found these sumptuous interiors desirable, at least in their paintings, is evident.

Metsu's paintings from his mid-Amsterdam career (1658–1662) often portray such affluent people at leisure. Some of these people are making music, alone or together, some are apparently courting, some are writing letters, while others are receiving them. These subjects were not unique to Metsu. Gerard ter Borch introduced most of these subjects – music-making, writing and receiving letters, and courtship paintings – and younger artists, including Metsu, followed his lead. Jan Steen, Pieter de Hooch, Johannes Vermeer, and Frans van Mieris all started painting similar genre scenes at roughly the same time and shared many subjects and pictorial motifs. While Vermeer and Van Mieris seemed never to have left Delft or Leiden respectively, Pieter de Hooch, who moved from Delft to Amsterdam in the early 1660s, also started painting genre scenes in more affluent settings.<sup>215</sup>

---

<sup>215</sup> Pieter de Hooch had moved around throughout his career. He was born in Rotterdam, apprentice to Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683) in Haarlem, worked in Rotterdam from 1652 to 1654, moved to Delft in 1655, and stayed there until he finally moved to Amsterdam in 1660. He died in Amsterdam in 1679. See Pieter de Hooch: <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/39452>.



Although the figures in paintings by these Dutch masters generally shifted from lower-middle class to middle class, then again to upper-middle class during the course of the 1650s, each of these artists developed their own styles. Vermeer was good at composing his scenes with geometric exactness, as can be seen in *Woman with a Balance* (Figure 4-9), while De Hooch's mastery was at constructing complex spatial relationships through the doorways or courtyards, such as in *The Bedroom* (Figure 4-10). De Hooch often depicted the virtues of motherhood, while Steen preferred to populate his paintings with family groups. In the meantime, unlike De Hooch and Vermeer, who were fascinated with spatial relationships and perspective, Van Mieris was more interested in rendering social interactions with exquisitely refined brushwork. The emotional charges between Van Mieris' figures, usually sensual or sexual in nature, mostly come from their different social and economic stations; an older man with power and money and a younger woman without such means.

Following in Ter Borch's footsteps, Metsu painted quite a few paintings depicting figures either writing or receiving a letter: *A Woman with a Letter* (A-60, 1657–1659), *A Man Peeping over the Shoulder of a Woman Writing a Letter* (A-71, 1658–1660), *A Man Writing a Letter* (A-72, 1658–1661), *A Woman Receiving a Letter from a Messenger* (A-73, 1658–1661), *A Woman Reading a Letter* (A-88, 1658–1661), and *A Woman Writing a Letter* (A-108, 1662–1664), *A Man Writing a Letter* (A-116, 1664–1666), and *A Woman Reading a Letter* (A-117, 1664–1666). The variations on the subject indicate these paintings were popular and that Metsu probably created them for the open market.

Most of these scenes are quiet and serene, but *A Man Peeping over the Shoulder of a Woman Writing a Letter* (A-71, 1658–1660) demonstrates Metsu's ability to capture

the emotionally charged dramas. In this painting, a young woman is writing a letter in earnest. Her mouth is slightly opened, and her face is full of despair. She seems to be responding to the letter she has just received, which sits right in front of her. The discarded needlework on top of the hamper on the right implies her urgent need to reply to the letter. The woman seems too upset to notice a man, probably her suitor, looking over her shoulder. With his furrowed eyebrows, the man seems concerned about what made her so upset. What exactly does the letter say? By including a man with furrowed eyebrows, Metsu invites his viewer to put himself in the shoe of this man overlooking the young woman's shoulder. As one puts himself into this man's position, he finds himself that he wishes, along with this man, for the episode to resolve in a positive way. While depicting subtle nuances of human relationship defines Ter Borch's genre paintings, Metsu unfolds human dramas through eloquent facial expressions and body language.

Metsu must have been quite pleased with this pictorial motif of one person overlooking another's shoulder, for he used it again in *A Woman Composing Music, with an Inquisitive Man* (A-130, 1664–1667). Here again, the facial expressions of the figures are unmistakable. The young woman composing music is staring at the distance, but not quite watching anything. She just focuses within herself. In the meantime, the man looking over her shoulder seems quite amused at her seriousness. Placing a curious man or a woman behind another woman concentrating on her letter or music score allows each painting to come alive with possible stories surrounding these people. Interestingly, Ter Borch also borrowed this motif from Metsu's earlier painting, *A Man Peeping over the Shoulder of a*

*Woman Writing a Letter* (A-71, 1658–1660), when he painted the *Curiosity* (Figure 4-11, c. 1660–1662).<sup>216</sup> It seems the young woman seated at the desk is also responding to the missive just received. However, her facial expression is, more or less, placid, and the other woman who is looking over the seated woman’s shoulder shows only mild curiosity. While Ter Borch is a consummate capturer of subtler interactions among his sitters, this mild curiosity of the young woman does not elicit the same level of strong emotional investment from the viewer as does Metsu’s presentation of the scene.<sup>217</sup>

In the early 1660s, Metsu’s paintings exhibited even more sumptuous domestic interiors than before, probably due to the influence of his patron Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen who commissioned both *A Visit to the Nursery* (A-86, 1661) and *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and His Family* (A-87, 1662–1663). To understand what kind of patrons Metsu was dealing with during the early 1660s, it is crucial to understand who were Hinlopen and members of his circle. This requires going back in time to study the Hinlopen family tree. The two burgomasters who ensured the success of the massive construction project of a new Amsterdam Town Hall were Cornelis de Graeff (1599–1664) and Joan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen (1599–1661). Joan Huydecoper was born into a wealthy merchant family. His father, Jan Huydecoper, was an initial investor in the East India

---

<sup>216</sup> Waiboer also notes that Gerard ter Borch began appropriating ideas from much younger artists, including Vermeer and Nicolaes Maes. See Adriaan E. Waiboer, “Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting,” in *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), 5; Adriaan E. Waiboer, “Inspired by Youth,” in *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), 199–203.

<sup>217</sup> Wheelock notes that Ter Borch and Metsu demonstrate different artistic personalities in their paintings. Metsu’s “narratives are often more robust and theatrical and they have an element of humour that rarely enters into the paintings of the Deventer master. While both artists rendered fabrics in realistic ways, Metsu never painted with the delicate strokes of Ter Borch’s manner, but rather had a smoother, more fluid technique, redolent of his Leiden background.” See Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., “Pen to Paper,” in *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), 123–124.

Company in 1602.<sup>218</sup> Having set his eyes on a political career, Joan became a *schepen* (magistrate) at age twenty. He married Maria Coymans (1603–1647), whose father, Balthasar Coymans (1555–1634), was an international merchant and banker from Antwerp.<sup>219</sup> Balthasar also had been one of the major investors in the East India Company at its foundation in 1602. Like the Bickers and the De Graeffs, the Huydecopers, for decades, intermarried with the Coymanses, the Trips, the Bickers, the Hinlopens and other influential Amsterdam families.<sup>220</sup> In this way, the riches of these families became manifold. Huydecoper became a *schout* (councilman) at thirty and a director of the East India Company five years later.<sup>221</sup> Having acquired a noble title from Queen Christina of Sweden in 1637,

---

<sup>218</sup> Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, 71. Other investors to the East India Company in 1602 include: Reinier Pauw (1564–1636), Gerrit Bicker (1554–1604), Jonas Witsen (1566–1626), Gerard Reynst (1568–1615), Pieter Hasselaer (1554–1616), and Balthasar Coymans (1555–1634).

<sup>219</sup> Maria Coymans' brother Balthasar the Younger married to Maria Trip, the daughter of Elias Trip.

<sup>220</sup> Examples of intermarriages between powerful patrician families in Amsterdam: Joan Huydecoper himself married Maria Coymans, daughter of Balthasar Coymans. Their son, Joan Huydecoper II married his first cousin, Sophia Coymans (1636–1714) in 1656 and his sister, Leonora, married Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen in 1657. Sophia Coymans' mother was Sophia Trip (1615–1679), a daughter of Elias Trip (1570–1636), one of the most important figures in Trip family. Sophia Trips' portrait by Bartholomeus van der Helst is in a private collection. Elias married Maria de Geer (1574–1609), a member of another important families of Amsterdam. Elias' another daughter, Maria Trip (1619–1683), married Balthasar Coymans. Rembrandt's portrait for Maria Trip is in Rijksmuseum. Elias' brother, Jacob Trip (1575–1661), was portrayed by Rembrandt (National Gallery, London) and Nicolaes Maes (Mauritshuis, The Hague). Cornelis de Graeff (1599–1664) and Frans Banning Cocq (1605–1655) were brothers-in-law; their wives were sisters. Cornelis married Catharina Hooft (1618–1691), whose portrait by Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy (1588–1656) is in Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. Her portrait by Frans Hals, when she was about two years old is in Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

<sup>221</sup> According to the UNESCO's Archives of the Dutch East India Company, there were 60 directors altogether, and 20 among them were from Amsterdam (plus, 12 from Zeeland, 7 each from Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen). Among these 60 directors, 17 were designated as *Heren XVII*, the primary governing board of the company. *Heren XVII*'s counterpart in Batavia was Governor General and Council of the Indies. They had their own directors and various councils, along with governor, a council of police. See <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-1/archives-of-the-dutch-east-india-company/>. Also see, *Towards A New Age of Partnership in Dutch East India Company Archives and Research*, [www.tanap.net](http://www.tanap.net).

he became nobility. In 1650 he also received an honorary membership of the Order of Saint-Michel by King Louis XIV of France.<sup>222</sup> He held office in Amsterdam from 1648 to 1662, either as burgomaster or as treasurer. Later, his son, also Joan, served as burgomaster no fewer than thirteen times. When his daughter Leonora (1631–1663) came of age, she married Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen (1626–1666), the future patron of Gabriel Metsu.<sup>223</sup>

Joan Huydecoper was an avid collector and Maecenas. He is said to have been the first person to purchase a *tronie* from Rembrandt in 1628.<sup>224</sup> He commissioned works from Govaert Flinck (1615–1660), Jan Lievens (1607–1674), Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613–1670), Johannes Lingelbach (1625–1674), Artus Quellinus (1609–1668), Philips Vingboons (1607–1678), to just name a few. Jan Vos (1612–1667), the poet, was also his protégé.<sup>225</sup> With numerous private commissions to various artists and official commissions he parceled out as a burgomaster for the new Amsterdam town hall, it is no surprise that Huydecoper was the honored guest during the annual St. Luke's feast in 1654.<sup>226</sup> He also undertook several diplomatic missions. He traveled to Berlin in 1655 to

---

<sup>222</sup> Benjamin Roberts, *Through the Keyhole: Dutch Child-Rearing Practices in the 17th and 18th Century, Three Urban Elite Families* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), 52.

<sup>223</sup> Judith van Gent, "Portretten van Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen en zijn familie door Gabiël Metsu en Bartholomeus van der Helst," *Oud Holland* 112, no. 2/3 (1998): 127–138, esp. 127–128.

<sup>224</sup> Gary Schwartz, *The Rembrandt Book* (New York: Abrams, 2006), 40.

<sup>225</sup> Gary Schwartz, "Jan van der Heyden and the Huydecopers of Maarsseveen," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983): 197–220.

<sup>226</sup> Schwartz, *The Rembrandt Book*, 217.

witness the baptism of the son of Frederick William of Brandenburg, whose wife was a sister to Willem II, and to London to be present at the Charles II's coronation in 1660.<sup>227</sup>

Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen's career was not much different from that of his father-in-law, Joan Huydecoper. Jan was also born into a wealthy merchant family. His father, Jacob Jacobsz Hinlopen (1582–1629) was a co-founder of the East India Company in 1602 in Enkhuizen. Thus, Joan Huydecoper's father and Balthasar Coymans, Joan Huydecoper's father-in-law, were all initial investors in the same company. Jacob Hinlopen, originally from Brabant, was a life-long member of the Amsterdam city council, the *vroedschap*. He was also not a stranger to artistic talents of his time. Jacob was a good friend of the illustrious poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679). His wife, Sara de Wael (1591–1652), was a daughter of a Haarlem burgomaster and her brother Jan de Wael also became a Haarlem burgomaster. In fact, her brother was one of the burgomasters who was imprisoned at the Lovestein Castle by William II on the eve of the failed coup against Amsterdam in 1650.<sup>228</sup> As a daughter and sister of Haarlem burgomasters, Sara must have known the De Grebber family fairly well. Although there is no record of the De Waels commissioning paintings from the De Grebbers, it is probable that either or both the father and son, as burgomasters of Haarlem, commissioned paintings from Frans de Grebber and/or Pieter de Grebber, the two leading history painters

---

<sup>227</sup> Roberts, *Through the Keyhole*, 51.

<sup>228</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 607; Janssen, *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic*, 126. Among the people who were imprisoned along with Jan de Waal were Jacob de Witt, burgomaster of Dordrecht and father of Johan de Witt, and burgomasters of Delft, Hoorn, and Medemblik.

and portraitists in Haarlem. The fact that Metsu was a son-in-law of Maria de Grebber must have made an impression on Jan Hinlopen.

Serving as an officer at the *schutterij* (civic guard) was a sure stepping stone to becoming a city official. With political aspirations in mind, Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen joined the civic guard as an ensign in 1651, at the age of 25. He served under Captain Gerrit Reynst (1599–1658), who co-owned, with his brother, a massive collection of Italian old master paintings and antique sculptures.<sup>229</sup> Jan was appointed as *schout* (councilman) in his civic guard, and, in 1656, and was promoted to lieutenant. In 1657, Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen married Leonora Huydecoper. For this occasion, Jan Vos created tableaux vivants with accompanying poems. Each scene was said to be composed of thirty to forty people. The theme of the performance was that, because of this union of Jan and Leonora, there was now hope for new life after Amsterdam's despair during the plague years (1655–1658).<sup>230</sup> In 1661, he was promoted to *schepen* (alderman or councilman). Unfortunately, Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen died at the age of 40 in 1666. As a result, he never served as a burgomaster, since the minimum age for that position was 40. However, during their lifetimes, Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and his father-in-law Joan Huydecoper were among the most successful and powerful individuals in the Dutch Republic. They were wealthy, built exceptional careers in Amsterdam's political spheres,

---

<sup>229</sup> Each unit of the *schutterij* was under the command of a captain, supported by two lieutenants, four sergeants, and an ensign. Incidentally, Gerrit Reynst's father, Gerard Reynst (1558/1568–1615), was also one of the co-founders of the East India Company. He also served as the second governor-general of the East India in Batavia.

<sup>230</sup> Although there was renewed economic boom after the end of the First Anglo Dutch War in 1654, the plague outbreak in the mid-1650s casted uncertainty on the contemporaries' lives. There were over 12,000 deaths due to the plague in Amsterdam in 1655–1656 alone. During the severe plague outbreak in 1663–1664, Amsterdam lost about 20,000 people, in comparison. See Frijhoff et al., *1650*, 451–452; Ronald Rommes, "Plague in Northwestern Europe. The Dutch Experience, 1350–1670," *Società Italiana di Demografia Storica, Popolazione e Storia* 2 (2015): 54, 60.

and surrounded themselves with gifted artists, architects, and poets. How did Metsu get acquainted with this crème de la crème of his time?

Judging from the Jacquemijntje's will, which appointed Jan Adriaense Kayser as one of Metsu's guardians, Metsu's mother seems to have maintained a close relationship with her sister Anna and her husband Kayser who were living in Amsterdam. Kayser was relieved from his guardianship to Metsu six weeks after the burial of the artist's mother in 1651, but the request to excuse him from the duty came from another guardian, a Leiden notary Jan Jansz de Haes.<sup>231</sup> As both of remaining guardians, a baker named Cornelis Jansz and the notary, were living in Leiden, relieving Kayser from Metsu's guardian seems to have been done for convenience's sake.

After Metsu moved to Amsterdam in 1654, Kayser had taken on a parental role. When the artist and Isabella declared their intentions to be married, it was Kayser who stood next to Metsu.<sup>232</sup> The wording in the document made on April 12, 1658 is clear: "Proclamation of the betrothal in Amsterdam of *Gabriel Metsu* from Leiden, painter, twenty-eight years old, whose parents are dead, assisted by his uncle *Jan Adriaense Kayser*, living on Prinsengracht, to *Isabella de Wolf* from Enkhuizen and also living there, twenty-six years old, assisted by her mother, *Maria de Grebber*."<sup>233</sup> As evident in this document, Metsu and his uncle Kayser

---

<sup>231</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 332: Document 62 from October 18, 1651: "*Jan Adriaensz. Keyser Cornelis Jansz.*, baker, and *Jacob Jansz. De Haes*, notary, exhibit a copy of *Jacomyntge Garniers'* will, last widow of late *Cornelis Gerritsz. Bontekraey*. Notary *Jan Jansz. De Haes* accepted the guardianship over *Gabriel Metsu*, who is still a minor, and proposes to excuse *Jan Adriaensz. Keyser* as a guardian. The second guardian, *Cornelis Jansz.*, baker, will only deal with paternal goods."

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., Doc. 74, 335.



seem to have kept up a close relationship. The fact that Metsu's first residence in Amsterdam was on the Prinsengracht may not have been due to the proximity to the late Philips Metsu, his children, and bakery on the Prinsengracht, as Waiboer proposed, but because his uncle Kayser lived on the same canal.<sup>234</sup> Indeed, no documents reveal any interactions between Philips Metsu's children and Metsu.

Another document from 1658 sheds some light on how Kayser likely helped Metsu broaden his patron base in Amsterdam. According to a document dated December 31, 1658, "*Jan Adriaensz. Keijser*, the landlord in the *Handtboogdoelen* in Amsterdam, declares to owe *f*700 to *Anthoni de Koning*, former *schepen* of *Schielandt* and living in Rotterdam, for brandy and wine."<sup>235</sup> As Kayser was previously recorded as a wine dealer, there is no red flag that he owed *f*700 for brandy and wine.<sup>236</sup> What is notable here is that Kayser was referred to as the landlord of the *Handtboogdoelen* (or *Handboogdoelen* as spelled in Chapter 1). The *Handtboogdoelen* here refers to the Longbowmen's shooting range on Singel in Amsterdam, near the new town hall. Kayser worked there from 1654 until his death in 1664.<sup>237</sup>

Like many civic militias, the *Handtboogdoelen* lost its character as a military organization after the Treaty of Münster was signed in 1648, but it remained as a social club for the wealthy and the powerful. As the landlord in the *Handtboogdoelen*, Metsu's uncle came to have an extensive network of acquaintances who mostly, if not all,

---

<sup>234</sup> This opinion is contrary to the one expressed in Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 8.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., Doc. 9, 329.

<sup>237</sup> Van Heel, "Frans Banning Cocq's Troop," 57.

belonged to Amsterdam's wealthy citizenry. Bartholomeus van der Helst's 1653 group portrait, *The Governors of the Longbow Civic Guard* (Figure 4-12), includes portraits of Frans Banning Cocq (1605–1655), who also prominently featured in Rembrandt's *The Night Watch* (Figure 2-6), and Joan Blaeu (1596–1673), an official cartographer of the East India Company, both of whom were governors of this civic guard. Kayser had previously served under Captain Frans Banning Cocq as a sword-bearer in *Kloeveniersdoelen*. Indeed, he is prominently portrayed in Rembrandt's *The Night Watch*, between Captain Frans Banning Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch!<sup>238</sup>

A recent study on *The Night Watch* reveals that Kayser secured this position at the *Handtboogdoelen* through the recommendation of Frans Banning Cocq.<sup>239</sup> Traditionally, the stewardship of civic guards was appointed by burgomasters. When the previous stewardess died in December 1653, the position became available. The burgomaster Frans Banning Cocq appointed Kayser to the stewardship in 1654.<sup>240</sup> Fortuitously, Joan Huydecoper was also one of the four burgomasters of Amsterdam in 1654, along with Frans Banning Cocq.<sup>241</sup> As a close relative who assumed the role of a witness, which was commonly performed

---

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 42–87, esp. 57–58 and 72–73.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 57–58, 72–73. Frans Banning Cocq was first elected as a burgomaster in 1651 and re-elected in 1653. The term of burgomaster in Amsterdam was two years. He was also brother-in-law to Cornelis and Andries de Graeff, former burgomasters in Amsterdam and from the prominent family who had been always at the center of Amsterdam politics.

<sup>241</sup> Joan Huydecoper served as burgomaster in 1651, 1654, 1655, 1657, 1659, and 1660. Among the burgomasters Joan Huydecoper served together were: Willem Backer (1651), Cornelis de Graeff (1651), Frans Banning Cocq (1651), Cornelis Bicker (1654), Nicolaes Tulp (1654), and Andries de Graeff (1657).

by a parent, in Metsu's wedding, it seems more than probable that Kayser introduced Metsu to those who frequented the socials at the *Handtboogdoelen*.

Thus, it might have been Joan Huydecoper who introduced Metsu to his son-in-law, Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen, when the birth of Hinlopen's third child, Sara, in 1660 called for a painting to celebrate this occasion. Metsu's response to this commission was *A Visit to the Nursery* (A-86, 1661). This painting is not, strictly speaking, a family portrait. However, it shows proud young parents and the child's grandmother receiving a friend stopping by to congratulate the family on its new addition. True to his mastery at creating narrative elements in upper-class genre scenes and his ability to painting figures with life-like facial expressions, *A Visit to the Nursery* comes alive. The grandmother's warm smile at the visitor, the somewhat tired expression of the recuperating young mother, and the parted lips of father and visitor indicate that a congratulatory conversation is happening. Behind the visitor, a young maid is bringing a chair and a foot warmer to make the visitor comfortable. The inclusion of this maid implies that the visitor has just arrived and this visit would last for some time. Once again, Metsu's ability to build a story with seemingly innocent details is unmistakable.

An important element in this scene is the sumptuous interior. From the high-ceilinged room with marble floors to ornately carved mantelpieces and the Persian carpets on the table and the floor shows the prosperity of this couple. In fact, the interior is reminiscent of the new Town Hall where Jan Hinlopen was recently promoted to work as a *schepen* (councilman). Although the huge painting over the mantle is replaced here by a landscape, the fireplace and the patterned marble floor are based on those in from

the Oud Raadzaal in the new Town Hall.<sup>242</sup> Jan Vos' accompanying poem on this painting attests to how affluent Jan and Leonora must have been to welcome their new child in this manner.<sup>243</sup>

Compared to *A Visit to Nursery*, the *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and His Family* (A-87, 1662–1663) is a more formal family portrait. Jan and Leonora had four children, and judging from the youngest child's age, who was born on January 1, 1662, Metsu must have painted this family portrait in 1662 or early 1663. The decision to have a family portrait together at this point was, in retrospect, a good idea. From August 1663 to July 1664, in the span of just twelve months, a half of the Hinlopen family members died: the youngest child Geertrui died from measles in August 1663, followed by Jan's wife Leonora's death during childbirth in November 1663, and finally, their firstborn and son Jacob died in July 1664, probably due to the plague.<sup>244</sup>

While all adults are looking to their right, as if something is happening outside the picture plane, the young girls smile at the viewer. The high ceiling of the room gives an impression of a palatial setting, although the viewer can still peek at the house across the canal through the open doors, indicating the shallowness of the space from the entrance to this family room, which must have located further back from the entrance. This detail indicates that this family

---

<sup>242</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 94–95.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 94. For Vos' accompanying poem, see Appendix 3.

<sup>244</sup> Utrecht Public Records Office (RAU) 1002–919; Judith van Gent, "Portretten van Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen en zijn familie door Gabriël Metsu en Bartholomeus van der Helst," *Oud Holland* 112, no. 2/3 (1998): 130.

portrait is not set at one of the huge suburban villas that Hinlopen's father-in-law, Huydecoper, was developing along the river Vecht. Rather, the painting must be set in a residence in the heart of Amsterdam. This interior room would have been reserved for the family and close friends and decorated with the best furnishings. Although the room has rather more realistic wooden floors, instead of marble ones, the marble columns around the fireplace and the lunette on top of the entrance to this room hint at the household's prosperity. However, the most striking feature of this room is the gilt-leather wall hanging. Its flowery and curved plant patterns soften the rigidity of the stately stone columns. The speckling of the gilt-leather wall hanging also resonates with the bright and warm colors of the children's clothing. Taken together, this is a warm gathering of a family with financial means. It demonstrates Metsu's remarkable ability to depict a range of textures and materials, particularly satin dresses and plumed hats.

The two paintings Metsu painted for the Hinlopes were probably placed in prominent spots in the Hinlopen's residence and would have been known to other artists. For example, the gilt-leather wall hangings in the interior of Pieter de Hooch's paintings, including *Woman Weighing Gold* (Figure 4-13) from a year or so later, in 1664, might have been inspired by Metsu's *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and His Family*.

## Chapter 5. Gabriel Metsu's Late Amsterdam Years (1663–1667)

Metsu's paintings from the last few years of his career can be mostly grouped into three categories: religious paintings with strong Catholic connotations, young couples in courtship in elegantly furnished households, and small-scale, intimate paintings of a young woman. It had been traditionally believed that after Metsu had finished his training in Leiden and Utrecht in the early 1650s, he had not shown much interest in religious paintings, at least until 1663 when he executed *Saint Cecilia* (A-110). However, as demonstrated in previous chapters, Metsu continued to depict scenes that derived from Catholic traditions, such as his *Twelfth Night*, but also expressly religious subjects, as in the five paintings on copper from the Spanish inventory.<sup>245</sup>

Still, *Saint Cecilia* is an unusual painting. Other than the fact that the young woman holding a viola da gamba is looking up instead of focusing on the music score before her, the painting lacks any conspicuous clues to suggest that the young woman is a saint.<sup>246</sup> Probably, for this reason, the painting had long been identified as a genre painting or a personification of either *Harmony* or *Vanitas*. Sutton, who interpreted this female figure as *Harmony*, based his identification on Caesar Ripa's *Iconologia* (translated in Dutch in 1644), where *Harmony* was personified by a woman playing a viola da gamba.<sup>247</sup> While

---

<sup>245</sup> For the titles of these five paintings by Metsu, see note 199.

<sup>246</sup> Unlike the ambiguous identity of the sitter in *Saint Cecilia*, Metsu's previous religious paintings exhibit strong affiliation with Catholicism: *Twelfth Night* (A-16), *The Resurrection of Christ* (B-2), *The Last Judgment*, *The Descent of Christ*, *The Notice of the Angel to Prepare the Holy Family for Flight to Egypt*, and *Jesus Christ in the House of Publican (or Tax-Collector)*.

<sup>247</sup> Peter C. Sutton, *A Guide to Dutch Art in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), 277.

Waiboer referred to Raupp's article when he noted that this female figure had often been identified as a personification of *Vanitas*, Raupp does not actually discuss Metsu's *Saint Cecilia* at all.<sup>248</sup> In his article, Raupp discussed the pictorial ambiguities in Metsu's *The Artist and Terpsichore* (B-4), indicating that she could be a personification of *Harmony* or *Poesia* as much as the *Muse Terpsichore*. Raupp did note that a figure with a viola da gamba could be a personification of *Vanitas* since this instrument was often featured in contemporary vanitas still life paintings.<sup>249</sup> Broos argued that she was a generic female genre figure with a musical instrument.<sup>250</sup> Nonetheless, he also seemed to open to accept Sutton's identification of the woman as an allegorical depiction of *Harmony*.

Hedquist, on the other hand, who compared Metsu's *Saint Cecilia* with the earlier pictorial tradition of Saint Cecilia, convincingly argued that the young woman in Metsu's paintings should be identified as Saint Cecilia, patron saint of music.<sup>251</sup> She noted that in Raphael's *Saint Cecilia* (Figure 5-1) from 1517, Domenichino's of the saint (Figure 5-2) from 1617, and Anthony van Dyck's painting of her (Figure 5-3) from the 1630s, this female saint was portrayed holding a musical instrument while gazing upward for divine inspiration. The discovery of Cecilia's uncorrupted body in the Church of St. Cecilia in Trastevere in 1599, which had renewed the interest in this saint, probably inspired

---

<sup>248</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 114 & note 120; Hans-Joachim Raupp, "Musik im Atelier: Darstellungen musizierender Künstler in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Oud Holland* 92 (1978): 106–129.

<sup>249</sup> Raupp, "Musik im Atelier," 118–120.

<sup>250</sup> Ben Broos, *Great Dutch Paintings from America*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1990), 334–338.

<sup>251</sup> Valerie Hedquist, "Dutch Genre Painting as Religious Art: Gabriel Metsu's Roman Catholic Imagery," *Art History* 31, no. 2 (2008): 177–182.

Domenichino to depict the saint.<sup>252</sup> His painting was so well received that multiple engravings were made after it. It is probable that Metsu saw one of these prints.

Metsu's *Saint Cecilia* does not have a halo like Domenichino's saint nor is she being assisted by a putto holding her music score. Instead, she is shown in a contemporary Dutch domestic interior, accompanied by a dog and a prominently positioned unlit candle. Hedquist identified the dog as a symbol of conjugal faithfulness and the unlit candle as a symbol of her impending martyrdom.<sup>253</sup>

When one considers that Metsu painted *Saint Cecilia* in 1663, at the height of the plague outbreak in Amsterdam, it seems more reasonable to interpret these pictorial elements — a dog and an unlit candle — as the saint's religious steadfastness, even in the darkness and hopelessness of life at the face of a massive epidemic. Saint Cecilia was not one of the traditional plague saints to whom contemporaries usually turned whenever facing plague epidemics.<sup>254</sup> Nevertheless, since a primary purpose of paintings of saints was to demonstrate their unflinching faith, even when facing death, Metsu's *Saint Cecilia* still could have served such a role. The patron who commissioned this painting seems to

---

<sup>252</sup> Cecilia is a historic figure from the second century.

<sup>253</sup> Hedquist, "Dutch Genre Painting as Religious Art," 180. Metsu's *Saint Cecilia* is modeled after the artist's wife Isabella. This practice of modeling after artist's own wife for an allegorical, biblical, or mythological figure was a common practice among Northern artists. Rubens' *Saint Cecilia* shows the likeness of his wife Hélène Fourment, while the woman in Rembrandt's *The Prodigal Son in a Tavern* (Figure 5-4) is modeled after his wife Saskia.

<sup>254</sup> Joseph P. Byrne, *Encyclopedia of the Black Death* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 281–282.



have requested Metsu to paint Saint Cecilia as though she were interceding on his/her behalf with the power of her music.

By eliminating any explicit attributes of Cecilia's sainthood, Metsu deliberately blurred the boundaries between religious and genre painting. One can imagine that Metsu painted this work for a Catholic patron who had close ties to the St. Cecilia Brotherhood in Amsterdam. Since Saint Cecilia was not known as a plague saint, commissioning a painting of this specific saint at the height of the plague epidemic adds more weight to this supposition. The owner of *Saint Cecilia* could have hung this beautiful painting in a reception room at his residence that was visited by both Catholic and Protestant guests. For the unsuspecting and untrained eye, this painting could have passed as a genre painting of a beautiful woman playing the viola da gamba. Only those who were Catholic would have made the association with Saint Cecilia.

Metsu's next four paintings, *Ecce Homo* (A-111, 1663–1665), *Christ on the Cross* (A-112, 1664), *Noli me Tangere* (A-113, 1663–1665), and *Saint Dorothy* (A-114, 1663–1666), also bear strong Catholic overtones, as they depict saints and the Virgin Mary. The differences between Catholic paintings and Protestant paintings, however, are not always easy to grasp. One of the most notable differences between Catholics and Protestants is their attitudes towards the Passion of Christ, and particularly the Eucharist. Catholics believe that they are present at the actual crucifixion during every mass. During the Eucharist, they understand themselves to be consuming the true body and blood of Christ, not just bread and wine. For them, the sacrifices Christ made are alive and on-going. On the other hand, for Protestants, Christ's sufferings, crucifixion, and resurrection all

happened in the past. Thus, when celebrating the Eucharist, a Catholic church would host a crucifix, while a Protestant church would host a cross without Christ on it. For Protestants, Christ was resurrected, so he could not still be on the cross. Thus, Metsu's *Christ on the Cross*, in which the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalen, and John the Evangelist are witnessing the crucifixion, can be characterized as a Catholic painting. The unguent jars prominently placed in the foreground of both *Christ on the Cross* and *Noli me Tangere* also emphasize the Catholic nature of these paintings.

Protestants had rejected, in principle, the idea of the visual representation of religious imagery in their churches. This initial rejection brought on the *beeldenstorm* (iconoclastic fury) in the sixteenth century that resulted in the destruction of images that left Reformed churches devoid of religious paintings. Although small religious illustrations in books or prints continued to be produced for private consumption, few religious paintings were made for churches in the Dutch Republic.<sup>255</sup> These different stances toward religious imagery become clear when one compares paintings of church interiors side by side. Pieter Saenredam's *Choir of the St. Bavokerk, Haarlem, from West to East* (Figure 5-5), signed and dated 1660, shows a white-washed interior of a Reformed church that is completely devoid of any religious imagery. The only decoration in the church is the ornately fashioned brass chandelier and a couple of memorial plaques of prominent individuals. The National Gallery of Art's *Choir of the St. Janskerk, 's-Hertogenbosch* (Figure 5-6) by the same artist, on the other hand, exhibits a

---

<sup>255</sup> This Reformed Church's unfavorable attitude to religious imagery, in retrospect, provided a fertile ground for the Dutch artists of the seventeenth century to diversify their paintings to portraits, landscapes, genre paintings, and still life paintings.

Catholic church in the Southern Netherlands where Abraham Bloemaert's *Adoration of the Shepherd* (Figure 5-7, 1612) graces its altar and various sculptures of saints occupy every nook and cranny.<sup>256</sup> One can even glimpse a crucifix on the altar, underneath the Bloemaert altarpiece! Interestingly, when Saenredam executed this painting in 1646, the St. Janskerk had been in the hands of the Dutch Republic since 1629. Thus, when Saenredam visited the church in 1632 to make drawings upon which he would later execute this painting, the church was devoid of any Catholic imagery. The sculptures of Virgin Mary, baby Christ, and St. Jan, as well as the Bloemaert's altarpiece, were, therefore, added by Saenredam, probably at the request of his Catholic patron.<sup>257</sup>

The large size of *Christ on the Cross* (73 x 56.8 cm) also suggests that this painting must have been a commissioned work. The painting's unusually dramatic lighting and emotional theatricality strengthen this hypothesis. Could it have been an altarpiece for one of the hidden churches in Amsterdam? Judging by the rather large sizes of Metsu's other religious paintings from the same period, all these paintings could have well-served for altarpieces in *huiskerken*.<sup>258</sup> In 1656, Catholic services were held at sixty-six addresses in Amsterdam, and by the end of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam

---

<sup>256</sup> *Pieter Saenredam in Den Bosch*, exh. cat. 2013, includes a variety of paintings and drawings Saenredam made for the Washington painting.

<sup>257</sup> Moreover, the original altarpiece in the St. Janskerk, Bloemaert's *God with Christ and the Virgin Mary as Intercessors* (Figure 5-8, 1612), was evacuated by priests leaving the church when it became apparent that the Dutch Republic would take over the city. The altarpiece in the Saenredam's painting, executed by Bloemaert in 1615 (Figure 5-7), was housed at a nearby convent when the artist visited the city in 1632. See Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Pieter Jansz Saenredam," NGA Online Editions, <https://purl.org/nga/collection/constituent/1853>.

<sup>258</sup> The sizes of Metsu's religious paintings from the same period: *Saint Cecilia* (44 x 36 cm), *Ecce Homo* (37 x 26.2 cm), *Christ on the Cross* (73 x 56.8 cm), *Noli me Tangere* (63.7 x 51 cm), and *Saint Dorothy* (55.9 x 40.7 cm). Although the current size of *Ecce Homo* is smaller than that of the others, the painting seems to have been cut down by later generations.

Catholics had twenty of these *huiskerken* (clandestine or hidden churches).<sup>259</sup> Although these *huiskerken* were not actually secret or hidden — as they were openly published in the contemporary travel guidebooks for Amsterdam — Catholics had to keep their faith in private.<sup>260</sup> As long as the ceremonies were kept private, away from the eyes of the public, and Catholics paid their annual “recognition fee” to city magistrates as a form of bribery, they were generally allowed to practice their faith in their *huiskerken*.<sup>261</sup>

The outbreak of the plague apparently affected this young artist, who was only thirty-four years old, on a personal level.<sup>262</sup> On the feast day of Saint Mary Magdalene, July 22, 1664, Metsu and his wife Isabella drew up their wills.<sup>263</sup> Did a personal apprehension of death brought on by the plague prompt the artist to broaden his repertoire to include Catholic subjects? Did this same apprehension make Metsu’s Catholic patrons more eager to commission paintings with Catholic subjects

---

<sup>259</sup> Benjamin J. Kaplan, “Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (October 2002): 1034; Xander van Eck, *Clandestine Splendor: Paintings for the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), 112–113.

Interestingly, Kaplan informs us that these *huiskerken* were prevalent throughout Europe where religious persecutions existed. Under the name of “house churches, prayer houses, meeting houses, mass houses, house chapels, oratories, and assembly places,” these provided heavens for religious non-conformists in France, Austria, the British Isles, and the Holy Roman Empire (Kaplan, 1035–1036). Some of these *huiskerken* still exist in Amsterdam, converted into museums, so we can get glimpses of how they must have appeared three and a half centuries ago. Museum Ons’ Lieve Heer Op Solder, for example, is located at a stone’s throw from De Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 1047–1048. The contemporary guidebook, *Amsterdam*, written by Philips von Zesen in 1664, shows where these *huiskerken* were located.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 1048; Charles H. Parker, “Paying for the Privilege: the Management of Public Order and Religious Pluralism in Two Early Modern Societies,” *Journal of World History* 17, no. 3 (2006): 292.

<sup>262</sup> Metsu painted at least two rather large religious paintings, *Saint Cecilia* (A-110, 1663, 44 x 36 cm) and *Christ on the Cross* (A-112, 1664, 73 x 56.8 cm), during the plague epidemic of the 1663–1664.

<sup>263</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, doc. 87, July 22, 1664: “*Gabriel Metsu*, painter, and *Isabella de Wolff* have their will drawn up. If the couple remains childless, and Metsu lives longest, he wishes that a quarter of his belongings will pass onto *Jacomina Kool* and the remainder to his brothers and sisters or their children. *Jeremias Price* and *Reynout du Bois* act as witnesses.”

during this period?<sup>264</sup> Since it was not illegal to possess or paint Catholic imagery, a market for such works must have remained in every major Dutch city with a sizable Catholic congregation. While Metsu was not known as an artist who frequently painted religious subjects, the fact that he was a Catholic would have appealed to these patrons.<sup>265</sup>

Metsu's religious paintings from this period of his career were all executed between 1663 and 1666, a period that coincided with severe plague outbreaks in Amsterdam. Since the Middle Ages, the plague had been never far from the daily lives of Europeans. During the seventeenth century, Amsterdam suffered from plague outbreaks in 1601–1603, 1616–1618, 1623–1626, 1629, 1635–1636, 1652–1657, and 1663–1666.<sup>266</sup> Although the outbreaks in the 1620s and 1630s had higher mortality rates, the last plague outbreak during the 1663–

---

<sup>264</sup> According to Hedquist, a contemporary Delft Jesuit, Lodewijk Makeblijde, recommended in his book *Troost der Siecken ende Verleden* (1653) that when caring for the sick, one should put “an emphasis on the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist and extreme unction or the anointing of the sick with holy oil, prayers to the Virgin Mary and the saints, and the use of devotional tools such as depictions of Christ on the cross and the rosary.” The increased number of Catholic paintings by Metsu during this period was probably the result of the Catholics who took this advice and commissioned religious paintings with Catholic overtones.

<sup>265</sup> Entries on Maria de Grebber and her *Portrait of the Priest Augustinus de Wolff* (Figure 5-9), in Judith Leyster exh. cat. 1993, 228–233; Entry on Pieter de Grebber, in Judith Leyster exh. cat. 1993, 220–221; Xander van Eck, “The Artist’s Religion: Paintings Commissioned for Clandestine Churches in the Northern Netherlands, 1600–1800,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27, no. 1/2 (1999): 71, 73–74; Hedquist, “Dutch Genre Painting as Religious Art,” 160. The De Grebbers were devout Catholics, and Catholic churches were major patrons of Pieter de Grebber, Maria’s brother. He painted at least five paintings for *schuilkerken* and numerous portraits of Catholic priests. Pieter, a life-long bachelor, even lived in a beguinage in Haarlem for last nine years of his life. Another brother of Pieter and Maria, Adolphus de Grebber, was a Catholic priest as well. Augustinus de Wolff, for whom Maria painted two portraits, was a brother-in-law of Maria de Grebber. De Wolff was a prominent Catholic priest of his time, as he served as an arch-priest in Haarlem diocese, while keeping his parish church in Enkhuizen.

<sup>266</sup> Leo Noordegraaf and Gerrit Valk, *De Gave Gods. De pest in Holland vanaf de late Middeleeuwen* (Bergen, NH: Octavo, 1998), 230.

1666 period claimed the largest number of lives (Tables 5-1 and 2).<sup>267</sup> Metsu's patron, Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen seems to have died from the plague in 1666, and Rembrandt's companion, Hendrickje Stoffels, also succumbed to this disease in 1663.

In this light, Metsu's *Sick Child* (A-118) reflects every parent's worst fear in a simple but direct manner.<sup>268</sup> The composition of a lethargic child on mother's lap is undoubtedly reminiscent of a *Pietà*. This Catholic interpretation is reinforced by a painting of the crucifixion on the back wall, where Christ on the Cross is surrounded by the distraught Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and John the Evangelist. Christ's suffering and that of the sick child must have resonated with contemporaries who were experiencing death on a daily basis. In a society where one in five or six people died during the epidemic, it is not surprising that people wished to find some measure of comfort in their faith. By placing the figures close to the picture plane and by using

---

<sup>267</sup> Rommes, "Plague in Northwestern Europe," 60 (Tab. 1) and 61 (Tab. 2).

Noordegraaf and Valk, *De Gave Gods*, 233; Rommes, "Plague in Northwestern Europe," 47–71. However, Noordegraaf and Valk's data shows the mortality rate in Amsterdam rose to 17.5% in 1664, while the usual mortality rate was less than 10%. The big difference in mortality rates between Noordegraaf & Valk and Rommes seems to have based on their different data for the Amsterdam population at the time. Noordegraaf and Valk's data shows Amsterdam had a population of 138,000 in 1664 and that 24,148 died from plague in that year alone; which makes the mortality rate of 17.5%. Other sources, such as *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, estimates the population of Amsterdam around 1650 as 175,000. While the general trend of Amsterdam's population during the seventeenth century continued to be increased over the years, even if we assume that the population growth was minimal during the third quarter of the seventeenth century for the sake of this mortality calculation, the bigger number of Amsterdam population that was estimated in recent studies caused the mortality rate decreased, with the same number of plague victims. While the statistics vary from publication to publication, the plague clearly had a major impact on Amsterdam in the 1660s.

<sup>268</sup> Joseph P. Byrne, *Encyclopedia of the Black Death* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012), entry on "Effects of Plague on Art," 24–27. "Artists during the later Middle Ages developed pictorial themes that emphasized the physical suffering of Christ during the Passion. Partly, this expressed a cult of guilt that reminded each believer that his or her sin bore responsibility, but it also embodied the shared suffering of man and God. Jesus knew human suffering and has compassion. Terribly realistic crucifixion scenes appeared, culminating in Grunewald's tortured tableaus of the early 1500s. The half-figure man of sorrows, called the *pieta* in Italy, depicted the dead savior with crown of thorns propped up behind an altar/slab. This was later softened to Mary supporting and meditating on the dead Christ, the most famous example of which is Michelangelo's in St. Peter's (25)."

strong local colors – red, blue and yellow at the center of the painting – Metsu encourages a viewer to focus on the mother and child and to sympathize with their suffering. Perhaps, through this suffering, redemption awaits them.

As in his *Saint Cecilia*, Metsu does not overwhelm *Sick Child* with its Catholic overtones, despite the painting of the crucifixion on the back wall. The painting's main focus is the mother's tender care of her sick child. Her tenderness is comparable to Gerard ter Borch's *Mother Combing Her Child's Hair* (Figure 3-8) or Pieter de Hooch's *A Woman Nursing an Infant, with a Child and a Dog* (Figure 5-10), except that the children in these paintings are not sick. Metsu's religious paintings differ from those by contemporary Flemish painters, such as Pieter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) whose studios constantly produced altarpieces. Instead of depicting the mother and child more classically and traditionally, for example, as supplicants before an altarpiece, Metsu merged his specialty as a genre painter with his Catholic heritage. By doing so, he brought the scene to the realm of contemporary life and made the mother's suffering more immediate and tangible. While this approach reinforces the nature of Catholic belief about the Passion of Christ, few Dutch artists amalgamated these two incongruous genres so seamlessly.<sup>269</sup>

While executing a number of religious paintings, Metsu also continued to diversify his subject matters and techniques by emulating other masters. During this period, he increasingly borrowed structural components from Vermeer and De Hooch.

---

<sup>269</sup> Johannes Vermeer's *Woman Holding with a Balance* (Figure 4-9, c. 1664) shows a similar degree of combination between genre painting and religious painting, as the woman holding a balance is set against the typical Dutch domestic interior with a painting of *The Last Judgment* on the wall.

Metsu's *A Man and a Woman at the Virginal* (A-115, 1664–1666) demonstrates how closely Metsu must have studied Vermeer's paintings from this time, especially *A Lady at the Virginal with a Gentleman* (*The Music Lesson*) (Figure 5-11) or *The Concert* (Figure 5-12, c. 1664).<sup>270</sup> As in Vermeer's paintings, the intersection and overlapping of the horizontals and verticals of the picture frames and virginal create a solid platform for the figures. Although both masters had previously painted checker-patterned marble floors, sumptuously carpeted tables, and similar types of people in their works, the fundamental element in this painting that gives the viewer an impression of "Vermeer-likeness" is the calmly poised figures surrounded by geometric partitions. Nobody seems to be in action. The eloquent facial expressions and active body language so ubiquitous in Metsu's other paintings have also disappeared. The only interaction between the couple is the calm and subtle gesture of handing over a music score and a wine glass. The influence of Vermeer in this painting is so strong that it leads a viewer to suspect that Metsu probably had encountered Vermeer's paintings for the first time around the mid-1660s.<sup>271</sup>

---

<sup>270</sup> Johannes Vermeer, *A Lady at the Virginal with a Gentleman* (*The Music Lesson*), c. 1662–1664, oil on canvas, 74 x 64.5 cm, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II; Johannes Vermeer, *The Concert*, c. 1663–1666, oil on canvas, 69 x 63 cm, previously at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. Waiboer also speculates that Metsu probably studied Vermeer's *The Milkmaid*, *The Concert*, and *Woman at the Virginal with a Gentleman* (*The Music Lesson*) when he painted *Woman Reading a Letter* (A-117). See Adriaan E. Waiboer, "Corresponding Love," in *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), 115 and note 9.

<sup>271</sup> The influence from Vermeer is so strong that it is unlikely that Metsu could have painted *A Man and a Woman at the Virginal* without first seeing Vermeer's *A Lady at the Virginal with a Gentleman* (*The Music Lesson*) or *The Concert* in person. As Montias speculated that Pieter Claesz van Ruijven (1624–1674) probably acquired Vermeer's *The Concert* by 1665, Metsu seems to have travelled to Delft, around the time when these Vermeer's paintings were completed, to see Vermeer's paintings either in the artist's studio or in his patron's residence. Both Vermeer paintings were sold at the Dissius sale in Amsterdam in



Metsu's response to his colleagues did not stop with Vermeer. His *A Woman at the Virginal with a Dog* (A-123) reflects the influence of both Vermeer and De Hooch, who lived in Amsterdam at that time. Since the sixteenth century, *doorkijkje* (see-through door) scenes had been frequently employed by various artists, including Pieter Aertsen (1508–1575) and Joachim Beuckelaer (c. 1533–1574/1575).<sup>272</sup> When interest in perspective increased during the mid-seventeenth century, more artists introduced this pictorial device in their works to create a credible sense of depth in their paintings. Among these artists were church interior specialists like Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665) and Emanuel de Witte (1617–1692), as well as genre painters, such as Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693), Pieter Janssens Elinga (1623–1682), and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678).<sup>273</sup> Nevertheless, it was De Hooch who perfected this pictorial device and employed it numerous times.<sup>274</sup> Metsu also frequently utilized this *doorkijkje* motif, but it was not until the 1660s that he fully embraced this *doorkijkje* in his works.<sup>275</sup> In most of his earlier paintings, background rooms are in shadows or painted in dark colors, so

---

1696, after Van Ruijven's son-in-law, Jacob Dissius (1653–1695) died in previous year. See Montias, *Vermeer and His Milieu*, 250.

<sup>272</sup> Pieter Aertsen: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/605](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/605); Joachim Beuckelaer: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/7836](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/7836).

<sup>273</sup> Pieter Saenredam: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/69237](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/69237); Emanuel de Witte: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/85180](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/85180); Nicolaes Maes: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/51906](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/51906); Pieter Janssens Elinga: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/41930](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/41930); Samuel van Hoogstraten: [rkd.nl/explore/artists/39579](http://rkd.nl/explore/artists/39579).

<sup>274</sup> Pieter Aertsen, *Christ and the Adulterous Woman* (Figure 5-13), c. 1557–1558, National Museum of Sweden, Stockholm; Joachim Beuckelaer, *Kitchen Scene, with Jesus in the House of Martha and Mary in the Background* (Figure 5-14), 1569, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 153. According to Martha Hollander, among the more than 160 paintings attributed to De Hooch, only twelve paintings do not use this *doorkijkje* motif.

<sup>275</sup> *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (A-3), *Twelfth Night* (A-16), *A Woman Tapping from a Cask, with a Boy* (A-35), *A Woman Drawing* (A-62), *A Woman at Her Toilet with a Page* (A-65), *A Man Tuning a Violoncello and a Woman Descending the Stairs* (A-68), *A Musical Company* (A-70), *The Artist as the Prodigal Son* (A-77), *The Intruder* (A-84), *A Family Meal* (A-85), *A Visit to the Nursery* (A-86), *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and His Family* (A-87), and *Saint Cecilia* (A-110).

*doorkijkje* structures rarely add much depth to the paintings.<sup>276</sup> In others, the lack of activity on the other side of the doors fails to engage the viewer's attention, so the motifs become relatively unimportant.<sup>277</sup>

In *A Woman at the Virginal with a Dog*, however, Metsu exploited the full potential of this pictorial device with various visual elements. Not only is his *doorkijkje* in full daylight, but rhythmical shifts of color in both the view through the window and in the curtain intrigue the viewer. Light and shade also activate the scene, particularly as they accent the wooden bench, the floor, and the broomstick. Metsu's new emphasis on a *doorkijkje* in this painting indicates that he must have had first-hand experiences with De Hooch's paintings around this time since De Hooch had moved to Amsterdam from Delft around 1660/1661.<sup>278</sup> At the same time, by incorporating the interplay between the horizontal and vertical lines, Vermeer's influence is also evident in this painting.

In the mid- to late 1660s, Metsu increasingly painted more elegant households with occasional use of more saturated colors. The deep red color so unabashedly used in *A Man Visiting a Woman Washing Her Hands* (A-126) is awe-inspiring. As one of the largest paintings of his career, 82 x 66 cm, Metsu's ambition in this painting is palpable. Metsu usually reserved this red color for the jackets of young ladies, yet here the four-poster canopy bed, carpeted table, and

---

<sup>276</sup> *Twelfth Night* (A-16), *A Woman Tapping from a Cask, with a Boy* (A-35), *A Woman Drawing* (A-62), and *A Family Meal* (A-85).

<sup>277</sup> *A Woman Tapping from a Cask, with a Boy* (A-35), *A Woman Drawing* (A-62), *A Woman at Her Toilet with a Page* (A-65), *The Intruder* (A-84), *A Family Meal* (A-85), *A Visit to the Nursery* (A-86), *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen and His Family* (A-87), and *Saint Cecilia* (A-110).

<sup>278</sup> Peter C. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch, 1629–1684*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 15.

upholstered chair are all presented as a matching set, while the young mistress wears a jacket with slightly more pinkish hue. This unusually wide application of red is balanced with the equally pervasive use of gold; not only in the chandelier, the ornately decorated column on the bed, painting frames atop a fireplace, but also the gold brocade in the young lady's silver satin dress. The richness of these colors, mostly on the right side of the painting, draws attention to the young lady. The dress of her young maid looks rather drab in comparison. The black attire of the man at the door — a black jacket, breeches, stockings, and shoes — creates even more contrast to the young lady's dress.<sup>279</sup> While a sparing use of strong local colors seems to have been the norm in the genre paintings from the 1650s, Metsu preferred saturated colors and a crisp atmosphere effect in the 1660s. This trend was universal among the genre painters, such as Egmont van der Neer or Caspar Netscher, who increasingly painted more elegant sitters in sophisticated interiors.

Unlike the rather restrained facial expressions and body language in Metsu's *A Man and a Woman at the Virginal* or the subtler interactions between the young lady and the gentleman in Ter Borch's *The Suitor's Visit* (Figure 5-15), where Metsu borrowed the motif of a figure coming through the door, the underlying narrative of Metsu's *A Man Visiting a Woman Washing Her Hands* is to be found in the knowing smile of the maid. Metsu's decision to place the maid at the center of the painting is, in itself, quite astonishing.<sup>280</sup> Rarely did seventeenth-century artists place maids or page boys at the center of a painting when the maid's social superiors are present. The placement of this young maid is contrary to social practices. With the enormous success of their

---

<sup>279</sup> Even the visitor's chemise, which usually depicted white, is in dark grey color.

<sup>280</sup> Although Vermeer placed his maid in *Woman Writing a Letter, with Her Maid* (Figure 5-16) at the center of his painting, this painting was painted much later, around 1670–1671.

international trade, Amsterdammers were more easily able to raise (or lose) their social standing with well-positioned investments than their contemporaries in other places in Europe. However, the Dutch Republic was still a hierarchical society consisting of a variety of classes, both social and financial. By placing the young maid at the center of the painting, Metsu indicated that she held an integral part in this scene, despite her 'lowliness.'

In fact, the maid is the only person in this painting who shows any discernible facial expression. While pouring water over her mistress's hands, the maid responds to the gentleman's visit with a conspiratorial smile. Unlike the Ter Borch's dutiful maid who minds her own duties, as in *Woman Washing Hands* (Figure 5-17) from the mid-1650s, Metsu's maids often impart valuable insights on the dramas unfolding in the scenes. In *The Intruder* (A-84) from the late 1650s, Metsu's maid playfully restrains the young man coming into the room, while observing and weighing her two mistresses' reactions to his unannounced arrival to decide whether to let him enter the room or keep him out. Judging from the keys and a small wallet dangling from her waist, this maid is a trusted member of the household and a confidante of her mistresses. While the young woman in green jacket looks amused to see the visiting man, the one coming down from her bed seems annoyed with the man's presence. Whichever way the maid decides, she, literally, holds the key to how this scene will develop.

The maid in Metsu's *A Hunter Visiting a Woman at Her Toilet* (A-125), of 1663–1666, also candidly displays her feelings about the young man visiting her mistress. With furrowed brow and a finger placed on her lips, the maid seems

suspicious about the young man's intention. Her suspicion is judicious, as the man has brought a hunted fowl as a gift for her mistress. The Dutch verb *vogelen* (to bird) was synonymous to *copulate* in the seventeenth century.<sup>281</sup> These maids with open facial expressions and body language are not only helping the viewer to grasp the situations depicted, but also sharing the sense of humor that the artist had imparted in these scenes. If Vermeer invites his viewer to contemplate the beauty of well-orchestrated harmony, Metsu solicits his viewer to participate in the scenes and share a chuckle with him. The balance that Metsu keeps for his lighthearted sense of humor that could easily stumble into the overtly sensual or exaggerated farce shows the artist's mastery in depicting human emotions.

The opulent interiors of these paintings also reflect the current tastes of Metsu's major clientele. Compared to the relatively moderate sizes of paintings from his mid-career (1658–1662), the paintings of these fancy genre paintings from the mid-1660s are larger in size. It seems that, once he painted for the Hinloppens successfully in the early 1660s, Metsu increasingly targeted a market that consisted of more affluent clients who could afford more expensive paintings. The *Portrait of Lucia Wijbrants* (?), 1667, (A-132) attests to this type of elegant figures in luxurious interiors that were in vogue in the

---

<sup>281</sup> Eddy de Jongh, "Erotica in vogelperspectief. De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen (Double Entendre in Some 17th-Century Genre Subjects)," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 3, no. 1, 1968–1969, 22–52; F. Claes s.j., "Latere uitgaven van Kiliaans Etymologicum," in C. Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae* (Den Haag: Mouton, 1972), 36–38. The *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae*, the first modern Dutch-Latin dictionary, published in 1599, already acknowledged the association between bird and copulation, among its 40,000 entries, and this double entendre had been widely employed in contemporary literary works as well as visual representations. Among the literary figures, Jacob Cats, Bredero, Starter, Focquen Broch, Constantijn Huygens the Younger, and among the artists, Gillis van Breen, Pieter Codd, Gerrit Dou, Van Slingelandt, and Verkolje used this *voegel* entendre. The *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae* is a third edition of Cornelius Kilianus (1528/1530–1607)'s Dutch-Latin dictionary, which had been a standard Dutch dictionary until the end of the eighteenth century. It had been continuously reprinted until the late eighteenth century (1777) by G. van Hasselt.

late 1660s. After Leonora Hinlopen died during the childbirth in 1663, Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen married Lucia Wijbrants (1638–1719) in 1665. Although Hinlopen died a year later, Lucia had her portrait painted by Metsu, seemingly satisfied with what the artist had previously created for her late husband and his family. While the painting is signed and dated 1667, Lucia's hairstyle is datable to the 1670s.<sup>282</sup> Since Metsu died in October 1667, probably while working on this painting, another painter must have finished it at a later date.<sup>283</sup> Despite the involvement of a second hand, one can easily discern Metsu's touch in this work, executed in the year of his demise. Lucia's gold brocaded bluish-silver satin dress is similar to the one in *A Man Visiting a Woman Washing Her Hands* (A-126), while the Persian carpet with the same patterns covers the tables in *A Man Writing a Letter* (A-116), *A Woman Composing Music, with an Inquisitive Man* (A-130), and *A Doctor's Visit* (A-131). Even the dog begging to play appears in *A Woman at the Virginal with a Dog* (A-123) and *A Woman Composing Music, with an Inquisitive Man* as well.

While Metsu seems to have painted mainly on commission, or for a selected group of affluent people, during his last years, he also continued to execute small-scale paintings depicting one or two figures. Table 5-3 shows the

---

<sup>282</sup> Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*, 142–143.

<sup>283</sup> Roelofs suspects that the *Portrait of Lucia Wijbrants* was probably retouched to reflect the most recent fashion and hair styles when she was to marry Johan van Nellesteijn, a burgomaster and town councilor of Utrecht, in 1672. See Pieter Roelofs, "Early Owners of Paintings by Metsu in Leiden and Amsterdam," in *Gabriel Metsu*, 106–107.

size of paintings he created throughout his career.<sup>284</sup> Each group is organized by the estimated date of execution and the length of the longer side of each painting. It is quite striking that during his early years in Leiden and Utrecht, even before Metsu reached the age of twenty-five, most of his output, primarily Biblical and mythological scenes, was quite large in size. This fact can only be explained if Metsu had painted almost exclusively on commission. It would be worthy to recreate Metsu's earliest career and explain who might have commissioned these large paintings, and most importantly how this young artist could have enjoyed such patronage.<sup>285</sup> It is also possible that we do not have a complete picture of his production. As signed and dated paintings by Metsu before 1654 are rare, and he had not yet established a distinctive style, it may be that some of his earlier endeavors could have been misattributed or slipped through current scholarship. It is unfathomable that a young artist at the beginning of his career could afford to paint only large works without small or modest-sized paintings that would have been easily sold for a more modest price.

Generally speaking, a positive correlation between the size and price of paintings exists: in other words, larger paintings are pricier.<sup>286</sup> Once Metsu moved to Amsterdam, a

---

<sup>284</sup> The data is compiled from Waiboer's *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work: A Catalogue Raisonné*. Although some paintings were cut down and others have added strips by later generations, the tendency shown here still seems to be unaffected.

<sup>285</sup> Waiboer and Roelofs already conducted some of the research that is being proposed here: Adriaan E. Waiboer, "The Early Years of Gabriel Metsu," *The Burlington Magazine* 147, no. 1223 (February 2005): 80–90; Pieter Roelofs, "Early Owners of Paintings by Metsu in Leiden and Amsterdam," in *Gabriel Metsu*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 97–125. However, further research on how the young Metsu came about to acquire prestigious commissions that required paintings of large sizes and what other paintings he might have painted would advance our understanding of how the art market of the seventeenth century in Holland worked.

<sup>286</sup> Piet Bakker, "Painters of and for the Elite," in *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), 90.

clear tendency arose in the size of his paintings. He suddenly started executing extremely small paintings (Group A), even shorter than 20 cm on their long side, and the bulk of his paintings from this period are small (Group B) to moderate (Group C) in size.<sup>287</sup> The fact that more than two-thirds of his output during the mid-1650s is focused on paintings of smaller sizes that must have been cheaper than his large paintings, probably indicate that Metsu was primarily executing his paintings for the open market, and had yet to develop his own reliable clientele.

Certainly, exceptions exist. Dou's paintings, even when small, commanded a high price. Dou's painting style and technique were much more refined and more labor-intensive than that of Metsu's in the mid-1650s. While Metsu executed, at least, 41 paintings in the four-year period, between 1654 and 1657, it is doubtful that Dou could have created that many paintings in the same period of time. The Leiden master's techniques required many more details and a finely tuned application of paint: An often cited episode told by Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688) relates that it took Dou three whole days to “paint a broomstick no larger than a fingernail.”<sup>288</sup>

As much as Dou's paintings were executed in a refined manner, the high price that his paintings commanded was essentially due to the labor-intensive nature of the master's painting technique.<sup>289</sup> While Metsu increasingly applied

---

<sup>287</sup> Out of 41 paintings that the current scholarship knows about Metsu's paintings from 1654 to 1657, 28 paintings (68%) are extremely small to moderate sizes.

<sup>288</sup> Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., “Dou's Reputation,” in *Gerrit Dou, 1613–1675*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 15.

<sup>289</sup> Piet Bakker, “Painters of and for the Elite,” in *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*, exh. cat. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017), 88.



more refined brushwork in his later years, his execution never reached the level of Dou's meticulous techniques had created. Therefore, within Metsu's oeuvre from the same period, it would be safe to assume that the larger the painting the more expensive it would have been.<sup>290</sup>

While Metsu fashioned his genre scenes as a substitute for Dou's expensive paintings during this period, he did not indiscriminately mimic the older master's paintings. Montias argues that the stylistic change in landscape paintings in the 1630s to monochromatic scenes was largely to increase artists' productivity and to reduce the cost.<sup>291</sup> Similarly, by adopting Dou's style but not quite putting as much time as to exactly follow his Leiden colleague's painstaking techniques, Metsu saved time in executing these works and therefore was able to increase his output. Also, by borrowing Dou's subjects and styles and adapting them to his own way, Metsu created paintings that could appeal to a broader population who already knew and favored the Leiden master's paintings. As a young and unknown artist in a new city, even with the help of his uncle Kayser and his mentor Anthonie de Grebber, Metsu initially would have had to focus on circulating his name among potential clients. At that point, it would have been risky to create any large paintings without first receiving a commission.

After the initial period of establishing himself in the Amsterdam art market as a genre painter, Metsu began to offer paintings in a variety of sizes. Except for the Early

---

<sup>290</sup> The qualification of "from the same period" posed on this assumption is essential, since Metsu's brushwork becomes increasingly tight and refined as his career progresses. Thus, the positive correlation between the size and price should be applied to the paintings executed during the same period.

<sup>291</sup> John Michael Montias, "The Influence of Economic Factors on Style," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6, no. 1 (1990): 51–53; Martine Gosselink, "Consumption and Production," in *At Home in the Golden Age: Masterpieces from the Sør Rusche Collection*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Kunsthall Rotterdam, 2008), 34.

Amsterdam Period, he ceased to paint extremely small paintings whose longer sides are less than 20 cm. Even then, the majority of Metsu's paintings from his Middle Amsterdam Period (1658–1662) would have been quite affordable.<sup>292</sup> Probably the smaller paintings belonging to Group B, such as *A Woman Holding a Book, with a Dog* (A-59) or *A Woman Reading a Letter* (A-88), were targeted for the open market, whereas the bigger paintings in Group C, including *A Man and a Woman at the Virginal* (A-83) or *A Baker Blowing His Horn* (A-104), would have been for the people who had a little more means to spend on art.<sup>293</sup> It is also noteworthy that most paintings belong to Group B during this period have a single person.<sup>294</sup> These mostly half-length single figures are portrayed close to the picture plane, and are either set against a simple background or framed with a stone niche that reminds a viewer of Leiden's genre paintings. The fact that Metsu increasingly executed these small paintings with solitary figures with finer brushwork towards the 1660s indicates that he must have built a clientele who could be enticed to acquire more Dou-like paintings than he had previously executed. These later paintings, despite their small sizes, would have been more

---

<sup>292</sup> Out of 51 paintings from this Middle Amsterdam period (1658–1662), 30 paintings (58%) are small (Group B) to moderately sized (Group C).

<sup>293</sup> *A Woman Holding a Book, with a Dog* (A-59, 1657–1659): 22.1 x 18.8 cm; *A Woman Reading a Letter* (A-88, 1658–1661): 25.5 x 20.5 cm; *A Man and a Woman at the Virginal* (A-83, 1659–1662): 31.4 x 25 cm; *A Baker Blowing His Horn* (A-104, 1660–1663): 36.5 x 30.7 cm

<sup>294</sup> A list of paintings belong to Group B during the Middle Amsterdam Period (1658–1662): *A Woman Holding a Book* (A-59), *A Man Writing a Letter* (A-72), *A Woman Receiving a Letter from a Messenger* (A-73), *A Woman Reading a Letter* (A-88), *A Woman Sewing* (A-90), *A Woman Holding an Apple* (A-92), *A Hunter with a Drink* (A-93), *An Old Woman Preparing Herrings* (A-97), *A Boy Stealing an Apple from a Sleeping Vendor* (A-98), *An Old Woman with a Book on Her Lap* (A-100), *An Old Man Holding a Pipe and a Jug* (A-101), *An Old Man Holding a Pipe and a Jug* (A-102), *A Pharmacist* (A-103), *A Woman Artist (Le Corset rouge)* (A-109).

expensive than the similarly sized paintings from the previous period. At the same time, Metsu also probably kept cultivating more affluent patrons, such as Hinlopen, who could commission or purchase large paintings belonging to Group E. More or less evenly distributed numbers of paintings in Groups B (14 small paintings), C (16 moderately sized paintings), and E (15 extremely large paintings) during his Middle Amsterdam Years demonstrate that Metsu did not rely on just one market to sustain himself as an artist.<sup>295</sup> Rather, he created paintings for all strata of society by varying the sizes of his paintings.

When Metsu reached the height of his career in the mid-1660s, which was cut short by his untimely death in 1667, he seems to have concentrated his efforts to satisfy the needs of the most affluent of his clientele. He produced fewer small- to moderate-sized paintings during this period.<sup>296</sup> Still, it is intriguing that Metsu maintained the production of small paintings even at the pinnacle of his career. These small paintings usually feature a single man or a woman and were painted mostly with earth tones.<sup>297</sup> What each sitter is doing in small- or moderately sized paintings varies, but he drew his primarily depicted women in domestic settings, whether at her toilet, seated at a virginal, reading or writing a letter, reading a book, or doing a household chore. Metsu also depicted men in a stone niche, holding tobacco or boasting about his hunted game.

---

<sup>295</sup> In comparison, Metsu painted no extremely small paintings (Group A), and 7 large paintings that belong to Group D during his Middle Amsterdam Years.

<sup>296</sup> Out of 24 paintings from his Late Amsterdam Period, only four paintings (17%) are small paintings. When compared to his Early Amsterdam Period (34%) or Middle Amsterdam Period (27%), the trend seems clearer.

<sup>297</sup> A list of paintings belong to Group B during the Late Amsterdam Period (1663–1667): *A Woman Eating* (A-119), *A Woman at Her Toilet* (A-120), *A Woman at Her Toilet* (A-121), and *A Woman Playing the Virginal* (A-122) all depict a solitary woman in half-length.

When one considers the subjects of all the paintings Metsu executed during his Middle and Late Amsterdam Periods, it becomes clear that he routinely recycled subjects and motifs, such as the stone niche or solitary figures, from his Early Amsterdam Period. By creating closely cropped paintings with a single figure so close to the picture plane, the need to provide a sense of depth or a variety of textures of pictorial elements largely disappeared. Small paintings from the Late Amsterdam Period, including *A Woman Eating* (A-119), *A Woman at Her Toilet* (A-120), *A Woman at Her Toilet* (A-121), and *A Woman Playing the Virginal* (A-122), are much simpler in their compositions and none feature the brilliantly saturated color schemes that Metsu employed in *A Man Visiting a Woman Washing Her Hands* (A-126, 1663–1666).<sup>298</sup> None of the women in these paintings wears the fancy red fur-trimmed jacket that Isabella so primly fashioned in *A Woman Drawing* (A-62, 1657–1659).<sup>299</sup> Also missing in these small paintings are marble floors, ornately carved columns, or Persian carpets so prominently displayed in *A Visit to Nursery* (A-86, 1661).<sup>300</sup> Clearly, these small paintings were not necessarily for an elite clientele, but for people who would love to have a painting of a subject and type that was then in vogue. Since these paintings were small and the subjects were familiar, it would have been easy enough and have taken less time for Metsu to create them. By maintaining the production of small paintings at the same time that he created larger paintings for

---

<sup>298</sup> *A Man Visiting a Woman Washing Her Hands* (A-126), 83.7 x 67.4 cm, is an extremely large painting (Group E).

<sup>299</sup> *A Woman Drawing* (A-62), 36.3 x 30.7 cm, is a moderately sized painting (Group C).

<sup>300</sup> *A Visit to Nursery* (A-86), 77.5 x 81.3 cm, is an extremely large painting (Group E).

the affluent, with almost no extra effort on his part, Metsu's on-going effort to diversify his market lasted until his death.

## Conclusion

This dissertation is an effort to understand how the vicissitudes of the political and economic environment of the mid-seventeenth century Dutch Republic brought the stylistic changes in the contemporary paintings. By focusing on a relatively short career of Gabriel Metsu, this study has attempted to answer following questions: What made an artist to move from one city to another? How did the artist decide to paint certain genre(s)? What kinds of effort did the artist make to penetrate a new market? How did the artist respond to the changing tastes of potential buyers? How did he respond to his competitors? Last but not least, what was the Dutch Republic's political and economic situation in the mid-seventeenth century and how did it affect art markets?

When Metsu started his career as an independent master painter in the burgeoning metropolis of Amsterdam in 1654, the Dutch Republic recently had gone through dramatic transformations. From a loosely unified entity of the Seventeen Provinces under the House of Habsburg to an independent Republic of the Seven United Provinces, i.e. the Dutch Republic.<sup>301</sup> However, the turmoil was not over when Dutch independence was ratified in 1648. The sudden death of stadholder Willem II of Orange in 1650, the on-going conflicts with England over maritime hegemony in the form of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), and a plague outbreak in the mid-1650s left the Dutch Republic

---

<sup>301</sup> Charles V (1500–1558), Holy Roman Emperor, unified the seventeen provinces as a single entity with the Pragmatic Sanction in 1549. This edict dictated that these seventeen provinces were to be inherited by a single heir. Philip II of Spain, son of Charles V, inherited these seventeen provinces when Charles V abdicated himself in 1555, but the conflict between the new ruler and the seventeen provinces arose when Philip II intensified his effort to centralize the power structure and revoked some measure of autonomy that these provinces previously enjoyed. Although all seventeen provinces joined the initial revolt against Philip II's centralizing effort, heavy taxation, and the religious persecution, the ten southern provinces were restored to the Spain before long. As a result, it was only the seven northern provinces that acquired their independence in 1648 when the Treaty of Münster was signed.

in a precarious state.<sup>302</sup> The economic expansion due to the lower tariffs, insurance premiums, and the use of direct trade routes that kept the newly minted nation from complete collapse. Nevertheless, economic expansion after the mid-seventeenth century broadened the gap between rich and poor. While the overall living conditions of peasants or manual laborers were better in the Dutch Republic than those in the other European countries, there was a growing inequality of wealth among the Dutch (Table Conclusion-1).<sup>303</sup>

To succeed in this dynamic political and economic environment, Metsu moved in 1654 to a bigger market where he could find more people with disposable means. He reconnected with Anthonie de Grebber, his childhood mentor who had been living in Amsterdam for a few years, as well as with Jan Adriaensz Kayser, his uncle who would have undoubtedly shared with him his broad network of Amsterdam's social elite. However, Metsu does not seem to have solely relied on his uncle's acquaintances during his first years in the new city. He minimized the risk of not being able to sell works to an elite clientele by creating small paintings that could be easily sold on the open market. The wide variety of subjects he painted during the mid-1650s, as well as exploration of

---

<sup>302</sup> See note 214 and Table 5-1.

<sup>303</sup> Table Conclusion-1 shows Amsterdam's wealth inequality in the seventeenth centuries. Although the percentage of households with less than f1000 decreased as the century progressed, which means the number of households with extreme poverty decreased, the share of wealth that the upper one percent possessed increased during the same period. This table can be translated into:

Table Conclusion-2. Wealth Inequality in Amsterdam, 1631–1674

	1631	1674
Upper 1%	41%	45%
Upper 2–10%	54%	48%
The Rest (90%)	5%	7%

promising techniques such as copper plates or silver leaf, demonstrate various ways that Metsu diversified his artistic output to reach a varied clientele.<sup>304</sup>

Once he established himself as a competent genre painter in the Amsterdam art market, Metsu moved onto the next phase of his career. Rather than continuing to depict subjects he had explored in the previous years, Metsu began to focus on domestic interior scenes with young ladies and gentlemen at leisure. He showed them writing and reading letters, courting, at their toilets, making music, and playing with their pets in well-appointed interiors. His focus on these affluent young people in domestic settings paralleled that of other genre painters, including Gerard ter Borch, Frans van Mieris, Johannes Vermeer, and Pieter de Hooch. The increasing popularity of the concept of civility among the broader populace in the 1650s and 1660s most definitely helped shape this artistic trend. Metsu's effort to broaden his clientele seems to have been fruitful, as he was also able to secure prestigious commissions from Amsterdam's social elite, including Jan Jansz Hinlopen.

Metsu's interest in religious paintings continued until his last years. It was probably the plague epidemic of the early 1660s, which claimed about 20,000 people in Amsterdam, that prompted Metsu to produce more religious paintings.<sup>305</sup> The large

---

<sup>304</sup> This includes: popular Flemish subjects, such as *Twelfth Night* (A-16) or *As the Old Sing, the Young Pipe* (A-24); "Dou-like" solitary old women, such as *An Old Woman at Her Meal* (A-20); young kitchen maids, such as *A Kitchen Maid Peeling Apples* (A-40); market vendors, such as *A Woman Holding up a Plaice* (A-42) or *A Woman Selling Poultry and Fish* (A-45); and unique subjects without any precedents, like *Doddus and the Covetous Woman* (A-12).

<sup>305</sup> When including the five religious paintings from the 1902 inventory in his oeuvre during the Middle Amsterdam Years, less than 10% of Metsu's paintings during this period is religious paintings (5 out of 56 paintings). Meanwhile, the artist painted six religious paintings, out of twenty-four paintings, during the Late Amsterdam Years which is 25% of his output. For the list of paintings for each period of Metsu's career, see Table 5-3.



religious paintings and theatrical presentation of the scenes Metsu painting in these years indicate that they were commissioned by specific patrons.

None of the paintings' provenances from Metsu's last years can be traced back to seventeenth-century records, except for *Portrait of Lucia Wijbrants*, which was mentioned in Lucia's will in 1705. However, the fact that the majority of his paintings of the mid-1660s were extremely large paintings indicates that Metsu's potential clientele shifted from people with moderate means to the social elite who could easily afford large paintings executed in a refined manner.<sup>306</sup> As the wealth inequality increased after the mid-seventeenth century, Metsu's decision to focus more on people with greater means seems judicious. Nevertheless, he continued to execute small-sized paintings during his last years to enable him to maintain a broad reach in the market.

We are all children of our age. What we do, how we think, and how we respond to our immediate environment are largely defined by the circumstances that surround us. This was also true to the seventeenth-century artists in the Dutch Republic. By examining Gabriel Metsu's career and oeuvre in a broader context of the society to which he belonged, this study has endeavored to understand why Metsu made certain choices and how he responded to the political, social, and economic environment in which he lived. The concept of *art for art's sake* is a relatively modern concept. Despite contemporary efforts to elevate the status of art of painting to one of the liberal arts, the artists in the mid-seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic were entrepreneurs and businessmen.

---

<sup>306</sup> 15 paintings out of 24 (63%) from Metsu's Late Amsterdam Period are extremely large (Group E); as opposed to 22% and 29% of his Early Amsterdam Years and Middle Amsterdam Periods belong to this same group.

They were quick to respond to changes in markets and strove to succeed in their given environment in creative ways. By incorporating the political and economic circumstances in which Metsu lived and operated, this study has tried to give a fuller understanding of Gabriel Metsu and his time.

Table 5-3. The Groupings of Metsu's Paintings by Size and Periods<sup>307</sup>

	Group A: 10~19.9 cm (longer side length)	Group B: 20~20.9 cm	Group C: 30~30.9 cm	Group D: 40~40.9 cm	Group E: 50+ cm
Leiden & Utrecht Period: before 1654				8, 9	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19
Early Amsterdam Period: 1654–1657	29, 31, 43	26, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 44, 50, 51, 52, 55	21, 23, 27, 34, 35, 42, 48, 49, 53, 54, 56	25, 39, 45, 46	16* <sup>308</sup> , 18*, 20, 22, 24, 28, 47, 57, 58
Middle Amsterdam Period: 1658–1662		59, 72, 73, 88, 90, 92, 93, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 109	60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 77, 79, 81, 83, 91, 99, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108	69, 71, 75, 76, 82, 89	63, 64, 65, 68, 70, 74, 78, 80, 84, 85, 86, 87, 94, 95, 96
Late Amsterdam Period: 1663–1667		119, 120, 121, 122	111, 115, 118	110*, 128	112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133

<sup>307</sup> The data on size and date for each painting is compiled from Waiboer's this *Gabriel Metsu: Life and Work, A Catalogue Raisonné*. Although some paintings were cut down and others have added strips by later generations, the tendency shown here is still valid.

<sup>308</sup> The painting numbers with \* are the paintings that are reassigned to a different period of Metsu's career than the one suggested in Waiboer's *Catalogue Raisonné*. A-16 (*Twelfth Night*) and A-18 (*A Hunter Getting Dressed after Bathing or Metsu's Self-Portrait in Nude*) belonged to Metsu's Leiden and Utrecht period in the *Catalogue Raisonné*, but I reassigned them to the artist's Early Amsterdam Period; A-110 (*Saint Cecilia*) belonged to his Middle Amsterdam Years, but I reassigned it to Metsu's Late Amsterdam Years.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1. Tables of Contents of Books on Art Markets of Early Modern Europe

**Patrick Karl O'Brien, ed., *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001)**

#### Part 1. Early Modern Cities as Sources and Sites for Achievement

1. Reflections and Mediations on Antwerp, Amsterdam and London in Their Golden Ages / Patrick O'Brien

#### Part 2. Economic Growth and Demographic Change

2. 'No Town in the World Provides More Advantages': Economies of Agglomeration and the Golden Age of Antwerp / Michael Limberger
3. Clusters of Achievement: The Economy of Amsterdam in Its Golden Age / Clé Lesger
4. The Economy of London, 1660–1730 / Peter Earle

#### Part 3. Architecture and Urban Space

5. Antwerp in Its Golden Age: 'One of the Largest Cities in the Low Countries' and 'One of the Best Fortified in Europe' / Piet Lombaerde
6. The Glorious City: Monumentalism and Public Space in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam / Marjorie 'T Hart
7. Architecture and Urban Space in London / Judi Loach

#### Part 4. Fine and Decorative Arts

8. The Fine and Decorative Arts in Antwerp's Golden Age / Hans Vlieghe
9. The Rise of Amsterdam as a Cultural Centre: The Market for Paintings, 1580–1680 / Marten Jan Bok
10. Cultural Production and Import Substitution: The Fine and Decorative Arts in London, 1660–1730 / David Ormrod

#### Part 5. Books and Publishing

11. Antwerp: Books, Publishing and Cultural Production before 1585 / Werner Waterschoot
12. Metropolis of Print: The Amsterdam Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century / Paul Hoftijzer
13. Printing, Publishing and Reading in London, 1660–1720 / Adrian Johns
14. Science for Sale: The Metropolitan Stimulus for Scientific Achievements in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp / Geert Vanpaemel
15. Amsterdam as a Centre of Learning in the Dutch Golden Age, c. 1580–1700 / Karel Davids
16. Philosophers in the Counting-Houses: Commerce, Coffee-Houses and Experiment in Early Modern London / Larry Stewart

**Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet, eds., *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006)**

**Part I: Material Culture and Paintings**

1. Why Painting / James J. Bloom
2. Paintings in Antwerp Houses (1532–1567) / Maximiliaan P.J. Martens & Natasja Peeters
3. Works of Art Competing with Other Goods in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Inventories / J. Michael Montias
4. Owning Paintings and Changes in Consumer Preferences in the Low Countries, Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries / Bruno Blondé & Veerle De Laet

**Part II: Rules and Market Practices**

5. Selling Paintings in Late Medieval Bruges: Marketing Customs and Guild Regulations Compared / Peter Stabel
6. Institutional Controls and the Retail of Paintings: The Painters' Guild of Early Modern Venice / James E. Shaw
7. Troublesome Business: Dealing in Venice, 1600–1700 / Isabella Cecchini

8. Artists' Responses to the Emergence of Markets for Paintings in Spain, c. 1600 / Miguel Falomir
9. Dutch Guilds and the Threat of Public Sales / Ed Romein & Gerbrand Korevaar
10. The Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke and the Marketing of Paintings, 1400–1700 / Katlijne Van der Stighelen & Filip Vermeulen.

#### Part III: Drawing Connoisseurs into the Market

11. Entrepreneurial Craftsmen in Late Sixteenth-Century Augsburg / Andrew Morrall
12. Originals, Reproductions, and a “Particular Taste” for Pastiche in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Painting / Maria H. Loh
13. Art and Connoisseurship in the Auction Market of Later Seventeenth-Century London / Brian Cowan
14. Auctions and the Emergence of an Art Market in Eighteenth-Century Germany / Michael North

#### Part IV: Creative Dealing

15. Painters Marketing Paintings in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Florence and Venice / Louisa Matthew
16. Antwerp and the Paris Art Market in the Years 1620–1630 / Mickaël Szanto
17. People and Practices in the Paintings Trade of Seventeenth-Century Rome / Loredana Lorizzo
18. Dispelling Negative Perceptions: Dealers Promoting Artists in Seventeenth-Century Naples / Christopher R. Marshall
19. Transforming the Paris Art Market, 1718–1750 / Neil De Marchi & Hans J. van Miegroet, commentary by Elliot Hauser

**Michael North and David Ormrod, eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*  
(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)**

1. Manuscript Acquisition by the Burgundian Court and the Market for Books in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands / Wim Blockmans
2. Some Aspects of the Origins of the Art Market in Fifteenth-Century Bruges / Maximiliaan P. J. Martens
3. Is Art a Barometer of Wealth? Medieval Art Exports to the Far North of Europe / Jan von Bonsdorff
4. Artistic Enterprise and Spanish Patronage: The Art Market during the Reign of Isabel of Castile (1474–1504) / Mari-Tere Alvarez
5. The Italian Renaissance Courts' Demand for the Arts: The Case of d'Este of Ferrara (1471–1560) / Guido Guerzoni
6. The Roman Art Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries / Volker Reinhardt
7. The Upper German Trade in Art and Curiosities before the Thirty Years War / Renate Pieper
8. Pricing the Unpriced: How Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painters Determined the Selling Price of Their Work / Marten Jan Bok
9. Dealer-Dealer Pricing in the Mid Seventeenth-Century Antwerp to Paris Art Trade / Neil De Marchi, Hans J. Van Miegroet and Matthew E. Raiff
10. Probate Inventories, Public Sales and the Parisian Art Market in the Seventeenth Century / Antoine Schnapper
11. Art Auction in Germany during the Eighteenth Century / Thomas Ketelsen
12. Arenas of Connoisseurship: Auctioning Art in Later Stuart England / Brian Cowan
13. The Origins of the London Art Market, 1660–1730 / David Ormrod
14. Commerce and the Commodity: Graphic Display and Selling New Consumer Goods in Eighteenth-Century England / Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford
15. Intrigue, Jewellery and Economics: Court Culture and Display in England and France in the 1780s / Marcia Pointon

**Dries Lyna, Filip Vermeulen & Hans Vlieghe, eds., *Art Auctions and Dealers: The Dissemination of Netherlandish Art during the Ancien Régime* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2009)**

1. Art on Drawing. Lotteries of Works of Art in the Sixteenth-Century Southern Netherlands / Sophie Raux
2. All in the Family. Abraham Janssen (1571/75–1632) and his Relations in the Antwerp Art Trade / Joost Van der Auwera
3. Antwerp Dealers' Invasions of the Seventeenth-Century Lille Market / Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet
4. "Ik offer mij in alle dienst." The Art Dealership of Merchant and Diplomat Jan van Beuningen (1667–1720) / Koenraad Jockheere
5. "Wie durft daerop bieden?" Tapestry Cartoons, Preparatory Sketches and Tapestries at Auction, 1650–1750 / Koen Brosens
6. The Amsterdam Art Market as a Source and Point of Dispersal for German and Russian Collections at the End of the Eighteenth Century / Burton Fredericksen
7. Acquiring Paintings for the Polish Court: King Stanislaw August (1764–1795) and His Dealers / Ewa Manikowska
8. French Collectors and the Taste for Flemish Painting during the Eighteenth Century / Patrick Michel
9. Rubens for Sale. Art Auctions in Antwerp during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries / Dries Lyna and Filip Vermeulen
10. "La Fraicheur qu'offre la nature." Some Remarks on the Auction Price Evolution of Flower Still Lives in the Eighteenth Century / Peter Carpreau



**Neil de Marchi and Sophie Raux, eds., *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014)**

1. Quality, Risk and Uncertainty and the Market for Brussels Tapestry, 1450–1750 / Koenraad Brosens
2. Supply-Demand Imbalance in the Antwerp Paintings Market, 1630–1680 / Neil de Marchi, Sandra van Ginhoven & Hans J. van Miegroet
3. The Pont Notre-Dame, Heart of the Picture Trade in France (16th–18th Centuries) / Michel Szanto
4. Circulation, Distribution and Consumption of Antwerp Paintings in the Markets of the Southern Netherlands and Northern France (1570–1680) / Sophie Raux
5. The Zeeland Connection: The Art Trade between the Northern and Southern Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century / Claartje Rasterhoff & Filip Vermeulen
6. From Flanders to Sicily: The Network of Flemish Dealers in Italy and the International (Art) Market in the Seventeenth Century / Natalia Gozzano
7. Going South: The Space for Flemish Art Dealers in Seventeenth-Century Northern Italy / Isabella Cecchini
8. Paris, Market of Europe: Russian and English Buyers on the Paris Market in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century / Patrick Michel
9. Small Worlds. The Auction Economy in the Late Eighteenth-Century Paris Art Market / Charlotte Guichard
10. Bidding as a Guide to British Visual Preferences: A Late Eighteenth-Century Case Study / Benedicte Miyamoto
11. Towards an Integrated Market? The Austrian Netherlands and the Western European Trade in Pre-Owned Paintings (1750–1800) / Dries Lyna

## Appendix 2. List of Eleven Paintings on Copper from the 1902 Museo de Guadalajara Inventory<sup>309</sup>

1. Anthonie de Grebber, *The Assumption of Our Lady*: Lost in fire. Signed and dated, according to the 1845 inventory.
2. Anthonie de Grebber, *The Preaching of St. John the Baptist in the Desert*: Preserved. Signed and dated A. Grebber, 1659.
3. Anthonie de Grebber, *The Visitation of Our Lady*: Missing.
4. Gabriel Metsu, *The Last Judgment*: Signed by Metsu.
5. Gabriel Metsu, *The Descent of Jesus*: Signed by Metsu.
6. Gabriel Metsu and Anthonie de Grebber, *The Notice of the Angel to Prepare the Holy Family for Flight to Egypt*: Signed by Metsu. The 1845 inventory indicates that this was also signed by Grebber and dated 1659. It would be interesting if this turned out a collaborative work between these two artists.
7. Gabriel Metsu, *Jesus Christ in the House of the Publican*: Signed by Metsu.
8. Gabriel Metsu, *Ascension of the Lord Raised by the Eternal Father*: Preserved. Signed by Metsu. In poor condition. This painting is probably the *Ascension of Christ* (60 x 80 cm) mentioned in Valdivieso's *Pintura Holandesa del siglo XII en España* from 1973. Waiboer also included this painting as a possible Metsu painting, *The Resurrection of Christ* (B-2, 60 x 86 cm) in his *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work*.
9. KAGEMOL (probably Matheus and/or Jacob van Helmont), *The Baptism of Jesus Christ*: Lost. The 1902 inventory recorded the painting was signed KAGEMOL, but Valdivieso suspects it was probably painted by one of, or both of, Matheus and Jacob van Helmont brothers.
10. KAGEMOL (probably Matheus and/or Jacob van Helmont), *The Purification of Our Lady*: Lost.
11. Anonymous, *Immaculate Conception with San Joaquin and Santa Ana*: Preserved, and it repeats, in verbatim, of *The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and Saint John the Baptist* (c. 1615) by Rubens in the Art Institute of Chicago.

---

<sup>309</sup> C. Baquerizo, *Catálogo de los cuadros de pintura, escultura y monedas existentes en el museo establecido en el Palacio de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial* (Guadalajara: Taller tipográfico de la casa de Expositos, 1902); Enrique Valdivieso, *Pintura holandesa del siglo XII en España* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1973); Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, "El Museo de Guadalajara: Revisión de la Colección Pictórica," *Goya* 304 (January/February 2005): 21–34.

The fact that the composition appears inverted confirms that the artist must have used a print after the Rubens' painting.

## Bibliography

- Adams, Julia. "The Familial State: Elite Family Practices and State-Making in the Early Modern Netherlands." *Theory and Society* 23 (1994): 505-539.
- Allen, Robert C. "Progress and Poverty in Early Modern Europe." *The Economic History Review* 56, no. 3 (August, 2003): 403-443.
- Altena, J. Q. Van Regteren. "Gabriel Metsu as a Draughtsman." *Master Drawings* 1, no.2 (Summer, 1963): 13-19.
- Altes, Everhard Korthals. "The Eighteenth-Century Gentleman Dealer Willem Lormier and the International Dispersal of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paintings." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 28, no.4 (2000-2001): 251-311.
- Ampzing, Samuel. *Beschrijvinge ende lof de stad Haerlem in Holland*. Amsterdam: Buijten en Schipperheijn, 1628.
- Angel, Philips. "Praise of Painting." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 2/3 (1996): 227-258. Translated by Michael Hoyle, with an Introduction and Commentary by Hessel Miedema.
- Aono, Junko. "Reproducing the Golden Age: Copies after Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century." *Oud Holland* 121, no. 1 (2008): 1-34.
- . *Confronting the Golden Age: Imitation and Innovation in Dutch Genre Painting, 1680-1750*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015.
- Arditi, Jorge. *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Baer, Ronni. *Gerrit Dou, 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*. exh. cat. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2000.
- . *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*. exh. cat. Boston: MFA Publications, 2015.
- Bailey, Gauvin Alexander, Pamela M. Jones, Franco Mormando, and Thomas W. Worcester, eds. *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague, 1500-1800*. exh. cat. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Bakker, Piet. "Crisis? Welke crisis? Kanttekeningen bij het economisch verval van de schilderkunst in Leiden na 1660." *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 27, no. 2 (2011): 232-269.

- . “Painters of and for the Elite.” In *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*. exh. cat., 85-99. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017.
- . “Gabriel Metsu.” In *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, edited by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. New York, 2018.  
<https://www.theleidencollection.com/artist/gabriel-metsu/>
- . “Leiden Fijnschilders and the Local Art Market in the Golden Age.” In *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, edited by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. New York, 2018.  
[https://www.theleidencollection.com/scholarly\\_essay/updated-leiden-fijnschilders-and-the-local-art-market-in-the-golden-age/](https://www.theleidencollection.com/scholarly_essay/updated-leiden-fijnschilders-and-the-local-art-market-in-the-golden-age/)
- Baquerizo, C. *Catálogo de los cuadros de pintura, escultura y monedas existentes en el museo establecido en el Palacio de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial*. Guadalajara: Taller tipográfico de la casa de Expositos, 1902.
- Barbour, Violet. *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the 17th Century*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1963.
- Barker, Sheila. “The Making of a Plague Saint: Saint Sebastian’s Imagery and Cult before the Counter-Reformation.” *Piety and Plague: From Byzantium to the Baroque*, edited by Franco Mormando and Thomas Worcester, 90-131. Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2007.
- Barnes, Donna R., and Peter G. Rose. *Matters of Taste: Food and Drink in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Life*. exh. cat. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002.
- Berger, Harry, Jr. *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt against the Italian Renaissance*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Berkvens-Stevelinck, Christiane, Jonathan I. Israel, and Guillaume Henri Marie Posthumus Meyjes, eds. *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*. New York: Brill, 1997.
- Biesboer, Pieter, and Carol Togneri. *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572-1745*. Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Research Institute, 2001.
- De Bièvre, Elisabeth. “The Urban Subconscious: The Art of Delft and Leiden.” *Art History* 18, no. 2 (June 1995): 222-252.
- . *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures, 1200-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Bikker, Jonathan. “The Early Owners of Avercamp’s Work.” In *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*. exh. cat., 119-127. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009.

- Blankert, Albert. *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth-Century Painting*. exh. cat. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1999.
- Bloom, Herbert Ivan. *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1969.
- Boeckl, Christine M. *Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconography and Iconology*. Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2000.
- Boers, Marion. "Een nieuwe markt voor kunst: De expansie van de Haarlemse schilderijenmarkt in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999): 194-219.
- . "De schilderijenverzameling van baron Willem Vincent van Wyttenhorst." *Oud Holland* 117, no. 3/4 (2004): 181-231.
- Bok, Marten Jan. "Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580-1700." PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 1994.
- . "Laying Claims to Nobility in the Dutch Republic: Epitaphs, True and False." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 2/3 (1996): 209-226.
- . "The Rise of Amsterdam as a Cultural Centre: the Market for Paintings, 1580-1680." In *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London*, edited by Patrick Karl O'Brien, 186-209. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . "Rembrandt's Fame and Rembrandt's Failure: The Market for History Paintings in the Dutch Republic." In *Rembrandt and Dutch History Painting in the 17th Century*, edited by Akira Kofuku, 159-180. Tokyo: The National Museum of Western Art, 2004.
- . "The Dealer's Creative Power: The Historical Contribution Made by the Art Market to the Dissemination of Culture." In *Art Market Matters*, edited by John Henry Merryman, 45-51. Helvoirt: The European Fine Art Foundation, 2004.
- . "'Paintings for Sale': New Marketing Techniques in the Dutch Art Market of the Golden Age" In *At Home in the Golden Age: Masterpieces from the Sør Rusche Collection*. exh. cat., 9-29. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgeverij, 2008.
- Bok, Marten Jan, and Tom van der Molen. "Productivity Levels of Rembrandt and His Main Competitors in the Amsterdam Art Market." *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 51 (2009): 61-68.

- Boschloo, Anton W. A., Jacquelyn N. Coutr , Stephanie S. Dickey, and Nicolette C. Sluiter-Seijffert. *Aemulatio: Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800*. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2011.
- Bowron, Edgar Peters. "A Brief History of European Oil Paintings on Copper, 1560-1775." In *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575-1775*. exh. cat., 9-30, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Bredius, A. "Iets over de jeugd van Gabri l Metsu." *Oud Holland* 25, no. 1 (1907): 197-203.
- Bremmer, Jan N., and Herman Roodenburg. *A Cultural History of Gesture: from Antiquity to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- . *A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day*. Cambridge, Mass.: Polity Press, 1997.
- Broomhall, Susan, and Jennifer Spinks. *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries Feminizing Sources and Interpretations of the Past*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Pub., 2011.
- Broos, Ben. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*. exh. cat. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1990.
- Brown, Christopher. *Utrecht Painters of the Dutch Golden Age*. exh. cat. London: National Gallery Publications, 1997.
- Bulut, Mehmet. "The Role of the Ottomans and Dutch in the Commercial Integration between the Levant and Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45, no. 2 (2002): 197-230.
- . "Reconsideration of Economic Views of a Classical Empire and a Nation-State during the Mercantilist Ages." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 68, no.3 (July 2009): 791-828.
- Bussmann, Klaus, and Heinz Schilling, eds. *1648, War and Peace in Europe*. 3 vols. exh. cat. M nchen: Bruckmann, 1999.
- Buvelot, Quentin, and Otto Naumann. *Frans van Mieris, 1635-1681*. exh. cat. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005.
- Buvelot, Quentin, and Ariane van Suchtelen. *Genre Paintings in the Mauritshuis*. exh. cat. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2016.
- Byrne, Joseph P. *Encyclopedia of the Black Death*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012.

- Chapman, H. Perry, W. Th Kloek, Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*. exh. cat. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996.
- Cheney, Liana de Girolami. "The Oyster in Dutch Genre Paintings: Moral or Erotic Symbolism." *Artibus et Historiae* 8, no. 15 (1987): 135-158.
- Chong, Alan. "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland." In *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*. exh. cat., 104-120. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987.
- Claes, F., s.j. "Latere uitgaven van Kiliaans Etymologicum." In *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae*, C. Kiliaan, 36-38. Den Haag: Mouton, 1972.  
[http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kili001etym01\\_01/](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kili001etym01_01/)
- De Clippel, Karolien, and Michael Hoyle. "Two Sides of the Same Coin? Genre Painting in the North and South during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 32, no.1 (2006): 17-34.
- Corrigan, Karina H., Jan van Campen, Femke Diercks, and Janet C. Blyberg, eds. *Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age*. exh. cat. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Cornelis, Bart. "Arnold Houbraken's "Groote Schouburgh" and the Canon of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 26, no. 3 (1998): 144-161.
- Crenshaw, Paul. *Rembrandt's Bankruptcy: The Artists, His Patrons, and the Art Market in Seventeenth-Century Netherlands*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Cruz, Laura. *The Paradox of Prosperity: The Leiden Booksellers' Guild and the Distribution of Books in Early Modern Europe*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009.
- Danckerts, Cornelis, and Isabella Henriette van Eeghen. *Een Amsterdams grachtenboekje uit de zeventiende eeuw: het plaatwerk van Cornelis Danckerts*. Amsterdam: Genootschap Amstelodamum, 1963.
- Davetian, Benet. *Civility: A Cultural History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Dauids, C. A., and Jan Lucassen. *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Dekker, Jeroen J. H. "Beauty and simplicity: The Power of Fine art in Moral Teaching on Education in Seventeenth-Century Holland." *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (April, 2009): 166-188.



- Deric, Regin. *Traders, Artists, Burghers: A Cultural History of Amsterdam in the 17th Century*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976.
- Van Deursen, A. Th. *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Duparc, Frederik J., and Linda L. Graif. *Italian Recollections: Dutch Painters of the Golden Age*. exh. cat. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1990.
- ECARTICO: <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico>
- Van Eck, Xander. "The Artist's Religion: Paintings Commissioned for Clandestine Churches in the Northern Netherlands, 1600-1800." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27, no. 1/2 (1999): 70-94.
- . *Clandestine Splendor: Paintings for the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic*. Zwolle: Waanders, 2008.
- . "Paintings for Clandestine Catholic Churches in the Republic: Typically Dutch?" In *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*, edited by Benjamin J. Kaplan, 216-229. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Elias, Johan Engelbert. *De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. 2 vols. New York: Urizen Books, 1978.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings*. Vol. 3. *De conscribendis epistolis / Formula / De civilitate*. Edited by J. K. Sowards. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Etro, Federico, and Elena Stepanova. "The Market for Paintings in the Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century." *Social Science Research Network Electronic Journal* (2013). [http://virgo.unive.it/seminari\\_economia/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Stepanova.pdf](http://virgo.unive.it/seminari_economia/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Stepanova.pdf)
- . "Entry of Painters in the Amsterdam Market of the Golden Age." *Journal of Evolutionary Economics* 26, no. 2 (2016): 317-348.
- Floerke, Hanns. *Studien zur niederländischen Kunst-und Kulturgeschichte: die Formen des Kunsthandels, das Atelier und die Sammler in den Niederlanden vom 15.-18. Jahrhundert*. München: G. Müller, 1905.  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.c2927589>

- Fock, Willemijn, and Diane Webb. "The Décor of Domestic Entertaining at the Time of the Dutch Republic." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000): 102-135.
- Franits, Wayne E. "Domesticity, Privacy, Civility, and the Transformation of Adriaen van Ostade's Art." In *Images of Women in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Domesticity and the Representation of the Peasant*. exh. cat., 3-25. Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 1996.
- . "'For People of Fashion': Domestic Imagery and the Art Market in the Dutch Republic." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000): 294-316.
- . *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Friedrichs, Christopher R. *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750*. London: Longman, 1995.
- Frijhoff, Willem, and Maarten Prak, eds. *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam: Zelfbewuste Stadstaat, 1650-1813*. Amsterdam: SUN, 2005.
- Frijhoff, Willem, and Marijke Spies. *1650: Hard-Won Unity*. Dutch Culture in a European Perspective, Vol. 1. Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004.
- Galerie Jean-François Heim. "Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), *As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young*, 'The Arenberg Painting.'" In Galerie Heim's Website: [http://www.galerieheim.ch/img/JORDAENS\\_Arenberg\\_PART1.pdf](http://www.galerieheim.ch/img/JORDAENS_Arenberg_PART1.pdf)
- Geerdink, Nina. "Jan Vos (1610-1667), de schilderkunst en de Amsterdamse regenten." *Oud Holland* 127 (2014): 93-108.
- Gelderblom, Oscar, ed. *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
- Genootschap Amstelodamum, *Vier eeuwen Herengracht: geveltekeningen van alle huizen aan de gracht, twee historische overzichten en de beschrijving van elk pand met zijn eigenaars en bewoners*. Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij, 1976.
- Van Gent, Judith. "Portretten van Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen en zijn familie door Gabiël Metsu en Bartholomeus van der Helst." *Oud Holland* 112, no. 2/3 (1998): 127-138.
- Geyl, Pieter. *Orange and Stuart, 1641-1672*. New York: Scribner, 1969.
- Gifford, E. Melanie. "Fine Painting and Eloquent Imprecision: Gabriel Metsu's Painting Technique." In *Gabriel Metsu*. exh. cat., 155-179. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Van Gils, J. B. F. "De Stockholmer Smidse van Gabriël Metsu." *Oud Holland* 60, no. 1 (1943): 68-72.

- Gordenker, Emilie E. S. "The Rhetoric of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Dutch and Flemish Portraiture." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 87-104.
- Gosselink, Martine. "Consumption and Production." In *At Home in the Golden Age: Masterpieces from the Sør Rusche Collection*. exh. cat., 33-59. Rotterdam: Kunsthal Rotterdam, 2008.
- Goosens, Eymert-Jan. "Monuments to Peace in the Netherlands." In *1648: War and Peace in Europe*. exh. cat. Vol. 2, Edited by Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, 629-638. Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998.
- De Groot, Cornelis Hofstede. *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century, Based on the Works of John Smith*, Vol. 1, Translated and edited by Edward W. Hawke. London: Macmillan and co., limited, 1907. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433065976445>
- Halewood, William H. *Six Subjects of Reformation Art: A Preface to Rembrandt*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Harrison, Charles, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger. *Art in Theory, 1648-1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- 't Hart, Marjolein. "The Glorious City: Monumentalism and Public Space in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam." In *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, edited by Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keene, Marjolein 't Hart, and Herman van der Wee, 128-150. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Haverkamp-Begemann, Egbert. *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Hedquist, Valerie. "Dutch Genre Painting as Religious Art: Gabriel Metsu's Roman Catholic Imagery." *Art History* 31, no. 2 (2008): 159-186.
- Van Heel, S.A.C. Dudok. "Frans Banning Cocq's Troop in Rembrandt's 'Night Watch': The Identification of the Guardsmen." *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (2009): 42-87.
- Van Heemstra, Geraldine. "Space, Light, and Stillness: A Description of Saenredam's Painting Technique." In *Pieter Saenredam, the Utrecht Work: Paintings and Drawings by the 17th-Century Master of Perspective*. exh. cat., 73-89. Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2000.
- Den Heijer, Henk. "The Dutch West India Company, 1621-1791." In *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1583-1817*, edited by Johannes Postma and Victor Enthoven, 77-114. Boston: Brill, 2003.

- Hermans, Theo, and R. Salverda, eds. *From Revolt to Riches: Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500-1700*. London: UCL Pres, 2016.
- Ho, Angela K. "An Invitation to Compare: Frans van Mieris's *Cloth Shop* in the Context of Early Modern Art Collecting." *Renaissance Studies* 23, no.5 (2009): 694-717.
- . *Creating Distinctions in Dutch Genre Painting: Repetition and Invention*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017.
- Hochstrasser, Julie Berger. "Imag(in)ing Prosperity: Painting and Material Culture in the 17th-century Dutch Household." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000): 194-235.
- Hohenberg, Paul M., and Lynn Hollen Lees. *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1950*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Hollander, Anne. *Fabric of Vision: Dress and Drapery in Painting*. exh. cat. London: National Gallery, 2002.
- Hollander, Martha. "Public and Private Life in the Art of Pieter de Hooch." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000): 272-293.
- . *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.
- Holmberg, Eva Johanna. "Writing the Travelling Self: Travel and Life-Writing in Peter Mundy's (1597-1667) *Itinerarium Mundii*." *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 4 (2016): 608-625.
- De Hond, Jan. *Pieter Saenredam in Den Bosch*. exh. cat. Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2013.
- Honig, Elizabeth Alice. "Desire and Domestic Economy." *The Art Bulletin* 38, no. 2 (June, 2001): 294-315.
- Houbraken, Arnold. *De groote schouburgh der Nederlandtsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, Vol. 3. Amsterdam: B. M. Israël, 1976.  
[http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/houb005groo01\\_01/](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/houb005groo01_01/)
- Howarth, David. *Lord Arundel and His Circle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Hsia, R. Po-chia, and Henk F. K. van Nierop. *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Israel, Jonathan I. *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- . *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

- . “Adjusting to Hard Times: Dutch Art during Its Period of Crisis and Restructuring (c. 1621 – c. 1645).” *Art History* 20, no. 3 (September, 1997): 449-476.
- Jansen-Adams, Ann. “Civic Guard Portraits: Private Interests and the Public Sphere.” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995): 168-197.
- . *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portrait and the Production of Community*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Jager, Angela. ““Everywhere illustrious histories that are a dime a dozen”: The Mass Market for History Painting in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam.” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 1-26.
- Janssen, Geert H. *Princely Power in the Dutch Republic: Patronage and William Frederick of Nassau (1613-64)*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2008.
- Jonckheere, Koenraad. “Supply and demand: Some Notes on the Economy of Seventeenth-Century Connoisseurship.” In *Art Market and Connoisseurship*, edited by Anna Tummers and Koenraad Jonckheere, 69-95. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.
- De Jongh, Eddy. “Erotica in vogelperspectief. De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen (Double Entendre in Some 17th-Century Genre Subjects).” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 3, no. 1 (1968-1969): 22-52.
- De Jongh, Eddy, and Ger Luijten. *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands, 1550-1700*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997.
- Judson, J. Richard. *Gerrit van Honthorst: A Discussion of His Position in Dutch Art*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1959.
- Kaplan, Benjamin J. “Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe.” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (October 2002): 1031-1064.
- Van Kessel, Peter, and Elisja Schulte van Kessel. *Rome, Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997.
- Kettering, Alison McNeil. “Gerard ter Borch’s Portraits for the Deventer Elite.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27, no. 1/2 (1999): 46-69.
- . *Gerard ter Borch and the Treaty of Münster*. exh. cat. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1998.
- Kiers, Judikje, and Fiefke Tissink. *The Golden Age of Dutch Art: Painting, Sculpture, Decorative Art*. exh. cat. London: Thames & Hudson, 2000.

- Kleijn, Koen, Rob van Zoest, and Ernest Kurpershoek. *The Canals of Amsterdam: 400 Years of Building, Living and Working*. Bussum: THOTH Publishers, 2013.
- Kloos-Frolich, A. "Art and Number: The Calculation of the Paintings Production in the Province of Holland at the Time of the Republic." *Historisch Tijdschrift Holland* 37 (2005): 23-36.
- Kolfin, Elmer. *The Young Gentry at Play: Northern Netherlandish Scenes of Merry Companies, 1610-1645*. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005.
- Kronig, J. O. "Wie was de leermeester van Gabriel Metsu?" In *Feest-bundel Dr. Abraham Bredius aangeboden den achttienden april 1915*. Vol. 1, edited by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot et al., 135-138. Amsterdam: Amsterdam boek, kunst- en handelsdrukkerij, 1915.
- Lammertse, Friso. "Gerrit Uylenburgh, Art Dealer and Painter in Amsterdam and London." In *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese, 1625-1675*. exh. cat., 61-114, Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2006.
- Lane, Frederic C. *Venice: A Maritime Republic*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Lasius, Angelika. *Quiringh van Brekelenkam*. Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 1992.
- Lawton, Richard, and W. Robert Lee. *Population and Society in Western European Port Cities, c.1650-1939*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002.
- Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. "Guild and Middle-Class Welfare, 1550-1800: Provisions for Burial, Sickness, Old Age, and Widowhood." *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 1 (February, 2012): 61-90.
- Lesger, Clé. "Vertraagde groei: de economie tussen 1650 en 1730." In *De Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, edited by Willem Frijhoff and Maarten Prak, 21-87. Amsterdam: SUN, 2005.
- . "Variaties in de herkomstpatronen van nieuwe burgers in Nederlandse steden omstreeks het midden van de zeventiende eeuw." *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 3, no. 4 (2006): 118-139.
- Liedtke, Walter. "Entry on Gabriel Metsu's *A Musical Party*." In *Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Vol. 1, 61-114. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.
- Lopez, Robert S. "Hard Times and Investment in Culture." In *The Renaissance*, 29-54. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

- Louise, Carroll Jane, and Alison G. Stewart. *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.
- Loughman, John. "The Market for Netherlandish Still Lifes, 1600-1720." In *Still-life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550-1720*. exh. cat., 87-102. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1999.
- De Marchi, Neil. "The Role of Dutch Auctions and Lotteries in Shaping the Art Market(s) of 17th Century Holland." *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 28 (1995): 203-221.
- . "Size and Taste: Taking the Measure of the History of Art Markets." *Economia e Arte Secc. XIII–XVIII* (2002): 79-91.
- De Marchi, Neil, and Hans van Miegroet. "Pricing Invention: "Originals," "Copies," and Their Relative Value in Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Art Markets." *Economics of the Arts*, edited by Victor A. Ginsburgh and Pierre-Michel Menger, 27-70. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1996.
- . "Rules versus Play in Early Modern Art Markets." *Recherches Économiques de Louvain / Louvain Economic Review* 66, no. 2 (2000): 145-165.
- De Marchi, Neil, and Hans van Miegroet, eds. *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006.
- De Marchi, Neil, and Hans J. van Miegroet. "Art, Value, and Market Practices in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century." *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (2014): 451-464.
- De Marchi, Neil, and Sophie Raux, eds. *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014.
- Marshall, Louise. "Manipulating the Sacred: Image and Plague in Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no.3 (Autumn, 1994): 485-532.
- Martin, Wilhelm. *Gerard Dou: Des Meisters Gemälde in 274 Abbildungen*. Klassiker der Kunst in Gesamtausgaben, vol. 24. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1913. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015014058559>
- Meierink, Ben Olde, and Angelique Bakker. "The Utrecht Elite as Patrons and Collectors." In *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*. exh. cat., 72-85. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1997.
- Merryman, John Henry. *Art Market Matters*. Helvoirt: The European Fine Art Foundation, 2004.

- Montias, John Michael. *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- . “Vermeer’s Clients and Patrons.” *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 1 (March, 1987): 68-76.
- . “Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art.” *Art History* 10, no. 4 (December, 1987): 455-466.
- . *Vermeer and His Milieu: A Web of Social History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- . “The Influence of Economic Factors on Style.” *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 6, no. 1 (1990): 49-57.
- . “Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey.” *The Art Bulletin* 72, no.3 (September, 1990): 358-373.
- . “Estimates of the Number of Dutch Master-Painters, Their Earnings and Their Output in 1650.” *Leidschrift* 6 (1990): 59-74.
- . “The Sovereign Consumer: The Adaptation of Works of Art to Demand in the Netherlands in the Early Modern Period.” In *Artists – Dealers – Consumers: On the Social World of Art*, edited by Ton Bevers, 57-76. Hilversum: Verloren, 1994.
- . “A Secret Transaction in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 1 (1996): 5-18.
- . “Art Dealers in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 18, no. 4 (1998): 244-256.
- . “Auction Sales of Works of Art in Amsterdam (1597-1638).” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (1999): 144-193.
- . “How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories.” *Simiolus* 30, no. 3/4 (2003): 217-235.
- . “Artists Named in Amsterdam Inventories, 1607-80.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 31, no. 4 (2004-2005): 322-347.
- Muizelaar, Klaske, and Derek L. Phillips. *Picturing Men and Women in the Dutch Golden Age: Paintings and People in Historical Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Mundy, Peter. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*. Vol. 4, Travels in Europe. London: Cambridge University Press, 1925.



- Musée des Beaux-Arts de Valenciennes, "Entry on Jacob Jordaens' *As the Old Sing, so the Young Pipe*." <http://valenciennesmusee.valenciennes.fr/fr/collections/chefs-doeuvre/les-jeunes-piaillent-comme-chantent-les-vieux.html>
- Natasja, Peeters, ed. *Invisible Hands?: The Role and Status of the Painter's Journeyman in the Low Countries, c. 1450-c. 1650*. Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007.
- National Galleries Scotland, "Entry on Adam Elsheimer's *Il Contento*." <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/4875/il-contento-about-1607>
- Naumann, Otto. "Frans van Mieris' Personal Style." In *Frans van Mieris, 1635-1681*. exh. cat., Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005.
- Nevitt, H. Rodney. *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Van Nierop, Henk F. K. *The Nobility of Holland: from Knights to Regents, 1500-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Nijboer, Harm. "Een bloeitijd als crisis: over de Hollandse schilderkunst in de 17de eeuw." *Holland: regional-historisch tijdschrift* 42, no. 3 (2010): 193-205.
- Noordegraaf, Leo, and Gerrit Valk. *De Gave Gods. De pest in Holland vanaf de late Middeleeuwen*. Bergen, NH: Octavo, 1988.
- North, Michael. "Art and Commerce in the Dutch Republic." In *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*, edited by Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen, 284-302. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.
- North, Michael, and David Ormrod, eds. *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Núñez, Clara Eugenia, ed. *Markets for Art, 1400-1800*. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1998.
- O'Brien, Patrick Karl, ed. *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Onnekink, David, ed. *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648-1713*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
- Van Oosten, Roos. "The Dutch Great Stink: The End of the Cesspit Era in the Pre-Industrial Towns of Leiden and Haarlem." *European Journal of Archaeology* 19, no. 4 (2016): 704-727.

- Ormrod, David. "Art and Its Market." *Economic History Review* 52, no. 3 (1999): 544-551.
- . *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Parker, Charles H. "Paying for the Privilege: the Management of Public Order and Religious Pluralism in Two Early Modern Societies." *Journal of World History* 17, no. 3 (2006): 267-296.
- . *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Parrott, Dial. *The Genius of Venice: Piazza San Marco and the Making of the Republic*. New York: Rizzoli Ex Libris, 2013.
- Phillips, Derek L. *Well-Being in Amsterdam's Golden Age*. Amsterdam: Pallas Publications, 2008.
- Van de Pol, Lotte. *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Pollmann, Judith. "Public Enemies, Private Friends: Arnoldus Buchelius' Experience of Religious Diversity in the Early Dutch Republic." In *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, edited by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. and Adele F. Seeff, 181-190. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000.
- Posthumus, N.W. *De Geschiedenis van de Leidsche lakenindustrie, Vol. II, de Nieuwe Tijd*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939.
- Postma, Hugo, and Marjo Blok. "Duidelijkheid over de Amsterdamse St. Lukasfeesten in 1653 en 1654." *Oud Holland* 105, no. 1 (1991): 32-38.
- Prak, Maarten Roy. "Burghers, Citizens and Popular Politics in the Dutch Republic." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30, no. 4 (Summer, 1997): 443-448.
- . "Guilds and the Development of the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age." *Simiolus* 30, no. 3/4 (2003): 236-251.
- . *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- . "Painting, Journeyman Painters and Painters' Guilds during the Dutch Golden Age." In *Invisible Hands?: The Role and Status of the Painter's Journeyman in the Low Countries, c. 1450-1650*, edited by Natasja Peeters, 133-149. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.

- . “Painters, Guilds and the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age.” In *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400-1800*, edited by Stephan Epstein and Maarten Prak, 143-171. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Price, J. L. *Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic during the 17th Century*. New York: Scribner, 1974.
- . *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Particularism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- . *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998.
- . *Dutch Society, 1588-1713*. New York: Longman, 2000.
- . *Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. London: Reaktion Books, 2011.
- Rasterhoff, Claartje. *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries: The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic, 1580-1800*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017.
- Rasterhoff, Claartje, and Filip Vermeulen. “The Zeeland Connection: The Art Trade between the Northern and Southern Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century.” In *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th-18th Centuries*, edited by Neil de Marchi and Sophie Raux, 123-150. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014.
- Raupp, Hans-Joachim. “Musik im Atelier: Darstellungen musizierender Künstler in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts.” *Oud Holland* 92 (1978): 106-129.
- Rebollo, Ángel Rodríguez. “El Museo de Guadalajara: Revisión de la Colección Pictórica.” *Goya* 304 (January/February 2005): 21-34.
- Reinders, Michel. *Printed Pandemonium: Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands, 1650-72*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Regin, Deric. *Traders, Artists, Burghers: A Cultural History of Amsterdam in the 17th Century*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976.
- Rembrandt Research Project, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings, Vol. 1, 1625–1631*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982.
- Renckens, B. J. A., and J. Duyvetter. “De vrouw van Gabriel Metsu, Isabella de Wolff, geboortig van Enkhuizen.” *Oud Holland* 74, no. 1 (1959): 179-182.
- Ribeiro, Aileen. *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600-1914*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

RKD Artist Database: <https://rkd.nl>

Roberts, Benjamin. *Through the Keyhole: Dutch Child-Rearing Practices in the 17th and 18th Century, Three Urban Elite Families*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1998.

———. *Sex and Drugs before Rock ‘n’ Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland’s Golden Age*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.

Robinson, Franklin Westcott. *Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667): A Study of His Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age*. New York: Abner Schram, 1974.

Roelofs, Pieter. “Early Owners of Paintings by Metsu in Leiden and Amsterdam.” In *Gabriel Metsu*. exh. cat., 97-125. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

———. “Gabriël Metsu – Portrettist.” *Face Book: Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries*, edited by Charles Dumas, 335-344. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2012.

Roethlisberger, Marcel G., and Marten Jan Bok. *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints*. Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 1993.

Romein, Ed. “Knollen en citroenen op de Leidse kunstmarkt: over de rol van kwaliteit in de opkomst van de Leidse fijnschilderstijl.” *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 17, no. 2 (2001): 75-94.

Rommelse, Gijs. “The Role of Mercantilism in Anglo-Dutch Political Relations, 1650-74.” *Economic History Review* 63, no. 3 (2010): 591-611.

Rommes, Ronald. “Plague in Northwestern Europe. The Dutch Experience, 1350-1670.” *Società Italiana di Demografia Storica, Popolazione e Storia* 2 (2015): 47-71.

Roodenburg, Herman. *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic*. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2004.

Rose, Henry John, and Thomas Wright, eds. *A New General Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1. London: T. Fellowes, 1857.

Salomon, Nanette. “Domesticating the Peasant Father: The Confluent Ideologies of Gender, Class, and Age in the Prints of Adriaen van Ostade.” In *Images of Women in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Domesticity and the Representation of the Peasant*. exh. cat., 41-69. Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 1996.

———. *Shifting Priorities: Gender and Genre in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Saxton, Jo. *Nicolaus Knupfer, an Original Artist: Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings and Drawings*. Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 2005.

- Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1987.
- Schrevelius, Theodorus. *Harlemias, of, Eerste stichting der stad Haarlem*. 2nd ed. Haarlem: Joannes Marshoorn, 1754. [http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb10224820\\_00001.html](http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb10224820_00001.html)
- Schwartz, Gary. "Jan van der Heyden and the Huydecopers of Maarsseveen." *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983): 197-220.
- . "The Shape, Size, and Destiny of the Dutch Market for Paintings at the End of the Eighty Years War." In *1648: War and Peace in Europe*. exh. cat. Vol. 2, edited by Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, 235-243. Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998.
- . "Structure of Patronage Networks in Rome, The Hague and Amsterdam in the 17th Century." *Economia e arte secc. XIII-XVIII / Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini," Prato. A cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi*. (2000): 567-574.
- . *The Rembrandt Book*. New York: Abrams, 2006.
- Shapin, Steven. *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Silver, Larry. *Rembrandt's Holland*. London: Reaktion Books, 2018.
- Slatkes, Leonard J. *Vermeer and His Contemporaries*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1981.
- Slive, Seymour. *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630-1730*. The Hague: Mauritshuis Nijhoff, 1953.
- Sluijter, Eric Jan. "Imitation, Artistic Competition, and 'Rapen.'" In *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, 251-265. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- . *Rembrandt's Rivals: History Painting in Amsterdam (1630-1650)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015.
- Smith, David R. "'I Janus:' Privacy and the Gentlemanly Ideal in Rembrandt's Portraits of Jan Six." *Art History* 11, no.1 (March 1988): 42-63.
- . "Realism and the Boundaries of Genre in Dutch Art." *Art History* 32, no. 1 (February, 2009): 78-114.
- Smith, Woodruff D. *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

- Soltow, Lee, and Jan Luiten van Zanden, *Income and Wealth Inequality in the Netherlands, 16th–20th Century*, Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1998.
- Spanish Ministry of Culture, Digital Network of Collections of Museums in Spain (CERES).  
<http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/ResultSearch?txtSimpleSearch=GREBBER%20A.&simpleSearch=0&hipertextSearch=1&search=simpleSelection&MuseumsSearch=MGU%7C&MuseumsRolSearch=31&listaMuseos=%5BMuseo%20de%20Guadalajara%5D>
- Spicer, Joaneath Ann. "An Experiment with Perspective by Gabriel Metsu." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51, no. 4 (1988): 574-583.
- Spicer, Joaneath Ann, Lynn Federle Orr, and Marten Jan Bok. *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*. exh. cat. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1997.
- Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal. *Gabriel Metsu*. exh. cat. Leiden: Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 1966.
- Stern, Jill. "A Righteous War and a Papist Peace: War, Peace and Religion in the Political Rhetoric of the United Provinces, 1648-1672." In *War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648-1713*, edited by David Onnekink, 197-216. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.
- Stone-Ferrier, Linda. "Gabriel Metsu's Vegetable Market at Amsterdam: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Market Paintings and Horticulture." *The Art Bulletin* 71, no.3 (September, 1989): 428-452.
- . "Metsu's "Justice Protecting Widows and Orphans." In *The Public and Private in the Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*. 227-265. Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2000.
- . "From Shrew to Poetess: Two Non-Traditional Female Roles Evoked by a Curious Painting by Gabriel Metsu." In *Saints, Sinners, and Sisters: Gender and Northern Art in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jane Louise Carroll and Alison G. Stewart, 234-245. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Van Strien, C. D. *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993.
- Van Suchtelen, Ariane, and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*. exh. cat. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008.
- Sutton, Peter C., William Robinson, and Christopher Brown. *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*. exh. cat. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984.

- Sutton, Peter C. *A Guide to Dutch Art in America*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986.
- . “Toward an Account of the Dutch Genre Paintings in Stockholm.” In *Rembrandt och hans tid. Människan i Centrum (Rembrandt and His Age. Focus on Man)*. exh. cat., 71-88. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1992.
- . *Pieter de Hooch, 1629-1684*. exh. cat. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Van Thiel-Stroman, Irene. “Entries on Pieter de Grebber, Maria de Grebber, and Maria de Grebbers’ *Portrait of the Priest Augustinus de Wolff*.” In *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World*. exh. cat., 220-221, 228-233. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Toen, Irma. *Strategic Affection?: Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Holland*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.
- Tormo y Monzó, Elias. “Cartillas Excursionistas: Guadalajara.” *Boletín de la Sociedad española de excursiones* 25 (1917): 71-80.
- Trentmann, Frank. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Tummers, Anna, and Koenraad Jockheere, eds. *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and Their Contemporaries*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 2008.
- Union List of Artist Names Online:  
<http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/ulan/index.html>
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Archives of the Dutch East India Company:  
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-1/archives-of-the-dutch-east-india-company> &  
<http://www.tanap.net>
- Van Vaeck, Marc. “Leven en werk van de schilder-dichter Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662).” In *Tafereel van de belacchende werelt*. Vol. 1. Gent: Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1994.
- Valdivieso, Enrique. *Pintura Holandesa del siglo XII en España*. Valladolid : Secretariado de Publicaciones y Departamento de Historia del Arte, 1973.
- Vermeylen, Filip. “The Art of the Dealer: Marketing Paintings in Early Modern Antwerp.” In *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus, 109-119. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006.

- Vogelaar, Christiaan. *Rembrandt & Lievens in Leiden: A Pair of Young and Noble Painters*. exh. cat. Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders, 1991.
- De Vries, A. B., Magdi Tóth-Ubbens, and W. Froentjes. "Entry on Rembrandt's *Study of a Man Laughing*." In *Rembrandt in the Mauritshuis: An Interdisciplinary Study*. 48-55, Alphen aan den Rijn: Rijthoff & Noordhoff, 1978.
- De Vries, A. D. "Het Testament en Sterfjaar van Gabriel Metsu." *Oud Holland* 1, no.1 (1883): 78-80.
- De Vries, Jan. *Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- . *European Urbanization, 1500-1800*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- . "Searching for a Role: The Economy of Utrecht in the Golden age of the Dutch Republic." In *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*. exh. cat., 49-59. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1997.
- . "Luxury and Calvinism / Luxury and Capitalism: Supply and Demand for Luxury Goods in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 73-85.
- De Vries, Jan, and A. M. van der Woude. *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- De Vries, Jan. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- . "Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century after Fifty Years." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40 (2009): 151-194.
- De Vries, Lyckle. "Surveys: Yellow Pages or Guide Bleu?" *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 26, no. 3 (1998): 213-224.
- Waiboer, Adriaan E. "The Early Years of Gabriel Metsu." *The Burlington Magazine* 147, no. 1223 (February 2005): 80-90.
- . *Gabriel Metsu*. exh. cat. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- . *Gabriel Metsu, Life and Work: A Catalogue Raisonné*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Waiboer, Adriaan E., Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., and Blaise Ducos, eds. *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*. exh. cat. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017.



- Waiboer, Adriaan E. "Corresponding Love." In *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*. exh. cat., 114-121. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017.
- . "Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting." In *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*. exh. cat., 3-19. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017.
- . "Inspired by Youth." In *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*. exh. cat., 199-203. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017.
- . "Smoker Seated at a Table." In *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, edited by Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. New York, 2018.  
<https://www.theleidencollection.com/artwork/a-smoker-seated-at-a-table/>
- . "Woman Selling Game from a Stall." In *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, edited by Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. New York, 2018.  
<https://www.theleidencollection.com/artwork/a-woman-selling-game-from-a-stall/>
- Wadum, Jørgen. "Vermeer in Perspective." In *Johannes Vermeer*. exh. cat., 67-79. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1995.
- Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, Anke A. "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish War." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22, no. 1/2 (1993-1994): 65-96.
- Van der Wee, Herman. "Urban Culture as a Factor of Demand in the Economic History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe." *Cities and the Transmission of Cultural Values in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, 7-16. Bruxelles: Crédit Communal, 1996.
- Weller, Dennis P., Cynthia von Bogendorf-Rupprath, and Mariët Westermann. Jan Miense Molenaer: Painter of the Dutch Golden Age. exh. cat. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Museum of Art, 2002.
- Welu, James A., and Pieter Biesboer, *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World*. exh. cat. Zwolle: Waanders Printers, 1993.
- Westermann, Mariët. "Steen's Comic Fictions." In *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*. exh. cat., 53-67. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996.
- . "How Was Jan Steen Funny? Strategies and Functions of Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century." In *A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, edited by Jan N. Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, 134-178. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1997.
- . *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century*. Zwolle: Waanders, 1997.

- . ““Wooncultuur” in the Netherlands: A Historiography in Progress.” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000): 6-33.
- Westermann, Mariët, Cornelia Willemijn Fock, Eric Jan Sluijter, and H. Perry Chapman. *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*. exh. cat. Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2001.
- Westermann, Mariët. *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585-1718*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Weststeijn, Arthur. *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age: The Political Thought of Johan & Pieter de la Court*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Wheelock, Arthur K., Jr. “Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte: Architectural Painting in Delft around 1650.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8, no. 3 (1975-1976): 167-185.
- . “Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667): A Study of His Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age by Franklin W. Robinson.” *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 3 (1976): 456-459.
- . *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1995.
- . “Dou’s Reputation” In *Gerrit Dou, 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*. exh. cat., 12-24. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2000.
- . *Gerard ter Borch*. exh. cat. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2004.
- . “The Artistic Development of Gerard ter Borch.” In *Gerard ter Borch*. exh. cat., 1-17. Washington DC: National Gallery of Art Publishing Office, 2004.
- . “Pieter Jansz Saenredam.” In NGA Online Editions. 2014. <https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1853.html>
- . “Pen to Paper.” In *Vermeer and the Masters of Genre Painting: Inspiration and Rivalry*. exh. cat., 122-127. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2017.
- . “Gerrit Dou’s *The Hermit*, 1670.” *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, NGA Online Editions, 2018. <https://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/46032>
- . “Jan van Goyen.” NGA Online Editions, 2018. <https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1354.html>
- Wheelock, Arthur K., Jr., and Adele F. Seeff. *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000.

- De Winkel, Marieke. “‘Eene der deftigsten dragten’ The Iconography of the “Tabbaard” and the Sense of Tradition in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Portraiture.” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995): 144-167.
- Wolfthal, Diane. “Entry on Frans van Mieris I’s *Allegory of Painting* (*Pittura*, 1661) and *Doctor’s Visit* (1657).” In *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575-1775*. exh. cat., New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Van der Woude, Ad. “The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic.” In *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, edited by David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, 284-329. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991.
- Van Zanden, Jan Luiten. “The Prices of the Most Important Consumer Goods, and Indices of Wages and the Cost of Living in the Western Part of the Netherlands, 1450-1800.” Prices and Wages, International Institute of Social History, <http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/brenv.php#>
- Van Zanden, Jan Luiten, and Maarten Prak. “Demographic Change and Migration Flows in Holland between 1500 and 1800.” *Working on Labor: Essays in Honor of Jan Lucassen*, edited by Marcel van der Linden and Leo Lucassen, 237-245. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Zumthor, Paul. *Daily Life in Rembrandt’s Holland*. New York: Macmillan, 1963.