TABLETOP STILL LIFES IN HAARLEM, c. 1610-1660: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FORM AND MEANING

by

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ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: HAARLEM TABLETOP STILL-LIFE PAINTING, 1610-1660: A STUDY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FORM AND MEANING

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Scholars have considered Dutch still life and its meaning from a variety of methodological perspectives and have often reached different opinions on the prevalence of intentional moralizing meaning in these pictures. This study approaches meaning – that is, messages specifically religious or moralizing in nature – in still-life painting by focusing on paintings produced in Haarlem between 1610 and 1660 and assessing their capacity for meaning in terms of their visual structure and the objects featured in them.

Drawing on a database of 630 paintings created for this study, I analyzed the patterns that developed in Haarlem tabletop still-life painting; from the objects and foods used in these paintings to their thematic types and compositional characteristics. The results of these analyses foster an understanding of the most typical forms of the

Haarlem tabletop still life. However, these analyses also permit one to identify works exceptional in visual structure and/or use of objects that convey unmistakable messages focused on christological and vanitas themes.

A prime example of a painting with these qualities is a large canvas by the artist Willem Claesz. Heda (1635 – National Gallery of Art, Washington). The compositional structure in this picture focuses one's attention on a roll along the front edge of the table. A contrast between the roll and the rest of the table is evident: the latter has been consumed while the former is untouched. The presence of elements connoting transience – an extinguished candle and a broken *berckemeier* – underscores the allegorical nature of this painted table and sharpens the contrast between the roll as symbol of Christ and the rest of the table as a worldly, ephemeral indulgence.

While most tabletop still lifes painted in Haarlem between 1610 and 1660 were not overtly allegorical, a significant number were. The methodology in this study allows one to identify these paintings and assess the nature of their meaning.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ii

List of Illustrations iv

Introduction 1

Form and meaning in Haarlem tabletop still life - a best case study 3

Structure of study 13

Literature survey 16

The appeal of Haarlem still life 21

Chapter One - Haarlem, its Artistic Community, and the Development of Still-Life Painting 29

Politics, Society and the Economy in Haarlem, 1585-1640 30

Early stirrings of still life 32

The tabletop still life develops in Haarlem 35

Art in Haarlem and a stylistic shift in tabletop still-life painting 49

The fame of Haarlem still lifes and the market for them 59

The art market and the collecting of Haarlem still-life painting 63

The success enjoyed by still life painters 64

Haarlem tabletop still-life painting and audience 67

Still life terminology 77

Summary 86

Chapter Two - Major Motifs in Haarlem Still-Life Painting, 1610-1660 88

Meal types 96

Ham 98

Mince Pie 100

Fish 104

Shellfish (Oysters) 106

Shellfish (Crab) 107

Fowl 108

Fruit 109

Leafy Vegetation 112

Lemon 113

Essential Foodstuffs 114

Cheese & Butter 115

Bread 116

Nuts 120

Beer 121

Significant compositional motifs 122

Roemer 122

Berckemeier 123

Tazza 123

Hansje-in-de-kelder 125

Nautilus Cup 126

Beker 126

Bekerschroef 128

Fluits and facon-de-venise glasses 128

Pronck Goblets 129

Watch 130

Candle /Oil lamp 131

Overturned Glassware 132

Summary 133

Chapter Three - Thematic Types in Haarlem Still-Life painting, 1610-1660 135

Fruytagie 138

Tabackjes 148

Smoking and Eating do Mix 150

Roemers 152

Fancy drinking vessels 154

Ontbijt 156

Meal with One Main Dish 159

Variants on the theme 167

Additional Drinkware of a refined nature 168

Multiple berckemeiers 174

The timepiece 176

Meal with several main dishes 177

Vanitas Still Lifes 185

Summary 187

Chapter Four - Compositional Elements in Haarlem Still-Life Painting, 1610-1660 190

Viewpoint 191

Disposition 193

Pyramidally centered 195

Off-centered pyramid 197

Left or right wedge 198

X-centered 199

No dominant compositional disposition 200

Format 200

Cropping 202

Summary 205

Chapter Five - An Analysis of the Connections between Content, Form and Meaning in Haarlem Still-Life Painting, 1610-1660 207

Puttings things into their proper place: the choice of when to use a motif 209

A telling choice: conveying metaphor through compositional form 214

Symmetry 214

Centrality 221

Diagonal Placement 234

Time in Haarlem tabletop still life painting 239

Summary 244

Conclusion 246

Appendix A – Database of Haarlem Tabletop Still-Life Paintings 249

Explanation of Codes 249

Graphs of thematic types by artist 262

Graphs of Major Motifs 267

Graphs of Thematic Types 280

Database Records 289

Appendix B - Inventory Data on Haarlem Tabletop Still- Life Paintings 499

Graphs of valuations of paintings in inventory data 513

Illustrations 514

Bibliography 614

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*, 1635, National Gallery of Art, Washington. 514

2. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*, detail of signature..... 515

3. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer with overturned tazza*, 1634, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. 515

4. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters and overturned tazza*, 1635, private collection. 516

5. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie and overturned nautilus cup*, 1641, National Museum, Warsaw..... 516

6. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with oysters, bekerschroef and overturned pitcher*, 1637, Private collection. 517

7. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Ham and drinking vessels*, 1638, Kunsthalle, Hamburg. 517

8. "Liceat Sperare Timenti," from Jacob Cats, *Proteus, ofte mine-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden*, Rotterdam, 1627..... 518

9. Anonymous Haarlem painter, *Tabletop with lobster, crab, shrimp and stack of cheese*, c.1615-1620, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. 518

10. Anonymous Haarlem painter, *Tabletop with lobster, crab, shrimp and stack of cheese*, detail showing crouching figures..... 519

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

11. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit and roll*, 1612, Russell Collection, Amsterdam. 519

12. Willem van Aelst, *Still life with dead game*, 1661, National Gallery of Art, Washington. 520

13. Willem Kalf, *Wine glass on a gilded silver foot and a bowl of fruit*, 1663, The Cleveland Museum of Art. 520

14. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *A Monk and a Nun*, 1591, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. 521

15. Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot and His Daughters*, 1616, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 521

16. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit and roll*, 1610, private collection, The Hague. 522

17. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit, drinking vessels, a roll and halved apple*, 1610, formerly Collection Scudamore Griffiths, Campden. 522

18. Hieronymous Francken the Younger, *Tabletop with roll, sweetmeats and fruit (Rich Man's Meal?)*, c.1601, private collection. 523

19. North netherlandish master, *Laid Tabletop with religious scene in background*, c.1580, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft. 523

20. Hendrick Avercamp, *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, c.1609 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 524

21. David Vinckboons, *Merry Company feasting in the open air*, c.1610, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 524

22. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Officers of the St. George Milita Company*, 1599, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. 525

23. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit, melon slices and nautilus cup*, 1622, Russell Collection, Amsterdam. 525

24. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit, rolls, and halved apple*, c.1615, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 526

25. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, bowl of apples, roemer and roll*. 1613, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. 526

26. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with bowls of fruit, a roemer of wine and book*, 1601, private collection, Germany. 527

27. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, basket of grapes, sweetmeats and a roll*, 1614, National Gallery, Prague. 527

28. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with several dishes of fruit and two ornate goblets*, 1617, private collection, Switzerland. 528

29. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef and stack of cheese*, late 1610s, Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterloo. 528

30. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with plate of mussels, porridge and stack of cheese*, late 1610s, Heinz collection, Washington. 529

31. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with bowl of fruit and stack of cheese*, early 1620s, private collection, Denmark. 529

32. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit and sliced roll*, late 1610s, Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal. 530

33. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, pretzels, dishes of fruit and roll*, late 1610s/early 1620s, formerly art market. 530

34. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with dishes of fruit and a stoneware pitcher*, 1621, formerly art market. 531

35. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with platter of fruit, stoneware pitcher and rolls*, c.1621-1622, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. 531

36. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with dishes fruit*, 1622, art market. 532

37. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with smoking implements and cards*, 1622, art market. 532

38. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie platter of apples and grapes and overturned bekerschroef*, c.1622-1623, art market? 533

39. Pieter Claesz, *Allegory of the Five Senses*, 1623, Louvre, Paris. 533

40. Pieter Claesz, *Still Life with pronck goblet, shells, a watch and book*, 1624, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kusntsammlungen, Dresden. 534

41. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with burning candle*, 1625, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. 534

42. Dirck Hals, *Merry Company feasting in an Arbour*, c.1615, private collection. 535

43. Judith Leyster, *Carousing Couple*, 1630, Louvre, Paris. 535

44. Adriaen van Ostade, *Carousing Peasants*, 1634?, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. 536

45. Adriaen Brouwer, *The Smokers (The Peasants of Moerdijk)*, c.1627-1630, private collection. 536

46. Pieter van Santvoort, *Landscape with a road and farmhouse*, 1625, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 537

47. Pieter de Molijn, *Dune landscape with trees and wagon*, 1626, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig. 537

48. Jan van Goyen, *Dune landscape*, 1630, private collection. 538

49. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, tray of berckemeiers and a watch*, 1641, private collection, Edinburgh. 538

50. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, ham and roll*, 1644, art market. 539

51. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Vanitas still life with smoking implements*, 1621, Museum Bredius, The Hague. 539

52. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mackerel, roemer, roll and watch*, 1629, Mauritshuis, The Hague. 540

53. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned tazza*, 1630, private collection. 540

54. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer, roll, overturned façon-de-venise glass and roll*, 1630, private collection, The Hague. 541

55. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, lemon and watch*, c.1632-33, formerly art market. 541

56. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with roemer and two lemons*, 1630s, art market. 542

57. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with crab, roemer and other drinking vessels*, 1634, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. 542

58. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters, roll and drinking vessels*, 1635, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 543

59. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with ham, roll and drinking vessels*, 1643, Heinz collection, Washington. 543

60. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roast chicken, herring, roemer and roll*, 1642, art market. 544

61. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned lobster and roll*, 1641, art market. 544

62. Pieter Claesz or Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and pitcher*, c.1645, art market. 545

63. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with nautilus cup and golden chain*, 1634, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster. 545

64. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with smoking implements and stoneware pitcher*, 1640, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis. 546

65. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with turkey pie*, 1627, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 546

66. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with peacock pie*, 1627, private collection, Boston. 547

67. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roast chicken, rolls, tray of berckemeiers and watch*, 1641, Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, NY. 547

68. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with mackerel, stack of cheese, and rolls*, mid-1630s, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. 548

69. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with plate of shrimp, roemer and roll*, c.1635, art market. 548

70. Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, dish of grapes, bowl of apples, rolls and halved apple*, 1625, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp. 549

71. Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with tazza of fruit and delicacies, mince pie, and basket of grapes*, 1642, art market. 549

72. Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Eucharist surrounded by flowers and fruit*, 1648, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. 550

73. Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Roemer in a niche surrounded by flowers and fruit*, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. 550

74. Pieter Claesz, *Still life with herring, roll and beer*, 1636, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. 551

75. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with mince pie, berckemeier, sliced roll and cheese*, mid-1630s, private collection, Copenhagen. 551

76. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, pastries, roll and lemon*, c.1625, Art Institute of Chicago. 552

77. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, roll and bowl of berries*, c.1643, Museum voor schone kunsten, Brussels. 552

78. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, roll and roemer*, 1646, Heinz collection, Washington. 553

79. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with crab, lemon and roemer*, 1644, Musée des Beaux Arts, Strasbourg. 553

80. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and drinking vessels*, 1648, Hermitage, Saint Petersburg. 554

81. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel, sliced roll and roemer*, 1628, location unknown. 554

82. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll and roemer*, 1643, art market. 555

83. Willem Claesz. Heda (with later additions by Pieter de Ring), *Tabletop with ham, oysters, overturned nautilus cup and other drinking vessels*, c.1647, art market. 555

84. Illustration of the proper carving of a ham, from *De Cierlijcke Voorsnydinge*. 556

85. Jan Steen, *Prayer before the meal*, 1660, Sudeley Castle. 556

86. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned tazza and overturned pronck goblet*, 1637, Winterthur Museum, Jacob Briner Rathaus foundation. 557

87. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie and overturned tazza*, 1633, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. 557

88. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned tazza and lemon*, 1638, The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. 558

89. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with overturned crab, overturned nautilus cup, large pastry pie and roll*, 1658, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem..... 558

90. Esias van de Velde, *Merry Company in the open air*, 1615, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam..... 559

91. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with pigeon pie*, c.1625-1627, formerly Heinz collection, Washington. 559

92. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with smoked herring, smoking implements and overturned pitcher*, 1627, Timken Art Gallery, San Diego. 560

93. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with ham, sliced roll, herring and basket of cheeses*, late 1610s, private collection, Belgium. 560

94. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel, tray of berckemeiers, roll and roemer*, 1651, art market. 561

95. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with salmon fillet, overturned tazza and lemon*, 164(5?), art market..... 561

96. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and overturned beker*, c.1648, art market. 562

97. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with bowl of fruit, stack of cheese and beker*, early to mid 1630s, art market. 562

98. Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and basket of grapes and fruit*, c.1645, location unknown. 563

99. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with mince pie, roemer, roll and pile of fruit*, c.1645-1648, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 563

100. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer, peaches and grapes in a niche*, 1650, art market. 564

101. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, dishes of fruit and halved apple*, c.1613-1614, art market. 564

102. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with pastry pie, dishes of fruit and overturned bekerschroef*, late 1620s, Ole Olsen collection, Klampenborg. 565

103. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab, tray of bercekemeiers and pitcher*, c.1642-1645, art market 565

104. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with pronck goblet, pigeon pie and fruit*, mid-1640s, art market. 566

105. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, mince pie and overturned drinking vessels*,1639, private collection. 566

106. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with plate of beef, plate of sausages and basket of cheese*, c.1627-1628, location unknown. 567

107. Job Berckheyde, *The Baker*, c.1681, Worcester Art Museum. 567

108. Jan Steen, *Bakker Arent Oostwaard and his wife Catharina Keizerswaard*, 1658, Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam 568

109. Jan de Bray, *The Acts of Mercy – Feeding and Clothing the Orphan Children*, 1663, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem 568

110. Anonymous Dutch painter, *Portrait of family saying grace before the meal*, 1601, Museum het Catherineconvent, Utrecht 569

111. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of mussels, plate of crabs and stack of cheese*, early to mid 1630s, art market. 569

112. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roasted chicken, tray of berckemeiers and overturned tazza*, 1645, location unknown. 570

113. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, sliced roll and lemon*, 1640, private collection. 570

114. Gerrit Heda, *Tabletop with ham, roll and overturned tazza*, 1649, Pushkin Museum, Moscow. 571

115. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mackerel, roemer and watch*, 1631, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. 571

116. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, overturned tazza and roll*, 1633, Gemäldegalerie, Kassel. 572

117. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned nautilus cup and drinking vessels*, 1640, private collection, Cologne. 572

118. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Nautilus cup, lemon and oysters in a niche*, c.1660, Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp. 573

119. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned beker*, 1635, formerly art market. 573

120. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef*, late 1620s, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig. 574

121. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Celebration of the Peace of Münster, 1648, at the Crossbowmen's Headquarters*, 1648, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 574

122. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with overturned berckemeier and watch*, 1630, Mauritshuis, The Hague 575

123. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned nautilus cup and drinking vessels*, 1642, Museum d'Art et d'Industrie, St. Etienne. 575

124. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with violin and overturned tazza*, 1629, art market. 576

125. Pieter Claesz, *Still life with roemer, books and candle*, 1627, Mauritshuis, The Hague 576

126. Anonymous Dutch painter, *Vanitas still life with epithet*, early 1630s, private collection. 577

127. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with quill and pen and overturned roemer*, 1628, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 577

128. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, dishes of fruit and roll*, 161(3?), art market 578

129. Circle of Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with basket of fruit, rolls and pastries*, c.1615-1620, Rijksdienst voor Beeldende Kunst. 578

130. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with plates of fruit, roll and beker*, 1630s, art market. 579

131. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with beker and stack of cheese*, late 1620s-mid-1630s, formerly art market. 579

132. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with bowl of fruit, stack of cheese and roll*, mid- to late 1620s, formerly art market. 580

133. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with fruit*, c.1621-1622, art market. 580

134. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with beer and smoking implements*, 1642, art market. 581

135. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with smoking implements, pitcher and overturned beker*, 1637, Carter Collection, Los Angeles. 581

136. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll and smoking implements*, 1627, art market. 582

137. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll, smoking implements and pitcher*, 1644, Mauritshuis, The Hague. 582

138. Adriaen Brouwer, *Fight over Cards*, c. 1631-1635, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. 583

139. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer with a nut*, 1630, Rijksdienst voor Beeldende Kunst. 583

140. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned goblet*, 1630, art market. 584

141. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer with fruit*, 1629, Fürstliche Hohenzollernsche Sammlungen, Sigmaringen. 584

142. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned tazza*, 1642, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 585

143. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned tazza*, early 1640s, formerly art market. 585

144. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with nautilus cup and pasglas of beer*, 1640, Mauritshuis, The Hague. 586

145. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with overturned nautilus cup and lemon*, 164(4?), formerly art market. 586

146. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with nautilus cup and ming bowl with orange*, 1661, formerly art market. 587

147. Pieter Claesz, *Ceremonial Cup of the Brewer's Guild of Haarlem with watch*, 1641, art market. 587

148. Gerrit Willemsz. Heda, *Tabletop with drinking vessels and oysters*, c.1647-1650, Staatliches Museen, Schwerin. 588

149. After Pieter Claesz (Cornelis Cruys?), *Tabletop with pigeon pie, pronck goblet and fruit*, mid-1640s, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft. 588

150. Willem Claesz Heda, *Tabletop with berckemeier and oysters*, 1631, art market. 589

151. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, lemon and roll*, c.1632-1633, art market. 589

152. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with overturned tazza and fruit*, early 1630s, formerly art market. 590

153. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dishes of fruit, roll and beker*, early 1630s, formerly art market. 590

154. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with roemer and sliced roll and fruit*, mid-1640s, National Museum, Budapest. 591

155. Willem Claesz Heda, *Tabletop with overturned tazza and roemer*, 1631, art market. 591

156. Willem Claesz Heda, *Tabletop with nautilus cup, overturned tazza and oysters*, 1649, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin. 592

157. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with ham and dishes of fruit*, 1630s, Coll. S.J. Graaf von Limburg-Stirum, Spijkerbosch, Olst. 592

158. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef, stack of cheese and roll*, mid-to late 1620s, Kunsthalle, Hamburg. 593

159. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef, beker and roll*, 1630s, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Dusseldorf. 593

160. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll and basket of cheeses*, 1624, Rijksdienst voor Beeldende Kunst. 594

161. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie and basket of grapes*, 1625, Speelman Collection, Amsterdam. 594

162. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roasted chicken, roemer and roll*, c.1643-1644, National Gallery, Prague. 595

163. Pieter Claesz?, *Tabletop with mince pie*, c. 1642-1643, National Museum, Budapest. 595

164. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel and ming bowl of shrimp*, mid-1620s, art market. 596

165. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, onions and beer*, c.1628-1629, formerly art market. 596

166. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, roemer and lemon*, 1637, formerly art market. 597

167. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with ham and overturned mustard pot*, 1644(?), Alte Pinakothek, Munich 597

168. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters and overturned vinegar decanter*, 1656, art market. 598

169. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters, roemer and overturned tazza*, 1632, art market. 598

170. Gerrit Willemsz. Heda, *Tabletop with ham, tray of berckemeiers and drinking vessels*, 1650, National Gallery of Art, Washington. 599

171. Gerrit Willemsz. Heda, *Tabletop with mackerel, tray of berckemeiers and drinking vessels*, 1647, private collection, Canada. 599

172. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel, roll, overturned beker and roemer*, 1646, art market. 600

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

173. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with dish of beef, tray of berckemeiers, basket of fruit*, 1650, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston. 600

174. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roasted chicken, lemon and a watch*, 1630, art market. 601

175. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, overturned pitcher and beker, ham and candle*, mid-1640s, private collection. 601

176. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with pitcher, oysters and ham*, 1656, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. 602

177. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roast chicken, plate of oysters, roemer, roll and overturned beker*, 1647, location unknown. 602

178. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with crabs and oysters*, mid-1640s, art market. 603

179. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with violin and spherical mirror*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg. 603

180. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life*, 1653, art market. 604

181. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life*, 1653, art market. 604

182. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with mince pie*, 1625, private collection. 605

183. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with books, watch and fruit*, c.1624, art market. 605

184. Floris van Dijck, *Still life with two melons*, 1628, private collection. 606

185. Cornelis Mahu, *Tabletop with mince pie, bekerschroef and overturned pitcher*, 1642?, location unknown. 606

186. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with ham, stack of cheese and roll*, 1639s, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem 607

187. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Beker with a watch*, 1633, art market. 607

188. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie and overturned nautilus cup*, 1641, Strasbourg Museum. 608

189. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, herring, roemer and roll*, 1647, Kunsthalle, Bremen. 608

190. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with oysters, tazza and overturned pitcher*, 1637, art market. 609

191. After Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab and pitcher*, early 1640s, art market. 609

192. After Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab and pitcher*, 1645?, art market. 610

193. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Fall of Man*, 1592, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 610

194. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with overturned tazza, ham and roll*, 1651, Schloss Lichtenstein, Vaduz. 611

195. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with lobster and pigeon pie*, 165(2?), National Gallery, London. 611

196. Jacob Matham, *Amorous Couple* from *The Consequences of Drunkeness*, c.1620-1625, Rijskprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. 612

197. Johannes Torrentius, *Allegory of Temperance*, 1614, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 612

198. "Elck wat wils", from Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, 1614. 613

199. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie and other dishes*, late 1640s-early 1650s, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. 613

INTRODUCTION

This study treats tabletop still-life painting in the Dutch city of Haarlem, from its initial appearance in 1610 to its zenith in the 1630s-1640s and finally to its decline around 1660. The trajectory of this particular art form's existence mirrored in many ways the fortunes of the arts community in Haarlem, which experienced tremendous growth in the second decade of the seventeenth century, developing visual forms and types that had pronounced impact on art elsewhere in the Netherlands but which experienced decline in the 1650s and 1660s. Just as did the landscape paintings of Jan van Goyen and Pieter de Molijn and the genre paintings of Dirck Hals, Adriaen van Ostade and Jan Miense Molenaer, the appealing and dynamic tabletops of Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda fostered innovations outside of Haarlem.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to chart the evolution of the tabletop still life in Haarlem over this vital period, although a brief overview will prove necessary. Others, especially Ingvar Bergström and N.R.A. Vroom, have already established the baselines of the development of still-life painting in Haarlem.[1] The primary goal of this study is to ascertain the validity of the interpretation of these paintings as products of their culture or carriers of moralizing or religious messages or as both. Questions surrounding the meaning of Haarlem and Dutch still-life painting have been discussed

[1] See discussion below in the literature survey.

now for several decades. A survey of the most relevant ideas is included below to help frame the issue of meaning that animates this study.

This dissertation aims to demonstrate that Haarlem still-life painters deliberately structured tabletops in some of their paintings to foster associations with religious or moral truths significant in the seventeenth century. It will achieve this goal by describing links between visual form and meaning in a number of Haarlem tabletop still lifes, particularly those by Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis, Floris van Schooten, Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz Heda, and demonstrate incorporated metaphorical ideas into still lifes in ways that also reflected broader social and religious concerns of the day. Drawing on analyses of 630 paintings, some of which have been seen in person but most of which were culled from the photographic archives of the Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische documentatie in The Hague, the photographic archives of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, and the personal archives of Dr. Sam Segal in Amsterdam, this study will demonstrate the conventions that Haarlem artists developed for their representations of tabletop still lifes, not only in the themes they created and objects they used, but also in the forms they employed. By analyzing these conventions one can identify those works that depart from the norm, thereby establishing a framework for analyzing the rationale for the artistic decisions that must have underlain these works.

I first became interested in the relationship between the meaning of a still-life painting, particularly its religious or moralizing aspects, and its form some years ago while studying a beautiful work by Willem Claesz. Heda at the National Gallery of Art

(fig. 1). This painting is not a typical work by the artist. It has allegorical associations that emphasize the importance of choosing those values in life that are essential for Christian salvation. The clarity of this painting's message stands in contrast to the ambiguity of meaning in many of the other, more typical, tabletop still lifes painted in Haarlem between 1610 and 1660. The discussion that follows of this and two related paintings reveals both the promise of interpreting paintings through an analysis of composition and content and the challenge in establishing a framework by which paintings may be identified for such analyses.

Form and meaning in Haarlem tabletop still life – a best case study

Over a decade ago the National Gallery of Art proudly announced its acquisition of a magnificent still life dated 1635 by the Haarlem artist Willem Claesz Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie* (fig. 1).[2] This large painting – it measures 106.1 x 111 centimeters – was unknown to all but a few art historians and connoisseurs, having been for many years in a private collection in the Netherlands. At the time of its sale to the National Gallery of Art it had not been published.[3]

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[2] (WCH 40) canvas, 106.1 x 111 cm, dated 1635. National Gallery of Art, Washington. Throughout this study paintings will be identified by an alpha-numeric code, such as WCH 40. This code, which is a combination of the artist's initials and a sequential number – not chronological in every case, especially with Floris van Schooten – identifies the painting in the database, a complete printout of which can be found in Appendix A.

[3] Even N.R.A. Vroom's voluminous account of the Dutch monochrome banquet piece, published in 1980, did not include this painting, even though Heda's art formed a particularly important component of Vroom's study. See N. R. A. Vroom, *A Modest Message as Intimated by the Painters of the 'Monochrome Banketje'*, 2 vols. (Schiedam, 1980). In the decade since its acquisition this painting has enjoyed some scholarly attention. Arthur Wheelock wrote an entry on this painting in his systematic catalogue of the collection of Dutch paintings at the National Gallery of Art, by far the most extensive

Even if the work were not signed along the hem of the tablecloth at the lower right (fig. 2), one would recognize this work as by Heda. The deft representation of a variety of metallic surfaces and an almost magical suggestion of gleaming glass through carefully placed strokes of white highlights are characteristics of Heda's finest pictures. In addition, in this painting one sees objects and foods familiar from Heda's other works. An overturned *tazza*, one of Heda's favorite motifs, appears in just this position, or close to it, in seemingly dozens of works, among them, a 1634 painting from Rotterdam and a 1635 painting from a private collection (figs. 3, 4).[4] Heda frequently painted half-eaten pies, as in an appealing work dated 1641 now in the National Museum in Warsaw (fig. 5).[5] Finally, one recognizes the artfully peeled lemon dangling over the table's edge, which was a requisite demonstration of virtuoso skill not only for Heda but also for other Haarlem still-life painters at that time.

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analysis to date of this painting. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*, The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue (Washington, 1995), 99-102. Julie Berger Hochstrasser, whose dissertation on seventeenth-century Dutch food still lifes focuses on the material culture pictured by these paintings, sees this work, above all in its relationship to the Rijksmuseum panel painted by Heda in the same year (fig. 73), in terms of the artist's witty and playful use of composition. Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life: A Cultural Inquiry into Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1995). According to Hochstrasser, Heda created near mirror reflections in the two paintings, ostensibly for reasons of craft, virtuosity and wit. She asked "Is Heda being deliberately playful with us, or is it [this compositional reuse] a smug enough joke that only he could appreciate it?" Ibid., 467. At the beginning of her essay "Natural Artifice and Material Values in Dutch Still Life," Celeste Brusati illustrates the Washington painting as a typical example of the monochrome still life painted in Haarlem during the 1630s and 1640s. Indeed, her caption for the illustration of this painting: Monochrome Breakfast Piece, is a generic, quasi-scientific name that implies this work's easy replaceability with another of like appearance, perhaps not even by Heda but by a contemporary, such as Pieter Claesz. See Celeste Brusati, "Natural Artifice and Material Values in Dutch Still Life," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. by Wayne Franits (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 144-157.

[4] (WCH 31) panel, 43 x 57 cm, dated 1634. Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; (WCH 38) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1635. Private collection.

[5] (WCH 70) panel, 59.5 x 79 cm, dated 1641; National Museum, Warsaw.

Beyond its consummate artistry, the most striking quality about Heda's work is its monumentality. Ostensibly a meal of few parts – the principal dish is a pie that is complemented with some oysters, a roll, olives, and beer and wine – one nonetheless apprehends it on a grand scale. Heda's sweeping presentation of the scene not only is due to his skill in composing the assembled objects and foodstuffs but also to the mastery of his painting technique. He includes more drinking vessels than logically necessary. One, the gilt goblet, is a ceremonial cup that would not have been used in a utilitarian manner. Its presence lends a refined air to the table. Heda employs this goblet as the apex of an off-centered pyramid, created by the opened pewter pitcher and candlestick and the silver saltcellar, the small pewter plate of oysters and rolled-up almanac pepper cone along the right front edge of the table. This pyramidal form both enhances the stability of Heda's composition and creates a dynamic relationship of objects that heightens the viewer's expectations of the scene's significance.

The nearly square format Heda used in this painting enhances the work's monumental qualities. The area defined by the ocher wall and the dark green tablecloth on the front of the table are nearly equal and bound the narrow central horizontal band that comprises the top of the table. The square format also fixed the table's central focus, the roll on the pewter plate along the front edge of the table. In fact the roll is not only the center of the table's front edge, its upper ridge of crust defines the geometric center of the composition. Heda reinforces this centralizing focus through diagonals that lead the eye to the roll: the lid of the pewter pitcher, the

spoon resting on the mostly eaten pie, and the crease of the white table linen hanging to the left of the main ensemble.

Heda's emphasis on the roll is subtle, but purposeful. He considers carefully every detail in this painting and how they impact his delicate visual balance. Shadows from the pewter plate and knife placed beside the roll energize its visual field, affirming its material presence in space. Rather than paint the white tablecloth draped over the corner of the table with a dramatic conical fold as he did in other works from this period (figs. 6, 7), Heda depicted the hem of the tablecloth folded back, away from the edge of both canvas and table and towards the painting's center.[6] Finally Heda keyed the gilt of the goblet to the warm brown of the roll, creating a pictorial relationship between the roll and the goblet.[7]

Heda's attention to the still life's narrative possibilities is remarkable. Evidence of human presence is apparent everywhere on this table. Drinking vessels lay on their sides, their stems artfully crossing each other, a peeled lemon dangles at the table's edge, olives have been disturbed from their dish, and oyster shells lie

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[6] (WCH 43) panel, 49.4 x 64.2 cm, dated 1637. Private collection, United States; sale?, London, 1999, #40; (WCH 51) panel, 102.5 x 83.7 cm, dated 1638. Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

[7] This goblet appears, save for the gilding and the trident held by the figure riding the sea creature, to be the same as a goblet fashioned in 1603 by the Hague silversmith Hans Bouwens van den Houven for the Haarlem burgemeester Arent Fabritius and on loan to the Frans Halsmuseum a decade ago. Heda could easily have switched the pennant held by the figure on the actual goblet for a trident. Changing the color of the metal to suit his artistic purposes also would not have presented great difficulty. Also see K. A. Citroen, *Haarlemse zilversmeden en hun merken* (Haarlem, 1988), 140-141, for a comparative goblet made shortly after that by Hans Bouwen van den Houven, this one a collaborative effort by the Amsterdam artist Hendrick de Keyser, the Utrecht silversmith Ernst van Vianen, and the Haarlemers Hendrick Goltzius (designs for narrative panels on the body) and Jacob van Alckemade, the silversmith responsible for the body shape.

carelessly strewn about. This haphazard manner of dining is further underscored by the crumpled napkin and disheveled table linen and the pie that has been mostly eaten. The handle of the knife, turned so slightly towards the viewer, is an invitation to this part of the table. One is encouraged to pick up the roll.

Given the human involvement in the scene, it is striking that the roll has escaped the diner's attention. But there it sits, uneaten, projecting over the table's edge. Though the handle of a knife beside the roll is turned a little towards the viewer, as though preparations have been made to partake of the roll, it has not been eaten.

The extinguished candle helps clarify the symbolic relationship of roll to the rest of the meal. The emblematic meaning of the snuffed candle as symbolic of the transience of life and fortune is explained by Jacob Cats in his *Proteus*, 1627 (fig. 8).[8] The idea of transience is further suggested by the broken glass at the table's right corner. This *berckemeier*, which once held tasty wine, is now but so many useless shards of glass.

But why would Heda suggest transience in this painting of a table laid with beautiful vessels and delicious foods? By situating the broken glass and the extinguished candle on opposite ends of the table, Heda forces the viewer to consider

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[8] Jacob Cats, *Proteus*, 40 ("Moralia et Aeconomia", emblem XX). The inscription reads "Liceat Sperare Timenti" (Let it be permitted to the timid to hope), which is taken from Lucano, *Pharsalia* 2, 15, in which the author addresses the ruler of Olympus, Zeus, and questions why he provides humanity with insight into his end through oracles and prognostication. The closing statement, then, which Cats chose for his inscription can be seen thus in a more positive light, that humanity be free from worry and care in contemplating the future. However, the emphases are still placed on the sudden transition from life to death. As in the emblem, the snuffed-out candle in Heda's painting is a metaphor for the transience of life. Extinguished candles were a recurring motif in Dutch still-life painting, especially *vanitas* imagery, where their presence was hardly out of place within those matrices of meaning.

the moralizing content of the scene. Above all the numerous drinking vessels and other ornate objects seem, in light of the stress placed on transience in this still life, calculated to remind the viewer of the dangers of focusing upon luxury and sensual pleasure. This intention seems particularly likely given the numerous vessels included in a meal that appears to have been destined for one participant. Gilt pronck goblets such as the one on this table were used in large social gatherings, among them feasts for civic guards. One person, however, would not require so many vessels. While this elegant massing of elegant drinking vessels allowed Heda to demonstrate his pictorial skill these objects also represent ideas of consumption.

In this painting, then, the meal's pleasures are temporary and, like the flame of a candle or a broken *berckemeier*, is impermanent. They are fleeting delights. One will once again experience hunger.

The one food left untouched, the roll, had numerous associations in Dutch life. In the Netherlands bread was considered essential for all meals. In virtually all of the still lifes painted in Haarlem bread is included on the table. It was also considered the staff of life. Phrases such as working for one's daily bread, or being grateful for one's daily bread, had just as much resonance in the seventeenth century as they do today.

The roll in Heda's painting, however, should not only be understood as a staple of life, but also as a metaphor with eucharistic associations familiar to viewers in seventeenth-century Haarlem. Heda structured the composition around the roll to emphasize that a fundamental choice had been made by the participants of this feast:

they had opted for worldly pleasures and had neglected the permanent life-sustaining nourishment promised by Christ to those who faithfully follow him.

Heda's interest in infusing his work with an underlying metaphorical purpose was not unprecedented in Haarlem still-life painting. Indeed, Heda seems to have drawn on ideas incorporated in earlier works when conceiving his. One example of an early Haarlem still-life painting will make this intent clear (fig. 9). This large panel painting (72 x 109 cm), now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, dates 1615-1625 and is probably by Floris van Schooten or an artist working within his circle who has not yet been identified.[9]

The richly-laid table in this painting consists of three large Wan-li dishes containing a large crab, lobster, and shrimp, as well as dishes of butter, hens' and plovers' eggs, assorted crackers and breads and a stack of cheeses placed in the middle along the back edge of the table. A roll on a pewter plate, which is covered by a white cloth, occupies the very front and center of the composition. Woven into the damast linen panel just below the roll is a scene picturing the moment Abraham raises his sword to sacrifice his only son Isaac. Behind the figures at the right is a struggling ram in a thorny patch, while beyond Abraham's servants wait with the horses.

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[9] (HA2) Oil on panel, 71.1 x 109 cm, c. 1615-1625, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. Though this painting has not been widely published, it has been ascribed to the circle of Nicolaes Gillis or, more recently, it has been assigned by Dr. Sam Segal to the oeuvre of Clara Peeters on the basis of an inscription. However, I am inclined to place this work within Gillis's, or Van Schooten's, circle. In the future I hope to publish an article that will demonstrate, in a detailed manner not ideal for this study, the visual relationships between this painting and works by Van Schooten.

Pamela Decoteau, who has written on the art of Clara Peeters, also doubts the attribution to Peeters. See Pamela Hibbs Decoteau, *Clara Peeters 1594-ca. 1640 and the Development of Still-Life Painting in Northern Europe*, Flemish Painters in the Circle of the Great Masters, vol. 5 (Luca Verlag, 1992), 149-150. See Chapter Three, note 120.

The juxtaposition of the roll and the biblical scene emphasizes the metaphorical nature of this still-life painting in terms that would have been quite familiar to the seventeenth-century viewer. The roll is likened to the body of Christ and his sacrifice for humanity, for the Sacrifice of Isaac was an Old Testament subject that prefigured Christ's later sacrifice.[10] The napkin neatly folded over the roll not only imparts a sacramental quality to the roll, but also visually separates it from the rest of the table.

Segal has suggested that food on the rest of the table was eaten by Catholics during the Lenten period.[11] This hypothesis seems plausible since the purpose of Lent, to parallel Christ's preparation for his sacrifice, fits well with the roll's emphasis on that sacrifice.

One further pictorial vignette on the table linen on the top of the table, where two figures face and grasp one another on bent knees as they look in the direction of the bowl of shrimp, begs for an explanation (fig. 10). Their generalized facial expressions and bodily gestures appear to convey fear and alarm. Are they Isaac and Abraham embracing by the altar while the providential ram burns, a subject

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[10] The practice of relating Old Testament events to the life of Christ evolved from the writings of the Church Fathers, especially Augustine, and was especially pronounced in Medieval thought and practice. For an excellent historical and theoretical account of the theological use of typology, see Scott David Foutz, "An Attempt to Establish an Historically Accurate Definition of Typology," *Quodlibet (Online Journal of Christian Theology and Philosophy)* n.d. URL: http://www.quodlibet.net/typology.shtml (accessed March 3, 2003).

[11] Sam Segal in *L'Art Gourmand*, exh. cat. Galerie du Crédit Communal: Brussels (Ghent & Brussels, 1996), 146-147.

subsequently painted by Jan Lievens, but otherwise rarely depicted?[12] Or does their presence sound a more ominous note unconnected to redemptive, if terrifying, grace?

The theological dimension of the work in Houston is clear, for the viewer inevitably associates the bread with the body of Christ in the manner of Christ's words to his disciples at the Last Supper: "Take, eat; this is my body" (Matthew 26: 26). Heda structured his table in his still life at the National Gallery of Art in much the same way, and intended a comparable theological meaning. The snuffed-out candle and broken glass charge one's understanding of the table as a transient, if luxurious, repast. In this context the uneaten roll – symbolically associated with Christ's body – both warns the viewer about neglecting enduring forms of spiritual nourishment even as it is itself an offering of that spiritual nourishment.

Both the Washington and Houston paintings convey meaning through comparable compositional strategies and the use of key metaphorical motifs, in particular the centrally-placed roll. While the stylistic character of the two paintings is

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[12] I would like to thank Prof. Eric Jan Sluijter for alerting me to the visual analogues between these two figures and Jan Lievens's painting *Abraham Embracing Isaac*, end of the 1630s, Herzof Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig. For information on this painting and for a reproduction see Werner Sumowski, *Gemalde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 5 vols (Landau.Pfalz, 1983), vol. 3, 1783-1784, #1199. Philips Angel discusses this painting at length in his *Praise of Painting*, a speech he delivered to artists in Leiden in 1642, in a section on the correct use of texts by painters of histories. He mentions a *grisaille* by Lievens of the same subject to illustrate how Lievens enriched the viewer's understanding of this pivotal event in the Bible by drawing on a source additional to the Bible for the image. He cites the gloss on this story by the historian Josephus who writes that after God stayed his hand Abraham embraced Isaac. Angel then compares the embrace of Isaac and Abraham to that typically pictured of the Prodigal Saon returning to his father. See Philips Angel, "Praise of painting," trans. Michael Hoyle, with introduction and commentary by Hessel Miedema, *Simiolus* 24 (1996): 227-258, 246-247, 256, 257. I owe the connection between the painting by Lievens and Angel's commentary to Robert Baldwin, in an unpublished paper on works by Rembrandt. See Robert Baldwin, "The Touch of Love: Gestures of Touch in Three Late Works by Rembrandt," Paper delivered at Midwest Art History Society, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, March 27, 1987

strikingly different – one is stiff and old-fashioned and the other is natural and modern – both essentially employ the same compositional scheme.

Both works also include key motifs essential to their meaning and that play significant roles in framing meaning for the viewer. The linen panel depicting Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac in the Houston panel and the extinguished candle in Heda's painting function as tone-setting elements, to borrow Eddy de Jongh's memorable description of value-laden motifs in Dutch paintings.[13] But what of other still-life paintings executed in Haarlem at the times of these paintings that share many – or even all – of their characteristics (compositional type and focus, numbers and types of objects) but do not contain obvious tone-setting elements? Should these works be equally valued for their potential for signifying religious or moralizing meaning?

A key work in this regard is a still life dated 1612 by the early Haarlem still-life painter Nicolaes Gillis in the Russell Collection, Amsterdam (though now on long-term loan to the Museum of Fine Arts in Montreal) (fig. 11).[14] Like Heda's Washington painting and the anonymous panel in Houston, Gillis's work focuses on a roll placed on a pewter plate along the center front edge of a table. As in those two paintings, the arrangement of elements on the table, in this instance a triangularly-

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(http://oak.cc.conncoll.edu/~rwbal/UnpublishedTalks/Rembrandt'sTouchOfLove.doc - accessed electronically April 22, 2003)

[13] Eddy de Jongh first used this phrase in his essay on still-life painting in the catalogue of an exhibition he organized in Auckland and other cities in 1982. See Eddy de Jongh, *Still-Life in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (Auckland City Art Gallery, Auckland, 1982), 28.

shaped mass of cheeses, emphasizes the centrality of the roll. Yet Gillis's panel includes no object or motif that indisputably frames one's reception of this particular table. The viewer's expectation that the painting has moralizing or religious meaning arises principally from the central placement of the roll and the formal arrangement of elements on the table.

In order to appreciate how Gillis's contemporaries may have interpreted his work, it is necessary to understand it within the broader context of Haarlem still-life painting. To be sure, this work, one of the earliest known in Haarlem, would have been something of a ground-breaking effort and a new visual type to which people in Haarlem would have been unaccustomed. Still, its form, like that of early paintings by Floris van Dijck, were rational works with deliberate compositions in which the abstract relationships of objects tend to foster contemplation of each painting's underlying purpose. In paintings like that by Gillis it seems likely that the artist intended to convey a deeper religious or moralizing message. However, from our perspective as twenty-first-century viewers, these paintings seem ambiguous. Whether or not this ambiguity results from our lack of understanding or from a conscious decision by the artist to refrain from being explicit is not clear.

Structure of study

What this dissertation hopes to make clear are the types of paintings in Haarlem that were rich in associative imagery and metaphorical possibility. This study

[14] (NG 2) panel, 59 x 79 cm. Russell Collection, Amsterdam.

will do so by providing a framework in which to identify works particularly well-suited for interpretation. This framework will be constructed through analyses of 630 paintings that are made possible by a database compiled for this study. The theory underlying the use of this database is that the vast majority of Haarlem still-life pictures can be grouped into several different types, all of which follow certain conventions in both form and subject matter. The resulting picture these analyses form of Haarlem still-life painting allows one to appreciate not only the general trends in the genre but as well variations and anomalies from these trends, which can be explored for their capacity to generate meaning.

Chapter One explores the topography of the artistic scene in Haarlem in the period when these still lifes first appeared and gained in popularity, that is from circa 1610 to about 1640. This background is important for understanding the broader artistic concerns of the period as well as for appreciating the role of the art market in Haarlem. The historical record of probate inventories will also be examined for the insight they provide into who collected these still lifes, how these works were appreciated, and the terminology used to describe them. Finally this chapter also considers how different groups of faith could have responded to these paintings. In particular the writing of one staunch Calvinist, Willem Teelinck, employs fascinating literary imagery that invokes the rich banquet as a metaphor of hedonistic distraction and bread as the body of Christ, a juxtaposition found in Heda's Washington banquet.

The second, third and fourth chapters feature analyses of Haarlem still-life paintings from different points of view. The second chapter focuses on the objects and

motifs Haarlem artists used in their still lifes, such as pies, crabs, oysters, wine, fruit, *tazzas*, nautilus cups, and the manner of their display. This chapter will explore the general usage of these objects and motifs, but will also note exceptions to convention and discuss their implications for the significance of the work.

The third chapter divides the group of still lifes into several categories based on subject matter, which are defined, to the extent possible, according to contemporary terminology. Such a division allows one to form a more coherent picture of the development of Haarlem still-life painting between circa 1610 and circa 1660 than if all 630 paintings were treated as an undifferentiated mass. An understanding of the types of still life Haarlem artists typically painted in this period is necessary in order to understand the significance of departures from these norms.

The fourth chapter focuses on compositional principles that Haarlem still-life painters used in their works. As in the other two chapters, the discussion will center on the broader conventional patterns that emerged over the period of this study, in particular those compositional forms that seem to have best suited the artist's needs for the thematic categories discussed in chapter three.

The final chapter assesses the evidence in the analyses of the previous chapter and considers the implications for religious or moralizing meaning of certain sparsely-used forms, particularly those that depart from conventional usage. This chapter argues that these departures are often the result of an artist's attempt to express a metaphorical statement. Through a combination of augmented subject, use of objects/motifs, and compositional principles, these artists incorporated meanings into

these paintings that are not found in their other works. As in Heda's Washington painting, these pictures invite the viewer to reflect on human foibles, such as succumbing to sensual pleasure, or eternal truths, such as Christ's sacrifice for mankind.

Literature Survey

The approach in this study differs from previous studies of Dutch still life because of its emphasis on analyzing large numbers of Haarlem tabletop still-life painting to understand both their most typical forms and the exceptions to these norms. The dissertation examines the question whether these exceptional works were created with a different intent, one that introduced explicit religious or moralizing overtones not normally found in this genre of painting. It combines an interest in formal concerns with considerations of the cultural context in which these works were created to better gauge how they were understood by seventeenth-century viewers. The thesis of this dissertation occupies a middle ground in the scholarly debate about Dutch still-life painting that has existed for the last two decades.

Initial art historical appreciation of Dutch still-life painting focused on its aesthetic qualities without a consideration of meaning beyond the pleasure inherent in looking at such wonderfully rendered textures and lifelike compositions. Building on a reawakened interest in Dutch still-life painting from a number of theme-specific exhibitions in the first two-and-a-half decades of the twentieth century, A.P.A. Vorenkamp, in an important study of 1933, organized still lifes by category, paying

attention to their historical development from antecedents in early Netherlandish oil painting.[15] Ingvar Bergström, in a study first published in Swedish in 1947 and then in English in 1956 and long the most accessible text on Dutch still-life painting, continued in the direction Vorenkamp introduced.[16] However, stimulated by Erwin Panofsky's groundbreaking study of Netherlandish painting and his emphasis on the "hidden symbolism" of objects of everyday life, and J.G. van Gelder's article on religious and vanitas symbolism in Dutch flower painting, Bergström also considered religious meaning as a significant component of his study.[17] Coming as it did at a time when the assumption that Dutch painting represented simple and straightforward reality was coming under question, Bergström's book was well received by Dutch scholars and set the tone for many subsequent still-life studies.

This approach, which represented the main thrust of investigation into Dutch still life until the late 1980s, culminated in the catalogue of the large Münster exhibition of 1979-80 and in Sam Segal's catalogue of the exhibition *A Prosperous Past* of 1988.[18] However other scholars did raise objections to the general model to

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[15] A.P.A. Vorenkamp, "Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Hollandsch stilleven in de zeventiende eeuw" (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 1933).

[16] Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch still-life painting in the seventeenth century*, trans. Christina Hedström and Gerald Taylor (London, 1956).

[17] Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish painting, its origins and character*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1953; J. G. van Gelder, "Van Blompot tot Blomglass," *Elsevier's Geillusteerd Maanschrift* 46 (1936): 73-82, 155-166.

[18] Gerhard Langemeyer, et al., *Stilleben in Europa*, exh. cat. (Munster, Westfalisches Museum fur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 1979); Sam Segal, *A Prosperous Past : The Sumptuous Still Life in the Netherlands, 1600-1700*, exh. cat. Stedelijk Museum 'het Prinsenhof', Delft (The Hague, 1988).

which Bergström and his followers adhered. Laurens Bol, in a good general study of both landscape and still-life painters in a minor key, sounded one of the first contentious notes against reading too much into still-life painting.[19] N. R. A. Vroom, whose study specifically addressed the Dutch monochrome banquet piece, which was principally a Haarlem form, dismissed the notion of attaching significant religious meaning to still-life paintings.[20] For him "the majority of still lifes appear to have been painted out of purely pictorial conviction, for which their attraction needed neither emblem nor symbol."[21] Even Eddy de Jongh, whose 1971 essay "Realisme en schijnrealisme in de Hollandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw" promulgated the notion that the apparent realism of Dutch painting disguised a deeper meaning, often in connection with emblematic imagery,[22] sounded a strong note of concern against reckless interpretation of paintings in his 1982 essay in the exhibition catalogue *Still Life in the Age of Rembrandt*.[23] Finally, and most recently, Alan Chong, in an essay for the exhibition he co-curated in 1999 in Amsterdam and Cleveland,

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[19] Laurens J. Bol, *'Goede onbekenden' : hedendaagse herkenning en waardering van verscholen, voorbijgezien en onderschat talent* (Utrecht, 1982).

[20] Vroom, *Monochrome banketje*. This study is a revision and expansion of the author's thesis, "De schilders van het monochrome banketje," (Ph.D. diss. University of Amsterdam, 1945).

[21] Ibid., 14.

[22] Eddy de Jongh, "Realisme en schijnrealisme in de Hollandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw," in *Rembrandt en zijn tijd*, exh. cat. (Museum voor schone kunsten, Brussels, 1971), 143-194. Republished in English in Wayne Franits, ed., *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art : Realism Reconsidered* (Cambridge and New York, 1997), 21-56. See also: Eddy de Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1967); Eddy de Jongh, et al., *Tot lering en vermaak. Betekenissen van Hollande genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, exh. cat. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1976).

Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720, rehearsed a long narrative of misconceptions about the meaning and purposes of still life while surveying its many different forms.[24]

Nevertheless Chong's approach to still life is too negative about iconological methodologies. He and others sharing his suspicions, such as Celeste Brusati and Julie Berger Hochstrasser,[25] may be guilty of throwing the baby out with the bathwater, of ignoring tools useful in understanding important aspects of Dutch still-life painting because of the method's past documented abuses.[26] After all, there can be little doubt that the extinguished candle in Heda's painting invokes the metaphor of transience through its emphasis on a sudden change of states. As in Cats's emblem, the snuffed-out candle provides the viewer with powerful metaphorical associations of human transience.

In most recent literature on still life, authors have moved away from arguments about hidden symbolism and have sought to posit new questions and approaches. Some scholars, such as Celeste Brusati, have concentrated on how some still-life pictures generate meaning through the artist's self-conscious process of painting; that is, how he or she wittily incorporated an awareness of the artist's craft in picture

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[23] See note 13.

[24] Alan Chong, "Contained Under the Name of Still Life: The Associations of Still-Life Painting," in Alan Chong, Wouter Kloek et al., *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Amsterdam, Cleveland and Zwolle, 1999), 11-37.

[25] See below.

[26] De Jongh, *Still life in the age of Rembrandt*, 28, employs the same metaphor in pleading for a balanced approach to interpreting still-life painting.

making into the painting in a kind of self-promotion.[27] Another area of focus by scholars, among them Julie Berger Hochstrasser, has been to relate still life to the culture that produced it.[28] Still others, particularly Norman Bryson, have explored meaning in still life by considering still lifes from a perspective sensitive to the semiotic possibilities of composition.[29] Some of these studies deny or downplay the possibility of a Christian dimension to these richly laid tables, flower still lifes, and vanitas paintings, arguing that Dutch society at the time was not primarily focused on concerns of faith in the art they collected. As Julie Berger Hochstrasser has argued, still-life painting reflected the material concerns of the Dutch, and was, in many ways, a reflection of their prosperity and pride.

Hochstrasser's perception of Dutch still life is one well-grounded in a rich understanding of some of the dominant concerns of the period. Her attention to the function of still-life painting centers on the appeal these paintings had for those who viewed them, which is also a concern in this study. A brief consideration of ways in which Haarlem still life may have been appreciated in the seventeenth century will provide a good framework for studying form and meaning in Haarlem tabletop still-life painting.

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[27] Brusati, "Natural artifice".

[28] Hochstrasser, "Life and still life".

The Appeal of Haarlem still life

Wherein rests the appeal of Haarlem tabletop still-life painting? For modern viewers, accustomed to seeing the elegant repasts of Willem Claesz. Heda or Pieter Claesz in museum galleries, their appeal lies principally in the consummate craftsmanship and artistry of their elegant compositions. Doubtless these factors were also at the heart of contemporary appreciation of these paintings.

Hochstrasser has suggested that still lifes of this type, not limited to those painted in Haarlem but certainly including them, operated as "agents" of an increased domesticity in the Dutch home by means of a superabundance of material prosperity.[30] These pictures in essence provided visions of a good life, which, according to Hochstrasser, served as a catalyst for material acquisition. Hochstrasser points to the apparent tendency, over time, to display still-life pictures in the front, or public, spaces of Dutch homes, as opposed to the rear, or private, spaces of the house, such as the kitchen, where such paintings might be expected to hang, as evidence that these works were part of and fed a larger shift towards the acceptance of and expectation for the finer things of life.[31]

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[29] Norman Bryson, *Looking at the overlooked: four essays on still-life painting* (London, 1990).

[30] Ibid., especially 196-200, 216-218.

[31] Ibid., 218-224. John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle 2000), 105-131 (Chapter Four-"The Hanging of Paintings") also grapples with the issue of where paintings in the hung in typical seventeenth-century Dutch interiors, but, however, is much more cautious in its use of the names for rooms used in inventories because of their unreliability as fixed points of meaning. Instead they look to contemporary pictures of Dutch interiors for ideas of how space was constructed and art hung in them. This approach, however, raises the thorny question of the reliability of using paintings that were not intended as documents of domestic interiors as such. The needs of the image might dictate what paintings appear

Hochstrasser argues that this phenomenon was most pronounced in the 1660s and 1670s, as for example in the paintings of Willem Kalf and Willem van Aelst, when the collecting of painting was at its peak.[32] Indeed, this timing coincides with the complaint voiced by Samuel van Hoogstraeten in his theoretical treatise of 1678 about the preferences of collectors in their cabinets for still life over history painting. Citing the "misfortune" of art, he laments that in the best known cabinets are to be found "*een Wijntros, een Pekelharing, of een Hagedis, of daer een Patrijs, een Weytas, of dat noch minder is*" (a bunch of grapes, a pickled herring, or a lizard, or there a partridge, a game bag, or something yet less).[33] The cachet of owning a stylish painting by Willem van Aelst (fig. 12) or Willem Kalf (fig. 13) was simply too powerful for these art collectors, whose tastes ran afoul, in Van Hoogstraeten's view,

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painted on the walls, as well as the frames around them and even the scale at which these pictures-within-pictures are rendered.

[32] Hochstrasser, "Imag(in)ing Prosperity", 196 and 200.

[33] Samuel van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst anders de Zichtbaere Werelt. Verdeelt in negen Leerwinkels, yder bestiert door eene der Zanggodinnen, Ten hoogsten nodzakelijk, tot onderwijs, voor alle die deze edele, vrye, en hooge Konst oeffenen, of mer yver zoeken te leeren, of anders eenigzins beminnen* (Rotterdam, François van Hoogstraeten: 1678; reprint edition DAVACO 1969), 76. "Zeker de kunst is een zulk een misfortuin gekomen, datmen in de beroemste kunstkabinetten het meestendeel stukken vind, die niet anders, dan voor een lust of als in spel van een goet Meester behoorden gemaekt te worden, als hier een Wijntros, een Pekelharing, of een Hagedis, of daer een Patrijs, een Weytas, of dat noch minder is. Welke dingen, schoonze ook hare aerdicheden hebben, allen maer als uitspanningen van de kunst zijn." (Art has certainly come to such misfortune, that one finds in the most famous art cabinets that most of the pieces ought to be made by a good Master for nothing else than as a delight or for a game, (such as) a bunch of grapes, a pickled herring, or a lizard, or there a partridge, a game bag, or something yet less. Which things, which have beauty also as their nature, are but a diversion of art).

of the hierarchy of painting he espoused that regarded history painting as its highest achievement.[34]

Whether or not the affect and appeal of Haarlem tabletop still-life paintings, which reached their zenith in the 1630s and 1640s, can be so closely compared to the stylish and luxurious pictures of Van Aelst and Kalf working in Amsterdam in the 1660s and 1670s is an open question.[35] Certainly as his career evolved into the 1640s and 1650s Willem Claesz. Heda utilized the many sheens and textures of metal and glass crafted into luxury vessels in increasingly ornate, even baroque, compositions.[36] However, his contemporary Pieter Claesz, who appears to have been collected more extensively in both Haarlem and Amsterdam than Heda, continued to paint, in comparison to Heda, relatively simple works, relying on a balance of drinking vessels and foods, few of which were overtly ornate.[37] Certainly both artists pictured the good life, but only Heda's pictures seem, to modern eyes at least, to have been pitched to a clientele with high expectations of material wealth.

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[34] See Chapter One, note 133.

[35] Hochstrasser, "Imag(in)ing Prosperity", 203, situates Haarlem tabletop still-life paintings in a daisy chain of reaction and stylistic evolution, comparing the "bourgeois" paintings of Pieter Claesz to the "aristocratic" paintings of Willem Claesz. Heda, both of which were displaced by the "preciosity" of Willem Kalf and "superfluity" of Abraham van Beyeren and Jan Davidsz. De Heem. However, this argument leaves out the very "aristocratic" paintings of the earliest Dutch tabletop painter, Floris van Dijck, whose work was praised into the 1640s, long after he finished painting. See Chapter One, 60-61.

[36] See, for instance, figs. 160, 161, or 162. See also the discussion in Chapter Three, 154-156, of the type "Fancy Drinking Vessels," which paintings are largely by Heda and were painted by him in the 1660s in response to developments elsewhere, particularly in Amsterdam.

[37] See Chapter One, 65-66, for a discussion of the collecting of Pieter Claesz's works and the values assigned them in preserved inventories.

Even without overt material luxury, for the most part Haarlem still-life paintings still partook of what might be regarded as a civilizing process. As Hochstrasser has demonstrated there is an incredible convergence between the dietary recommendations to a patrician audience of physicians like Johann van Beverwijck and Stephanus Blankaarts and the configurations of foods in Haarlem still life.[38] Hams were almost always shown cut in the proper (and new) way, with a pot of mustard as recommended by the doctors.[39] Wine was paired with lemon, to cut the taste, in about half of the paintings in which it appeared.[40] Oysters were almost invariably pictured within sight of a rolled-up sheet of almanac paper filled with the pepper to properly spice it. Salt and vinegar made appearances as dictated by proper etiquette and good dietary habits.

Viewed from the perspective of the material culture in which the creators and consumers of Haarlem still-life painting existed one can fully appreciate Hochstrasser's argument that these paintings were essentially positive in nature. They celebrated the incredible material comfort with which some of the Dutch were newly blessed.[41] These pictures even appear to have posited an ideal of consumption; not

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[38] On the discussion of Hochstrasser's study of Dutch still life and her use of the dietary manuals of Johann van Beverwijck and Stephanus Blankaarts, see Chapter Two, 89-90.

[39] See Chapter Two, 98-99.

[40] See Chapter Two, 113.

[41] That the Dutch acquired tremendous wealth through trade in the early seventeenth-century is a story well-known to most students of history. However, particularly good, accessible accounts of the circumstances surrounding this flowering of the Dutch economy and with it a nascent consumer culture, are: Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995), chaps. 14 ("The Commencement of Dutch World Trade Primacy") and 15 ("Society after the Revolt");

only what to eat but in what combinations. Anyone who has stood before one of these paintings will agree with Hochstrasser's assertion that these paintings present a powerful vision of a good life.

There is, however, another aspect of Haarlem still-life painting that nuances the positive message for which Hochstrasser has argued, and that is the temporal instability of the depicted meals. From the early 1620s on painters such as Pieter Claesz, Willem Claesz. Heda and Floris van Schooten conceived of works in which, through crumpled up napkins, partly eaten pies, or overturned drinking vessels, an element of human narrative is introduced. Unlike the distant, cerebral tables of Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis in which everything on the table is ordered and has its place, the entropy in the paintings of Floris van Dijck, Pieter Claesz, and Willem Claesz. Heda, is a factor that introduces a familiar, creaturely experience. One has intimate knowledge of the processes at work on the canvas or panel before one's eyes, the processes of consumption and dining.

This familiarity of experience draws one into the painting, even if the tazza, nautilus cup and pastry pie are unknown quantities. The viewer is situated as the diner, privileged to sit at this table, and yet unsettling questions arise. Why is this gilt goblet overturned? Why is this meal left unfinished, and was it abandoned in haste? Is this meal actually finished? These questions and the experience from which they arise as

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Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987); and Jan de Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods. Understanding the World Economy in Early Modern Europe," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds. (London, 1993), 85-132.

one views Haarlem tabletop still lifes mitigate somewhat Hochstrasser's evocation of these works as positive models to be followed. These paintings certainly convey an optimistic accounting of the material structure of the refined world of consumption, particularly in their faithful description of the optical effects of light reflecting and refracting off a variety of surfaces.[42] However in their incompleteness these meals disclose other interpretive possibilities to the attuned viewer.

These other interpretive possibilities are best seen in paintings such as Willem Claesz. Heda's painting now in Washington (fig. 1). While obviously celebrating the artist's ability to paint spectacularly lifelike material texture and his prowess as a composer, this painting also draws on the viewer's desire to yield to this picture's seductive visual power to situate a profound moral challenge centered on appetite and restraint.[43] Perhaps one's eye is drawn first to the gilt goblet lording over the table. Within seconds one's eye scans the painting's surface, absorbing the cool hues of the pewter pitcher, the translucent green of the *roemer* glass, the stippled silver of the tazza, and so on, until the contents of the table are catalogued by the eye.

Because of the identification of the viewer with the creaturely comforts of the food and drink, he or she in essence partakes in the visual consumption of the laid table. However, the extinguished candle and broken *berckemeier* signify the transgressive nature of this all-too-human act by pointedly reminding the viewer of the

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[42] This fascination with transcribing reflective surfaces and its origins in theory is discussed in Chapter Five, note 40.

[43] See above, 6-9.

evanescence of the experience. The centered focus on the roll magnifies the gravity of the viewer's error in satiating his or her desire. The roll is of the table but apart from it. The sharp contrast between the uneaten, untouched roll and the rest of the table underscores how the viewer misses the essential food – Christ – in satisfying his or her worldly desire. Even though it is presented openly and directly to the viewer, the roll awaits to be consumed. Its wholeness is both a comfort to the viewer and a condemnation of that viewer's human failings.[44]

Works like Heda's painting are unambiguous in their meaning, even if they may not bear the textual evidence in the picture field that is currently favored as *prima facie* evidence of a deeper meaning.[45] The question to ask of these works is as follows: are they exceptions within the body of Haarlem still-life painting, or do they represent a pictorial tradition that was deeply ingrained in the visual intelligence of seventeenth-century Dutch culture?

Paintings like those in Washington and Houston clarify that a framework existed for viewing at least some tabletop still lifes that was derived from one's faith and not, at least not exclusively, one's material well-being. The chapters that follow establish a framework by which modern viewers can identify and assess the associative imagery of similar paintings.

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[44] See the section "Haarlem tabletop still-life painting and audience" Chapter One, especially 69-73.

[45] Alan Chong writes: "Given this well-defined group of still-lifes with religious and moral symbols, it is doubtful whether paintings of flowers lacking explicit texts or obvious religious objects were intended to carry the same moralizing messages, or whether most viewers would have made such associations. Indeed, because only a small percentage of Netherlandish still lifes bear any inscriptions at

all, it seems unwise to base an understanding of the genre as a whole on isolated examples." Chong, "Contained Under the Name Still Life", 15-16.

CHAPTER ONE

HAARLEM, ITS ARTISTIC COMMUNITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF STILL-LIFE PAINTING

Haarlem tabletop still-life paintings represent only one of the genres regarded today as essential contributions to the development of the visual culture in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. The mannerist history paintings of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem and the mannerist prints of Hendrick Goltzius, the theoretical and biographical *Het Schilderboeck* (1604) of their colleague Karel van Mander, the dashing portraits of Haarlemers by Frans Hals, the monochrome landscapes of Pieter de Molijn and Jan van Goyen, and the delightful peasant scenes of Adriaen Brouwer, Adriaen van Ostade and Jan Miense Molenaer, and finally the *Haarlempjes* (literally little Haarlems) of Jacob van Ruisdael, all represent significant contributions to the growth of Dutch art. Without them the record of Dutch achievement in the history of art would be severely curtailed.

This chapter registers the development of still-life painting in Haarlem in the early seventeenth century within the context of the explosive growth in the Haarlem school in the period between 1585 through the 1640s. Against a backdrop of the social, religious and political life of the city in this period the broad artistic concerns are explored through an examination of some of the work of significant painters there. This chapter also probes the contemporary appreciation of Haarlem still life in encomiums and city histories and examines the flourishing art market in the city.

Much recent work has been done on probate inventories in Haarlem and other cities. The results of these studies are here adduced for the insight they provide into who collected still lifes, and particular attention is paid to how members of different religious groups might have appreciated paintings like that by Willem Claesz. Heda in Washington (fig. 1). Finally, drawing on these inventories and other published sources, this chapter will assess the terminology used to describe still lifes in the seventeenth century and how they impact one's modern understanding of the Haarlem tabletop still life.

Politics, Society and the Economy in Haarlem, 1585-1640

Like many cities in Holland and the other provinces that formed the embryonic Dutch Republic in 1585, Haarlem faced an uncertain future. The war with Spain and its king Philip II, sparked primarily by the Protestant revolt nearly twenty years earlier, was in a critical phase when to many it looked as if the North might indeed come once again under Spanish subjugation. Willem I "de Zwijger" (or, the Silent) had been felled by an assassin in his residence in Delft in July of 1584. The States of Holland and Zeeland, the two most powerful in the Union of Utrecht that provided the basis for the future Dutch Republic, were desperately searching for a leader and protector in politically sympathetic nations such as France and England.

Haarlem itself was also, figuratively speaking, still licking its wounds from a truly ignominious point in the city's history – a siege by Spanish forces led by the notorious Duke of Alva from December 1572 to the 13th July, 1573, when a negotiated

settlement led to Spanish control of the city and the execution of many of the rebel forces that had held the city for over six months.

Naturally the economy of this city had suffered during the early years of the war, but with the fall of Antwerp in 1585 and the negotiated freedom of movement of Protestants from this and other Catholic, Spanish-held cities in Flanders and Brabant in the ten years that followed, Haarlem, like other cities in the North experienced a population explosion that invigorated the economic base of the city and brought new possibilities for industry. Foremost among these industries was the linen industry, for which Haarlem was justly famous throughout much of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the earliest Haarlem tabletop still lifes lavished attention on decoratively – patterned damast linen and heavy table laken. The audience for these works must have taken a certain pride in seeing examples of the city's thriving industry in these large paintings.

The sudden upswing in the fortunes of the textile industry was due to immigration. Protestants, whether Calvinist, Lutheran, or Mennonite, immigrated to Haarlem and Leiden from Koortrijk and its environs, bringing not only a highly-skilled workforce, but as well capital and technology.[1] In addition Haarlem had already been famous for its brewing industry, which exported to a good deal of

[1] For information on the textile industry in Haarlem and the efforts by city officials to recruit immigrants from Koortrijk and other cities, see: Floris Mulder, " De Haarlemse textielnijverheid in de periode 1575-1800," in *Haarlem ging op wollen zollen: opkomst, bloei en ondergang van de textielnijverheid aan Het Spaarne*, ed. by Hans Rombouts (Haarlem, 1995), 53-109; A.J. de Graaf, ed., *Textiel aan het Spaarne. Haarlem: van linnen damast tot zijden linten*, Proceedings from Textieldag congress, Teylers Museum, Haarlem, June 8, 1995 (Amsterdam, 1997).

northern Europe.[2] While this industry experienced a slight contraction in the numbers of breweries, the amount of beer they produced at this time actually increased. The period between 1585 and 1604 can, without exaggeration, thus be described as an economic renaissance for Haarlem.

By 1610 Haarlem had developed into one of the most important cities in Holland. Through its several industries, especially brewing and the textile industry, the city enjoyed a fairly stable economy, which was critical to supporting its growing population. By 1622 the number of inhabitants in the city totaled some 40,000, making it the third largest city in the province, behind only Amsterdam and Leiden, the latter of which was its chief rival in the linen industry. In 1573, after the unsuccessful defense of the city against the Spanish siege, the number of inhabitants was only some 18,000.

Early Stirrings of Still Life

The period between the founding of the so-called "Haarlem Academy" formed by the mannerist painters Hendrick Goltzius, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem and Karel van Mander and the publication of last named's treatise, 1585-1604, were years in which the arts in Haarlem flourished. Yet there is little evidence of interest in still-life painting, and certainly not fully-developed tabletop still lifes such as Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis would paint beginning around 1610. Van Mander does

[2] On the brewing industry in Haarlem, see: A. Hallema and Ir.J.A. Emmens, *Het bier en zijn brouwers* (Amsterdam, 1968), 53-64. For a larger overview of the brewing industry in the Netherlands, see: R.E. Kistemaker and V.T. van Vilsteren, eds., *Bier! Geschiedenis van een volksdrank*, exh. cat. (Amsterdams Historisches Museum, Amsterdam, 1994).

briefly discuss the work of Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, who was then living in Haarlem painting kitchen pieces that typically featured a maid preparing food.[3] This type of painting is similar to those painted by Pieter Aertsen, "Lange Pier" as Van Mander names him, whose works he singled out for especial praise.[4]

While not explicitly condemning still life as a subject for painting, Van Mander regarded it, along with the other "byways" of art such as landscape and portraiture, as good practice and little more for the painter serious about perfecting all facets of representation necessary in a history painting.[5] Indeed although he praised with evident pride Jacques de Gheyn's ability to paint flowers and draw from life insects and other small creatures, Van Mander makes it clear in his biography that these renderings of "a large glass with a bouquet of flowers" and "subjects in the book [that] were done from life and among them were many small animals" were but a first

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[3] Karel van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, translated from *Het Schilder-boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe Jeught den grondt der edel vry schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort vooghedraghen* (Haarlem, 1604) by Constant van de Wall (New York, 1936), 418.

[4] Ibid., 203-207; Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, translated and with commentary by Hessel Miedema, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1973), vol. 1, 201 (Chapter Seven of *Den grondt*, fol. 33v).

[5] Van Mander 1973, vol. 1, 46 (preface of *Den Grondt*, fol.*6r). Van Mander's comment about the lesser arts as side-roads, or byways, was made in his biography of the portrait painter Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt (Van Mander 1936, 352). He states "That seems to be the trouble in our Netherlands, especially at the present time. There is too little for artists to do in making compositions with figures, and young artists have little opportunity to become proficient at painting figures and nudes. Most of the time they have to paint portraits from life. Most artists are attracted by a sweet profit, and, as they have to support themselves, they take this by-path in art – the painting of portraits from life. Artists travel along this road without delight, in time to seek the main road, – the painting of compositions with human figures, the road that leads towards the highest in art. Many fine, splendid talents have remained unproductive, and this is regrettable." See also Guido Jansen, "'On the Lowest Level': The Status of the Still Life in Netherlandish Art Literature of the Seventeenth Century," in Chong and Kloek, 51-57.

step in De Gheyn's development as a painter.[6] Van Mander stresses in this biography De Gheyn's constant drive to improve his art through experiments, such as still life, which he ultimately abandoned for history painting done in a much broader style.[7]

Likewise Van Mander, in his sketch of the career and life of Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, mentioned an early painting by him, a vase of flowers, which was so good that his teacher in Antwerp, Gillis Coignet, kept it for a long time and would not sell it.[8] Still Cornelisz. van Haarlem's history paintings were the greatest cause for Van Mander's praise of this artist.[9] Like De Gheyn, Cornelisz. van Haarlem must have regarded his still lifes as subsidiary to history painting. For example, in his curious painting of a nun and monk engaged in love-making, which was painted for a municipal commission in 1591, the fruit and *tazza* of the still life on the table underscore the earthy and tactile embrace of the two wayward disciples of the Church (fig. 14).[10]

In like manner Hendrick Goltzius's *Lot and His Daughters*, painted in the last year of his life, 1616, includes a small arrangement of cheeses, grapes and a large roll (fig. 15). This vignette is not necessary to the story, in which Lot's daughters, despairing of the end of humanity after the destruction of Sodom, conspire to seduce

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[6] Van Mander 1936, 402.

[7] Ibid, 402-403.

[8] Ibid, 394.

[9] Ibid, 395-396.

[10] Albert Blankert et al., *Gods, Saints & Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington 1980), 79.

their father by intoxicating him. However, by including the still-life elements, Goltzius certainly grounded this history painting in a context of carnality in which bodily appetites, both sexual and gastronomical, hold both appeal and danger for the viewer.

The tabletop still life emerges in Haarlem

The period 1610 to 1625 also saw the emergence in Haarlem of the genre central to this study – the tabletop still life. Though the origins of this subject type in Haarlem are a mystery, in 1610 Floris van Dijck painted two fully accomplished tabletop still lifes, sprung, as it were, from the head of Zeus, that employ conventions that foreclosed the visual character of the tabletop still life in Haarlem over the next decade (figs. 16, 17).[11] Van Dijck used a high viewpoint such that the tabletop appears tilted up, allowing one an overview of all the objects on the table. Van Dijck discretely ordered these objects so that each may be considered individually. Every object seems to have its place, and there can be no accident to the order seen on the tabletop. In this regard Van Dijck's aesthetic is not much different from the small tabletops Hieronymous Francken painted in Antwerp between 1600 and 1605 (fig. 18) or in a large laid table painted in the northern Netherlands sometime late in the sixteenth century (fig. 19).[12] A high horizon was employed by artists depicting other subjects,

[11] (FvD 1) panel, 49.1 x 77.8 cm, dated 1610. Private collection, The Hague; (FvD 2) panel, 73.7 x 113 cm, dated 1610. Formerly? Collection of Scudamore Griffiths, Campden, Gloucestershire.

[12] Hieronymous Francken the Younger, *Tabletop with roll, sweetmeats and fruit (Rich Man's Meal?)*, c.1601, private collection; North netherlandish master, *Laid Tabletop with religious scene in background*, c.1580, panel, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft

as, for example, Hendrick Avercamp's winter ice scenes (fig. 20),[13] or David Vinckboons's elegant companies (fig. 21),[14] or Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem's civic guard portraits (figs. 22).[15] Indeed both Van Dijck's tabletops and Cornelisz. van Haarlem's gathered men have a stiff, conservative style in which emphasis is placed on a careful transcription of surface features and textures and spatial relationships are downplayed.

Van Dijck's essential approach to painting a tabletop changed only somewhat between his Campden painting of 1610 and a work dated 1622 and now in the Russell Collection in Amsterdam (fig. 23).[16] The overall compositional structure of this later work is essentially unchanged. However, Van Dijck has better integrated the objects into a unified whole than is the case in the Campden painting. The spatial relationships are better observed.

This minor, but essential, shift in Van Dijck's approach to the tabletop was probably a response to some of the new forms of the genre that the artists Floris van Schooten and Pieter Claesz were painting at the time and which are discussed below. Nonetheless Van Dijck was a highly refined artist, and in at least one painting, which is now in the Rijksmuseum, he experimented with his visual formula, altering the

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[13] Hendrick Avercamp, *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, c.1609, panel, 77.5 x 132 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[14] David Vinckboons, *A Merry Company of Youth Outdoors*, c.1610, panel, 28.5 x 43.7 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[15] Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, *Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Militia Company*, 1599, panel, 156.5 x 222 cm. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

[16] (FvD 11) panel, 100 x 135 cm, dated 1622. Russell Collection, Amsterdam, on long term loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.

balance of space and objects to create a monumental work out of essentially few elements. This atmospheric work, though not monogrammed or signed, is clearly a work by Van Dijck (fig. 24).[17] In comparison to the Campden painting or that from the Russell Collection (1622), relatively few items are found on the table. Yet it shares many of the same basic elements with those paintings. A stack of cheeses dominates the entire table, on either side of which are some glasses of wine. Two bowls, one of apples and the other of grapes, are arrayed along the left edge of the damast linen. A group of objects – a roll, a pear, and a striking Siegburg jug – provide balance along the right edge of the damast. In the center are some olives, a roll and a glass of wine. Nuts are scattered on the table and a halved apple sits on a plate along the front edge of the table. There are only marginally more choices on this table than in one on Van Dijck's smaller paintings, such as a 1613 still life in the Frans Halsmuseum (fig. 25).[18]

As a result, this painting is the most spacious of Van Dijck's work, which is a function of both the handling of the space within the picture plane and the painting's

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[17] (FvD 6) panel, 82.2 x 111.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Some of the objects on the table appear to be the same ones, or close variants, to those found in the Campden painting. The stoneware Siegburg jug, the roll decorated with razor slashes, and the pear and nut combination coincidentally all grouped together in the right of the painting are found in the Campden painting, prominently placed, though not together. The Siegburg jug appears to have the same decorative patterning, figurative elements on the side panels – allegorical female figures with flowing drapery?, and the bearded face at the base of the spout, although this last element was certainly a typical feature of many Siegburg pitchers. Only the lid of the pitcher is different, the crouching animal form atop the lobe-decorated lid replaced in the Rijksmuseum painting by a simple pewter lid with pointed knob.

The presence of these objects in both paintings certainly raises the possibility that they were painted relatively close to one another in time. On the other hand Van Dijck has clearly refined his approach in the Rijksmuseum painting and this stylistic difference denotes a certain time sequence, with the work in the Rijksmuseum the latter of the two.

[18] (FvD 3) panel, 50 x 77 cm, dated 1613. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

format.[19] In the Rijksmuseum work the back edge of the table rises to just over halfway up the picture field. Significant areas of the black void loom behind and above the table, a striking backdrop against which the forms on the table, particularly the cheeses, appear to boldly emerge. Van Dijck also implies a tangible spatial location by indicating the table's left edge, along the back corner. This feature is notably lacking in most early Haarlem paintings, which situate the banquet on a table that seems to spread endlessly in both directions.

As in the Campden or Russell paintings the elements comprising the laid table in the Rijksmuseum work are confined to the center, which enhances a palpable sense of space. The boundaries of the meal are clearly laid bare and ordered along the central position demarcated by the damast. However, the halved apple on the plate is placed off-center in this painting, creating a more vibrant relationship with the rest of the table than in the compositional solution evident in the Campden painting (fig. 17), in which a strict hierarchical ordering of the elements of the table is the predominant compositional principle.

The careful, refined method Floris van Dijck employed in this and other works he painted may account for the paucity of surviving paintings. Only fourteen or so are known from a period extending to 1628. Another explanation is that Van Dijck likely did not have to rely on his art for his livelihood. The artist was born into a patrician

[19] Most of Van Dijck's paintings have a height to width ratio in the area of 1 to 1.5. This painting has a height to width ratio of 1 to 1.35. Only the format of the Russell Collection painting has a similar ratio, although in that work Van Dijck employs a characteristically high horizon line that results in a picture field filled with the tabletop and objects placed on it.

family, probably of Haarlem origin, in Delft around 1575.[20] In 1600 he traveled to Italy, where in Rome he met and was befriended by Cavaliere d'Arpino, who is said to have painted his portrait. In 1604 he married Commertgen Vranckendr. de Jonge. A will the couple had drawn up in 1605 indicates that they were wealthy.

Van Dijck only joined the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1610, when he was around thirty-five, further indication that his practice of art was more a vocation than a necessity. His interest in painting as a refined liberal art may perhaps be gauged by his presentation to the Guild of a bust of Michelangelo. In addition Floris van Dijck contributed to the *album amicorum* of Cornelis de Montigny de Glarges in 1622, a diplomat, an indication of the elite circles in which he moved.[21] His contribution consisted of a small drawing of a fruit still life. At the time of his entry into the Guild, Van Dijck's portrait was included in a series of portraits of painters by Simon Frisius, *Pictorum aliquot Celebrium Praecipue.*

Van Dijck appears to have taken an active interest in the affairs and standing of painters in the artistic community in Haarlem. He was elected as deacon to the Guild in 1637, 1638 and 1640, several years after the last known work by him. He also participated in the administration of the Guild while he was active. In the year of his

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[20] Ger Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art 1580-1620*, exh. cat. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Amsterdam and Zwolle, 1993), 304-305.

[21] *Album amicorum van Cornelis de Montigny de Glarges (1599-1683), diplomaat*, manuscript compiled from 1622-1679, Koninklijke bibliotheek (Leeszaal Bijzondere Collecties), The Hague, fol. XX. For this *album amicorum*, see: H. Bots and G. van Gemert, *L'album amicorum de Cornelis de Glarges 1599-1683*, Studies van het Instituut voor intellectuele betrekkingen tussen de Westeuropese landen in de zeventiende eeuw, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1975).

entry into the Guild, Van Dijck held the lesser office of *vinder*, where he served again in 1623, 1631, and 1635.[22]

Van Dijck's interests in the community were not confined solely to those of the artistic community. In 1625, the year of his second marriage, to Cornelia Jansdr. Vlasman, the artist apparently purchased a house for a number of spiritual maidens and allowed it to be registered in their names.[23] This act would seem consistent with Floris van Dijck's own Catholicism. Given his wealth it appears that he actively supported the practice of his faith in Haarlem. Floris van Dijck died in November 1651.

Much less is known about Floris van Dijck's contemporary Nicolaes Gillis, whose few tabletop paintings are nonetheless important for the development of the tabletop still life in Haarlem. Gillis is believed to have been born in Flanders and lived there for a considerable portion of his life, although there are no documents that specifically bear out these suppositions.[24] His earliest dated painting, 1601, shares some of the features of Haarlem tabletop still lifes, especially the tilted tabletop format and an individual focus on each object (fig. 26).[25] However, this painting lacks the compositional balance and hierarchical order evident in Van Dijck's Campden

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[22] Hessel Miedema, *De Archiefbescheiden van het St. Lukasgilde te Haarlem: 1497-1798*, 2 vols. (Alphen a/d Rijn, 1980), vol. 2, 1110, 1111.

[23] "Florens van Dijck" is mentioned as the purchaser of this house in Johanna Willemina Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577-1620*, Hollandse Historische Reeks, vol. XI (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 1989), 203.

[24] Marion Elisabeth Wilhelmina Goosens, "Schilders en de markt Haarlem 1605-1635" (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 2001), 23.

[25] (NG 1) panel, 45 x 56 cm, dated 1601. Private collection, Germany.

painting or his work in a private collection in The Hague. Indeed, the all-over character of Gillis's painting seems more consistent with paintings from the turn of the seventeenth century by Hieronymous Francken the Younger in Antwerp (fig. 18).[26]

With his next dated work, however, there can be little doubt about the extent of Nicolaes Gillis's integration into his own art of the visual idiom fostered by Floris van Dijck. Often adduced, and reproduced, as the essential early Haarlem tabletop painting (fig. 11), Gillis's 1612 painting, now in the Russell Collection, came two years after Van Dijck's groundbreaking painting in Campden and seems to borrow heavily from it in terms of the overall compositional structure.[27] Although the artist is not recorded in Haarlem until 1622, there can be little doubt from the evidence of this painting, and another dated 1614, now in the National Gallery in Prague (fig. 27) in which the artist quotes directly from Van Dijck's work, that Gillis was living and working in Haarlem by the second decade of the seventeenth century.[28]

The lack of information about what would seem, on the basis of his known work, to have been an important artist has led Marion Goosens to suppose that Nicolaes Gillis was employed in the workshop of Floris van Dijck as an assistant

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[26] See Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 39-53.

[27] (NG 2) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1612. Russell Collection, Amsterdam, on long-term loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.

[28] (NG 3) panel, 74.5 x 110.5 cm, dated 1614. National Museum, Prague. Among other quotes is the handle on the knife, which appears to be the same, and the twisting stack of cheeses, which Gillis did not use in his earlier work, but which Van Dijck used in all of his paintings.

painter.[29] His name appears several times in the Guild records with the description "schilder" (painter), but he was never inscribed as a master.

Not much more is known about Gillis's and Van Dijck's contemporary Floris van Schooten. Born just outside of Haarlem, in Schooten, the son of Gerrit Jacobsz. van Schooten, Floris was first documented in 1612, when he married Ryckloet Willems.[30] The young couple certainly had a promising start: Van Schooten's father gave 1000 guilders to the couple, while the bride's father, Willem Gerritsz. Bol, contributed 1200 guilders. These facts indicate that Van Schooten came from reasonably comfortable living circumstances.

Still, Van Schooten's productivity as an artist – around 100 works are known by him today – suggests that, unlike Floris van Dijck, he had to work regularly to sustain a certain standard of living.[31] Van Schooten joined the Guild of St. Luke in 1612, although works by him are not known from this year. His first, and one of his only, dated works is also one of his most impressive paintings, and betrays his debt to Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis (fig. 28).[32] On a large tabletop are arrayed a multitude of platters and Ming ware bowls of various fruits – plums, grapes, apples, gooseberries, pears, cherries, raspberries – along with a Ming bowl of butter flakes balanced on a saltcellar, a pitcher, and two gilt goblets along the table's back edge.

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[29] Goosens, 92.

[30] Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., ed., *Still Lifes of the Golden Age. Northern European Paintings from the Heinz Family Collection*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1989), 123; Goosens, 23, 432.

[31] See Poul Gammelbo, "Floris van Schooten," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 17 (1966): 105-143, for a preliminary catalogue raisonné of the artist's work.

Despite the obvious compositional heritage from works by Van Dijck and Gillis in the high viewpoint employed in this painting, Van Schooten departed from their model in significant ways. Rather than ordering the table around strongly centralized objects, as did both Gillis and Van Dijck, Van Schooten filled the visual space of this tabletop with a multiplicity of dishes, all of which vie equally for the eye's attention. To be sure the platter of plums in the near center of the table is a prime dish, both in location and in the alteration between dark and light plums. However cut branches of berries along the table's front edge draw attention to a small bowl of berries from which they seem to radiate, just as a pair of rolls at the right edge of the table also seem important visual moments on this table. Van Schooten also varied the disposition of the damast and laken linens on this table from that found in the works by Van Dijck and Gillis. Where the damast linen in those works was placed centrally on the table, with laken to either side, Van Schooten divided his table unequally into linen-covered and diamond-patterned damask portions.

As distinct as this early painting is in Van Schooten's oeuvre in terms of its size and its thematic scope, the visual construct of this work and its lack of a centralized focus are similar to the constructions found in Van Schooten's other works from the 1610s and early 1620s (figs. 29, 30, 31).[33] These smaller works, which feature fruits and cheese or dishes of meat, typically are more closely cropped than the 1617 painting, but share with it a high viewpoint, a similar configuration of damast to

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[32] (FvS *1) canvas, 1617, 80 x 113 cm, dated 1617. Private collection, Switzerland.

[33] (FvS 33) panel (47 x 84 cm). Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterloo; (FvS 34) panel, 56 x 86 cm. Heinz Collection, Washington; (FvS 39) panel, 48.3 x 74.2 cm. Private collection, Denmark.

laken linen on the table, and a compositional framework that is not focused on a specific object or set of objects. The result are paintings in which the eye scans the surface without registering specific visual nodes of interest.

Of course Van Schooten could and did vary from this characteristic formula. In a work now in the Von der Heydt Museum in Wuppertal (fig. 32), Van Schooten utilized a compositional formula that, in the central placement of a pyramidal stack of cheeses and the centered element along the table's front edge, in this case a sliced roll on a pewter plate, bespeaks its origins in the work of Van Dijck.[34] Similarly a large panel last seen at auction in Amsterdam in 1953 that features a prominent stack of cheeses centered in the back and a roll on a pewter plate along the front edge of a table recalls the paintings of Nicolaes Gillis in its emphasis on compositional symmetry (fig. 33).[35]

Apart from tabletop still lifes Floris van Schooten also painted a number of works of a related type – the kitchen piece (*keukenstuck*) – a type Pieter Aertsen first introduced in the northern Netherlands after he returned in 1566 to his native Amsterdam following more than two decades working in the cultural metropolis of Antwerp. Aertsen's innovative type proved popular in Holland, where most cities boasted at least one painter working in this mode around the turn of the century. In

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[34] (FvS 35) panel, 53.5 x 84 cm. Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal.

[35] (FvS 28) panel, 54 x 90 cm. Sale, Amsterdam (Maak von Way), June 23-26, 1953, #96.

Haarlem this artist was Pieter Cornelisz. van Rijck, who was Floris van Dijck's cousin.[36]

Floris van Schooten enjoyed steady, if not spectacular, business throughout his career. He was evidently regarded highly enough among his peers to have been elected deacon of the Guild of St. Luke in 1639. The following year he was nominated for treasurer, though he was not elected to this post. Van Schooten died in Haarlem in 1656.

Around 1620 another young artist, Pieter Claesz, began a long career in which he introduced a number of innovations to both the form and production of Haarlem tabletop still-life painting. Given the importance of Claesz's contributions to the genre, it is somewhat surprising how little about the artist is known. Originally thought to have come with his family from Burgsteinfurt, Westphalia, it now appears that Claesz was born in Berchem, outside of Antwerp, sometime around 1597.[37] It is not clear when the artist first came to Haarlem, but he is first recorded there in 1617, at the time of his marriage to Geertje Hendricksdr.

While Claesz reshaped still-life painting in Haarlem he left little trace of his activity in the records of the Guild of St. Luke. He is mentioned twice, once in a list

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[36] Although Van Rijck worked in Haarlem at times, the bulk of his active career was spent in Italy.

[37] Vroom, vol. 1, 20. At the baptism of his son Claes Pietersz on 1 October 1620, the artist and his wife gave the child, who in adulthood became an Italianate landscape painter and was better known as Nicolaes Berchem, the surname Berchem, which may indeed reflect the father's birthplace. Until his father's death in 1660, Nicolaes Berchem regularly signed his works with C or CP Berchem, his given name. Only in 1660 did the artist change his practice and regularly sign with the forename by which he is known today. His son, also an artist and named Nicolaes, was called Nicolaes (van) Berchem, which may be a further indication of the family's origins near Antwerp. Pieter Claesz and his wife Geertje had

compiled in 1796 of all the members throughout the history of the Guild, indicating that he did join the Guild, though this record does not survive, and once in 1634, where he is listed as instructing his son in drawing. When he did appear in the records Claesz was listed as *banketschilder*. Unlike the still-life painters Floris van Dijck and Floris van Schooten, or his contemporary Willem Claesz. Heda, Claesz was not elected to offices within the Guild. He appears to have had no other pupils, although he did frequently collaborate with Roelof Koets in his mature works. A steadily productive artist, Claesz produced 200-250 paintings extending from his earliest dated work of 1621 to his last, painted the year of his death in 1660.

Claesz's earliest works demonstrate his awareness of the refined tables of Floris can Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis from early in the previous decade as well as his engagement with Floris van Schooten's new directions in the pictorial format of the Haarlem tabletop still life. However, in these works Claesz also signaled his intention to strike out in new directions. For instance, in his painting dated 1621 (fig. 34), Claesz adapted Van Schooten's shift from the center to the end of the table, pushing it to its logical end by depicting the front corner and left edge of the table.[38] The use of objects with intricate visual patterns such as the Siegburg stoneware jug is reminiscent of Van Dijck's work.

The arrangement of dishes on the table is neither hieratically ordered along symmetrical axes, as in the work of Van Dijck and Gillis, nor without an easily

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also baptized a daughter, Riekje, on 25 March 1618. Before their marriage Pieter and Geertje both lived on the Spaarne and in 1661 they are recorded as living on the Franckesteeg.

[38] (PC 1) panel, 45.5 x 63.5 cm, dated 1621. Dealer D. Koetser, Zurich, 1991.

discernible pattern, as in the case of many of Van Schooten's works. Rather Claesz has in this work utilized a compositional scheme that is present in many of the works he painted throughout his career: a diagonal fall from right to left in a sort of wedge that moves the eye across the surface of the painting as well as through the depth of the table's surface. Claesz's orchestration results in a focus on the whole lemon on the pewter plate at the table's corner.

Another of Claesz's early works, undated but probably painted around 1621-1622, reveals another of the artist's interests (fig. 35).[39] The arrangement of dishes, glasses and objects on this table is somewhat more centralized than in his 1621 painting. This compositional layout, as evident above in the discussion of the works by Van Dijck and Gillis, tends to lend to any setting an air of formality. However Claesz mitigated the cool cerebralism in this structural type in two ways; he lowered the point of view and depicted the objects on the table integrated in spatial and utilitarian relationships. For instance, a bowl of raspberries on the right is balanced somewhat precariously on a bread roll and the rim of a pewter plate, onto which some of the fruit has spilled and intermingled with some cherries. This motif is dynamic and visually interesting and is suggestive of movement.

These earliest paintings by Claesz feature fruit, elements common to Haarlem tabletop still lifes in the second decade of the seventeenth century. However within a year Claesz was painting still lifes of considerable thematic range, suggesting his intense desire to innovate and secure for himself a distinctive niche in the Haarlem art

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[39] (PC 2) panel, 51.4 x 82.3 cm. Rhenisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.

market. For instance Claesz painted an assortment of fruits and a tazza of sweetmeats and pastries at the corner of a table in 1621 (fig. 36), an extension of themes he had already explored, but in the same year he painted a small panel of smoking implements, playing cards and beer that is completely different in character (fig. 37).[40] Around this time Claesz also expanded on his earlier compositional interest in the end of a table, situating new dish types, such as a pie, in this area of prime visual focus (fig. 38).[41] The fruit in this painting, a giant, heaping platter of fruit, now adumbrates the primary visual field instead of occupying it. Claesz also explored the allegorical dimensions of still-life arrangements in works dated 1623 and 1624. One concerns the five senses (fig. 39), the other appears to be a meditation on youthful love and the certainty of time's passage into death (fig. 40).[42] Both of these works are unique in Claesz's oeuvre. However in 1625 the artist painted a work in a similar thematic vein, the vanitas, which marked the beginning of a career-long fascination with this topic (fig. 41).[43]

Claesz's most significant development in this early period was transforming the visual form of the early tabletop still life of Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis from a highly rational, additive composition to one that seemed natural because of the

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[40] (PC 4) panel, 26.5 x 33.5 cm, dated 1621. Dealer Richard Green, London, 1989.

[41] (PC 6) panel, dimensions unknown. Dealer Mitchell, London, 1934.

[42] (PC 8) canvas, 69 x 127 cm, dated 1623. Louvre, Paris; (PC 12) panel, 65 x 55.5 cm, dated 1624. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. On the meaning of this painting, see Sam Segal, *Jan Davidsz. De Heem en zijn kring*, exh. cat. (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 1991), 129.

[43] (PC 15) panel, 29 x 43 cm, dated 1625. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. On Claesz's interest in the vanitas, see Chapter Three, 186-188.

successful integration of the constituent parts of the table, both visually and thematically. He achieved this transformation by shifting the focus of the table to one end and lowering the viewpoint.

Art in Haarlem and a stylistic shift in tabletop still-life painting

The fortunes of the visual arts in Haarlem during this period are best illustrated by the reorganization of the St. Luke's Guild from 1630 to 1634. Apparently a disorganized, moribund organization that rarely met in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, the Guild was reorganized by Salomon de Bray and others, including Willem Claesz. Heda, at the behest of the burgomasters, who desired in 1630 that all Guilds regularize their affairs. E. Taverne has described this transformation as one from a traditional guild into a smoothly functioning trade union that could best represent its interests and protect its members.[44] At the time of the reorganization of the Guild, the school of Haarlem painting was experiencing its greatest flowering. Frans Hals painted the portraits of the newly prosperous, while many of his pupils and associates, such as Dirck Hals (fig. 42), Judith Leyster (fig. 43), Adriaen van Ostade (fig. 44), and Adriaen Brouwer (fig. 45) produced the boisterous genre scenes with which the newly wealthy filled their homes.[45]

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[44] E. Taverne, "Salomon de Bray and the reorganization of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1631," *Simiolus* 6 (1972/1973): 50-69.

[45] For Dirck Hals, see Elmer Kolfin, 'Een geselschap jonge luyden. Productie, functie en betekenis van Noord-Nederlandse voorstellingen van vrolijke gezelschappen 1610-1645,' (Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 2002; for Judith Leyster, see James Welu and Pieter Biesboer, *Judith Leyster: A Dutch Master and Her World*, exh. cat. (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, 1993); for Adriaen van Ostade, see Peter

The greatest change came in landscape painting. During this period landscape painting experienced unprecedented growth, spurred in part by innovative stylistic developments that transformed its visual character. Around 1625-1626 Pieter van Santvoort and Pieter de Molijn experimented with new subjects, focusing on the dunes outside of Haarlem and conveying the windswept character of these land forms through their innovative use of repoussoirs (figs. 46, 47).[46] In particular, De Molijn moved away from the anecdotal scenes that characterized the landscapes of Esias van de Velde and his pupil Jan van Goyen. He also modified his palette, eliminating most of the local color that these earlier landscape paintings typically featured.

De Molijn's radical innovation ushered in a new aesthetic in Haarlem landscape painting – the monochrome, or tonal, landscape. While De Molijn was an important innovator, it is Jan van Goyen who adapted the artist's breakthrough and pushed it to its purest expression in works that are so thinly painted that they appear to have been painted in a matter of hours rather than days, as they likely were (fig. 48).[47] John Michael Montias has suggested that Van Goyen's new approach to landscape, a process change, was a result as much of a response to emerging market demands and

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Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth Century Dutch Genre Painting*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 1984), 181-189; on Adriaen Brouwer, see Margaret Klinge, *Adriaen Brouwer, David Teniers the Younger: A loan exhibition of paintings*, exh. cat. (Noortman and Brod Gallery, London, 1982).

[46] Peter Sutton repeats Wolfgang Stechow's characterization of De Molijn's landscape as "one of the cornerstones of Dutch landscape painting." See Peter Sutton, *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Boston, 1987), 374-376.

[47] For a good overview of Van Goyen's life and work, see Christiaan Vogelaar et al., *Jan van Goyen*, exh. cat. (Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden, 1996).

forces as it was a stylistic choice.[48] While Montias has been criticized for overreaching in his interpretation of the causes of the emergence of monochromatic landscape painting in Haarlem (low costs of materials and high volume of production due to rapid brushwork and restrained palette), there can be no denying the explosive numbers of landscapes painted in the 1630s and 1640s as compared to earlier decades.

Interestingly, the loose brushwork favored by Van Goyen and De Molijn, if not the monochrome palette, was adapted by Pieter Claesz in many of his tabletop still lifes painted during the 1630s and 1640s. Claesz's use of this *losse* (loose) style of brushwork could vary. Indeed in a work from the circa 1642 from a private collection in Edinburgh (fig. 49), Claesz painted in a restrained manner, describing carefully the various textures on the table.[49] In contrast in a painting dated 1644 and formerly with Robert Noortman in London (fig. 50), Claesz dispensed with a painstaking transcription of the various surfaces of objects on the table, opting instead for pronounced brushwork that lends the entire composition a degree of vitality.[50]

With two paintings so close in date it is tempting to imagine that Claesz may have adopted a different aesthetic depending on the effect desired in each painting. Or perhaps the two paintings owe their divergent visual aesthetics to different circumstances for each work's creation. One may have been painted for the market, where a faster, more efficient process would save time but also generate steady prices.

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[48] John Michael Montias, "Cost and Value in seventeenth-century Dutch art," *Art History* 10 (1987): 455-466; John Michael Montias, "The influence of economic factors on style," *De zeventiende eeuw* 6(1990): 49-57.

[49] (PC 92) panel, 73.03 x 99.06 cm, dated 1641. Private Collection, Edinburgh.

The other work, which is exceptional in Claesz's oeuvre, may have resulted from a commission. It has symbolic references that will be considered in Chapter Five. Unfortunately no evidence external to what one sees in these paintings can confirm or deny this hypothesis.

Tabletop still-life painting in Haarlem, like the rest of the arts in the city, experienced its zenith from 1625 through the 1640s. In addition to the broad range of works and types that Pieter Claesz produced and the steady output from Floris van Schooten, this period saw the emergence of one of the city's greatest still-life painters, Willem Claesz Heda, whose work earned him praise both in his lifetime and in the twentieth century as the essential artist of Haarlem still life.

Though he was probably born a few years before Pieter Claesz, around 1593/1594, Willem Claesz. Heda seems to have taken up painting only about the same time as his contemporary.[51] His first known painting is a vanitas dated 1621 (fig. 51).[52] This work, the only one of this theme Heda painted that survives, gives little indication of the form his work later in the decade would take. There is little sense in this picture of an underlying compositional structure, and Heda uses a good deal of local color to describe the coals in the brazier.

From the paintings preserved it would seem that Heda disappeared as an artist throughout most of the 1620s. However he was working, albeit not in a genre one would expect. Recently a large triptych by him, a *Crucifixion with Sts. Clare and*

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[50] (PC 123/139) panel, 66 x 95 cm, dated 1644. Dealer R. Noortman, London, 1980.

[51] Wheelock, *Dutch Paintings*, 99.

Francis, dated 1626, came to light on the market.[53] He also signed an act in 1624 as a "master painter," which indicates he had already joined the Saint Luke's Guild.[54] However, as with Pieter Claesz, his name did not appear on the list of members until 1634, the year the Guild was reformed and its affairs set in order.

Heda was one of the artists most active in the Guild's reorganization from 1631 to 1634. He signed the request seeking to refashion the Guild and was elected the Guild's *vinder* from 1631 to 1632, a post he also held from 1637 to 1638, 1643 and 1651.[55] He was also elected deacon in 1644 and from 1652 to 1653.[56] In addition Heda trained a number of artists. An entry in the register of the Guild dated 7 July 1642 lists three pupils of Heda's: his son, Gerrit Willemsz. Heda, Maerten Boelema, known as "De Stomme" because he was deaf and mute, and Hendrick Heerschop, about whom little is known. He also taught Arnoldus Beresteyn. In addition to these pupils Heda must have employed a number of artists in a large workshop.

Like Van Dijck, Heda appears to have played an important role in Haarlem's Catholic community. In addition to the triptych he painted in 1626, Heda was also a member of the *kerstmisgilde* (Christmas guild), an important Catholic brotherhood in which "chairs" were inherited through marriage or direct family lines. Floris van Dijck

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[52] (WCH 1) panel, 42 x 67 cm, dated 1621. Bredius Museum, The Hague.

[53] This painting is reproduced in: Xander van Eck, "The Artist's Religion: Paintings Commissioned for Clandestine Churches in the Northern Netherlands, 1600-1800," *Simiolus* 27 (1999): 70-94, fig. 6.

[54] Goosens, 422.

[55] Taverne, 51; Goosens, 422.

[56] Ibid.

also possessed a chair in the Christmas guild.[57] One of Heda's sons became a priest, an issue that late in the artist's life brought him to the attention of city authorities.[58] Heda died sometime around 1682.

Heda did not paint the still lifes for which he is best known until late in the 1620s. One of his earliest still lifes of this type is dated 1629 and gives a good indication of the artist's interests throughout his career (fig. 52).[59] Adopting the format developed by Claesz at the beginning of the decade in which the focus is on the end of a table, Heda depicted a large mackerel on a platter, a roll and some nuts on the table, an artfully peeled and partially sliced lemon on a pewter plate along the table's front edge, a pocket watch, and several drinking vessels, including a standing roemer, an overturned berckemeier, and a hansje-in-de-kelder. He has lowered the viewpoint dramatically and simplified the number of elements on the table. Heda has also paid particularly close attention to the description of the surface textures and effects of light on a variety of materials.

A year after painting this panel Heda executed a number of works that further distilled his interest in painting a few items of contrasting materials and textures (figs. 53, 54).[60] These *roemertjes* represented a new type of still life in Haarlem and were

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[57] Ibid, 65. For more information on how the kerstmisgilde functioned in Haarlem, see Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, 72.

[58] Goosens, 63.

[59] (WCH 2) canvas, 46 x 69 cm, dated 1629. Mauritshuis, The Hague.

[60] (WCH 5) panel, 45 x 60.5 cm, dated 1630. Private collection, 1980; (WCH 6) panel, 41.5 x 57.5 cm, dated 1630. Sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), November 9, 1937, #2

apparently quite popular.[61] Heda's innovation was one closely shared by Pieter Claesz and Floris van Schooten, both of whom painted a number of works of this type in the years following Heda's ground-breaking effort (figs. 55, 56).[62] Heda tended to cluster the central elements of these paintings, often a standing roemer paired with an overturned tazza, in a such a manner as to suggest an off-centered pyramid. This compositional scheme is visually dynamic and served to distinguish Heda's work from those of his contemporaries.

In addition to small paintings of assorted drinking vessels that sometimes included small dishes of food, from the mid-1630s on Heda painted larger assemblages of drinking vessels with dishes of food, such as ham, mince pie, or fish (figs. 57, 4).[63] Some of these compositions were simple, but more often Heda preferred tabletops with a rich array of drinking vessels and only one or two dishes of foods. These paintings, some of the finest of which Heda painted between 1635 and the mid-1640s, emphasize luxury over practicality (figs.58, 59).[64] Tipped over nautilus cups and tazzas and gilded pronck goblets struck notes of refinement that clearly held great appeal for art collectors in Haarlem and beyond.[65]

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[61] For a discussion of this type see Chapter Three, 152-154.

[62] (PC 46) panel, 73.2 x 53.3 cm. Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 8, 1992, #14; (FvS 6) panel, 53.3 x 39.5 cm. Dealer Marshall Spink, London.

[63] (WCH 34) panel, 76 x 90 cm, dated 1634. Alte Pinakothek, Munich; (WCH 38) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1635. Private collection.

[64] (WCH 41) panel, 88 x 113 cm, dated 1635. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; (WCH 77) panel, 76 x 109 cm, dated 1643. Formerly Heinz collection, Washington.

[65] That Heda's paintings were collected outside of Haarlem is established by references to his work in inventories made in Amsterdam and Utrecht in the seventeenth century. See below.

In contrast, during this period Pieter Claesz painted works that, in comparison to those painted by Heda, seem humble (figs. 60, 61).[66] Although both artists painted tabletops anchored by a common dish, such as a mince pie or ham, Claesz tended to include only one or two drinking vessels and without the variety of expertly-worked materials – such as various metal and glass – that Heda featured in his typical pictures. Instead of a proliferation of drinking vessels Claesz ornamented many of his tabletops with a profusion of ivy and sometimes heaps of fruit. Indeed in a number of large pictures from the 1640s Claesz collaborated with Roelof Koets, whose specialty was painting fruit (fig. 62).[67]

While Claesz responded to Willem Claesz. Heda's vigorous aesthetic in the 1630s, he also continued to explore themes that he first broached early in his career, such as vanitas images and paintings of smoking implements, that were almost exclusively his own (figs. 63, 64).[68] In addition to thematic innovation Claesz continually experimented with his arrangement of the tabletop and what he included on it. Two of his most striking paintings, both painted in 1627, rely on a large pastry pie decorated with either a peacock or a turkey head and feathers to anchor the right side of tables laden with a multitude of dishes and drink (figs. 65, 66).[69] The display is

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[66] (PC99/186) panel, 47 x 63 cm, dated 1642. Dealer Nystad, The Hague, 1966; (PC 93) panel, 63.5 x 87.63 cm, dated 1641. Sale, London (Sotheby's), November 30, 1983, #87.

[67] (PC137) canvas, 90 x 107 cm. Formerly Wetzlar coll., Amsterdam.

[68] (PC 54) panel, 47 x 61 cm, dated 1636. Westfalisches Landesmuseum, Munster; (PC 85) panel, 47 x 60 cm, dated 1640. John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis.

[69] (PC 22) panel, 76.5 x 134.5 cm, dated 1627. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; (PC 23) panel, 77.5 x 129 cm, dated 1627. Private collection, Boston.

impressive, inviting, and delightful, yet Claesz, so far as is known, only used this conceptual framework in these two works. To be sure these pictures engage in the same general shift of focus to one end of the table that Claesz had developed in the early 1620s, but the specific arrangement of form is one that the artist did not use again.

In like manner Claesz painted a handful of pictures at the beginning of the 1640s in which he anchored the tabletop with a distinctive dragon-spouted silver pitcher on either the right or the left side of the painting (figs. 49, 61, 67).[70] In these works the simple, wedge-shaped composition from pitcher to the corner of the table is effective. Indeed, these works are among some of Claesz's most beautifully refined. However, by the mid-1640s the artist was painting in a much more vigorous, and looser, manner. Perhaps both the works painted in the early 1640s and those painted in 1627 resulted from unusual circumstances, such as specific commissions, and the artist was unable to sustain such a level of refinement and craftsmanship painting for the market. In any event, throughout this period Claesz changed his stylistic method and compositional approach to painting.

Floris van Schooten continued to paint in the period 1625 through the 1640s, though his work appears to have followed somewhat the innovative work by Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz. As discussed above, Van Schooten responded to Heda's development of spare representations of drinking vessels such as a roemer with versions of his own. In addition in some of his works Van Schooten clearly responded

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[70] (PC 94) panel, 60.5 x 101.5 cm. Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, NY.

to the characteristic tabletop painted by Heda and Claesz, adopting the thematic content of a mince pie, plate of shrimp, or plate of mackerel complimented by rolls, nuts, cheese, and roemers of wine (figs. 68, 69).[71] Typically, however, Van Schooten placed less emphasis on an underlying compositional framework than did Heda and Claesz. In addition Van Schooten continued to paint the small tabletops of fruit for which he is best known today.

Roelof Koets, who was briefly discussed above for his collaborative work with Pieter Claesz, painted only a very few independent works. Not much is known about this artist. He was born in Haarlem around 1592 and was on the list of members of the Guild of St. Luke compiled in 1634, although like Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz, he likely joined earlier. Koets served as a *vinder* in the Guild in the two years before his death in 1655.[72]

Koets's first known work (fig. 70), dated 1625, demonstrates the long reach of the stylistic idiom that Floris van Dijck had introduced in Haarlem in 1610.[73] The high viewpoint and highly rational structure of the tabletop are fully consistent with the work of Van Dijck and as well Nicolaes Gillis. Later in his career, however, Koets painted works that could be mistaken for paintings by Pieter Claesz (fig. 71).[74]

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[71] (FvS 54) panel, 52 x 82.4 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich; (FvS 5) panel, 52.5 x 74 cm. Sale, Vienna (O) July 6, 2000.

[72] Goosens, 425.

[73] (RK 1) panel, 71 x 124 cm, dated 1625. Museum Mayer van der Bergh, Antwerp.

[74] (RK 9) canvas, 103 x 149 cm, dated 1642. Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 11, 1973, #113.

The fame of Haarlem still lifes and the market for them

There exists little contemporary commentary on seventeenth-century painting. Still-life painting, in particular, is rarely discussed. Nonetheless a few sources do indicate how contemporaries viewed the Haarlem tabletop still life. The two most important of these sources are contemporary histories of the city of Haarlem. The first of these, and indeed one of the first of number of city histories filled with municipal pride, was Samuel Ampzing's *Beschrijvinging ende lof der stad Haerlem*, published in 1628.[75] In this text Ampzing, an ardent minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, traces the history of Haarlem from its legendary past through the dark days of its siege to the present, which Ampzing casts as a wondrous age for the city.

In one section of his long, poem-structured survey, Ampzing focuses on the art in the city and its great practitioners, both past and present.[76] In these passages Ampzing paused briefly to consider the tabletop still lifes being painted in the city.[77] He mentioned seven artists in all, including the flower painter Hans Bollongier, and artists whose work today is not well known, such as Claesz van Heussen, Andries Snellincks and François Elaut (or Elout). However he lavished the most praise on Floris van Dijck, writing of his art: "En dan van Dijks banket. Gewis! een schilderij/ Den kenners leckerder dan alle leckernij." ("And then Van Dijcks banquet. Certainly!

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[75] Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stadt Haerlem in Holland* (Haarlem, 1628) (facsimile edition Amsterdam, 1974). Goosens, 146-156, discusses the fame Haarlem artists enjoyed with contemporaries through a variety of similar sources.

[76] Ampzing, 370-372.

[77] Ibid, 372.

a painting that to the connoisseur is sweeter than all sweets.").[78] Ampzing made only passing reference to Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda. He wrote: "'kmoet Pieter Klaeszen ook niet langer laten steken./ En so van Heda mee en sijn banketten spreken" ("I must not leave Pieter Claesz alone any longer, and together with [those] of Heda speak of his banquets.").[79] Given that in 1628 both artists were only just establishing themselves, this early notice in a public, laudatory structure suggests that there was already considerable appreciation for their art and its potential. In contrast Floris van Schooten's name and work are nowhere mentioned, despite the fact that he had already been painting at least a decade.

The esteem in which Floris van Dijck's work must have been held among the cognoscenti in Haarlem is evident in the accolades given it by Theodore Schrevelius in his encomium, *Harlemum*, published in 1648.[80] Despite the fact that Van Dijck's stylistic idiom had not been the dominant mode for nearly twenty-five years, Schrevelius considered Van Dijck the finest breakfast piece painter in Haarlem – "Soo ghy een Schilder soeckt van vruchten / ende allerhande snuystering / daer hebt ghy Floris van Dijck, die met fijn penseel / de lustige sonde kennen locken en verschalcken / ghelijck daer oock gheweest is van de selfde konst Willem Heda." ("So you seek a painter of fruits and of all sorts of knick-knacks, there you have Floris van Dijck, who with a fine brush entices and outwits the unknowing desirous (eye), like there also was

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Theodore Schrevelius, *Harlemias, Ofte, om beter te seggen, De eerste stichtinge der stadt Haerlem* (Haarlem, 1648).

by the same art Willem Heda").[81] This comment is telling not only for what it says about Van Dijck and the reputation he must have enjoyed but also for the esteem in which Willem Claesz.Heda must have been held. The trailing reference to Heda seems slight but in fact represents a passing of the mantle to a younger generation of still-life painters, who were now in their artistic maturity. According to Schrevelius, all that Van Dijck was capable of in his art was to be found in paintings by Heda. Significantly, however, Schrevelius did not mention Pieter Claesz. Goosens has pointed out that while Ampzing included his discussion of Haarlem's artists in a section on the trades, Schrevelius shifted his much abridged list of honor to follow his listing of the important scientists and men of learning in Haarlem.[82] The absence of Claesz from Schrevelius's list of still-life painters probably indicates that his paintings were less highly valued than those by Willem Claesz. Heda.

Ampzing's comment is telling because of his use of the term connoisseurs (*kenners*) to describe those who looked at paintings such as those by Van Dijck. The implication is that those most apt to concern themselves with appreciation for Van Dijck's paintings were connoisseurs, art lovers who collected art above all for its visual refinement and its ability to refashion a world of artless reality (even one that included rare sweets!) into decorous display. In his passage Schrevelius also privileges the visual power of these paintings, as well as the consummate artistry of both Van Dijck and Heda. Much as other critics of painting in the Dutch Republic around this

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[81] Schrevelius, 390.

[82] Goosens, 149.

time, Schrevelius emphasizes the ability of these artists to fool the eye through their talents with a brush.[83]

Some further indication of Floris van Dijck's artistic fame is found in the fact that he was asked to contribute an example of his art to the *album amicorum* of the diplomat Cornelis de Montigny de Glarges.[84] Typically only those who formed a part of the cultural elite would have had the access necessary to participate in such a learned exercise.

Arnold Houbraken, whose *De Groot Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstchilders en Schilderessen*, published in three volumes between 1718 and 1721, has been an important, if occasionally fallible, biographical source for art historians. He mentioned the Haarlem still-life painters Floris van Dijck, Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz only in passing.[85] Houbraken essentially reprised Schrevelius's assessment of Van Dijck and Heda. His focus on Pieter Claesz occurs within the context of his life of Nicolaes Berchem, at the time Claesz's much better-known, and collected, son. It seems with respect to these artists Houbraken repackaged information gleaned from sources known to him.

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[83] In particular Philips Angel, *Lof der Schilder-Konst*, a speech delivered to artists and connoisseurs in Leiden and published in 1642, focuses on the artist's ability to paint convincing and life-like imitations. For a translation of this text, see: Philips Angel, "Praise of Painting," trans. Michael Hoyle, with an introduction by Hessel Miedema, *Simiolus* 24 (1996): 227-258. For a discussion of the significance of Angel's comments, especially with respect to Gerard Dou, see Eric Jan Sluijter, *De lof der schilderkunst: Over schilderijen van Gerrit Dou en een traktaat van Philips Angel uit 1642* (Hilversum, 1993).

[84] See this chapter, note 21.

The art market and the collecting of Haarlem still-life painting

Marion Goosens's fascinating study *Schilders en de markt Haarlem 1605-1635*, offers a detailed look at how the artistic community in Haarlem functioned and flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. Her findings confirm what has long been believed about Dutch art in general, and Haarlem art in particular: that the incredible growth of art there resulted from a strong market system.[86] Tastes and styles appear to have evolved together as collectors bought what they liked, and artists vied with one another to establish a pleasing, and profitable, visual idiom.

Many artists maintained a shop, in which they displayed a stock of their work, perhaps along with the work of other artists.[87] In addition artists in (and outside of) Haarlem could sell their works at thrice-a-year fairs in which Guild rules were relaxed about the sale of art within city walls by artists who were not members of the Guild.[88] Practitioners of other trades, such as wine merchants, innkeepers, and framemakers, frequently traded in art as a side business.[89] For members, Guild-sanctioned auctions were an effective, and frequent, means to sell their art to an appreciative public.[90] Finally during the 1620s artists such as Pieter de Grebber advocated and implemented

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[85] Arnold Houbraken, *De Groot Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstchilders en Schilderessen*, 3 vols. (The Hague, 1718-1721; reprint ed. Amsterdam 1976), vol. 2, 110-111, 124.

[86] Goosens, *passim* but particularly 229-276.

[87] Ibid., 85-99, 110-114.

[88] Ibid., 233.

[89] Ibid., 234-237.

[90] Ibid., 238-245.

the use of lotteries as a means to promote the purchase of painting and increase the available market of interested consumers.[91]

The success enjoyed by still-life painters

The degree to which still-life painters in Haarlem can have been considered a success probably depended on a number of factors. Floris van Dijck, and to an extent Willem Claesz. Heda, enjoyed critical acclaim in their lifetime.[92] This acclaim may well reflect their position in Haarlem society as much as an evaluation of the merits of their work, for both men were relatively wealthy and influential within the Catholic community. Heda's father had been the city carpenter and others in his ancestry had been notaries.

Beyond the network of family connections and social support that offered both artists a measure of respect within the artistic community, it may be fairly said of their work that it was deserving of high praise. Both artists painted in a refined manner that captured the essence of the different materials arrayed on their tabletops. In addition both artists were supremely gifted composers of form, though their stylistic modes differed.

Despite these obvious advantages, both Van Dijck and Heda were not collected on the same scale as Pieter Claesz, at least to judge from surviving probate inventories of households in Haarlem made during the seventeenth and early eighteenth

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[91] Ibid., 245-252.

[92] See above.

centuries.[93] Claesz was by far the most widely represented Haarlem still-life painter in inventories from that city, totaling 154 pictures in fifty-three inventories dating from 1647 to 1718.[94] Eleven works by Van Dijck appeared in four inventories, while thirteen works by Heda are listed in eleven inventories.[95] Surprisingly, an equal number of works by Heda appeared in ten inventories in Amsterdam over the same period, suggesting that he was not focused solely on the local market.[96] However, even in this respect Claesz was more widely represented than Heda, totaling sixteen works in thirteen inventories.[97]

Beyond the numerical advantage Claesz enjoyed in inventoried collections for which records are known today, his work also enjoyed relatively high valuations, at least for a time. The average valuation of Claesz's work over this period was *f*13.28.[98] Yet the range of prices assigned his works in the inventories is remarkable; valuations from a high of *f*60 (twice – once in 1637 and once in 1653) to a low of *f*1 (in 1669) can be found in the inventory lists. The prices for Claesz's work declined over time,

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[93] I have examined inventories available in the Getty Provenance Index. Goosens, 301-303, includes additional inventories drawn from other sources.

[94] A list of entries from inventories drawn from the Getty Provenance Index database can be found in Appendix B.

[95] These entries are also culled from inventories drawn from the Getty Provenance Index. See Appendix B.

[96] Interestingly there are no Haarlem inventories dated before 1653 in which Heda's work appears. The first four inventories in which his work appears in the GPI are drawn from Amsterdam (3) and Utrecht (1) and date between 1639 and 1650. See Appendix B.

[97] See Appendix B.

[98] Goosens, 301, arrives at a lower average of *f*10.09, undoubtedly because of the presence of additional data.

with most of the sub- *f*10 valuations occurring in the third quarter of the seventeenth century and later, when the artist had already been dead at least fifteen years (see Appendix B, graph). In contrast valuations of Heda's pictures remained relatively stable – apart from highs of *f*50 (in 1681) and *f*30 (in 1652 and 1679) and a low of *f*5 (in 1653) the prices clustered around *f*12 from 1650 to 1716. The average value of Heda's paintings listed in these inventories was *f*17.09, higher than that of Claesz's works.[99] Paintings by Floris van Schooten that had assigned values averaged only *f*2.7, with a high of *f*3 and a low of *f*2.1.

Much work has been done in recent years on trying to correlate data gleaned from probate inventories with biographical information concerning owners to discern collecting patterns among different strata of society.[100] Goosens study is invaluable for summarizing much of the recent research and applying it to the circumstances in Haarlem. Though her account is far from complete, owing mostly to the paucity of biographical information in some of the most interesting inventories, she has concluded that, based on the data, the middle class composed of skilled artisans and trade workers in Haarlem was more likely than the elite patriciate to collect still-life painting.[101] The upper strata of society had a marked preference for high-quality landscapes and seascapes, portraits, and genre paintings. It must be stressed, however,

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[99] Ibid., 301, cites a different average, *f*17.25, though the difference is slight.

[100] Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 393-403; Goosens, 363-378; Hochstrasser, "Imag(in)ing prosperity".

[101] Goosens, 369.

that these conclusions remain tenuous because so much remains unknown of the circumstances of how art was collected in Haarlem.

Haarlem tabletop still-life painting and audience

One of the more fascinating issues raised by an exploration of the meanings of Haarlem tabletop still-life paintings is discerning the audience for whom they were painted, or the type of clientele who may have purchased them. To what type of person, for instance, did Willem Claesz. Heda's *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie* appeal (fig. 1)?

A reasoned answer, of course, is that Heda's painting held the most meaning for someone of deep conviction in their Christian faith. Heda's painting posits a direct challenge to the viewer that is based on their awareness of, and appreciation for, the distinctions to be made between a worldly life and a spiritual life, symbolized by the extravagant table and the simple roll. However many, if not most, people living in Haarlem at the time would have comprehended Heda's use of metaphor in this painting.

Haarlem was by 1635 a city pluriform in matters of faith. Apart from the state-supported Dutch Reformed, or Calvinist Church, citizens of Haarlem were also Catholic, Mennonite, Lutheran or adherents of other small sects.[102] None of the three major communities of faith commanded a majority of the population. At best the

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[102] See Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*; Johanna Willemina Spaans, "Levensbeschouwelijke groeperingen," in *Deugd boven geweld. Een gescheidenis van Haarlem, 1245-1995*, ed. by G.F. van de Ree-Scholtens (Hilversum, 1995), 198-220.

Catholic, Calvinist or Mennonite confessions might comprise a quarter of the population, but rarely more. Indeed Joke Spaans has suggested that a near-majority of the populace of Haarlem did not belong to any church by the early 1620s.[103]

Clearly the struggles over religion had turned many people away from organized worship.[104] However most Haarlemers who avoided church were probably like Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, a late sixteenth-century humanist, printmaker, and proponent of religious tolerance who, while rejecting established forms of worship, created an amalgam of belief that he felt represented the essential components of Christian faith.[105] He incorporated Christianity's most essential principles into his life – the teachings of Christ, the centrality of the ten commandments, and obedience to God – while questioning the need for schism-inducing creeds and theological

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[103] Conversation with the author in 2001. Also, Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, 104. Spaans estimated the membership of the various churches around 1620 as follows: Dutch Reformed (1617) – c. 20%; Catholic (1652) – no more than 12.5%; Mennonite (1618) – 14%; Lutheran (1614) – 1%. Based on these figures, around half of the population belonged to no church.

[104] In the early 1620s many members of the Dutch Reformed Church would still have fresh in mind the decade-long controversy over the issue of predestination that had split the Church and that had resulted in the moderate, or Remonstrant, group being banished from any public worship after their defeat at the Synod of Dort in 1618. This decision had political consequences as well. The powerful representative of the States of Holland, Johann van Oldebarnevelt was put on trial by his political rival, the stadthouder Prince Maurits. His resulting execution was viewed as extra-judicial murder by his many supporters, but, more importantly, it signaled a realignment of political power throughout the *vroedschappen* in the cities of the Dutch Republic, including Haarlem. See Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, for a detailed look at this issue and the character of religious and social life in Haarlem in the early seventeenth century.

[105] Coornhert was Hendrick Goltzius's teacher and is one of the more fascinating late sixteenth-century individuals living in the Netherlands. His treatise, *Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tydelyck have* (Just and unjust uses of temporary gifts) (Leiden, 1585), which he illustrated with his own prints, is a representative example of his moderation and of the universal Christian principles upon which it drew.

positions that divided communities.[106] Although the vast majority of Haarlemers were not as intellectually committed as Coornhert to expressing similar sentiments, it would be a mistake to assume from a poverty of recorded thought that most in this large, ill-defined group were antagonistic to the essential beliefs upon which all Christian faiths were based.

For instance, there were a large number of so-called *liefhebbers* (devotees) affiliated with, but not members of the Dutch Reformed Church.[107] Typically they attended worship services, were married in the church and had their children baptized there, but did not join the church. The number of *liefhebbers* in the seventeenth century is not known.

One of the principal reasons for many of these *liefhebbers's* reluctance was concern over the celebration of communion, or *avondmaal*. Indeed *avondmaalmijding* (avoiding communion) was a concern to the church already in the early seventeenth century, and became an established phenomenon by the middle of the seventeenth century that persists to this day.[108] That so many would avoid joining the Dutch

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[106] For more on Coornhert, see: Israel, 97-99; Gerrit Voogt, *Constraint on Trial : Dirk Volckertsz Coornhert and Religious Freedom* (Kirksville, Missouri, 2000).

[107] On *liefhebbers* and their role within the Dutch Reformed Church, see Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, 87-88.

[108] *Avondmaalmijding* was apparently approaching crisis proportions within the Church by the third-quarter of the seventeenth century. Indeed, in the first chapter of his book *Ruim van hart. Willem Teellinck en de nodiging tot het Heilig Avondmaal* (Kampen, 2000), Andries Knevel relates his own experiences growing up in the Dutch Reformed Church and the stress caused contemplation of the Lord's Supper. The subheading for this partly autobiographical first chapter states "Teellinck, een man voor onze tijd? (A man for our time?), which is an indication of the extent of the problem of *avondmaalmijding* in contemporary Dutch society. Clearly, though, even in Willem Teellinck's day, he died in 1629, the phenomenon was pronounced enough that he devoted much of his energies to promoting this sacrament as an essential part of Christian duty.

Reformed Church based on their misgivings about communion suggests the power of this sacrament in Calvinist tradition.[109] In Haarlem, as elsewhere in the Dutch Republic, churches customarily celebrated *avondmaal* only four times a year, including Christmas and Easter.[110] Typically ministers would announce the coming celebration a week or two in advance, during which those wishing to participate were to prepare themselves through self-examination, abstinence of many worldly pleasures and, most significantly, they were to submit themselves to an inquiry before a body of the Church elders that would determine their suitability for the table of the Lord.[111]

This last requirement evidently intimidated most potential communicants, who likely thought themselves unworthy of the high standards for communion and wished to avoid the shame resulting from rejection by the board. Indeed such sentiment is expressed by one fence-sitter in a fascinating small book by the popular and prolific Dutch Reformed minister Willem Teelinck, which was published in 1620 and aimed to convince *liefhebbers* of their Christian duties, above all to celebrate the Lord's

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[109] W.J. op't Hof, *Voorbereiding en bestrijding. De oudste piëtistische voorbereidingspreken tot het Avondmaal en de eerste bestrijding van de Nadere Reformatie in druk* (Kampen, 1991), 41, makes the point that the unusual attention on communion in Calvinist literature in the seventeenth century is one hallmark of the pietistic stream of Dutch Calvinism, which grew in strength as the century progressed. Many of the publications from this time focused on promoting communion among those members of the flock who regularly resisted celebrating the sacrament, including publications by Willem Teellinck, about whom see below.

[110] Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, 85; op't Hof, 29-30.

[111] An excellent, if early, example of the ways in which one was to prepare oneself to receive communion may be found in op't Hof, 19-29. Willem Teellinck also discussed the proper way to prepare oneself in many of his works. Many of his rules are summed up in Knevel, 25.

Supper.[112] Using a series of conversations between neighbors as the structure for his arguments, Teelinck conveyed these duties as keys to a richer life.

In the seventh conversation, between Timotheus (the voice of Teelinck) and N. (a *liefhebber*), after Timotheus has observed that N. goes regularly to church, follows the sermons, but yet avoids the Lord's table, N. declares that he does so "because if one goes to *avondmaal*, one enters into a bond with God and is required to strictly follow that bond. I am afraid that I cannot do such a thing."[113] Using a gentle tone but with firm reasoning Timotheus explicates the error of N.'s way of thinking, reminding N. that since Christ on the eve of his arrest and betrayal would not have attended to trivial matters, the *avondmaal* is a supremely important gift to mankind, and one not to be avoided.[114]

What is particularly interesting about the exchange between Timotheus and N. are the metaphors the former uses to illustrate to the latter the mortal danger of his soul should he continue to avoid *avondmaal*. He states:

> It is such that Holy Communion is like the tree of life through which Christians become strengthened in order to

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[112] Willem Teellinck, *Bueren-Cout. Ofte Samen-Spreuck* (Leiden, 1620). Translated into modern Dutch by C. Bregman, *Buren-Kout, of Samenspraak: omvattend tien stichtelijke gesprekken over godsdienstige zaken* (Vlaardigen, 1988). The modern edition is used. Teellinck published a number of books, many of which took as their subject the *avondmaal*, its importance for the Christian, and the proper way to conduct oneself to partake of communion. One of these books, *Het Geestelijck Cierat van Christi Bruylofts-kinderen*, also published in 1620, was his most popular book. It was reprinted for the nineteenth time in the past century. *Bueren-Cout* was also reprinted in 1633. For more on Teellinck's life and specifically his work on the subject of *avondmaal*, see Knevel.

[113] Teellinck, 74, "Want als men ten Avondmaal gaat, dan treedt men in het verbond met God en dan is men ook verplicht dat verbond zeer nauwgezet te houden. Nou, ik ben bang dat ik dat niet zou kunnen doen."

[114] Teellinck, 73-76.

> better do God's work. Our spiritual enemy also knows this well and he therefore he attempts to keep men away from [the table] and instead eat of the forbidden fruit. And he succeeds with many. There are everywhere many Christians in name only that, just as Adam, dare to go eat of the forbidden fruit and not [that] of the Tree of Life. It appears as though they have sworn to follow in the footsteps of Adam and listen not to the voice of God but to the voice of the old serpent. Thus these people always stand against the Lord their God; what he has forbidden they eat, is the *precise* thing they desire, namely, from the forbidden tree of carnal lust. *And* of what God the Lord has bid they eat, namely the spiritual tree of holy actions and of the heavenly Bread of the Lord, will they *precisely* not eat; from that they keep their distance. This must decidedly devastate the life of the soul on all sides. (emphases original)[115]

Teelinck's juxtaposition of the "Bread of the Lord" with the "carnal lust" with which the Devil tempts mankind is in many respects like those found in several Haarlem tabletop still-life paintings, especially Willem Claesz. Heda's Washington

[115] Teellinck, 75, "Het is dus zo dat het Heilig Avondmaal is als de boom des levens waardoor de christenen gesterkt worden om het werk Gods des te beter te doen. Dat weet onze geestelijke vijand ook wel en daarom tracht hij de mens daar vanaf te houden en in plaats daarvan te doen eten van de verboden vrucht. En dat lukt hem ook bij heel velen. Er zijn immers veel naam-christenen die het nog steeds aandurven om evenals Adam te gaan eten van de verboden vrucht en niet van de Boom des Levens. Het lijkt wel alsof ze gezworen hebben om in de voetstappen van de oude Adam te zullen faan en niet te luisteren naar de stem van God, maar naar de stem van de oude slang. Daardoor staan deze mensen steeds tegenover de Heere hun God: waarvan Hij hen verbiedt te eten, daarvan willen zij *juist* eten, namelijk van de verboden boom der vleselijke wellusten. *En* waarvan God de Heere hen gebiedt te eten, namelijk van de geestelijk boom der heilige verrichtingen en van het hemelse Brood des Heeren, daarvan willen zij *juist* niet eten; dan houden ze zich op een afstand. Dit moet beslist van alle kanten het zieleleven verwoesten."

painting (fig. 1). In both Teelinck's book and Heda's painting the "Bread of Heaven" is presented as of fundamental importance to the well-being of the reader/viewer. It is also, however, constructed as a choice that the reader/viewer must make and is set against worldly temptation. Heda's painting is all the richer in its impact because its visual sumptuousness, which fosters an immediate visceral response, results in a message that is sharply delivered.

Was Heda painting his works for a Calvinist audience that would have strongly appreciated the situational dilemmas found in some of them? While it is certainly possible that Heda tailored some of his paintings for such an audience, it is important to remember that he was a Catholic artist. Indeed virtually every still-life painter in Haarlem was Catholic.[116] Floris van Dijck and Heda were very active in their community. Both were members of the Christmas Guild, which indicated a degree of esteem and responsibility within the Haarlem Catholic community. Van Dijck employed his wealth to fund the establishment of a house for lay sisters. One of Heda's sons was a priest whose presence in the city was allowed only as long as his father and mother could vouchsafe that he would not cause dissension in the city through his pastoral efforts. Early in his career Heda painted a large triptych destined for use as an altarpiece. Pieter Claesz, Floris van Schooten, and Roelof Koets were also Catholic, though less is known of the degree of their involvement in the Church.

The activity by both Heda and Van Dijck within the Catholic community offers a gauge, admittedly imprecise, of devotion to their faith. Could Heda have

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[116] See above.

intended his work for his native faith? Like those of other faiths, Catholics would have associated the roll in Heda's painting with the body of Christ. The Eucharist was, as it still is, central to the liturgy of the Catholic church and the focus of worship. Unlike the Calvinists, who only celebrated communion four times a year, Catholics partook of the Eucharist every time they worshipped. In a way far different than Calvinists, then, Catholics appreciated the centrality in their lives of Christ's sacrifice on their behalf.

Indeed, for the Roman Catholic Church, the Eucharist was essential to its identity and claim as the true Church. For Protestants the Eucharist was one of the most important heresies of the Mother Church. That the host and wine were transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ struck Protestant thinkers, especially John Calvin, as sacrilege.[117] Protestant pamphleteers regularly inveighed against the Eucharist as a papist superstition.[118] The church's response was to place added emphasis on the importance of this sacrament.

Still-life painters in the southern Netherlands found a ready market for works celebrating the Eucharist. One of the most impressive is a work dated 1648 by Jan Davidsz. De Heem, who was born in Leiden but lived much of his mature life in

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[117] "I reject the absurdities which appear unworthy of the heavenly majesty of Christ." "A doctrine carrying many absurdities with it is not true. The doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ is involved in many absurdities; therefore it follows that it is not true." Quotes taken from Calvin's *Institutes* and *Commentaries* are reprinted in Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament*. 2nd ed. (Geneva, 1982), 221.

[118] A survey of pamphlet titles from the first decade of the seventeenth century that are indexed in the collection of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague yielded a remarkably steady pamphletting war between Calvinists and Catholics over issues of transubstantiation.

Antwerp (fig. 72).[119] In this picture De Heem depicted a chalice and host in a niche surrounded by bunches of wheat, grapes, flowers and fruit. The purpose of both chalice and host are unmistakably liturgical and the swaths of natural produce symbolically underscore this importance in the Church and in the life of the believer.[120] De Heem also painted works more subtle than this in their celebration of the essential elements of Christian faith. In a work dated three years later De Heem depicted only a *berckemeier* of wine in a niche, surrounded again by boughs of grapes, shafts of wheat, fruit and flowers, one of which, a giant sunflower, is positioned directly above the wine (fig. 73).[121]

Whereas these two works by De Heem triumphantly proclaim his and his audience's Catholic faith in the loving description of that faith's essential eucharistic elements, tabletop still-life paintings from Haarlem are ambiguous in their espousal of a fixed creed. Perhaps this reticence had much to do with the circumstances in which Haarlem artists found themselves: in a market pluriform in its confessional character, it probably made sense to suppress any personal convictions to appeal to as broad a market as possible. Even with works that probably were commissioned, such as Willem Claesz. Heda's Washington painting, a painting that could broadly appeal to a diverse community would have been valued over one that could spark dissension within that community. For Catholics wishing to be left alone to practice their faith, a

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[119] On De Heem's life and work see Segal, *Jan Davidsz. de Heem*.

[120] Ibid., 166.

[121] Ibid., 164-167.

painting such as Heda's would have aroused little suspicion. The painting's assertion of the roll's significance would have had broad ecumenical appeal, even if different viewers might have understood the significance in doctrinally different ways.

Although the picture they paint is incomplete, statistics from Haarlem inventories in which the religion of the owners is known appear to suggest that Heda and the other Catholic still-life painters had some reason to temper expressions of a specific confessional doctrine. [122] Inventories made between 1625 and 1650 indicate that Catholic families tended to focus on collecting portraits and religious-themed paintings, especially from the New Testament and the lives of Saints. In contrast Protestants collected more of the minor genres than their Catholic counterparts. In particular the inventories indicate a strong preference among Protestants for landscapes and marine paintings.

With still-life painting, however, the numbers are almost even. In the decade from 1635 to 1644 collections inventoried show that members of the Dutch Reformed Church owned more still-life paintings than Catholics, but the difference in percentages (10% vs. 6.5%) is negligible when one considers that the surviving record is incomplete. Moreover in none of the statistical cohort years was the percentage of still life owned by either confessional group higher than the overall percentage for that cohort. For the period surveyed, 1625-1650, the percentage of still lifes in inventoried collections hovered between 11.1 and 11.7%. The percentages for both Catholics and

[122] Goosens, 378, table 10.8 "Comparison of the percentages of paintings for which genres are known in Catholic and Reformed collections with the total percentages for all collections", with discussion from 370-378.

Calvinists ranged from 5.5% as a low (Calvinist ownership between 1625 and 1634) and 10% as a high (Calvinist ownership between 1635 and 1644).

These numbers suggest that Haarlem still-life painters had to be mindful of their clientele's cultural norms. Of course, the vast majority of the still lifes these artists painted appear to have been painted specifically for the market. They depended on repeatable but variable visual formula and presented pleasing subject matter that hardly would have stimulated much thought about one's relationship to Christ or the conduct necessary to living a morally balanced life. These were pictures that, as Hochstrasser has suggested, gave vision to the good life.

However, as this study will demonstrate, Haarlem still-life painters also on occasion produced pictures of profound depth in which they transformed the ubiquitous tabletop of their art into a stage for metaphorical reflection. Through adjustments to their standard compositional formulae and deliberative choices and placement of symbolically-laden objects, artists such as Willem Claesz. Heda, Pieter Claesz, Nicolaes Gillis and Floris van Dijck, prompted the seventeenth-century Haarlemer to carefully consider his place in the world and his relationship to God.

Still-life terminology

One of the challenges to assessing how still life was collected and appreciated in Haarlem is understanding how it was understood and by what means it was described. Anyone who has worked with probate inventories understands that the

terminology to describe most items was not fixed, and especially concerning painting and its newly emerging genres, the challenge to the notary was a great one.

Haarlem tabletop still lifes were described in inventory records, including those discussed above, as "fruytagie," (little fruit) "hammetje," (little ham) or "bancketie" (little banquet). This terminology suggests that still lifes were generally understood in discrete groups, related to the objects depicted in them, and not subsumed under one generic heading. To gain some perspective on the problems manifested by these issues a brief survey of the development of terms to describe still life is necessary.

As Alan Chong discussed in his introductory essay to the catalogue of the still-life exhibition that took place in Amsterdam and Cleveland in 1999-2000, the Dutch term *stilleven*, from which the English *still life* and German *stilleben* derive, did not appear until 1650, when it was used in a Delft inventory to describe a painting by the Delft artist Evert van Aelst, who was both the uncle and teacher of the more famous Willem van Aelst.[123] It is unlikely that this term was coined by a notary making an inventory, and more probable that the terms was already being used by artists and connoisseurs. In fact, Chong cites two precursors of the term that are fascinating markers of its philological development. In an inventory of an Antwerp collection made in 1649 a painting by David Bailly, the Leiden painter of vanitas still lifes, is described as "en vie coye," or a quiet, immobile life, a phrase otherwise unknown in

[123] Chong, "Contained Under the Name Still Life", 11; first noted by Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*, 4.

the French language at that point but one that translates almost literally the Dutch term *stilleven*.[124]

Almost twenty years earlier the noted connoisseur Constantijn Huygens, in his unpublished autobiography, described the still life subjects of Jacques de Gheyn II and Johannes Torrentius, painters both accomplished in other subjects as well, with the Latin term "inanimatus."[125] As Chong rightly points out, Huygens made a distinction between representations of flowers and objects lying on a table from other genres, including history painting, a distinction Karel van Mander did not make in his 1604 treatise *Het Schilder Boeck*.[126] Rather Van Mander focused on and provided a fully-formed theoretical apparatus for only one category of painting, that of figures and

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[124] Chong, "Contained Under the Name Still Life", 11. Chong suggests that this usage reflects the fact that the inventory, though in French, was of an Antwerp collection, which, of course, experienced a lively trade with the North, especially in ideas. From the absence of the term *stilleven* from the Antwerp inventories published by J. Denucé, A.P.A. Vorenkamp deduced that the term must be of North Netherlandish origin. See Vorenkamp, 8. Recent studies by Hans J. van Miegroet and Neil de Marchi, "Art, value, and market practices in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century," *Art Bulletin* 76 (Sept. 1994): 451-464; "Dealer-dealer pricing in the mid seventeenth-century Antwerp to Paris art trade," in *Art markets in Europe, 1400-1800* (Singapore, Sydney, Ashgate, 1999), 113-130, as well as analysis by Elisabeth Honig, *Painting & the market in early modern Antwerp* (New Haven and London, 1998), demonstrate with specific examples the lively trade in Antwerp, both within the city as well as with France and the Dutch Republic. Jan Davidsz de Hem, a native of Utrecht who was of course a renowned painter of floral and sumptuous still lifes in Antwerp, regularly traveled to the North to his home, and it is not hard to imagine him or other artists, or connoisseurs as a likely conduit of the latest ideas about modern painting, including an evolving lexicon that would facilitate the exchange of ideas as well as trade. For information of De Hem, including extensive biographical information, consult Segal, *Jan Davidsz de Heem*, 55-63.

[125] Constantijn Huygens, trans. and ed. C.L. Heesakkers, *Constantijn Huygens: Mijn Jeugd* (Amsterdam, 1987), quoted in Chong, "Contained under the name Still Life,"11. Huygens's autobiography was not published in his lifetime. Constantijn Huygens of course was the secretary to the Prince of Orange Frederik Hendrik and played a leading role in the flowering culture of art appreciation within the court. The most famous instance of his role in this regard concerned the two young Leiden painters Jan Lievens and Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, in whom he saw the potential equal to the art of Peter Paul Rubens, which represented for him the highest achievement in art..

[126] Ibid., 11. See discussion above.

histories. Van Mander regarded all other forms of painting, whether they be still life or landscape as necessary for the development of accomplished history painters.[127]

When discussing flower paintings Van Mander used the terms *Fruyten* and *Bloem-potten* to describe the works of the sixteenth-century painter Lodewijck Jans van den Bos.[128] He also used specific descriptive phrases to describe the specific character of the works, referring to the "heavenly" dew on the flowers and herbs, and the presence of insects and little beasts.[129] Van Mander also praised Jacques de Gheyn II for his ability to paint still-life subjects, particularly "eenen grooten Bloempot" (a large flowerpot) that Emperor Rudolph II purchased along with "een cleen Boecxken daer de Geyn mettertijdt eenige bloemkens van Verlichterye nae't leven in hadde ghemaeckt, met oock veel cleene beestkens" (a small book in which De Gheyn painted a few flowers after life, also with many little beasts). So at the beginning of the seventeenth century, just as artists were developing visual traditions of flower paintings and of laid tables of food, in other words genres, the nomenclature for discussing these works is, not surprisingly, undeveloped.

Artists, connoisseurs, and notaries used descriptive words and phrases to characterize still-life paintings. In his ground-breaking study of the development of Dutch still-life painting, A.P.A. Vorenkamp demonstrated the rich, non-generic language that notaries used to describe still-life paintings. "Een koocken en fruytbort,"

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[127] The chapters by which Van Mander divided his *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (Reflections, Landscape, Animals) relate to different skills necessary for a successful history painter to handle a range of needs when composing his image.

[128] Cited in Van Gelder, 156.

(A pie? and plate of fruit) 1614; "Een bancket schilderytgen; Een bancketgen met een pastey; Een wijnkannetgens; Een tabacx schilderytgen," (A painting of a banquet; A banquet with a pastry pie; a little pitcher of wine; a little tobacco painting) 1624; "Een deel kreeften en anders," (Some crabs and others) 1626; "Een cleyn viercant bancquetien van een schuttel met appelen en moerbesien met een witte brood; Een ontbytgen van een pekelharingh," (A small square banquet of a dish with apples and mulberries with a white bread roll; a breakfast of a herring)1627; "Een bastaitie ofte banketie," (A banquet) 1639.

Despite there being no apparent fixed taxonomy for still-life subjects in the early decades of the seventeenth century, a few thematic terms were used with some regularity. The most common one referred to a banquet (*bancket*, *bancketgen*, *bancquetien*, *banketie*). For example, Samuel Ampzing, in his *Beschrijvinging ende lof der stad Haerlem* written in 1628, wrote effusively of Floris van Dijck's 'banket': "*Gewis! een schilderij/ Den kenners leckerder dan alle leckernij*." ("And then Van Dijcks banquet. Certainly! a painting that to the connoisseur is sweeter than all sweets.").[130] Use of some variant of this term, and the related term *ontbijt* (*ontbijten*, *ontbijtie*, *ontbijte*, *ontbijts*), which loosely means breakfast or snack, appeared in seventeenth-century inventories describing paintings by Floris van Dijck, Floris van Schooten, and the works of the younger generation, Willem Claesz Heda and Pieter Claesz.[131]

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[129] Ibid., 156.

[130] Ampzing, 372.

In his 1678 theoretical treatise on the art of painting, Samuel van Hoogstraeten named a great variety of types to be found in this genre, which he called "*stil leven*":

> The first guild came to appear with renowned Lippsius found from grottoes, whether swooning festoons, braided wreaths of flowers, and many-colored bouquets in pots and vases; and bunches of grapes en beautiful peaches and apricots, or melon and lemon, and a clear roemer of wine or pregnant table (groaning board); with white and colored butterflies, Roman lizard, a Calabrian tarantula, or music book and *vanitas* in the eternity. Or they order kitchens with all sorts of food, of meat and fish, and choice game, and everything that is understood under the name still life..[132]

This descriptive terminology was frequently used in seventeenth-century inventories. Indeed a few passages later Van Hoogstraeten used the following terms "*een Wijntros, een Pekelharing, of een Hagedis, of daer een Patrijs, een Weytas*" (a bunch of grapes, a pickled herring, or a lizard, or there a partridge, a game bag) to describe the still lifes found in the most prominent and important art cabinets in Amsterdam of the day.[133]

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[131] See Appendix B for examples of this terminology.

[132] Van Hoogstraeten, 75. "Het eerste gilde komt met Lippsius hervonde vond van grotissen te voorschijn, of et zwierige festons, vlecht bloemkranssen, en stelt veelverwige ruikers in potten en vazen; en Wijntroffen en schoone Pers en Abrikoos, of Meloen en Citroen, en een helderen Wijnroomer op een zwangeren Dis; met witte en geverfde Papeljoentjes, Roomsche Hagedis, en Kalabrische Tarantel, of Muyzikboek en Vanitas in der eeuwicheit. Of zy bestaen keukens met allerley kost, van Vlees en Visch, en bekorlijk Wiltbraet, en al wat onder den naem van stil leven begreepen is."

[133] Van Hoogstraeten, 76. Van Hoogstraeten is in fact quite intolerant of still life in this passage, and spares no effort to situate it as the lowest form of painting the young artist could practice, which, of course, was a necessary consequence of a hierarchical arrangement in which history painting was

So even though by the third-quarter of the century a theoretical appreciation of the genre of still life existed in nascent form, enough to structure it within the overall hierarchy of painting and its types and to give it a corresponding generic name, *stilleven*, it appears that theorists, art collectors, artists, and notaries most often preferred the specificity offered by traditional subject names, such as variants of *banket* and *ontbijt* in the case of tables of food like those produced in Haarlem in the first half of the seventeenth century.[134] However, the use of these terms in the inventories, while indicative of a shared structure of thought regarding the classification of paintings, nonetheless belies no systematic organization of the taxonomy of painting. Thus, one cannot be certain of the exact differences between an *ontbijt* and a *bancket*, though generally speaking it would appear that the former is smaller than the latter and probably contains fewer items on the table.

The terms *ontbijt* and *bancket* have become synonymous with paintings of tables of food, sweetmeats, fruits, drink produced in Haarlem, particularly those in the first five decades of the century by artists such as Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis, Floris van Schooten, Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz Heda. In 1945 N.R.A. Vroom published *De Schilders van het monochrome banketje* (the expanded two-volume edition is *The Painters of the Monochrome Bancketje*), a title that reflects both the stylistic characteristics of the monochromatic works painted by Pieter Claesz and

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shown to be the noblest calling of the artist and was the point of his pedagogy and this theoretical treatise. See the introduction, note 31 for this passage and its translation.

[134] It is interesting to note that, in the passage repeated above, Van Hoogstraeten uses not the terms *banket* or *ontbijt* to describe the laid table but literally "*zwangeren Dis*" (groaning board). I have not come across this term in contemporary inventories.

Willem Claesz Heda and their subject matter. He used *banketje* to reflect those found in seventeenth-century inventories (*bancket*, *bancketgen*, *bancquetien*, *banketie*).

Vroom does not discuss the related term *ontbijt*, breakfast, which, as we have seen, was used extensively in inventories. An *ontbijt* appears to have been simply a smaller work with motifs similar to those found in the larger *banket*. Floris van Dijck painted works in both large and small formats. Larger works, such as his Rijksmuseum painting (fig. 24), which measures 82.2 x 111.2 cm, logically fit the term *banket*. Across tabletops spread with fine damast linens are a varied assortment of foods and fine drinking vessels, invariably dominated by a stack of massive cheeses in the center along the back row. Van Dijck repeated this appealing visual formula in works of a smaller format, such as the 1613 painting from the Frans Halsmuseum (fig. 25), which measures 50 x 77 cm, changing only the ambient space around the table and its objects to create a more intimate setting and also omitting the expensive drinking vessels found in the larger works. In this manner Van Dijck created a work of simple character that we can imagine more readily fit the term *ontbijt* as used by the seventeenth-century Dutch.

Evidence from one inventory suggests that what was represented did play a role in how a work was viewed and classified. Hester Cluysaenes, a widow living in Haarlem, owned five paintings by Pieter Claesz, three of which are described in an inventory of her possessions made 28 December 1668 as "een bancketie van Pieter Claesz. …" while one is described as "een ontbijt van Pieter Claesz." [135] The three

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[135] GPI (N-5057). See Appendix B for the specific entries.

banquet pieces, each with a different "main course" – of crab, ham, and herring, were valued at, respectively, twelve, ten, and six guilders. The breakfast piece was valued at five guilders. The inventory does not mention a specific dish for this work, which may account for its lower value and identification as an *ontbijt*. The lower value given to the still life with a herring probably indicates that it was smaller than the other banquet paintings. It may reflect a qualitative judgment on the aesthetic merit of the work. Most of Claesz's paintings featuring herring are relatively small in scale.[136]

The banquet with herring from the Cluysaenes inventory was valued only slightly higher, *f* 6, than the breakfast piece that hung in the kitchen, *f* 5. This result is perhaps not surprising in light of the size discussed above. Assuming that a breakfast (*ontbijt*) featured simpler fare, less format area would be needed for the composition, assuming, of course, that the artist utilized a more or less consistent size for motifs in his or her works, such as a roll, *roemer*, lemon, cheese, which does seem to have been the case in the works of Claesz. Thus paintings described as *ontbijt* would on the whole tend to be smaller works that featured fewer items on the table. This characteristic feature could also explain why Cluysaenes's estate does not mention a particular dish for the breakfast piece.[137] The exceptionally specific information in the

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[136] This painting is actually described as "een ditto met een peckerlharingh *f*. 6 --:--", with ditto referring back to the first entry for Claesz "een bancketie van Pieter Claesz. met een crab f. 12:--:--". However, a fourth painting by Claesz in this particular room, the front room of the house (*int voorhuys*), was "een vanitasie van dito f. 6:--:--" in which the notary took care to note the different subject matter, using dito to repeat only the artist's name, which suggests that he was also specific in his use of *bancketie* and *ontbijt*. The *ontbijt* was inventoried in the kitchen (Inde keucken).

[137] Of course, just as likely a reason for this difference between the three banquets and the breakfast piece in the Cluysaenes's inventory is that the three banquet pieces were all in the front room and so required some distinguishing characteristic, whereas the breakfast piece, which was the only Claesz to

inventory of Hester Cluysaenes allows one to infer that size played a role in the valuation of paintings in her collection and likely in other inventory valuations. In addition the inventory provides insight into how the terms *banket* and *ontbijt* were related.

Summary

As this chapter makes clear, tabletop still-life painting in Haarlem developed much as some of the other genres for which the city was noted at the time, especially landscape painting. Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis painted the initial tabletop still lifes in a conservative mode that featured a high viewpoint and highly rational arrangement of the table. Beginning in the 1620s, Floris van Schooten, Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda transformed the appearance of the tabletop still life and introduced elements of time, as if events on the table might still be unfolding. A loose brushwork and reliance on diagonals, especially pronounced in the work of Pieter Claesz, parallels developments in landscape painting in Haarlem in the late 1620s.

Evidence from contemporary literature indicates some appreciation for tabletop still-life painting, especially works by Floris van Dijck and Willem Claesz. Heda, and inventory data confirms that Heda enjoyed relatively high valuations. This

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be found in the kitchen, needed no additional identification since both location and maker provided enough specific information, both being distinguishing characteristics. In fact, this latter possibility seems the more likely as a cursory glance at those inventory records naming works by Haarlem still-life painters taken from the Getty Provenance Index reveals that the normal habit was to list paintings as economically as possible, with little attention to detail, except where such detail could distinguish one work from another, as in the Cluysaenes's inventory. Thus, most inventories simply state *banket*, *ontbijt*, *vanitasie*, *romer*, without elaboration. Occasionally one such work will be described as having a bad frame, a black frame, a gilded frame, or an oval frame, but again these remarks seem to have been recorded in order to denote specifically each painting.

data also indicates that Pieter Claesz was the most widely collected of the Haarlem still-life painters and enjoyed remarkable valuations for much of his career.

While there is no direct evidence of contemporary views of Haarlem still life couched in religious or moralizing terms, there is a remarkable convergence of ideas in the writings of Willem Teellinck, a Calvinist, and some Haarlem paintings like the painting by Heda in Washington. In general, though, members of different religious groups in Haarlem would have been able to appreciate the imagery employed by Haarlem still-life painters. The painters may have consciously sought to paint pictures that were rich in associations but not narrowly circumscribed by the artist's, or the patron's, views.

The following three chapters entail analyses and discussion of the Haarlem tabletop still life according to three different points of view: that of the objects depicted in them, the works' most common thematic types, and the compositional forms and formats used by artists to depict these tabletop still-life paintings. The picture of Haarlem tabletop still life that these three chapters form, and from which one can understand the ubiquity or rarity of objects, their manner of display and the combinations in which they are used, should foster a sensitive appreciation for works that demonstrate, principally through their rarity, a capacity for metaphorical expression.

CHAPTER TWO

MAJOR MOTIFS IN HAARLEM STILL-LIFE PAINTING, 1610-1660

The current debate among scholars of Dutch art as to whether or not still lifes painted in the seventeenth century have meaning seems somewhat displaced.[1] Because they are artifacts of a distant past every visual image is meaningful. The perspective given them depends on the goals of the questioner and the methodology employed. Thus a scholar interested in the impact of Dutch still life on the development of American painting in the nineteenth century will naturally have a different approach and will evaluate the objects by different criteria than someone interested in how seventeenth-century Dutch culture absorbed the material fact of still life as it developed in different areas and in different forms over the course of the seventeenth century.[2]

In this study the approach to Haarlem still-life painting is sympathetic to the latter approach outlined above. Struck as one may be by the power and depth of a work like Willem Claesz. Heda's *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington (fig. 1), discussed at length in the introduction to this study, it seems natural to wonder how this painting fit into the social fabric of Haarlem in the seventeenth century. What is it about that city's culture or Heda himself that

[1] For a broader discussion of this debate, see the introduction to this study.

[2] It is one of the unfortunate results of the constraints of a time-sensitive study as this one that a synthesis of methodological perspectives of these still lifes is not possible.

encouraged the expressive power of the Washington canvas? And is this painting an isolated phenomenon within Heda's oeuvre and the genre of still-life painting in Haarlem? Do the rest of the paintings produced by Willem Claesz. Heda, as well as those by contemporaries such as Pieter Claesz and Floris van Schooten, and earlier works by Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis, exist only as pleasing arrangements of form and color, or reflect in an artful way the daily dining habits of those who would collect these paintings?

Julie Berger Hochstrasser has argued more or less this latter view in her dissertation on Dutch still-life painting, emphasizing in her exhaustive account how the paintings time and again correspond to the dietary recommendations of Johann van Beverwijck and Stephanus Blankaarts, whose books, respectively, *Schat der gesondheyt*, published 1636, and *Borgerlyke tafel*, published 1683.[3] She writes:

> So as we scrutinize painted still-lifes in the light of the 'rules of the arts of health' specified in these texts, and discover the remarkable consistency with which the details in painted banquets accord with the requirements specified in these treatises on proper eating and drinking, it also becomes clear that insofar as they observe the dictates of good dietary practice in the opinion of Van Beverwijck and others, the pictures are presenting not negative models to be avoided but rather positive models to be followed; this evidence in turn

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[3] Johan van Beverwijck, *Schat der Gesondheyt* (Dordrecht: voor Mathias Havius, by Hendrick van Esch, 1636); portions of a later edition of which are reprinted in Appendix I of Julie Berger Hochstrasser's dissertation; Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 547-550. The later edition is Johan van Beverwijck, *Wercken der Genees-Konste, Bestaende in den Schat der Gesontheyt, Schat der Ongesontheyt, Heel-Konste* (t'Amsterdam: by de Weduwe van J.J. Schipper, op de Keysers-Gracht, 1672).

> directly contradicts moralizing readings of these pictures based upon our modern assumptions or even upon period literature.[4]

As is clear from this excerpt, Hochstrasser takes rather a dim view of the approach to Dutch still life exemplified in the work of Ingvar Bergström and later scholars, including Eddy de Jongh, in which Dutch emblem books, which were enormously popular in the seventeenth century at many levels of society and which reflected even more pervasive aphorisms in the Dutch language, are mined for their rich associative imagery to build an interpretative framework for Dutch still-life paintings.[5] Instead she probes the recondite recommendations of a Dutch physician that, although popular, were certainly not as widely absorbed as those found in emblematic literature.[6]

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[4] Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 40.

[5] Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 4-5. In framing the terms of her study, Hochstrasser sketches a useful review of scholarship on Dutch still life in the introduction; see Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 1-28 for her entire overview. On the work of Bergström and De Jongh, see the introduction to this study, 16-18. On the popularity and diversity of emblems in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, see Willem Frijthoff and Marijke Spies, ed., *1650: Bevochten eendracht*, Nederlandse cultuur in Europese context, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1999), 464-474.

[6] While exact comparisons between the number of appearances of Van Beverwijck's and Blankaarts's treatises and those of emblem books in probate inventories are not easy to obtain, it is nonetheless worth noting that the emblematic work of Jacob Cats was so popular that his work was translated and reprinted numerous times into the nineteenth century. His most popular work, and probably the most successful emblem book of the seventeenth century, was *Spiegel van den ouden en nieuwen tijdt* (Middleburg, 1632). At the time that the first edition of his collected works was published in 1655, the publisher, Jan Jacobsz, Schipper could boast in his forward that to that moment 25,000 copies had been sold (Frijthoff and Spies, 464). He was also known, because of his popularity as a moralist, as Father Cats, and it is doubtless that the prominence he derived from his publications and their role in shaping early modern Dutch behavioral norms played a role in his being named Pensionary for the Province of Holland from 1629 to 1631 and again from 1636 to 1652, an important, if mostly ornamental office within the structure of the governance of the Dutch Republic.

Hochstrasser questions the negative, moralizing tone past studies have suggested suffused Dutch still-life painting.[7] Instead she argues that these works were positive celebrations of material abundance and prosperity.[8] It is indeed undeniable that many of the Haarlem still lifes examined in this study celebrate the material fact of food and drink. However, many of these works also convey deeper allegorical messages, messages that are not explained with reference to dietary manuals. As an example, consider again the Heda painting in Washington (fig. 1).[9] Heda included an incredible range of textures, from glistening oyster shells and olives to gleaming glass to the stippled sheen on a tazza to the cool smoothness of a pewter pitcher to the heavy softness of the linen tablecloth. One can imagine that he took great pride in his representational prowess and that he truly hoped all who saw this painting would delight in its representation of apparent reality. Yet, by including the candle and the broken glass, Heda also clearly intended the viewer to be made aware of the transient nature of this feast. By including the roll, with its Eucharist implications, Heda also pictured the promised spiritual sustenance to those who adhered to a life led in Christ.

Heda's painting in Washington is more than the pleasing exercise in form and color that N.R.A. Vroom argued was the *raison d'etre* of banquet still lifes, or simply

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[7] Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 7-9. For some typical examples of interpretation focusing on moralizing, see Scott A. Sullivan, "A Banquet Piece with Vanitas Implications," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* LXI/8 (October 1974): 271-282; Mark M. Johnson, "Abraham van Beyeren's Banquet Still Life," *Bulletin of the Krannert Art Museum* I/2 (1976): 11-24; Wheelock, *Still Lifes of the Golden Age*.

[8] As she writes: "the pictures are presenting not negative models to be avoided but rather positive models to be followed," which is excerpted from above.

[9] For the principal discussion of this painting see the introduction to this study.

a reflection of the daily dietary practice of the Dutch that Hochstrasser argued underlay much of the conceptual framework of Dutch still-life painting.[10] With this work Heda aspired to communicate, in an appealing, commodious form, some of the verities of seventeenth-century life: that a life lived in pleasure, no matter its raw appeal to the senses, was incomplete without a basic foundation in Christ, here conveyed as a roll of bread that echoes his presence in the host of the Catholic Eucharist or the bread of Protestant communion.[11] A natural question that arises when considering this painting is how to relate it to its genre. To what extent does this one painting represent the concerns of all Haarlem still-life painters and the expectations of the art-buying public? Is this painting an exception to the norm, an allegorizing standout amongst a host of still lifes that do otherwise conform to Vroom's and Hochstrasser's arguments for their significance?

To properly answer these questions it is necessary to understand what is and what is not represented in Haarlem still-life painting. Hochstrasser has done excellent work in this area, devoting significant portions of her dissertation to relating facts about the foods and drinks found in Dutch tabletop still lifes. Her most important contribution to the understanding of Dutch still life lies in her analysis of the remarkable convergence between what is represented in Dutch still life, including that from Haarlem, and the contemporary dietary recommendations of Van Beverwijck and Blankaarts. Somewhat more problematic are some of the conclusions Hochstrasser

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[10] Vroom 14-15; Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life".

draws from her investigations, particularly her assertion that the parallels between the dietary treatises and Dutch still lifes mean that these paintings were "positive models to be followed." While she offers that these paintings were not slavish illustrations of these dietary manuals, her emphasis on this close connection permeates her study.

This emphasis creates some problems for one's understanding of both the purposes of Dutch still life and a factual image of contemporary Dutch eating habits. For instance, cheese was a popular component of the Dutch diet. Peter G. Rose, in an essay introducing her translation of *Het verstandige kock* (The Sensible Cook), by far the most popular food preparation guide in the seventeenth century, states that cheese, along with rye bread, was "always on the table."[12] Indeed, in his treatise, Johann van Beverwijck praised cheese, along with butter and milk, as products of the Holland cow.[13] Even in his 1683 treatise on a proper diet and dining habits, *De Borgerlijcke Tafel*, Stephanus Blankaarts included a discussion on cheese, which indicates that it was a significant enough part of the table to merit a chapter in his book.[14] Yet cheese

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[11] For a discussion of the differences between Protestants and Catholics on this critical issue, see the discussion in Chapter One.

[12] Peter G. Rose, trans. & ed., *The Sensible Cook: Dutch Foodways in the Old and the New World*, Syracuse, 1998, 6. According to Rose, *Het verstandige kock* was reprinted countless times in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is instructive that Mrs. Rose's work translating this cookbook was part of a larger, ongoing effort to better understand the contribution of Dutch culture to American culture, particularly the Hudson River valley area. *Het verstandige kock* was an important means of cultural transmission, as the book, which was actually one section of a much larger volume entitled *Het vermakelijck landtleven* (The Pleasurable Country Life) that also included sections such as "The Sensible Gardener" and "The Medicine Shop of the Experienced Housekeeper" by P. Nijland and "The Diligent Beekeeper," was found in many household estates in the New World. Ten editions of this work appeared between 1668 and 1702. As Rose states this "book was intended for the wealthy bourgeois who could afford to build country homes." Rose, xvii.

[13] Van Beverwijck, 157.

appears in relatively few Dutch still-life paintings, mostly in early Haarlem still lifes. Many works by Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis, Floris van Schooten and Pieter Claesz feature stacks of cheese or cheese halves in baskets, along with loafs of dark bread, along a table's back edge. Nonetheless both cheese and dark bread, mainstays of the Dutch diet, are noticeably absent from most Dutch still-life paintings. One must therefore conclude that these paintings were not always accurate reflections of Dutch dietary habits.

A few more examples of foods common to the Dutch diet but uncommon in Haarlem still-life painting indicate just how far from reality Dutch still-life paintings could be. For example, Rose indicates that both pancakes and barley porridge were common items on the Dutch table.[15] However, while both foodstuffs were depicted in genre scenes, very few still-life paintings depicted either item.[16] Other common features of the Dutch diet were the *hutspot*, or stew, of mutton, beef, carrots, and other vegetables, and fresh sea or river fish, herring, salted meat, cabbage, soups, beans, and peas. Stews do not appear in Dutch still life, although fish, especially herring, are seen with regularity in Haarlem still-life painting. Floris van Schooten painted vegetables in several of his works, but always prior to their preparation.

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[14] Stephanus Blankaarts, *De Borgerlijcke Tafel* (Amsterdam, 1683; reprint ed. 1967), 53-54. Blankaarts took a rather dim view of cheese for the most part, urging great restraint in consuming it. He considered the best sort of cheese to be green and derived from a cow, preferably Dutch.

[15] Rose, 6.

[16] Think of Rembrandt's famous etching of a pancake maker or Jan Steen's *Prayer Before a Meal* in which a bowl of porridge features prominently on a tub in the center of the painting.

The picture of the Dutch diet one can glean from Dutch, and particularly Haarlem, still life is rather skewed. The offerings on a table portrayed by Willem Claesz. Heda, Pieter Claesz, Floris van Dijck or Nicolaes Gillis were at best only partially found on a typical table in the seventeenth century. To be sure some components, such as beer, were consumed regularly, but even the finest homes did not regularly feature ham or a pastry pie. The conclusion one must draw is that many of the still lifes by Haarlem artists do not mirror reality. Certainly some still lifes depict fare that would have been well suited to the everyday table of most Haarlemers. Pieter Claesz's simple painting of a herring, roll, and waffle glass of beer from Rotterdam is a good example and could serve as even a modern advertisement for the ideal midday snack outside the office complex (fig. 74).[17] But even this work omits the likely presence in the average seventeenth-century snack of some butter, or cheese, for the bread. Perhaps the addition of either of these elements, which would have accorded with contemporary practice, would have disrupted Claesz's carefully balanced composition. Without them the picture retains the essence of an appealing, and satisfying, small meal or snack.

Although Haarlem still lifes give the inviting appearance of reality, they are for the most part fictions, appealing and certainly plausible, but fictions nonetheless. They do not serve as a record of daily reality but reflect the distillation of that daily reality into an edited and idealized account of the satiation of creaturely need.

[17] (PC 61) panel, 36 x 49 cm, dated 1636; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

What then, was the primary concern of Haarlem still lifes? What were their purposes and did these vary, and what, ultimately, did these fascinating and tempting works mean for the seventeenth-century Haarlemers who bought and who painted them? This study proposes to address these questions by compiling a statistical model of Haarlem still life, both in its form and its thematic content, based on formal analyses of 630 paintings created there between approximately 1610 and 1660, drawn primarily from the extensive photographic collections of the Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische documentatie in The Hague, the incomparable collection of Dr. Sam Segal in Amsterdam, and the photographic archive of the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

This chapter will feature a discussion of the meal types, foodstuffs and objects that appear in many of the 630 paintings in this study, which will be followed in chapters three and four by discussions of the thematic types and compositional characteristics of Haarlem still life.

Meal types

Haarlem artists painted a variety of dishes in their still-life paintings. Though these dishes are appealing for their contents, their visual form evidently must have held as much appeal for the artists and their patrons. How else to describe the remarkably durable appearance of the mince pie (figs. 75, 76)[18], ham (figs. 77, 78),[19]

[18] (FvS 2) panel, 50 x 83 cm. Collection of Mrs. K. Schou in Copenhagen/Hellerup; (PC 7) panel, 48.2 x 76.5 cm. The Art Institute, Chicago.

crab (figs. 79, 80),[20] or fish (figs. 81, 82)[21] that appear in these paintings? Obviously visual convention played a large role in the ways Pieter Claesz, Willem Claesz. Heda and other artists fashioned their pictures. Once these artists arrived at a satisfying visual solution for a particular object, such as the mince pie, they rarely altered its form, preferring instead to try new combinations of objects or subtly altering the fare of a table.[22] The needs of a specific painting did dictate departure from these norms. In his Washington painting Heda represents the mince pie as mostly eaten and not the appealing profile of golden pastry shell and juicy innards that he and other artists usually painted (fig. 1).

The most popular type of dish in Haarlem still-life painting was shellfish (oysters, crabs, lobsters, shrimp) (29.4%).[23] Of this group oysters figured most prominently, appearing in just over one-fifth (21.7%) of all works. However, it should be noted that oysters featured as a main dish in only 6.8% of still lifes. Instead of being arranged on a platter they are most often shown scattered on a tabletop, accenting compositions dominated by another dish, a roemer, or an overturned tazza. In about 9.4 % of all Haarlem still life crabs are found on a plate. Lobsters, shrimp, and mussels appear much less frequently, representing around four-tenths to one

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[19] (PC 109) panel, 39 x 64 cm. Museum voor schone kunsten, Brussels; (PC 166) panel, 45.5 x 56 cm, dated 1646. Formerly Heinz collection, Washington DC.

[20] (PC 136) panel, dimensions unknown. Musée des Beaux Arts, Strasbourg; (WCH 97) canvas, 117.9 x 117.9 cm, dated 1648. Hermitage, Saint Petersburg.

[21] (PC 28) panel, 49 x 74 cm. Location unknown; (PC 117/120) panel, 45 x 60 cm, dated 1643. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 4 April 1962, #85.

[22] See Chapter Five, 212-213 for a discussion of this phenomenon.

percent of all paintings analyzed in this study. Apart from shellfish, Haarlem artists favored ham (17.8%), mince pie (16.7%), fish (14.1%), and fruit (7.8%). Other dishes, such as fowl (2%) or a large pastry pie (.9%) were relatively rare in the visual canon of Haarlem still life.

Ham

The ham had a characteristic appearance in Haarlem still-life painting. It was most often portrayed as a shank set on a platter in the mid-ground of the table, the exposed section of meat facing the viewer (figs. 77, 83).[24] Occasionally Haarlem artists included a plate on the table containing slices of the ham. Julie Berger Hochstrasser noted in her dissertation that the manner in which the hams in Haarlem still-life painting are displayed is consistent with the recommendations made in the etiquette manual *De cierlijcke voorsnydinge aller tafelgerechte* (The Decorous Carving of All Dishes), printed in 1664 (fig. 84).[25] Of course, as Hochstrasser stressed, to imagine that the Haarlem artists were deriving their ideas about the appearance of ham from the illustration in a carving manual would be to misconstrue the evidence at hand. Instead she pointed out that as the ham was displayed in its most advantageous, and "correct", aspect, we should understand its appeal in a painting as one consonant

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[23] See appendix A for tables and charts of the different meal types in this chapter.

[24] (WCH 76) canvas, 120 x 107 cm, c.1647 (by Heda) and additions (1654) by Pieter de Ring. With Johnny van Haeften, London, 1995.

[25] Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Feasting the Eye: Painting and Reality in the Seventeenth-century "Bancketje'," in Chong and Kloek, 73-85, 77. See Donna R. Barnes and Peter G. Rose, *Matters of Taste: Food and Drink in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Life*, exh. cat. (Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, 2002), 74 for the dating of this book.

with the civilizing desires of a certain class, the rapidly growing merchant class. As Hochstrasser observes, "it is impossible to say which came first, book or pictures, but again one need not claim that paintings 'followed' the published directives, or even the other way around; the corroboration suggests yet again that what appears in the paintings is not negative example, but sanctioned practice."[26]

Of the 112 paintings containing ham in some form, eighty-three of them, or 74% of the total, also contain a mustard pot. This consistent pairing of dish and condiment (one recommended by Van Beverwijck!) is remarkable, especially when one considers that a mustard pot appears in only three Haarlem still lifes analyzed in this study that do not also have a ham. The predictable use of these two motifs lends support to Hochstrasser's contention that the representation of foodstuffs in Haarlem still-life painting reflected contemporary cultural practice.

However, although the condiments best associated with ham and the manner to carve it were discussed in contemporary literature, this cut of meat was not a daily feature of the Dutch diet. Certainly no poor laborer counted on a table graced with a side of ham, despite the heroic dimensions this pork, along with bread and cheese, assumes in Jan Steen's remarkable and tender image of a young couple and their child at prayer in the painting from Sudeley Castle of 1660 (fig. 85). It is also doubtful whether members of the merchant class and well-to-do would have regularly feasted on ham, at least on such a well-supplied table as envisioned by several of the Haarlem artists (fig. 83). Ham is not mentioned as a dish in a 1631 plan of weekly menus at the

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[26] Hochstrasser, "Feasting the Eye", 77.

School of Theology in Leiden, a source Lambertus Burema has argued represents well the diet of the most of the Dutch at this time.[27]

The ham was considered the best part of the pig. It formed the back quarter of the hog or pig, consisting of the buttock and back of the thigh, one of the meatiest portions of the animal. In *De verstandige kock*, under the section "The Dutch Butchering Time," the ham is identified, along with tongue and bacon, as one of the *pater* (literally father) pieces that need not be smoked as long as other portions of the pig so as to preserve its taste, which was due mostly to its high fat quotient.[28] The hams in Haarlem still life are all salted and smoked in the manner prescribed in the "Dutch Butchering Time." However, although in this manner they would keep for some time, any exposed meat, such as that glistening in paintings by Heda or Claesz (figs. 83, 77), would spoil quickly.

Mince Pie

If ham were the exception rather than the rule at the typical middle- to upper-class Dutch table, mince or meat pies were probably even rarer. Although recipes for various pies, or *pasteyen*, can be found in *De verstandige kock*, the spices called for in them, principally pepper, but also mace and nutmeg, would have been expensive, coming as they did from the other side of the world through the East India Company

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[27] Lambertus Burema, *De Voeding in Nederland van de Middeleeuwen tot de Twintigste Eeuw* (Assen, 1953), 114. Cited in Rose, 5-6.

[28] Rose 1998, p. 90.

trade monopoly.[29] Few homes could have sustained the expense a daily diet of pies would have incurred.

A pie might contain beef, or hens, or finches.[30] One recipe – "To make a sour Lemon pastey" – reads as a description of a pie in one of Willem Claesz. Heda or Pieter Claesz's paintings (fig. 86).[31]

> Take Veal and Veal-suet and a fresh Lemon with it, chop it fine together, then spice it with Salt, Mace, Pepper and Nutmeg, also 2 or 3 Egg yolks, stir together, place in the crust with slices of Lemon on top and a lot of Butter, bake it for an hour; the sauce should be Mutton-broth, Egg yolks, Verjuice and Butter brought to a boil together.[32]

Of the Haarlem artists Willem Claesz. Heda gave the mince pie its characteristic form. With little variation in their appearance, pies appear in sixty-four paintings by Heda or an artist working in his studio or in his style. This figure accounts for 59% of all occurrences (105 out of 630, or 16.7%) of the mince pie in Haarlem still-life painting. Heda's contemporary Pieter Claesz included a mince pie in

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[29] Information about the spice trade can be found in Israel, 307-327, especially 318-322. Although Amsterdam was a major *entrepot*, and as a result prices would have been lower as supplies were dependable and regular, there was, in addition to the still considerable cost born in the transport and risk, a concerted effort to stabilize the price through the monopolistic practice of the VOC, or Dutch East India Company. This combination of factors would have priced many of these spices out of the range of many Dutch households' means.

[30] The varieties include: a Beef-*pastey*, a sour Lemon-*pastey*, a Hen-*pastey*, a Spring-Chicken *pastey*, a sweet Spring Chicken *pastey*, a Finch *pastey*, and a Pot-*pastey*. See Rose, 85-87.

[31] (PC 74) panel, 66.5 x 92 cm. Winterthur Museum, Jacob Briner Rathaus foundation.

[32] Rose, 86

twenty-four of his paintings, with another nine in works in his style, amounting to 31% of the total. Moreover as a total of his own surviving oeuvre the percentage usage of the mince pie by Heda (25%) is more than the double the rate at which Claesz made use of this delectable dish (11%).

Heda almost always depicted the pie as about a third eaten, with a scooped-out portion in the crust's wall facing the viewer (fig. 87).[33] Usually he situated a spoon near this gap, undoubtedly to draw the viewer's attention to the pie's filling. However, Heda always took care to paint the warm tones of the pie's appealing, golden-brown crust, its undulating topography and crenellated ridges calculated to whet the viewer's appetites.

Not all the pies in Haarlem still-life painting were, strictly speaking, mince pies. Indeed it is not always clear exactly what type of pie an artist has painted. In addition to meat pies Heda and Claesz appear to have painted berry pies, which in *De verstandige kock* appear in a section on *taerts* (fig. 88).[34] A variety of *taert* recipes are mentioned in this section, from apple and almond *taerts* to a *taert* consisting of cheeses to one filled with the tongue of calf.[35]

Certainly the most impressive of the pies to appear in Haarlem still-life painting were the large pies situated at the back of tables groaning with many dishes (fig. 89).[36] The sheer size of these pies bespeaks festive circumstances, probably a

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[33] (WCH 26) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1633. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

[34] (WCH 48) panel, 50.1 x 63.6 cm, dated 1638. The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

[35] Rose, 79-85. In all, twenty-three *taerts* are discussed.

[36] (WCH 121) canvas, 88.5 x 109.5 cm, dated 1658. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

banquet. Indeed Pieter Claesz painted a couple of large pies in paintings from 1627 with the head and plumage of a bird as if the bird's body were the pie (figs. 65, 66). It is difficult to characterize these pies as ordinary fare. Such pies were often the centerpiece of tables in the outdoor parties of a youthful patriciate pictured by Esias van de Velde and David Vinckboons (figs 90, 21). These scenes are noteworthy for the profusion of delicacies and luxuries in an outdoor setting, often a garden before a palace or large country home, denoting wealth.[37] Instructions for constructing the wire framework could be found in manuals targeting an exclusive and wealthy audience.[38]

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[37] Scholarly opinion has divided over the interpretation of this type of painting, which was extraordinarily popular in the first decades of the seventeenth century by artists such as David Vinckboons and Esias van de Velde, but also Gillis van Coninxloo in Amsterdam and Dirck Hals and Willem Buytewech in Haarlem. Two themes, the biblical parable of the Prodigal Son and the secular Garden of Love have been adduced as the iconographical headwaters for these paintings. See Konrad Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft: Zur Ikonographie des verlorenen Sohnes und von Wirtshausszenen in der niederlandischen Malerei* (Berlin 1970); Sutton, xxvi-xxx, 331-332, 349-350. Most recently Elmer Kolfin, in his dissertation on the merry company as a type, contested the earlier view that these paintings were exclusively vestigial outgrowths of the theme of the Prodigal Son in both visual convention and moral tone. His position, which I know through discussions with him and from presentations of his material to the working group of doctoral students attached to the University of Leiden and associated with Prof. Eric Jan Sluijter, which I attended during my fellowship year in the Netherlands, is but one more example of scholarship on Dutch painting revisiting the earlier theoretical construct of Eddy de Jongh and others. See Elmer Kolfin, 'Een geselschap jonge luyden. Productie, functie en betekenis van Noord-Nederlandse voorstellingen van vrolijke gezelschappen 1610-1645,' Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 2002.

However, while it seems to me reasonable to base an interpretation of these paintings as a group, as with works from other genres, on the broad patterns of iconographical and visual development, attention should also be paid to the particulars of each work in relation to the broader pattern that is established. For instance, David Vinckboons work is a clearly festive gathering in which the luxuries, especially the peacock pie on the center of the table are accentuated by his use of a tilted tabletop. In addition the poses of some of the young couples are clearly those of lovers engaged in amorous interaction. The richly attired young man reclining on the ground to the right recalls, both in visual form and his circumstances (reclining in the lap of luxury – in this case a young woman), images of the prodigal son in contemporary and earlier prints shortly before his fall. It seems appropriate in this particular painting to acknowledge the visual and intellectual debt owed by this painting to the tradition of Prodigal Son imagery and let this association color our understanding of how contemporaries would have engaged this image. In contrast, in the painting by Esias van de Velde, as was argued by Wouter Kloek in his entry for this painting in Luijten et al., 618, the actions of the young people gathered at the table is subdued, with the emphases placed on gentle lovemaking. In this painting, the rhetorical strains of the theme of the Garden of Love seem most appropriate as a reference point for how contemporaries would have understood the picture.

Haarlem still-life artists painted very few works with these large and elaborate pastry pies. Apart from the two works by Pieter Claesz from 1627 already mentioned, he and Willem Claesz. Heda included a large pastry pie in only another four works. That represents less than 1% of the total paintings in this survey. Both Claesz and Heda also painted four works in which they included a small pastry pie decorated in the manner of Claesz's two 1627 works, only with a much smaller bird, a pigeon. Some of these works are intimate in character (fig. 91),[39] while others reflect the festive abundance found in paintings featuring a large pastry pie.

Fish

Given the proximity of the Netherlands, and especially Haarlem, to the North Sea, it is not surprising to find fish featured as a meal in still lifes painted in this city in the seventeenth century. What is perhaps surprising is its percentage (14.1%) of the overall total. Undoubtedly some species of fish, especially herring, which was praised both in poem and paint as the national dish of the Dutch, were more common features of the table than their appearance in Haarlem still lifes would indicate.[40] Ironically

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[38] David Vinckboons, *Elegant Company in the Open Air*, c.1610, oil on panel, 28.5 x 44 cm., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Esias van de Velde, *Garden Party*, 1615, oil on panel, 35 x 61 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[39] (PC 21) panel, 36.5 x 77 cm. Formerly Heinz collection, with Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam in 1995.

[40] Joseph de Bray's well-known still life from the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, dated 1656, celebrates a poem written twenty-three years earlier by his maternal uncle Jacob Westerbaen, a theologian and doctor. Even though De Bray was a Haarlem artist painting at a time, 1656, when Willem Claesz. Heda and especially Pieter Claesz were still active, it is remarkable and curious how different in appearance and feel is his tabletop from those at this time by these artists, and points to the extent to which visual convention and tradition played important roles in the development and maintenance of Haarlem still life. For more on this painting, see Chong and Kloek, 234-236.

there is no mention of herring in *De verstandige kock* though various recipes for sturgeon, bream, salmon, cod and pike abound. Perhaps herring was so prevalent, and its methods of preparation so simple, so straightforward, that the author saw no need to augment common knowledge. Or perhaps the audience for whom the cookbook was written, a wealthy and landed gentry, did not feel as though herring were a dish suitable to their station in life. In all likelihood the former possibility is the strongest explanation, although there can be no denying that this humble fish may have had a low reputation among some of the social elite.[41]

Haarlem artists depicted herring in one of two ways; smoked (fig. 92) or raw and decoratively cut into cubes (fig. 93).[42] Of the thirty-nine paintings (43.8% of all fish paintings) in which herring appeared, it is the principle dish in roughly two-third of the works. The remaining one-third of the paintings featured another dish, overwhelmingly ham, which the herring complements. Two artists accounted for most of the paintings with herring: Floris van Schooten and, by a wide margin, Pieter Claesz, who painted nearly 90% of all representations of herring.

The other principal fish depicted by Haarlem artists is what appears to be a mackerel (fig. 94).[43] It appears in forty-one paintings (46% of all fish paintings), most

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[41] In the last stanza of his poem Westerbaen pointedly contrasts the earthy, pungent qualities of the herring to the "delightful delicacies" with which one "greedily fills his guts." Chong and Kloek, 236.

[42] (PC 24) panel, 36.2 x 57.5 cm, dated 1627. Timken Art Gallery, San Diego; (FvS 36) panel, 53 x 83 cm. Private collection, Belgium.

[43] (PC 201) panel, 58.4 x 83.8 cm, dated 1651. Sale, New York (Christie's), 16 January 1992, #27. Sam Segal has characterized this fish as a mackerel in a discussion of a painting by Pieter Claesz in his catalogue for the exhibition Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 125, 128.

often displayed on a platter whole, baked and covered with cloves. Though Pieter Claesz did paint this fish (thirteen times or 31.7% of all representations of this species) it is to Willem Claesz. Heda and his followers that one must turn for the overwhelming majority of depictions of this dish. Of the remaining twenty-eight paintings featuring a mackerel, Heda or those in his studio were responsible for twenty-six (63.4% of the total) (fig. 52).[44]

Pieter Claesz depicted one other type of fish, a salmon fillet, in his oeuvre and, as far as can be determined, he is the only artist in this study to have done so (fig. 95).[45] This fish, however, appears only ten times in his oeuvre (3.9% of his total output and 8.9% of the total of all paintings featuring fish).

Shellfish (Oysters)

Although oysters were by far the most popular food in Haarlem tabletop still lifes, figuring in 21.7% of all paintings (137), in only a very few works (forty-three or 6.8%) are oysters arranged on a plate or platter in a manner that suggests that they are the principle dish.[46] In the remaining paintings oysters either complement the main

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[44] It is important to note, however, that fifteen instances center on one painting by Heda, a painting dated 1637 and formerly in the gallery of Richard Green in London (WCH45). However, the surviving number of copies only indicates this work's popularity as a picture. It features the mackerel on a plate, a standing tazza, overturned pewter pitcher, standing fluit, glass of beer, and, on an empty plate along the front edge of the table, a watch. See Appendix A.

[45] (PC 111) canvas, 83 x 114.5 cm, dated 164.. Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 6th May 1993, #138A.

[46] Significantly theity-two of these paintings are copies of just two paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda, dated 1635 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (WCH41) and 1637 (formerly in Schaeffer Galleries, New York) (WCH43). In the former a large platter of oysters dominates the middleground of the table, while in the latter, a much smaller painting, oyster shells are scattered on a large plate and on the table, suggesting a level of consumption absent in the other work.

dish or are visual accents to the arrangement on the table. In the nearly forty-five paintings in which oysters are secondary to a main dish, they are paired most often with ham (eleven instances), followed by fish and crab (eight each) and a mince pie (seven times). In approximately thirty-six paintings oysters are paired with a roemer or beaker of wine.

Though there are not many recipes for their preparation in *De verstandige kock*, oysters were likely a common dish in seventeenth-century Haarlem.[47] After all, the tidal regions and shallow estuaries where they thrived were common features along the Dutch shores. In Haarlem still-life painting, however, especially in the paintings featuring only oysters and wine, it seems that they were treated as a refined delicacy. Oysters were frequently featured in outdoor and indoor banquet scenes, where they were almost certainly appreciated for the aphrodisiacal qualities.[48]

With oysters in Haarlem still-life painting there is almost invariably a cone of almanac paper containing pepper (fig. 1). Of the 137 paintings, this paper pepper cone appears103 times (75%). As pepper was, as it still is, a popular spice for such a dish, its presence on the Haarlem still-life table should come as no surprise.

Shellfish (Crab)

Like oysters, crabs were bountiful in the North Sea and the Zuyder Zee and were thus to be expected on the tables of residents inhabiting lands near these coasts.

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[47] Rose, 58, 71.

[48] See Liana de Girolami Cheney, "The Oyster in Dutch Genre Paintings: Moral or Erotic Symbolism," *artibus et historiae* 8 (1987): 135-158.

Haarlem artists did not paint a particularly large number of still lifes in which the crab features as a dish (9.3% of the total). Of the fifty-nine works depicting a crab, Pieter Claesz or his followers were responsible for 66.1% (thirty-nine paintings) (fig. 96).[49] Willem Claesz. Heda and his circle account for another eleven paintings (18.6%) (fig. 89) while Gerrit Heda painted four works featuring a crab (6.7%).[50]

Fowl

In the section "About All Sorts of Meat" in *De verstandige kock*, numerous recipes abound for the preparation of fowl, in particular hens.[51] Though hens are poorly represented in Haarlem still-life painting, they were evidently a popular dish amongst the well-to-do, at least to judge by this manual. Pieter Claesz or an artist working after him was responsible for eleven of the thirteen depictions of a hen, which has been roasted (fig. 67). This manner of preparation probably reflects the preparation of a roasted hen in the French manner, one of the recipes in *De verstandige kock*.

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[49] (PC 187) panel, 88.6 x 64.2 cm. Sale, London (Christie's), 16 December 1998, #16.

[50] (WCH 121) canvas, 88.5 x 109.5 cm, dated 1658. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem;

[51] In total there are sixteen recipes, including recipes for game birds such as duck and goose. Hens, however, comprise the majority. See Rose, 50-66.

Fruit

Fruit was a significant factor in the Dutch diet, particularly native species like apples and berries. Some artists, especially Floris van Schooten (fig. 97)[52] and Roelof Koets (fig. 98),[53] made a specialty of representations of fruit, while others, particularly Willem Claesz. Heda and his followers, scarcely ever represented what must have been a fairly common component of the daily diet. Apart from Van Schooten and Koets, Pieter Claesz was the only artist to depict fruit with any consistency from the mid-1620s on. Fruit may be found in seventy pictures (27.5% of all paintings by or after him), although only a very few (seven) can be described as focused on fruit as the principle dish. In contrast, Floris van Schooten made fruit the focus of approximately a third (twenty-one) of the sixty-three paintings surveyed for this study, and in all fruit appears in over half of his paintings (thirty-two). In the ten paintings by Roelof Koets that are part of this study, 60% (six) contain fruit, while only 3.7% (nine works) of paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda or his followers contain fruit.

It is in the paintings of the first generation of Haarlem still-life painters, Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis and others, that fruit plays a dominant role in the makeup of the laid table. Of the fourteen paintings in this study by Floris van Dijck, thirteen (92.8%) contain fruit, usually a great deal of it heaped in Ming bowls or other dishes (fig. 7). In like manner his contemporary Nicolaes Gillis included fruit in four of his

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[52] (FvS 52) oil on panel, 50.8 x 83.2 cm. Sold in Stockholm (Bukowski) on 28-31 October 1980, #447.

[53] (RK 8) canvas, 135 x 185 cm. Private collection, Amsterdam, c.1945.

six paintings (66%), and nearly every anonymous painting in the circle of these artists includes some fruit.

The fruit found in all of these paintings could and did vary. Various berries, such as gooseberries, boysenberries, cherries, wild strawberries, were frequently included with larger fruit such as apples, plums and pears. Apples seem to have been a preferred fruit by both Van Dijck and Gillis, often displayed in large bowls (figs. 27, 11). Pieter Claesz included these bowls in some of his early works, such as the 1627 large panel in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 65), but his interest in this form waned until the 1640s when he began including apples as part of a copious display of fruit on one side of the laid table, most often in collaboration with Roelof Koets, who had developed this particular subject matter into a particular specialty (fig. 99).[54] Invariably in these works Koets, and Claesz in his independent works, situated heaps of apples and other fruit in veritable thickets of grape leaves, amongst which can also be spied bunches of grapes. Other fruit was rare. For instance peaches are not often seen in the Haarlem still life, at least not until some of the still lifes that Willem Claesz. Heda painted in the 1650s and 1660s (fig. 100),[55] which corresponded with a vogue for peaches in still lifes such as that Willem Kalf painted in 1663 (fig. 13). Melons make only infrequent and unpredictable appearances in Haarlem still-life paintings from this period.

Grapes are here considered separately from all the other forms of fruit found in Haarlem still-life painting, because grapes often appeared independent of companion

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[54] (PC 193) canvas, 114 x 172 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

[55] (WCH 103) panel, 67.3 x 58.5 cm, dated 1650. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 16 April 1997, #50.

fruit and grapes, of all the fruit, had multiple associations in the seventeenth century. Indeed of the 125 instances in which grapes can be found in Haarlem still life (19.8% of the total number of paintings), fifty-three paintings contain no other fruit. Often the grapes or their attendant vine leaves – in a form most often painted by Pieter Claesz (fig. 82) – brace a roemer of wine in a rather obvious association of the drink with its source.

One could argue whether the intention of such a visual relationship was meant to emphasize the qualities of wine as a Bacchic gift to mankind or to stress its Eucharistic dimension of wine. Regardless of the ultimate reasons for their inclusion, grapes appear in many paintings, in particular those works in which they have a close relationship with the drink of wine.

Pieter Claesz was the artist most responsible for featuring grapes in Haarlem still life, though he did not originate the use of bunches of grapes on the laid table. Both Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis made regular use of bunches of grapes in their paintings (figs. 24, 27), and Floris van Schooten included grapes in about 14% of his paintings (fig. 31). However, of the 125 instances of grapes in Haarlem still life, seventy-five (60%) are found in paintings by Claesz or a follower. In addition Roelof Koets, who, as we have already seen developed a specialty adding fruit to other compositions, especially those by Pieter Claesz, included grapes in half of his independent works.

Leafy Vegetation

Haarlem artists, beginning with Floris van Dijck, often included vines in the bowls of fruit they painted on their tabletops (fig. 101).[56] These accents provided a reminder of the freshness of the fruit and were decorative. Apart from the works of Pieter Claesz, vines appeared in almost 19% of all Haarlem still lifes, especially those paintings by early artists like Floris van Dijck and Floris van Schooten (figs. 101, 102). Pieter Claesz, however, was particularly fond of leafy vines springing across his tables (figs. 38). He used them in approximately one-third of all his works. In many of these paintings the vines seem to take over the table (fig. 103).[57] Indeed Claesz collaborated on several occasions with Roelof Koets, who, as we have seen, made a specialty of painting fruit cornucopias set amongst a thicket of vines (fig. 104).[58] In Claesz's paintings the massing of vine leaves often adds visual heft to the table and contributes to the success of the composition type used, most often the wedge.[59] The spreading leafy tendrils also were an economical way of conveying a sense of abundance. Although only a little fruit might be depicted, the mass of leaves offered the promise of plenty.

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[56] (FvD 5) panel, 74.5 x 114 cm. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 6 December 1995, #58.

[57] (PC 113) panel, 74 x 99 cm; formerly with dealer H. Shickman, New York, 1968.

[58] (PC 138) canvas, 136 x 206 cm. Sale Paris, Hotel George V, 17 July 1997, #26.

[59] See Chapter Four for a discussion of the wedge-type composition.

Lemon

The lemon is here considered apart from the broader category of fruit described above because Haarlem artists themselves appear to have considered, and depicted, lemons differently from other fruits. Whereas apples, plums, pear and grapes appeared in the middle or background, lemons almost always were shown along the front edge of the table, resting either on a pewter plate or on the table itself (fig. 105).[60] The lemon appeared with astonishing regularity in Haarlem still-life painting. It is found in just under 45% (282 of 630) of all paintings in the survey. This figure is remarkable when one considers that lemons were grown in lands along the Mediterranean.[61] Lemons were an import item and prohibitively expensive for all but the upper class.

As Julie Berger Hochstrasser has shown, many of the foodstuffs in Dutch still-life painting were probably included for their interaction with another item on the table, as prescribed by Johann van Beverwijck. Indeed she makes the point that Van Beverwijck and others stressed the benefits of lemon in cutting the taste of wine.[62] Remarkably, wine is present in all but two of the 282 paintings in which a lemon appeared. Although this fact would appear to confirm Hochstrasser's hypothesis, the lemon undoubtedly offered artists in Haarlem more than simply a satisfaction of

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[60] (PC 78) canvas, 85 x 117 cm, inscribed PC and dated 1639. Sale, Paris (Orsay), 4 November 1978.

[61] According to Rose (Barnes and Rose, 80) the lemon was first cultivated in India, but they appear by the third and fourth century in Roman mosaics and were used regularly by inhabitants of Spain and North Africa by 1000 AD. Although lemons could be, and were, grown locally in greenhouses, they would not have been grown in quantities sufficient to establish this fruit as a commodity. As such it would have been imported from the Mediterranean region at considerable cost.

[62] Hochstrasser "Life and Still Life", 54-58.

dietary protocol. Since a lemon is not present in 252 of the paintings in which wine is present, it would seem that a strictly material culture explanation is not satisfactory to explain the lemon's presence in so many Haarlem paintings.

The lemon, in fact, presented a number of challenges for Dutch artists. With few exceptions they painted lemons as partially peeled, their rind artfully carved in one continuous strip hanging in a spiral from the edge of the table. The thick, nubby rind of the fruit gives way to the white inner casing of the rind, which is attached to its translucent and glistening pulp. Within this one object were many representational challenges that still-life painters accepted, proudly proclaiming their triumph as a sort of guarantee of visual fidelity and artistic quality. The lemon became a stock motif that both artists and the audience for their works expected.

Essential Foodstuffs

The daily Dutch table consisted of several stock items, such as bread, cheese, butter, nuts and beer. All of these appear in Haarlem still-life painting, though some with greater frequency than others. For instance butter and cheese are most prevalent early in the evolution of the Haarlem still life in the paintings of Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis and Floris van Schooten, whereas bread, nuts and beer were common in works throughout the period under study.

Cheese & Butter

Great stacks of cheese are one of the hallmarks of the early laid table of Haarlem still life (fig. 11). Indeed it is difficult to imagine a painting from the early 1610s by Floris van Dijck or Nicolaes Gillis without a stack of two or three cheeses, representing the different regional varieties, such as a mild Gouda or Edam or perhaps a *cumijn*.[63] These artists often included, as well, a shallow bowl heaping with flakes of butter, sometimes balanced on the stack of cheeses itself. Strikingly, both items virtually disappeared from the tables of later generations of still-life painters, even though in the 1630s and 1640s everyone in Haarlem still buttered their bread and sliced a hunk of cheese. Although Pieter Claesz did employ cheese and a dish of butter in some of his paintings, usually in baskets (fig. 106),[64] he did not do so to the degree found in the works of these earlier artists.

Of the seventy-three instances where cheese was used, over a third (twenty-five) were painted by Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis and artists working in their circle in the mid-1610s to mid-1620s. In addition Floris van Schooten painted cheese in over half (thirty-five) of his sixty-three paintings and Roelof Koets, whose earliest works are very much in the early Haarlem tabletop mode (fig. 70), used cheese in half of his paintings (five). In comparison Pieter Claesz employed cheese in only seven of his paintings, or 3.3%. Willem Claesz. Heda, so far as is known, never utilized this basic staple of the Dutch diet in his paintings. The usage of cheese in paintings is

[63] A cumijn cheese is one peppered with cumin seeds.

[64] (PC 20) panel, 51 x 90 cm. Formerly with Gebrand Douwes, Amsterdam, 1936.

striking when plotted out over time, as a significant drop – to virtually nothing – is measurable by 1640 (see Appendix A – Graphs of Major Motifs).

The story is much the same with butter. Of the sixty-two times artists painted a dish of butter in a Haarlem still life, cheese was present in fifty-two instances (83.8%). What is a bit surprising is that Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis between them painted butter in only three of their paintings, all being by Van Dijck. Other artists working around these two early innovators made more frequent use of butter, as did Floris van Schooten, who included butter in thirty-eight of his paintings (60.3%). Pieter Claesz, as with cheese, employed butter in seven paintings, all but one of them containing a basket of cheeses.

Bread

Bread was a daily element in the Dutch diet, appearing at every meal of the day. [65] Types of bread varied greatly. The bakers painted by Job Berckheyde and Jan Steen sound horns announcing a multitude of breads of all shapes and sizes fresh from their oven and available to consumers of means (figs. 107, 108). The finely milled wheat necessary to make these breads was more expensive than rye, which was the chief ingredient in *roggenbrood*, a heavy, dark bread commonly eaten by the lower echelons of Dutch society.[66] Indeed both Stephanus Blankaarts and Johann van Beverwijck opined in their dietary manuals that the finest bread, both for health and

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[65] J.R. ter Molen, *Brood: De geschiedenis van het brood en het broodgebruik in Nederland*, exh. cat. (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1983), 61.

[66] Ibid., p. 61.

for taste, was whole wheat bread (*tarwebrood*). They both regarded *roggenbrood* as difficult to digest, although an excellent addition to the diet of the laborer, whose hard work could help break down the whole seeds in the bread.[67] They both regarded white bread, which appears with great regularity in Dutch still-life painting, especially in Haarlem still life, as without nutritional value, an extravagance of taste that did nothing for the body.[68] In fact Van Beverwijck relates the tale, undoubtedly false, of an entire family of a Frisian baker that became deaf from eating white bread every day.[69]

Bread was of such fundamental importance to the daily meal in the Netherlands that, over time, customs, superstitions and beliefs arose about its role and importance in daily life. In the catalogue of the exhibition *Brood*, a history of the uses of bread in Dutch society from the Middle Ages to modernity, several of these customs are listed. Typically uneaten bread was not thrown out but was burned, perhaps because of its religious overtones.[70] People would not cut slices from the side of a loaf of rye bread where the baker had affixed his stamp, out of fear that to do so would actually behead the baker – sort of dietary "step on a crack, break your mother's back."[71] In the eighteenth century white bread was believed to be an aid and

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[67] Ter Molen, 62; Blankaarts, 11-12.

[68] Ter Molen, 62; Blankaarts, 9-10. In comparing whole wheat bread to the expensive white bread, Blankaarts stated that white bread caused constipation.

[69] Ter Molen, 62 n.13.

[70] Ibid., 62-63.

[71] Ibid., 62.

means to beauty.[72] Finally, it was customary for people to make signs of the cross on the underside of bread before cutting it.[73]

Bread, of course, was also associated with the body of Christ. As Christ likened himself to bread at his last supper with his disciples, so bread came to symbolize his redemptive grace and, with wine, was the element of holy communion among protestants and Eucharist among Catholics. Bread, along with fish, figured in the story of the miraculous feeding of the thousands that Christ performed from the simple offerings of a young boy. Finally God sustained his people in the wilderness with the daily gift of manna, a light, bread-like substance. Because of its biblical associations and its central role in the Dutch diet, bread also came to symbolize the essence of charity (fig. 109) and domestic well-being (fig. 110).

Unlike cheese and butter, bread played on important role in the Haarlem still life. Of the 630 paintings in this survey, 402 (63.9%) contain some type of bread. The most common type of bread was a white roll (*broodje*) (fig. 1), which can be found in 374 paintings (93% of all paintings containing bread; 59.5% of total paintings). A hard biscuit (*beschuit*) can be found in fifty-seven instances (fig. 111)[74] (9% of all paintings), and dark bread (*roggenbrood*), usually sliced from a loaf positioned in the

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[72] Ibid., 63.

[73] Ibid. People also apparently believed that bread tipped on its side, exposing its bottom, presaged a fight and so would quickly right it to maintain peace.

[74] (FvS 26) oil on panel, 36 x 59 cm; formerly with dealer J. Denys, Amsterdam (1945).

shadows along the back edge of the table of early Haarlem still lifes (fig. 29), occurs in thirty-nine paintings (6.2% of all paintings).[75]

While the high incidence of bread in Haarlem still life is not surprising given its prevalence in daily diet, the extent that a white roll was portrayed probably indicates that the audience for these paintings enjoyed a higher standard of living (but one that Van Beverwijck thought was less healthy!), than that of the average Dutchman in the seventeenth century.

Most every Haarlem artist depicted a roll in an overwhelming majority of his paintings. The early Haarlem artists were remarkably consistent in their use of the roll, including it in virtually every painting.[76] Of the sixty-three paintings in this study, Floris van Schooten included a roll in fifty works (79.3%). Pieter Claesz and works by those in his circle made extensive use of the roll, including it in 200 of the 254 paintings total (78.7%). Even Gerrit Willemsz. Heda relied on the roll as an essential component of his tables, utilizing it in 80% of his works under study (twenty-four of thirty). Only his father, Willem Claesz. Heda seems to have avoided the roll more than he made use of it. Of the 222 works by him or his followers, a roll is used only seventy times (31.5%). Part of the explanation may lie in this artist's preference for depicting mince pies, whose crust may have satisfied for the artist a need to include a breadstuff. Of the sixty-four paintings in which Heda or an artist in his immediate

[75] Both biscuits and dark bread most often occur in conjunction with a roll. Only seventeen of the former and eleven of the latter in this study have no roll in the painting. One painting contains both without a roll.

[76] Only Floris van Dijck did not include a roll in three of his paintings.

circle used a mince pie in the composition, a roll is present in only six instances. In contrast Heda used a roll in twenty-nine of the thrity-eight instances in which he or his followers depicted a ham; eight of the eleven tables featuring a crab. However he only used a roll in twenty-two of the eighty-one paintings in which oysters are present, so it could be that in the case of the mince pie he was not simply substituting one breadstuff for another.[77] By way of comparison Pieter Claesz's use of a roll in conjunction with these four dishes is as follows: mince pie (thirty-one of thirty-three); ham (forty of forty-one); crab (thirty-nine of thirty-nine); and oysters (thirty-nine of forty-four). For reasons that probably had as much to do with matters of aesthetic judgment as anything else, Willem Claesz. Heda did not rely on the simple bread roll to the same extent his fellow artists in Haarlem did.

Nuts

Nuts, like bread, butter and cheese, appear to have been readily available at the Dutch table. Different varieties of nuts would have been available to the Dutch populace locally. Pine nuts, walnuts, even acorns would have been considered tasty treats. Certainly Haarlem still lifes reflect the pervasiveness that nuts played in the Dutch diet; there are nuts or nutshells in seemingly every painting.

[77] In the case of oysters, thrity-three of the paintings are described as a type under the heading of either "Roemers" or "Fancy Drinking Vessels". These types will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, but there preponderance in the total number of paintings with oysters in Heda's and his circle's oeuvre should be noted.

Beer

Beer was consumed much more widely in seventeenth-century Holland than it is today in the Netherlands. Beer for the seventeenth-century Dutch was much healthier than drinking water, which was often fouled.[78] In contrast, beer, due to the processes by which it was brewed, was much purer than water and thus safer to drink. Of course it must be pointed out that the beer of this time was not nearly as strong in alcohol as it is today, so a moderate level of consumption at a meal would did not present the dangers it might today.[79]

Reflecting contemporary usage, beer appeared somewhat regularly in Haarlem still life from this period, most often in a small glass situated at the back edge or corner of a table (figs. 50, 58). It is often almost easily overlooked because of the presence of other, fancier drinking vessels. Of the 630 works, 205, or roughly a third, contain beer in either one of these small glasses, or a waffle glass (fig. 74), or a *pasglass* (fig. 57), a tall vessel containing marks measuring one good gulp of beer per pair of marks and which, as the name implies, was passed around a table.

Although beer was consumed much more widely than wine in the seventeenth century, it appeared in surprisingly far fewer still-life paintings. Wine is present in 534 of the 630 paintings analyzed here (84.9%). While wine would have not been regularly affordable to a broad spectrum of Dutch society, it was a drink preferred by the well-

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[78] For information on beer in the Netherlands, see Kistemaker and van Vilsteren. Haarlem was especially famed for its breweries in the seventeenth century. Indeed, Stephanus Blankaarts cited beer brewed in this city and in Rotterdam as "not bad" in his chapter concerning this drink. See Blankaarts, 82-83.

[79] Blankaarts, 83, cautions against drinking more than the occasional strong beer.

to-do Dutch.[80] These households would have kept casks of French and Mediterranean wines, providing a refined taste for their meals. The high incidence of wine in Haarlem still life is but one more example, along with the variety of dishes and large numbers of white rolls, that the audience for these paintings was not the broad masses but the upper class.

Significant compositional motifs

Apart from the various main dishes and stock items of the Dutch table that have been discussed above, a number of table items in Haarlem still life regularly appeared, especially drinking vessels for wine.

Roemer[81]

The *roemer* (or *rummer*) was a drinking glass widely used in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Though a bit fancier than the common beer glass, this bowl-shaped glass with a stem of prunts was nonetheless readily available and widespread in seventeenth-century Holland. This glass, which was commonly

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[80] Peter Rose, in Barnes and Rose, 52, discusses the various types of wines, their characteristics, and the uses to which they were put by those who could afford them. For drinking the wealthy preferred sweeter wines from the Mediterranean (including France), while Rhenish wines (from the Mosel and Rhine regions) were more often used for cooking. Stephanus Blankaarts (Blankaarts, 78-81) makes these recommendations in a chapter praising wine as a noble drink, much as Johann van Beverwijck did in his treatise (Van Beverwijck, 233 – cited in Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 547-548). However, Blankaarts also prescribed certain limits to the amount of wine one should consume: no more than one-half pint, or at most one pint, per day. See Blankaarts, 179.

[81] The terms used to describe the various drinking vessels that follow, with the exception of the *berckemeier*, which usage has been contested, are derived from Vroom, vol. 1, 10-11, who included a pictorial glossary of at the beginning of his study.

used for drinking wine, was present in just under half of all paintings in this study (311 of 630). In almost every instance the roemer was shown upright, filled with clear wine. In only fourteen paintings was the roemer shown overturned, and in only one work is this vessel actually broken.

Berckemeier[82]

In contrast, the *berckemeier*, a smaller version of the *roemer*, but with a conical body instead of a bowl-shaped one, appears turned over far more regularly. Of the 189 times artists included the *berckemeier* in their compositions, it is overturned on its side (fig. 52), capping the spout of a pitcher (fig. 112),[83] or inverted (fig. 86) nearly half of the time. Of these ninety-one instances, twenty-four of them depict the *berckemeier* broken (26.4%).

Tazza

The tazza is an object and form that appears to have intrigued Haarlem painters, particularly Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda. The tazza, a wide, shallow bowl attached to a thin, ornate stem and shallow foot, is a drinking vessel worked from silver and sometimes gilt. Tazzas were not numerous in Dutch homes

[82] My use of this term follows from a discussion with Sam Segal on the topic during one of several visits to him for research in the academic year 2000-2001. I am extremely grateful to him for his considerable generosity in advancing my understanding of these still lifes.

[83] (PC 159) canvas, 48.5 x 66.8 cm, dated 1645. Location unknown.

and would have been considered luxury items, manufactured as they were by gold and silversmiths. They were celebratory vessels, used only on special occasions.[84]

From the care with which they painted it, Haarlem artists evidently relished the challenge of depicting the tazza in its many forms and types – be it a five-point star pattern , rayonnet pattern, seven-lobed tazza, roughed dish, or smooth dish (figs. 91, 53, 59, 113, 114).[85] Tazzas appear in 115 paintings, or 18.3% of all works in the survey group. With few exceptions the artists represented the tazza overturned, most often falling away from the front of the table so that the interior of the foot was visible and the focus on the textured exterior of the bowl.

Both Claesz and Heda depicted the tazza in numerous combinations with other drinking vessels. By far the most popular combination was with a standing roemer. In all Claesz and Heda painted this combination fifty-seven times. Apart from roemers these artists depicted the tazza in combination with other drinking vessels, such as gilt

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[84] On *tazzas* see A.L. den Blauwen, ed., *Nederlands zilver = Dutch silver: 1580-1830*, exh. cat., Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (The Hague, 1979), 372.

[85] (PC 21) panel, 36.5 x 77 cm. Formerly Heinz collection, with Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam in 1995; (WCH 5) panel, 45 x 60.5 cm, dated 1630. Private collection (Vroom 1980, #328); (WCH 77) panel, 76 x 109 cm, dated 1643. Formerly Heinz collection, Washington; With Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1995 (Vroom 1980, #370); (PC 86) panel, 73.5 x 99 cm, dated 1640; private collection (Sale, Amsterdam [Mensing & Fils], 12 April 1932, p. 265); (GH19*) panel, 97 x 80.5 cm; Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

goblets, nautilus cups, bekerschroefs, and pewter pitchers.[86] In only a handful of paintings were a tazza and an overturned drinking vessel paired (fig. 1).[87]

Hansje-in-de-kelder

The *hansje-in-de-kelder* (hans in the basement) is related to the tazza in general form and in its function as a celebratory drinking vessel. This drinking cup, fashioned in silver, consisted of a shallow bowl on a stem. However the stem was hollow, containing a small boy fashioned in metal that bobbed up when the glass was filled with wine. By tradition this drinking vessel was passed around to celebrate the birth of a child.[88]

Of the forty-nine paintings in which this vessel appears, Willem Claesz. Heda or someone in his circle appears to have been responsible for thirty-six of them (fig. 115).[89] As with the tazza, the *hansje-in-de-kelder* is most often depicted turned over.

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[86] sixteen instances* (2.94% of total) (fifteen from foot to dish [five from right to left; ten from left to right – five-point star pattern – four* (WCH 40, 97a; GH 14, 28); rayonnet pattern – four (WCH 25, 26, 38a; PC 159); smooth dish – two (WCH Pushkin 1949, 101); roughed dish – three (WCH 116; Jan Jansz Den Uyl; PC 146/147); seven-lobed tazza – two (PC 215, 234); (*includes NGA ptg., which can be argued to center on pewter pitcher]/1 seen from dish to foot or side to side [from left to right – five-point star pattern – 1 (WCH 73)

[87] six instances (four from right to left; one from left to right; one from front to back) – five-point star pattern – two (WCH 40; PC 33); rayonnet pattern – three (GH 3; PC 69, 74); seven-lobed tazza – one (PC 88)

[88] On the *hansje-in-de-kelder* see *Nederlands zilver*, 371.

Nautilus Cup

A nautilus cup was an object of great rarity. Fashioned from a shell found only halfway around the world and fitted into a setting by a goldsmith, a nautilus cup represented an exclusivity that few other objects could match. Although it would be difficult to imagine a brisk market in such luxury items, the nautilus cup figures in the compositions of some of the most beautiful Haarlem still-life paintings (figs. 87, 58, 116).[90] However, it is found almost exclusively in paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda. Of the fifty-seven works in the survey group, only four paintings – three by Pieter Claesz, and one by Floris van Dijck – are not by the elder Heda or someone working within his circle. Heda presented the nautilus cup in one of two ways – as an overturned object featured in an ensemble much like the overturned tazza (fig. 117)[91]; and as the principle object in a still life (fig. 118).[92] Heda painted the first group of works in the early 1640s, while the "portraits" of the nautilus cup were painted in the early 1660s.

Beker

Apart from the *roemer* and the *berckemeier*, a tin or pewter beaker, or *beker*, would have been fairly common in the Dutch household. *Bekers* are listed fairly frequently in inventories of household goods, from which one can assess their relative

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[89] (WCH 12) oil on panel, 48 x 55 cm, dated 1631; Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

[90] (PC 51) panel, 38 x 53 cm, dated 1633. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel.

[91] (WCH 59) panel, 57.5 x 76 cm, dated 1640; private collection, Cologne.

[92] (WCH 122) panel, 50.5 x 37.5 cm. Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp.

popularity. In the literature on Dutch still life these beakers are sometimes referred to as *avondmaalsbekers* (communion beakers), and while this shape was the same used for the liturgical vessels in the Reformed Church, it is not one exclusive to the sacred rite of the Protestant Church.[93]

Though this drinking vessel enjoyed widespread use in Dutch society, its presence in Haarlem still life was somewhat restrained. The beker appears in ninety-two paintings (14.6% of the total), which is less than the far more luxurious and exclusive tazza. Its simple shape and the rich color of the pewter from which it was fashioned obviously appealed to Haarlem artists. Willem Claesz. Heda, Pieter Claesz and Floris van Schooten all used the beaker in their paintings. Typically they depicted the beaker in one of three ways: overturned in conjunction with a standing drinking vessel (principally a roemer); standing as part of group of drinking vessels; and standing alone, often paired with a roll (figs. 119, 87, 120).[94] Approximately half of the instances (forty-seven) involve overturned beakers while standing beakers comprise just under half of the total (forty-five).

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[93] On *avondmaalsbekers*, see Harry R. Tupan, *Neemt, drinckt alle daer uyt: zilveren avondmaalsbekers in Drethe uit Nederlands-hervormd bezit 1600-1900,* exh. cat. (Drents Museum, Zwolle, 1997). The principle difference the liturgical vessels in this catalogue and those featured in Haarlem tabletop still lifes is the engraving on the body of the vessel customary in the liturgical bekers.

[94] (PC 57) panel, 59.5 x 74 cm, dated 1635. Formerly with D. Katz, Dieren, before 1940; (WCH 26) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1633. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem; (FvS 7) panel, 52 x 81 cm. Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig.

Bekerschroef

The *bekerschroef* (beaker claw) was really an elaborate base on which one could affix the foot of a *roemer* or a *berckemeier*, creating an impressive drinking vessel that sometimes soared over the other items on the tabletop (figs. 11, 6).[95] However, of the *bekerschroefs* Haarlem artists painted (sixty or 9.5% of the total), most are overturned (fig. 102).[96]

Fluits and facon-de-venise glasses

Haarlem artists, especially Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz, poured enormous effort in reproducing with dazzling fidelity the textures and sheen of various metals in the drinking vessels they painted. However, these artists were just as attuned to the subtleties of objects fashioned in glass, particularly in replicating the effects of light refracting through a glass vessel. Perhaps because of this interest they painted not only green-glassed *roemers* and *berckemeiers* but, as well, clear crystal glass vessels such as *fluits* – long, elegant drinking vessels – and wine glasses and vinegar decanters. These intricately decorated glasses, hand blown in the Netherlands or Germany, were styled *facon-de-venise* (in the fashion of Venice), after the famed center for this particular type of glass blowing.[97]

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[95] (WCH 43) panel, 49.4 x 64.2 cm, dated 1637. Private collection, United States.

[96] (FvS 24) panel, 39.5 x 78.5 cm. Ole Olsen collection, Klampenborg, c.1963.

[97] Although locally manufactured examples of these forms date from as early as the late sixteenth century. On *facon-de-venise* glassware, see Ada Polak, "Glass in Dutch Painting," *Connoisseur* CXCIII/776 (October 1976): 116-125. Also useful is Harold Newman, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Glass* (London, 1977).

Both fluits and *facon-de-venise* wine glasses, often filled with red wine, appear in the earliest Haarlem still-life paintings by Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis (figs. 24,11).[98] Indeed both types of drinking vessels frequently appear in paintings by Haarlem still-life artists, especially in works by Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz. However, despite the substantial number of paintings in which either type of vessel appeared, they were usually not central to the compositional scheme.

Pronck Goblets

The large gilt goblets that appear in a number of Haarlem still lifes are often referred to in the literature as *pronck goblets*, and for lack of a better term, this designation is used here. The phrase was invented in the era of modern scholarship and does not reflect seventeenth-century nomenclature. However, the term captures the effect these magnificent objects have on viewers, which is their capacity to induce wonder and awe. Pronck comes from the Dutch verb *proncken*, which means to show off, and it is quite clear that these objects are consciously chosen to reinforce an overriding sense of luxury that pervades many of these paintings.[99] After all, such a goblet would not have been kept in the home for use. Rather it was usually commissioned as a ceremonial goblet to be used by guilds and other organizations during feasts and other special occasions, as is clear in the painting by Bartholomeus

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[98] Peter Rose, in an entry for the Albany exhibition, made the interesting observation that in some cases this red liquid was not wine but perhaps raspberry liquer, for which a recipe is listed in the *Het verstandige kock*. See Barnes and Rose, 38.

[99] See Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 15-17, for a discussion of this term and its application to still-life paintings.

van der Helst of a civic guard feast celebrating the Peace of Munster, in which the captain holds up the organization's ceremonial cup fashioned from a horn (fig. 121).[100]

Watch

The opened timepiece that appears in a few Haarlem still-life paintings is a cogent, tangible reminder of time. It was also a relatively recent innovation.[101] Its presence alerted the viewer to deeper issues than the mere representation of a meal or an assortment of objects. Of course in a vanitas painting an opened watch was invested with unambiguous meaning – time is fleeting, death seizes everyone and renders accomplishments in this world meaningless (fig. 122).[102] Of the seventy-two paintings in which a watch appeared, sixteen are vanitas paintings by or after Pieter Claesz. This figure represents three-quarters of all the vanitas paintings he painted, so clearly the watch was an integral part of vanitas still lifes in Haarlem painting.

The larger question surrounding the inclusion of a watch in still-life painting concerns its use outside of the vanitas structure. Did it carry the same meaning, the

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[100] Perhaps the most famous goblet was that made for the St. Martin's or Brewer's Guild in Haarlem in 1604/1605 now in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. Ernst J. van Vianen and Jacob P. van Alckemade fashioned the body of the cup, including four medallions after designs be Hendrick Goltzius. Hendrick de Keyser designed the figural group of St. Martin dividing his cloak for the poor man that adorns the cover. Pieter Claesz painted a "portrait" of this cup in 1641 (PC 90), which, with the goblet, is discussed by Ingvar Bergström, "'Portraits' of Gilt Cups by Pieter Claesz," *Tableau* 5, no.6 (1983), 440-445.

[101] These early watches were typically designed to run twelve or sixteen hours between windings. The method of winding the watch involved opening the crystal cover, which may explain why this type of watch repeatedly appears with cover open in Dutch still-life painting. For more about the history of these watches, specifically the evolution of the winding mechanism, see: Frederick James Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers* (London, 1922), 602, 614.

[102] (PC 39) panel, 39.5 x 56 cm, dated 1630. Mauritshuis, The Hague.

same weight in compositions here identified as a *meal with one main dish* (see below) (figs. 49, 123)?[103] Both Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda used the watch in these paintings, forty in all, but as a percentage of the works in this group, the rate of use is far lower (12 %).[104] The rate of use is the same (11.9%) in paintings focusing on a roemer of wine (fig. 54). In the case of these meal types the question remains whether or not the presence of a watch signified transience as it does in a vanitas painting, in which a skull renders moot all such discussion.

The watch was not considered an integral, or essential, component in Haarlem still-life painting outside of the few vanitas paintings. Nevertheless, given their obvious referent to time, it does seem that Claesz and Heda included watches in these paintings not as an afterthought or as a decorative element but as a touchstone for contemplation. The prominent place given these watches also suggests they probably have a crucial role in the meaning of these paintings. This issue will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Candle /Oil lamp

Like the watch, the presence of an extinguished candle or oil lamp raises the issue of time and transience. A candle or oil lamp in a vanitas painting carried

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[103] (PC 92) panel, 73 x 99 cm, dated 1641. Private collection, Scotland; (WCH 75) panel, 65 x 74.5 cm, dated 1642. Museum d'Art et d'Industrie, St. Etienne, #639. For a discussion of this thematic type, see the following chapter.

[104] In *meal w/one main dish* types, along front edge of table or on pewter plate projecting over edge, w/ ribbon and/or key hanging over edge – twenty *(indicates works in which watch near front edge of table, but ribbon does not hang over edge) (WCH 2, 10, 12, 45, 57, 75, 113; CM 9; PC 37, 38, 84, 91, 92*, 94*, 115, 119*, 126, 168, 202, 209*)

unambiguous meaning. Pieter Claesz, who included these objects in sixteen of his vanitas works, apparently delighted in painting the wisps of smoke trailing from the just extinguished candle or, more often, an oil lamp (figs. 122, 124).[105] This salient detail sharpened the point.

As with the presence of an opened watch in a painting of a meal, an extinguished candle raises the question as to whether or not the theme of transience is relevant to such a scene. The candle, for example, could simply be functional – a source of light by which to eat or read (fig. 125).[106] However, in the few paintings in which this motif appeared, twelve, the candle is snuffed out and the setting is fully lit. These circumstances suggest that the extinguished candle was intended to convey meaning.

Overturned Glassware

An anonymous vanitas painting in a private collection is inscribed with a quatrain that neatly encapsulates the functions of vanitas painting in the Northern Netherlands (fig. 126). It reads, "The glass is empty, the time is up, the candle is out, man is dumb."[107] The empty, overturned glass is an object whose meaning seems more of a function of its compositional circumstances than the extinguished candles

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[105] (PC 33) panel, 49 x 82 cm, dated 1629. Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby Mak van Waay), 1st June 1987, #71.

[106] (PC 27) panel, 26.1 x 37.3 cm, dated 1627; Mauritshuis, The Hague.

[107] (PC 39a) panel, 32.5 x 41 cm. Private collection. "De glas is leegh, De tyd is om; De keers is uyt. Den mensch is stom." Discussed in Bergström, "Portrait of Gilt Cups", 444.

and watches discussed above. Unlike the watch and candle/oil lamp, which were used quite sparingly other than for vanitas images, overturned roemers, berckemeiers, and even *façon-de-venise* wine glasses abound in non-vanitas paintings. Apart from its use in twelve vanitas paintings, an overturned glass, or several, can be found in 19.5% of all Haarlem still life. Indeed, it is very difficult to be certain when, or even if, an overturned roemer or berckemeier had the same pointed meaning in a painting of a meal as when it appears in a vanitas painting (figs. 1, 127).[108]

Drinking, of course, was integral to the process of dining. Perhaps the overturned glass simply was an artist's means of imparting to his painted meals a dynamic quality. However, even if unwittingly, an overturned glass does signify a transition from one state to another. No deeper meaning may be implied than the quenching of thirst, but it is undeniable that an overturned roemer no longer holds the promise of something – wine – but is rather a reminder of the experience of drinking that wine. In this manner the sense of past time is invoked. The degree to which the artist conveys this particular implication to an overturned drinking glass depends largely on its surrounding context.

Summary

From the food and objects Haarlem artists, such as Floris van Dijck, Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda, included in the vast majority of their still lifes, it seems clear that they addressed their works to those who could afford a high standard

[108] (PC 29) panel, 24 x 36 cm, dated 1628. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

of living or who aspired to an opulent level of existence. The dishes and foods they primarily depicted – mince pies, whole hams, white rolls and lemons, along with extravagant and sometimes rare drinking vessels such as nautilus cups, tazzas and *facon-de-venise* glasses – were not standard fare for most of the Dutch, who generally consumed dishes such as meat stews, cooked vegetables, and pancakes at their meals.

Haarlem still lifes did not, strictly speaking, reflect reality but instead were images carefully crafted to project a potential, and appealing, reality to a discriminating clientele. Their paintings were more about generating ideas of comfort than reflecting factual comfort, of celebrating the material abundance surrounding the Dutch in those flush times. However, these works were not merely luxury items. Many of them also conveyed deeper meaning concerning the moral and spiritual existence of man. These messages were often keyed by a symbolically-laden motif, such as an extinguished candle or watch, but just as often they relied on thematic context and compositional structure to convey metaphor. After considering thematic and formal issues in the next two chapters, Chapter Five will examine the question of meaning in Haarlem still-life painting.

CHAPTER THREE

THEMATIC TYPES IN HAARLEM STILL-LIFE PAINTING, 1610-1660

The greatest challenge in a study of such a large number of works as are considered in this dissertation is defining parameters by which the material will be organized, analyzed, and discussed. A straightforward description of the contents of still life, as was outlined in Chapter Two, is of great use in determining the groupings of elements artists included in their works. A discussion of the compositional types Haarlem artists favored, which is found in Chapter Four, is another means for better understanding these works. This analysis of form can be based on arbitrary standards – such as pyramidal compositions that are symmetrically centered or tabletops organized along a wedge shape scheme – as long as these standards are applied consistently across the scope of the material.

Thematic classifications, however, are more difficult to establish because of the challenge in constructing categories that reflect and honor those developed by the Dutch to describe their paintings.[1] Combinations of elements on the tabletop can be sorted into distinctive types, such as paintings that focus primarily on fruit, or on wine, fish, pies, or ham. Some of these divisions reflect the classifications used by the Dutch, such as fruit (*fruytagie*) or drink (*roemer*). However, as was discussed in Chapter One, the terminology used by the Dutch is often ambiguous to modern understanding, especially in the case of the term *bancketje*. Also, with the lack of

[1] See Chapter One for a fuller discussion of Dutch terms for these still lifes.

direct connections between paintings listed in seventeenth-century inventories and those known today one cannot easily gauge the consistency with which terms were applied. Thus one must assume a certain degree of consistency in the usage of seventeenth-century terminology for a modern classification scheme based on it to work.

With this caveat in mind, I have created a number of categories that, in large part, reflect seventeenth-century usage. Still lifes predominantly featuring bowls of fruit have been placed in the category *fruytagie*. The term *tabackje* was used for paintings that feature tobacco paraphernalia. In a few instances notaries recorded paintings by Claesz or other artists as simply "*Een roemer*."[2] Here the term *Roemer* designates paintings that focus upon a roemer or other single drinking vessel.[3] Paintings containing skulls and other items normally associated with vanitas imagery have been grouped together under the rubric of *Vanitas*.[4] Finally the term *ontbijtje* is used to categorize paintings circumscribed in the size and scope of the offerings of

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[2] In the inventory (April 16, 1650) of the belongings of Nicolaes Duijst van Voorhout a painting by Claesz is described as "Een groote roemer van Pieter Claesz." See Pieter Biesboer, *Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572-1745, Netherlandish Inventories I*, Documents for the History of Collecting: The Provenance Index of the Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles, 2001), 124.

[3] In paintings of this type an additional drinking vessel was often included overturned on the table. The compositional focus in these works, however, remained on the standing drinking glass, so it seemed appropriate to include these works under the rubric of *roemer*.

[4] These paintings might also be termed *doodshooft* (skull) in inventories. See Chong, "Contained Under the Name Still Life", 13, 32 n.16. However, in Biesboer, 229, only one work by Pieter Claesz, by far the most prolific practitioner of this painting type, is listed, in the inventory of Daniel Colterman and Elisabeth des Hayes (September 8, 1672) as "*een vanitas van Pieter Claesz*". The term vanitas also denotes what these paintings surely reflected of contemporary ideas of vanitas, recent argumentation to the contrary notwithstanding. For these counter-arguments see Chong, "Contained Under the Name Still Life", 13-15.

their table. However, because of the uncertainties associated with this term, many of the paintings included in this category are cross-listed with other categories.[5]

While thematic categories derived from terms found in Dutch inventories account for a significant portion of Haarlem tabletop still-life paintings, the majority of works have been placed in categories that are designated with modern, descriptive terms not derived from seventeenth-century Dutch inventories. The largest thematic group of such paintings is *Meal with One Main Dish*. A related, but smaller group, is *Meal with Several Main Dishes*. Both of these groups contain works that probably relate to those described in seventeenth-century inventories as a *bancket* or *bancketje*.[6] In the first group appear works similar to those owned by Hester Cluysaenes that were discussed in Chapter One. The second category contains works with super-abundant tables containing many delectable items.

The final category is an extension of the category *Roemers*, but one for which there is no seventeenth-century inventory designation (so far as is known). Like the works in *Roemers,* paintings in this thematic type are structured principally around one, or perhaps two, significant drinking vessels, with little evidence of a meal.

These eight thematic categories cover the 630 paintings spanning the years 1610 to 1660 in this study. In cases of thematic overlap works have been cross-indexed, so

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[5] In virtually every category there are some works that are cross-listed with other thematic types. *Ontbijtjes*, however, were cross-listed most often.

[6] The pictures in these groups, especially the larger group that comprises the *meal with one main dish*, were almost certainly those referenced by other terms found in Dutch inventories, such as *hammetje* (little ham). However, for the purposes of this study I have not further divided this group by specific dish. There would be good reason for doing so if one wanted to make a systematic study of the terminology used to describe still life in Dutch probate inventories. That is not, however, the goal of this study, though I may well take it up in the future.

the resulting raw numbers for all the individual categories add up to more than the total number of pictures in this study. Nonetheless the resulting statistical picture creates a fair impression of the thematic preferences of Haarlem still-life painters in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Fruytagie

Relatively few Haarlem still-life paintings focus on fruit in the period under study. Despite the sizable percentage of paintings that include fruit such as grapes or berries (around 20%), in only forty-nine works (7.8% of the overall total) was the thematic focus on fruit. Typically a painting of this theme included a few dishes of various types of fruit, from different berry species to plums, pears and apples. In addition these paintings invariably included both wine and bread. A roll or biscuit was present in all but four paintings, while some drinking vessel suitable for wine (or perhaps beer) – such as a *roemer*, beaker, *berckemeier*, tazza, or fluit – can be found in all but one painting. Finally cheese and butter complement fruit in twenty-one of the paintings in the group. Because of the presence of bread, butter and cheese in several of the paintings, and the fact that as a result one cannot be absolutely certain that these paintings would have been classified as *fruytagies*, I have cross-listed twenty-six of them as *ontbijtjes*, while another three are cross-listed as *meals w/one main dish*.

The earliest still life of this thematic type, indeed one of the earliest laid tables by a Haarlem painter, is the work by Floris van Dijck signed and dated 1610 in a

private collection in The Hague (fig. 16).[7] In this panel measuring 49.1 x 77.8 cm, Van Dijck depicts a table laid neatly with a red damask tablecloth, over which a fine, white damast linen with intricate floral pattern has been laid. Van Dijck emphasizes the high quality and cleanliness of these table covers through crisp fold lines that indicate the linen has only recently been unfolded and the table set. As he does in virtually all of his paintings, Van Dijck divided this table into two zones, a rear zone that appears to connote abundance and a foreground one that seems to indicate the discriminating palate of the diner. Bowls heaping with apples and pears and grapes and a platter stacked with cheeses occupy the zone of abundance in the rear of the table. In the front zone Van Dijck scaled down the offerings to something manageable in one sitting. A roll and a halved apple line the front edge of the table, while some nuts and acorns, quartered and whole oranges, and a berckemeier of wine are positioned across its middle.

The backdrop of cheeses and bowls of fruit provides the viewer with several choices for a meal. Some slices of cheese, from one or two varieties, a small cluster of grapes and perhaps another apple or pear are some of the possibilities with which the viewer can round out the basis of the meal set before him in the front half of the table. The overall impression the viewer gets when looking at the painting is one of possibilities. There is virtually no evidence that eating has yet begun. Only the empty quarter of an orange lying behind another uneaten one, an apple peel dangling from

[7] (FvD 1) oil on panel, 49.1 x 77.8 cm, 1610; private collection, The Hague.

the front edge of the pewter plate, and empty shells of an acorn and of a walnut reveal that a human has been present.

Van Dijck's early 1610 painting proved an important model within his own oeuvre. The artist painted five other works of this type.[8] All share the same basic features: abundant cheeses and bowls of fruit along the back, a selection of foods in the front, including a roll and either an apple or orange, nuts and wine, and little evidence of disturbance on the table. Some paintings, like the one sold in Stockholm in 1995, appear more suggestive of a human presence: an overturned berckemeier along the left edge of the painting and the apple peel beside the handle of the knife clearly invoke an unseen diner (fig. 128).[9] In others, including his 1613 panel now in the Frans Halsmuseum, Van Dijck has made subtle use of broken nut shells on the table to signify the hunger of an unseen diner (fig. 25).[10] Still, the over-riding impression in Van Dijck's paintings is one of a refined, but simple selection of food,

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[8] One of the works (FvD 3a) is probably a contemporary copy, likely by Van Dijck, of the panel signed and dated 1613 and in the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem. See below, note 10. It was most recently in the Heinz collection, Washington DC.

[9] (FvD 9) oil on panel, 50 x 77 cm, dated 161?; Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), November 29th, 1995, #224. I have not seen this painting in person, but I wonder about the authenticity of the overturned berckemeier. The foreshortening of the glass is awkward, perhaps too much so for an artist as refined and competent in drawing as Van Dijck. In addition, the overturned berckemeier is not a regular feature of Van Dijck's art. I know of no other work in which it may be found. Finally, its presence in the painting, save for possible hermeneutic purposes, is not necessary to the composition. On the contrary it upsets Van Dijck's normal balances across a laid table. Should the glass prove spurious Van Dijck's intention in this painting may be said to shift towards that of his 1610 work.

[10] (FvD 3) oil on panel, 50 x 77 cm, dated 1613; Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. Other paintings include the panel formerly in the Wetzlar collection (FvD 10) oil on panel, 45 x 84 cm, in which Van Dijck also employs cracked biscuit bread to convey consumption; a work formerly with the dealer Pieter de Boer and recently sold in London (Sotheby's 9 July 1998) (FvD 7) oil on panel, 43.5 x 72 cm, and a panel sold in 1929 from the collection of R. Chasles (FvD 8) oil on panel, 46 x 76 cm.

augmented by the presence of abundant fruit and cheeses, and virtually undisturbed by human presence.

The impact of Van Dijck's example on other painters of the early Haarlem still life was profound. Numerous examples of this type are to be found in the photographic archives of the RKD in The Hague, filed as "anonymous school of" or "in the manner of" Floris van Dijck or his contemporary Nicolaes Gillis. Visual characteristics may suggest one artist's style over the other, but most of these works share Van Dijck's interest in presenting a discrete combination of a roll, fruit and nuts arrayed before larger pictorial elements – generally cheeses, grapes, pears and apples – that suggest abundance. In one such work, an old copy after a painting by Nicolaes Gillis in the Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, a plate of pastries displaces the conventional halved apple or orange and roll at the center along the front edge of the table (fig. 129).[11] The artist has retained these traditional elements in his composition but has pushed them to the margins of the painting.[12] The painter also softened the emphasis on abundance, reducing the elements in the back to one overflowing basket of fruit, bracketed on either side by a roemer with a roll and a salt cellar.

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[11] (HA 1a) oil on panel, 49.5 x 64.5 cm; RBK, cat. 1985, #VI-23.

[12] This work has been assumed to be an old copy after a painting by Nicolaes Gillis based on the similarity of compositional motifs and their uses in this painting and one formerly in the collection of A.J. Blijdenstein in Enschede but recently sold in Amsterdam (Christie's 10 November 1997, #121) (HA 1) oil on panel, 62.3 x 94.6 cm; Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 10th, 1997, #121. However this latter painting, despite its superficial resemblance to two of Nicolaes Gillis's autograph works, that in the Russell Collection in Amsterdam and on long-term loan to the Museum of Fine Arts in Montreal (NG 2) and the National Galerie's fine example in Prague (NG 3), does not share with these works a similar compositional approach. However the painter of this work clearly was aware of developments in Haarlem, especially Nicolaes Gillis's two paintings.

More than any other artist in Haarlem, Floris van Schooten appreciated and made extensive use of the *fruytagie* theme. Works by him in this thematic mode are perhaps the purest example of the type. Of the sixty-four paintings by him in this study, just under a third (twenty-one) can be classified as a *fruytagie*. Further, his share of the total number of works of this type is slightly less than half (42.8 %). In one panel, intimate in character, a modest assortment of berries and gooseberries on two pewter plates and other fruit complement a beautifully chased tin beaker and bread roll on a pewter plate (fig. 130).[13] Conceptually the painting's focus is on the pairing of beaker and roll; the various berries and fruit complement this pair and an overturned spoon is diagonally positioned toward the bread and drink.[14] This painting is quite typical of Van Schooten's approach to this type. In six other works the artist essentially varies the placement of the same elements on the table, only occasionally substituting a roemer or tazza for the beaker or pears for smaller berries.[15] Only in one other painting of this type did Van Schooten adopt a different set of comestibles, not only replacing the shallow dishes of gleaming berries with a modest stack of cheeses and a dish of butter, but also substituting the ubiquitous round roll with flat biscuits (fig. 131).[16]

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[13] (FvS 49) panel, 39.5 x 55.5 cm. Sale, London (Christie's), 10th July 1992, #177.

[14] The lowered tabletop and integrated composition of the comestibles on the table point towards a later date in Van Schooten's oeuvre than the paintings discussed above. The style of the present painting is unthinkable without the influence of Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda's work in the 1630s.

[15] (FvS 50); (FvS 23); (FvS 22); (FvS 19); (FvS 20); (FvS 21).

[16] (FvS 41) panel, 39.3 x 57 cm. With Leonard Koetser, London, 1961. Because there is no fruit in this painting it has been classified solely as an *ontbijt*. See below.

A few paintings by Van Schooten exhibit stylistic and thematic traits characteristic of Van Dijck's paintings, as in one now in the Von der Heydt museum in Wuppertal, which includes stacks of cheeses, a bowl of fruit, and a dish of butter along the back of the table and rolls, a dish of berries and a sprig of gooseberries along the front edge (fig. 32).[17] Unlike Van Dijck, however, Van Schooten suggested an active human presence in this work. The planar smooth face of the white linen is interrupted by the fold of cloth pinched under the handle of the knife, which has evidently just been used to slice the roll, on one part of which berries have been placed to tempt both palate and eye. In this Van Dijckian interpretation of the theme Van Schooten shows a narrative interest that can be found in only one other painting: in a panel from a private collection in Denmark a bunched-up portion of the white table linen at the right edge of the picture suggests the recent presence of a patron (fig. 31).[18]

On another sizable panel, one measuring 50.8 x 83.2 cm, Van Schooten arranged a table of cheeses, fruit, berries and grapes that is striking in the variety of strong local color (fig. 97).[19] For example, Van Schooten surrounds the tin or silver beaker with a stack of cheeses, bowl of red berries, and a massive Ming bowl of grapes, apples and

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[17] (FvS 35) Oil on panel, 53.5 x 84 cm. Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal.

[18] (FvS 39) Oil on panel, 48.3 x 74.2 cm. Private collection, Denmark. Van Schooten's two other paintings of this theme iteration are (1) (FvS 28) a panel (54 x 90 cm) sold in Amsterdam (Maak van Way) 23/26 June 1953, #96, which exhibits formal characteristics consistent with Nicolaes Gillis's large laid table paintings, particularly in the frontal position of the cheese stack and the type and profile of bread roll on the pewter plate; and (2) (FvS 44) a panel (51.7 x 84 cm) sold in London (Christie's) on 9 December 1988, #77 with ill.

[19] (FvS 52) oil on panel, 50.8 x 83.2 cm. Sold in Stockholm (Bukowski) on 28-31 October 1980, #447; and in London (Christie's) on 8 July 1983, #61.

pears so that it is but one element of the table. Scattered about the tabletop are various berries, fruit, nuts, a dish of flakes of butter and a plate with two biscuits. The painting is a pleasing display of an abundant table without, however, having a central focus.

The knife handle that protrudes to the left of the plate subtly orchestrates the viewer's approach to the table. With the knife the viewer/diner can spread a flake of butter on the biscuit or perhaps cut a slice or two of cheese, and cut some of the readily available fruit. The outward-tuned knife was a visual convention used repeatedly in Van Schooten's oeuvre, and indeed, repeatedly in still-life painting. The placement of the knife handle towards the viewer, while a perfectly logical compositional solution, is nonetheless an effective means for drawing the viewer further into the work via the biscuits and beaker.

In other paintings from this group, Van Schooten separated bread from drink, giving the former the prominent role, such as in a panel formerly with the dealer M. Wolff in Amsterdam (fig. 132).[20] The knife handle, which projects strongly over the table's edge, and the pewter plate on which the roll sits set this bread off from the rest of the table. This painting approaches the conceptual spirit of Van Dijck's works, yet in form and arrangement it is more intimate than the older artist's paintings. The rumpled tablecloth around the roll, and the edge of the linen that has been folded over, lend the table an informal quality. Though no evidence exists that consumption has

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[20] (FvS 3) panel (52 x 82 cm). Others of this type are: (1) (FvS 25, 47) panel (44 x 91 cm). Sold in Rotterdam (Notarishuis) on 8th December 1943, #28 (under other attribution), c.1980 in private collection (stoneware pitcher and roemer are later additions); (2) (FvS 48) panel (52.5 x 83.5 cm). Private collection (in poor condition).

begun, these imperfections on the table suggest a human dimension to the meal, as though everyday life has intruded.[21]

The affinity between Floris van Schooten's art and that of the younger group of artists that would come to dominate Haarlem still-life painting is most clear in the art of Pieter Claesz, who may well have had a close working relationship with the older artist.[22] In his earliest known work, a panel dated 1621 and of the thematic type under discussion, Claesz painted a laid table that takes as its source of inspiration Van Schooten's paintings (fig. 34).[23] On a white linen tablecloth spread over dark green damask, Claesz painted a meal of various berries and a berckemeier of wine. The composition is diffuse, with no one object or dish on the table dominating the others. Rather, the eye moves about the painting, stimulated by the intense local color and exquisitely painted specimens of cherries, gooseberries, blackberries, and other berries or the light reflections in the wine or the textural qualities of the Siegburg jug. Similar effects occur in Van Schooten's work, particularly in some of the smaller berry pieces by him discussed above.[24]

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[21] The berry compote (berries on leaves) on the left edge of this table is strikingly similar to one used in an early painting by Pieter Claesz (fig. 34) (see below). Unfortunately Floris van Schooten rarely dated his works, and from the framework suggested by those with dates, it must be said that this work probably post-dates the Claesz, falling probably somewhere in the mid-to-late 1620s. Thus it is probably not possible to speak here of the older artist influencing the younger. Rather the reverse may be true. However, as will be discussed below, Claesz does seem to owe his greatest debt to Van Schooten, which seems to point towards a master-pupil relationship.

[22] See note 25 below.

[23] (PC 1) panel, 45.5 x 63.5 cm. Sold in London (Sotheby's), 5th July 1984, #258; most recently w/ David Koetser, Zurich, 1988-1991.

[24] For instance, the panel formerly in the Louvre and now on deposit in the Museum in Riom (FvS 42), the panel sold in London (Christie's) in 1988 (FvS 44), the work sold in the Rotterdam Notarishuis during Nazi occupation (FvS 25, 44), and the painting now in the Von der Heydt Museum in Wuppertal

In this painting Claesz shares Van Schooten's preference for a table on which only one edge of the white linen shows, implying a continuation of the table beyond the frame on only one side of the table. This approach stands in marked contrast to the paintings by Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis, in which a white linen is always painted in the center of the table. Van Schooten's innovation allowed him to pursue the next logical step, which was to paint the meal situated at one edge of the table. Claesz followed his lead and, with little variation, continued to compose his works in this manner for the rest of his career.[25]

Despite the numerous compositional similarities between this early painting by Pieter Claesz and works from Floris van Schooten's oeuvre, the pictures share little in terms of their conception. Van Schooten's works at this time are intimate and invite the viewer into a narrative arranged on the table. In his work, however, Claesz arranged his laid table with a great deal of formal care. In this sense it is like Floris van Dijck's paintings, which appeal more to the eye for their aesthetic arrangements than to the palate for their visceral appeal. Though the immediate impact of Van Schooten is obvious in the decentralized arrangement of the table, the influence of

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(FvS 35). In addition the Wuppertal painting includes a branch of gooseberries displayed prominently. Claesz also included a small twig of gooseberries in his composition. The younger artist also was undoubtedly aware of Van Schooten's extensive use of branches laden with berries in a 1617 painting in a private collection (fig. 28).

[25] One particularly fascinating, and tantalizing, connection between the two artists' works is Claesz use in this painting of a large grape?? leaf on the table as a setting for a compote of blackberries. As already noted above, Van Schooten included a similar motif, this a compote of blackberries on a cluster of three leaves on a pewter plate, in his work formerly with dealer Wolff in Amsterdam (before 1938) (see above - fig. 132). However, though Van Schooten's chronology is not tight owing to a paucity of dated works, the visual style of this painting places it around the time of Claesz's painting, and perhaps a little later, so neither a cause and effect relationship, nor its direction, is clear.

Van Dijck's art is also evident. Unfortunately no documentary evidence exists to connect Claesz with either artist.

Claesz's 1621 painting is an accomplished work and is doubtless not the first he painted, though no earlier works have yet come to light. Very few of Pieter Claesz's paintings share the formal concerns found in the 1621 paintings or its exclusive focus on fruit as the main focus of a meal. Indeed only one, undated, relates closely to it (fig. 133).[26] Many of the same berries and fruit are present in this work, along with apples and grapes, nuts and pomegranates. However, the extremely tight focus of this painting – no edge of the table is visible save the front edge – stands in marked contrast to the more spacious composition of the 1621 work.[27] The composition of the 1621 painting situates the viewer at some distance from the table, whereas in the small panel one cannot overcome a desire to apprehend, and taste, each of the items lying on the table.

This group of early fruit paintings is strikingly different from the remaining works Pieter Claesz painted of the present theme. Around 1621-22 Claesz painted three other works that focus heavily, if not exclusively, on fruit.[28] One of these, now in the Rheinisches Museum in Bonn, provides the strongest indication within Claesz's

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[26] (PC 3) panel, 10 3/8 x 13 6/8 in. Formerly in the collection of Lady Bridget Maitland, Harrington Hall, Lincolnshire; sold by her in London (Christie's) on 6th July 1990, #137 and with the Richard Green Gallery in 1991. Though this painting is undated, placing it in the minority in his oeuvre, which has been a real boon to art historians, it is clearly of the time of the 1621 painting, perhaps a little before, but in any event painted not much later.

[27] It is entirely possible that this panel has been cut down.

[28] (PC 2) panel, 51.4 x 82.3 cm. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn; (PC 5) panel, 44.8 x 59 cm (cut down). Sale, London (Sotheby's), 3 July 1997, #45; (PC 9) panel, 50 x 74 cm. Private collection.

oeuvre of an artistic kinship with Floris van Schooten (fig. 35). The format of the panel is low and broad as in Van Schooten's paintings, and Claesz uses this format to depict a table spread with a white table linen that drapes over one end along the left. A large platter of fruit occupies the center of the table, but it does not dominate the composition. Instead Claesz, like Van Schooten, spreads plates around the table. Interesting vignettes, such as the Wan-li bowl of raspberries that spill over onto the pewter plate along the table's front edge, provide the viewer with a pleasant survey of the painted surface. The tall fluit of wine at one end of the table and the Siegburg jug at the other are like bookends to the loosely structured, but still highly formal, table.

Despite the formality of the table setting, dining is imminent or has already taken place. The casual arrangement of cherries and raspberries on the pewter plate represent the selection of a discriminating diner/viewer. The roll at left has been sliced in preparation for the repast. Crumbs on the smooth pewter surface of the plate denote the process of consumption.

Tabackjes

This small thematic group of works by Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda, numbering twenty-four paintings, visually explores the realm of tobacco smoking, a habit that became popular in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.[29] The earliest

[29] For a good overview on the use of tobacco in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century and how this pastime was reflected in Dutch art, see Ivan Gaskell, "Tobacco, Social Deviance and Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. by Wayne Franits (Cambridge, 1997), 68-77. Naturally both Johann van Beverwijck and Stephanus Blankaarts weighed in with opinions on the use of tobacco. They encouraged use of this "noble herb," as much as was desired, because of its perceived healthful benefits, including its supposed prophylactic character against the plague. See Van Beverwijck, 150 (cited in Gaskell, 78n.4); Blankaarts, 88-89.

work, dated 1622 and one of Claesz's first paintings, assays many of the themes contained in this group of works (fig. 37).[30] Spread out on a portion of a table (the tight cropping of this panel has caused speculation that it has been cut down) are a paper sack of tobacco (on which the artist prominently inscribed his name and the date), a white clay pipe, its long stem artfully leaning against an inviting waffle glass of beer, a bundle of sticks used to light a pipe, a clay brazier from which to light the sticks, a tin of tobacco, a small pewter pitcher and shot-glass sized roemer, and a stack of cards and dice. The ensemble is an inviting arrangement of relaxing leisure activities that must have appealed to many men in the seventeenth century. Indeed, though they are mentioned only infrequently in probate inventories of paintings, *tabackjes*, or little tobaccos, appear to have enjoyed some popularity in Haarlem and Amsterdam in the seventeenth century.[31]

A later example, dated 1640, has many of the same elements as found in the 1622 work, but it also includes some shells (fig. 64).[32] Claesz also painted works that focused solely on the elements of the good smoke, as in a particularly beautiful work dated 1642 (fig. 134).[33] Though two partially burned sticks lie crossed on the left front

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[30] (PC 4) panel, 26.5 x 33.5 cm, dated 1622. With Richard Green, London, 1989.

[31] Clearly Claesz found a small but promising market for his paintings. The Getty Provenance Index Database returns thirteen entries, each from a different inventory, on the subject query "tobacco". The inventories range from 1638 to 1710 and were made of households in Dordrecht and Amsterdam. In every instance the artist's name is unknown. The relevant inventories, with item number in parentheses, are: N-2302 (0011); N-2131 (0015); N-2072 (0007); N-2269 (0004); N-1600 (0014); N-1476 (0047); N-37 (0005); N-43 (0014); N-41 (0019); N-1581 (0014); N-266 (0054); N-444 (0008); N-577 (0002)

[32] (PC 85) panel, 47 x 60 cm, dated 1640. John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis.

[33] (PC 105) panel, 59 x 47 cm, dated 1642. Sale, London (Christie's), 7th July 1989, #46.

corner of the table, the ensemble as a whole awaits an activating presence. The beer stands ready, tobacco spills on the table from the folded almanac paper, and the coals in the brazier glow brightly, inviting the viewer to take up a lighting stick and drink deep the pungent smoke.

Though Claesz exhibits a prodigiously creative range in the small number of paintings he executed of this thematic type, Willem Claesz. Heda also painted a couple of striking, and memorable, *tabackjes*. In one, now in the Carter collection, a tall, blunt-shaped pewter pitcher anchors a beautifully arranged, composition (fig. 135).[34] Heda hints at past activity in the overturned beaker and future enjoyment in the tobacco resting in the almanac paper. The clay pipe, bowl turned toward the viewer, leans diagonally on the fold of the table linen. Typical of Heda and his approach to any subject is the note of elegance and refinement struck by the fine *façon-de-venise* glass of red wine at the back right edge of the table.

Smoking and Eating do Mix

In addition to paintings of the requisites of a good smoke, sometimes mixed with gaming accessories, Pieter Claesz painted works early in his career in which he integrated smoking implements and a small meal, invariably comprised of herring and beer, or wine, but also including bread and sometimes oysters or plover's eggs. Like the paintings of smoking implements discussed above, these works feature an intimate

[34] (WCH 42) panel, 42 x 53.5 cm, dated 1637. Carter collection, Los Angeles. The other work, (WCH 23) panel, 51.2 x 75.5 cm, dated 1633. Private collection, Milan, substitutes a long, coiled burning wick for the brazier of coals used by Claesz.

setting usually arrayed on a bare table (figs. 92, 136).[35] Although no evidence of prior human presence is found in these paintings, in one work Claesz included a bunched-up white linen that visually reinforces the idea of a recent, active human presence through its disorderly, yet artful arrangement of folds.

Scholars have only sporadically noted the wit and humor of still-life artists.[36] Yet in a couple of his still lifes of this type, Pieter Claesz clearly plays with the double-entendré possibilities of one object – a stopper dangling against a stoneware beer jug. In a typical work from the Mauritshuis, Claesz positions the stopper of the stoneware beer jug rather pointedly so that it resembles a phallus (fig. 137).[37] Of course Claesz's intention here cannot be proved, but such lowbrow, coarse humor would be consistent with the artistic portrayal, especially in Haarlem, of peasants under the effects of the very elements Claesz depicts on this table (figs. 45, 138).[38] As evident in these

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[35] These works are also cross-listed as *ontbijts*. (PC 24) panel, 36.2 x 57.5 cm, dated 1627. Timken Art Gallery, San Diego, #9; (PC 25) panel, 50.2 x 74.6 cm, dated 1627. Sale, London (Christie's), 23rd April 1993, #182. Other works by Claesz, many of them also cross-listed as *ontbijts*, include: (PC 14); (PC 16); (PC 26); (PC 97); (PC 131); (PC 132); (PC 172); (PC 233). Floris van Schooten painted two works in this thematic idiom: (FvS 1); (FvS 45) This last work features instead of beer and herring a dairy diet. A stack of two cheeses and dish of butter flakes complements a large roll and pieces of a pretzel. An overturned beaker replaces the waffle beer glass commonly seen I this type. Finally a tall, slender candlestick with extinguished candle dominates the arrangement of the table, placed as it is along the front edge of the table near the center of the panel.

[36] Julie Berger Hochstrasser in particular addressed the possibility of wit in Haarlem still life. Writing about both the Washington and Rijksmuseum works Willem Claesz. Heda painted in 1635, Hochstrasser wondered if their compositional similarities were a result of the artist's creative play. " Is Heda being deliberately playful with us, or is it [this compositional reuse] a smug enough joke that only he could appreciate it?" (Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 467).

[37] (PC 132) panel, 45 x 65.5 cm, dated 1644. Mauritshuis, The Hague, #403. The other work is (PC 131) panel, 59 x 82 cm, dated 1644. Musée des Beaux Arts, Nantes, #56.

[38] Adriaen Brouwer, *The Smokers* (popularly, and erroneously, known as *The Peasants of Moerdijk* after an eighteenth century print of the same title made of the painting), c. 1627-1630, panel, 31 x 24 cm. Adriaen Brouwer, *Fight over Cards*, c. 1631-1635, panel, 33 x 49 cm.

paintings by Adriaen Brouwer, who lived in Haarlem at just the time Pieter Claesz was developing this thematic type, peasants were frequently held up as exempla of ridiculous behavior. The stupefied and vacant expressions of the figures in Brouwer's *Smokers* indexes well the attitudes of the upper-class patrons who collected both Claesz and Brouwer's paintings. By alluding in the humorous form of the stopper and jug to coarse human sexuality, Claesz binds more fully his appealing meal of beer, fish and smoke to the earthy peasant, whose crude appetites were apparently assuaged by just such a meal.

Roemers

This group of paintings numbers eighty-four works, the third largest thematic type in Haarlem still-life painting. Pictures of this type feature the reduction of the Haarlem laid table to its barest elements – a roemer, berckemeier or tazza of wine on a bare table with a smattering of nuts, oysters, or berries to supplement the wine's taste (figs. 139, 140). [39] Paintings of this type first appeared in the late 1620s, around 1629, and were a staple of the repertoire of Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda throughout the 1630s and into the following decade. Whether or not this type derived from the larger meal types that were painted in the 1620s is not known. One of Heda's earliest known works was not a larger meal type but a simple essay of a roemer half-filled with wine on a bare wooden table with nuts, some cherries and a knife (fig.

[39] (WCH 4) panel, 35 x 32 cm, dated 1630. Rijksdienst voor Beeldende Kunst, #NK2489; (PC 36) panel, 22.3 x 32.6 cm, dated 1630. With Salomon Lilian, Amsterdam, 1999.

141).[40] Whatever the evolution of this theme may have been, Heda successfully exploited this format in later paintings to create harmonious combinations of standing roemers with overturned tazzas (fig. 53).[41]

Claesz and Heda painted all but two of the works of this thematic type – Floris van Schooten and Cornelis Mahu each painted one.[42] Claesz and Heda's pictures generally included an appealing draught of wine, usually in a roemer, sometimes in a berckemeier or a tazza, with nuts, olives, or perhaps a slice or two of lemon to cut the taste.[43] The entire ensemble was presented on a bare table or, in slightly more complex works pairing an upright roemer with an overturned tazza, on a dark table linen. As with all their other works, Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz presented the elements in a slightly disturbed state, as though consumption of them has been interrupted. Occasionally a broken berckemeier enhances this sense of a quick shift in the circumstances of the table (fig. 142).[44]

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[40] (WCH 3) panel, 46.5 x 36 cm, dated 1629. Fürstliche Hohenzollernsche Sammlungen, Sigmaringen. The file in the RKD suggests a date of 1629?

[41] (WCH 5) panel, 45 x 60.5 cm, dated 1630. Private collection (Vroom 1980, #328). This theory is bolstered by the fact that this is Heda's first known use of an overturned tazza in a painting. The overturned tazza is a motif Heda used repeatedly in his oeuvre to great effect. In 1631 he painted a lobed tazza in a single-course meal type work (WCH 10).

[42] (FvS 6) panel, 53.5 x 39.5 cm. With Marshall Spink, London, 1969; (CM 11) panel, 45 x 38 cm. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt,.

[43] Other works include: after Heda (WCH 5a); (WCH 7); (WCH 15); (WCH 16); (WCH 17); (WCH 18); (WCH 22); (WCH 27); (WCH 30); (WCH 49); (WCH 71); (WCH 98); (WCH 100); (WCH 106); (PC 40); (PC 48); (PC 49); (PC 50); (PC 57); (PC 62); (PC 65); possibly Claesz (PC 65a); (PC 66); (PC 67); (PC 68); (PC 72); (PC 76); (PC 143); (PC 189).

[44] (WCH 71) panel, 58.5 x 67.5 cm, dated 1642. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,.

In a pair of paintings Claesz expanded the visual repertoire of this type, couching it in the visual idiom he developed for his single-course meal type (figs. 119, 143).[45] Thus he expanded the space on the tabletop, which he fully draped with a linen. The vine leaves are of the type Claesz frequently employed to convey a sense of abundance. A pair of pewter plates, mostly empty, nonetheless suggest more attention has been paid to the setting of the table. Lastly, in a 1635 painting formerly on the art market, Claesz included a white linen bunched up on the left that is a visual characteristic normally found in the single-course meal type. However, the table is mostly empty, save for a roemer of wine, the overturned beaker lying before it and a broken berckemeier on the far right corner.

Fancy drinking vessels

Willem Claesz. Heda painted virtually all of the works that feature fancy drinking vessels, a thematic type that is closely related to *Roemers*.[46] While some food is always evident in these works, usually in the form of oysters, nuts, olives or, in later works, elaborate Ming bowls containing a lemon or Seville orange, the focus is always on fancy drinking vessels (figs. 144, 145, 146).[47] These paintings appeared relatively

[45] (PC 57) panel, 59.5 x 74 cm, dated 1635. Formerly with D. Katz, Dieren, before 1940; (PC 67) panel, 45.7 x 64.8 cm. Sale, New York (Christie's), 15th January 1985, #65.

[46] There are at least twenty-four works in this group. Many versions of the works listed below are not included. (WCH 65); (WCH 68/87); (WCH 69); (WCH 103); (WCH 115); (WCH 122); (WCH 124); (WCH 125); (WCH 126); (WCH 128); (WCH 129); (WCH 130); (WCH 131); (WCH 132); (WCH 133); (WCH 135); (WCH 136); (GH 4); (GH 7); (GH 19); (CM 4); (CM 7); (PC 236).

[47] (WCH 65) panel, 68.5 x 50 cm, dated 1640. Mauritshuis, The Hague; (WCH 68/87) panel, 55 x 45 cm, dated 164_. Formerly with Knoedler, London, 1959; (WCH 125) panel, 91 x 71 cm, dated 1661. With Ch. Roelofsz, Amsterdam, 1989 (as Gerrit Heda).

late in both Heda's career and in the development of Haarlem still-life painting. The first few were painted around 1640, but the majority of the works were painted in the early 1660s.

Heda's emphasis in these paintings seems to be on the compositional possibilities of varied drinking vessels. In one work (fig. 145), an overturned nautilus seems to have intrigued Heda for its ability to anchor a beautiful composition in which verticals, above all a fluit, rise high above the table and the undulating curl of a lemon peel spills over the table's edge. Indeed in his late works Heda adopted a compositional format – a dark background from which glasses only partially emerge and a table on one side heaped with a Turkish tapestry – that Willem Kalf had successfully used beginning in the mid 1650s in Amsterdam (figs. 146, 13).[48] Often Heda enshrined the principal object, usually the same standing nautilus cup, in a niche to further accentuate its importance as an object of admiration (fig. 118).[49]

Heda's interest in accentuating one principal object in his composition has long roots in Haarlem still-life tradition. Already in 1624, Pieter Claesz painted an assemblage of curiosities, both natural and manmade, on a narrow ledge-like structure, across the back of which a curtain falls away one end, revealing a palatial structure and garden, in which a young couple face each other and hold hands (fig. 40).[50]

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[48] (WCH 125) panel, 91 x 71 cm, dated 1661. With Ch. Roelofsz, Amsterdam, 1989 (as Gerrit Heda); Willem Kalf, *Wine Glass on a Gilded Silver Foot and a Bowl of Fruit*, 1663, canvas, 60.3 x 50.2, The Cleveland Museum of Art.

[49] (WCH 122) panel, 50.5 x 37.5 cm. Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp.

[50] (PC 12) panel, 65 x 55.5 cm, dated 1624. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

Though the various objects are spread out more or less equally across the table's surface, the gilt goblet on the right half of the painting dominates the visual field. The shells, flowers, roemers, book and watch all augment the majestic goblet. The foreground arrangement of objects almost certainly offers a pointed commentary on the scene in the garden behind, particularly when one recognizes the skull hidden by the book that leans against it.[51]

Claesz fashioned a specialty, if only practiced sporadically, of painting portraits of these pronck goblets. One such work, an oval portrait of a goblet fashioned for the Haarlem brewer's guild?, is dated to the day of its execution, May 6th 1641 (fig. 147).[52] Like the Dresden painting this work also includes an opened timepiece.

Ontbijt

This thematic group of paintings is the most problematic category in this study. In part the difficulty arises out of uncertainty about what constitutes an *ontbijt*. As argued in the introduction to this chapter an *ontbijt* is a snack, a small meal of rather few elements. A fine example of the basic concept of this type of still life is Pieter Claesz's painting of beer, bread and herring, dated 1636, from Rotterdam (fig. 74).[53] A

[51] Segal discusses this painting in *A Prosperous Past*, 129, and points out the skull, which at the time had been revealed by recent cleaning.

[52] (PC 90) oval panel, 66 x 48.5 cm, dated 1641. With J. Schilchte Bergen, Amsterdam, 1989. The goblet, today in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, and its relationship to this painting are briefly discussed in Chapter Two. See Chapter Two, note 65. Claesz's other known goblet portrait is (PC 81) oval panel, 56 x 41.2 cm, dated 1640. Present location unknown. On these paintings, see Bergström, "Portraits of Gilt Cups".

[53] (PC 61) panel, 36 x 49 cm, dated 1636. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

waffle glass of beer and bread augment a deliciously presented cubed herring on a pewter plate. The ensemble is sensitively presented on a partially draped linen table. Indeed Claesz's compositional genius as a painter is fully realized in this small panel.

The monumental aspect of this painting derives in part from the artist's tight focus on the meal. One has little sense of the meal's surroundings, unlike many of his paintings of larger meals where light falling across a back wall defines a rudimentary interior (figs. 148, 149).[54] Claesz employed this same tight focus on the table in other works of this type, an approach also seen in paintings by Floris van Schooten (fig. 131)[55] and Willem Claesz. Heda (fig. 150).[56]

Only thirty-six of the ninety-one paintings in this thematic category are classified solely as *ontbijt*. Twenty-six paintings are cross-listed as both *ontbijt* and *fruytagie* (see above) because the light meal depicted is made up mostly of fruit. Almost all of the small paintings by Floris van Dijck are cross-listed as such and are discussed in the section on *fruytagies*. Paintings featuring a *roemer* are also often cross-listed, as are works focusing on the implements of pipe smoking (*tabackjes* – see above). Sixteen paintings are cross-listed with *roemers*, two with *fancy drinking vessels*, eight with *tabackjes*. Three paintings are classified as both a *meal w/main dish* and *ontbijt* because it is impossible to draw a clear distinction in some paintings.[57]

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[54] (GH 30) panel, 103.5 x 82 cm. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin; (PC 138a) canvas, 133 x 177 cm. Stedelijk museum het Prinsenhof, Delft.

[55] (FvS 41) panel, 39.3 x 57 cm. With Leonard Koetser, London, 1961.

[56] (WCH 9) panel, 26 x 37 cm, dated 1631. Dealer Richard Green, London, 1996.

[57] For instance, in an earlier iteration of this thematic grouping, an extra fifteen paintings by or after Willem Claesz. Heda, all being copies of the same image, were included because they contained only a

A panel by Pieter Claesz formerly on the art market is fairly typical in its approach to this still-life type, even if it differs morphologically with other paintings by him in a group that numbers thirty paintings, which comprises one-third of the total number of paintings of this type (fig. 151).[58] A large roemer of wine anchors a table sparsely populated with comestibles. A dish of a few olives in the back, some nuts around a roll at the right, and a sliced lemon on the pewter plate in the center are all that comprise this light repast. Characteristic of Claesz's approach to still life is evidence of human involvement. The overturned *façon-de-venise* wine glass, artfully balanced on the roll, suggests, along with the unsheathed knife and sliced lemon, not only an interrupted process of dining but also Claesz's interest in dynamic compositional elements. He seems to have shared this particular compositional feature with both Floris van Schooten (figs. 152, 153)[59] and Willem Claesz. Heda (fig. 54).[60] This specific motif reuse is a reminder of how much these artists must have exchanged ideas and innovations. Only in one painting of this type does Pieter Claesz stretch his conception beyond that of a simple table. In a rather large canvas now in Budapest

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mackerel on a plate with several drinking vessels and wine containers. However I felt that this particular conception, relying as it did on a substantial plate of fish surrounded by a multitude of elegant drinking vessels, leaned more in the direction of the theme of the meal with one main dish than towards the *onbijtje*. The paintings in question all derive from WCH 45 (a-o).

[58] (PC 47) panel, 36.5 x 55 cm. Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), November 14, 1990, #37. The other paintings are: (PC 10); (PC 32); (PC 31); (PC 34); (PC 43); (PC 45); (PC 46); (PC 51); circle of Claesz? (PC 52); (PC 58); (PC 63); (PC 64); (PC 71); circle of Claesz? (PC 75); (PC 77); (PC 83); (PC 95); (PC 98); (PC 100); (PC 101); (PC 102); (PC 103); (PC 104); (PC 108); (PC 151); (PC 158); (PC 164); (PC 181); (PC 182).

[59] (FvS 56) panel, 39.5 x 56 cm. Peter Tillou, Lichfield, Connecticut; his sale, New York (Sotheby's), 4th June 1987, #76; (FvS 23) panel, 38 x 54.5 cm. With Fritz Nathan, Zurich, 1953.

[60] (WCH 6) panel, 41.5 x 57.5 cm, dated 1630. Coll. F. Smulders, The Hague; Sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 9th November 1937, #2. Also after Heda (WCH 8) panel, 39.5 x 60 cm. Sale J. de Bousies, Paris (Charpentier), 24th March 1953, #17

dating from around 1644 in which he collaborated with Roelof Koets, Claesz portrayed a hybridization of this simple thematic type – the number and type of elements is the same as in other works in this category – with the abundance of fruit that was Koets's specialty (fig. 154).[61]

Like Claesz, Willem Claesz. Heda approached this type with a generally consistent conceptual approach but varied the appearance of his paintings, which number in total twenty-nine. The simplicity of his panel featuring a berckemeier, oysters and some nuts from 1631 (fig. 155) is only by degrees removed from the elegant trappings of later meals of the same type (fig. 156).[62] All feature some wine and oysters and perhaps a few nuts. Rolls only rarely appear in his meals of this type, and are often only indicated by a few crumbs.

Meal with One Main Dish

This group of paintings, at 333 paintings the largest thematic division in this study, was the most typical still life painted in Haarlem in the first half of the seventeenth century. When one thinks of a painting by Willem Claesz. Heda or Pieter Claesz or Floris van Schooten, more often than not that painting is one that can be

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[61] (PC 142) canvas, 104.5 x 146 cm. Museum, Budapest. Though this painting might technically fit this thematic type, the visual experience of the work is altogether different and exposes some of the limitations of these categories.

[62] (WCH 14) panel, 47 x 61 cm, dated 1631. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 3rd July 1991, #132 – other versions (1) panel, 44 x 63.5 cm, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe,; (2) panel, 50 x 67 cm, Sale, ??, 5th April 1927, #17; (WCH 101) panel, 45.9 x 68.2 cm, dated 1649. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin,.

categorized as a meal with one main dish (figs. 59, 86, 29).[63] Most of the meal types enumerated in Chapter Two, such as a mince pie, a dish of ham, a platter of fish or a crab are found in paintings in this category. These dishes are usually complemented by wine or beer, occasionally some oysters, a roll, biscuit or some dark bread, and, perhaps, cheese and butter. The array of food and drink is modest in scope, meeting the requirements of one person. Garnishments, such as nuts or small berries are frequently present. The imaginary diner is not faced with a wide variety of dishes from which to choose. One or more additional drinking vessels, usually of fine craftsmanship, are included in a little over half the paintings. As with the painting by Pieter Claesz now in Budapest discussed above (fig. 154), paintings featuring a large number of drinking vessels imply a grandness and scope beyond the sum of their parts.

The thematic type of the meal with one main dish is conceptually close to two other types of still life: the *fruytagie* and the *ontbijt*, both discussed above. All three categories feature a meal that is oriented towards one diner. The difference between them is one of degree. Paintings with an abundance of fruit are here considered *fruytagies*, whereas relatively small panels depicting a meal with one main dish are here categorized as *ontbijtjes*. The operative assumption is that o*ntbijtjes* probably never included the extra, fancy drinking vessels found in many paintings in this large thematic category.

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[63] (WCH 77) panel, 76 x 109 cm, dated 1643. Heinz Collection; (PC 74) panel, 66.5 x 92 cm. Winterthur Museum, Jacob Briner Rathaur Foundation; (FvS 33) panel, 47 x 84 cm. Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterloo.

Perhaps the earliest examples of paintings in this category of a meal with one dish are Floris van Schooten's paintings of laid tables from the mid-to-late 1610s (fig. 29). Although these paintings are conceptually and visually indebted to works by Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis, the paintings by these earlier masters are better categorized as *ontbijtjes* and *fruytagies* for the contents of their tabletops. In contrast, Van Schooten's works feature a dish of some meat and complementary foods and drink.

However, like works by Van Dijck, clear divisions exist between the motifs along the front and back of the table in Van Schooten's work, as can be seen in a panel painting now in the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller in Otterloo (fig. 29).[64] In this work, a large shank of ham, a platter of cheeses, and a Ming dish of butter flakes are arranged in a row across the middle of the table. A large roll and loaf of bread, a salt cellar and a waffle glass fill out the gaps along the table's back edge. Along the table's front edge, Van Schooten has painted various types of bread rolls, some slices of bread, as well a slice or two of meat. Nuts, some opened, lie scattered about the front of the table.

The setting is intimate and the foods on the table, though arranged in rows, have an immediate relationship with each other. The sliced meat on the plate and the two slices from the loaf of dark bread form an integral part of the meal. The knife, here

[64] (FvS 33). Other examples of this early type are: (FvS 31); (FvS 34); (FvS 29). This last work is probably a few years later than the others in this group. The bunched-up linen at right, on which a roll rests, and the play of irregular folds along the table's edge of the remaining linen are formal hallmarks of the third decade of the seventeenth century on.

turned outward over the table's edge, emphasizes the viewer's relationship to the table.

Van Schooten's later works in this particular thematic mode developed a narrative approach to the depiction of the laid table. Unmistakable signs of human presence are regularly found, such as a sliced roll and pastry pie that has been partially eaten (fig. 75),[65] crumpled napkins (figs. 157, 158),[66] an empty rib with bread crumbs (fig. 159),[67] leftover shells from eating seafood (figs. 69, 111)[68] or overturned beakers (fig. 68).[69] Where no evidence of human activity is present in these later paintings, as in a work from Braunschweig (fig. 120), Van Schooten convincingly conveys through his stagecraft a table setting any viewer would feel comfortable approaching.[70]

Floris van Schooten is never mentioned in seventeenth-century literary sources despite his apparent success as an artist.[71] Nevertheless, he seems to have been an important bridge between the older and younger generations of still-life painters in Haarlem. Both in form and concept he emulated the finest works of his older peers, such as Floris van Dijck, while at the same time modifying the nature of the still life

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[65] (FvS 2) panel, 50 x 83 cm. Collection K. Schou in Copenhagen/Hellerup. A similar pie can be found in a large panel (83 x 115 cm) (FvS 24) now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

[66] (FvS 43) panel (measurements unknown). Coll. S.J. Graaf von Limburg-Stirum, Spijkerbosch, Olst; (FvS 37) panel (52 x 82.5 cm). Kunsthalle, Hamburg. Also (FvS 15); (FvS 16).

[67] (FvS 9) panel, 48.5 x 72 cm. Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Dusseldorf.

[68] (FvS 5) panel, 39.5 x 55.5 cm. Formerly with dealer Richard Green, London, 1980; (FvS 26) panel, 36 x 59 cm. Dealer J. Denijs, Amsterdam in 1942.

[69] (FvS 54) panel, 52 x 82.4 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

[70] (FvS 7) panel, 52 x 81 cm. Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig. Other paintings in this group are: (FvS 12); (FvS 10); (FvS 8); (FvS 46); (FvS 14); (FvS 13); (FvS 11); (FvS 38).

enough that younger artists, among then Pieter Claesz, were able to push still-life painting in fresh directions.

As one can see in the discussion of the *fruytagie* above, Pieter Claesz was particularly receptive to the currents in Van Schooten's thinking. While there is no evidence that these two artists had a working or teaching relationship, intriguing points of convergence exist in their work around 1620.[72] In terms of the present thematic type, Claesz painted in a mode similar to Floris van Schooten in several works in the early 1620s (figs. 106, 160).[73] As did Van Schooten, Claesz imbued his table-top still lifes with a certain informality and intimacy, through the bunched-up napkin and the sliced meat and bread arrayed on plates. He also followed Van Schooten in depicting the accoutrements of tobacco, as in the work dated 1624 now in the RBK.

In the 1620s Claesz expanded the visual repertoire of paintings depicting a meal with one main dish by inventively adapting existing forms. Two of his paintings, datable to the early 1620s, underscore how far-reaching Claesz's transformation of the early still-life form in Haarlem was. One is dated 1625 (fig. 161) and one, now in the Art Institute in Chicago, probably dates a couple of years earlier (fig. 76).[74] In the Chicago panel, on a table partially draped with white linen over a red tablecloth, Claesz painted a meal of mince pie garnished with nuts, biscuits, olives, lemon slices,

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[71] For information on this artist's biography, see Chapter One, 42.

[72] One of the most telling kinships is discussed in the section above on *fruytagies*. See above, note 25.

[73] (PC 20) panel, 51 x 90 cm. Formerly with Gebrand Douwes, Amsterdam, 1936; (PC 13) panel, 46 x 75.5 cm, dated 1624. RBK, cat. VI-17. Another work of this type is: (PC 19). Later in his career in a couple of works employed this visual idiom. They are: (PC 167) and (PC 232).

a roll and sweetbreads and pastries. Much as in early Haarlem still-life painting, where artists like Floris van Dijck would place a plate along the front edge of the table, Claesz depicted a plate of sliced lemons centrally along the front edge of the table.

Claesz oriented the focus of his still life to include a more dynamic relationship between the mince pie and the plate of lemons. Claesz visually reinforced the thematic importance of the pie through intersecting diagonals. Knife, spoon, stem of the pewter pitcher, even the roll of bread direct the eye towards the pie. Nevertheless, because of its centralized location along the front edge, the plate with lemon slices still vies with the mince pie for visual prominence. Perhaps for that reason Claesz subtly adjusted the visual arrangement of essentially the same matrix of elements in the 1625 painting from the Speelman collection (fig. 161).

In this work, the partially-eaten mince pie in the center of the table is at the apex of a triangle of pewter plates. In this configuration the plate of lemon slices does not visually dominate the mince pie. Claesz shifted the mince pie to the left so that it does not appear directly behind the lemons.

In these two paintings Pieter Claesz adapted the carefully constructed, formal qualities of paintings by Nicolaes Gillis and Floris van Dijck. As in their works, Claesz's two paintings give the impression that the meal has just commenced or is about to. The white linen is still neatly draped on the table, with its ironed creases evident. Nevertheless, in Claesz's painting more of the meal has been consumed. The crust of pie is broken and its golden-hued filling spills out. The spoon lying across the

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[74] (PC 20*) panel, 42.9 x 75.3 cm, dated 1625. Speelman collection, Amsterdam; (PC 7) panel, 48.2 x 76.5 cm. The Art Institute, Chicago.

pie in the Speelman work directs the viewer's attention to the roemer of wine. Claesz's composition indicates that he is interested in the story of this meal, its beginning, middle and end. The viewer is drawn into this work as a potential diner, not through the intimacy of the setting, but through the interplay of dynamic pictorial elements that lead the eye across and into the picture plane in ways that provide meaningful visual connections.

One of the most fundamental changes Pieter Claesz wrought in the development of the one-course meal theme was in picturing abundance. Floris van Dijck had divided his table clearly between abundance (cheeses and bowls of fruit along the back edge) and a selection of comestibles basic to a meal (items along the table's front edge). Floris van Schooten closed the gap between these two zones in his paintings, elevating the functional interaction between them into moments of interest. Thus a ham on a platter in Van Schooten's paintings functions differently than a stack of cheeses in Van Dijck's paintings. Van Schooten depicted the ham not as complementary but as essential to the meal. Slices of meat and slices of bread on a small plate along the table's front edge establish the meal's parameters. Only cheese remains as an optional provision.

Beginning in the mid-1620s and thereafter through his career Pieter Claesz began painting more compact compositions. In these still lifes Claesz focused his compositions on single elements, a platter with a chicken (fig. 162),[75] or ham (fig.

[75] (PC 122) panel, 65.5 x 70.5 cm. National Gallery, Prague.

77),[76] or pie (fig. 163),[77] or fish (fig. 164),[78] or even a crab (fig. 79).[79] Apart from a roll of bread, a roemer or berckemeier of wine or glass of beer and garnishments such as lemon, pepper or salt and the ubiquitous nuts scattered on the tabletop, no additional foods are pictured in these works. As in the earlier works, the meal is ready for consumption, a state Claesz often underscored by depicting a roll sliced or partly eaten along the front of the table. Indeed the casual nature of these tables often suggests a meal interrupted, rather than one simply awaiting a first taste as in the paintings by Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis. For instance in a work dated 1628 Claesz arranged a simple meal of a mackerel, some nuts, wine, and a sliced roll at one end of a table (fig. 81).[80] A large napkin is bunched up at the very end of the table, the irregular rhythm of its creases and folds catching the light as it cascades over the table's edge. This element introduces an active human presence within the depicted field.

In other works from the mid-1620s and later Claesz similarly employed a crumpled napkin as a dynamic, forceful presence that suggests an active human presence. In a work in Winterthur dated 1637, for example, the combination of looping lemon peel, criss-crossed metal drinking vessels, and bunched-up linen folds

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[76] (PC 109) panel, 39 x 64 cm. Museum voor schone kunsten, Brussels.

[77] (PC 174) panel, 63.5 x 88.5 cm. National Museum, Budapest.

[78] (PC 11) panel, 33.6 x 47.6 cm. Private collection, Europe.

[79] (PC 136) panel, dimenions unknown. Musée des Beaux Arts, Strasbourg.

[80] (PC 28) panel, 49 x 74 cm. Location unknown.

falling over the table's edge helps dramatize the right half of the table that is in an otherwise sedate arrangement (fig. 86).[81]

In other paintings Claesz utilized the folds and swags of linen more for decorative or aesthetic effect than to introduce variation to his conception of the laid table. Thus in an early work, formerly in the Heinz collection (fig. 91), or in later works such as one now in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Brussels (fig. 77), the swags of linen falling over the table's edge create visual accents on the table.[82] In the Brussels work the bunched-up linen draws attention to the roll on the pewter plate resting on top of it.

Variants on the theme

Floris van Schooten, who developed the *meal with one main dish* out of the conceptual and pictorial model of Floris van Dijck's *fruytagies/ontbijts*, introduced a casualness into his table's formal arrangements by bridging the two distinct zones in Van Dijck's works, and by indicating an engagement with the meal by the imagined diner. Pieter Claesz's seemingly casual compositional arrangements carried this development still further. He often eliminated such supplements to the meal as fruit and cheeses. In addition, he introduced pictorial devices such as crumpled

[81] (PC 74) panel, 66.5 x 92 cm. Winterthur Museum, Jacob Briner Rathaus foundation.

[82] (PC 21) panel, 36.5 x 77 cm. Formerly Heinz collection, with Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam in 1995; (PC 109) panel, 39 x 64 cm. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels.

tablecloths,[83] nibbled bread, or partially eaten pie (figs. 165, 166),[84] to make explicit the concept of the meal interrupted.

Of all Haarlem artists, Pieter Claesz painted still lifes with one main dish more than other artists. From the early 1620s to the year of his death, 1660, he painted numerous examples of this theme. He also introduced slight conceptual variations. Some of these variations, such as leafy vines or trays of berckemeiers, which are most pronounced in their use in the 1640s, were apparently Claesz's own innovations. Others, like the refined drinkware, such as a tazza, a chased beaker, or a gilt cup, that was sometimes situated on a table with a simple meal, appear in the work of Claesz's contemporary Willem Claesz. Heda and were introduced by him in the early to mid 1630s. The introduction of these additional elements makes it difficult to use the adjective "simple" for these depictions of the single-course meal.

Additional Drinkware of a refined nature (Tazzas, Gilt goblets, façon-de-venise glassware, fluits, chased beakers)

Willem Claesz. Heda, painted fewer single-course meals, 131 paintings total, than did Pieter Claesz.[85] He also painted slightly later than Pieter Claesz. While Claesz painted works of this thematic type beginning in the early-to-mid 1620s, Heda's earliest foray into this thematic type dates from 1629 (fig. 52), and most of the works

[83] See discussion above.

[84] (PC 17) panel, 28 x 42 cm. Sale, Paris (Druout) 3rd March 1967, #37; (PC 70/73) panel, 47.5 x 67.5 cm, dated 1637. Sale, Brussels, 22/23rd October 1951, #83.

[85] Only 56 paintings are by Willem Claesz. Heda. The remaining 75 paintings are copies after his works by artists working in his studio or immediate circle.

he executed in this mode date from the mid-1630s through the 1640s. In broad conception their works basically are similar. A single dish, of fish (fig. 52),[86] ham (fig. 167),[87] pie (fig. 88),[88] or oysters (fig. 168),[89] is set with a roll and a roemer of wine and/or small glass of beer. Nuts are invariably scattered on the table. Like Claesz, Heda introduced narrative interest in his painting through an arrangement of the table's elements, such as a crumpled up napkin or tablecloth, or slices of ham on a smaller plate along the table's front edge that create an informal atmosphere. What sets apart Heda's paintings from many of Claesz's comparable works is his introduction of highly-crafted drinking vessels as integral parts of his compositions. He usually painted these ornate drinking vessels overturned and empty of liquid. Heda's innovation was to make the Haarlem still-life form an exuberant dining experience, but also one in which the diner did not resettle his drinkware with evident care.

As likely an explanation as any for Heda's interest in painting overturned drinkware is that he was so adept at painting textures and materials, especially glasses and metals, that he devised his compositional solutions to show his talent to greatest effect. He included in his works vessels wrought of blown glass, in the manner of the

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[86] (WCH 2) canvas, 46 x 69 cm, dated 1629. Mauritshuis, The Hague (Vroom 1980, #326).

[87] (WCH 83) panel, 78 x 63 cm, dated 1644 (?). Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen Alte Pinakhotek, Munich (Vroom 1980, #292).

[88] (WCH 48) panel, 50.1 x 63.6 cm, dated 1638. The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

[89] (WCH 118) panel, 50 x 83.5 cm, dated 1656. Sale, Paris (George V). 14 March 1989, #219.

Venetian glass blowing (fig. 6),[90] pewter, tin (fig. 87),[91] and gilded and ungilded silver (fig. 169)[92] in far greater number and with much more adornment than did Claesz in his works.

Some of the finest paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda of the *meal with one dish* also push the conceptual limits of the thematic type (figs. 1, 58).[93] In these two paintings, and to a lesser extent in a similar work painted the year before and now in Munich (fig. 57),[94] Heda elevated the single-course meal to something monumental in scope. Undoubtedly Heda's success in transforming the character of the single-course meals in the Rijksmuseum and Washington paintings lies in his use of fine drinking vessels of varied hues and textures in a sophisticated compositional arrangement. The drinkware in these two paintings is as compelling as the meal they augment.[95]

Heda painted other examples that expanded the range of this thematic type. A painting in the Heinz collection, dated 1643, is a work in which the emphasis on the different textures and reflective possibilities of the metal drinking vessels, to the relative exclusion of the meal on the table, could not be greater (fig. 59).[96] Heda

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[90] (WCH 43) panel, 49.4 x 64.2 cm, dated 1637. Private collection, United States; sale?, London, 1999, #40.

[91] (WCH 26) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1633. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

[92] (WCH 19) panel, 65.5 x 89 cm, dated 1632. Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 14 May 1994, #181.

[93] (WCH 40) canvas, 106.1 x 111 cm, dated 1635. National Gallery of Art, Washington; (WCH 41) panel, 88 x 113 cm, dated 1635. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[94] (WCH 34) panel, 76 x 90 cm, dated 1634. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

[95] Heda's compositional solution in the Rijksmuseum panel also proved popular. At least seven close variants of this work are today recorded, though none are by Heda. See (WCH 41 a-g).

[96] (WCH 77) panel, 76 x 109 cm, dated 1643. Heinz collection, Washington.

painted a panoply of drinking vessels in a frieze-like arrangement across the back of the table, bathed in a light whose fall can be measured on the wall beyond. Heda seems to have delighted in the range of colors he could display here. From the deep tone of the pewter pitcher at left to the translucent gold-green glass of the large roemer at right, from the rich, evocative silvery shimmer of the overturned tazza to the warm gold of the pronck goblet, Heda succeeded in conveying an incredible range of surface textures. Nor did he limit himself to metals and glass. The glistening pink of the ham, the juicy meat of the lemon and the glossy blue of the ceramic dish also add to this colorful arrangement of form.

Heda evidently felt proud of his accomplishment with this painting. In fluid script Heda trumpeted his name and the date – Heda *fecit* 1643 – on a fictive piece of crumpled, folded paper pinned to the edge of the linen along the front of the table. Normally Heda signed his name and the date in a less prominent spot than this; typical of his procedure is the inscription on the edge of the table linen in the 1635 canvas from Washington (fig. 2), which, while not invisible to close scrutiny, does not overtly draw the viewer's attention. However, Heda clearly conceived of the Heinz painting in different terms than he did for most of his still lifes. In this work Heda self-consciously promoted the quality of his style of painting. The entire painting must be considered as an advertisement of his abilities.

Finally, one of the most beautiful examples of Heda's interest in texture is a work dated 1648 from the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg (fig. 80).[97] While the main

[97] (WCH 97) canvas, 117.9 x 117.9 cm, dated 1648. Hermitage, Saint Petersburg.

dish of the meal is a large crab, the painting is again a celebration of the fine workmanship of different vessels, including a pewter pitcher, fluit, roemer and salt cellar along the back, the pronck goblet lying on its side, or the delicate clam-shaped façon-de-venise vinegar decanter positioned precariously on the pewter plate. Heda emphasized the vertical harmonies in this painting through the square format of his canvas and the grandeur of the meal through the generous atmospheric space surrounding the scene.

To gauge how much Willem Claesz. Heda departed from established tradition in Haarlem still-life painting one need only consider how his work compares to that of a nominally similar type by Pieter Claesz (fig. 103).[98] Where Claesz kept the elements of the meal relatively simple – a crab, a roll, a fluit of wine, a pitcher, a tray of berckemeiers, a cut lemon, and a flourish of vine leaves to suggest abundance – Heda multiplied the variety of drinking vessels present beyond the needs of one meal.

Gerrit Willemsz Heda painted works more or less in his father's stylistic idiom, but ironically his works have a closer conceptual connection to paintings by Pieter Claesz than to those by his father. The younger Heda depicted a single-course meal as a dish of ham or fish or crab, with bread, a roemer or some berckemeiers of wine and a pitcher, a glass of beer, and, invariably, a fluit of red wine (figs. 170, 171, 148).[99] It is this last element, as well as the vertical, spacious format Gerrit Willemsz. Heda used,

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[98] (PC 113) panel, 74 x 99 cm; formerly with dealer H. Shickman, New York, 1968.

[99] (GH 20) panel, 98 x 82.5 cm, dated 1650. National Gallery of Art, Washington; (GH 18) panel, 90 x 76 cm, dated 1647. Private collection, Canada; (GH 30) panel, 103.5 x 82 cm. Staatliches Museen, Schwerin.

that connects his work to that of his father's. Nevertheless, while a tall fluit was but one of many vessels that the elder Heda harmoniously arranged into his pleasing compositions, the younger Heda employed the fluit as the primary refined object on the tables he painted, a simplicity found also in the work of Pieter Claesz.

Pieter Claesz responded to Willem Claesz. Heda's conceptual and formal innovations by adapting them in a number of his own works. In one painting, a large canvas dated 1639 that has been attributed to Adriaen Kraen but is inscribed PC (fig. 105),[100] an overturned gilt goblet and a silver ewer lying on platters atop bunched-up tablecloth connote a haphazard swirl of consumption. The overturned vessels frame the *roemer*. The focus in this painting is clearly on the *roemer* of wine, which stands in the center not only of the table but also of the composition. In a few other works Claesz depicted overturned drinking vessels (figs. 62, 172)[101] as an accent for a standing roemer or a berckemeier.

As with a handful of works of the *ontbijt* theme Pieter Claesz painted some works in the present theme with an extravagant setting for a single meal. In one such work, a pigeon pie, tazza of candied confections, and an imposing gilt pronck goblet round out the table's offerings of a roll, some nuts, olives and berckemeiers of wine (fig. 104).[102] A swept back curtain on the left and the pronounced abundance of fruit –

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[100] (PC 78) canvas, 85 x 117 cm, inscribed PC and dated 1639. Sale, Paris (Orsay), 4 November 1978. Vroom, 186, considers this painting to be by Adriaen Kraen despite the monogram PC, which seems to be genuine. The file at the Rijksbureau voor kunsthistorische documentatie notes Vroom's attribution but still denotes the painting as being by Claesz.

[101] (PC 137) canvas, 90 x 107 cm (possibly by Roelof Koets). With Salomon Lilian, Amsterdam, 1999; (PC 161) panel, 40.5 x 61 cm, dated 1646. With Daphne Alazraki, New York, 1994.

[102] (PC 138) canvas, 136 x 206 cm. Sale Paris, Hotel George V, 17 July 1997, #26.

grapes, apples, a melon – and vines from an overturned basket on the right half of the table signify this meal as one exclusive to persons of sophistication and refinement.

The unusual character of this table for Claesz may in part be explained by the fact that he apparently collaborated on it with Roelof Koets.[103] Claesz had to alter his formula a little to accommodate Koets's specialty. A larger tabletop clearly was the logical solution, and the decision to add a swept-back drape is understandable given the luxurious note struck on the table. It is fascinating to compare this painting with a large copy of just the left end of the table (fig. 149).[104] The artist, possibly Roelof Koets or Cornelis Cruys, abandoned the overturned basket of fruit in favor of a tightly focused still life of books and a fiddle set amongst grapes and apples.

Multiple berckemeiers

While Willem Claesz. Heda focused in his paintings of the single-course meal theme on the refined display of luxury objects, Pieter Claesz varied his approach to this theme. One of the most effective thematic devices, one that hinted at abundance through the sheer repetition of elements, was a tray of wine-filled *berckemeiers*. Beginning in the 1640s Claesz painted a number of works in which he included a tray with two, three, or even four berckemeiers of wine on a platter (figs. 67, 94).[105] The

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[103] Sam Segal has dated this work to c. 1650.

[104] (PC 138a) canvas, 133 x 177 cm. Stichting voor Nederlandse Kunst, on permanent loan to het Prinsenhof, Delft.

[105] (PC 94) panel, 60.5 x 101.5 cm, dated 1643. Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, NY; (PC 201) panel, 58.4 x 83.8 cm, dated 1651. Sale, New York (Christie's), 16 January 1992, #27.

single *berckemeier* balanced on a trio of filled *berckemeiers* on a platter in the Vassar College painting suggests, in the complete absence of a practical explanation, a sophistication of taste similar to that evident in works by David Vinckboons in which youths pour wine in artful ways (fig. 90). The refinement of the display of *berckemeiers* matches that found elsewhere on the table, particularly in the jeweled watch and exquisite salt cellar.

In some paintings Pieter Claesz utilized the motif of multiple *berckemeiers* in combination with other objects to enhance an overall theme of abundance. For instance in a work dated 1645, he incorporated a tray of two *berckemeiers* filled with wine in a composition teeming with sumptuous foods and serving pieces, including a roasted chicken, a bowl of olives, lemons, an overturned tazza and *berckemeier* (fig. 112).[106] The vigorous display of objects along the front edge of the table makes it clear that some feasting has already begun. One other touch, a *berckemeier* capping the spout of an open-topped pewter pitcher, again bespeaks a certain interest in display over practicality. Claesz repeated this configuration in other paintings, such as is an enormous panel he painted in 1650, in which abundance is explicitly denoted by the *berckemeier* tray and the overwhelming array of fruits and vines on the right half of the table (fig. 173).[107] This latter feature is another innovation Claesz introduced to the form of the Haarlem still life.

[106] (PC 159) canvas, 48.5 x 66.8 cm, dated 1645. Location unknown.

[107] (PC 196) panel, 93.5 x 139.5 cm, dated 1650. Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston.

The timepiece

Both Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda painted numerous works of this thematic type in which a watch is prominently displayed along the table's front edge. The use of the watch in still lifes was unprecedented when Willem Claesz. Heda used it for the first time in his painting of a meal of a mackerel of 1629 (fig. 52). Both he and Pieter Claesz must have realized quickly the symbolic power of this object for connoting the transience of time. Between them they employed it forty times in their paintings.[108] Most often the watch was painted with its cover opened so that the intricate workings of the timepiece were revealed, although Claesz painted one work in which the watch's cover is closed (fig. 174).[109]

Among the most beautiful of Claesz's paintings featuring a watch is one dated 1641 in a private collection in Edinburgh (fig. 49).[110] Rather than prominently placing the watch along the front of the table, with a winding key hanging on a ribbon over the edge as he had customarily done, Claesz placed it in the middle of the table near the partially eaten pastry pie. Consequently, the watch is less immediately obvious to the viewer, but more profoundly woven into the fabric and narrative of the meal than had

[108] Five instances are after Claesz; eight are by Claesz; six are by Heda; twenty-one are after him. One other painting is by Cornelis Mahu. Fifteen of the twenty-seven paintings by or after Heda are copies of the same painting.

[109] (PC 37) panel, 48.9 x 72.5 cm, dated 1630. With Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1999. The cooked fowl as it appears today is the result of restoration, which revealed that the head and legs of the chicken were painted out. They have now been restored, although the talons on the legs have not been repainted, presumably because the restorer felt not enough information was available to make an accurate reconstruction.

[110] (PC 92) panel, 73 x 99 cm., dated 1641. Private collection, Edinburgh.

he placed it in the foreground. Claesz further prompts the viewer's thoughts about the passage of time through the broken berckemeier next to the tray of filled glasses.

Pieter Claesz painted one other *meal with one main dish* that, while not featuring a watch, includes an object that denotes time. This work, which probably dates from the mid-1640s, prominently features an extinguished candle (fig. 175).[111] Aside from the half-filled roemer of wine and the candle, the table seems in disarray; objects lie overturned, the tablecloth is bunched up at the left, and nut shells are scattered about.

Meal with several main dishes

The last thematic category in Haarlem still-life painting comprises one of the smaller groups of works. There are only forty-one paintings in the body of work in this study that can be classified as a *meal with several dishes*, or just over 6.5% of the total. Paintings in this category are characterized by a surfeit of various foods or dishes, including two or more courses. They also include, like paintings of the type *meal with one main dish*, assorted garnishments, such as nuts, butter, or small berries. Where the single-course still life typically is characterized by the modest scope of its offerings, the multiple-course still life frequently seems a celebration of abundance.

A good example of this thematic type is Pieter Claesz's 1627 painting in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 65).[112] The magnificent display of food on this table – the platter of oysters, mince pie, and large turkey pie – appeals to both palate and eye. Claesz complemented these dishes with an array of garnishments familiar from the *meal with*

[111] (PC 116) panel, 64.5 x 84.5 cm. Private collection.

one main dish type – olives, rolls, nuts and wine. Claesz also made judicious use of an elegant dragon-spouted pitcher and nautilus cup to suggest the refined nature of this tabletop. The impression one has is of an elegant feast spread before the viewer/diner.

In the same year Claesz painted another large panel, this of a feast featuring an enormous peacock pie (fig. 66).[113] With only slight variations Claesz adopted the compositional structure of the Rijksmuseum painting, balancing the large peacock-ornamented pie and bowl of apples on the right third of the table with dishes arrayed along intersecting diagonals in the main, linen covered portion of the table. Onto this carefully balanced tabletop Claesz introduced pronounced notes of disorder. Along the left edge of the table a knife case lies on a crumpled napkin heaped on a pewter plate. A berckemeier lies overturned, drained of its contents. This vignette signals a human presence that is muted in the Rijksmuseum painting.

Pieter Claesz painted these two works relatively early in his career. They are perhaps his finest exploration of this thematic type. In contrast, his contemporary, Willem Claesz. Heda, did not paint this type of tabletop until relatively late in his career. These paintings, such as a work dated 1658 in the Frans Halsmuseum (fig. 89),[114] appear to be a natural outgrowth of the artist's compositions of elaborate meals with one principal dish that he painted in the mid-1630s and early 1640s (figs. 1, 58, 59), which are discussed above. In the Haarlem painting, the presence of a large pastry pie transforms an arrangement of drinkware, crab, and side dishes from another

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[112] (PC 22) panel, 76.5 x 134.5 cm, dated 1627. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[113] (PC 23) panel, 77.5 x 129 cm, dated 1627. Private collection, Boston.

example of an elaborate but – at its essence – solitary meal into a table explicitly laid for a feast.

A work Heda painted two years earlier, an enormous canvas now in Houston (fig. 176), reveals the artist's attention to, and interest in, stagecraft.[115] Set back from the picture plane is a table bedecked with several drinking vessels and dishes of ham and oysters. The haphazard arrangement of the tabletop – oysters strewn about the table, overturned beaker and tilted dishes – is enhanced by the irregular folds of the white linen. However, Heda focused the disorder of this table around the pronounced vertical elements of the fluit of wine and pewter pitcher, the centrality of which he emphasized through a diagonal of light falling along the back wall.

Willem Claesz. Heda's works in this thematic mode (nine total) are in essence expanded versions of the elaborate single-dish meals he painted in the 1630s and 1640s (see figs. 1, 58, 57, 59, 123), in which the profusion and variety of luxurious drinking vessels outweighs the edible components of the table. In his paintings of the present thematic type, Heda brought the equation of the table into balance by including at least another main dish of food. In contrast, in most of the sixteen works he painted of meals with two or more dishes, Pieter Claesz increased the quotient of food on the table in relation to the number of drinking vessels (figs. 50, 177, 178).[116] The resulting tabletop seems a more hearty version of the artist's works in the single

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[114] (WCH 121) canvas, 88.5 x 109.5 cm, dated 1658. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

[115] (WCH 120) canvas, 111.76 x 152.4 cm, dated 1656. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

[116] (PC 123/139) panel, 66 x 95 cm, dated 1644. With Robert Noortman, London, 1980; (PC 177) canvas, 80 x 110 cm, dated 1647. Location unknown; (PC 209) panel, 62.5 x 88 cm. Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum). 12 or 20th September 1989, #560.

dish mode (figs. 162, 163), in which the tabletop is generally integrated around the primary dish of food, drinking vessels being but a complement to this arrangement.

This difference between the approaches of Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz resulted in works in this thematic mode of strikingly different character. Were one to use the terms "simple" or "humble" to describe works by one or the other artist, one would almost certainly think first of the paintings of Pieter Claesz, his early paintings dated 1627 notwithstanding. The distinction "grand" is one one would readily associate with paintings of this type by Willem Claesz. Heda, whose predilection for the soaring verticals of drinking vessels that were not part of an ordinary dining experience lend his works a refined atmosphere.

In character Heda's paintings share a great deal with the large compositions by early Haarlem still-life painters, particularly Floris van Dijck. However, these earlier works, for the most part, do not share with paintings of this thematic type by Heda, or even Claesz, the criteria enumerated above. Instead their visual affect of supernumerary abundance is such that they are included in this category.

A good example of this large, early tabletop is a panel dated 1610 by Floris van Dijck that was formerly in Campden (fig. 17).[117] Though there are no dishes of fish, ham, fowl, or crab present – these are dishes, after all, that do not appear in Haarlem still life until the late 1620s – the numerous dishes and bowls of fruit, sweetmeats, cheeses, olives, as well as scattered nuts and rolls lying about the table, and the magnificent *bekerschroef* and Siegburg wine jug, present a rather impressive

visual array.[118] The visual complexity overwhelms the senses, and fosters an expectation in the viewer of a magnificent feast.

Conceptually this and other large works by Van Dijck are not dramatically different from the *fruytagie/onbijt* paintings he painted at the same time that were discussed earlier in this chapter. As in those works, Van Dijck divided his paintings into areas of abundance and selection. Along the front of these paintings he situated a plate with a halved apple, slice of melon or bread roll on the table's front edge, along with a roemer of wine and some nuts and small fruits arrayed on the middle of the table (figs. 17, 101, 23).[119] The artist filled the back of the table with platters and bowls of fruit, large melons, fancy drinking vessels all centered around a huge platter of a stack of cheeses.

The major difference between these large paintings and Van Dijck's small panels discussed at the beginning of this chapter (fig. 128) is essentially one of degree. Van Dijck's large paintings are packed with more objects that the eye must pass over and consider. This quantitative disparity translates into a fundamental difference in how the viewer relates to the two types of paintings. For example, some elements placed along the front edge of a table in a *meal with several dishes* are marginalized

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[117] (FvD 2) panel, 73.7 x 113 cm, dated 1610. Scudamore Griffiths collection, Campden or London, c.1956.

[118] For more on Siegburg jugs, see Adalbert Klein, *5000 Years of Ceramics: 107 Masterpieces from the Hetjens-Museum Düsseldorf/Keramik aus 5000 Jahren: 107 Meisterwerke aus den Hetjens-Museum, Deutches Keramik-Museum* (Düsseldorf, 1979), 72-76.

[119] (FvD 2); (FvD 5) panel, 74.5 x 114 cm. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 6 December 1995, #58; (FvD 11) panel, 100 x 135 cm, dated 1622. Russell Collection, Amsterdam, on loan to Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.

by the dramatic increase of space and emphatic focus on centralized elements. The pictorial focus in the large paintings, moreover, is not at the front of the table but at its middle and back. This change of focus is clear in the painting dated 1622 from the Russell Collection in Amsterdam (fig. 23). Here the stack of cheeses, always an inherently significant pictorial element on any table in which it appears, is given added emphasis by the knife pointing towards it and by the elaborate nautilus cup, whose gilt metal-edged drinking bowl is turned in its direction. In comparison, the plate with slice of melon, decoratively falling apple peel and bread roll along the table's front edge seem somewhat small and pictorially insignificant.

The visual and conceptual idioms Gillis and Van Dijck developed in the second decade of the seventeenth century in Haarlem had a limited but powerful impact on still-life painting there. A work now in Houston, which is probably by Floris van Schooten, clearly owes a large debt to the early laid table from Haarlem developed by Nicolaes Gillis and Floris van Dijck (fig. 9).[120] A stack of three cheeses dominates the back of the table. Other foodstuffs, such as large loaves of bread, and fancy drinking vessels and a dish of butter, line the back of the table. The middle

[120] (HA 2) The authorship of this painting is in dispute. The large panel is inscribed *CP fecit*, from which Sam Segal concluded (Ghent and Brussels 1996, 146-147) that Clara Peeters, a Flemish painter often connected to Haarlem in early histories, painted the work sometime in the 1630s. However, this painting shares nothing stylistically with works in Peeters's oeuvre. Her paintings have quite a different visual effect than that in the Houston painting. The horizon line in her paintings tends to be lower than here, resulting in a more intimate setting in which a limited number of objects are often brilliantly observed and distinguished according to their different textures. Even in a work like her 1611 painting of dainties, now in Madrid, in which the gilt pronck goblet is placed centrally on the table and is the obvious compositional focus, the quality of Peeters art is one of refined focus on a select few objects deployed in sophisticated compositional arrangements, and not the overstuffed table in evidence in the work from Houston. A close variant of this painting, which has been cut down and extensively restored, is in the Shipley Art Gallery in Newcastle-on-Tyne. See also the Introduction, note 9, for a discussion of the attribution of this painting.

register of the table is filled with enormous Wan-li dishes, bowls, containing, from left to right a large crab, dozens (if not hundreds!) of shrimp, and a lobster. The spaces between these dishes are taken up by an elegant *zoutvat* (salt cellar) and a bowl of sauce. The front row is just as crowded, as two types of crackers and a bowl of hen and plover eggs and a knife compete for space with the centrally placed roll.

The articulation of space on the table in this painting is somewhat different from that in Nicolaes Gillis and Floris van Dijck's paintings. In those works the middle of the table is relatively empty; nuts are scattered across its surface and a roemer typically sits in this liminal zone between the abundant back of the table and the selective front of the table, where often a bread roll or halved apple forms the basic beginning of the meal. In this painting the artist divided the painting into three clear rows, front, middle, and back, which he or she filled with an array of foods. Abundance is not relegated to the back of the table but is across its every square centimeter. These are truly groaning boards!

The painters Roelof Koets and Floris van Schooten also adopted the schemes developed by Floris van Dijck in some early paintings from the mid 1620s (figs. 70, 33).[121] In a panel now in Antwerp, Koets included the now familiar stack of cheeses, bowls of grapes and apples, bread rolls, scattered nuts and a roemer of wine and other drinking vessels. Koets arranged all of these elements in a familiar pattern: large dishes and drinking vessels along the back and sides of the table, the middle of the table, which is accentuated by the centrally placed damast linen, opening up to smaller

foodstuffs like scattered nuts and a roemer of wine. Along the table's front edge are two bread rolls, one to either side of a pewter plate centered in the composition that contains a halved apple, its peel dangling over the front of the table. While Koets incorporated motifs not seen in earlier works, particularly the saltcellar and the multi-lobed white ceramic bowl for the grapes, the composition is comparable to that of the earliest still lifes in Haarlem.

Although painted just over a decade after Van Dijck's and Gillis's innovative early work, Koets's painting was already old-fashioned in 1625. As discussed in the section on the single-course still life, Pieter Claesz and Floris van Schooten began transforming both the conceptual and visual forms of the Haarlem still life by the beginning of the 1620s (figs. 34, 102, 29, 106).[122] So, too, in their paintings of tables laden with two or more dishes these artists transformed Floris van Dijck's and Nicolaes Gillis's highly formal still-life tables into repasts where human presence is evident (figs. 38, 93).[123] Claesz's still life in the Speelman collection (fig. 161)[124] and Koets's larger panel were both painted in the same year, yet the two works point in opposite directions. Claesz's approach, celebrating the pictorial possibilities of the

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[121] (RK 1) panel, 71 x 124 cm, dated 1625. Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp; (FvS 28) panel, 54 x 90 cm. Sale, Amsterdam (Maak van Way), 23/26th June 1953, #96. For a discussion of the dating of Van Schooten's works and this painting in particular, see above, 143.

[122] (PC 1) panel, 45.5 x 63.5 cm, dated 1621; (FvS 24) panel, 39.5 x 78.5 cm; (FvS 33) panel, 47 x 84 cm; (PC 20) panel, 51 x 90 cm.

[123] (PC 6) panel, dimensions unknown; (FvS 36) panel, 53 x 83 cm.

[124] (PC 20*) panel, 42.9 x 75.3 cm, dated 1625. Speelman collection, Amsterdam.

partially consumed meal, proved the conceptual model that would dominate Haarlem still life.[125]

Vanitas Still Lifes

Apart from one early work now in the Bredius Museum, Willem Claesz. Heda showed little interest in the standard vanitas format of a skull and other elements that invite meditation on the transient nature of the human condition (fig. 51).[126] In this painting, dated 1621, a skull is integrated into a standard tobacco piece. The overturned roemer would also have been understood to refer to transience. In another vanitas painting by an unidentified artist (fig. 126), an overturned berckemeier is woven into a vanitas matrix with the other objects on the table through a simple inscription at the bottom of the painting – "The glass is empty, the time is up, the candle is out, man is dumb."[127] While Heda's work bears no explicit inscription, the message it conveys is unambiguous – man's life is like smoke.[128]

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[125] Even Roelof Koets quickly changed his visual and conceptual idioms to suit the new direction of still-life painting. In a work painted shortly after the 1625 Antwerp painting (RK 3)(panel, 74 x 120 cm, w/Arthur de Heuvel, Brussels, 1961), Koets introduced elements to the table that reveal his awareness of Claesz's work. The basket of grapes with large leafy vines is a paraphrase of Claesz's Speelman painting and other works. In this painting Koets also experimented with an off-centered, dynamic composition a la Claesz and Floris van Schooten. Koets shifted the stack of cheeses to the left, on the edge of the damast linen, and the pewter plate holding the apple to the right. Later in his career, Roelof Koets frequently collaborated with Pieter Claesz on large tabletop pieces.

[126] (WCH 1) panel, 42 x 67 cm, dated 1621. Museum Bredius, The Hague.

[127] (PC 39a) panel, 32.5 x 41 cm. Private collection. "De glas is leegh, De tyd is om; De keers is uyt. Den mensch is stom."

[128] Psalms 102, 3, "For my days are consumed like smoke." On the vanitas as a theme in northern still life, see Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*, 154-190; *Ijdelheid der ijdelheden. Hollandse Vanitas-voorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, exh. cat. (Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden, 1970).

Although Willem Claesz. Heda did not paint other works one can term vanitas, his contemporary Pieter Claesz took up the theme throughout his career, evolving it into one of his many subspecialties. In essence many of his paintings repeat the formulation of the anonymous vanitas – glass is empty, time is up, candle (or Claesz's preferred oil lamp) extinguished, man (skull) is stupid (figs. 122, 127, 124, 179).[129] Claesz, however, expanded the theme to include other objects, such as well-worn books, musical instruments, shells, even a spherical mirror in which the artist and the rest of the studio is visible. These extra-curricular objects are sometimes the principal focus of the painting, such as in a work now in Münster (fig. 63).[130] However, the elaborate nautilus cup by Jan Jacobsz van Royesteyn of Utrecht that Claesz depicted is a mere ruse.[131] One is so dazzled by its wonderful craftsmanship that one initially loses sight of Claesz's underlying purpose for including it. A skull is hidden in shadow under the cover of an opened book.[132] To activate his matrix of meaning, Claesz included a golden chain piled at the base of the nautilus cup, the pendant of which hangs over the knob of an arm-or-leg bone beside the skull. One cannot escape the point – all of the material trappings of this world – however wonderful and luxurious they may be – are in the end transient pleasures.

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[129] (PC 39) panel, 39.5 x 56 cm, dated 1630. Mauritshuis, The Hague; (PC 29) panel, 24 x 36 cm, dated 1628. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; (PC 33) panel, 49 x 82 cm, dated 1629. Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby Mak van Waay), 1st June 1987, #71; (PC 35) panel, 36 x 59 cm. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.

[130] (PC 54) panel, 47 x 61 cm, dated 1636. Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster.

[131] On this painting, see Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 129.

While most of Claesz's vanitas paintings follow closely the visual and conceptual form evident above, two large canvases, which are probably pendants, expand considerably the range and number of objects woven into a vanitas image (figs. 180, 181).[133] Knowledge, wealth, satiation, the arts – globes, books, shells, musical instruments, food, and riches that abound on these large tables – are here brought under the aegis of vanitas. Chains, necklaces and other forms of wealth spill out of boxes and tazzas. Yet at the heart of these paintings, and of the tables they picture, the basic formulation of the vanitas – "The glass is empty, the time is up, the candle is out, man is dumb" – is firmly rooted. In a turn of wit, Claesz paints a skull in each canvas that seemingly surveys the orgy of worldly riches arrayed on the table. At the center of each table an opened timepiece is a reminder of the transience of life, as is the extinguished candle and oil lamp in the back of each painting. Finally an overturned drinking vessel in each painting, a tazza in one, gilt goblet in the other, signifies the first condition of the quatrain – the glass is empty.

Summary

A modern categorization of seventeenth-century Haarlem tabletop still lifes can never fully articulate the distinctions the Dutch themselves made, echoes of which are found in the probate inventories. However, reasonable approximations of the

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[132] Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 129, stresses the relationship of skull hidden under a book in a few of Claesz's vanitas paintings and wonders whether they could represent the triumph of wisdom or the folly of trying to attain wisdom.

[133] (PC 214) canvas, 91.5 x 109 cm, dated 1653. Sale, London (Christie's), 22nd April 1994, #139; (PC 215) canvas, 77.5 x 109.2 cm. Sale, London (Christie's), 27th June 1975, #50.

nascent categories that existed in Haarlem in the early seventeenth century, when terms such as *fruytagie*, *tabackje, roemer, onbijt* and *vanitas* were used to describe, and distinguish, still lifes, are possible. As outlined in this chapter, works belonging to these thematic categories can for the most part be identified.

However, these categories do not cover the majority of Haarlem tabletop still lifes known today. 374 paintings, or more than half of all the works under study, do not neatly fit any of the above categories. These paintings are the works that probably were most often described with some form of the term *bancket*. Unfortunately it is not possible to establish the parameters of a category *bancket* in such a way as to reflect the real differences between one of Willem Claesz. Heda's large tabletops from the late 1650s and a painting by him of a tabletop with a mince pie from the early 1640s (figs. 114, 117).[134] The same is true of works by Pieter Claesz (figs. 50, 78)[135] or between works by these artists and other artists, such as Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis (figs. 17, 27). [136]

For that reason, two admittedly artificial categories – *meal with one main dish* and *meal with several dishes* – were created to rationalize this large body of paintings. Both categories can reasonably be said to possess attributes of what might have been expected from the term *bancket* in the seventeenth century. As is clear in the discussion, Haarlem artists did not paint with such clear divisions in mind. Indeed,

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[134] (WCH 121) canvas, 88.5 x 109.5 cm, dated 1658. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. (WCH 59) panel, 57.5 x 76 cm, dated 1640. Private collection, Cologne.

[135] (PC 123/139) panel, 66 x 95 cm, dated 1644. With Robert Noortman, London, 1980; (PC 166) panel, 45.5 x 56 cm, dated 1646. Formerly Heinz collection; Peter Tillou, London, 1994.

Willem Claesz. Heda's fascination with fancy drinking vessels in many of his compositions, including those of a *meal with one main dish*, blur the affective distance between these two thematic categories. So too, the early paintings, especially those by Floris van Dijck, similarly emphasize the grand and abundant qualities of a laid table and are included in the category *meal with several dishes*, despite morphological affinities with smaller works by the same artists that are classified here as *fruytagie/ontbijt*.

It is hoped that despite the obvious shortcomings of this taxonomic system that a reasonable picture emerges of the broad features of Haarlem still life over the period under study. These categories allow one to understand that the primary emphasis in Haarlem still-life painting throughout this period was on a tabletop laid with what one could reasonably describe as a meal with drink for one diner, that is, the viewer. The appeal to the viewer in seventeenth-century Haarlem still life was primarily to his senses, and Haarlem artists enhanced this appeal by structuring the table in such a manner and stocking it with the requisites necessary to satisfy the viewer's desire.

The compositional means by which Haarlem artists structured their tabletops is the focus of the following chapter. Their preferences for compositional solutions depending upon the thematic type at hand will be explored and, together with the analyses of this and the previous chapter, will form the basis for an exploration of the relationship between form and meaning in the fifth chapter.

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[136] (FvD 2) panel, 73.7 x 113 cm, dated 1610. Scudamore Griffiths collection, Campden or London, c. 1956; (NG 3) panel, 74.5 x 110.5 cm, dated 1614. National Gallery, Prague.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPOSITIONAL ELEMENTS IN HAARLEM STILL-LIFE PAINTING, 1610-1660

The development of still-life painting in Haarlem unfolded not only along common themes but as well according to generally shared compositional principles that governed the overall appearance of the painted table. One of the most fascinating morphological developments was the stylistic transition in the 1620s from the laid tables of the first generation of Haarlem painters – Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis – to the informal tables painted by Floris van Schooten, Pieter Claesz, and Willem Claesz. Heda. These later artists developed distinctive visual formulae that often correspond to the thematic type of each work. Thus a vanitas, a painting of smoking elements, or even a single-course meal had a certain appearance or range of appearances that appealed to their market clientele. Once an artist developed a successful visual combination or motif, such as an overturned nautilus cup, he would exploit its appeal within a narrowly circumscribed range of repeating compositional formulae.

This third and final perspective from which the still lifes in this study are considered – their compositional structure – provides the necessary backdrop for identifying those paintings that may have been invested with religious or moralizing meaning. The viewpoint, disposition, format, and cropping of these paintings gave structure to the themes the artists sought to convey. These compositional elements also

enhanced the visual presence of specific objects, such as a *roemer*, *tazza*, bread roll, mince pie, or a lemon. The relationship of the formal and thematic aspects of paintings to their meanings will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Viewpoint

The earliest still-life paintings from Haarlem, those painted by Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis from 1610 to about 1620, are striking for the relationship they posit with the viewer. The tilted tabletop these artists employed allowed them to paint numerous dishes, bowls, foods, and drinking glasses upon a broad field.[1] Because of the tilted perspective of the table top the viewer seems to hover above the front of the table (figs. 101, 27).[2] Remarkably, this unusual spatial construct did not result in awkward pictures; rather it allowed Gillis and Van Dijck the opportunity to depict the totality of most of the objects on the table. Along the front and in the middle of the table objects do not overlap, and each roll, apple, nut, and *roemer* is carefully described in great detail. Only along the backs of these tables did loaves of bread, pitchers, bowls of fruit, and cheeses overlap each other.

However just as pictorial conventions in civic guard portraiture yielded to the modernizing propositions Frans Hals put forth in the *Civic Guard of the St. George Militia* he painted in 1616, so too did the artistic taste in Haarlem still-life paintings

[1] For other discussions of their visual construct, see Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*, 98-100; Lammers.

[2] (FvD 6) panel, 82.2 x 111.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; (NG 3) panel, 74.5 x 110.5 cm, dated 1614. National Gallery, Prague.

shift, perhaps inspired as well by this painting. By the late 1620s the tilted tabletop and black background favored by Floris Van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis and their followers was eclipsed by the unified viewpoint and light background so familiar to us from the works of Pieter Claesz, Willem Claesz. Heda and Floris van Schooten, which situated the viewer in front of the table in a more natural position than was possible with the tilted tabletop (figs. 160, 52). Nicolaes Gillis clearly emulated the progressive style of Pieter Claesz in a work inscribed NG and dated 1625, casting aside the high perspective that must have seemed increasingly retardataire by this date (fig. 182).

Although in this study all forty-eight of the paintings with a high perspective occur early in the development of the Haarlem still life, the transition was not completely abrupt. The tilted tabletop in its purest form was still employed to great effect by Roelof Koets in his large tabletop painted in 1625 (fig. 70), even after Pieter Claesz and Floris van Schooten had already painted numerous works in the modernizing vein (figs. 132, 183).[3] Pieter Claesz utilized a high perspective in his two large paintings from 1627 (figs. 65, 66), modifying slightly the Van Dijckian construct by eliminating the dark background and lowering the horizon line. As late as 1628, Floris van Dijck still utilized the high perspective system (fig. 184), although he adapted Pieter Claesz's and Floris van Schooten's manner of painting items on the table in a unified whole.[4]

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[3] (FvS 3) panel, 82 x 52 cm. Dealer M. Wolff, before 1938; (PC 10) panel, 35 x 58.5 cm. Dealer Duits, London, 1960. Between the two artists they had painted approximately fifteen paintings in this newer mode by 1625.

[4] Frima Fox Hofrichter first makes this point writing about this painting, Van Dijck's last known, in the catalogue to her exhibition at the Jane Voorhees Museum in Rutgers in 1983. See Frima Fox Hofrichter,

By the late 1620s, however, Haarlem still-life painters uniformly related the viewer to the painted table in a much more natural way than they had earlier in the decade. Painters were now more concerned with dynamic overlapping than with articulating objects within their own defined zone of space on the broad field of a tabletop. In only exceptional works did an artist like Willem Claesz. Heda employ a perspective that verges on the high viewpoint and tilted tabletop of his artistic forebears, as in his Washington canvas of 1635 (fig. 1).

Disposition

Of the four compositional principles, the disposition, or arrangement, of the table in Haarlem still-life painting was the most important to the artist. How Pieter Claesz, Floris van Dijck, or Willem Claesz. Heda or others ordered the elements on their tables conveyed their particular conception of a thematic type. Thus, in the works of Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis, emphasis was placed on compositional symmetry (figs. 17, 11).[5] By locating stacks of cheese in the center along the back of the table these artists provided a visually powerful pyramid-like geometry that governs the viewer's response to the rest of the table. In this respect their paintings were not unlike the earliest civic guard paintings, in which the arrangement of portraits around a table overrode a convincing integration of the various persons. On the other hand

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Haarlem: The Seventeenth Century, exh. cat. (The Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, 1983), 76.

[5] (FvD 2) panel, 73.7 x 113 cm, dated 1610. Scudamore Griffiths collection, Campden; (NG 2) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1612. Russell Collection, Amsterdam.

Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz were interested in exploring the dynamic possibilities of their respective subjects through compositional enhancements to the time-honored compositional structures they inherited. In a significant number of his works Claesz organized his composition in a wedge-shaped manner that dynamically focused his meals at one end of a table (figs. 172, 49).[6] Willem Claesz. Heda often struck a balance between Claesz and the first generation of still-life artists, employing in essence an off-centered pyramidal structure that enhanced the vertical elements he favored (figs. 1, 57).[7]

In addition to the three compositional dispositions outlined above – the centered pyramid structure, the off-centered pyramid structure, and a left or right wedge – Haarlem artists also employed an x-centered arrangement in their works. This compositional type essentially consists of two foreshortened diagonals crossing each other at oblique angles on the table (figs. 158, 76).[8] Like the centered pyramidal structure, this form tends to locate visual interest in the center of the table, rather than at its end.

A fifth group of paintings have no apparent dominant compositional disposition. In some instances I have placed a painting in two different categories because elements of both arrangement types are strongly present in the composition.

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[6] (PC 161) panel, 40.5 x 61 cm, dated 1646. With dealer Daphne Alazraki, New York, 1994; (PC 92) panel, 73 x 99 cm. Private collection, Edinburgh.

[7] (WCH 40) canvas, 106.1 x 111 cm, dated 1635; (WCH 34) panel, 76 x 90 cm, dated 1614. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

[8] (FvS 43) panel, dimensions unknown. Collection S,J, Graaf von Limburg-Stirum, Spijkerbosch, Olst; (PC 7) panel, 48.2 x 76.5 cm. The Art Institute, Chicago.

Thus, in the discussion of the types that follows below, the percentages will often add up to more than 100%

Pyramidally centered

Floris van Dijck used this compositional type in his first paintings in 1610 and it is the type both he and Nicolaes Gillis used extensively in their work (figs. 17, 11).[9] Indeed it is this arrangement of the table, a massing of form along the back of the table around a centrally placed, triangular stack of cheeses, that is one of the most significant hallmarks of the still lifes by this first generation of Haarlem painters.

In the thematic types pertinent to these early works – the *ontbijt*, *fruytagie*, and *meal with several dishes* – the early works account, respectively, for 44.4%, 83.3%, and 52.6% of those paintings in each category employing the centralizing pyramid as a compositional form. These numbers are significant when one considers that the first generation of Haarlem still-life painters represents just a small fraction of the total group of paintings in this survey, around forty paintings out of 630 overall (6.3%). Thus one conclusion to be drawn from the numbers is that the centralizing pyramidal form quickly lost favor with the younger generation of Haarlem still-life painters. Instead they developed compositional arrangements that resulted in dynamic images, pictures that proved quite popular with the burgeoning art market in Haarlem and elsewhere in the Dutch republic.

[9] See above.

Nevertheless, as the numbers above demonstrate, Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda and other artists did not entirely abandon the concept of a symmetrical arrangement of form, one that echoes the compositional approach of their artistic forebears. This compositional approach is evident, for example, in a large painting by Pieter Claesz dated 1639 (fig. 105).[10] Even though this painting is ostensibly a painting of a meal of a mince pie and roll with wine, the compositional arrangement subordinates all other elements on the table to the large roemer of wine standing in the center of the table. In considering this painting the viewer must come to terms with this dominant pictorial element, so pronounced is its role in the painting's composition. Using the same compositional approach Willem Claesz. Heda featured a roemer of wine in a painting from Rotterdam (fig. 3).[11] Though much smaller than Claesz's large canvas and of a different thematic type – this one focused on a roemer of wine with a light snack – Heda's painting casts the roemer in equally monumental terms. The central placement of the roemer, combined with the massing of form on either side of this drinking vessel, especially the fallen tazza on the right, creates an arresting image, encouraging the viewer to wonder about its deeper implications.

Heda's use of the pyramidal composition in a later and larger canvas resulted in one of his more memorable images (fig. 176).[12] The pitcher and fluit in the middle of the table subordinate the many dishes and the beaker sprawled across the canvas. A

[10] (PC 78) canvas, 85 x 117 cm, dated 1639. Sale, Paris (Orsay), 4th November 1978.

[11] (WCH 31) panel, 43 x 57 cm, dated 1634. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

[12] (WCH 120) canvas, 111.76 x 152.4 cm, dated 1656. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

swath of light falling across the back wall highlights both fluit and pitcher as though to declare their compositional importance. Unlike Nicolaes Gillis or Floris van Dijck's use of a stack of cheeses to visually reinforce the significance of an object centrally placed along the front edge of the table (fig. 11), Heda in this painting allowed two objects to be the primary focus of our attention.

Off-centered pyramid

Of the four compositional approaches used by Haarlem artists in their still-life paintings, the off-centered pyramidal approach was by far the most popular, particularly during the 1630s and 1640s, forming the basis of the visual appearance of 39.4% of all paintings. The principle of this compositional arrangement is that mass along one short leg of a triangle balances the comparative void along the long leg of the triangle, creating a dynamic balance that helps create visual tension in the painting. This compositional approach lends not only a dynamic quality to a laid table, it also enhances the monumental aspects of the table arrangement. Willem Claesz. Heda's painting from the Rijksmuseum or his smoking piece from the Carter collection are good examples of this approach (figs. 58, 135).[13] In both works sweeping diagonals on one side of the apex of the pyramid dramatize the arrangement of the meal, but it is only in combination with the short side of the pyramid that the anchor objects in these two compositions – the gilt goblet in the former and pewter pitcher in the latter – are accorded monumental status.

[13] (WCH 41) panel, 88 x 113 cm, dated 1635. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; (WCH 42) panel, 42 x 53.5 cm, dated 1637. Carter collection, Los Angeles.

Heda was the principle practitioner of this compositional approach. Of the 248 paintings based on the off-centered pyramidal arrangement, Heda painted 64.1 % of them, employing this compositional approach in 71.6% of his works. His followers, Cornelis Mahu and his son Gerrit Heda, account for another 14.9% of the works using this compositional form (figs. 148, 185).[14] Pieter Claesz is the only artist outside of Willem Claesz. Heda's immediate circle who used an off-centered pyramid in a significant number of paintings, a little under 19% of his total production (fig. 166). He accounts for 19.3% of the paintings in this group.

Left or right wedge

Where Willem Claesz. Heda dominated the use of the off-centered pyramidal approach, Pieter Claesz preferred to compose his works in a wedge-like composition, a diagonal arrangement of objects on the table that extended from a high point along one edge of the panel to a terminus at the edge of the table (figs. 49, 116).[15] As is evident from these two paintings, Claesz used the diagonal to move the viewer's eye across the panel's surface and into depth. In the painting from Scotland the viewer's eye begins at the pewter pitcher and fluit at the back right of the table and extends down to the diagonally positioned knife. In the Kassel work the eye is led from the roemer along the left front edge of the table to the roll in the back right.

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[14] (GH 30) panel, 103.5 x 82 cm, dated 1647. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin; (CM 2) panel, 91 x 56 cm, dated HEDA 1642.

[15] (PC 92) panel, 73 x 99 cm, dated 1641. Private collection, Scotland; (PC 51) panel, 38 x 53 cm, dated 1633. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Kassel.

This wedge approach was widely used. It is found in nearly a third (31%) of the paintings in the survey group. Claesz painted 65% of the works painted in this mode (50% of his total oeuvre). He first used the wedge in a painting dated 1621 (fig. 34) but consistently employed it only from the late 1620s on, with the heaviest concentration occurring in the 1640s. In contrast Willem Claesz. Heda accounts for only 17.8% of the total paintings in this compositional mode. He painted most of these works in the 1630s. Floris van Schooten painted twenty-six works (41% of his total output) during the decades of the twenties and the thirties (figs. 186, 88).[16]

X-centered (Two diagonals crossing in the center)

This compositional approach, basically an intersection of two diagonals on the table, is another that Claesz used extensively, although it did not prove to be as popular among Haarlem artists as the wedge or off-centered pyramid (figs. 76, 164).[17] Only 12.2% of the paintings are so composed, and of these 74% are by Claesz. Floris van Schooten used this approach in 30% of his paintings (24.6% of group total) (fig. 93). Van Schooten's works are interesting because, unlike Claesz's paintings, in which it is fairly easy to recognize the underlying compositional pattern of diagonals crossing each other in the laid platters and plates, it is often hard to tease out this underlying pattern. Many of his works are here cross-listed as both x-centered and

[16] (FvS 14) panel, 52 x 89 cm. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem; (WCH 48) panel, 50.1 x 68.6 cm, dated 1638. Buckingham Palace, England.

[17] (PC 7) panel, 48.2 x 76.5 cm. Art Institute, Chicago; (PC 11) panel, 33.6 x 47.6 cm. Private collection.

having no dominant compositional pattern. Nevertheless, he generally focused his compositions around a large central platter on the table, which is visually reinforced by the plates and objects radiating out from it in diagonals.

No dominant compositional disposition

Only 5.8% of the works in this survey have no discernible underlying compositional pattern. Of these 35% are by Floris van Schooten.

Format

85.5% of the 630 paintings in this study are horizontal in format. This preference for a horizontal format is not surprising when one considers the general trends in Dutch painting in the first half of the seventeenth century. Apart from portraits, where the subject generally demanded a vertical format, most Dutch paintings were horizontal during the first three decades of the seventeenth century (figs. 74, 21). One explanation for this preference is the nature of the subject matter. The Haarlem painters of tabletop still lifes reflected a way of interacting with the table that was sanctioned through repetitive daily practice and that mirrored the assumptions of the broader population.

Still-life paintings with a vertical format, however, also existed. No fewer than ninety-one paintings in the study group, 14.5%, are vertical in orientation. The choice for this format can be explained by one of two circumstances – the subject matter of the work and the period in which the work was painted, or a combination of the two.

As an example, in the thematic type *roemers*, a vertical format reinforced the emphasis on the vertical pictorial element, a roemer or some other drinking vessel of this type. 34% of these paintings are vertical in format (fig. 139).[18] In the closely related thematic type, *fancy drinking vessels* that Willem Claesz. Heda developed in the 1660s, a vertical format was used 95% of the time (fig. 146).[19]

Not only subject, but also changes of taste influenced choice of format. Around 1640, artists, especially Willem Claesz. Heda and his son Gerrit, employed the vertical format to tackle subject matter that traditionally had been rendered horizontally (figs. 7, 170).[20] Both artists were fond of including costly drinking vessels in their paintings, and the vertical format allowed them to present these tables in a manner that enhanced the appeal and dramatic effect of these particular luxurious vessels. However, these artists did not abandon the horizontal format. Of the works belonging to the single-course meal thematic group he painted from 1638, the year he executed the Hamburg painting, the elder Heda employed the horizontal format three-quarters of the time. Within the same group the younger Heda divided his panels equally between vertical and horizontal formats. Pieter Claesz, who painted far more works of this thematic type than either of the Hedas, employed the vertical format in only about 13% of his paintings dating from 1640, preferring the horizontal format 7.5 to 1.

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[18] (WCH 4) panel, 35 x 32 cm, dated 1630. RBK, NK 2489, cat. VI-24.

[19] The remaining two-thirds of the paintings often featured an additional drinking vessel, usually a tazza, that has been overturned. This additional element not only enhanced visual interest in the painting, but also necessitated a horizontal format.

[20] (WCH 51) panel, 102.5 x 83.7 cm, dated 1638. Kunsthalle, Hamburg; (GH 20) panel, 98 x 82.5 cm, dated 1650. National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Cropping

The degree to which Haarlem artists cropped the space around the tables in their paintings varied according to factors such as support used, date painted, and thematic type. Of the 630 paintings in this study, seventy-two are painted on canvas and 555 are painted on panel.[21] Forty-five of the works on canvas, or 62.5%, include a generous amount of space around the table (fig. 154).[22] In contrast, this expanded space for the pictured table is found in only 102 of the 555 panel paintings (18.3 %) (fig. 23).[23] The reverse is the case for paintings featuring a normal amount of space for the table and its contents (figs. 174, 79).[24] 62% of all panel paintings exhibit a normal amount of space around the table, while only 30.5% of canvas paintings do. Of the 112 paintings in this study (17.8%) that I determined to be tightly cropped (figs. 74, 91), all but five were on panel (95.6%).[25]

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[21] The other two paintings, a vase of flowers by Nicolaes Gillis and a table with a plate of fish by Pieter Claesz, are painted on copper.

[22] The judgment on whether a painting enjoyed expanded, normal, or tight cropping was mine. My criterion for determining these three values is relatively simple, if open to interpretation. After surveying the body of work in this study I was able to establish the normative cropping preferences of Haarlem artists in the period between 1610 and 1660. From this standard I could then judge if a work depicted more space (expanded) or less space (tight) than the normative cropping employed for the vast majority of Haarlem still-life paintings.

[23] (FvD 11) panel, 100 x 135 cm, dated 1622. Russell Collection, Amsterdam.

[24] (PC 37) panel, 48.9 x 72.5 cm, dated 1630. Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1999; (PC 136) panel, 47 x 63 cm, dated 1644. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg.

[25] (PC 61) panel, 36 x 49 cm, dated 1636. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; (PC 21) panel, 36.5 x 77 cm. Formerly Heinz collection.

While all three cropping strategies are found in works throughout the period under study, their usage varied somewhat according to date. For example, Floris van Dijck used the expanded cropping scheme in some of his paintings and those by his followers in the 1610s. Apart from some concentrated use by Willem Claesz. Heda in the mid-1630s, such as in the Washington canvas and Rijksmuseum panel (figs. 1, 58), tables with generous amounts of space around them were not really popular again until the 1640s, when they appear with great regularity (figs. 95, 83). This usage parallels a broader trend in Dutch painting during the 1640s, 1650s, and 1660s for larger, more spacious paintings. One need only think of the transitions toward larger, more spacious paintings in landscape and genre painting, to appreciate that this evolution in Haarlem still-life painting paralleled shifts in other specialties.

Tightly cropped paintings were also to be found throughout the period under study, but they were particularly concentrated in the period from the late 1610s through the 1640s in the works of Floris van Schooten (fig. 111), Pieter Claesz (fig. 165), and Willem Claesz. Heda (fig. 54).[26] Moreover these paintings often exhibit similar traits, which may account for the cropping they received. Apart from several paintings by Pieter Claesz in the 1640s and into the 1650s of *meal with one main dish*, the majority of paintings that are tightly cropped depicted themes such as *fruytagie*, *ontbijt*, *vanitas*, *tabackje* and *roemer*, which usually depend on only a small number of

[26] (FvS 26) panel, 36 x 59 cm. Dealer J. Denys, Amsterdam, 1945; (PC 17) panel, 28 x 42 cm. Sale, Paris (Druout), 3rd March 1967, #37; (WCH 6) panel, 41.6 x 57.5 cm, dated 1630. Sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 9th November 1937, #2.

objects for the composition.[27] On the other hand a theme emphasizing abundance, such as *meal with several main dishes* was often realized by artists through generous space around the table (figs. 17, 98).[28] 68% of the multiple-course meals in the survey are ensconced within an expanded spatial environment.

A normal amount of space around the table, showing some of its front edge or its end or both, is the cropping mode most frequently employed across the range of thematic types in Haarlem still life (figs. 87, 124, 186).[29] In the largest group of paintings, the single-course meal, the normal cropping mode was employed in 61.6% of the works. While this percentage is fourth highest amongst the thematic types, it is one of six that range above 54%.[30] Only the *vanitas* (19%) and *meal with several dishes* (32%) types fall outside this range.

When not cropped with a normal amount of space, *tabackjes*, *vanitas* paintings, and paintings of a roemer of wine were most often tightly framed, creating an intimacy that well served these subjects. For instance, the tight focus on the vanitas ensemble in Claesz's painting from the Metropolitan reinforces the contemplative nature of this work, leaving the viewer with little beyond the table to consider (fig.

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[27] (FvS 55 or 57); (PC 32); (PC 54); (WCH 7).

[28] (FvD 2) panel, 73.7 x 113 cm, dated 1610. Scudamore Griffiths collection, Campden; (RK 8) canvas, 135 x 185 cm. Private collection, Amsterdam, c.1945.

[29] (WCH 26) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1633. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem; (PC 33) panel, 49 x 82 cm, dated 1629. Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby Mak van Waay), 1st June 1987, #71; (FvS 14) panel, 52 x 89 cm. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

[30] The thematic types are: *Fancy drinking vessels* (100%); *Ontbijt* (84.3%); *Fruytagie* (71.4%); *Roemers, etc.* (55.9%);*Tabackjes* (54%).

127).[31] Just as a vertical format often best suited a painting of a standing roemer or beaker of wine, so a tight cropping of the space in such a picture enhanced the spare, intimate nature of the subject (fig. 187).[32]

Summary

In the period under study Haarlem still-life painters developed a range of compositional devices that affected areas from *viewpoint* and *disposition* to *format* and *cropping*. With these compositional devices Haarlem artists constructed their tabletops. While many of the choices artists made reflected the development of their personal artistic idiom, or brand – witness Willem Claesz. Heda's preference for the off-centered pyramid at the same time that Pieter Claesz painted mostly with a wedge layout – some of the forms Haarlem artists developed corresponded to the general needs of the Haarlem tabletop still life. As an example consider the shift of the focus on the table from the center to one end. This change, which was complete in the art of Pieter Claesz, Floris van Schooten, Willem Claesz. Heda and others, necessitated the development of dynamic, active compositional principles. In addition, the development of new thematic types, such as the *roemer* led to a general preference for a vertical format, just as the seldom-used *meal with several main dishes* usually resulted in a generous pictorial field around the tabletop.

In the following chapter the compositional trends highlighted in this chapter, along with those of the thematic types and motifs that were covered in chapters two

[31] (PC 29) panel, 24 x 36 cm, dated 1628. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

and three, form a backdrop to a discussion of the relationship of form to meaning. Using these three perspectives as a "picture" of Haarlem tabletop still-life painting, this chapter will isolate and discuss some works that stand apart from the norms discussed in chapters two through four. These anomalous works will be probed for their strong potential for meaning.

[32] (WCH 22) panel, 40 x 33.5 cm, dated 1633. Dealer Bob Haboldt, Paris, after 1996.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN CONTENT, FORM AND MEANING IN HAARLEM STILL-LIFE PAINTING, 1610-1660

In the previous three chapters Haarlem still-life paintings have been examined in terms of the foods and objects that appear in them, the types to which these objects and foods give form, and the compositional manner in which these types were portrayed. The aim of these analyses has been to establish characteristic patterns to be found in Haarlem still-life painting between 1610 and 1660. This chapter will examine the connection between these pictorial patterns, or more importantly the deviations from them, and the presence of meaning in some tabletop still-life paintings.

The results of the analyses in chapters two through four yielded much information on the characteristic forms and subjects found in Haarlem tabletop still-life painting. For instance the disappearance of the cheese stack from the tabletop by the mid-1620s, while familiar to students of Dutch still life, is conveyed forcefully by results from this database. Moreover, the rate at which an extinguished candle or oil lamp was used and in what type of thematic subject – *vanitas*, *tabackje*, *meal with one main dish* – allows one some insight into how this particular motif was understood by Haarlem artists and their audience. This knowledge can guide the modern viewer's interpretation of these paintings in a manner that honors the artist's intention.

The analyses permitted by the database are not limited to exploring motif usage and the thematic type in which such motifs are used. Analyzing compositional

format allows one to see two critical points: how in the main Haarlem artists constructed their tabletop still lifes and the compositional forms individual artists characteristically preferred.

Both reference points are useful. For instance, a consideration of the broad trends of Haarlem tabletop still-life painting reveals that the most popular type of still-life pictures were constructed on either wedge-shaped or off-pyramidal frameworks, with a low viewpoint, horizontal format and a standard degree of cropping. This result reinforces the fact that Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda, who largely used these formats, painted the lion's share of pictures, while painters of the early tabletop still life, which featured a pyramidal format with a high viewpoint were in the minority.

The early tabletop form, however, was a powerful construction for expressing metaphorical content and some its most important features appear to have held attraction for Claesz and Heda. The most important feature these artists borrowed was a centralized focus on one object, such as a roll or *roemer* of wine. Data reveals that both Heda and Claesz made use of this compositional device, though they did so rarely. While an explanation for their use of this feature may be to ascribe it to artistic variety, it is also likely that Heda and Claesz used this device to establish motifs rich in associative possibilities.

By isolating works in the database exceptional in their use of two or more seldom-used variables (motifs and compositional forms) one can assess how artists manipulated their images to convey abstract ideas.[1] While it is only rarely possible to

[1] The semiological method has proven a rich means by which to study Dutch still-life painting. Roland Barthes, whose work is fundamental to the study of semiotics in art, made some significant observations

conclude with certainty what message(s) an artist such as Pieter Claesz or Willem Claesz. Heda intended, the structures found in many of their most unusual works leave little doubt that they had constructed visual frameworks oriented towards communicating messages that centered on religious or moral principles.

In this chapter three structural principles – symmetry, centrality, and diagonal placement – are examined for their capacity to foster associations between motifs, such as a roll or a *roemer* of wine, and religious ideas. The works that are discussed in these sections are also probed for the content of their meaning.

As is clear from this discussion there are only a few compositionally-enhanced paintings in which the religious character of the picture is plain to see. In other paintings, compositional structure and symbolical motifs such as watches are clear evidence of an intention to convey meaning, but the message conveyed is ambiguous, perhaps intentionally so. This ambiguity is particularly pronounced in paintings by Pieter Claesz.

Puttings things into their proper place: the choice of when to use a motif

The decision to introduce objects and motifs into a still-life composition probably depended on a variety of factors for each artist from painting to painting.

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about Dutch still life in general that have generated further study, particularly by Norman Bryson and Celeste Brusati. He observed that objects in Dutch still life are nearly always displayed in tandem with other objects, never alone. As well he noted that many objects were depicted in ways that emphasize how the objects were used rather than their principal form. See Roland Barthes, "The World as Object," in *Critical Essays*, trans. R. Howard (Evanston, Ill., 1972), 3-12. See also Bryson (particularly Chapter Three – "Abundance"); and Brusati, "Natural Artifice". For more on semiotics and art history, see: Meyer Schapiro, "On some problems in the semiotics of visual art: field and vehicle in image-signs," *Simiolus* VI/1 (1972-1973), 9-19; and Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 174-208.

From aesthetic considerations (will an overturned tazza balance a standing roemer in both form and tone?) to issues of type (do smoking implements fit with a meal of oysters, wine and bread?) to investing a picture with meaning (will an extinguished candle properly set the tone?), the choices made by painters of Haarlem still life reflect a rational process of selection and refinement to achieve a desired result. Thus it can be said that thought, sometimes a great deal of it, went into the invention of most still-life painting in Haarlem.

As is discussed in the sections below, the compositional frameworks employed by Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis and other early Haarlem still-life painters present laid tables as almost visual rebuses, so reliant were they on principles like symmetry and centrality to give form to their laid tables. A generation later, Pieter Claesz, Willem Claesz. Heda and others transformed the dominant visual idiom in Haarlem still-life painting, adopting compositional types that favored dynamic form and overlapping of objects on the table over the principles of rational order found in the earlier pictures. Yet these paintings also evince a meticulous care in the planning of their visual structure. One need only think of Pieter Claesz's Rotterdam panel (fig. 74) or Willem Claesz. Heda's work on loan to the National Gallery of Art (fig. 4) or Floris van Schooten's tabletop with a beaker and cheese (fig. 131) to appreciate how each of these artists approached their tasks thoughtfully.[2]

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[2] (PC 61) panel, 36 x 49 cm, dated 1636. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; (WCH 38) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1635. Private collection; (FvS 41) panel, 39.3 x 57 cm. Dealer Leonard Koetser, London, 1961.

However these artists, and to an extent even the earlier generation of artists, did adopt shortcuts that brought efficiency to the process of making a picture. For instance after Claesz, Heda and Van Schooten effectively relocated the stage for their arrangements to the end of a table rather than its middle, it is doubtful that these artists and those following in their wake wasted too much energy devising new settings for their pictures. Additionally, artists developed slightly different signature looks, some of which changed over time, that were conventions they could draw on without much thought. For example, Pieter Claesz tended to prefer massing objects on the tables he painted in a sort of wedge shape that continued to the end of the table, whereas Willem Claesz. Heda tended to prefer an off-centered pyramid structure (figs. 163, 115).[3] Finally Heda and Claesz, among others, used certain objects or combinations of objects repetitively, as though the picturing of these items was another calling card of the artist. For instance between 1640 and 1641 Willem Claesz. Heda painted a number of works that draw upon both similar compositional structure and make use of a mince pie and overturned nautilus cup (figs. 117, 5, 188).[4] In the mid-1640s Pieter Claesz developed a crumple of linen in a bough shape that he included in a number of works (figs. 163, 112, 189, 99)[5]

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[3] (PC 174) panel, 63.5 x 88.5 cm, dated 1647. National Museum, Budapest; (WCH 12) panel, 48 x 55 cm, dated 1631. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

[4] (WCH 59) panel, 57.5 x 76 cm, dated 1640. Private collection, Cologne; (WCH 70) panel, 59.5 x 79 cm, dated 1641. Narodne Museum, Warsaw; (WCH 67) panel, 60 x 77 cm, dated 1641. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg. Other variants on this basic compositional formula are: (WCH 56), (WCH 57), (WCH 58), (WCH 60), (WCH 61), (WCH 72), (WCH 75).

[5] (PC 174) panel, 63.5 x 88.5 cm, dated 1647. National Museum, Budapest; (PC 159) canvas, 48.5 x 66.8 cm, dated 1645. Location unknown; (PC 173) panel, 50.5 x 71 cm, dated 1647. Kunsthalle, Bremen; (PC 193) canvas, 114 x 172 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Other paintings with this

At the same time that artists like Claesz and Heda developed stock motifs and templates with which to compose their paintings, their production of paintings seems to have increased. This connection between increased numbers of works painted and the development of efficiencies is one not isolated to still-life painting in Haarlem. Indeed, as has been discussed in Chapter One, much the same phenomenon occurred in Haarlem landscape painting. To what extent, then, can the later paintings by Heda and Claesz be said to be the product of a thoughtful process of picture-making in which an allegorical message was intended and to what extent were they slightly varied formulae turned out to an art-buying public eager for paintings of a certain, expected look?

The evidence that artists in Haarlem, especially Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda, turned out some works relying on well-honed formula is persuasive. As discussed above, Claesz, Heda, and Floris van Schooten (figs. 130, 152, 153),[6] were adept at repeating successful visual compositions with only minor variations.

In addition to the variants the artists made of their own work, there exist numerous copies by other hands of specific pictures by both Claesz and Heda. As an example, over a dozen copies each of two works Heda painted in 1637 are known today (figs. 6, 190),[7] and at least seven copies and variants have been recorded of

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distinctive bowing of the tablecloth are: (PC 21), (PC 138), (PC 138a), (PC 177), (PC 187), (PC 194), (PC 196).

[6] (FvS 49) panel, 39.5 x 55.5 cm. Sale, London (Christie's). 10th July 1992, #177; (FvS 56) panel, 39.5 x 56 cm. Peter Tillou sale, New York (Sotheby's), 4th June 1987, #76; (FvS 23) panel, 38 x 54.5 cm. Dealer Fritz Nathan, Zurich, 1953.

[7] (WCH 43) panel, 49.4 x 64.2 cm, dated 1637. Private collection, United States. See (WCH 43a-p); (WCH 45) panel, 49 x 62.5 cm, dated 1637. Dealer Richard Green, London, 1985. See (WCH 45a-n).

Heda's large panel in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 58).[8] Copies of one work by Pieter Claesz number at least ten (figs. 191, 192).[9] What is truly fascinating about this particular group of paintings is to observe how one element in the painting, a white moth alighted on the grape leaves, was transformed in some of the paintings into a white grape leaf because the copyist did not understand the original intent of the dabs of paint.[10] The original purpose of this design element – to represent a moth – was lost in the relatively thought-free process of copying.

While variants made by the artists themselves, such as those painted by Heda between 1640 and 1641, and copies after these painters' works suggest that a thriving market existed for pictures that were readily repeatable and which probably required only a little thought in the design process, other works by these same artists reveal a greater degree of deliberation in the design process and in selection of motifs. Apart from structuring their compositions to enhance the metaphorical possibilities of a picture, or including objects such as an extinguished candle or a watch to set an unambiguous tone, artists in Haarlem also employed otherwise ordinary objects in an unusual ways that pointed to the artist's interest in conveying meaning in them.

Both of the paintings illustrated, particularly WCH 45, may not be the original painting by Willem Claesz Heda but one of the many copies. Nonetheless the popularity of these particular tables is evident from the large numbers of surviving pictures.

[8] For a discussion of this painting see below, 222-224 and note 25.

[9] (PC 113a) panel, 62 x 87.5 cm. Dealer J. Leegenhoek, Paris, 1948 (as W.C. Heda); (PC 113b) panel, 60.4 x 84.2 cm, dated 1645? Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's) 17th November 1994, #165. Other versions are: (PC 113c-j)

[10] The moth-abstracted-as-leaf can be seen in (PC 113d) and (PC 113g).

A telling choice: conveying metaphor through compositional form

Compositional arrangement was one of the most powerful tools that Haarlem still-life painters used to place special emphasis on objects. The principles of symmetry and centrality, closely related and often used in the same picture, were often employed to frame the viewer's dialogue with the picture. Haarlem artists were also adept at fixing foci in their pictures through the use of diagonals, and frequently used this compositional tool to underscore the visual and metaphorical significance of objects in a picture.

Symmetry

As has already been emphasized in Chapter One, the early laid tables, those by Floris van Dijck, Nicolaes Gillis and artists working in their stylistic mode, are compositionally conservative and static as compared to similar works by Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda (figs. 17, 11, 65, 1).[11] Whereas Claesz and Heda unified the elements of their tabletop still lifes into a dynamic, yet rich arrangement, Van Dijck and Gillis and others separated the individual elements on their tables. They positioned them on clear axes that created a hierarchy of elements suggesting their relative importance.

[11] (FvD 2) panel, 73.7 x 113 cm, dated 1610. Scudamore Griffiths collection, Campden; (NG2) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1612. Russell Collection, Amsterdam; (PC 22) panel, 76.5 x 134.5 cm, dated 1627. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; (WCH 40) canvas, 106.1 x 111 cm, dated 1635. National Gallery of Art, Washington. The works by Heda and Claesz, which are discussed below, both are more formal in compositional structure than in typical works by these two artists. Even so the differences between these paintings and those by Gillis and Van Dijck are striking.

Perhaps the clearest example of this method of arranging the table is to be found in the early Haarlem still life in Houston, which dates between 1615 and 1625, is not only structurally, but epistemologically clear (fig. 9).[12] This richly-laid table, like that in the painting by Nicolaes Gillis (1612), centers on the roll along the table's front edge. The napkin draped over the roll and the pewter plate on which it is positioned impart a visual sense of the sacred, as though the viewer approaches an altar.

This reaction is an appropriate one, but not solely because of the visual effect of the arrangement of napkin and pewter plate. The scene woven into the damast linen panel just below the roll, which pictures the moment Abraham raised his sword to sacrifice his only son Isaac, leaves no doubt about the metaphorical nature of this particular meal. The roll of bread is likened to the body of Christ, and his sacrifice for humanity is underscored by the scene below of The Sacrifice of Isaac, commonly understood by Catholics and Protestants alike to prefigure Christ's later sacrifice.[13] The artist enhanced the connection between bread and the figurative scene by painting a napkin neatly folded over the roll. This motif imparts not only a sacramental quality to the roll, but also visually separates the roll from the rest of the table.

The compositional strategy employed in this painting – one centralized element along the front edge of a table reinforced by a symmetrically balanced compositional structure – is similar to that in the paintings by Floris van Dijck and

[12] See introduction, 11.

[13] See introduction, note 9.

Nicolaes Gillis. The strong, symmetrical format in these paintings and their emphasis on the centrality of the roll, or other elements, in the composition is critical to shaping one's reception of these painted tabletops in metaphorical terms.

Where the meaning of the Houston painting is clear, those in Van Dijck's and Gillis's paintings can be a puzzle to the modern viewer. Take, for instance, Van Dijck's Campden painting (1610). In this painting Floris van Dijck employed a composition whose underlying rationality is apparent in a structural framework that isolates a roll and a halved apple, the latter on a pewter plate, in the center portion of the front edge of the table (fig. 17). Although in most of his other paintings Van Dijck used a stack of cheeses as a compositional anchor point in the center of the composition, in this painting he placed the stack of cheeses on one side of the panel, directly behind the roll that anchors the left half of the table. Van Dijck counter-balanced this massing by opening up space on the right. Fancy drinking vessels, a large bowl of apples, a bowl of olives and a razor-scored roll move the eye around this half of the table. Van Dijck reinforced the division of the table into two halves by placing a *bekerschroef* as a visual pivot in the center of the back of the table. This drinking vessel anchors the entire composition and is the touchstone for the artist's careful orchestration of the elements along the front of the table.

Van Dijck manipulated the composition to establish the roll and apple as the most important objects on the table. A knife divides the space between apple and roll in a literal sense and, like the *bekerschroef*, reinforces the division of the table into two

equal halves. They are juxtaposed to one another, literally on opposite sides of the knife.

This highly structured arrangement of form encourages the viewer to analyze the neatly divided table for its meaning. Is there a connection between the division of roll and apple and the division of the table halves? What purpose, beyond a visual linchpin holding together the artifice of this particular visual construct, does the *bekerschroef* of wine have? And what of the two candied pastry letters B P that appear to have been carefully and purposefully (note how the B is balanced on the rim of the shallow dish) laid on the table in the liminal zone between roll, apple, and *bekerschroef*? As text they immediately suggest a specific purpose, but one cannot now reconstruct that purpose.[14] Is the halved nut on which the point of the knife blade rests significant? And what of the empty half of a nut shell just above this nut, its rim perfectly *en face* with the picture plane to ensure that one notices it? Thanks to Van Dijck's hierarchical composition, all of these elements seem part of a puzzle that the viewer is to resolve through considered looking.[15]

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[14] In discussing these pastry letters, which were treats usually made around holidays and a treasured gift, scholars have tied their use to the artist's self-reference. That, however, cannot be the explanation here. See Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 68.

[15] In many of the interpretations of these early paintings, emphasis is placed on understanding the image through knowledge of the specific associations objects on the table would have had in the seventeenth century. Thus, for example, the nut could be interpreted by reference to a two-fold medieval formula whereby the hard shell of the nut represented the cross on which Christ was crucified and the meat of the nut Christ's body. The cheese, through various classical references, some of which were incorporated into modern thought-systems such as that of Johann van Beverwijck, could be seen *in malo* because it was believed to be indigestible (Van Beverwijck's view) or *in bono* as a Christ symbol. Bread and wine, naturally, were regarded most likely as eucharistic symbols. See Lammers, 475-478; Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 70-73; Josua Bruyn, "Dutch Cheese: A Problem of Interpretation," *Simiolus* 24 (1996), 201-208. Because the discussion invariably proceeds to how these objects relate to one another, it seems natural to suggest that the hierarchical arrangement of the elements on the table acts as a catalyst in the formation of meaning.

Employing a similar compositional type Nicolaes Gillis, in his painting in the Russell Collection, makes clear to the viewer that the roll, isolated and placed on a pewter plate along the front edge of the table, is the work's principle focus (fig. 11).[16] What is especially striking about this painting is the visual effect Gillis achieved by placing the roll on a pewter plate. Even though Gillis employed many artistic effects to make the viewer aware of the roll, none is more effective than the dark oval field of the pewter plate that surrounds the roll and projects slightly over the table, into the viewer's space. The silvery darkness interrupts a sea of cool, white damast linen that envelops all other objects and foodstuffs. The mirror-like surfaces of the dish reflect the roll's texture and nothing else, save for the darkness against which the entire banquet is set. By enhancing the visual status of the roll, Gillis almost certainly encouraged the viewer to respond to it as a metaphor for Christ, as in the Houston work.

As in the Campden painting, the meaning of the rest of the table is not as clear. Apples, or even oranges, such as appear on this table, could, of course, be considered emblematic of the forbidden fruit that led to the original sin of Adam and Eve.[17] However, a much more likely explanation for the bowl filled with apples, as well as nuts, at the left of the table is that it conveys a sense of abundance. A more pointed use of the apple in this painting can be seen along the right front edge of the table. There a

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[16](HA 2) panel, 59 x 79 cm, dated 1612. Russell Collection, Amsterdam.

[17] Sam Segal has made the similar points that follow below about the fruit as symbol of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge and, specifically, the halved apple on which the fly alights. See Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 72-73.

fly crawling across a halved apple is a curious, if discomforting, sight. Is it a real fly, just alighted on the panel's surface, a nod to illusionism that both artists and connoisseurs would have appreciated?[18] Or/and does this fly with its natural associations with disease and decay signify something unpleasant about the apple? The apple, after all, had long been considered the specific fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, as can be seen in the large canvas from 1592 by fellow Haarlemmer Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem from the Rijksmuseum, in which Adam and Eve jointly grasp an apple beneath the fateful tree (fig. 193). There would be some logic for Gillis to include the apple of Original Sin as a component in this painting's meaning. As was understood in the seventeenth century the stain of Original Sin was effectively mitigated by the grace received from Christ's sacrifice: that was, after all, the reason Christ gave himself over for crucifixion.[19]

What of the other objects in the painting? Wine, of course, was the other half of the Eucharist formula, "here is my blood, shed for you – take and drink", but wine was also a common element of these tabletop paintings. There are two different wines in three different types of glasses in this painting: red wine in a fancy Venetian glass or white wine in a roemer or in a simple roemer inserted into a *bekerschroef*. Nonetheless, Gillis makes the viewer most aware of one glass of wine in particular – the simple roemer in the middle of the table.

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[18] Many artists and connoisseurs would have been familiar with story of Giotto's fly, which was a rephrasing of the tale of the ancient Greek painter Parrhasius, who decieved birds by painting an illusionistic bunch of grapes. See Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life," 475-478.

[19] The connection between the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge and the grace of Christ offered through his sacrifice is made explicit in a passage by Willem Teelinck, which is transcribed and discussed in Chapter One, 71-72.

This glass casts an especially luminescent, if unnatural, shadow as light is refracted through the glass and wine. The refraction, however, does suit Gillis's artistic purposes– to highlight the roemer of wine and bring it to the viewer's attention. Along with the lovely glint of light along the rim of the glass, the bright shadow cast by this roemer enhances its status. If it is to be read metaphorically, this glass should be associated with Christ's instruction to his disciples, and by extension, all Christians.

The cheeses in this painting and similar works have been interpreted as a metaphor for Christ.[20] However, as Eddy de Jongh has pointed out, "cheese…was rarely consumed on an allegorical level in the 17th century."[21] Rather than strain for a specific interpretation of the cheese, it is profitable to examine how Gillis employed this motif in his painting. Both Gillis and Van Dijck found the stack of cheeses to be

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[20] Lammers, 406. Lammers draws on the writings of Tertullian to suggest the cheese as an analogue to Christ, since cheese is milk in solid form and Christ was known as Heavenly Milk. As Eddy de Jongh rightly points out, see note below, it is doubtful that Van Dijck had Tertullian in mind when he developed this type of laid table, although it should be noted that he did belong to a level of society that could have been familiar with Tertullian.

[21] De Jongh, *Still-Life in the Age of Rembrandt*, 67. In both the entry from which this quote is taken (on Clara Peeters's Still life with cheeses and butter, private collection, The Netherlands) and in an essay in the catalogue ("The Intepretation of Still-life Paintings: Possibilities and Limits," 27-37), Eddy de Jongh argues against over-interpretation of still-life painting by scholars. De Jongh's wit is sharp, and he is unsparing in his criticism of the careless use of iconology to interpret paintings. However, he does not dismiss this interpretative method. Indeed, given his central role in introducing its use in scholarship of Dutch painting (see his ground-breaking essay "Realisme en schijnrealisme") De Jongh has an interest in purifying the discipline of adulterations that, to his thinking, weaken the overall assumption that Dutch pictures had a meaning that was programmatic and which is recoverable through careful scholarship. De Jongh's concern that these abuses would lead to distrust of his method was well founded. In his essay in the Auckland catalogue, 28, he cites Laurens Bol's rejection of iconology as a basis of interpretation as, in most instances, well founded, but opines that he "threw the baby out with the bathwater." In more recent years, particularly since the publication of Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch art in the seventeenth century*, Chicago, 1983, scholars have consistently moved away from iconology as the basis of their work with Dutch still lifes.

an effective visual device to anchor their compositions and set up an inverse triangle across the tabletop (figs. 17, 27). The simple large mass of the cheeses is an effective counterpoint to the smaller and detailed foodstuffs on the table. Grouped as they are with the plentiful apples and nuts and the large loaf of bread and tall drinking vessels along the back of the table, the cheeses convey the visual idea of plenty, of abundance. Whether this abundance should be viewed positively or negatively is not clear, although the fly-topped apple, like the candle in Heda's Washington painting, strikes a discordant note that influences one's interpretation of the painting and the relationship between the roll and the rest of the table.

While the structure of this compositional type – essentially a symmetry verging on the point of naked artifice – possessed obvious strengths for communicating complex or abstract thought via mute objects, it was a liability for second-generation artists, such as Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda. Its look ran counter to their interest in a modern, vibrant painting style. As a result Claesz, Heda and others in their circles never employed this potent compositional type. However, they distilled its essence, a centralizing focus on one element, into the modern trappings of a few of their paintings.

Centrality

Perhaps the most masterful use of this principle of centrality as a means of investing a laid table with deeper meaning is found in Willem Claesz. Heda's painting in Washington (fig. 1). As already discussed, the square format in the Washington

work allowed Heda to structure the whole of the table around a central point. An off-centered pyramid formed by the pitcher and gilt pronck goblet, the overturned drinking cups, and the plates of food all focus on the roll on the pewter plate along the table's front edge.

While the underlying structural elements of this painting are similar as those in the earlier works by Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis, Heda mitigated the artifice of this visual construct through the modern elements of his art: the visual overlapping of objects, achieved primarily through the lowered viewpoint favored from the early 1620s on, the dynamic, harmonious balancing of mass and void on the table, and the use of the bunched-up linen and overturned, crossed drinking cups to lend the table an air of informality. Indeed one's initial impression of this painting is that it is a conventional Heda painting: conventional in both appearance and subject matter.

Yet when Heda painted the Washington work in 1635 he had not yet attempted so large a work, nor, apart from a work dated the same year and now in the Rijksmuseum, would he for some time. The Rijksmuseum painting forms a special relationship with the Washington work, owing to their close compositional ties (fig. 58).[22] Indeed, at first glance the two paintings seem to be mirror images of each other, so faithful is the reuse of not only constituent parts but also the compositional whole between the two pictures. Heda carefully reversed the pewter pitcher from one

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[22] (WCH 41) panel, 88 x 113 cm, dated 1635. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. In writing about these two paintings, Hochstrasser noted the similarity in their compositions. After detailing the numerous instances of compositionally mirrored convergence, she wonders: "Is Heda being deliberately playful with us, or is it a smug enough joke that only he could enjoy it?" (Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life", 467).

painting to the other, deploying it in one as an anchoring motif on the right and in the other work on the left. The profile along the back edge of the table is also similar in the two paintings. Only their positions have been reversed, as can be seen in the gilt pronck goblet and pitcher, and the salt cellar and vinegar decanter.

A more considered study of these two paintings, however, reveals how much these minor compositional adjustments resulted in two pictures of quite different character. In the first place, the formats of the two paintings differ. Whereas Heda executed the Washington painting on a more or less square canvas, he painted the Rijksmuseum work on a panel that is horizontal in format, measuring 88 x 113 cm. Thus the generous space around the Gallery table is constricted in that of the Rijksmuseum panel. Little beneath the white tablecloth is visible, whereas in the Gallery's painting Heda employs the broad expanse of visible green tablecloth as an effective backdrop to his complex, geometric fall of white linen. The oblong format of the Rijksmuseum painting provided Heda extra space to fully picture the end of the table, space he emphasized with a voluminous fold of white linen hanging from the corner. In contrast, Heda chose to fold the linen back towards the table's center in the National Gallery of Art's painting.

Heda altered the table's dimensions in the Amsterdam painting to fit the panel's oblong format. He stretched it out and inserted a brightly colored green *roemer* between the salt cellar and gilt pronck goblet. This rather colorful assemblage, including the bright lemon, contrasts with the muted palette in the Washington painting. Finally, while Heda also painted a roll along the front edge of the table in the

Rijksmuseum panel, the entire composition is not focused on this one element. Rather the table has a pair of focal points, the roll and the colorful group of drinking vessels, which are connected visually by a beautifully rendered tazza tipped on its side.

The subtle but profound compositional differences between these two paintings shape the character of the two works. The broad format and colorful palette of the Rijksmuseum panel create a quality of display, in which a variety of textures and surfaces are expertly rendered.[23] In contrast, in the Washington canvas Heda carefully integrated the constituent parts of the composition into a unified whole whose principal focus is the roll. In this painting Heda has structured the elements of the table to foster the viewer's association of the roll with the Eucharist.

One of Heda's most powerful paintings is a work in Liechtenstein (fig. 194).[24] Dated 1651, this vertical panel draws on much of the compositional strategy of the Washington painting: an elegant arrangement of drinking vessels and dishes centered on a roll that is set off from the rest of the table, in this case by the table linen in which it is ensconced. Although explicit references to time and transience are absent, the means by which Heda distinguished this roll from the table and presented it to the

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[23] One of the most fascinating aspects of the relationship between these two paintings is the fact that no fewer than seven copies and variants of the Rijksmuseum painting are today known, some likely made in Heda's workshop, while none are as yet known of the Washington painting (See WCH41a-g). While one cannot be certain as to the reasons for this disparity between the two works, it would seem to suggest that the Rijksmuseum painting proved popular with an art-buying public, popular enough that its essential features were repeated in several copies. If the Washington painting were not made on spec but rather was a commissioned work, then it would not be surprising that no copies of this painting existed. I am inclined to believe that the Washington canvas was probably a commissioned work, though of course I base this opinion not on substantiated fact but on the work's exceptional place within the artist's *oeuvre*.

[24] (WCH 104) panel, 99x 83 cm, dated 1651. Collection of the Duke of Liechtenstein, Vaduz Castle.

viewer imparts to it a quality similar to that in his Washington painting, and there can be no doubt that the artist intended a eucharistic association for the roll.

In all likelihood Heda was inspired by a composition painted two years earlier by his son Gerrit, in which a roll centrally placed on the table's front edge is both highlighted on the table and separated from the meal by the linen that surrounds it (fig. 114).[25] However, in this painting the younger Heda included an extinguished candle that amplifies the metaphorical character of the painting and sharpens the associations to be made with the roll.

Heda repeated this central motif in a handful of works in the 1650s, including large banquet-type still lifes in the National Gallery, London, and the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem (figs. 195, 89).[26] Heda's use of the roll in these paintings clearly owes a debt to the early still lifes painted in Haarlem. Particularly in the latter painting, Heda's use of the roll-in-cloth formulation seems, ironically, as staged as those in the early laid tabletops of Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis. The roll in this painting is not only the compositional focus of the abundantly-laid tabletop but it is also the nexus of meaning in the painting.

Heda's centralized focus on a roll, which he reinforced through the bunched-up linen that surrounds this motif, strongly suggests associations with the Eucharist. Information from the database demonstrates rather persuasively that Heda intended this association. Heda's use of a roll is in itself a rather exceptional occurrence, but

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[25] (GH 19*) canvas, 97 x 80.5 cm, dated 1649. Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

[26] (WCH 117) canvas, 114 x 103 cm, dated 165… National Gallery, London; (WCH 121) canvas, 88.5 x 109.5 cm, dated 1658. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

much more so when included in paintings with a mince pie. Of the sixty-four paintings by Heda and his circle that included a mince pie, only six included a roll. The roll in the Washington painting, then, is not an element that one should expect to find in a work of this thematic type. Yet Heda not only included a roll, he made it the focus of his painting. Given that the other paintings by Heda featuring a centralized roll were executed after this work it seems almost certain that they reflect and extend Heda's use of the metaphor in this one painting.

Pieter Claesz also made use of the principle of centrality in some of his paintings to imbue them with metaphorical significance, though in many of them the degree of ambiguity is striking and suggests that Claesz might form a special case in this study. However, in one work, which Claesz probably painted in the mid-1640s (fig. 175), the artist suggests an oppositional relationship between *roemer* and table that functions much like the relationship between roll and table in Heda's Washington painting.[27]

By itself the roemer of wine – structurally reinforced as it is by a hambone and a beaker pointing towards it, highlighted by luminous reflections of a window in its bowl, and framed by surrounding ivy – seems to be invested with metaphorical significance. Claesz included a number of additional motifs that reinforce this supposition. The overturned pitcher to the left, its mouth a deep and forbidding void, resonates with ominous overtones. The pitcher, moreover, forcefully conveys both the spent nature of the table – everything has been consumed – and the related idea of

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[27] (PC 116) panel, 64.5 x 84.5 cm. Private collection.

transience – "the glass is empty".[28] The extinguished candle clearly signifies the vanitas aspect of this table. Finally, like Heda in the Washington painting, Claesz supplemented the direct metaphorical significance of this candle by including a broken *berckemeier*.

Against this background of consumption – the exaggerated bare bone on the ham is striking – the *roemer* of wine, like the roll in Heda's painting, is a significant metaphorical counterpoint.[29] Just as the roll in Heda's painting refers to the body of Christ, so the roemer of wine in this painting signifies his blood.

Pieter Claesz painted other works that combined a roemer of wine as the picture's compositional focus with a symbolic reference to the fleetingness of time. In these works, however, Claesz opted to use a watch instead of an extinguished candle (fig. 178).[30] The overall effect of this combination, however, is the same: the viewer is confronted with signification, in the watch or the candle, of the passage of time, which modifies the main visual component in the picture, in this case a wine glass, and clarifies the nature of the message the artist intended to convey.

Just as the centralizing composition elevated the metaphorical possibilities of the *roemer* in the painting above, Claesz's use of it in a work sold in Paris in 1978

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[28] On this phrase as a component of a vanitas quatrain, one inscribed on a vanitas still life by an anonymous Dutch artist, see Chapter Three, 185.

[29] Just as the mince pie in Heda's Washington painting is depicted as mostly eaten, which the artist did not usually do, the ham in this painting has been devoured, which is contrary to how Claesz normally depicted this dish.

[30] (PC 209) panel, 62.5 x 88 cm. Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 12 or 20th September 1989, #560. See also (PC 115) canvas, 72 x 113 cm. Sale, Berlin (Lepke), February 24, 1903, #57.

helps one read the roemer in comparably meaningful terms (fig. 105).[31] The roemer of wine in this painting is placed in the center of the composition, forming a powerful vertical around which the other objects on the table are organized and to which they refer. The knife at the corner of the table, the spoon in the mince pie at the back of the table, and the overturned goblet and ewer all reinforce the palpable presence of the roemer of wine, which lords over the disarray about it.

Claesz's treatment of this one element of the painting is almost emblematic in its visual impact. By structuring the rest of the work around it, framing it with vine on one side and painting it with an unnatural glow, Claesz induces one to view this roemer of wine through metaphorical glasses. But what of its meaning? Here Claesz is ambiguous, perhaps intentionally so. Does this roemer of wine represent an ode to the joys and conviviality derived from Bacchus's gift or is it a reminder of Christ's sacrifice in everyday, comestible form? Claesz does not resolve this interpretative issue for us. The disarray on the table suggests the chaotic swirl of excess, yet the overturned vessels on the right could be seen as liturgical vessels. But then why would they be overturned?

Interpreting the significance of a roemer of wine poses more of a challenge than one faces in the case of the bread roll. Apart from those works in which it is paired with bread in a meaningful arrangement, a situation that almost invariably fosters associations with the eucharistic elements of Christ's sacrifice, a roemer of wine could suggest to the viewer two, or even three, equally forceful ideas. One, of

[31] (PC 78) canvas, 85 x 117 cm, inscribed PC and dated 1639. De Vos collection, Amsterdam; Sale, Paris (Orsay), 4 November 1978.

course, is that of a sign of Christ's sacrifice for the sake of humanity. However, wine was also frequently associated with moral lassitude and drunkenness in the seventeenth century, as numerous prints and paintings make clear (fig. 196), and it is this connection that many viewers may have made in the seventeenth century.[32] Finally it is possible in some paintings that the *roemer* represents neither an *in bono* or an *in malo* interpretation, but simply celebrates wine for its pleasurable taste and sensory effects.

This last interpretative possibility essentially acknowledges the same effects of wine as an overtly negative reading does, but mediates these effects through the idea of moderation. Throughout the seventeenth century both emblem writers and artists made explicit the idea of moderation by employing a roemer of wine in the design of their pictures. In Haarlem the eccentric humanist painter Johannes Torrentius painted a work dated 1614 that explicitly situates a roemer of wine at the heart of its meditation on temperance and moderation (fig. 197).[33] Torrentius's imagery parallels that found in an emblem book published in the same year by Roemer Visscher, in which a

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[32] Jacob Matham's print comes from a series showing "The Consequences of Drunkenness". This series is discussed by Eddy de Jongh in: Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, exh. cat. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1997), 165-170, in which other pertinent prints are adduced. Willem Teelinck's *Buren-Kout*, discussed below, also includes a remarkable discussion between neighbors concerning the one's immoderate dining and drinking habits and how his desire to entertain his guests in such a manner is holding him back from perfecting himself as a Christian. The relevant "conversation" is that between Jacob and N., which is the ninth of ten.

[33] Torrentius was notorious in his time for his behavior, for which he was imprisoned, only to be released at the request of the English king, Charles I. For more on this artist and a discussion of this painting, see Chong and Kloek, 132-134.

roemer, along with a regular and a fancy pitcher, comprise an emblem of moderation (fig. 198).[34]

The *roemer* in the Paris painting is undoubtedly meant to convey an idea or allegory, but Claesz does not make clear his intention. The many associations one can make with wine complicate the issue of interpretation. Comparison of the Paris painting with another work employing virtually the same compositional emphasis on a *roemer* reveals how a significant compositional feature may not even guarantee that the viewer even suspect the presence of meaning. In a work formerly with the Noortman Gallery in London, dated 1644, Claesz structured the table around the centrally-placed, vertical element of the roemer (fig 50).[35] The objects in this painting, an overturned pitcher, ham, glass of beer, mustard pot, fish, and roll, are even more wedded to the roemer than in the other painting. Together with the roemer they are a pyramidal mass, the crowning point of which is the roemer's bowl.

The compelling and quite obvious metaphorical nature present in the roemer in the other painting is not as clear in this work. While there can be no doubt that the roemer is the most significant object in this painting, and that its central placement in the grouping on the table enhances its status, Claesz has not, in fact, distinguished the roemer from the other objects on the table as emphatically as in the Paris painting. Where in that painting other objects on the table lie at some remove from the roemer,

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[34] Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, 1614), 62, emblem I of the second group (Schock = literally Shock or Fit) "Elck wat wils". This image and the motto also appeared on the title page of the book, which is an indication of its importance to Visscher in conveying his underlying philosophy.

[35] (PC 123/139) panel, 66 x 95 cm, dated 1644. With Robert Noortman, London, 1980.

thus enhancing its singular importance in the painting, in the present painting the roemer, while the linchpin of the composition, seems a piece with the entire meal. It would be hard to imagine this roemer without the overturned pitcher and shank of ham, so joined are they in the compositional whole.

This difference between the two paintings is one of emphasis. In the Paris work Pieter Claesz conceived the roemer as the central focus of his picture, and the other objects reinforce this fact through their separation from the glass. In the Noortman painting Claesz uses the roemer not as the picture's exclusive focus but as its primary feature. Where in the one painting the audience's appreciation of the metaphorical quality of the roemer seems assured through Claesz's compositional efforts, in the other painting the centrality of the roemer merely reflects the centrality of the entire meal, and any thoughts about the metaphorical qualities of this laid table have more to do with the entire meal than with the singular element of the roemer.

Claesz's compositional emphasis in these two paintings is the same as that found in his work now in a private collection, and yet there is a great deal of ambiguity in the interpretation of these paintings. The Noortman painting (fig. 50) appears to reify the form of the roemer in its capacity as vessel of lip-smacking delight, while the painting formerly in Paris (fig. 105) could signify an association with the Eucharist but could have another meaning. The fact that Claesz depicts liturgical-like vessels overturned in the background, while the roemer stands, suggests that a straightforward understanding of his use of the roemer in this painting, and in many other paintings, is not possible.

Perhaps the most perplexing use by Pieter Claesz of the principle of a centralized composition is that found in his large canvas now in the Walraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne (late 1640s) (fig. 199).[36] A banquet of food is spread out on a table draped with a linen so fresh that its folds and creases smartly grid the table. All types of dishes are arrayed on the table, including lobster, crab, ham, beef, a massive bowl of fruit, a large artichoke, and, finally, a mince pie. It is almost as if Claesz catalogs here all the individual dishes he depicted in his smaller works (figs. 77, 163, 164, 79).[37] As in those paintings Claesz complemented the offerings of food with drink and bread. In addition to a tall fluit of red wine and large roemer of white wine on the back of the table, Claesz included an overturned beaker at the front of the table. Next to this beaker is a roll on a pewter plate, and further to the left are several rolls joined together in an accordion pattern. Claesz enhanced the atmosphere of the banquet setting by including a large upright viola, violin, and recorder with sheet music on the right end of the table. A swept-back curtain enhances the visual drama.

Claesz ordered this table around two foci: the roll and overturned beaker along the front edge of the table, and the roemer and pie in the center-back of the table. All of these elements are centrally placed. The roll and beaker function as a pair, the latter's overturned, silvery form emphasizing its importance, while the roll is presented on a pewter plate projecting over the table's edge. The central placement of

[36] (PC 194) canvas, dimensions unknown. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

[37] (PC 109) panel, 39 x 64 cm. Museum voor schone kunsten, Brussels; (PC 174) panel, 63.5 x 88.5 cm, dated 1647. National Museum, Budapest; (PC 11) panel, 33.6 x 47.6 cm. Private collection, Europe; (PC 136) panel, 47 x 63 cm, dated 1644. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg.

the pie confers on it a significance lacking in the lobster, ham or crab. Additional attention is brought to it by the diagonally placed spoon balanced on the edge of the pewter plate and the shaft of light falling against the back wall.

Although this meal is ordered around an axis of pictorial elements the roll and the beaker appear particularly significant. Indeed Claesz enhanced the visual impact of the roll by painting it in a slightly different perspective than the rest of the table. Other elements of the table are depicted from a slightly elevated view reminiscent of early Haarlem laid table paintings, but the roll is painted as though seen at eye level. This subtle disunity of perspective enhances the importance of the roll and elicits from the viewer consideration of its metaphorical implications.

What these metaphorical implications might be is another issue altogether. Naturally one might associate the roll and beaker with the Eucharist. However unlike in Claesz's painting above (fig. 175) in which the *roemer* is clearly situated as a eucharistic element because vanitas motifs underscore the meal as an emphatic counterpoint, in this painting the grandiose banquet appears not to have such a function.

The music and musical instruments in this painting might be significant for how one interprets this picture. Not only do these instruments add a note of refinement to the table, suggesting the merriment of music making by a trio of players, but they also may have metaphorical significance. Musical instruments have long been noted for their allegorical implications in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Claesz utilized musical instruments in his canvas in the Louvre to convey "Hearing" in his tribute to

the five senses (fig. 39).[38] Perhaps the instruments in the Cologne painting have a similar connotation.

The interpretative possibilities for this painting are many: that of a celebratory banquet, or an allegory of the senses, or, somehow connected to the Eucharist. However, none claim priority over the other. Indeed Claesz probably indulged in a bit of intentional ambiguity in this work, but there can be no mistaking his careful manner in organizing the arrangement of this table. The other elements of the table set the stage for the central elements. The many dishes and large musical instruments, complete with swooping drapery in the background, convey a sense of the image's importance. They do not, however, convey the work's metaphorical core. One's impression(s) of this table are governed by one's perception of the significance of the roll and beaker.

Diagonal Placement

Pieter Claesz only used a centralizing composition a handful of times in his career. In other works he employed diagonals to enliven the compositions of his many paintings. Claesz was not alone in his preference for this compositional tool. Indeed diagonals were essential to the painter's craft in Dutch painting, whether in still life or in other genres. From the 1620s on Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz. Heda, in particular, transformed the visual idiom of the Haarlem still life with diagonals that

[38] (PC 8) canvas, 69 x 127 cm, dated 1623; Louvre, Paris.

shifted the massing of the laid table to one side of the table, rather than squarely in the center, as earlier artists such as Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis had done.

Claesz and Heda could, and did, use diagonals in their compositions to enhance certain objects and motifs in a painting for visual purposes. However, in several of their paintings the diagonals used by Claesz and Heda also structure the table and its contents in such a manner that one is left with the impression that these artists intended for their works to have a deeper meaning. In the Rijksmuseum panel dated 1627 (fig. 65), Pieter Claesz presents a well-ordered table on which each element is lovingly described through a careful application of paint – smooth and creamy for the inside shell of the oysters but thin and translucent for the oyster itself, or dry and scumbly, with a rich variety of colors, for the inside of the pie.[39] Yet it is the *roemer* of wine that appears to be the critical interpretative component in this picture, and Claesz suggests this small glass's significance through a number of well-placed diagonals.

The roemer is neither particularly large nor placed along the front edge of the table, which typically was the approach to such elements by Haarlem artists including Claesz. In addition, the dominant geometry on the table is a diagonal formed by four pewter plates – bearing respectively a pitcher, the pie, the oysters, and some salt and pepper spilling from a cone of almanac paper. The rest of the table tends to reinforce this diagonal through the parallel positioning of objects – witness the knife or the direction of the nautilus cup – or through intersecting diagonals – such as the bread

[39] (PC 22) panel, 76.5 x 134.5 cm, dated 1627. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

roll or the spoon on the pie or the longer diagonal formed by a large ming bowl of fruit, the plate of oysters and a plate on which a lemon has been artfully peeled and sliced.

The roemer is but one of many elements spread out on the tabletop and is likely not the first element of the table a viewer notices. Indeed the turkey topping the large pastry pie so dominates the tabletop that it figures into the work's museum title, *Still Life with Turkey Pastry Pie*. The bright colors of the grapes and apples in the ming bowl to the right, and even the bowl itself, also stand out in the visual field. So too do the oysters neatly arranged on the large platter, the sliced lemon on the pewter plate along the table's front edge, the pie in the table's center, its appealing contents plain to see. The immediacy of the visual claim of all of these elements on the viewer is apparent.

What is striking, however, is the degree to which Claesz orchestrates one's attention on the modest roemer. Some of the diagonals and counter-diagonals enumerated above – the spoon on the pie and the nautilus cup – terminate (or begin) with this roemer of wine. However Claesz also modulated the diagonal – counter-diagonal grid to highlight the roemer. The spout of the pewter pitcher on the left arcs gracefully towards the roemer. In much the same manner the turkey festooning the enormous pie directs attention to the wine glass: the sprig of a white blossom hanging downward in a trajectory to the roemer underscores the importance of the roemer to the composition.

Finally Claesz introduced two aspects of light, both of which are focused around the roemer, that enhance the roemer's visual status on the table and lead to the supposition that this glass of wine was intended to convey meaning. One aspect is the fall of light along the back wall suggesting a highly placed light source ending at the front edge of the roemer's bowl. The other concerns the strongly focused refraction of light through the roemer that illuminates a trapezoidal area of the table to the right of the glass.

Claesz has carefully observed the effects of light on glass in some passages – witness the wonderful reflections of the window pane in the top left of the roemer, its upper half on the far side of the glass bowl at the level of the wine and its lower half bright – if diffuse – on the lower right bottom of the bowl. However he manipulated the visual effects in other areas to achieve a luminous diagonal that draws attention to the roemer. It is unlikely that Claesz has completely replicated naturally observable phenomena in the roemer. The uniform shape of the light on the table does not correspond to the bowl form of the roemer, nor does the uniform luminosity of the refracted light correspond with what one would expect from a glass having so many prunts on its base.[40]

[40] Celeste Brusati (Brusati, "Natural Artifice," 151-153) discusses the importance of the concept of *reflexy-const* for seventeenth-century northern still-life artists, as evident in their fascination with the play of light on various surfaces. Karel van Mander, in Chapter Seven of his "Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const" in *Het Schilderboeck*, 1604, folios 29-34 (with a modern Dutch transcription in Van Mander 1973, vol. 1, 182-202) gives practical instruction in various aspects of *reflexy-const* to his audience, young painters, providing examples and theoretical justification for mastering the important skills entailed in accurately recording the effect of light in nature. Most intriguing as regards the visual projects of most Dutch still-life painters is stanza 52 (folio 33 recto & verso in 1604 edition; Van Mander 1973, 198, 200). He writes: "Aan ronden zuilen ziet men ook een weerschijn aan de dag treden, evenals elders, aan basementen, witte eiren en marmeren bollen, te meer als er lichte dingen tegenaan staan. Ook [ziet men reflecties in] gouden en zilveren schalen en vazen, in helder doorschijnend ijs en

This painting is, in the final analysis, oriented towards the roemer of wine along the back edge of the table. Claesz's compositional devices not only organize a great deal of visual material across a table in a convincing and pleasing manner, but focus one's thoughts on the importance of the roemer of wine at this table. In this manner the painting works very much as do Floris van Dijck's painting in Campden (fig. 17) or Nicolaes Gillis's work in the Russell Collection (fig. 23), even if it uses a different compositional construct than these two paintings. All three pictures rely on compositional structure to suggest a metaphorical dimension to the laid table, one that centers on a specific object in each painting.

What, however, is the significance of this roemer of wine in the painting? As Claesz did not included elements symbolic of time, such as a watch or extinguished candle, it is difficult to characterize the roemer of wine, with or in contrast to the meal, in a negative or positive light. Indeed in this painting there is not the strong emphasis on the human experience of the meal that characterizes other of Claesz's paintings or, as discussed above, those of Willem Claesz. Heda. It is this emphasis that encourages the viewer's participation in other Haarlem still lifes via the shared experience of consumption. Instead this large panel conveys a sense of display common to the early Haarlem still-life tabletop work of Floris van Dijck and Nicolaes Gillis. In this light it

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glazen waarin wijn is geschonken, die met hun weerschijn vlekken maken op het tafellaken. Op dit alles hebben de schilders te letten" (On round pillars one also sees the sheen of the day play, just as elsewhere, on [*basemented*], white eggs and marble balls, all the more if light objects are next to them. [One] also [sees reflections, or re-reflections in] gold and sliver platters and vases, in translucent ice and glass in which wine has been poured, that with their scheen make flecks (of color) on the tablelinen. On all of this must the painters pay attention.). See also Walter Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's Schilder-boeck* (Chicago and London, 1991), 70-77, for a discussion of this phenomenon in English.

would be difficult to posit a relationship of the roemer of wine to the rest of the table similar to the relationship found in Heda's Washington painting. There is no sense of contrast.

The one design element that may shed some light on Claesz's intentions with this roemer is, appropriately enough, the diagonal of light that falls along the back wall and which is key to fixing the viewer's attention on the glass of wine. Though one cannot be certain of the effect intended, by bathing the roemer in direct sunlight Claesz effectively valorized this glass of wine. If true, and absent a direct visual opposition to the meal, it seems most plausible to regard the wine as a positive metaphor for the bounteous meal, which should be enjoyed and savored, but in moderation. This interpretation does not dismiss the possibility that one could also associate the roemer of wine with the Eucharist – this painting seems ideal for interpreting in many different ways – but it does seem the most logical given the conceptual structure of the image.

Time in Haarlem tabletop still-life painting

The presence of time, in the form of an extinguished candle, such as one sees in Heda's Washington painting, or even a watch, would clarify the character of the table in the Rijksmuseum painting. Time was frequently employed in Haarlem tabletop still lifes as a warning buttressing the proffered element of salvation, that is, time as a negative, vanitas element. Such a use of time can be seen in Willem Claesz. Heda's painting in Washington (fig. 1) and his son Gerrit's painting in Moscow (fig.

114). This engagement with time is closely related to its use in vanitas paintings. In works of this latter type the emphasis is placed on time's elapse, not only within the fictive space of the painting, but as well, and more importantly – as it is the point of these paintings – for those who view the picture.

Is this, however, the only way in which artists in Haarlem used the concept of time in their tabletop still-life paintings? This question is worth posing because some scholars, especially Hochstrasser, have argued for an understanding of time in these paintings that depends not on associations with one's own mortality and shortcomings but rather on artists self-consciously asserting their agency in transcending time's outer boundaries, both physical and moral, in their pictures.[41] Artists may have included watches in Dutch still-life painting not as negative referents of time – transience – but as a wry commentary on the amount of effort poured into the creation of the very picture in which a watch appears – an elegant log of artisanal effort. By including watches in their paintings, Hochstrasser argues, artists like Willem Claesz. Heda or Pieter Claesz signify their effort and its value, literally, as time.

Paintings by Pieter Claesz in a private collection in Edinburgh and at Vassar College provide examples of this different understanding of time (figs. 49, 67). In the Edinburgh work time is, literally, at the composition's heart. Combined with the

[41] On a different understanding of the role of time in still-life paintings of this type, see: Celeste Brusati, "Stilled Lives: Self-Portraiture and Self-Reflection in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Still-Life Painting," *Simiolus* 20 (1990-91), 168-182; Hochstrasser, "Life and Still Life," 502-516, especially 510-515; Brusati, "Natural artifice"; Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Feasting the Eye: Painting and Reality in the Seventeenth-century 'bancketje'," in Chong and Kloek, 73-85, esp. 81-82; and Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "*Goede Dingen Willen Tijt Hebben* (Good Things Take Time): Time as Meditation on Painting in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still Life," in *Symbols of Time in the History of Art* (Turnhout, Belgium, 2002), 117-131.

artist's signature, which is wittily inscribed as though engraved on the belly of the pewter pitcher, where one might instead expect the artist's reflection (fig. 61), it does seem that Claesz may have employed time as a measure of his artistic valor.[42] However, the broken *berckemeier* signifies, as it does in other paintings, time in its vanitas aspect – that is, an emphasis on its end.[43] And the fact that Claesz has placed this *berckemeier* near the corner of the table, with a curved shard of glass isolated against the white field, indicates that the artist viewed this signifier of time as significant as the watch nestled at the nexus of the tabletop. While Claesz did inscribe himself and thus his efforts within this picture's field of meaning, he left open a pathway of meaning steeped in vanitas associations that fosters deep questions about this painting's purpose. Ultimately it appears to be a painting calibrated to nuance the viewer's response in several directions and provide a rich range of interpretative possibilities.

The Vassar panel, painted in the same year as that in Edinburgh (1641), is, like that painting, rich in interpretative possibilities. Featuring a compositional structure

[42] Brusati develops the rather interesting argument that by inscribing themselves in the reflective surfaces they painted in their still lifes, artists like Clara Peeters and Pieter Claesz valorized their mimetic abilities and at the same time alluded to the investment of their time and craft in producing such images. Thus opened watches, with their obvious reference to time, underscore the artist's craft. Brusati, "Natural Artifice".

[43] Both Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz depicted a broken *berckemeier* as a kind of complement to an extinguished candle or watch in some of their works. Yet it is telling that although both artists used the broken *berckemeier* sparingly, Pieter Claesz seemed to have preferred using it only when it reinforced a complementary motif, such as a candle or a watch. Indeed, of the five paintings in which Pieter Claesz used a broken berckemeier, two of the paintings are vanitas scenes, one painting, discussed above, features an extinguished candle, and the Edinburgh work, of course, features a watch. In contrast Willem Claesz. Heda preferred using the motif by itself in thirteen of the eighteen paintings that can be attributed to him or his circle. In the remaining five works, including the Washington painting, Heda employed the broken berckemeier with either a candle or a watch.

similar to that of the Edinburgh painting, only in reverse, the Vassar painting also employs a watch to signify time. Rather than insert the watch in the heart of the tabletop, however, Claesz depicted it at the left piled on crumpled linen. Moreover, it is not the same type of watch as that in the Edinburgh painting, but is in the shape of a cross.

The form of this watch – a cross – is significant, as it immediately conveys the idea of Christ's sacrifice. Of course one cannot be certain that Claesz intended this association. Perhaps both the watch and the silver salt cellar in the background, which features a gilt *miles christianus*, or Christian knight,[44] in the center, were personal items a patron wished to appear in this painting. Such a possibility would not discount the presence of religious meaning. On the contrary, one who would surround oneself with such items, especially the watch (which would be consulted frequently), would likely be highly receptive to pictures like this one in which time is cloaked in the skin of religion.

What is the nature of the message in this painting? Again, like the Edinburgh painting, this work's message is nuanced. The artist himself appears, just visible, in the belly of the pewter pitcher. As in the Edinburgh painting Claesz has offered the viewer a range of possible associations. However, unlike that work, this painting does not emphasize the vanitas aspect of time. The shape of the very instrument of time in

[44] The *miles christianus* was a figure that strove against worldly temptation. Dürer's famous *Knight, Death, and Devil* is perhaps the most famous example of this type, which obviously still enjoyed at least decorative currency in seventeenth-century Dutch culture. However it is also quite likely that the association of the knight with the struggle of the Christian in the world would have been one that still obtained at this time. For information on the *miles christianus*, see Andreas Wang, *Der 'miles christianus' im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition* (Bern, 1975).

this painting is a cross, a conflation of referents that enriches and rewards one's contemplation of this painting.[45]

In both of these works one need not reconcile conflicting interpretations. Multiple interpretations of a work are possible.[46] Brusati has suggested that most of these paintings could have been, would have been seen on multiple levels in the seventeenth century, even though some interpretations might have mutually excluded each other.[47] Such a decoupling of the limits of hermeneutical speculation allows for a greater range of responses to the visual combinations presented and accords well with the seventeenth-century mind's propensity to form metaphorical associations with objects and events of the everyday world. Dutch emblem books are good examples of how the Dutch could consider an everyday object as a metaphorical referent on a number of levels.[48] Indeed several authors, most notably Jacob Cats, the rather pious, and popular, Calvinist emblematist from Middelburg, offered three and sometimes four different types of explanations – moral, religious, social, political – for their

[45] The proverb with which Hochstrasser titled her essay on time in Dutch still-life painting, "Goede dingen wille tijdt hebben" (Good things take time), seems especially appropriate for considering the hermeneutical corners of this painting. Hochstrasser, "Goede dingen," 128.

[46] See Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 29-38 (Chapter Two - "On Meaning and Interpretation: The Abundance of Life and Moderation in All Things"); Arthur K. Wheelock. Jr., "Still Life: Its Visual Appeal and Theoretical Status in the Seventeenth Century," in Wheelock, *Still Lifes of the Golden Age*, 11-25; and, especially, Brusati, "Stilled Lives," esp. 175-176; and Brusati, "Natural Artifice," 155-157.

[47] Celeste Brusati, "Stilled Lives; Brusati, "Natural Artifice," 151-53.

[48] In earlier years of scholarship on Dutch painting these books were sometimes treated as dictionaries of meaning, and were mined in attempts to explain the inclusion of each and every item found in a genre painting or still life.

attractive emblems (figs. 196, 197).[49] It seems likely, then, that many Dutch were attuned to the rich potential for meaning in the paintings studied in this chapter.

Claesz and Heda couched references to time in pictures of food because they were interested in commenting on the transience of human experience. The consumption of food and drink, after all, is a transitory experience. Although meals are necessary for life, the pleasures they bring in their smells and tastes are fleeting. Moreover, though one can return to these paintings time and again to admire the artist's ability to convey a sense of reality these works provide only illusory pleasures – they do not replicate the sensual experience of eating. The suggestion of time in these paintings, whether in a extinguished candle or in a watch, underscores the paradox inherent in them; while wondrously beautiful and attractive, they hold the visual-cum-metaphorical seeds that lay challenge to the very abundance pictured in them.

Summary

As this chapter demonstrates, Haarlem still-life painters, particularly Willem Claesz. Heda and Pieter Claesz, structured some of their tabletops still-life paintings to convey allegorical ideas. Whether through compositional arrangement, especially principles of symmetry, centrality or the use of diagonals in a picture, or by employing symbolically-laden motifs, such as an extinguished candle or a watch to signify time,

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[49] Cats's most popular book, Spiegel van de oude ende nieuwen tijdt, which was reprinted numerous times into the nineteenth century and translated into several different languages, typically featured three levels of interpretation: amatory, social/political, religious.

or both, as in Heda's painting in Washington or Pieter Claesz's still life now in a private collection, Haarlem still-life painters carefully orchestrated programs of meaning in some of the pictures in their *oeuvre*. However, only a very few of these pictures, such as the two above, are clear in the nature of their message. Most of these paintings are ambiguous in the message they convey, perhaps intentionally so. In a number of his paintings, Pieter Claesz essentially left open-ended the resolution of the messages apparent in the structure of the tabletop. This ambiguity may well have been purposeful. By presenting a tabletop rich in a range of associations but unbound by a fixed meaning Claesz, and other artists like him, may have appealed to a wide audience receptive to moral dimensions in pretty pictures of food.

CONCLUSION

This study opened with a discussion of the religious character of Willem Claesz. Heda's *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie* (fig. 1) and an anonymous painting in Houston (fig. 9) of a laid table with a scene of the *Sacrifice of Isaac* on table linen. I questioned how these paintings related to the large body of seventeenth-century Haarlem tabletop still-life painting of which they were a part. Were they exceptions to the rule, or do they represent a pictorial tradition in which still lifes were understood to convey religious or moralizing meaning?

To answer this question, which is in some form present in most discussions of Dutch still-life painting, it is necessary to understand the Haarlem tabletop still life from many perspectives. In this study that goal has been approached from a variety of perspectives. First a survey of the development of the Haarlem tabletop still life within its artistic and cultural context allows one to gain a sense of this particular art form. A discussion of the appreciation of Haarlem still life and its valuations in inventories establishes a baseline understanding of contemporary thought about these works. How one interpreted a still life such as Heda's painting may have depended on one's beliefs and religious affiliation, which a brief examination of the religious beliefs of various sects in Haarlem addresses. Particularly fascinating are the parallels in structure and thought between writing by Willem Teelinck and Heda's painting. However, as Teelinck was a Calvinist and Heda, like other Haarlem artists, was Catholic, one cannot draw too strong a conclusion in this regard.

At the core of this study are analyses of Haarlem tabletop still-life painting in terms of the motifs found in them, the thematic types used, and the compositional forms of these pictures. These analyses yield insight into the makeup of the Haarlem tabletop still life, its typical forms and thematic choices. These analyses also allow one to identify a small group of paintings that stand apart from the norm. Through the use in these works of compositional principles of symmetry, centrality and diagonals, Haarlem artists structured the viewer's experience of the painting by focusing on key objects, such as a roll or *roemer* of wine. These objects and the focus on them foster associations with the Eucharist that would have been readily apparent to contemporary viewers. However, in only a few of these paintings did the artists sharpen the focus of the message by including elements signifying transience, such as an extinguished candle, broken *berckemeier*, or watch. In other paintings the presence of an underlying religious or moralizing message is palpable, but its explication difficult. This phenomenon suggests that artists in Haarlem, in particular Pieter Claesz, may have intentionally pitched their still lifes in terms ambiguous enough that they would have had broad appeal, perhaps because they were painted for the open market.

The results of this study suggest that the answer to the question posed in the introduction and above is that the paintings in Washington and Houston are, with a small group of paintings, exceptional works rare in the clarity of their message. They were part of a larger, though still small, group of paintings in which meaning was embedded in the picture's structure. Haarlem artists clearly developed a repertoire of forms and objects to construct meaningful pictures and, as evidenced from the

surviving range of works, they were conscious of this pictorial tradition over many years, which, in turn, suggests an audience that, over time, was appreciative of them.

APPENDIX A

DATABASE OF HAARLEM TABLETOP STILL-LIFE PAINTING

Note on the arrangement of Database Records:

Records have been sorted by artist first and date second. This sequence means, for example, that all of the paintings listed as by Pieter Claesz (Pieter Claesz, Pieter Claesz?) are grouped together. Unfortunately, owing to the author's unfamiliarity with more advanced operations of the Filemaker Pro program in which the database was compiled, works within the circle of Pieter Claesz appear in different areas of the records depending on the name given in the artist field (after Pieter Claesz, circle of Pieter Claesz). Within each subset by artist dates also proved difficult to rationally sort. Fixed dates (i.e. 1636) precede approximate dates (i.e. c.1636), which precede broad spans of time (designated, for instance, as "late 1610s/early 1620s"). The reader should be aware of these variables when consulting the database. It is hoped that a future edition of this database will better integrate all of the information in clearly digestible form.

The bibliography given in each database record is not complete but represents either the most accessible or well-known sources (i.e. Vroom 1980 refers to N.R.A. Vroom, *Monochrome banketje*, 1980) or those most recent sources that will provide a good reproduction (mostly sales catalogues).

Explanation of codes in significant motifs:

H_1 = Ham as Main course

H_2 = Ham as Main course w/ seafood dish

H_3 = Ham as one of several main courses

V_1 = Beef as Main course

V_2 = Beef as Main course w/ seafood dish

V_3 = Beef as one of several main courses

F_1 = Fowl as Main course

F_2 = Fowl as Main course w/ seafood dish

F_3 = Fowl as one of several main courses

MP_1 = Mince Pie as Main course

MP_2 = Mince Pie as Main course w/ seafood dish

MP_3 = Mince Pie as one of several main courses

PP_1 = Pastry pie as Main course

PP_2 = Pastry pie as Main course w/ seafood dish

PP_3 = Pastry pie as one of several main courses

Fi_1 = Fish as Main course

a = Smoked herring

b = Cubed herring

c = Mackerel

d = Salmon fillet

e = Other

Fi_2 = Fish as Main course w/ other seafood dish

a = Smoked herring

b = Cubed herring

c = Mackerel

d = Salmon fillet

Fi_3 = Fish as Main course w/ ham or beef

a = Smoked herring

b = Cubed herring

c = Salmon fillet

Fi_4 = Fish as Supplement to main course w/ other seafood dish

a = Cubed herring

Fi_5 = Fish as one of several main courses

a = Mackerel

Sh_1 = Shellfish as main course

a = Mussels

b = Oysters

c = Shrimp

d = Crab

e = Lobster

Sh_2 = Shellfish as main course w/ other seafood dish

a = Mussels

b = Oysters

c = Shrimp

d = Crab

e = Lobster

Sh_3 = Shellfish as a course w/ meat dish or pie

a = Mussels

b = Shrimp

Sh_4 = Shellfish as one of several main courses

a = Oysters

b = Shrimp

c = Crab

d = Lobster

Ch_1 = 3-cheese stack

a = centered

b = off-centered

c = side of table

Ch_2 = 2-cheese stack

a = centered

b = off-centered

Ch_3 = 2-cheese stack w/butter dish

a = centered

b = side of table

Ch_4 = 2-cheese stack w/ crescent of cheese on top

a = centered

b = side of table

Ch_5 = basket of cheeses w/dish of butter on top

a = centered

b = side of table

Ch_6 = 1-cheese w/dish of butter

a = centered

b = side of table

Ch_7 = 1-cheese stack w/ crescent of cheese on top

a = centered

b = side of table

Ch_8 = Other

LV_1 = Leafy vegetation emerging from bowls/baskets of fruit (grapes, mostly)

a = Buds

b = Handful of shoots

c = Thick covering of leaves

LV_2 = Independent Vines

a = Accent across back of table (usually springing from base of roemer)

b = Enveloping Backdrop for Roemer or Pitcher (or other drinkware)

1 = Emphatic compositional emphasis on roemer

2 = Other

c = Encircling Roemer or Pitcher (or other drinkware)

d = Massing emerging from stage left/right

LV_3 = Cut branches of fruit w/leaves

a = Accenting Drinkware

b = Alone

T_1 = Overturned tazza in conjuction with standing roemer (tazza seen from foot through bottom of dish)

a = 5-point star pattern

b = rayonnet pattern

c = roughed dish

d = 7-lobed tazza

T_2 = Overturned tazza in conjunction with standing other (nautilus cup, beker, etc./ tazza seen from foot through bottom of dish)

a = 5-point star pattern

b = rayonnet pattern

c = smooth dish

d = roughed dish

e = 7-lobed tazza

T_3 = Overturned tazza seen in conjunction with standing roemer (tazza seen from side of from top of dish to foot)

a = 5-point star pattern

b = rayonnet pattern

c = smooth dish

T_4 = Overturned tazza in conjunction with standing other (nautilus cup, beker, etc./ tazza seen from side of from top of dish to foot)

a = 5-point star pattern

T_5 = Other (Crossed with overturned pronck goblet, roemer, leaning against book)

a = 5-point star pattern

b = rayonnet pattern

c = 7-lobed tazza

T_6 = Tazza as main object in painting

b = rayonnet pattern

N_1 = Overturned nautilus cup in conjunction with standing roemer, pasglas/fluit, and beker/stoneware pitcher/pronck goblet (seen from top through stem and foot)

N_2 = Overturned nautilus cup in conjunction with standing pewter pitcher, salt cellar/mustad pot/berckemeier, pasglas/fluit (seen from top through stem and foot)

N_3 = Standing nautilus cup juxtaposed w/ overturned tazza/roemer/pronck goblet

a = with no or truncated top decoration

b = with figure holding billowing sail

N_4 = Standing nautilus cup as part of pyramidal arrangement w/ roemers, pasglasses, fluits, berckemeiers, or salts

b = with figure holding billowing sail

N_5 = Standing nautilus cup as featured component of composition, often with slanted ming bowl of citrus on bunched up tapestry ala' Kalf and framed by fluit/pasglas

a = with no or truncated top decoration

b = with figure holding billowing sail

N_6 = other

B_1 = Overturned beker, falling at oblique angle from back to front so that inner surface of beker visible, and in conjunction w/ standing roemer (most often), pitcher, or nautilus cup so that beker appears to fall away from standing object

B_2 = Overturned, falling at oblique angle from back to front so that inner surface of beker visible, and in conjunction w/ standing roemer (most often), pitcher, or nautilus cup so that beker appears to fall toward standing object

B_3 = Overturned, falling at oblique angle from back to front so that inner surface of beker visible, in conjunction w/ standing vessels or completely independent

B_4 = Overturned, falling at oblique angle from front to back so that focus is on foot and outer surface of beker, and in conjunction w/ standing roemer (most often), pitcher, or nautilus cup so that beker appears to fall toward or beside standing object (roll, lemon [most often] or other tertiary object often positioned in front of fallen beker in relationship of stable solid to dynamic diagonal)

B_5 = Standing, as part of a group of vertical elements (fluits, pronck goblets, pitcher, roemers, etc.) of visual significance in the painting, acting as counter-point/backdrop to foreground elements

B_6 = Standing, single vertical element in painting (although massing elements, such as ham, or stack of cheeses, may be present)

W_1 = Watch in Vanitas, along front edge or front corner of table, w/ ribbon and/or key hanging over edge

W_2 = Watch meal w/one main dish/ontbijt, along front edge of table or on pewter plate projecting over edge, w/ ribbon and/or key hanging over edge

W_3 = Watch in roemers, along front edge of table or on pewter plate projecting over edge, w/ ribbon and/or key hanging over edge

W_4 = Watch in assemblage of curiosities

W_5 = Watch in tabackje

C_1 = Candle in Vanitas

a = Oil lamp

b = Candle

C_2 = Candle in meals

C_3 = Candle in banquet settings

C_4 = Candle in Books and ontbijt

C_5 = Candle in Tabackje w/meal

Br_1 = Broken glass in Vanitas

Br_2 = Broken glass meal w/one main dish/ontbijt(both types)

Br_3 = Broken glass in meal w/several dishes

Br_4 = Broken glass in roemers

Br_5 = Broken glass in fancy drinking vessels

OG_1 = Overturned glassware in Vanitas

a = Roemer (bottom-top)

b = Roemer (top-bottom)

c = Berckemeier (bottom-top)

d = Berckemeier (top-bottom)

OG_2 = Overturned glassware meal w/one main dish/ontbijt

a = Roemer (bottom-top)

b = Roemer (top-bottom)

c = Berckemeier (bottom-top)

d = Berckemeier (top-bottom)

e = Berckemeier (on spout)

f = Berckemeier (inverted)

g = Bekerschroef

h = Fluit (inverted)

i = Façon-de-Venise

j = Other

OG_3 = Overturned glassware in meal w/several dishes

a = Roemer (bottom-top)

b = Berckemeier (top-bottom)

c = Fluit (inverted)

d = Fluit (overturned)

e = Other

f = Berckemeier (bottom-top)

OG_4 = Overturned glassware in roemers

a = Berckemeier (bottom-top)

1 = Falling towards massing of form (other glass(es), usually)

2 = Falling away from massing of form

b = Berckemeier (top-bottom)

c = Berckemeier (inverted)

d = Façon-de-Venise

OG_5 = Overturned glassware in tabackjes

OG_6 = Overturned glassware in curio cabinet

OG_7 = Overturned glassware in portrait of nautilus or dragon pitcher

CD_1 = Roemer as central element

a = In Vanitas

b = In meals

c = In banquet settings

d = In roemers

e = In fancy drinking vessels

CD_2 = Berckemeier as central element

a = In meals

b = In roemers

CD_3 = Beker as central element

a = In meals

b = In roemers

CD_4 = Tazza as central element

CD_5 = Other as central element

CD_6 = Dragon Pitcher as central element

a = In meals

b = In meal w/several dishes

c = In fancy drinking vessels

CD_7 = Pronck Goblet as central element

a = In Vanitas

b = In meal w/several dishes

c = In fancy drinking vessels

CD_8 = Bekerschroef as central element

a = In meals

b = In meal w/several dishes

c = In fancy drinking vessels

R_1 = Bread as central element on pewter plate, level on table

a = Whole

b = Sliced

c = Crumbled

R_2 = Bread as central element on pewter plate, tilted on table

a = Whole

b = Sliced

R_3 = Roll ensconced in table linen (all whole)

R_4 = Roll on table (linen), set amongst other objects

CO_1 = Lemon as central element on pewter plate, level on table

a = Whole, with slices from another

b = Peeled, partially, w/ peel resting on plate or just over like a curly-q

c = Peeled lemon, peel dangling far over table's edge

CO_2 = Lemon as central element on pewter plate, tilted on table (all peeled with rind dangling far over table's edge)

CO_3 = Lemon as central element on linen, peel dangling over table's edge

CO_4 = Apple as central element on pewter plate

CO_5 = Drinkware as central element

CO_6 = Central dish as central element

CO_7 = Watches on pewter plate as central element

CO_8 = Watches on front edge of table as central element

APPENDIX A – GRAPHS OF THEMATIC TYPES BY ARTIST

Pieter Claesz = 209 paintings

Meal w/one main dish = 96 (67 sole; 25 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/fruytagie; 1 cf w/vanitas; 2 cf w/tabackjes)

Meal w/several dishes = 14

Ontbijt = 53 (9 sole; 25 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 8 cf w/tabackjes; 11 cf w/roemers)

Fruytagie = 7 (6 sole; 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish)

Roemers (etc) = 48 (37 sole; 11 cf w/ontbijt)

Tabackjes = 18 (8 sole; 8 cf w/ontbijt; 2 cf w/meal w/one main dish)

Vanitas = 16 (15 sole; 1 cf w/meal w/main dish)

After Pieter Claesz = 46 paintings

Meal w/one main dish = 34 (24 sole; 10 cf w/ontbijt)

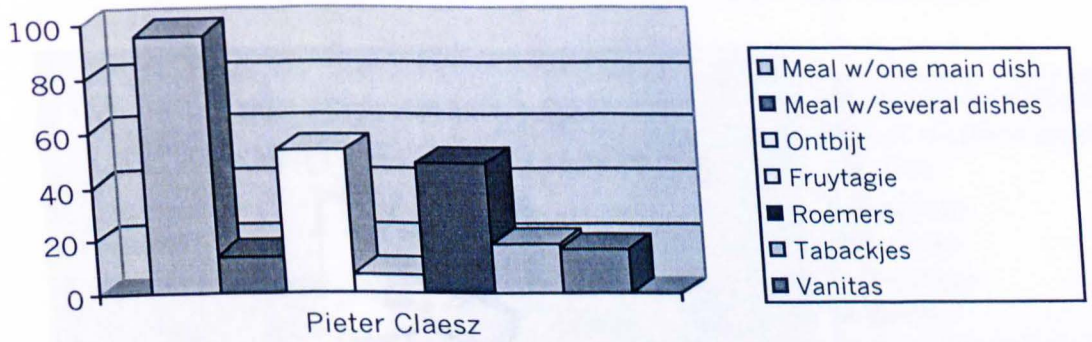
Meal w/several dishes = 2

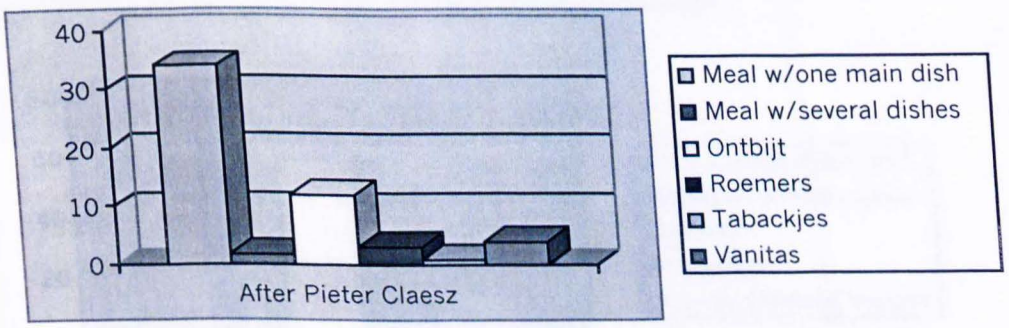
Ontbijt = 12 (2 sole; 10 cf w/meal w/one main dish)

Roemers = 3

Tabackjes = 1

Vanitas = 4





Willem Claesz Heda = 110 paintings

Meal w/one main dish = 55 (30 sole; 20 cf w/ontbijt; 3 cf w/fancy drinking vessels; 1 cf w/ontbijt & fancy drinking vessels; 1 cf w/tabackjes)

Meal w/several dishes = 9

Ontbijt = 30 (5 sole; 20 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish & fancy drinking vessels; 1 cf w/fancy drinking vessels; 3 cf w/roemers)

Fruytagie = 1

Roemers = 23 (19 sole; 3 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/fancy drinking vessels)

Fancy Drinking Vessels = 18 (12 sole; 3 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/ontbijt & meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/roemers)

Tabackjes = 3 (2 sole; 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish)

Vanitas = 1

After Willem Claesz Heda = 112 paintings

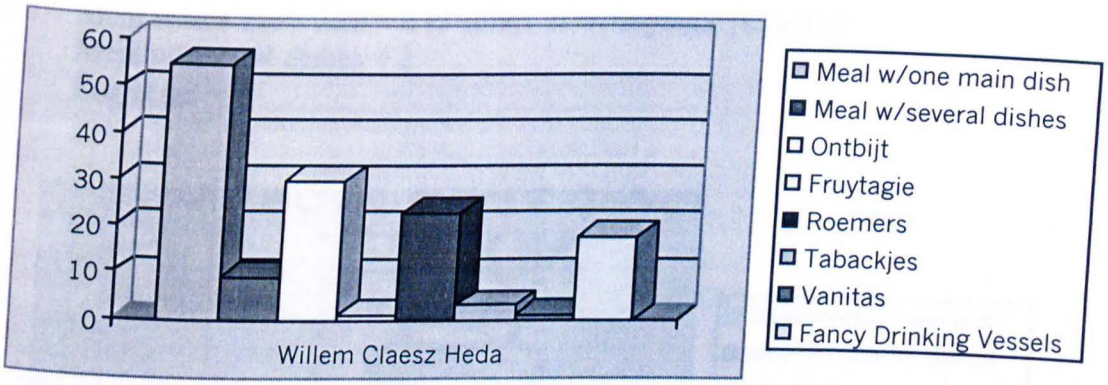
Meal w/one main dish = 75 (29 sole; 39 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/roemers; 6 cf w/fancy drinking vessels)

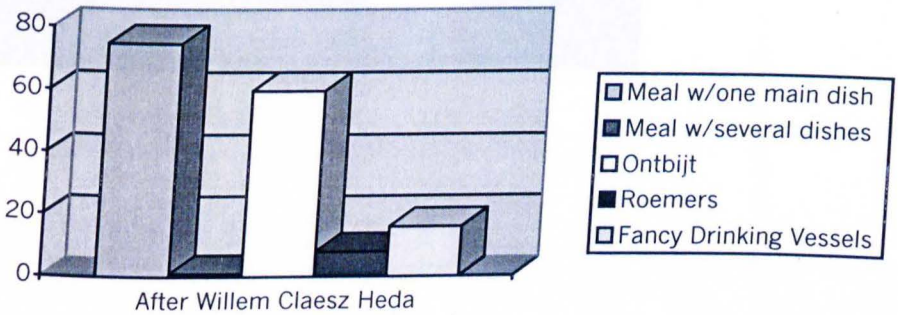
Meal w/several dishes = 1

Ontbijt = 60 (19 sole; 39 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 2 cf w/roemers)

Roemers = 8 (5 sole; 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 2 cf w/ontbijt)

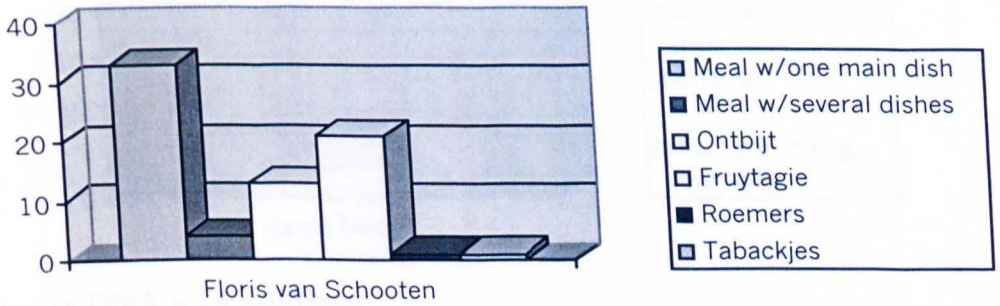
Fancy Drinking Vessels = 16 (10 sole; 6 cf w/meal w/one main dish)





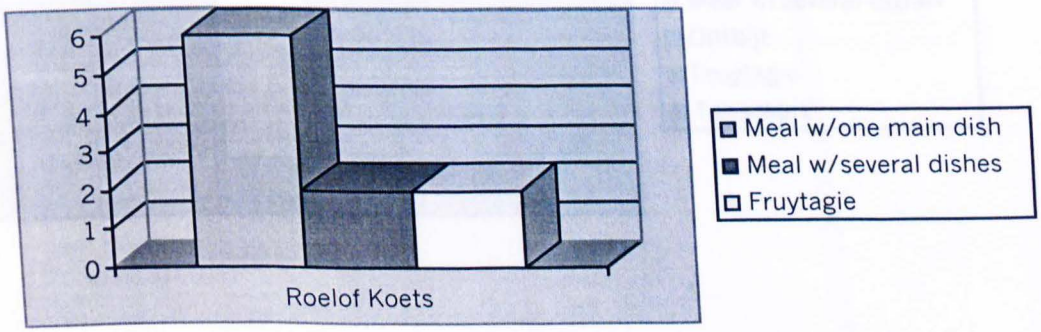
Floris van Schooten = 63 paintings

Meal w/one main dish = 33 (31 sole; 2 cf w/fruytagie)
Meal w/several dishes = 4
Ontbijt = 13 (3 sole; 10 cf w/fruytagie)
Fruytagie = 21 (9 sole; 10 cf w/ontbijt; 2 cf w/meal w/one main dish)
Roemers = 1
Tabackjes = 1



Roelof Koets = 10 paintings

Meal w/one main dish = 6 (5 sole;1 cf w/fruytagie [Claesz])
Meal w/several dishes = 2
Fruytagie = 2

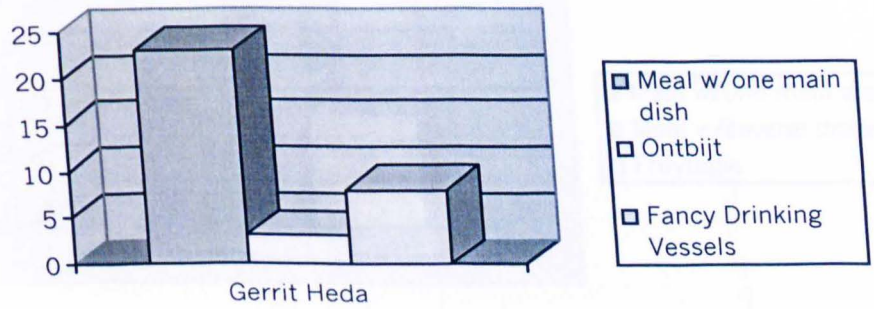


Gerrit Heda = 30 paintings

Meal w/one main dish = 23 (20 sole; 2 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/fancy drinking vessels)

Ontbijt = 3 (2 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/fancy drinking vessels)

Fancy drinking vessels = 8 (6 sole; 1 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish)



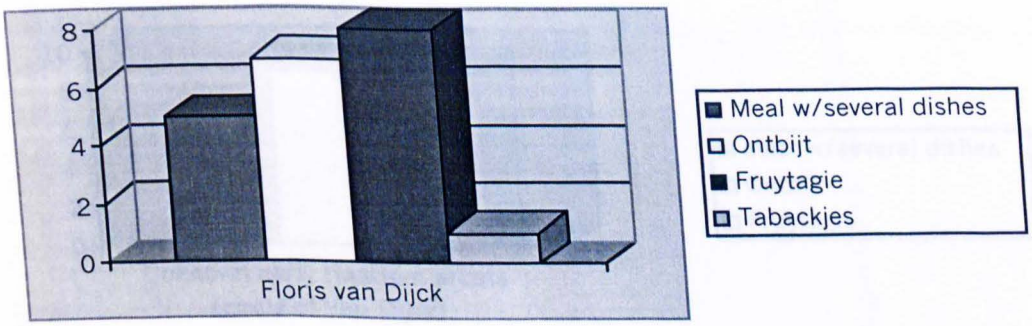
Floris van Dijck = 14 paintings

Meal w/several dishes = 5

Ontbijt = 7 (all cf w/fruytagie)

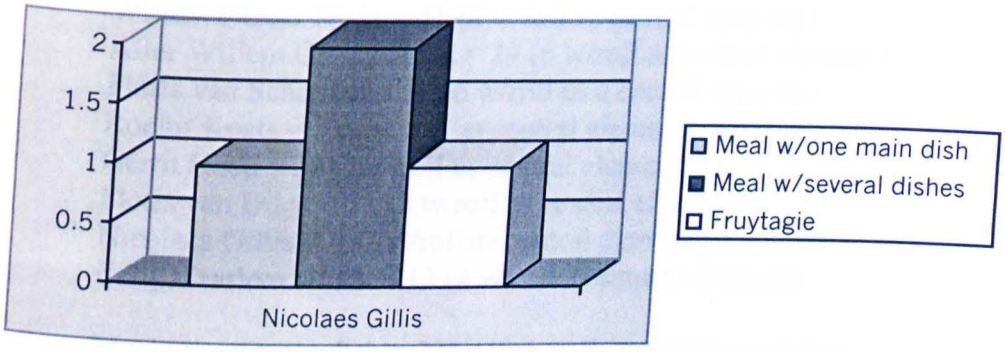
Fruytagie = 8 (1 sole; 7 cf w/ontbijt)

Tabackjes = 1



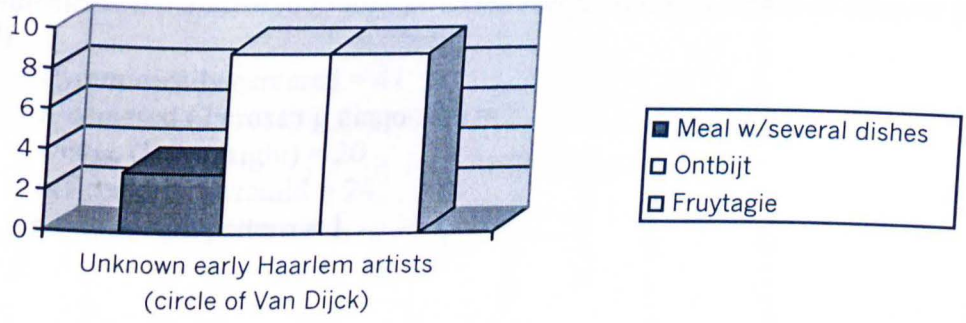
Nicolaes Gillis = 6 paintings

Meal w/one main dish = 1
Meal w/several dishes = 2
Fruytagie = 1
Flower piece = 1
Larder = 1



Unknown early Haarlem artists (circle of Van Dijck) = 12 paintings

Meal w/several dishes = 3
Ontbijt = 9 (all cf w/fruytagie)
Fruytagie = 9(all cf w/ontbijt)



APPENDIX A – GRAPHS OF MAJOR MOTIFS

Roll = 374 paintings[1] (67 w/roll as central element[2] [9 w/roemer as central element; 1 w/berckemeier as central element; 2 w/dragon pitcher as central element; 1 w/pasglass as central element])

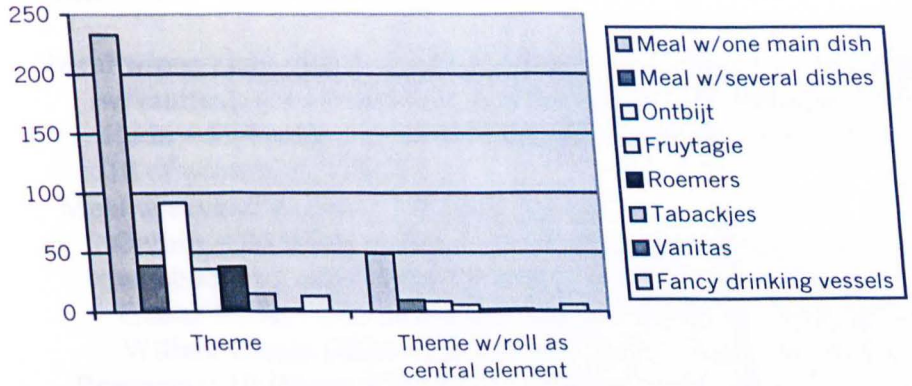
Pieter Claesz = 161 (23 w/roll as central element)
After Pieter Claesz = 39 (14 w/roll as central element)
Willem Claesz Heda = 41 (8 w/roll as central element)
After Willem Claesz Heda = 29 (6 w/roll as central element)
Floris van Schooten = 50 (6 w/roll as a central element)
Roelof Koets = 9 (1 w/roll as central element)
Gerrit Heda = 24 (3 w/roll as central element)
Floris van Dijck = 11 (3 w/roll as central element)
Nicolaes Gillis = 4 (2 w/roll as central element)
Early Haarlem artists = 12 (4 w/roll as central element)

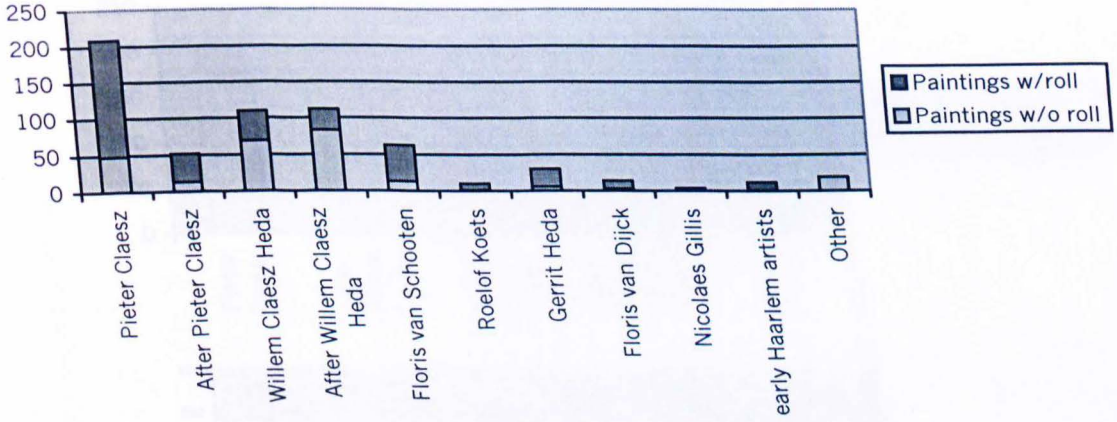
Meal w/one main dish = 233 (49 w/roll as central element)
Meal w/several dishes = 39 (10 w/roll as central element)
Ontbijt = 92 (9 w/roll as central element)
Fruytagie = 36 (6 w/roll as central element)
Roemers = 38 (2 w/roll as central element)
Tabackjes = 15 (2 w/roll as central element)
Vanitas = 2 (1 w/roll as central element)
Fancy drinking vessels = 13 (6 w/roll as central element)

Compositional disposition of ptgs in which roll features as a central element (67 total)

Pyramidically centered = 41
x-centered (2 crossing diagonals) = 7
wedge (left or right) = 20
off-centered pyramid = 24
no dominant pattern = 1

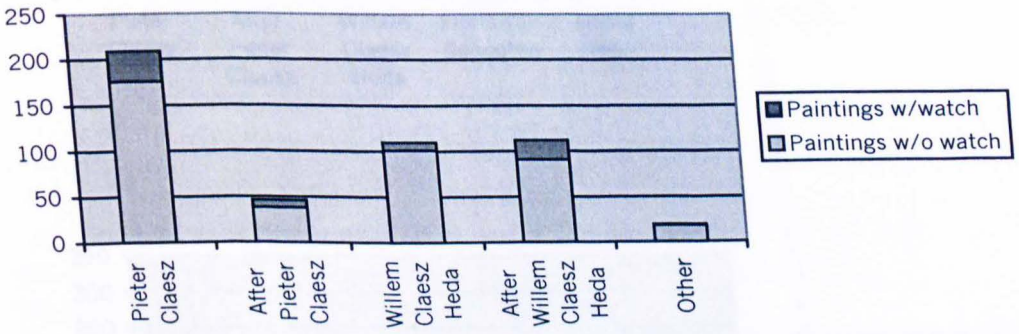
[1] 6 copies of WC Heda (WCH41); 3 copies WC Heda (WCH97); 4 copies of P Claesz (PC42); 10 copies of P Claesz (PC113)
[2] 4 copies of WC Heda (WCH41); 10 copies of P Claesz (PC113)

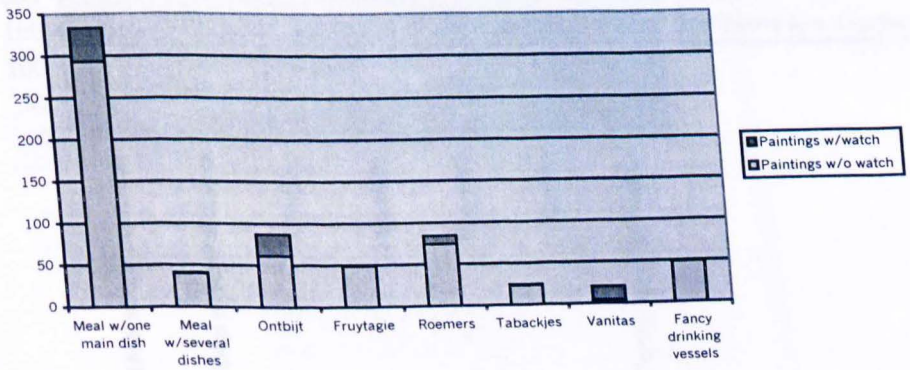

250
200
150
100
50
0
Theme
Theme w/roll as central element
Meal w/one main dish
Meal w/several dishes
Ontbijt
Fruytagie
Roemers
Tabackjes
Vanitas
Fancy drinking vessels


250
200
150
100
50
0
Pieter Claesz
After Pieter Claesz
Willem Claesz Heda
After Willem Claesz Heda
Floris van Schooten
Roelof Koets
Gerrit Heda
Floris van Dijck
Nicolaes Gillis
early Haarlem artists
Other
Paintings w/roll
Paintings w/o roll

Watch = 72 paintings
Pieter Claesz = 33
After Pieter Claesz = 8
Willem Claesz Heda = 9
After Willem Claesz Heda = 21
Other = 1

Meal w/one main dish = 40 (Pieter Claesz = 8 [4 solo; 3 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/vanitas]; after Pieter Claesz = 5 [4 solo; 1 cf w/ontbijt]; Willem Claesz Heda = 5 [4 solo; 1 cf w/ontbijt]; after Willem Claesz Heda = 21 [3 solo; 18 cf w/ontbijt]; Other = 1)
Meal w/several dishes = 1 (Pieter Claesz)
Ontbijt = 26 (Pieter Claesz = 5 [1 solo; 3 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/tabackjes]; after Pieter Claesz = 1 [cf w/meal w/one main dish]; Willem Claesz Heda = 2 [1 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/roemers]; after Willem Claesz Heda = 18 [18 cf w/meal w/one main dish])
Roemers = 10 (Pieter Claesz = 6; Willem Claesz Heda = 4 [3 solo; 1 cf w/ontbijt])
Tabackjes = 1 (Pieter Claesz – cf w/ontbijt)
Vanitas = 16 (Pieter Claesz = 13 [12 solo; 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish]; after Pieter Claesz = 3)
Other (allegory) = 3 (Pieter Claesz)

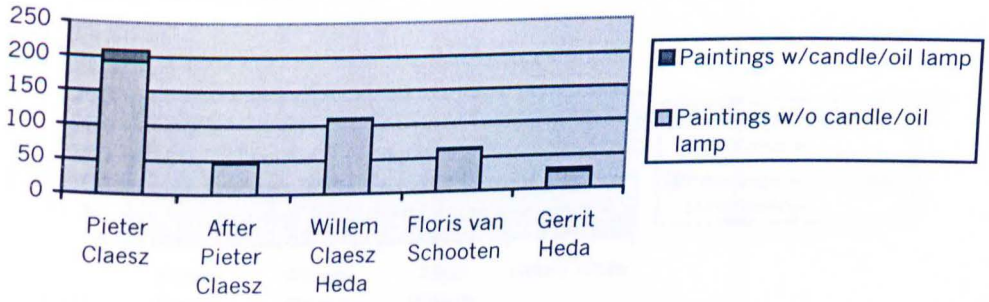


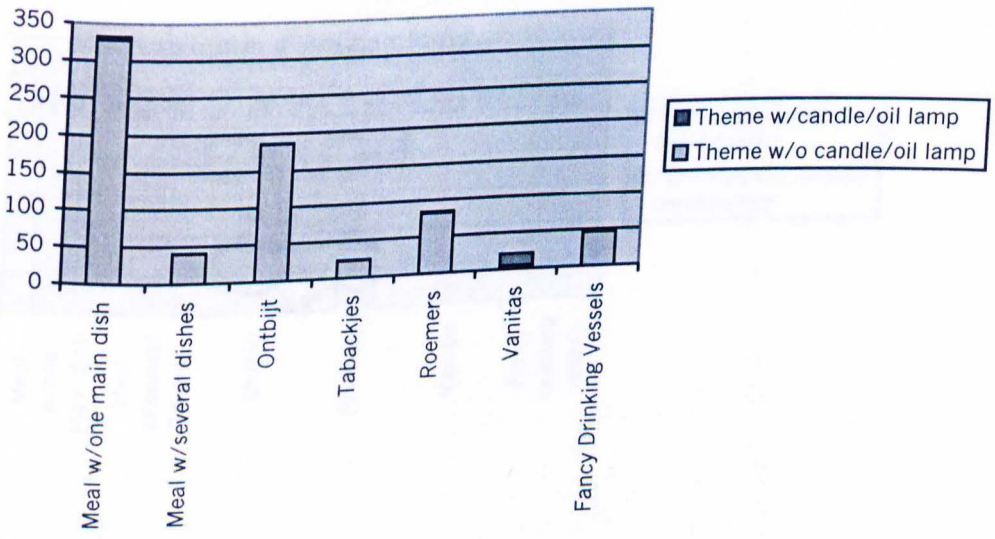


Extinguished candle/oil lamp = 28 paintings

Pieter Claesz = 16
After Pieter Claesz = 3
Willem Claesz Heda = 2
Floris van Schooten = 2
Gerrit Heda = 5

Meal w/one main dish = 5 (Pieter Claesz = 1 [cf w/ontbijt]; Willem Claesz Heda = 1 [cf w/fancy drinking vessels; Gerrit Heda = 3)
Meal w/several dishes = 1 (Willem Claesz Heda)
Ontbijt = 1 (Pieter Claesz – cf w/meal w/one main dish)
Tabackjes = 1 (Floris van Schooten)
Roemers = 2 (Pieter Claesz)
Vanitas = 16 (Pieter Claesz = 13; after Pieter Claesz = 3)
Fancy drinking vessels = 3 (Willem Claesz Heda = 1 [cf w/meal w/main dish]; Gerrit Heda = 2)
Other = 1 (Floris van Schooten – Pots & Pans)





Overturned & broken berckemeier/roemer = 25 paintings

Pieter Claesz = 6

Willem Claesz Heda = 12

After Willem Claesz Heda = 6

Gerrit Heda = 1

Meal w/one main dish = 12 (Pieter Claesz = 2 [cf w/ontbijt]; Willem Claesz Heda = 6 [1 solo; 3 cf w/ontbijt; 2 cf w/fancy drinking vessels]; After Willem Claesz Heda = 4 [3 solo; 1 cf w/ontbijt])

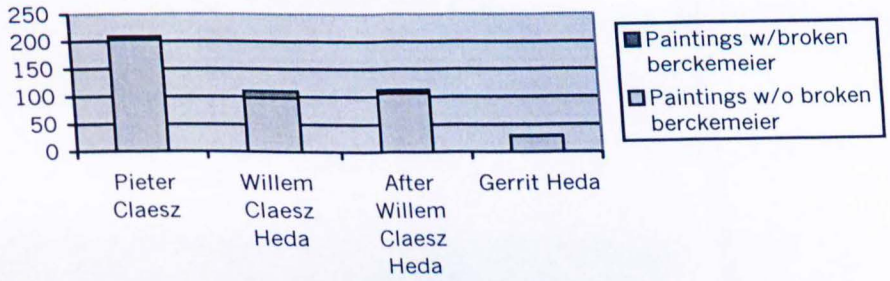
Meal w/several dishes = 1 (Willem Claesz Heda)

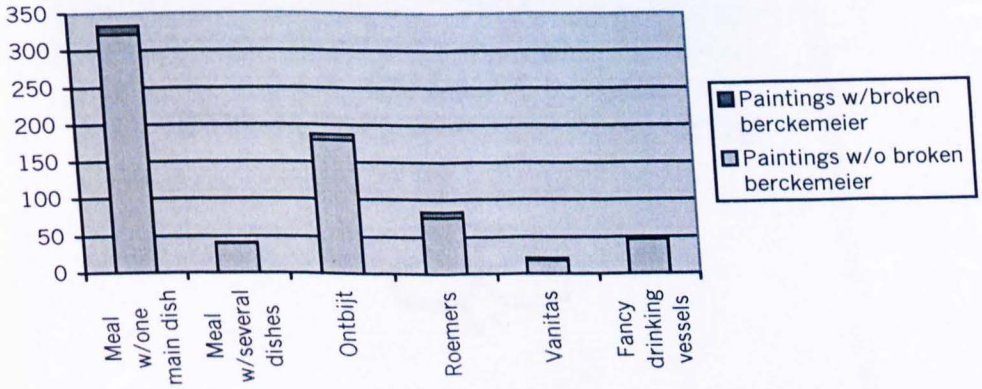
Ontbijt = 8 (Pieter Claesz = 2 [cf w/meal w/one main dish]; Willem Claesz Heda = 4 [3 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/roemers]; After Willem Claesz Heda = 2 [1 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/roemers])

Roemers = 8 (Pieter Claesz = 1; Willem Claesz Heda = 5 [4 solo; 1 cf w/ontbijt]; after Willem Claesz Heda = 2 [1 solo; 1 cf w/ontbijt])

Vanitas = 3 (Pieter Claesz)

Fancy drinking vessels = 3 (Willem Claesz Heda = 2 [cf w/meal w/one main dish]; Gerrit Heda = 1)





Cheese = 73 paintings

Pieter Claesz = 7

After Willem Claesz Heda = 1

Floris van Schooten = 35

Roelof Koets = 5

Floris van Dijck = 13

Nicolaes Gillis = 3

Early Haarlem artists = 9

Meal w/one main dish = 29 (Pieter Claesz = 5 [3 solo; 1 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/tabackjes]; Floris van Schooten = 23; Roelof Koets = 1)

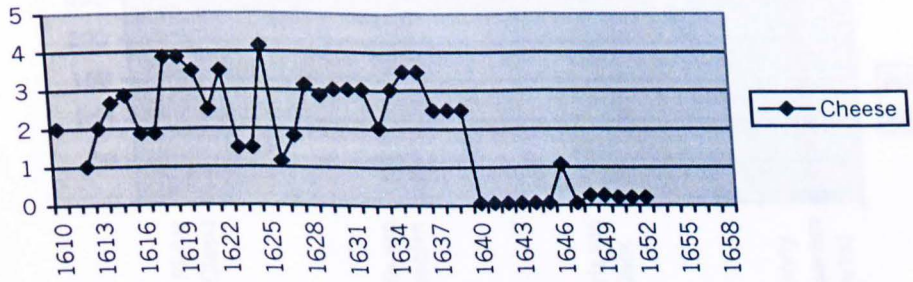
Meal w/several dishes = 15 (Floris van Schooten = 3; Roelof Koets = 2; Floris van Dijck = 5; Nicolaes Gillis = 2; early Haarlem artists =3)

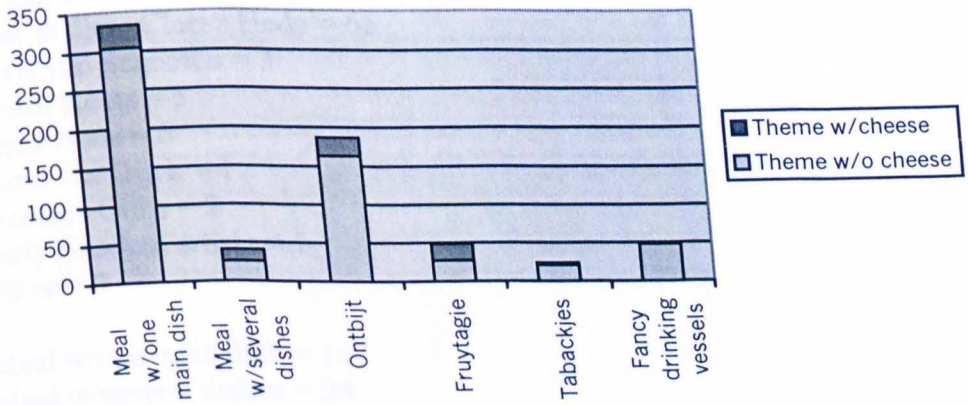
Ontbijt = 24 (Pieter Claesz = 2 [1 solo; 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish]; Floris van Schooten = 5 [2 solo; 3 cf w/fruytagie]; Floris van Dijck = 7 [all cf w/fruytagie]; early Haarlem artists = 6 [all cf w/fruytagie])

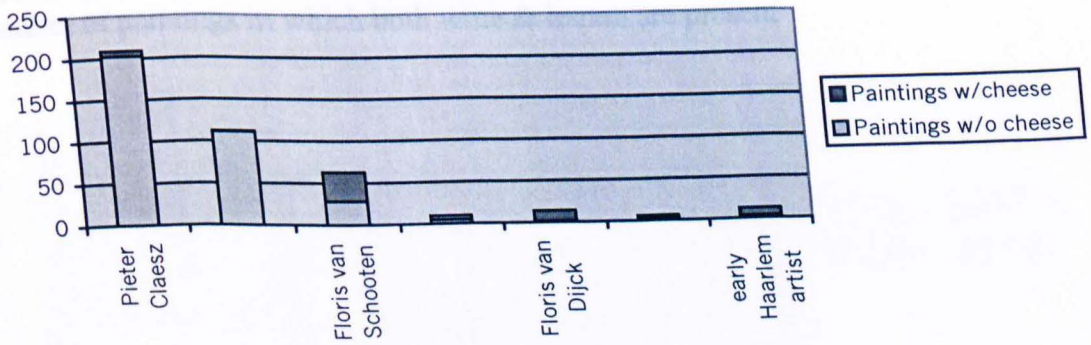
Fruytagie = 22 (Pieter Claesz = 1; Floris van Schooten = 6 [3 solo; 3 cf w/ontbijt]; Roelof Koets = 1; Floris van Dijck = 7 [all cf w/ontbijt]; early Haarlem artists = 6 [all cf w/ontbijt])

Tabackjes = 3 (Pieter Claesz = 1 [cf w/meal w/one main dish]; Floris van Schooten = 1; Floris van Dijck = 1)

Fancy drinking vessels = 1 (after Willem Claesz Heda)




350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Meal w/one main dish
Meal w/several dishes
Ontbijt
Fruytagie
Tabackjes
Fancy drinking vessels
Theme w/cheese
Theme w/o cheese

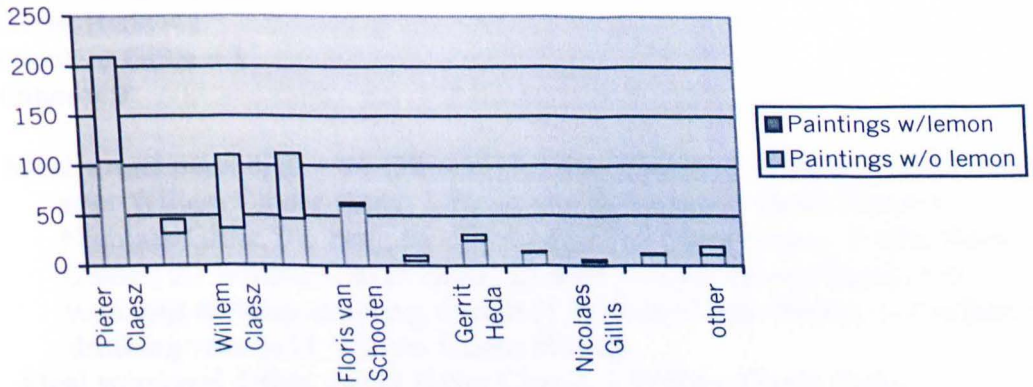

250
200
150
100
50
0
Pieter Claesz
Floris van Schooten
Floris van Dijck
early Haarlem artist
Paintings w/cheese
Paintings w/o cheese

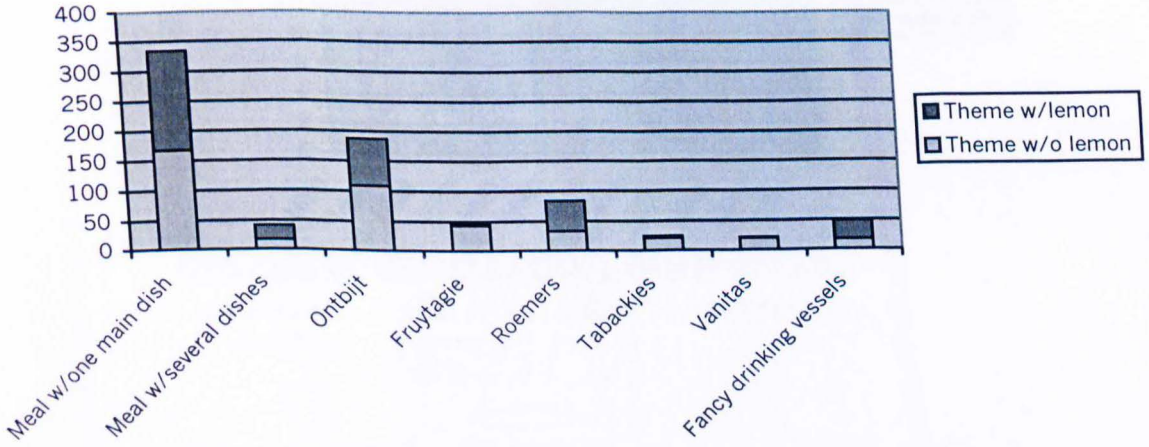
Lemon = 282 paintings (78 w/lemon as central element [14 along w/roemer as central element])

Pieter Claesz = 105
After Pieter Claesz = 14
Willem Claesz Heda = 73
After Willem Claesz Heda = 65
Floris van Schooten = 3
Roelof Koets = 5
Gerrit Heda = 6
Floris van Dijck = 1
Nicolaes Gillis = 2
Early Haarlem artists = 1
Other = 8

Meal w/one main dish = 167
Meal w/several dishes = 24
Ontbijt = 78
Fruytagie = 6
Roemers = 51
Tabackjes = 3
Vanitas = 1
Fancy drinking vessels = 32

74 = Number of paintings in which both lemon & oysters appear; as well wine is present in each painting
280 = Number of paintings in which both wine & lemon are present


250
200
150
100
50
0
Pieter Claesz
Willem Claesz
Floris van Schooten
Gerrit Heda
Nicolaes Gillis
other
Paintings w/lemon
Paintings w/o lemon


400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
Meal w/one main dish
Meal w/several dishes
Ontbijt
Fruytagie
Roemers
Tabackjes
Vanitas
Fancy drinking vessels
Theme w/lemon
Theme w/o lemon

Mince Pie = 105 paintings[3]

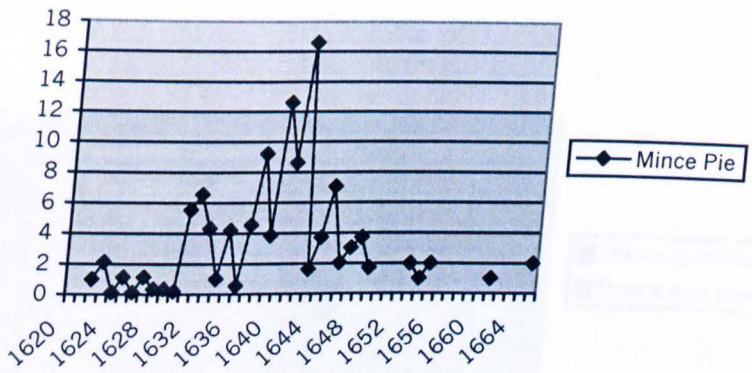
Pieter Claesz = 24
After Pieter Claesz = 9
Willem Claesz Heda = 28
After Willem Claesz Heda = 30
Floris van Schooten = 3
Gerrit Heda = 1
Nicolaes Gillis = 1
Other = 9

Meal w/one main dish = 96 (28 solo [3 Pieter Claesz; 3 Willem Claesz Heda; 8 after Willem Claesz Heda; 3 Floris van Schooten; 1 Gerrit Heda; 1 Nicolaes Gillis; 9 other]; 66 cf w/ontbijt [15 Pieter Claesz; 9 after Pieter Claesz; 20 Willem Claesz Heda; 22 after Willem Claesz Heda]; 1 cf w/ontbijt & fancy drinking vessels [1 Willem Claesz Heda]; 1 cf w/fancy drinking vessels [1 Willem Claesz Heda])

Meal w/several dishes = 6 (4 Pieter Claesz; 2 Willem Claesz Heda)

Ontbijt = 68 (1 solo [Willem Claesz Heda]; 66 cf w/meal w/one main dish [15 Pieter Claesz; 9 after Pieter Claesz; 20 Willem Claesz Heda; 22 after Willem Claesz Heda]; 1 cf w/ontbijt & meal w/one main dish [Willem Claesz Heda])

Vanitas = 1 (Pieter Claesz)



[3] 4 copies of C Mahu (CM1); 2 copies of C Mahu (CM2); 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH10); 2 copies of WC Heda (WCH28); 8 copies of WC Heda (WCH64); 2 copies of WC Heda (WCH89); 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH97); 4 copies of P Claesz (PC42)

Ham = 112 paintings

Pieter Claesz = 32
After Pieter Claesz = 9
Willem Claesz Heda = 23
After Willem Claesz Heda = 15
Floris van Schooten = 22
Roelof Koets = 1
Gerrit Heda = 10

Meal w/one main dish = 99 (93 solo; 3 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/fruytagie; 1 cf w/tabackjes; 1 cf w/vanitas)
Meal w/several dishes = 12
Ontbijt = 3 cf w/meal w/one main dish
Fruytagie = 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish
Tabackjes = 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish
Vanitas = 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish
Other = 1

Fish = 89 paintings

Pieter Claesz = 48
After Pieter Claesz = 8
Willem Claesz Heda = 3
After Willem Claesz Heda = 17[4]
Floris van Schooten = 4
Roelof Koets = 1
Gerrit Heda = 6
Other = 2

Meal w/one main dish = 65 (43 solo; 19 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/fruytagie; 2 cf w/tabackjes)
Meal w/several dishes = 4
Ontbijt = 35 (7 solo; 19 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 7 cf w/tabackjes; 2 cf w/roemers)
Fruytagie = 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish
Tabackjes = 12 (3 solo; 2 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 7 cf w/ontbijt)
Roemers = 3 (1 solo; 2 cf w/ontbijt)

Crab = 59 paintings

Pieter Claesz = 27
After Pieter Claesz = 12
Willem Claesz Heda = 6
After Willem Claesz Heda = 5
Floris van Schooten = 2

[4] includes WCH 45 and 14 copies

Roelof Koets = 1
Gerrit Heda = 4
Early Haarlem artist = 2

Meal w/one main dish = 46 (39 solo ; 4 cf w/ontbijt; 1 cf w/tabackjes; 2 cf w/fancy drinking vessels)
Meal w/several dishes = 9
Ontbijt = 8 (3 solo; 4 cf w/meal w/one main dish; 1 cf w/roemers)
Roemers = 1 cf w/ontbijt
Tabackjes = 1 cf w/meal w/one main dish

Roemer = 311 paintings[5] (46 w/roemer as central element)

Berckemeier = 189 paintings[6] (3 w/berckemeier as central element)

Beker = 92 paintings (2 w/beker as central element)

Bekerschroef = 60 paintings[7] (28 w/bekerschroef as central element)[8]

Pronck Goblet = 49 paintings[9] (3 w/goblet as central element)

Tazza = 115 paintings[10] (16 w/tazza as central element)[11]

Nautilus Cup = 57 paintings[12]

Hansjes-in-de-kelder = 49 paintings[13]

Beer = 205 paintings[14]

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[5] 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH10); 2 copies of WC Heda (WCH14); 6 copies of WC Heda (WCH41); 2 copies of WC Heda (WCH79); 2 copies of WC Heda (WCH89)
[6] 8 copies of WC Heda (WCH 64); 10 copies of P Claesz (PC113)
[7] 4 copies of C Mahu (CM1); 2 copies of C Mahu (CM2); 3 copies of C Mahu (CM5); 14 copies of WC Heda (WCH43)
[8] 14 of WC Heda (WCH 43)
[9] 7 copies of WC Heda (WCH 41); 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH 97); 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH 114)
[10] 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH10); 2 copies of WC Heda (WCH14); 7 copies of WC Heda (WCH 41); 14 copies of WC Heda (WCH 45); 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH97)
[11] 14 copies of WC Heda (WCH45)
[12] 8 copies of WC Heda (WCH64)
[13] 8 copies of WC Heda (WCH64)
[14] 4 copies of C Mahu (CM1); 2 copies of C Mahu (CM2); 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH10); 6 copies of WC Heda (WCH41); 14 copies of WC Heda (WCH45); 2 copies of WC Heda (WCH66); 3 copies of WC Heda (WCH114); 2 copies of P Claesz (PC123)

APPENDIX A – GRAPHS OF THEMATIC TYPES

Vanitas = 21 instances (20 Vanitas; 1 Vanitas/One Main Dish)

Skull = 20

Overturned Glass = 13 (3 berckemeier; 10 roemer) (no overlap)

Broken glass = 3 (2 berckemeier; 1 roemer) (no overlap)

Overturned other = 3 (1 Tazza; 2 Pronck Goblet) (no overlap)

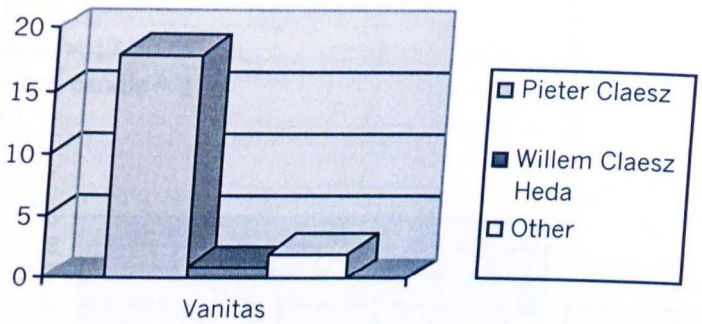
Candle = 6; Oil Lamp = 10 (no overlap)

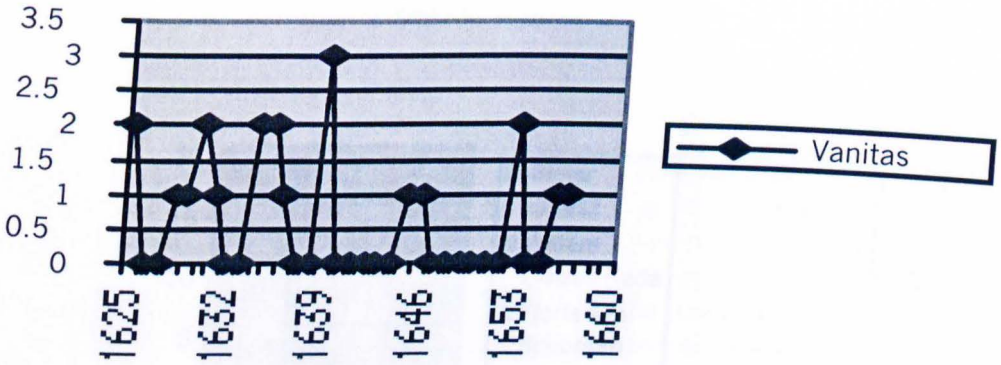
Quill = 9

Books = 19

Thigh bone = 7

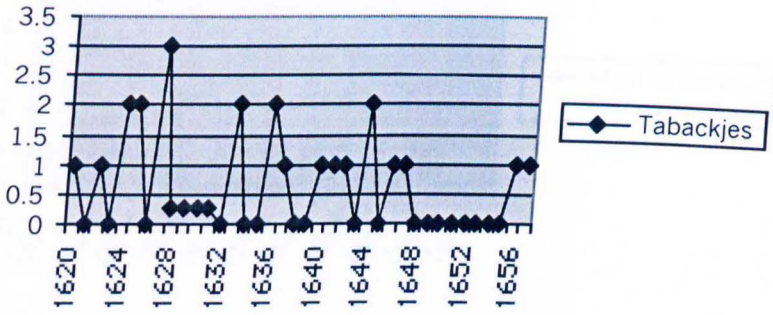
Watch = 16 (2 without either candle or oil lamp)

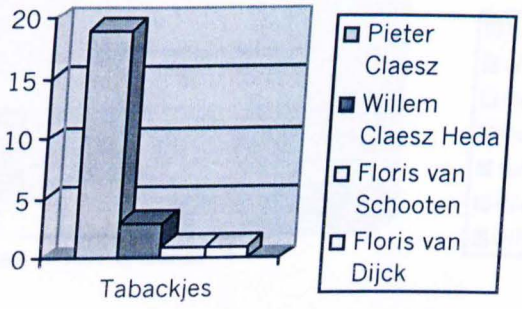




Tabackjes = 24 instances (13 Tabackjes; 8 Tabackjes/Ontbijt; 3 Tabackjes/Meal w/One Main Dish)

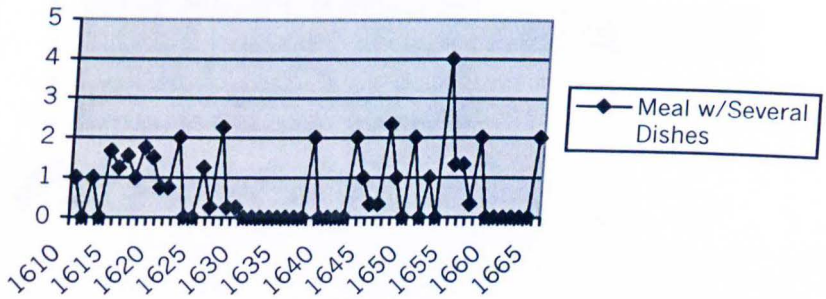
Pipes = 24
Brazier = 22
Matchsticks = 15
Tobacco in alamanac paper = 8
Wick = 3
Playing Cards = 3
Beer = 16
Roemer/berckemeier = 7 (no overturned [though 2 Hedas include overturned tazza])
Overturned = 9 (2 mini-berckemeier; 2 tazza; 2 beker; 2 stoneware pitcher; 1 waffleglass)
Cheese = 3 (2 in baskets)
Dish of butter = 3 (same as cheeses)
Fish = 12 (all herring)
Shellfish = 3 (2 oysters [1 w/herring]; 1 crab)
Ham = 1
Roll/biscuits = 17
Extinguished candle = 1
Watch = 1

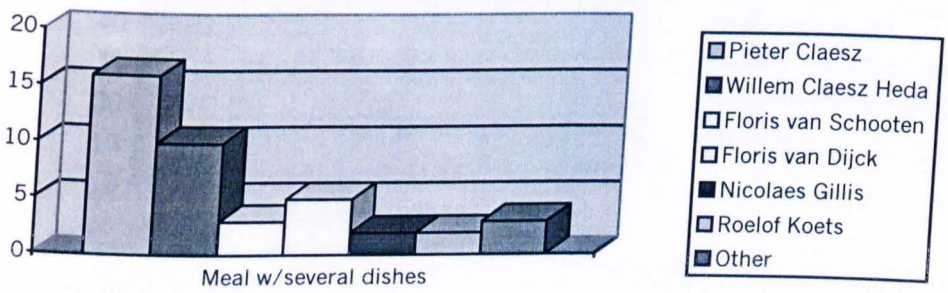




Several dishes = 41 instances

Mince Pie = 6
Ham = 12
Oysters = 17
Fish = 4
Crab = 9
Lobster = 4
Roll = 39 (10 in which roll is central element)
Roemer = 25 (6 in which roemer is central element [2 w/roll])
Bercekemeier = 11 (3 overturned w/tray of berckemeiers)
Nautilus Cup = 9 (4 overturned)
Tazza = 4 (2 w/sweetmeats; 2 overturned)
Pronck goblet = 6
Fluit = 19
Facon-de-venise glass = 6
Fluit = 19 (1 overturned)
Cheese = 15 (14 stacks; 1 basket)
Fruit = 22 (including grapes)





Roemers, etc. = 84 instances (66 Roemers; 16 Roemers/Ontbijt; 1 Roemers/Meal w/one main dish; 1 Roemers/Fancy Drinking Vessels)

Roemer = 73 (12 w/Berckemeier; 11 w/Tazza; 9 w/Berckemeier & Tazza)

Berckemeier = 28 (12 w/Roemer; 9 w/Roemer & Tazza)

Tazza = 21 (11 w/Roemer; 9 w/Roemer & Berckemeier)

Beker = 11 (8 overturned & broken) (3 w/Roemer; 2 w/Roemer & Berckemeier; 4 w/Berckemeier)

Fluit = 3

Beer = 4

Nuts = 45

Olives = 42

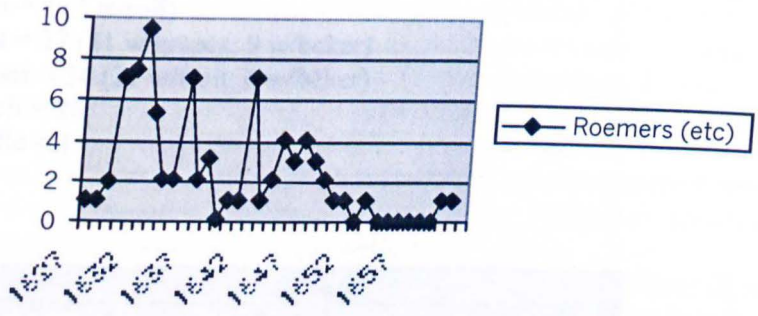
Roll = 38

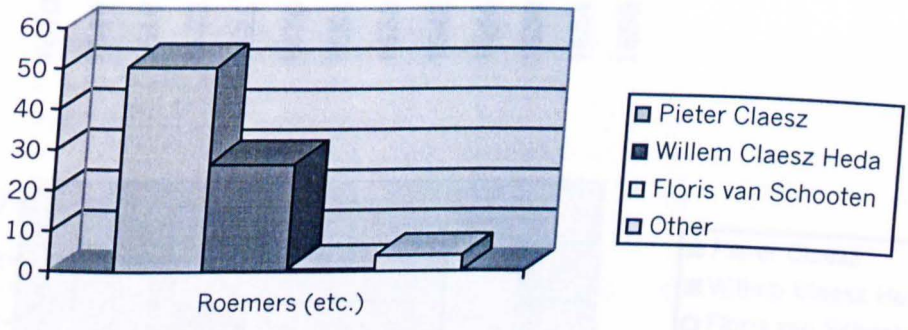
Biscuit = 4

Oysters = 36

Crab = 1

Herring = 2





Ontbijt = 187 instances (38 Ontbijt; 96 Ontbijt/Meal w/one main dish; 26 Ontbijt/Fruytagie; 16 Ontbijt/Roemers; 8 Ontbijt/Tabackjes; 2 Ontbijt/Fancy Drinking Vessels; 1 Ontbijt/Meal w/one main dish/fancy drinking vessels)

Roll = 92 (9 in which roll is a central feature [1 together w/roemer]; 33 w/roemer; 25 w/berckemeier; 10 w/both)

Roemer = 81 (13 in which roemer is a central feature [1 together w/roll]; 43 w/roll; 1 overturned)

Berckemeier = 58 (25 w/roll; 10 w/roll & roemer; 9 overturned & broken; 13 overturned)

Bekerschroef = 20

Tazza = 35 (19 overturned; 7 w/roll; 11 w/mince pie)

Beker = 28 (9 overturned; 18 w/roll; 12 w/mince pie)

Nautilus Cup = 28 (13 overturned; **0** w/roll; 26 w/mince pie)

Fluit = 39

Mince Pie = 67 (22 w/roll; 26 w/nautilus cup; 11 w/tazza; 39 w/roemer; 33 w/berckemeier)

Shellfish (Crab/Shrimp) = 9

Oysters = 40 (13 w/roll; 9 w/roemer; 5 w/berckemeier; 4 w/roemer & berckemeier)

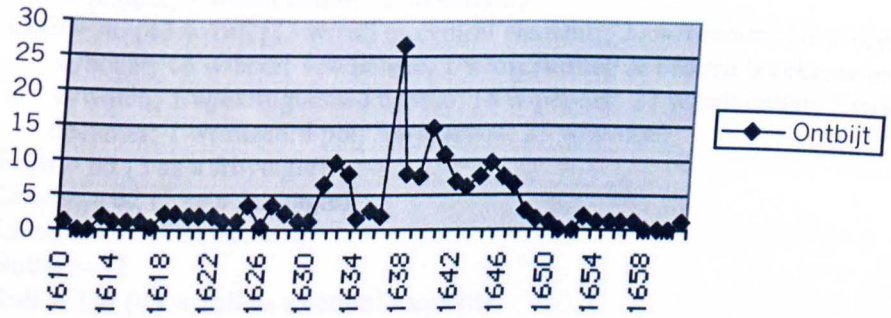
Ham = 3 (3 w/roll)

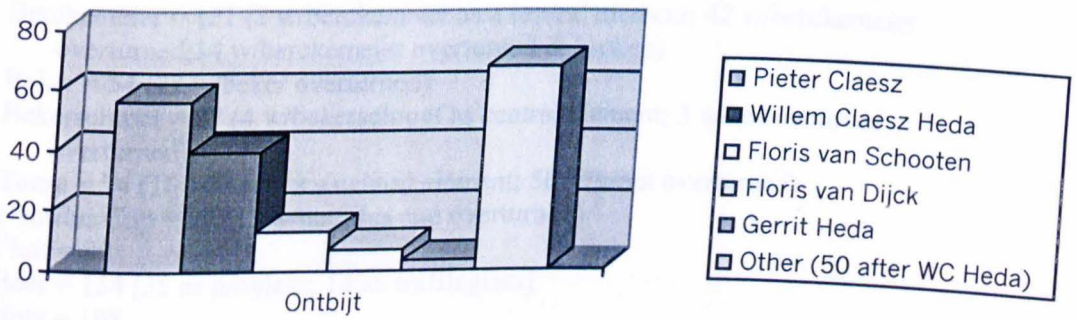
Fruit = 37 (21 w/grapes; 9 w/beker)

Grapes = 34 (21 w/fruit; 6 w/beker)

Watch = 26

Candle = 1





Meal w/one main dish = 333 instances (218 Meal w/one main dish; 96 Meal w/one main dish/Ontbijt; 1 Meal w/one main dish/Ontbijt/Fancy drinking vessels; 3 Meal w/one main dish/fruytagie; 3 Meal w/one main dish/tabackjes; 1 Meal w/one main dish/Roemers; 10 Meal w/one main dish/Fancy drinking vessels; 1 Meal w/one main dish/Vanitas)

Mince Pie = 102 (39 w/roll [2 w/roll as central element; 52 w/roemer; 50 w/berckemeier; 25 w/beker; 24 w/tazza; 27 w/nautilus cup; 26 w/hansje; 10 w/bekerschroef; 2 w/oyster shells; 73 w/lemon; 16 w/salt cellar; 2 w/pepper; 11 w/overturned & broken berckemeier; 1 w/extinguished candle; 13 w/watch; 3 w/cheese; 1 w/vinegar decanter)

Ham = 98 (88 w/roll [16 w/roll as central element]; 43 w/roemer; 20 w/berckemeier; 32 w/beker; 14 w/tazza; 2 w/nautilus cup; 4 w/hansje; 6 w/bekerschroef; 57 w/beer; 19 w/bread; 18w/biscuits; 75 w/mustard pot; 8 w/salt cellar; 2 w/pepper; 3 w/oysters; 2 w/overturned & broken berckemeier/roemer; 2 w/extinguished candle; 3 w/watch; 31 w/lemon; 15 w/cheese)

Fowl(Roast Chicken) = 7 (7 w/roll; 7 w/lemon; 4 w/roemer; 3 w/berckemeier; 1 w/tazza; 1 w/hansje-in-de-kelder; 3 w/watch)

Fish = 60 ([14 herring; 28 mackarel; 1 salmon; 18 fish] 43 w/roll [11 w/roll as central element]; 25 w/roemer; 12 w/berckemeier; 10 w/beker; 17 w/tazza; 37 w/beer; 5 w/hansje; 3 w/bekerschroef; 20 w/lemon; 4 w/oysters; 2 w/shrimp; 7 w/pepper; 22 w/salt cellar; 7 w/mustard pot [6 b/c of ham]; 1 w/extinguished candle; 21 w/watch; 1 w/vinegar decanter)

Oysters (plate of) = 13 (7 w/roll; 8 w/roemer; 8 w/berckemeier; 9 w/tazza; 1 w/bekerschroef; 2 w/beker; 1 w/nautilus cup; 3 w/hansje; 13 w/lemon; 11 w/pepper; 9 w/salt cellar; 12 w/vinegar)

Crab = 46 (43 w/roll [15 w/roll as central element]; 21 w/roemer; 26 w/berckemeier; 5 w/beker; 16 w/beer; 1 w/hansje; 1 w/overturned & broken berckemeier; 1 w/watch; 1 w/extinguished candle; 16 w/pepper; 27 w/salt cellar; 7 w/vinegar decanter; 1 w/mustard pot; 3 w/oysters; 23 w/lemon)

Fruit = 65 (3 as a fruytagie)

Grapes = 62 (2 as a fruytagie)

Cheese = 31 (5 in baskets)

Butter = 32

Roll = 234 (49 w/roll as a central element)

Bread = 31

Biscuits = 31

Roemer = 152 (23 w/roemer as a central element; 4 w/roemer overturned)

Berckemeier = 121 (2 w/berckemeier as a central element; 42 w/berckemeier overturned;14 w/berckemeier overturned & broken)

Beker = 54 (28 w/beker overturned)

Bekerschroef = 22 (4 w/bekerschroef as central element; 3 w/bekerschroef overturned)

Tazza = 74 (16 w/tazza as a central element; 56 w/tazza overturned)

Nautilus Cup = 32 (17 w/nautilus cup overturned)

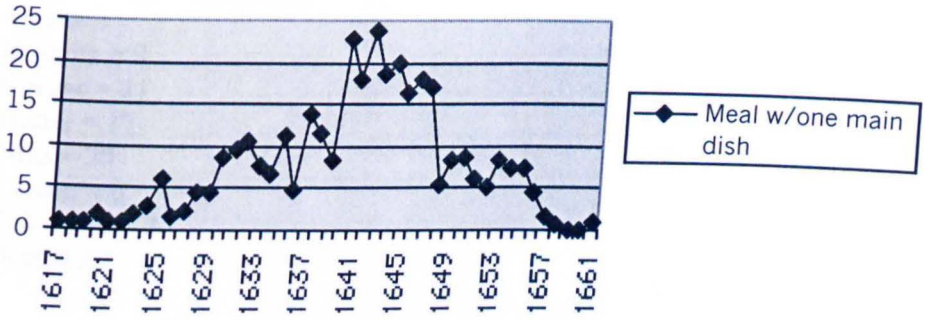
Fluit = 80

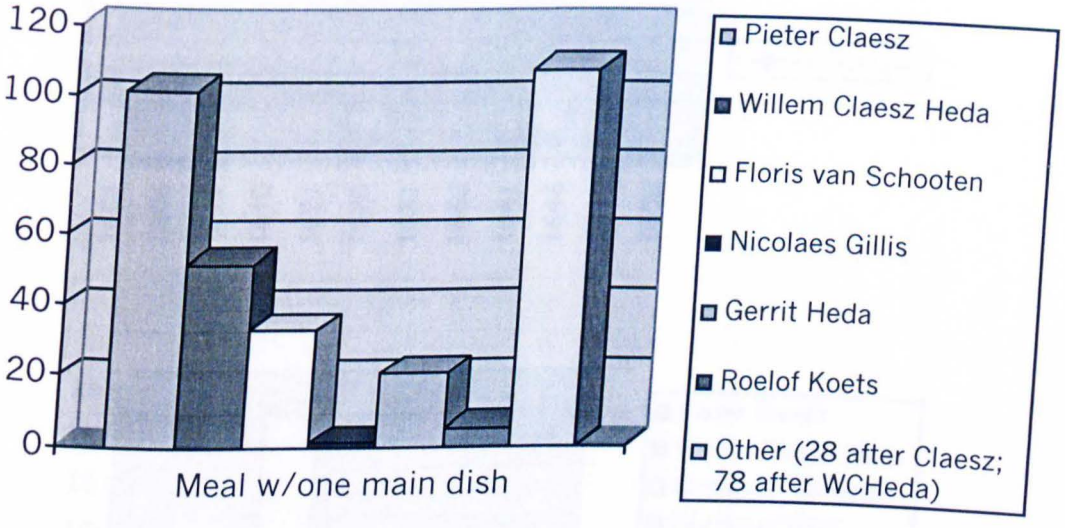
Beer = 154 [35 as pasglass; 14 as waffleglass]

Nuts = 198

Lemon = 167 (47 w/lemon as a central element; 77 w/slices)

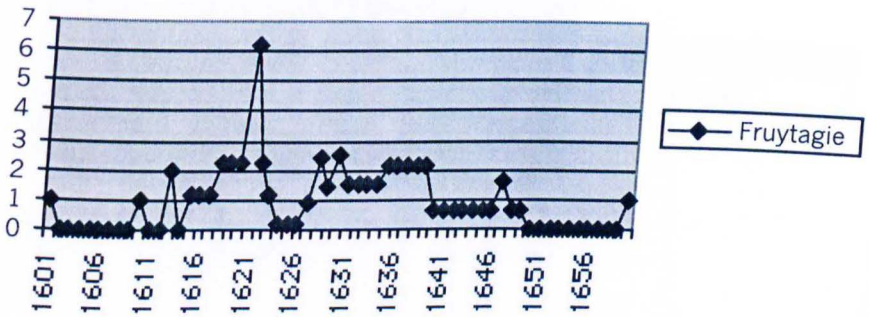
Salt Cellar = 94
Pepper = 41
Vinegar decanter = 23
Olives = 86 (73 in dishes)
Pitcher = 158 [14 stoneware pitcher; 2 ming pitcher] 45 overturned; 6 capped w/berckemeier)

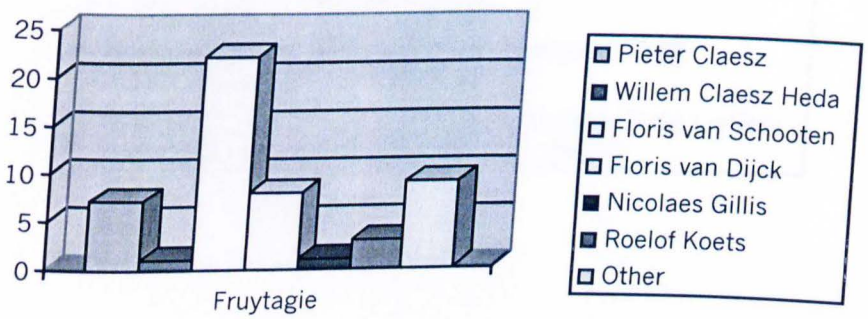




Fruytagie = 49 instances (20 fruytagie; 26 fruytagie/ontbijt; fruytagie/meal w/one main dish)

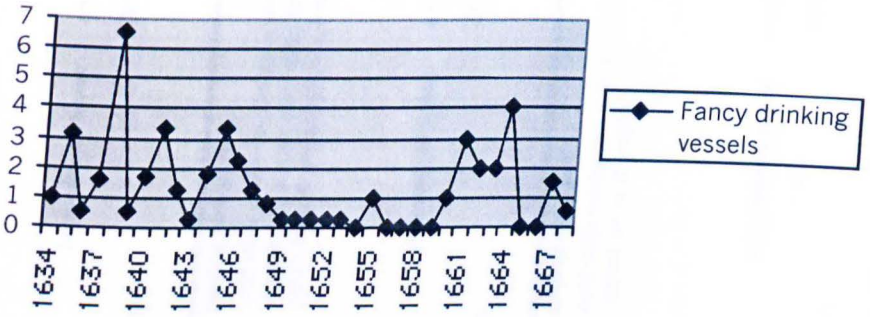
Fruit = 45
Grapes = 25
Roll = 36 (6 w/roll as a central element)
Roemer = 15 (1 overturned roemer)
Berckemeier = 10
Beker = 11
Bekerschroef = 4 (1 overturned)
Tazza = 5 (1 overturned)
Fluit = 3
Biscuits = 9
Cheese = 21
Butter = 17
Nuts = 30
Lemon = 6
Salt cellar = 3
Beer = 2

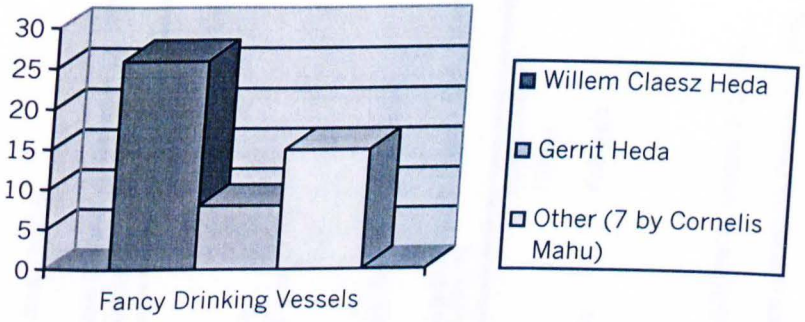




Fancy Drinking Vessels = 49 instances (35 fancy drinking vessels; 2 fancy drinking vessels/Ontbijt; 1 Fancy drinking vessels/Ontbijt.Meal w/one main dish; 10 Fancy drinking vessels/Meal w/one main dish; 1 Fancy drinking vessels/Roemers)

Roll = 13 (6 w/roll as central element)
Roemer = 27 (1 w/roemer as central element)
Berckemeier = 15 (3 w/berckemeier overturned & broken)
Bekerschroef = 9 (7 w/bekerschroef as central element)
Tazza = 13
Nautilus Cup = 16
Beker = 7
Pronck goblet = 14
Fluit = 21
Oysters = 37
Pepper = 33
Lemon = 32 (4 w/lemon as central element)
Salt cellar = 26
Vinegar decanter = 28
Beer = 17
Extinguished candle = 3





painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
HA2	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/cheeses, dishes of shrimp, crab, lobster, roll w/napkin, biscuits, flatbreads, hen's and plover's eggs, salt cellar, dish of butter, beer (fancy glass), fluit, stoneware pitcher, loaf of dark bread	(R1a); (Ch1a); (Sh4b & Sh4c &Sh4d)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s

dimensions 71.1 x 109 cm

support panel

inscriptions CP fecit

location Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's) November 13, 1990, #187; Segal, L'Art Gourmand, 1996, #24

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
HA3	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/cheeses, dishes of shrimp, crab, lobster, roll, biscuits, hen's eggs, salt cellar, dish of butter, beer (fancy glass), fluit, stoneware pitcher, loaf of dark bread	(Ch1a); (Sh4b & Sh4c &Sh4d)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s

dimensions 58 x 103.7 cm (cut

support panel

inscriptions

location Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead (cut down & restored)

bibliography Exh. cat. Paintings from the Shipley Coll, Princessehof, Leeuwarden, 1980, #8

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H1	Ontbijt	Laid table w/cheeses, dish of butter, roll, stoneware pitcher, roemer, tazza of grapes, nuts	(Ch3a)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s

Fruytagie

dimensions 51 x 67 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), October 1-2, 1986, #121 (van Dijck)

bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), October 1-2, 1986, #121 (van Dijck)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	tight

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H2	Ontbijt	Laid table w/cheese, dish of butter, roll, stoneware pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, grapes, nuts, artichokes, peaches?	(Ch6a)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s — Fruytagie

dimensions 50.7 x 67.8 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location coll. A Veder, Rotterdam, 1962 (as van Dijck)

bibliography exh. cat. Nederlandse Stilleven uit de 17de eeuw. Dordrecht, 1962, #45

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	high	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H3	Ontbijt	Laid table w/bowl of grapes, nuts and apples, dish of nuts, dish of sweetmeats, lemon, cherries, roll, halved lemon, bekerschroef, stonemware pitcher, roemer	(LV1b); (R1a)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s — Fruytagie

dimensions 53.5 x 71 cm

support panel

inscriptions monogrammed on rim of plate?

location Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 3, 1985, #218 (as attr. van Dijck)

bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 3, 1985, #218 (as attr. van Dijck)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H4	Ontbijt	Laid table w/cheeses, dish of olives, dish of cherries, roll, plate of grapes, peaches?, pears and apples, stoneware pitcher, fluit, bekerschroef, facon-de-venise glass	(Ch2a)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s — Fruytagie

dimensions 57 x 94 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), June 13, 1961, #1974 (as van Dijck)

bibliography Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), June 13, 1961, #1974 (as van Dijck)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H5	Ontbijt	Laid table w/cheeses, bowl of apples, stoneware pitcher, roemer, roll, halved apple w/peel, nuts	(R1a); (Ch2b)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s

Fruytagie

dimensions 52 x 62 cm

support canvas

inscriptions

location Sale, The Hague (de Waart), December 13, 1966, #210 (as van Schooten)

bibliography Sale, The Hague (de Waart), December 13, 1966, #210 (as van Schooten)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H6	Ontbijt	Laid table w/bowl of cherries, small bowl of berries, roll, fancy dish of butter w/carnation, dish of tiny berries, berckemeier, stoneware pitcher, nuts	(R1a)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s

Fruytagie

dimensions 44 x 69 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), March 9, 1993, #106 (as van Dijck)

bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), March 9, 1993, #106 (as van Dijck)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H7	Ontbijt	Laid table w/cheeses, halved apple, grapes, roll, nuts, dish of olives, dish of apples, berckemeier	(Ch2a)

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s

Fruytagie

dimensions 59 x 85 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, "De Zon", April 14, 1964, #5457 (as van Dijck)

bibliography Sale, "De Zon", April 14, 1964, #5457 (as van Dijck)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
H8	Ontbijt	Laid table w/bowl of apples, cherries?, grapes, halved apple w/peel, roll, dish of butter, roemer, stoneware pitcher, cheeses, nuts	(LV1a); (CO4); (Ch2b)
	Fruytagie		

artist

date late 1610s/early 1620s

dimensions 51 x 91 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Vienna (Kende), October 14-16, 1930, #259 (as van Dijck)

bibliography Sale, Vienna (Kende), October 14-16, 1930, #259 (as van Dijck)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
HA1	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/cheeses, dish of sweetmeats, dish of butter, dish of cherries, basket of grapes, apples, and nuts, salt cellar, pitcher, beer (fancy glass), rolls, berckemeier, nuts, halved orange, dish of olives	(OG23f; (LV1a); (CO6); (Ch2b)

artist

date mid-late 1610s

dimensions 62.3 x 94.6 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 10, 1997, #121

bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 91; Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 10, 1997, #121

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
HA1a	Ontbijt	Laid table w/basket of grapes, appes and nuts, dish of sweetmeats, dish of olives, rolls, salt cellar, roemer, roll, nuts, halved orange	(LV1b); (CO6)
	Fruytagie		

artist

date mid-late 1610s

dimensions 49.5 x 64.5 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location RBK, cat. 1985, #VI-23

bibliography RBK, cat. 1985, #VI-23

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	tight

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painting code PC37a
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1630
dimensions 50 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location priv. coll., Amsterdam
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/chicken, roll, roemer, salt cellar, peeled lemon w/slices, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CO8); (F1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code PC38a
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1630
dimensions 59.5 x 72.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Dealer W. Paech, Amsterdam, before 1940
bibliography Sale, Geneva (Moos) June 9, 1934, #73

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, roemer, salt cellar, overturned facon-de-venise glass, dish of capers, peeled lemon w/slices, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (OG2i); (CO8); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code PC42a
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 47 x 70.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer S. Lilian, Amsterdam, 1995 (as R. Koets)
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, peaches, pitcher, nuts, grapes

significant motifs
(LV3a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC42b	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, peaches, pitcher, nuts, grapes	(LV3a); (MP1)

artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 46 x 73 cm
support panel
inscriptions C.Heda 1649 (false)
location Sale, Stockholm (Hoving & Winborg), December 15, 1915, #26 (as W. Heda)
bibliography Sale, Stockholm (Hoving & Winborg), December 15, 1915, #26 (as W. Heda)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC42c	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, peaches, pitcher, nuts, grapes	(LV3a); (MP1)

artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Berlin (Lepke), April 27, 1909, #73
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Lepke), April 27, 1909, #73

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC42d	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, peaches, pitcher, nuts, grapes	(LV3a); (MP1)

artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), April 19-22, 1988, #394
bibliography Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), April 19-22, 1988, #394

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC80a
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1639
dimensions 50 x 68.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), October 30, 1985, #42 (as follower of)
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), October 30, 1985, #42 (as follower of)

thematic format
Vanitas

painting description
Vanitas w/skull, extinguished candle, musical instruments, book, overturned roemer, watch, playing cards, nuts, thigh bone, letter

significant motifs
(W1); (C1b); (OG1b); (CO7)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

---

painting code PC113a
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 62 x 87.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer J. Leegenhoek, aris, 1948 (as W. Heda)
bibliography Sale, Brussels (Fievez) May 24, 1905, #48

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113b
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 60.4 x 84.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 17, 1994, #165
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 17, 1994, #165

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113c
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 53.2 x 96.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Johnny van Haeften, London, 1985
bibliography Sale, New Yoek (Christie's) June 6, 1984, #192

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113d
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 61 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location National Museum, Stockholm, #7566
bibliography National Museum, Stockholm, cat. 1958, #7566

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113e
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 63.8 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 13, 1996, #304
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 13, 1996, #304

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113f
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 60 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 17, 1994, #165
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 17, 1994, #165

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113g
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 69 x 91 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC
location Dealer A. de Heuvel, Brussels, 1964
bibliography Adv. in Weltkunst (April 15, 1964) p.259

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC113h
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 59 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Munich (N), March 14-15, 1984, #1178
bibliography Sale, Munich (N), March 14-15, 1984, #1178

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113i
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 36 x 48 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), June 19, 1987, #28
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), June 19, 1987, #28

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries & moth

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113j
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 48.9 x 60.3 (probably cut
support panel
inscriptions PC 1640 (not genuine)
location Sale, London (Christie's), July 16, 1937, #53
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), July 16, 1937, #53

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, tray of bercekemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/bercekemer, apples, berries, bowl of berries, gooseberries, and tiny berries

significant motifs
(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1b); (R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC115
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 72 x 113 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Berlin (Lepke), February 24, 1903, #57
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Lepke), February 24, 1903, #57

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned beker, overturned berckemeier, roll, watch, overturned pitcher, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts

significant motifs
(B4); (W2); (MP1); (OG2f); (LV2b.1); (CD1b); (CO2)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC146/147
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1643-45
dimensions 92 x 109 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1643 (on right side - false)
location Dealer Lingenauber, Dusseldorf, 1995
bibliography Vroom 1980, #432

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, tray of berckemeiers, facon-de-venise glass, mustard pot, pronck goblet, overturned tazza, overturned pitcher, beer (pasglass), peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, loaf of dark bread

significant motifs
(T2d); (CO2); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code PC123a
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1644
dimensions 46 x 65 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (P. Brandt), August 5, 1968, #22
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (P. Brandt), August 5, 1968, #22

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, dish of berries, mustard pot, berckemeier, pitcher, beer

significant motifs
(LV3b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC123b
artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1644
dimensions 55.5 x 86 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Bristol Museum
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned beker, mustard pot, overturned roemer, pitcher, beer

significant motifs
(B1); (Br2); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC126	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, watch, herring, nuts, dish of olives, berckemeier, beer, pitcher, loaf of dark bread, onions	(W2); (CO8); (Fi3b); (H2)

artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1644
dimensions 56 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on right)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 12, 1973, #28
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 12, 1973, #28

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC157	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, bekerschroef, overturned beker, overturned pitcher, bowl of gooseberries, tiny berries, apples	(B4); (LV2b.2); (H1)

artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1645
dimensions 64 x 86 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Berlin, November 19, 1911, #20
bibliography Sale, Berlin, November 19, 1911, #20

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC211	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crabs, roll, dish of olives, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, nuts, salt cellar, fluit, peaches, basket of grapes & apples, melons, peeled lemon w/slices, stoneware pitcher	(OG2c.1); (LV1c); (Sh1d)

artist after Pieter Claesz
date c.1654
dimensions 81.6 x 110.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location The Dundee Museum & Art Galleries, Dundee
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC112	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roemer, overturned tazza, facon-de-venise glass, mustard pot, beer, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices	(T3a); (CD1b); (CO1c); (H1)

artist after Pieter Claesz; after Willem
date c.1643
dimensions 59.1 x 82.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson coll.
bibliography Vroom 1980, #170

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC138a	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/pronck goblet, pigeon pastry pie, overturned pitcher, tazza w/sweetmeats, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, roll, dish of olives, nuts, basket of grapes, apples, curtain in background, facon-de-venise glass, musical intruments, peeled lemon w/slices	(OG2c.1); (LV2d); (CO2); (PP1)

artist after Pieter Claesz (Roelof
date c.1650
dimensions 133 x 177 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Stedelijk museum het Prinsenhof
bibliography Vroom 1980, #111

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH43p	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/plate of oysters, bowl of lobster, bekerschroef, peeled lemon, facon-de-venise glass, nuts, stoneware pitcher, vinegar decanter, grapes, dead partridge	(Sh2b & Sh2c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1630s-40s
dimensions 51 x 72.8 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Charpentier), May 7-8, 1908, #60 (as W. Heda)
bibliography Sale, Paris (Charpentier), May 7-8, 1908, #60 (as W. Heda)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	normal

painting code WCH41a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635-1640s
dimensions 90 x 110 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, The Hague (Venduhuis), June 5, 1951, #125
bibliography Sale, The Hague (Venduhuis), June 5, 1951, #125

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beer, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon, overturned berckemeier, oyster shells, pepper cone, facon-de-venise glass

significant motifs
(T1a); (R1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH41b
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635-1640s
dimensions 92 x 122 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, The Hague (Van Marle & Bignell), December 22, 1954, #43
bibliography Sale, The Hague (Van Marle & Bignell), December 22, 1954, #43

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beer, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon, overturned berckemeier, oyster shells, pepper cone, facon-de-venise glass

significant motifs
(T1a); (R1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH41c
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635-1640s
dimensions 79.5 x 104 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Stuttgart (Nagel), June 18-20, 1979, #1306 (as Gerrit Heda)
bibliography Sale, Stuttgart (Nagel), June 18-20, 1979, #1306 (as Gerrit Heda)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beer, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon, overturned berckemeier, oyster shells, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1a); (R1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH45
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1637
dimensions 49 x 62.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1637 (on knife)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1985
bibliography adv. in Tableau (February 1985): p.5

thematic format: Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description: Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts

significant motifs: (W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43o
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1637-40
dimensions 40 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Koln, November 23, 1903, #79 (as W. Heda)
bibliography Sale, Koln, November 23, 1903, #79 (as W. Heda)

thematic format: Ontbijt

painting description: Laid table w/crab, hansje-in-de-kelder bowl, peeled lemon, roemer, facon-de-venise glass, nuts

significant motifs: (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code WCH43j
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1638
dimensions 48.5 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1638. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Sale, Koln (L), May 5, 1966, #46 (as W. Heda)
bibliography Sale, Koln (L), May 5, 1966, #46 (as W. Heda)

thematic format: Ontbijt

painting description: Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs: (CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH43I
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1639
dimensions 49 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1639. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), March 27-29, 1933, #17
bibliography Vroom 1980, #357g

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH74
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1642
dimensions 56 x 70.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA. 1642
location Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), May 23, 1922, #14
bibliography Vroom 1980, #368

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, mustard pot, roemer, fluit, facon-de-venise glass, hansje-in-de-kelder, roll, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(CO1c); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH75b
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1642
dimensions 58.5 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1642 (on tablecloth)
location Sale, New York (SPB), January 12, 1979, #58
bibliography Sale, New York (SPB), January 12, 1979, #58

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie (originally a chicken), overturned nautilus cup, fluit, pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, watch

significant motifs
(N2); (W2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH83a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1644
dimensions 71 x 92.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.i644. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 2001
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, fluit, pitcher, hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts

significant motifs
(CO3); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH95
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1647
dimensions 68 x 80.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1647
location Louvre, Paris, #439
bibliography Vroom 1945, #139

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, fluit, overturned berckemeier, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1a); (OG2f); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH96
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1647
dimensions 52 x 80 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1647 (on tablecloth)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 14, 1991, #174
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 14, 1991, #174

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/bekerschroef, plate of oysters, overturned pitcher, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, bread crumbs, pepper cone

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH113
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date 1655
dimensions 51 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1655
location Dealer H. Terry-Engell Gallery, London, 1968
bibliography 17th-cent. Dutch & Flemish Still Life & Landscape Ptg. H. Terry-Engell Gallery, London, 1967, XV

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned tazza, roemer, dish of olives, beer, facon-de-venise glass, watch

significant motifs
(T1a); (W2); (CD1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code WCH41e
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1635
dimensions 70 x 92 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Berlin, February 8, 1916, #91
bibliography Sale, Berlin, February 8, 1916, #91

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beer, salt cellar, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon, pepper cone, vinegar decanter

significant motifs
(T1a); (R1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH41f
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1635
dimensions 90 x 176 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Munich, September 28, 1932, #307
bibliography Sale, Munich, September 28, 1932, #307

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beer, salt cellar, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon, pepper cone, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, beer (pasglass), beker, hansje-in-de-kelder, shallow bowl of shrimp

significant motifs
(T1a); (B5); (Sh1b & Sh4b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45h	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1637
dimensions 51 x 73 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location neg. RKD#32824
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45i	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1637
dimensions 51 x 73 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Munich, December 14, 1905, #134
bibliography Vroom 1980, #360e

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45j	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1637
dimensions 52 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location coll. De Gruyter, s'Hertogenbosch, c.1945
bibliography Vroom 1980, #360b

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH45k

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date after 1637

dimensions 54 x 70 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 6, 1972, #46 (as Claesz)

bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 6, 1972, #46 (as Claesz)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH45l

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date after 1637

dimensions 56 x 71 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Dealer M. Wolff, Amsterdam, bef. 1938

bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH45m

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date after 1637

dimensions 55.9 x 78.7 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, #45 (as G. Heda)

bibliography E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, gallery cat. #45 (as G. Heda)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code WCH45n
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1637
dimensions 55.9 x 78.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Koln (Lempertz), April 28-30, 1954, #861
bibliography Sale, Koln (Lempertz), April 28-30, 1954, #861

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH75a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1642
dimensions 58 x 71 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location priv. coll., Paris, since c.1850
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, overturned nautilus cup, pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, mustard pot, roll

significant motifs
(N2); (CD6a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH24a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1633
dimensions 52 x 85 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), November 25, 1980, #5
bibliography Vroom 1980, #339b

thematic format
Roemers (etc)
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, plate of oysters, overturned berckemeier, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon, beer, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1a); (Br4); (CD1d); (CO1b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

painting code WCH32a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1634
dimensions 55 x 76 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 11, 1981, #104
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 11, 1981, #104

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, overturned tazza, roemer, dish of olives, nuts	(T1b); (CO1b); (Fic)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH38a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1635
dimensions 52 x 85.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), July 4, 1997, #86
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), July 4, 1997, #86

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, oyster shells, overturned tazza, pitcher, berckemeier, nuts	(T2b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1637
dimensions 49 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Vienna, March 24, 1909, #22 (as W. Heda)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #280 & #357e

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Ontbijt	Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts	(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43b

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date c. 1637

dimensions 49 x 65 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Paris (Charpentier), June 10, 1958, #98

bibliography Sale, Paris (Charpentier), June 10, 1958, #98

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43c

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date c. 1637

dimensions 51 x 70 (or 62 x 81) cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Amsterdam (Roos & Cie), October 28, 1902

bibliography Vroom 1980, #357h

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43d

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date c. 1637

dimensions 40 x 57.5 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), May 12, 1924, #93

bibliography Vroom 1980, #277 & #357f

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43e
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1637
dimensions 44 x 64 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), December 2, 1987, #139 (as after Heda)
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), December 2, 1987, #139 (as after Heda)

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43g
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1637
dimensions 46 x 60 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), June 28, 1960, #22
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), June 28, 1960, #22

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43i
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1637
dimensions 48.5 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 15, 1984, #338 (as G. Heda)
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 15, 1984, #338 (as G. Heda)

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43k
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions 49 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Nystad, Lochem/The Hague, 1966 (as G. Heda)
bibliography None

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43m
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions 56.5 x 71 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 8, 1993, #286 (as G. Heda)
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 8, 1993, #286 (as G. Heda)

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH43n
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions 59 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), July 1-2, 1952, #39 (as W. Heda)
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), July 1-2, 1952, #39 (as W. Heda)

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45a	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions 42 x 53 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), April 24-27, 1984, #475
bibliography Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), April 24-27, 1984, #475

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45b	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions 46 x 55 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Copenhagen (Rasmussen), November 12-29, 1985, #83 (att. I. Wigans)
bibliography Sale, Copenhagen (Rasmussen), November 12-29, 1985, #83 (att. I. Wigans)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45c	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions 48 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), October 7, 1998, #102, (as C. Mahu)
bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), October 7, 1998, #102, (as C. Mahu)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45d	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions 49 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), May 29/June 1, 1979, #319 (as C. Mahu)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #360c & #483

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45e	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1637
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location coll. Mrs. Zoccola, Kaapstad, 1952
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH60a	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, nuts, peeled lemon, mustard pot	(N1); (CO1c); (MP1)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1638-1640
dimensions 54 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), April 19, 1978, #218
bibliography Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), April 19, 1978, #218

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH60b
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1638-1640
dimensions 60 x 78 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), November 1921, #17
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), November 1921, #17

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, pitcher, hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(CD1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH64c
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640s
dimensions 54.2 x 70.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, New York (Christie's), April 4, 1990, #184 (as Stomme)
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), April 4, 1990, #184 (as Stomme)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH64d
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640s
dimensions 53.2 x 71.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Gallery Trafalgar, London, 1978
bibliography Cat,Gallery Trafalgar, London, 1978, p.17

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH64e
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640s
dimensions 54.5 x 69.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 6, 1988, #34
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 6, 1988, #34

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH64f
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640s
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Bonhans), July 17, 1980, #135
bibliography Sale, London (Bonhans), July 17, 1980, #135

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH64g
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640s
dimensions 70.5 x 57 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), November 22, 1989, #36
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), November 22, 1989, #36

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH64h
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640s
dimensions 65.5 x 54 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), March 15, 1990, #233
bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), March 15, 1990, #233

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH67a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1641
dimensions 63 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 7, 1993, #125 (as follower of Heda)
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 7, 1993, #125 (as follower of Heda)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, roemer, pitcher, berckemeier, facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon, nuts, watch

significant motifs
(N1); (CD6a); (W2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; pyramidically centered?	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH70b
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1641
dimensions 47 x 62.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), May 20-23, 1980, #314 (as G. Heda)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #323

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned nautius cup, pronck goblet, facon-de-venise glass, vinegar decanter, salt cellar, peeled lemon, pepper cone

significant motifs
(N2); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH73

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date c.1642-43

dimensions 58.5 x 73.75 cm

support panel

inscriptions .HEDA. 16.. (on edge of tablecloth)

location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 10, 19980, #5

bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 10, 19980, #5

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned tazza, fluit, pitcher, berckemeier, vinegar decanter, roll, peeled & whole lemon, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T4a); (CO3); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH80a

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date c.1643

dimensions 58.4 x 72.4 cm

support panel

inscriptions G.HEDA.1642. (on edge of table)

location Sale, London (Sotheby's), August 25, 1999, #1191T

bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), August 25, 1999, #1191T

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, fluit, dish of olives, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(T1a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table)	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH89a

artist after Willem Claesz Heda

date c.1645

dimensions 57.8 x 78.7 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location

bibliography Sale, London (Christie's) October 25, 1985, #239

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, roemer, pitcher, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH89b	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, roemer, pitcher, peeled lemon, nuts	(MP1)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1645
dimensions 80 x 110 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Harris Museum, Preston
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH91a	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roll, roemer, overturned tazza, vinegar decanter, pepper cone	(T1a); (Sh1d)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1646
dimensions 69 x 87 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Dusseldorf, March 18, 1933
bibliography Vroom 1980, #362

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH97a	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned tazza, pitcher, fluit, pronck goblet, berckemeier, roll, peeled lemon, nuts	(T2a); (CD6b); (MP1)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1648
dimensions 78.7 x 86.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Brussels (Paleis voor schone kunsten), March 23-25, 1976, #437
bibliography Sale, Brussels (Paleis voor schone kunsten), March 23-25, 1976, #437

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; pyramidically centered	low	expanded

painting code WCH97b
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1648
dimensions 80 x 86 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Pal. Galliera), November 29, 1969, #22
bibliography Sale, Paris (Pal. Galliera), November 29, 1969, #22

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned tazza, pitcher, fluit, pronck goblet, berckemeier, roll, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(T2a); (CD6b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH97c
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1648
dimensions 81 x 88.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Versailles (Paleis des Congres), May 27, 1973, #75
bibliography Sale, Versailles (Paleis des Congres), May 27, 1973, #75

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned tazza, pitcher, fluit, pronck goblet, berckemeier, roll, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(T2a); (CD6b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH112
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1654
dimensions 75.5 x 80 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 11, 1991, #62
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 11, 1991, #62

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/plates of oysters, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, nautilus cup, fluit, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, bread crumbs, pepper cone, peeled lemon, beer

significant motifs
(N4b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table)	low	expanded

painting code WCH114a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1655
dimensions 83 x 110 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Berlin (Spik), June 29-July 1, 2000, #351
bibliography Vroom 1980, #379c

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, overturned pitcher, pronck goblet, beker, bercekemeier, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices, beer, nuts

significant motifs
(B5); (CO1c); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH114b
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1655
dimensions 75.8 x 96 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location National Museum, Warsaw, #Wil.1522
bibliography Vroom 1980, #379b

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, overturned pitcher, pronck goblet, beker, bercekemeier, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices, beer, nuts in a landscape

significant motifs
(B5); (CO1c); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH114c
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1655
dimensions 82 x 106 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Munich (Neumeister), July 1, 1987, #468
bibliography Sale, Munich (Neumeister), July 1, 1987, #468

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, overturned pitcher, pronck goblet, beker, bercekemeier, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices, beer, nuts in a landscape

significant motifs
(B5); (CO1c); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH130a
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1663
dimensions 69 x 59 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location coll. Dr. A. Rolli (as W. Kalf)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #385

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Niche w/pitcher, roemer, fluit, overturned beker, peeled lemon w/slices, ming bowl w/oranges

significant motifs
(B2); (CD6c); (CO1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code WCH41d
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date mid-17th cent.
dimensions 70 x 91 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), September 11-13, 1958 (as Claesz)
bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), September 11-13, 1958 (as Claesz)

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/roll, overturned tazza, roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beker, salt cellar, overturned facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon, stoneware pitcher?, basket of cheeses?

significant motifs
(T1a); (B5); (Ch5b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH41g
artist after Willem Claesz Heda
date after 1635
dimensions 80.7 x 101.5 cm
support canvas?
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), March 1, 1991, #132
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), March 1, 1991, #132

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/crab, overturned tazza, pronck goblet, salt cellar, pitcher, beer (pasglass), oysters, pepper cone, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts

significant motifs
(T1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH70a	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautius cup, roemer, beer (pasglas), bowl of grapes & peaches, lemon, cherries	(N1); (CD1b); (LV1b); (MP1)

artist after Willem Claesz Heda/Pieter
date c.1641
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location coll. Josef Schraven, Essen, 1973
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC183	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roemer, roll, fish head, salt cellar, overturned beker, beer, nuts	(B4); (LV2c); (R1a); (Fi1e)

artist circle of Pieter Claesz
date 1647
dimensions 47.8 x 63.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1647
location coll. E. Raczynski, Warsaw, 1939
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 107; Vroom 1980, #139

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH32b	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, roll, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon, pitcher, fluit, slices of dark bread, berckemeier	(Fic)

artist circle of Willem Claesz Heda
date 1630s
dimensions 49 x 67.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Sedlemeyer), May 8, 1907
bibliography Sale, Paris (Sedlemeyer), May 8, 1907

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table)	low	normal

---

painting code WCH28b
artist circle of Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1633
dimensions 30 x 40 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Brussels (Nackers), May 18-22, 1971, #840
bibliography Sale, Brussels (Nackers), May 18-22, 1971, #840

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(T1a); (Br2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH28a
artist circle of Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1633
dimensions 57 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location National Museum, Budapest, #4263
bibliography exh. cat. Delights for the Senses, 1989, #B18

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon w/slice, dish of olives

significant motifs
(T1a); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH79a
artist copy after Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1643
dimensions 53 x 67 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam, May 16-19, 1972, #6
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam, May 16-19, 1972, #6

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, fluit, dish of olives, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH79b	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, fluit, dish of olives, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices	(H1)

artist copy after Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1643
dimensions 54.5 x 69.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (MvW), May 1, 1974, #71
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (MvW), May 1, 1974, #71

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
CM11	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, dish of olives	(CD1d); (CO1b)

artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1630s
dimensions 45 x 38 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, #225
bibliography Vroom 1980, #480

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
CM3	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, dish of nuts, bekerschroef, facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon, pepper cone, oysters, stoneware jug, nuts	(Fi1c)

artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1638
dimensions 47 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions Cor...MAHV...1638
location Museum Mayer van der Bergh, Antwerp, #28
bibliography Vroom 1980, #464

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	normal

painting code CM7
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1640s
dimensions 48 x 37.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions 4C./M HV
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), October 14, 1997, #110
bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), October 14, 1997, #110

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/pronck goblet, split pomegranate, oysters, peeled lemon, grapes

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid (against flow of the table)	low	normal

---

painting code CM8
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1640s
dimensions 94 x 81 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam, 1969
bibliography Adv. in Apollo June 1969 (page unknown)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, peeled lemon, roemer, nuts, beer, pronck goblet, overturned pitcher, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2b.2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of the table)	low	expanded

---

painting code CM1a
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1642
dimensions 60 x 87 cm
support panel
inscriptions C.Mahu
location Museum voor schone kunst, Ghent
bibliography Vroom 1980, #466

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM1b
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1642
dimensions 58 x 86 cm
support panel
inscriptions Co.MAhV
location Sale, Koln (Lempertz), May 17, 1962, #123
bibliography Vroom 1980, #467, 475 & 360d

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives	(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM1c
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1642
dimensions 55.2 x 68.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Museum Warsaw, #728
bibliography Museum Warsaw, Cat. 1969, #728

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives	(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM1d
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1642
dimensions 50 x 71 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), June 9, 1983, #19
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's), June 9, 1983, #19

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives	(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM2
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1642
dimensions 91 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1642
location Museum voor schone kunsten, Ghent
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 125

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives, lemon with looping peel	(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM2a
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1642
dimensions 51.5 x 76 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), May 22, 1980, #110
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), May 22, 1980, #110

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives, lemon with looping peel	(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM2b
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1642
dimensions 60.5 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), October 28-31, 1980, #391 (as Willem Heda)
bibliography Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), October 28-31, 1980, #391 (as Willem Heda)

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives, lemon with looping peel	(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code CM4
artist Cornelis Mahu
date 1646
dimensions fragment
support panel
inscriptions 1646 C: MAHV
location Dealer J. Leger & Son, London
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/bekerschroef w/lemon peel in berckemeier, overturned beker, mini-lobster, lemons, nuts, grapes	(B4); (LV2a); (CD8c); (Sh1e)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code CM5
artist Cornelis Mahu
date c.1638
dimensions
support canvas
inscriptions CM (on knife)
location priv. coll., Deephaven, Minn.
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, facon-de-venise glass, slat cellar, nuts, oysters, vinegar decanter, pepper cone	(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered; off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code CM5a
artist Cornelis Mahu
date c.1638
dimensions 50.2 x 64.1 cm
support canvas
inscriptions HEDA & remnants of MHV
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 31, 1997, #60
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), January 31, 1997, #60

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, facon-de-venise glass, slat cellar, nuts, oysters, vinegar decanter, pepper cone	(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered; off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code CM5b
artist Cornelis Mahu
date c.1638
dimensions 49 x 69 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDAF (on pepper cone)
location priv. coll., Paris, 2000
bibliography Vroom 1980, #357d

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, facon-de-venise glass, slat cellar, nuts, oysters, vinegar decanter, pepper cone

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered; off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM5c
artist Cornelis Mahu
date c.1638
dimensions 55 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA (on pepper cone)
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), March 30, 2000, #205?
bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), March 30, 2000, #205?

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, facon-de-venise glass, slat cellar, nuts, oysters, vinegar decanter, pepper cone

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered; off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM6
artist Cornelis Mahu
date c.1638
dimensions 49.5 x 67.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions MAHV (on pepper cone)
location Private collection, London, 1994
bibliography Sale, London (Philips), December 7, 1993, #27

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, facon-de-venise glass, slat cellar, nuts, oysters, vinegar decanter, pepper cone

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered; off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code CM9
artist Cornelis Mahu
date c. 1638-39
dimensions 49 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), May/June 25-1, 1979, #319 (as Boelema de Stomme)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #360e & 483

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, beer, tazza, overturned pitcher, watch, fluit, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code CM1
artist Cornelis Mahu
date c.1642
dimensions 59 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), April 19, 1996, #138
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), April 19, 1996, #138

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, beer, salt cellar, overturned pitcher, bekerschroef, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code FvD 4
artist Floris van Dijck
date 161(5 or 6)
dimensions 80.5 x 124 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvD fecit/A.161(5 or 6)
location priv. coll., Geneva/New York
bibliography Sale, Paris (Druout) March 25, 1994, #12

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, slice of melon, rolls, dish of olives, dish of apples, dish of berries, bowl of grapes, melons, carafe? of wine, bekerschroef, stoneware pitcher, overturned fluit, roemer, nuts

significant motifs
(OG3c & OG3d); (LV1b); (CD1c); (Ch1a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	expanded

painting code FvD 1
artist Floris van Dijck
date 1610
dimensions 49.1 x 77.8 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvD fecit/A.1610
location priv. coll., The Hague
bibliography Segal 1988, #11

thematic format
Ontbijt
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, dish of pears, dish of grapes, halved apple & peel, roll, nuts, berckemeier, orange & quarters

significant motifs
(OG2h); (LV1a); (Ch2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

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painting code FvD 2
artist Floris van Dijck
date 1610
dimensions 73.7 x 113 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvD fecit/A.1610
location coll. Scudamore Griffiths, Campden/London
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 92

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, plate of sweetmeats, pears, bowl of apples, rolls, dish of olives, halved apple w/peel, roll, nuts, dish of grapes, roemer, dish of butter, stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, pretzels

significant motifs
(LV1a); (CD8b); (Ch2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

---

painting code FvD 3
artist Floris van Dijck
date 1613
dimensions 50 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvD fecit/A.1613
location Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, #79
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 93; Still lifes Golden Age: Northern Euro. Ptgs from Heinz Coll 1989, p.104

thematic format
Ontbijt
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, dish of pears, halved apple, nuts, roll, apple, dish of grapes, berckemeier

significant motifs
(LV1a); (Ch2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvD 3a	Ontbijt	Laid table w/cheeses, dish of pears, halved apple, nuts, roll, apple, dish of grapes, berckemeier	(LV1a); (Ch2a)

artist Floris van Dijck?
date 1613
dimensions 55 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvD fecit/A.1613
location coll. Theresa Heinz, Washington
bibliography Still lifes of the Golden Age:Northern Euro. Ptgs from Heinz Coll 1989, #13

Fruytagie	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
	h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvD 13	Tabackjes	Laid table w/fluit & other glass vessels, basket of cheeses, dish of butter, biscuits, cards, smoking implements	(Ch5b)

artist Floris van Dijck
date 1620s
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Katz, Dieren, c.1940
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant composition	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvD 11	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/cheeses, plate of sweetmeats, apple peel, roll, lemons & oranges, slice of melon, melons, dish of apples, stack of biscuits, bowls of grapes, stoneware pitcher, nautilus cup, overturned facon-de-venise glass, roemer, nuts, dish of olives, dish of butter	(OG3c & OG3d); (LV1b); (Ch1a)

artist Floris van Dijck
date 1622
dimensions 100 x 135 cm
support panel
inscriptions 1622
location coll. Russell, Amsterdam
bibliography Haarlem in the 17th cent., Rutgers, 1983, #35; N. Schneider, Stilleben 1989, p.103

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	expanded

painting code FvD 12
artist Floris van Dijck
date 1628
dimensions 29 x 46 cm
support panel
inscriptions Peters 1628
location coll. dealer Alfred Brod, London
bibliography Haarlem in the 17th cent., Rutgers, 1983, #36; Still Life in Age of Rembrandt, Auckland 1982, #2

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/melons, bowl of plums & pears, biscuits, dish of berries, cherries

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant composition	high	expanded

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painting code FvD 10
artist Floris van Dijck
date late-1610s/early 1620s
dimensions 45 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), June 9, 1977, #18
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), June 9, 1977, #18

thematic format
Ontbijt
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, halved apple & peel, nuts, roemer, dish of grapes, plate of apples, halved orange, pieces of flatbread

significant motifs
(Ch2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

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painting code FvD 5
artist Floris van Dijck
date mid-1610s
dimensions 74.5 x 114 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale , London (Sotheby's), December 6, 1995, #58
bibliography Sale , London (Sotheby's), December 6, 1995, #58

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, bowl of plums, pear & cherries, dish of olives, flatbread, halved apple & peel, quarters of orange, nuts, bowl of grapes, bekerschroef, stoneware pitcher, large roll, pear, roemer

significant motifs
(OG3c); (LV1a); (Ch2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvD 6	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/cheeses, rolls, dish of olives, nuts, halved apple, pear, stoneware pitcher, facon-de-venise glasses, roemer, bowl of apples, dish of grapes	(LV1b); (CO4); (Ch4a)

artist Floris van Dijck
date mid-1610s
dimensions 82.2 x 111.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #A4821
bibliography Dawn of the Golden Age, Rijksmuseum 1993, #276; Still-Life Ptgs from Netherlands, Rijksmus, 1999, #10

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvD 7	Ontbijt Fruytagie	Laid table w/cheeses, roll, roemer, nuts, orange, pears, dish of olives, dish of grapes, facon-de-venise glass	(LV1a); (Ch2a)

artist Floris van Dijck
date mid-1610s
dimensions 43.5 x 72 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 9, 1998
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 9, 1998

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvD 8	Ontbijt Fruytagie	Laid table w/cheeses, roll, roemer, nuts, orange, dish of apples, stoneware pitcher	(LV3b); (Ch2a)

artist Floris van Dijck
date mid-1610s
dimensions 46 x 76 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Brussels (Fievez), December 16, 1929, #33
bibliography Sale, Brussels (Fievez), December 16, 1929, #33

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvD 9	Ontbijt Fruytagie	Laid table w/cheeses, orange & quarters, roll, nuts, roemer, dish of grapes, overturned roemer, dish of apples, halved apple	(OG2h & OG2c.2); (LV1a); (CO1a); (Ch2a)

artist Floris van Dijck
date mid-1610s
dimensions 50 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvD A° 161 (?)
location Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), November 29, 1995, #224
bibliography Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), November 29, 1995, #224

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS *1	Meal w/ Several Dishes Fruytagie	Laid table w/dishes of fruit (apples, grapes, plums, raspberries, gooseberries, etc), dish of butter, two rolls, two gilded goblets, pewter pitcher	

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1617
dimensions 80 x 113 cm
support canvas
inscriptions F.V.S. 1617
location Private collection, Switzerland
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, plate II; Gammelbo 1966, #55; Vroom 1980, #562

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	none	high	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 1	Meal w/One Main Dish	corner of table in corner of room; berckemeier of wine, dish of oysters, two crossed herring, roll, smoking implements (brazier, pipe, kindling sticks)	Fish as meal (Fi2a); Oysters (Sh2b)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s
dimensions 36 x 50 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on front edge of table)
location Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem (stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit)
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #61; Vroom 1980, #574

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	none	low viewpoint	tight

painting code FvS 4
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s
dimensions 53 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location coll. Baron Clamor von dem Bussche, Hunefeld bei Osnabruck, c. 1952
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #90; Vroom 1980, #609

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ stack of cheeses, shank of ham, dish of butter, roll, beer, slices of dark bread	(Ch1b); (H1)	h	pyramidically centered; off-centered pyramid	low viewpoint	normal

---

painting code FvS 28
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s
dimensions 54 x 90 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Maak von Way), June 23-26, 1953, #96
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #63; Vroom 1980, #576

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/cheeses, rolls, dish of butter, berckemeier, pretzels, dish of berries, bowl of pears	(R1a); (Ch1a)	h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code FvS 61
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s
dimensions 53.5 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1983
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's PB) June 17, 1982, #45

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, biscuits, rolls, dish of berries, plate of pears & cherries, pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, nuts, orange	(MP1)	h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 29
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s/1630s
dimensions 52.5 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on knife)
location Dienst Verspreided Rijkscoll., #NK1703
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #55; Vroom 1980, #570; Stilleyens 1985, #VI-53

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, cheeses, rolls, dish of butter, berckemeier, salt cellar, biscuits, bowl of apples

significant motifs
(Ch3b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 37
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s/1630s
dimensions 52 x 82.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions falsely marked (W. Kalf)
location Kunsthalle, Hamburg, #75
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #73; Vroom 1980, #594

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, rolls, biscuit, cheeses, dish of butter, beker, salt cellar

significant motifs
(B6); (Ch3b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 39
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s/1630s
dimensions 48.3 x 74.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location priv. coll., Denmark
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #67; Vroom 1980, #581

thematic format
Ontbijt

Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/bowl of grapes, cheeses, dish of butter, roll, nuts, apple, beer, gooseberries

significant motifs
(Ch2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered; no dominant pattern	low	normal

painting code FvS 55
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s/1630s
dimensions 34.2 x 55.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location on loan to Manchester City Art Gallery, #1979-499
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #70; Vroom 1980, #587

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, pears, plums, dish of berries, cherries

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code FvS 57
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1620s/1630s
dimensions 24 x 44.2 cm (fragment)
support panel
inscriptions
location Coll. Knud Christensen, Copenhagen
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #80; Vroom 1980, #600

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/dish of berries, biscuits, cherries, berckemeier, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, tiny berries

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

---

painting code FvS 60 (+7 of like
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630
dimensions 83 x 128 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS 1630
location Coll. Russell, Amsterdam
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #40; Vroom 1980, #564

thematic format
Kitchen preparations (pots & pans)

painting description
Basket of grapes, head of lettuce, apples, plums, gooseberries, cucumbers, pears, dead fowl, pots, pans,

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 18	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/beker, roll, dishes of berries and cherries, nuts, pretzels, cheeses	(B6); (Ch2b)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 52.5 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location National Mus, Poznan
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #79; Vroom 1980 1980, #598; Studio Muzealme XVI (1992), 43-74, fig.1

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 19	Ontbijt	Laid table w/beker, biscuits, dish of butter, grapes	(B6); (LV2b.1); (CD3a); (CO6)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s?
dimensions 36.8 x 52.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), October 17, 1997, #28
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's), October 17, 1997, #28 (with further bibl.)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 20	Ontbijt	Laid table w/beker, roll, dish of berries, grapes	(B6); (LV2a)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s?
dimensions 31.5 x 44 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Coll. A. Gataere-de Stuers, "de Wierrse"
bibliography N.R.A. Vroom, Oud Holland 60 (1943): p.153; Vroom 1980, #224

Fruytagie

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

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painting code FvS 21
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 32.5 x 54.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on edge of table)
location Sale, New York (SPB), June 11, 1981, #18
bibliography Vrrom 1980, #589

thematic format
Ontbijt
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/beker, roll, dish of berries, plums & pears

significant motifs
(B6)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge (against flow of table)	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 22
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 37 x 65 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Museum voor Schone Kunst, Brussels, #1149
bibliography N.R.A. Vroom, Oud Holland 60 (1943): p.153; Gammelbo 1966, #71; Vroom 1980, #573

thematic format
Ontbijt
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/beker, roll, dish of berries, apples, pretzels, nuts

significant motifs
(B6)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 38
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 51 x 83.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 7, 1993, #89
bibliography Vroom 1980, #627

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, biscuits, cheeses, dish of butter, beer, mustard pot, dish of berries, cherries

significant motifs
(Ch2b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 40	Ontbijt Fruytagie	Laid table w/bowl of pears, beker, roll, dish of butter, dish of berries, dish of cherries, gooseberries	(B6)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 39 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (indistinct)
location Sale, Koln (Bourg-en-Bresse), December 12, 1993
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #96; Vroom 1980, #614

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 46	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, rolls, beker, cheeeses, biscuits, dish of butter	(B6); (Ch2b); (H1)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 45.5 x 70.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions falsely marked (PC)
location priv. coll., The Hague
bibliography Vroom 1980, #579

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 51	Fruytagie	Laid table w/beker, lemon, bowl of gooseberries, dish of berries, cherries	(B6); (LV1a); (CO1b)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 40 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Dealer Noortman, Maastricht, 1988
bibliography Sale, London (Chrstie's) December 9, 1987, #70

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code FvS 52
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 50.8 x 83.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), July 8, 1983, #61
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), July 8, 1983, #61

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/beker, biscuits, bowl of grapes, apples, pears, dish of butter, cherries, nuts, cheeses, bowl of tiny berries

significant motifs
(B6); (LV1a); (Ch7b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 54
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 52 x 82.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Alte Pinakothek, Munich
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #72; Vroom 1980, #592

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, rolls, biscuits, cheeses, overturned beker, saltcellar

significant motifs
(B3); (Ch1c); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 56
artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 39.5 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale (Peter Tillou), New York (Sotheby's), June 4, 1987, #76
bibliography Vroom 1980, #223

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/dish of berries, biscuits, cherries, gooseberries, dish of tiny berries, overturned tazza, overturned facon-de-venise glass

significant motifs
(T6b); (OG4d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 62*	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/dish of shrimp, roll, biscuits, cheeses, dish of butter, beer	(Ch3b); (Sh1c)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 39.5 x 55.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on knife)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1980
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #97; Vroom 1980, #615

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 62	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned beker, berckemeier, fluit, pitcher, biscuits, mustard pot	(B4); (R1a); (H1)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Erddig-property of National Trust
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 59	Kitchen preparations (pots & pans)	Basket of grapes, head of lettuce, apples, bowl of plums, gooseberries, cucumbers, pears, ham, pots, pans, colander, overturned candlestick	

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s
dimensions 105.5 x 144 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Dealer Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 58	Fruytagie	Laid table w/dead birds, basket of grapes, deep dish of berries, plums, apples	(LV1b)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s/1640s
dimensions 50.8 x 77.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (B), December 12, 1991, #71
bibliography Sale, London (B), December 12, 1991, #71

pared-down kitchen scene?

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 6	Roemers (etc)	Roemer of wine w/2 lemons, nuts & olives	(CO1a)

artist Floris van Schooten
date 1630s/40s
dimensions 53.3 x 39.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on edge of plate)
location Dealer Marshall Spink, London
bibliography Three centuries of flower and still-life painting, 1600-1900, exh. cat.Marshall Spink, London,

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 3	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/bowl of fruit, compote of berries, dish of butter, roll, biscuits, stack of cheeses	(R1a); (Ch2b)

artist Floris van Schooten
date c.1620
dimensions 82 x 52 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer M.Wolff, before 1938
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #68

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low viewpoint	normal

painting code FvS 53
artist Floris van Schooten
date c.1625-28 or slightly later
dimensions 40 x 5.9 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum, #2478
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #85; Vroom 1980, #590

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/herring, dish of butter, onion, roll, biscuits, overturned beker, cheeses, stoneware pitcher, beer

significant motifs
(B4); (Ch2b); Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

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painting code FvS 2
artist Floris van Schooten
date c.1630
dimensions 50 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location coll. K. Schou, Copenhagen, c.1966
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #38; Vroom 1980, #605

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/partially eaten pie, sliced bread, biscuits, cheese, bercekemeier of wine, nuts & olives

significant motifs
Berckemeier (CD2a); Stack of cheese (2 w/crescent) (Ch4b); Mince Pie as meal (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low viewpoint	normal

---

painting code FvS 11
artist Floris van Schooten
date early 1630s
dimensions 52 x 84.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer St. Lucas, Vienna, 1972/73
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #91; Vroom 1980, #610

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, biscuits, dish of butter, nuts?, beer, bowl of grapes, and apple

significant motifs
(LV1b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code FvS 30
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1610s
dimensions 51 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on knife)
location Sale, Paris (Charpentier), April 25, 1951, #66 (as C. Peeters)
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #52; Vroom 1980, #569

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, cheeses, porridge, rolls, biscuits, dark bread, dish of mussels, dish of butter, fancy glass of beer, salt cellar, mustard pot

significant motifs
(Ch2b); (H2)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	tight

---

painting code FvS 31
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1610s
dimensions 62 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Louvre, Paris, #MMR 708
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #53; Vroom 1980, #568

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, cheeses, rolls, biscuits, dark bread, dish of butter, beer (waffle glass), salt cellar, mustard pot

significant motifs
(Ch4b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	tight

---

painting code FvS 32
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1610s
dimensions 71.2 x 98.3 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #57; Vroom 1980, #571

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/shrimp, crabs, cheeses, rolls, biscuits, dark bread, dish of butter, roemer, salt cellar, pitcher

significant motifs
(Ch4b); (Sh2c & Sh2d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 33	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, cheeses, rolls, biscuits, dark bread, dish of butter, beer (waffle glass), salt cellar, nuts	(Ch4b); (H1)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1610s
dimensions 47 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on knife)
location Rijksmuseum Kroller-Muller, Otterloo
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #51; Vroom 1980, #593

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 34	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mussels, cheeses, rolls, biscuits, dark bread, dish of butter, beer (waffle glass), salt cellar	(Ch4b); (Sh1a)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1610s
dimensions 56 x 86 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Formerly collection Theresa Heinz
bibliography Still lifes of the Golden Age:Northern Euro. Ptgs from Heinz Coll 1989, #32

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 35	Ontbijt Fruytagie	Laid table w/cheeses, rolls, dish of butter, berckemeier, salt cellar, bowl of apples, branch of gooseberries, dish of berries	(LV3b); (R1b); (Ch4a)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1610s/early 1620s
dimensions 53.5 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvSchooten
location Von der Heydt Mus, Wuppertal
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #54

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	normal

painting code FvS 36
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1610s/early 1620s
dimensions 53 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location coll. Jan Depuydt, Brussels
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #58; Vroom 1980, #604

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, rolls, basket of cheeses, dish of butter, plate of herring (w/onion), berckemeier, salt cellar, dish of berries, pitcher, pears

significant motifs
(R1b); (Ch5b); (H2); (Fi3b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	normal

---

painting code FvS 24
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s
dimensions 39.5 x 78.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Coll. Ole Olsen, Klampenborg, 1963
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #62; Vroom 1980, #575

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/pie, plate of berries, biscuits, bowl of gooseberries, peas, and pears, roll, deep dish of (black?)berries, tazza, facon-de-venise glass, overturned bekerschroef

significant motifs
(OG2g); (LV1a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code FvS 25\47
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s
dimensions 44 x 91 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location priv. coll., Netherlands
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #93; Vroom 1980, #612

thematic format
Ontbijt
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/bowl of pears & plums, roll, dish of butter, beker, cheeses, dish of berries, dish of nuts, shallow bowl of apples

significant motifs
(B5); (LV1a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge; no dominant pattern	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 26
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s
dimensions 36 x 59 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer J. Denijs, Amsterdam
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #59

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/dish of mussels, plate of crabs, biscuits, roll, dark bread, beer (waffle glass), cheeses, dish of butter	(Ch6b); (Sh2a; Sh2d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code FvS 23
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 38 x 54.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Fritz Nathan, Zurich, 1953
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Ontbijt Fruytagie	Laid table w/beker, roll, dish of berries, bowl of gooseberries, overturned facon-de-venise glass	(B6); (OG2i)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 41
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 39.3 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on edge of table)
location Dealer Koetser, London, 1961
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #87; Vroom 1980, #591

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Ontbijt	Laid table w/beker, biscuits, dish of butter, cheeses, nuts	(B6); (CD3a); (Ch2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 42	Fruytagie	Laid table w/beker, roll, bowl of pears, dish of butter, biscuits, dish of cherries, gooseberries, berries, nuts	(B6)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 50 x 75 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Museum te Rion, France
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #95

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); no dominant pattern	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 43	Meal w/One Main Dish Fruytagie	Laid table w/ham, roll, bowl of pears, dish of butter, biscuits, dish of cherries, gooseberries, berries, nuts, pitcher, bowl of grapes	(H1)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Coll. S.J. Graaf von Limburg-Stirum, Spijkerbosch
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #98

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 44	Fruytagie	Laid table w/cheeses, roll, bowl of plums, dish of butter, biscuits, dish of cherries, gooseberries, berries, nuts, bercekemeier	(R1a); (Ch2a)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 51.7 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 9, 1988, #77
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 9, 1988, #77

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

painting code FvS 45
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 36.5 x 54 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #67; Vroom 1980, #586

thematic format
Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, roll, dish of butter, overturned beker, extinguished candle, smoking implements, pretsels

significant motifs
(B3); (C5); (Ch2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

---

painting code FvS 48
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 52.5 x 83.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location priv. coll.
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #92; Vroom 1980, #611

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/bowl of pears & plums, cheeses, beer, dish of butter, roll, bowl of berries, dish of cherries, gooseberries

significant motifs
(Ch7a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 49
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 39.5 x 55.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Sale, London (Christie's), July 10, 1992, #177
bibliography Vroom 1980, #588

thematic format
Fruytagie
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/beker, roll, dish of berries, dish of gooseberries, bowl of grapes?, nuts

significant motifs
(B6); (LV2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 50	Fruytagie Ontbijt	Laid table w/beker, roll, bowl of grapes, nuts	(B6); (LV1a)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/1630s
dimensions 39.5 x 55.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Dealer B. Koetser, London, 1974
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Maak von Way) April 2, 1973, #56

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 7	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, beker and roll, olives, dish of butter, and biscuits, and cheese	(B6); (H1); (Ch8)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/early 1630s
dimensions 52 x 81 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Herzog Anton Ulrich-Mus, Braunschweig
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #77; Vroom 1980, #599

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); no dominant pattern	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
FvS 8	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, beker and roll, olives, dish of butter, and biscuits, and cheeses, pretzels and nuts	(B6); (H1); (Ch8)

artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/early 1630s
dimensions 52 x 83.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Kunsthalle, Bremen
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #75; Sale, Hamburg (Rudolph), March 29, 1951, #440

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); no dominant pattern	low	normal

painting code FvS 9
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/early 1630s
dimensions 48.5 x 72 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Dusseldorf, #339
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #74; Vroom 19890, #595

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, beker and roll, biscuits, and nuts	(B6); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); no dominant pattern	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 10
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/early 1630s
dimensions 50 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Vienna (Tritsch), April 27-29, 1933, #207 (as WC Heda)
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #78; Vroom 1980, #597

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, beker and roll, biscuits, dish of butter, olives, berckemeier of wine, cheeses, facon-de-venise glass of wine, and nuts	(B6); (H1); (Ch8)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); no dominant pattern	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 27
artist Floris van Schooten
date late 1620s/early 1630s
dimensions 83 x 115 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on knife)
location Koninklijk Museun voor Schone Kunsten, Brussels
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #81; Vroom 1980, #602

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, cheeses, dish of butter, berckemeier, apples, dish of plums, pears, salt cellar	(Ch2b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 14
artist Floris van Schooten
date mid 1630s
dimensions 52 x 89 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Frans Halsmusem, Haarlem
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #66; Vroom 1980, #578

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, biscuits, dish of butter, beer, cheeses	(Ch2b); (H1)	h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 15
artist Floris van Schooten
date mid 1630s
dimensions 52.5 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 27, 1974, #63b
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 27, 1974, #63b

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, biscuits, dishes of berries & cherries, beer (& pasglass), dark bread, mustard pot	(H1)	h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 12
artist Floris van Schooten
date mid 1630s on
dimensions 49.4 x 77.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Christie's), July 7, 1995, #12
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), July 7, 1995, #12

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, dark bread, dish of butter, beer, cheeses, mustard pot	(Ch2b); (H1)	h	x-centered; left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 13
artist Floris van Schooten
date mid 1630s on
dimensions ???
support panel
inscriptions
location Universiteit Kunstmuseum, Uppsala
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, biscuits, dish of butter, beker, cheeses	(B6); (Ch2b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 16
artist Floris van Schooten
date mid-late 1630s
dimensions 51 x 81.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer R. Finck, Brussels, c. 1966
bibliography Gammelbo 1966, #64; Vroom 1980, #577

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, biscuits, dish of butter, olives, beer (pasglass), dark bread, cheeses	(Ch2b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code FvS 17
artist Floris van Schooten
date mid-late 1630s
dimensions 51 x 83.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions FvS
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), June 3, 1988, #57
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's), June 3, 1988, #57

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, bread (dark?), dish of butter, olives, nuts, beker, fluit of wine, berckemeier, cheeses, bits of pretzels	(B6); (Ch7b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH10a
artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 56 x 85 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, New York (SPB), March 24, 1983, #43 (school of Heda) - good quality
bibliography Sale, New York (SPB), March 24, 1983, #43

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, overturned berckemeier, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(T1d); (W2); (Br2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH13a
artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 40 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Rotterdam, February 2, 1951, #130
bibliography Sale, Rotterdam, February 2, 1951, #130

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, peeled lemon, oysters, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of the table)	low	tight

---

painting code WCH14a
artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 44 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, #357
bibliography Vroom 1980, #172

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/oysters, overturned tazza, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1b); (CO1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH14b	Ontbijt	Laid table w/oysters, overturned tazza, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone	(T1b); (CO1c); (Sh1b)

artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 50 x 67 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, April 5, 1927, #17
bibliography Sale, April 5, 1927, #17

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH5a	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, nuts, peach?	(T1b)

artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1630
dimensions 44 x 40.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA (on edge of table)
location coll. Louis H, Kiek, London, 1952
bibliography Vroom 1980, #328a

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH10b	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, overturned berckemeier, watch, nuts	(T1d); (W2); (Br2); (MP1)

artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1631
dimensions 54.6 x 82.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), Ocotober 7, 1999, #10 (after Willem Heda)
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), Ocotober 7, 1999, #10 (after Willem Heda)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH10c	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, overturned berckemeier, watch, nuts	(T1d); (W2); (Br2); (MP1)

artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1631
dimensions 54.5 x 82.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 13, 1996, #305; priv. coll., Milan
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 13, 1996, #305; priv. coll., Milan

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH13b	Ontbijt	Laid table w/berckemeier, roll, oysters, pepper cone, nuts, pitcher	(Sh1b)

artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1631
dimensions 44.5 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA (on edge of table)
location Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, #10
bibliography Vroom 1980, #353

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH13c	Ontbijt	Laid table w/berckemeier, roll, oysters, pepper cone, nuts, pitcher	(Sh1b)

artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1631
dimensions 55 x 77.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location priv. coll., Sweden
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH12a
artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date early 1630s
dimensions 55 x 77 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location coll. R. Robertson, Glasgow
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, mustard pot, peeled lemon, dish f olives, nuts

significant motifs
(T3a); (CD1b); (CO1b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code WCH12b
artist follower of Willem Claesz Heda
date early 1630s
dimensions 41.5 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions WH
location University Art Collection, Lund, 2000
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, beer

significant motifs
(T3a); (CD1b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code GH3
artist Gerrit Heda
date 1641
dimensions 76 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1641 (on edge of table)
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 12, 1989, #192
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 12, 1989, #192

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/oysters, overturned tazza, overturned pitcher, fluit, extinguished candle, vinegar decanter, tiny berries? or capers?, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T5b); (C3); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH4	Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/pronck goblet, overturned pitcher, berckemeier, olives, sliced lemon	(Cd7c)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1642
dimensions 82 x 60 cm
support panel
inscriptions jonge.HeDA.1642 (on knife handle)
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #A 1549
bibliography Vroom 1980, #285

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH5	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, beker, overturned mustard pot, olives	(B5); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1642
dimensions 71.2 x 54.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions jonge.HeDA.1642
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 6, 1989, #48
bibliography Vroom 1980, #284

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH6	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roll, salt cellar, fluit, beker, overturned berckemeier	(B5); (OG2c.2); (CD5a); (Sh1d)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1643
dimensions 79 x 59 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 164 (on beker)
location priv. coll., Vught, c.1980
bibliography Vroom 1980, #289 & 304

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code GH7
artist Gerrit Heda
date 1644 or 1648
dimensions 78 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.164(8?)
location Worcester Art Museum, #1959-49
bibliography Vroom 1980, #294

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/overturned stoneware pitcher, shell drinking vessel, fluit, roemer, nuts

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code GH8
artist Gerrit Heda
date 1645
dimensions 72 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions f. HEDA 1645 (on edge of table)
location Hallwyska museet, Stockholm, #B76
bibliography Vroom 1980, #301

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/overturned pitcher, oysters, facon-de-venise glass, hansje-in-de-kelder, roll crumbs, vinegar decanter, pepper cone, salt cellar

significant motifs
(Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code GH9
artist Gerrit Heda
date 1645
dimensions 98 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions Gerret Heda 1645 (on knife)
location priv. coll., on loan to Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem
bibliography Vroom 1980, #297

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/pitcher, fluit, salr cellar, dish of butter, hansje-in-de-kelder, dish of shrimp, roll crumbs, berckemeier

significant motifs
(Sh1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH10	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, mustard pot, stoneware pitcher, beker, roll	(B5); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1645
dimensions 80 x 62 cm
support panel
inscriptions 1645 (on side of table)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), November 17, 1980, #34
bibliography Vroom 1980, #298

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH11	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, mustard pot, stoneware pitcher, beker, roll, fluit	(B4); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1646
dimensions 81 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1646 (edge of tablecloth)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 8, 1970, #84
bibliography Vroom 1980, #303

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH12	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, mustard pot, stoneware pitcher, beker, roll	(B5); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1646
dimensions 65.2 x 79.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1646
location Gemaldegalerie, Berlin, #1800
bibliography Vroom 1980, #306

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH13	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, beer, mustard pot, pitcher, overturned berckemeier	(OG2c.1); (R3); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1646
dimensions 62 x 78 cm
support panel
inscriptions gerret HEDA 1646
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), November 15-17, 1976, #20
bibliography Vroom 1980, #307

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH15	Meal w/One Main Dish Ontbijt	Laid table w/herring?, roll, onions, overturned beker, berckemeier, pitcher	(B1); (Fi2b)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1646
dimensions 69 x 58.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1646
location Dealer Robert Jones, London, 1991
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH17	Meal w/One Main Dish Ontbijt	Laid table w/smoked herring, roll, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, berckemeier, dish of butter, stoneware pitcher	(Fi1e)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1646
dimensions 58 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions Gerret HeDA 1646 (on edge of table)
location Dealer St. Lucas, Vienna, 1998
bibliography Vroom 1980, #305

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	expanded

painting code GH18
artist Gerrit Heda
date 1647
dimensions 90 x 76 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1647 (on edge of table cloth)
location priv. coll., Canada
bibliography Vroom 1980, #320

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, roll crumbs, beer, salt cellar, fluit, pitcher, extinguished candle, berckemeier, overturned berckemeier

significant motifs
(C2); (OG2c.1); (CD6a); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	expanded

---

painting code GH19
artist Gerrit Heda
date 1647
dimensions 90.8 x 69.9 cm
support panel
inscriptions HeDA 1647
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), May 16, 1996, #37
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's), May 16, 1996, #37

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/bekerschroef, pitcher, salt cellar, overturned berckemeier, oysters, pepper cone, beer

significant motifs
(Br5); (CD8c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	expanded

---

painting code GH30
artist Gerrit Heda
date 1647
dimensions 103.5 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Staatliche Mus, Schwerin
bibliography

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/oysters, pitcher, extinguished candle, fluit, salt cellar, beer, roll crumbs, pepper cone, , roll, overturned roemer

significant motifs
(C2): (OG2b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH19*	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, pitcher, overturned tazza, fluit, extinguished candle, mustard pot, peeled lemon	(T2c); (C2); (R3); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1649
dimensions 97 x 80.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.1649 (on edge of tablecloth)
location Pushkin Museum, Moscow
bibliography Wheelock, Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century, NGA 1995, p.98, fig.2

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH20	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, pitcher, overturned mustard pot, fluit, beer (waffle glass), salt cellar, berckemeiers	(H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date 1650
dimensions 98 x 82.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1650 (on edge of tablecloth)
location National Gallery of Art, Washington
bibliography Wheelock, Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century, NGA 1995, pp.96-98

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH1	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, pitcher, hansje-in-de-kelder, roemer, roll, facon-de-venise glass, dish of tiny berries? or capers?, empty plates	(Fi1c)

artist Gerrit Heda
date early 1640s
dimensions 63.5 x 84.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA (on knife handle)
location Sale, Paris (Dr), June 23, 1983, #18 (as father or son Heda)
bibliography Sale, Paris (Dr), June 23, 1983, #18 (as father or son Heda)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against table flow)	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH24	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, pitcher, fluit, berckemeier, overturned mustard pot	(CD6a); (R3); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date early 1650s
dimensions 55 x 73 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, #514
bibliography National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, cat. 1963, #514

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH25	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned pitcher, beker, bekerschroef, mustard pot, facon-de-venise glass	(B5); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date early 1650s
dimensions 61 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Mensing), November 8-15, 1955, #297
bibliography Vroom 1980, #291

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH26	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, overturned roemer, salt cellar, nautilus cup, bercekemeier, bread crumbs	(N3a); (OG2a); Sh1d)

artist Gerrit Heda
date early 1650s
dimensions 58 x 76 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location coll. Dr. H. van Wely, The Hague (as Claesz)
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH28	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned tazza, bekerschroef, mustard pot	(T2a); (CD8a); (H1)

artist Gerrit Heda
date early 1650s
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location coll.Stchoukine, Moscow, 1905 (as Willem Claesz Heda)
bibliography Les tresors d'art en Russia 1905, #111

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH29	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, fluit, bekerschroef, salt cellar, beer, peeled lemon, roll, dish of olives, swept back curtain	(CD8b); (Fi1c)

artist Gerrit Heda
date early 1650s
dimensions 97.5 x 83.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), October 15, 1996, #145
bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), October 15, 1996, #145

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered; no dominant pattern	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
GH23	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, bekerschroef, overturned pitcher, salt cellar, roll, beer, peeled lemon, dish of capers?	(CD8a); (Fi1c)

artist Gerrit Heda or Cornelis Mahu
date early 1650s
dimensions 96 x 83.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Hotel George V), June 22, 1990, #42 (as C. Mahu)
bibliography Sale, Paris (Hotel George V), June 22, 1990, #42 (as C. Mahu)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

painting code GH21
artist Gerrit Heda or Willem Claesz
date early 1650s
dimensions 72.5 x 85 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 8, 1987, #125
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 8, 1987, #125

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, pitcher, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, bekerschroef, extinguished candle, pepper cone, artichokes?

significant motifs
(C2); (CD6a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code GH27
artist Gerrit Heda or Willem Claesz
date early 1650s
dimensions 59.5 x 80 cm
support panel
inscriptions HeDA (on beker)
location Dealer Waterman, Amsterdam, 1987 (as Willem Claesz Heda)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #355

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, overturned pitcher, salt cellar, fluit, beker, roll, berckemeier

significant motifs
(B5); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code GH22
artist Gerrit Heda or Willem Claesz
date early 1650s
dimensions 62.5 x 75.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 16..
location Dealer St.'Honore, Paris, 1990 (as Gerrit Heda)
bibliography Adv. in Connaisance des Arts May 1990, p. 35

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/pie, nautilus cup, beer (pasglass); overturned pitcher, berckemeier, roll, hansje-in-de-kelder, nuts

significant motifs
(N4b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code GH16
artist Gerrit Heda or Willem Gabron
date 1646
dimensions 83.8 x 96.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions G. Gabron 1640
location Sale, London (Christie's), November 29, 1974, #15
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), November 29, 1974, #15

thematic format
Ontbijt
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, pitcher, bekerschroef, roll, peeled lemon, olives, nuts, salt cellar, beer

significant motifs
(T2e)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	expanded

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painting code GH14
artist Gerrit Heda (ring on front edge
date 1646
dimensions 61 x 80 cm
support panel
inscriptions gerret HEDA 1646 (on knife)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1989
bibliography Vroom 1980, #310; Sale, New York (Christie's) January 11, 1989, #200

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned tazza, nautilus cup, berckemeier w/lemon quarter, facon-de-venise glasses, cherries, grapes, empty plates

significant motifs
(T2a); (N3a); (LV3a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against table flow)	low	normal

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painting code FvS 5
artist May well be Heda or Claesz
date 1630s
dimensions 52.5 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Vienna (O) July 6, 2000, #96
bibliography

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/plate of shrimp, olives, roll, roemer of wine, pretzels

significant motifs
(Sh1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low viewpoint	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
NG 5	Flower piece	Vase of flowers w/tulips, carnations	

artist Nicolaes Gillis
date
dimensions 29.2 x 22.9 cm
support copper
inscriptions N.Gillis
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 16, 1998, #32
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 16, 1998, #32

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	central	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
NG 1	Fruytagie	Laid table w/bowl of pears, plums, cherries, dish of berries, nuts, piece of biscuit, oranges, roemers, book of hours, pitcher, bekerschroef, branch of berries	(LV3b)

artist Nicolaes Gillis
date 1601
dimensions 45 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions NGillis fecit 1601
location priv. coll., Germany
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 89; Segal, A Fruitful Past, 1984, #6

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant composition	high	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
NG 2	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/cheeses, roll, roemer, halved orange, halved apple, deep dish of berries, dish of figs? & pretzels, bowl of apples, bekerschroef, stoneware pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, nuts, orange, pear, halved flatbread	(LV1a); (R1a); (Ch2a)

artist Nicolaes Gillis
date 1612
dimensions 59 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions Nicolaes Gillis fecit A°1612
location coll. Russell, Amsterdam
bibliography Haarlem in the 17th cent., Rutgers, 1983, #45; Segal, A Prosperous Past, 1988, #10

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

painting code NG 3
artist Nicolaes Gillis
date 1614
dimensions 74.5 x 110.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions Nicolaes Gillis A.1614
location National Museum, Prague, #0 1478
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 90; Bob Haak, The Golden Age, 1984, fig.233

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, roll, roemer, plate of sweetmeats, basket of grapes, bekerschroef, fluit, stoneware pitcher, bowl of apples, nuts, cherries, rose, apples, nuts, dish of berries, halved apple

significant motifs
(LV1a); (CD1c); (R1a); (Ch3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	expanded

---

painting code NG 4
artist Nicolaes Gillis
date 1615
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions Nicolaes Gillis fecit A.1615
location coll. G. Oyex-vaGent, Lausanne, 1986
bibliography Segal, A Prosperous Past, 1988, fig. 4.10

thematic format
Larder

painting description
Larder w/ cheeses, roll, napkin, dead hare, basket of grapes, melons, pomegranate, dish of berries, bowl of nuts, stoneware pitcher, ming pitcher, bekerschroef, dead birds, dead fowl, roses, dish of lemon slices, dish of nuts and peaches?, dish of grapes

significant motifs
(Ch8)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant composition	high	expanded

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painting code NG 6
artist Nicolaes Gillis
date 1625
dimensions 43.3 x 66.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions NG...16()5
location Dealer Hoogsteder, The Hague, 1988
bibliography Segal, A Prosperous Past, 1988, fig. 7.2

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/pie, overturned bekerschroef, sliced lemon, roll, berckemeier, dish of olives, pitcher

significant motifs
(OG2g); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

painting code PC39a
artist north netherlandish
date early 1630s
dimensions 32.5 x 41 cm
support panel
inscriptions Het glas is leegh. De tyd is om. De kaers is uyt.
location priv. coll.
bibliography

thematic format
Vanitas

painting description
Vanitas w/skull, book, overturned berckemeier, watch, extinguished candle

significant motifs
(W1); (OG1c); (C1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

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painting code PC1
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1621
dimensions 45.5 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1621 (on edge of plate)
location Dealer D. Koetser, Zurich, 1991
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 100; Vroom 1980, #39

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/apple on plate, berckemeier, dish of berries, dish of olives, dish of cherries, leaf compote of black?berries, stoneware jug, gooseberries, tiny berries

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge; no dominant pattern	high trending low	expanded

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painting code PC4
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1622
dimensions 26.5 x 33.5 cm (once
support panel
inscriptions pieter Claessen Anno 1622 (on tobacco paper)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1989
bibliography Briels, Vlaamse Schilders, 1997, fig. 446

thematic format
Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/pipe, tobacco on almanac paper, biscuit, playing cards, brazier, dice, smoking sticks, mini-pitcher, beer (waffle glass)

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	high	tight

painting code PC5
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1622
dimensions 44.8 x 59 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1621 (above bread)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 3, 1997, #45
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 101;Vroom 1980, #40

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/tazza of sweetmeats, plate w/whole & peeled apples, dish of cherries, dish of berries, gooseberries, nuts, tiny berries, bercekemeier, piece of flat bread

significant motifs
(LV3b); (CO4)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	high	normal

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painting code PC8
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1623
dimensions 69 x 127 cm
support canvas
inscriptions A.PC 1623 (on stock?)
location Louvre, Paris, #RF 1939
bibliography Vroom 1980, #41 & #504

thematic format
Allegory (Five Senses)

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, plate of sweetmeats, facon-de-venise glass, mirror, books, various musical instruments, turtle, wine carafes ina cooling tub, watch, brazier and smoking implements (Five Senses)

significant motifs
(W1); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC12
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1624
dimensions 65 x 55.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1624 (on edge of table)
location Gemaldegalerie, Dresden, #1368
bibliography Vroom 1980, #506

thematic format
Collector's Painting (portrait of gilt goblet)

painting description
Table w/pronck goblet, nautilus shell, shells, watch, carnations, roemer, overturned berckemeier, books w/curtain & young couple in garden scene

significant motifs
(W4); (OG6); (CO8)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	no dominant pattern	low	normal

painting code PC14
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1624
dimensions 40 x 52 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1624 (on edge of table)
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #639a
bibliography Vroom 1980, #44

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Ontbijt Tabackjes	Table w/herring, roll, bercekemeier, oysters, pepper cone, pipe, matchsticks, brazier	(Fi2a); (Sh2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	normal

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painting code PC15
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1625
dimensions 29 x 43 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1625 (on edge of table)
location Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem
bibliography Vroom 1980, #46 & #507

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Vanitas	Table w/skull, candle, watch, letter, quill & ink, flower, nut	(W1); (C1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

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painting code PC16
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1625
dimensions 29.5 39 cm (oval)
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1625 (on edge of table)
location coll. Mr. A.S. Nolst Trenite, Rotterdam, 1967
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Ontbijt Tabackjes	Table w/herring, roll, roemer, brazier, matchsticks, pipe, pepper cone, watch, nuts	(W5); (Fi1a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h (oval)	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC18
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1625
dimensions 43.5 x 62.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions A.PC 1625 (on edge of plate)
location priv. coll., Denmark
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

Tabackjes

painting description
Table w/ham, herrings, roll, beer(waffle glass), mustard pot, dark bread, pipes, matchsticks, brazier

significant motifs
(H2); (Fi3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC19
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1625
dimensions 48 x 67.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1625 (on edge of plate)
location coll. Mr. H.J. Reinink, The Hague, 1942
bibliography Vroom 1980, #45

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Table w/ham, herring, roll, basket of cheeses, dish of butter, dark bread, scallions, beer (waffle glass), pepper cone

significant motifs
(Ch5b); (Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC20*
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1625
dimensions 42.9 x 75.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1625 (on knife?)
location Speelman Coll., London
bibliography Vroom 1980, #55 & #229

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Table w/mince pie, roll, roemer, whole lemon and slices, overturned berckemeier, dish of olives, nuts, apples, basket of grapes

significant motifs
(OG2f); (LV1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	normal

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painting code PC22
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1627
dimensions 76.5 x 134.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions A. 1627 PC (on knife)
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #A
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 104; Vroom 1980, #50 & #227

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Table w/turkey pastry pie, mince pie, plate of oysters, rolls, dish of olives, roemer, pitcher, nautilus cup, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, orange quarters, pepper cone & salt, bowl of grapes, apples & nuts

significant motifs
(N4); (LV1b); (MP13; (Sh4a); (CD1c); (PP2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	expanded

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painting code PC23
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1627
dimensions 77.5 x 129 cm
support panel
inscriptions 1627 PC (on knife)
location Private collection, Boston
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Table w/peacock pastry pie, raost chicken, dish of capers, roll, biscuits, plate of sweetmeats, bowl of apples, peaches, nuts, whole & peeled lemons w/slices, bercekemeier, overturend bercekemeier, pitcher, salt cellar

significant motifs
(OG3b); (F3); (PP2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	expanded

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painting code PC24
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1627
dimensions 36.2 x 57.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1627 (on edge of table)
location Timken Art Gallery, San Diego, #9
bibliography Timken Art Gallery, San Diego, cat. 1983, #9

thematic format
Tabackjes

Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/herrings, overturned stoneware pitcher, beer (waffleglass), pipe, matchsticks, brazier

significant motifs
(Fi1a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

painting code PC25
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1627
dimensions 50.2 x 74.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1627 (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Christie's), April 23, 1993, #182
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), April 23, 1993, #182

thematic format
Tabackjes
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/herrings, overturned stoneware pitcher, beer (waffleglass), pipe, matchsticks, brazier, roll, pitcher

significant motifs
(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC26
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1627
dimensions 37.5 x 47.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1627
location priv. coll., Netherlands, 1980
bibliography Vroom 1980, #51

thematic format
Tabackjes
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/herring, stoneware pitcher, overturned waffleglass, pipe, matchsticks, brazier, roll, onions

significant motifs
(OG5), (Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC27
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1627
dimensions 26.1 x 37.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1627 (on right side)
location Mauritshuis, The Hague, #947
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 105; Vroom 1980, #49

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Table w/roemer, books, snuffer, spectacles, candle

significant motifs
(C1b), (CD1a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered; x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

painting code PC28
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1628
dimensions 49 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A.1628 (on end edge of table)
location priv. coll., Wassenaar
bibliography Vroom 1980, #53

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, roll, nuts, dish of capers, roemer, onion, salt cellar	(Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC29
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1628
dimensions 24 x 36 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A.1628 (on right side)
location Met Mus of Art, New York, #49.107
bibliography Met cat.

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, overturned roemer, extinguished oil lamp, book, quill	(C1a); (OG1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC30
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1628
dimensions 70.5 x 80.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1628 (on sketchbook)
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #A 3930
bibliography Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, cat. 1976, #A 3930

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Allegory (on creation of art)	Artist's studio w/Spinario, armor, musical instruments, skull & crossbones, roemer, watch, palette, chair, books, sketchbook	

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h			

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC31	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, whole lemon w/slices, biscuit, dish of olives, watch	(W3); (CO1a)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1628
dimensions 37 x 49 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 162(3 or 8) (on knife)
location priv. coll., Warsaw, 1939
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 102

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of table)	low	tight

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC32	Ontbijt	Laid table w/overturned pitcher, cheese, berckemeier, dish of olives, biscuit crumbs, peeled lemon w/slices, pipe	(Ch8)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1628
dimensions 40 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1628 (on corner wall)
location priv. coll., Mrs. M.J. Drown
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC33	Vanitas	Table w/skull, book, overturned tazza, watch, shells, pronck goblet, violin, extinguished oil lamp	(T5a); (W1); (C1a); (CO8)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1629
dimensions 49 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1629 (on neck of violin)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), June 1, 1987, #71
bibliography Still-Life Ptgs from Netherlands, Rijksmuseum, 1999, #16

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

painting code PC34
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1629
dimensions 35 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1629 (on edge of table)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), June 9, 1977, #88
bibliography Vroom 1980, #56 & #510

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/bercekemeier, roll, books, extinguished candle, shells, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(C4); (CD2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code PC36
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1630
dimensions 22.3 x 32.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1630 (on edge of table)
location Dealer S. Lilian, Amsterdam, 1999
bibliography None

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned pineapple gilt goblet, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC37
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1630
dimensions 48.9 x 72.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1630 (on edge of plate)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1999
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's) April 11, 1986, #23

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/chicken, roll, roemer, salt cellar, peeled lemon w/slices, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CO8); (F1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

painting code PC38
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1630
dimensions 52 x 73.5 cm
support copper
inscriptions PC A. 1630 (on edge of plate)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 11, 1990, #39
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 11, 1990, #39

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, roemer, salt cellar, overturned facon-de-venise glass, dish of capers, peeled lemon w/slices, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (OG2i); (CO8); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code PC39
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1630
dimensions 39.5 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1630
location Mauritshuis, The Hague, #25
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 141; Vroom 1980, #58 & #512

thematic format
Vanitas

painting description
Vanitas w/skull & thighbone, book, watch, overturned berckemeier, extinguished oil lamp, quill

significant motifs
(W1); (OG1d); (CO8); (C1a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code PC41
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1632
dimensions 41.9 x 63.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions 1632 PC (on knife)
location Dealer D. Koetser, Zurich, before 1980
bibliography Vroom 1980, #62

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, pitcher capped w/berckemeier, nuts

significant motifs
(OG2e); (LV2a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC43
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1632
dimensions 40 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 16(3 or 5)2 (on left wall)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), November 21-24, 1950, #900
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), November 21-24, 1950, #900

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/beker, overturned berckemeier, whole lemon, biscuits, dish of olives

significant motifs
(B6); (OG4a.1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC44
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1632
dimensions 48.3 x 40.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1632 (on left wall)
location Dealer Cramer, The Hague, 1978
bibliography Vroom 1980, #61

thematic format
Ontbijt

Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/herring, roemer, roll, scallions

significant motifs
(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC51
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1633
dimensions 38 x 53 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1633 (on left wall)
location Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel
bibliography Vroom 1980, #87; Schneider, Stilleben, 1989, p.21

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, oysters, roll, overturned berckemeier, nuts, pepper cone, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(T1d); (OG4c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC53	Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, sphere, overturned pronck goblet, roemer, books, shells, quill pen	

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1634
dimensions 54 x 72 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1634 (on edge of books)
location Getty Museum, LA
bibliography Vroom 1980, #66 & #520

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC55	Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, overturned roemer, book, globe, lute, watch, coins, extinguished oil lamp, violin, music, necklace, spectacles	(W1); (C1a); (OG1a)

artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1635
dimensions 88 x 72 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1635
location Dealer Terry-Engell. London, 1973
bibliography Vroom 1980, #163 & #534

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC57	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned beker, overturned berckemeier, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices	(B4); (Br4); (LV2b.1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1635
dimensions 59.5 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1635 (on bottom of beker)
location Dealer D. Katz, Dieren, before 1940
bibliography Vroom 1980, #88

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC58	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned pitcher, beer, roll, nuts, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/slices	(CD1d); (CO1c)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1635
dimensions 41 x 61.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1635 (on edge of plate)
location Sale, New York (Christie's East), January 14, 1993, #109
bibliography Vroom 1980, #70

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC54	Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, overturned roemer, nautilus cup, golden chain, extinguished oil lamp, letter, nut, books	(C1m); (OG1a)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1636
dimensions 47 x 61 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1636 (on edge of table)
location Westfalisches Landesmuseum, Munster, #1369 LM
bibliography Vroom 1980, #64 & #521

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC60	Tabackjes	Laid table w/pipes, match sticks, brazier, tobacco in almanac paper, stoneware pitcher, beer	

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1636
dimensions 49 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1636 (on edge of table)
location Hermitage, St. Petersburg, #5619
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC61	Ontbijt	Laid table w/herring, roll, beer (waffle glass)	(Fi2b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1636
dimensions 36 x 49 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1636 (on right side of wall)
location Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, #1122
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 106; Vroom 1980, #75; Still-Life Ptgs from Netherlands, Rijksmuseum, 1999, #17

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC62	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned berckemeier, dish of olives, oysters, nuts, peeled lemon, roll crumbs	(OG4a.2); (Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1636
dimensions 61 x 52 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1636 (on knife)
location Alte Pinakothek, Munich, #2054
bibliography Vroom 1980, #74

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC63a	Tabackjes	Laid table w/pipe, match sticks, brazier, beer, stoneware pitcher, playing cards, overturned mini-berckemeier	

artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1636
dimensions 50 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1636 (on edge of table) - may be false
location Dealer L. Koetser, London, , 1966
bibliography Vroom 1980, #79

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC64
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1636
dimensions 44 x 61 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1636 (on edge of knife)
location priv. coll., Netherlands
bibliography Vroom 1980, #78 & #553

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, roll, overturned tazza, watch, book, dish of olives, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices	(T1b); (W3); (CO1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code PC70/73
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1637
dimensions 47.5 x 67.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1637 (on knife)
location Sale, Brussels, October 22-23, 1951, #83
bibliography Vroom 1980, #426

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives, nuts, beer, overturned berckemeier	(OG2f); (LV2a); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC71
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1637
dimensions 38.1 x 57.1 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1637 (on right side)
location National Gallery, Dublin, #326
bibliography National Gallery, Dublin, cat. 1920, #326

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/beker, overturned berckemeier, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, oysters	(B6); (OG4a.1); (LV2b.1); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC74
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1637
dimensions 66.5 x 92 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1637 (on left side of painting)
location Museum Stiftung Jacob Briner Rathaus, Winterthur
bibliography Vroom 1980, #426

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned pronck goblet, overturned tazza, roemer, roll, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T5b); (OG2f); (LV2a); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC75
artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1638
dimensions 68 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1638
location Dealer Hans M. Cramer, The Hague
bibliography Vroom 1980, #63

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC76
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1638
dimensions 62 x 50 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1638
location William Rockhill ....Museum of Art, Kansas City
bibliography Vroom 1980, #83

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives, dish of berries, nuts, vinegar decanter

significant motifs
(LV3b); (CO1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC78	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roemer, mince pie, overturned pronck goblet, overturned pitcher, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, facon-de-venise glass, bowl of tiny berries, nuts, basin	(CD1b); (CO2); (MP1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1639
dimensions 85 x 117 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1639 (on knife)
location Sale, Paris (Orsay), November 4, 1978
bibliography Vroom 1980, #425

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC79	Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, extinguished oil lamp, watch, overturned berckemeier, books, thigh bone, quill pen	(W1); (C1a); (Br1); (CO8)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1639
dimensions 42 x 52 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1639 (on book)
location Dealer J.O. Leegenhoek, 1972, #228
bibliography Vroom 1980, #89

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC81	Portrait Gilt Goblet	Portrait of a pronck goblet w/overturned facon-de-venise glass, upright facon-de-venise container, nuts	

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1640
dimensions 56 x 41.2 cm (oval)
support panel
inscriptions PC 1640 (on edge of table)
location Sale, New York
bibliography Bergstrom, Tableau V (#6 summer 1983), 440

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	tight

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painting code PC83
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1640
dimensions 61.5 x 57.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1640 (on left of ptg)
location Martin von Wagnermuseum, Wurzburg, #470
bibliography Vroom 1980, #94

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned berckemeier, roll, peeled lemon, w/slices, oysters

significant motifs
(OG4a.1); (Co1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC84
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1640
dimensions 53.34 x 62.23 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 1640 (on left of ptg)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 1, 1937, #171
bibliography Vroom 1980, #95 & #204

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, roemer, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC85
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1640
dimensions 47 x 60 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 1640 (on edge of table)
location John Herron Art Museum, Indianaoplis, #47.2
bibliography John Herron Art Museum, Indianaoplis, cat. 1951, #25

thematic format
Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/pipe, match sticks, dice, brazier, stoneware pitcher, berckemeier, shells

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of table)	low	tight

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC86	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, mustard pot, roemer, overturned tazza, grapes, dish of capers, nuts	(T1c); (LV2a); (H1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1640
dimensions 73.5 x 99 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 1640 (on right side of ptg)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), December 4, 1932, #265
bibliography Vroom 1980, #91

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC89	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, biscuits, roemer, overturned beker, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts	(B4); (CO1c); (MP1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1640
dimensions 49 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions 1640 PC (on knife)
location Sale, Berlin (Lepke), February 20-22, 1912
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Lepke), February 20-22, 1912

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC90	Portrait Gilt Goblet	Portrait of a pronck goblet, watch, nuts	

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 66 x 48.5 cm (oval)
support panel
inscriptions PC 1641 5/6 (on right side of ptg)
location Dealer J. Schlichte Bergen, Amsterdam, 1989
bibliography Bergstrom, Tableau V (#6 summer 1983), 440

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	tight

painting code PC91
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 48.5 x 60.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1641 (on knife)
location Cincinatti Art Museum, gift 1988
bibliography None

thematic format: Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description: Laid table w/mince pie, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, berckemeier, pitcher capped w/berckemeier, watch, nuts

significant motifs: (W2); (OG2e); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

---

painting code PC92
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 73.03 x 99.06 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 1641 (on blazon on pitcher)
location priv. coll., Edinburgh
bibliography Dutch Art & Scotland: A Reflection of Taste. Nat'l Gall. Scotland, 1992, #13

thematic format: Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description: Laid table w/mince pie, roll, watch, dish of olives, pitcher, fluit, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts

significant motifs: (W2); (Br2); (LV2a); (CO8); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

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painting code PC93
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 63.5 x 87.63 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1641 (on right side of ptg)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), November 30, 1983, #87
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), November 30, 1983, #87

thematic format: Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description: Laid table w/lobster, oysters, shells, peeled lemon w.slices, roll, bowl of tiny berries, berckemeier, pitcher, books, violin, nuts

significant motifs: (LV1b); (Sh1e)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code PC95
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 69 x 51.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1641 (on right side of ptg)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam
bibliography Vroom 1980, #97

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned berckemeier, oysters, shells, peeled lemon, dish of berries, branch of tiny berries

significant motifs
(OG4a.1); (LV2b.1); (CO2); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC96
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 42 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1641 (on right side of ptg)
location Dealer, Robert Noortman, London, 1979
bibliography Vroom 1980, #96

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, mince pie, roll, overturned berckemeier, nuts, peeled lemon, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs
(OG2f); (CD1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code PC97
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 37 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1641 (on right side of ptg)
location coll. H. Schneider, Basel, 1933
bibliography Vroom 1980, #100

thematic format
Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, pipe, hens & plovers eggs, brazier, match sticks, roll crumbs

significant motifs
(CO6)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC201
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641
dimensions 58.4 x 83.8 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 16(4 or 5)1 (on right)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 16, 1992, #27
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), January 16, 1992, #27

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, dish of olives, tray of berckemeiers, roll, salt cellar, facon-de-venise glass, pitcher, nuts, orange, peeled lemon, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2a); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC94
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1641 or 1643
dimensions 60.5 x 101.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 164(1 or 3) (on edge of plate)
location Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, NY
bibliography Great Dutch Paintings from America, Mauritshuis, 1991, #16

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/roast chicken, tray of berckemeiers w/overturned berckemeier, salt cellar, roll, peeled lemon, pitcher, cross-shaped watch, dish of capers, bowl of tiny berries, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (OG2f); (LV1b); (F1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC98
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 33 x 47.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1642 (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Christie's), April 11, 1986, #28
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), April 11, 1986, #28

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, oysters, roll, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

painting code *PC99/186*
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 47 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 164(2 or 8) (on knife)
location Dealer Nystad, The Hague, 1966
bibliography

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/roast chicken, herring, roll, roemer, beer, salt cellar, peeled lemon w/slices, grapes, dish of shrimp, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(F2); (Fi4a); (Sh3b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC100
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 37.5 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1642 (on edge of table)
location Dealer Brod, London, 1977
bibliography None

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC101
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 34 x 47 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1642 (on edge of table)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1988
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's) December 12, 1986, #25

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC102
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 69 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 1642 (on left of ptg)
location Hofje van Aerden, Leerdam, #31
bibliography Vroom 1980, #99

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll crumbs, dish of capers, oysters, lobster/crayfish

significant motifs
(Sh2b & Sh2e)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	tight

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painting code PC103
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 36.1 x 51.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 1642 (on edge of table)
location Toledo Museum of Art
bibliography Vroom 1980, #102

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, overturned berckemeier, whole lemon, oysters, pepper cone

significant motifs
(OG4a.2); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC104
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 37.1 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1642 (on edge of table)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 15, 1985, #36
bibliography Vroom 1980, #242

thematic format
Roemers (etc)
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, overturned berckemeier, dish of olives, oysters, pepper cone

significant motifs
(OG4a.2); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC105	Tabackjes	Laid table w/beer (waffle glass), pipe, tobacco in alamanac paper, match sticks, brazier	

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 59 x 47 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1642 (on right of ptg)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Maastricht, 1991
bibliography Vroom 1980, #104

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC106	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/beer (waffle glass), ham hock, roll, mustard pot	(H1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 34 x 41 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1642 (on knife)
location Coll. Castiglione, Vienna
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC107	Ontbijt	Laid table w/roemer, herring, roll, scallions, nuts, beer	(CO6); (Fi2b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1642
dimensions 50 x 69 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1642 (right of ptg)
location Sale, Copenhagen (Rasmussen), April 27-28, 1971, #24
bibliography Vroom 1980, #103

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC108
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1643
dimensions 32 x 47 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1643 (on edge of table)
location Dealer Salomon Lilian, Amsterdam, 1993
bibliography None

thematic format
Roemers (etc)
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, overturned berckemeier, oysters, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(OG4a.2); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC109
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1643
dimensions 39 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1643 (right of ptg)
location Museum voor schone kunsten, Brussels, #674
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 108; Vroom 1980, #110 & #433

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, pitcher, dish of berries, mustard pot, berckemeier, beer

significant motifs
(H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC117/120
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1643
dimensions 45 x 60 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1643 (left side of ptg)
location Sale, London (Sothby's), April4, 1962, #85
bibliography Sale, London (Sothby's), April4, 1962, #85

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/herring, roemer, roll, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, onions, grapes, nut

significant motifs
(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC119	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab & lobster, roll, pitcher, berckemeier, beer (pasglass), peeled lemon w/slices, watch	(W2); (Sh2d & Sh2e)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1643
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions PC 1643
location Minneapolis Institute of Art
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC121	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roll, roemer, salt cellar, beer, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, gooseberries, tiny berries, apples	(LV2b.2); (R1a); (Sh1d)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1643
dimensions 49.5 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1643 (right side of ptg)
location Ales Galerie, Hluboka
bibliography Sale, Munich (Helbing) May 31, 1927, #494

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC122	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roast chicken, roll, roemer, salt cellar, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices	(LV2ba); (F1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1643
dimensions 65.5 x 70.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1643 (right side of ptg)
location Narodni Museum, Prague, #DO-6457
bibliography Vroom 1980, #111

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

painting code PC123/139
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 66 x 95 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (on knife)
location Dealer R. Noortman, London, 1980
bibliography Vroom 1980, #120

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roemer, roll, overturned pitcher, beer (waffle glass), mustard pot, herring, peeled lemon w/slices, grapes	(LV2d); (CD1b); (R4); (H2); (Fi3b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code PC124/141
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 72 x 59.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644
location Dealer Johnny van Haeften, London, 1984
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/fish, roll, roemer, salt cellar	(LV2a); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expnded

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painting code PC127
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 86 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (on edge of tablecloth)
location Dealer T. Agnew, London
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's) December 6, 1965, #77

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roemer, overturned tazza, roll, peaches, salt cellar, grapes	(LV2b.2); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC128	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/herring, roll, roemer, overturned pitcher, salt cellar, dish of olives, nuts	(Fi2b)

artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1644
dimensions 48 x 69.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (left on ptg)
location priv. coll., 1961

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

bibliography Adv. in Illustrated London News, May 8, 1954

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC129	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, bowl of berries, roemer, beer, nuts	(MP1)

artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1644
dimensions 30 x 44 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644
location Sale, Berlin (Graupe), April 26, 1935, #13

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

bibliography Vroom 1980, #147

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC131	Tabackjes	Laid table w/herring, roll, beer (waffle glass), pipe, match sticks, brazier, overturned mini-berckemeier, stoneware pitcher w/pimel	(OG5); (CD5b); (Fi2b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 59 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (on right side)
location Musee des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, #56

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

bibliography exh. cat., Le Siecle de Rembrandt, Paris, 1970, #37

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painting code PC132
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 45 x 65.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (on edge of table)
location Mauritshuis, The Hague, #403
bibliography Vroom 1980, #113

thematic format
Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/herring, roll, beer, pipe, match sticks, brazier, onion, stoneware pitcher w/pimel

significant motifs
(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC133
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 74.7 x 106.7 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1644 (on right side)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1997
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Allegory

painting description
Laid table w/crab, pitcher, roll, salt cellar, berckemeier, violin, music book, recorder, fluit, nuts, books

significant motifs
(R1a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC134
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 75 x 107 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (on knife)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 6, 1995, #6
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's) December 12, 1995, #6

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone, facon-de-venise glass, nuts, grapes

significant motifs
(LV3a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC136	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roemer, beer, roll crumbs, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts	(OG2i); (CO1c); (Sh1d)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 47 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (on left side of ptg)
location Musee des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg
bibliography Vroom 1980, #117

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC140	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/fish, roll, berckemeier, vinegar decanter, beer, dish of olives, nuts, whole & halved oranges, basket of grapes & apples, apples	(LV1c); (Fi1d)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1644
dimensions 60.5 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1644 (on left side of ptg); PC 16(3). (on
location Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, #NK 2004
bibliography RBK, cat. 1985, #VI-18

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC144	Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, verturned berckemeier, quill, book, watch, nuts, books, extinguished oil lamp	(W1); (C1a); (OG1d)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 32 x 60.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (on paper inserted in book)
location Dealer Johnny van Haeften, London, 1985
bibliography Haarlem in the 17th cent., Rutgers, 1983, #25

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC143
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 34 x 31.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (on left side of ptg)
location Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp
bibliography Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp, cat. 1980, #32

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, grapes	(LV2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	tight

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painting code PC145
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 49 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 164(5) (on knife)
location Sale, Berlin (Lepke), February 20-22, 1919, #236
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Lepke), February 20-22, 1919, #236

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned beker, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, nuts, biscuits, peeled lemon w/slices	(B4); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC152
artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1645
dimensions 56 x 87 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (on knife)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), May 14, 1912, #112
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), May 14, 1912, #112

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roemer, roll, overturned beker, mince pie, dish of olives, nuts, beer	(B4); (LV2a); (CD1b); (R2a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code PC151
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 31.5 x 40 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (on left)
location Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena
bibliography Vroom 1980, #124

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned beker, biscuits, facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(B1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC153
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 50.2 x 68.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (on knife)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 13, 1987, #129
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), January 13, 1987, #129

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, herring, roemer, whole lemon, roll, oysters, pepper cone, mustard pot, beer, grapes, onions

significant motifs
(LV2a); (H2); (Fi4a); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC155
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 40 x 55.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (on right)
location Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem
bibliography Vroom 1980, #123

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, oysters, pepper cone, whole lemon, roemer, salt cellar, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2a); (Sh2b & Sh2d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC156	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, bekerschroef, overturned beker, overturned pitcher, bowl of gooseberries, tiny berries, apples, facon-de-venise glass	(B4); (LV2b.2); (H1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 64 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (on on knife)
location Sale, Paris (Ader Picard Taylor), June 29, 1989, #58
bibliography Sale, Paris (Ader Picard Taylor), June 29, 1989, #58

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC158	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, oysters, salt cellar, roll crumbs, pepper cone	(Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 62 x 46 cm
support panel
inscriptions A. PC 1645 (on edge of table)
location St. Louis Museum of Art, #141:1922
bibliography Vroom 1980, #112

Ontbijt

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC159	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roast chicken, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, roll, pitcher capped w/berckemeier, overturned tazza, fluit, salt cellar, nuts, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/slices, basket of grapes	(T2b); (OG2e); (LV1c); (F1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645
dimensions 48.5 x 66.8 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location unknown
bibliography Vroom 1980, #125

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code PC148
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1645 or 1647
dimensions 38.1 x 58.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 164(5 or 7) (on lid of pitcher)
location Dealer G. Cramer, The Hague, 1963
bibliography Vroom 1980, #143

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/herring, beer (waffle glass), onions, roll, overturned pitcher

significant motifs
(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code PC160
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 37 x 25.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC A. 1646 (on left)
location unknown
bibliography Vroom 1980, #131

thematic format
Ontbijt

Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/oysters, roll, berckemeier, pitcher, pepper cone, grapes, nuts

significant motifs
(CD2a); (R1a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC161
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 40.5 x 61 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1646 (on left)
location Dealer Alazraki, New York, 1995
bibliography exh. cat., The Lure of Still Life, Lingenauber & Lorenzelli, Dusseldorf & Bergamo, #7

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, salt cellar, overturned beker, peeled lemon, roemer, nuts, grapes

significant motifs
(B4); (LV2a); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC163	Ontbijt Tabackjes	Laid table w/roll, herring, onions, beer (waffle glass), pipe, match sticks, brazier	(Fi2b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 37 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions A. PCH 1646 (on edge of table)
location Dealer V. Spark, New York, before 1956
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC164	Ontbijt Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, roll, dish of shrimp, nuts, tiny berries, pepper cone	(LV2a); (Sh1c)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 41 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1646 (on left)
location Coll. Dr. A. Bader, Milwaukee
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC165	Ontbijt Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/fish, berckemeier, roll, salt cellar, nuts, peeled lemon, tiny berries	(LV2a); (CD2a); (Fi1c)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 40 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1646 (on left)
location Dealer van Diemen, Amsterdam
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC166	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, mustard pot, facon-de-venise glass, roemer, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, grapes, dish of olives	(LV2a); (H1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 50 x 66 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1646 (on left)
location Dealer Peter Tillou, London, 1994
bibliography Vroom 1980, #121 & 128

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC167	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roemer, raosted fish, salmon fillet, roll, nuts, basket of cheeses, dish of butter, beer (pasglass), mustard pot	(CD1b); (R1b); (Ch5b); (Fi2c & Fi2d)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 51 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1646
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1977
bibliography Vroom 1980, #132

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC168	Meal w/One Main Dish Vanitas	Laid table w/ham, roll, bekerschroef, overturned roemer, books, nuts, mustard pot, dish of berries, watch	(W2); (OG2a); (R2a); (H1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 51 x 88.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1646 (on book?)
location Sale, New York (PB), January 13, 1978, #111
bibliography Vroom 1980, #129

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC175a
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1646
dimensions 60 x 100 cm
support panel
inscriptions A. PC 1646 (on right)
location Pushkin Museum, Moscow
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, nuts, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, salt cellar. dish of capers, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2b.2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC170
artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1647
dimensions 60 x 49 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1647 (on right)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1983
bibliography Vroom 1980, #133

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, nuts, roemer, grapes, peeled lemon w/slices, hansje-in-de-kelder

significant motifs
(LV2a); (CO2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC172
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1647
dimensions 39 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1647 (on right)
location Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, acquired 1961
bibliography None

thematic format
Ontbijt

Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/herring, roll, mini-berckemeier, mini-pitcher, beer (waffle glass), nuts, pipe, match sticks, brazier

significant motifs
(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	artist	date	dimensions	support	inscriptions	location	bibliography	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
PC173	Pieter Claesz	1647	50.5 x 71 cm	panel	PC 1647 (on right)	Kunsthalle, Bremen, #325	Vroom 1980, #134	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, beer (waffle glass), roemer, herring, onions, mustard pot, tiny berries	(LV2b.2); (R2a); (H2); (Fi3b)	h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); left wedge	low	normal
PC174	Pieter Claesz	1647	63.5 x 88.5 cm	panel	PC 1647 (on knife)	Museum, Budapest, #1026	Vroom 1980, #135	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, hansje-in-de-kelder, orange, peeled lemon, roemer, nuts	(LV2b.2); (MP1)	h	left wedge	low	normal
PC175	Pieter Claesz	1647	64 x 82 cm	panel	PC A. 1647 (on right)	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	Vroom 1980, #136	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/fish, roll, nuts, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, salt cellar. dish of capers, grapes	(LV2b.2); (MP1)	h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code PC176
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1647
dimensions 46.7 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1647 (on left)
location Dealer Rafael Valls, London, 1997
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/roasted chicken, roll, peeled lemon, nuts, salt cellar, dish of olives, roemer, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2a); (F1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC177
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1647
dimensions 80 x 110 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1647
location unknown
bibliography Vroom 1980, #138

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/roasted chicken, roll, plate of oysters, dish of olives, roemer, overturned beker, pitcher, fluit, salt cellar, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, grapes, pepper cone

significant motifs
(B4); (LV2a); (R4); (F2); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code PC178
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1647
dimensions 40 x 61 cm
support panel
inscriptions 16 PCH 47 (on right)
location Hermitage, St. Petersburg, #1046
bibliography Vroom 1980, #137

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, mustard pot, peachesw, nuts, roemer, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code PC179
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1647
dimensions 75.6 x 69.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1647 (on right)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 2001
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/basket w/plate of fish, roll, dish of berries, peaches, peeled lemon w/slices, roemer, overturned stoneware pitcher, beer (pasglass)

significant motifs
(R4); (Fi1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code PC184
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1648
dimensions 31 x 40 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 24, 1971, #5 or 7
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 24, 1971, #5 or 7

thematic format
Ontbijt

Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll slices, whole lemon, oysters, pepper cone, salt cellar, roemer

significant motifs
(Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC184* (pendant
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1648
dimensions 31 x 40 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1648
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 24, 1971, #6
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 24, 1971, #6

thematic format
Ontbijt

Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned beker, peeled lemon w/slices, rolls

significant motifs
(B4)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge?	low	tight

painting code PC185
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1648
dimensions 45 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1648 (on right)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 8, 1992, #35
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 8, 1992, #35

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/roemer, basket of ham, plate of oysters, roll, alt cellar, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone	(CD1b); (H2); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code PC188
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1649
dimensions 60 x 50 cm (fragment)
support panel
inscriptions 16 PC 49 (on knife)
location National Gallery, London, #2592
bibliography Vroom 1980, #150

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roemer, overturned beker, bowl of berries, beer (pasglass), hansje-in-de-kelder, fish, nuts, roll (fragment)	(B1); (LV2a); (Fi1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h?	off-centered pyramid?	low	normal?

---

painting code PC189
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1649
dimensions 40 x 50 cm
support panel
inscriptions PCH 1649 (on left)
location Dealer Eugene Slatter, London, 1958
bibliography Sale, Keulen (Lempertz) March 29, 1950

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of capers, nuts	(OG4a.1); (CO1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code PC190
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1649
dimensions 45.5 x 61.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1649 (on right)
location Dealer Richard Green, London 1975
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's) February 20, 1974, #24

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, bowl of berries, roemer, beer, nuts, salt cellar, branch of tiny berries

significant motifs
(LV2a); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code PC191
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1649
dimensions 49 x 67.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1649 (on right)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), April 23, 1979, #32
bibliography Vroom 1980, #148

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, bowl of berries, roemer, beer (pasglass), salt cellar, branch of tiny berries, pepper cone, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(LV2b.2); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

---

painting code PC192
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1649
dimensions 48 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions 16 PC 49 (on right)
location coll. J.M. Tydeman-Verloren v. Themaat, Ginneken
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, herring, roll, berckemeier, mustard pot, dark bread, onions, beer (pasglass)

significant motifs
(LV2c); (H2); (Fi3b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

---

painting code PC195
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1650
dimensions 50.2 x 68.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1650
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 12, 1997, #27
bibliography Vroom 1980, #152

thematic format: Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description: Laid table w/crab, roll, pepper cone, berckemeier, salt cellar, bowl of peaches & plums, grapes, nuts, stoneware pitcher, beer (pasglass)

significant motifs: (LV2a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC197
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1650
dimensions 51 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1650 (on right)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 12, 1997, #20
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), January 12, 1997, #20

thematic format: Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description: Laid table w/ham, roll, beer (waffle glass), mustard pot, pitcher, grapes, nuts

significant motifs: (LV2a); (R1a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	expanded

---

painting code PC198
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1650
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions PC 1650
location Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Dusseldorf, #27
bibliography Vroom 1980, #151

thematic format: Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description: Laid table w/crab, roll, roemer, overturned berckemeier, salt cellar, dish of olives, whole lemon, oysters, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs: (OG2c.2); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

---

painting code PC200
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1651
dimensions 57 x 85 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1651 (on right)?
location Kunsthalle, Hamburg, #1208
bibliography Vroom 1980, #154

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, dish of olives, berckemeier, overturned berckemeier, roll, oysters, pears, apples, peaches, grapes, basket of grapes, asparagus, beer (pasglass), salt cellar, nuts

significant motifs
(OG2c.1); (LV1c); (R4); (Fi2d); (Sh2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code PC202
artist Pieter Claesz?
date 1651
dimensions 60.5 x 50.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 165(1 or 4) (on right)
location Dealer David Koetser, Zurich, 1995
bibliography Sale, London (Philipps) July 3, 1990, #59

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, dark bread, beer, nuts, roemer, mustard pot, watch

significant motifs
(W2); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC203
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1652
dimensions 50 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1652 (on right)
location Dealer Charles Roelofsz, Amsterdam, 1989
bibliography Vroom 1980, #157

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, oysters, roemer, mustard pot, nuts, apples, basket of grapes, beer (pasglass), dark bread, pears

significant motifs
(LV1b); (CD1b); (H2); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge; pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code PC204
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1652
dimensions 73 x 94 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1652 (on chair)
location Dealer B. Koetser, London, 1972
bibliography Adv. in Connoisseur (April 1972) p.41

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, dark bread slices, beer, stoneware pitcher, soup?, peaches, berckemeier, basket of grapes w/chair & dog

significant motifs
(LV1b); (R2a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code PC205
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1652
dimensions 50 x 69 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1652 (on right)
location priv. coll.
bibliography Vroom 1980, #155

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, tray of berckemeiers, mustard pot, ming pitcher, beer)pasglass). peeled lemon w/slices, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code PC206
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1652
dimensions 71 x 94.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1652 (on right)
location Dealer Pictura, Maastricht, 1977
bibliography Vroom 1980, #158

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/crabs, roll, roll, plate of oysters, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone, nuts, roemer, peaches, melons, bowl of grapes & apples, fluit

significant motifs
(LV1b); (Sh 2b & Sh2d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC207
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1653
dimensions 64.5 x 48 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1653
location
bibliography Vroom 1980, #159

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, roemer, fluit, peaches, nuts, dish of olives, salt cellar, pepper cone, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2b.2); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code PC212
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1653
dimensions 47 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1653
location JB Speed Art Museum, Louisville, #75.31
bibliography Adv. in Connoisseur (July 1975) p.29

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, whole & peeled lemons w/slices, bowl w/mustard?, stoneware pitcher, beer (waffle glass), tray of roemers, overturned roemer, slices dark bread

significant motifs
(OG2a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC213
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1653
dimensions 102.5 x 126.6 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1653 (on edge of plate)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 7, 1994, #44
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 7, 1994, #44

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, roemer, beer, overturned beker, mustard pot, peaches, basket of grapes & apples

significant motifs
(B2); (LV1c); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code PC214
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1653
dimensions 91.5 x 109 cm
support canvas
inscriptions 16 PC 53 (on page of book)
location Sale, London (Christie's), April 22, 1994, #139
bibliography Vroom 1980, #161 & #531

thematic format
Vanitas

painting description
Vanitas w/skull, tazza, jewels, overturned pronck goblet, watch, shells, books, musical instruments, fluit, globe, extinguished candle, documents

significant motifs
(W1); (C1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code PC215
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1653
dimensions 77.5 x 109.2 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC (on paper)
location Sale, London (Christie's), June 27, 1975, #50
bibliography Vroom 1980, #173

thematic format
Vanitas

painting description
Vanitas w/skull, tazza, jewels, pronck goblet, watch, shells, books, musical instruments, fluit, globe, extinguished candle, documents, tray of roemers, overturned roemer, facon-de-venise glass, roast chicken, mince pie, roll, peeled lemon, orange

significant motifs
(T2e); (W1); (C1a); (OG1a); (MP3); (CD7a); (F3)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code PC216
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1653
dimensions 52.5 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 165(1 or 3) (on edge of plate)
location priv. coll., Netherlands
bibliography Vroom 1980, #153

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, tray of berckemeiers, dish of olives, nuts, peaches, roll, salt cellar, beer (pasglass); basket of grapes

significant motifs
(LV1c); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC208
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1654
dimensions 107 x 135 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1654 (on right)
location Art Market
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, plate of oysters, whole & peeled lemons w/slices, tray of berckemeiers, pitcher capped w/berckemeier, fluit, salt cellar, melons, nuts, dish of olives, stoneware pitcher, basket of grapes w/curtain

significant motifs
(LV1b); (Sh2b & Sh2d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code PC217
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1654
dimensions 35.3 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1654 (on left)
location Dealer Newhouse Galleries, New York, 1976
bibliography Adv. in Connoisseur (October 1976) p. 81

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, beer, facon-de-venise glass, roll, dish of olives, peaches, nuts, grapes

significant motifs
(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

---

painting code PC219
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1654
dimensions 57.8 x 73 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1654 (on left)?
location Dealer H. Terry-Engel, 1965
bibliography Vroom 1980, #162

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, beer (pasglass), salt cellar, roemer, grapes, pepper cone, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives

significant motifs
(LV2b.2); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC221	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, beer, herring, nuts, mustard pot, roemer, onions, grapes	(LV2a); (H1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1654
dimensions 56.5 x 81.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1654
location Sale, New York (Christie's), June 9, 1978, #115a
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), June 9, 1978, #115a

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC225	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, roemer, overturned beker, plate of oysters, biscuits, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, apples, basket of grapes & apples, salt cellar, fluit	(B4); (LV1b); (CD1c); (MP2); (Sh3a)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1655
dimensions 81 x 109 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 1655 (on right)
location coll. Frederick Stren, New York, 1965
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC226	Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, overturned roemer, extinguished oil lamp, watch, quill, nuts, thigh bone, books	(W1); (OG1a); (CO8)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1656
dimensions 39.5 x 60.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1656 (on right)
location Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, #9035
bibliography Vroom 1980, #164

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC227	Ontbijt Tabackjes	Laid table w/plate of oysters, roll, whole lemon, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone, roemer, beer (pasglass), salt cellar, grapes, pipes, wick, brazier	(R4); (Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1656
dimensions 61 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1656 (on right)
location Dealer Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam, 1991
bibliography Sale, The Hague (Glerum) May 28, 1990, #9

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC228	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, dish of olives, roll, beer, roemer, salt cellar, basket of grapes & apples, peaches, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices	(LV1c); (Sh1d)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1656
dimensions 48.2 x 67.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1656 (on right)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 17, 1994, #95
bibliography Vroom 1980, #165

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC229	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roll, platter of oysters, stoneware pitcher, beer (pasglass), pipe, match sticks, brazier, pepper cone, salt cellar, cat crouching	(CD5a); (R1c); (Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date 1656
dimensions 59.5 x 74.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions F' 1656 (on left - genuine?)
location Dealer Katz, Dieren, 1960
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code PC230
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1657
dimensions 41 x 47 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1656 (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 27, 1963, #39
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 27, 1963, #39

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/platter of oysters, roll, roemer, salt cellar, pepper cone, pipe, wick, salt cellar, stoneware pitcher, beer (pasglass), brazier	(CD1b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC231
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1657
dimensions 45 x 54 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1657 (on left)
location Dealer Lasson, London, 1965
bibliography Vroom 1980, #166

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, extinguished oil lamp, books, hourgalss, watch, thigh bone, overturned roemer, violin, music book, nut, quill	(W1); (C1a); (Br1); (CO8)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

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painting code PC233
artist Pieter Claesz
date 1657
dimensions 31 x 41.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1657 (on edge of table)
location Dealer N. Pokutta, Munich, 1987
bibliography Sale, Zurich (K) June 9, 1986, #5015

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Tabackjes	Laid table w/herring, roll, roemer, beer, pipes, wick, brazier, onions	(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

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painting code	artist	date	dimensions	support	inscriptions	location	bibliography	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
PC234	Pieter Claesz	1658	74.5 x 110.5 cm	canvas	PC 1658 (on right)	Sale, Monte Carlo (Christie's), July 3, 1993 #23	Sale, Monte Carlo (Christie's), July 3, 1993 #23	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/ham, roll, artichoke, sausages, orange, peeled lemon w/slices, overturned tazza, pitcher, beer (pasglass), salt cellar, dish of capers, nuts, biscuits, pretzels, grapes, roemer	(T2c); (LV2b.1); (H1)	h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal
PC235	Pieter Claesz	1659	34.5 x 47.1 cm	panel	PC 1659	Johannesburg Municpal Art Gallery, #6	None	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roll, beer, roemer, peeled lemon w/xlices, pepper cone, grapes	(LV2b.2); (Sh1d)	h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight
PC236	Pieter Claesz?	1660		panel	PC 1660	Dealer B. Houthakker, Amsterdam, before 1941	None	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives, biscuits	(T1d)	v	right wedge	low	tight

painting code PC2
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1621
dimensions 51.4 x 82.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Rheinishces Landesmuseum, Bonn, #42.1
bibliography Rheinishces Landesmuseum, Bonn, cat. 1959, #42.1

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/platters of apples, pears, plums, tiny berries, fluit, berckemeier, stoneware jug, roll, dish of black?berries, dish of berries, flat roll, lemons, dish of butter, branch of gooseberries, cherries

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC3 (fragment?)
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1621
dimensions 27.3 x 34.67 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1991
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), July 6. 1990, #137

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/dish of cherries, grapes, apples, berckemeier, branch of gooseberries, nuts, dish of berries, (fragment?)

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	high	tight

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painting code PC6
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1622
dimensions dimensions unknown
support panel
inscriptions PC
location Dealer Mitchell, London, 1934
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, plate of sweetmeats, overturned bekerschroef, plate of oysters, platter of grapes and apples, nuts

significant motifs
(OG2g); (LV1b); (CO4); (MP1); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	expanded

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painting code PC7
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1623
dimensions 48.2 x 76.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Art Institute, Chicago, #C12750?
bibliography Vroom 1980, #511

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, plate of sweetmeats, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/slices, biscuits, nuts, pitcher capped w/berckemeier

significant motifs
(OG2e); (CO1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	high	normal

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painting code PC9
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1623
dimensions 50 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location priv. coll., Netherlands
bibliography Briels, Vlaamse Schilders, 1987; Segal, A Prosperous Past, 1988, #27

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/tazza, roemer, roll, bowl of tiny berries, gooseberries, overturned facon-de-venise glass, nuts, basket of cheeses, dish of butter

significant motifs
(OG2h); (LV1a); (Ch5b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC10
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1623
dimensions 35 x 58.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions B. van der ast (on knife)
location Dealer Duits, London, 1960
bibliography L.J. Bol, Bosschaert dynasty: Balthasar van der Ast, #121

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, plate w/peaches & watch, salt cellar, books, nuts, overturned berckemeier

significant motifs
(W3); (OG4a.1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC11	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/herring, dish of shrimp, roll, glass of wine, halved lemon, pepper cone, salt cellar	(Fi2c); (Sh2c)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1624
dimensions 33.6 x 47.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1996
bibliography Important Old Master Ptgs. Richard Green, London, 1996, #7

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC13	Meal w/One Main Dish Tabackjes	Table w/herring, roll, beer (waffle glass), pipes, smoking sticks, tobacco in almanac paper, brazier, mini-roemer, basket of cheeses, dish of butter	(R1b); (Ch5b); (Fi2b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1624
dimensions 45.5 x 75 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, #VI-17
bibliography Vroom 1980, #43; RBK, cat. 195, #VI-17

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC17	Ontbijt	Table w/herring, roll, bread roll, beer (fancy glass), scallions	(Fi2b)

artist Pieter Claesz?
date c.1625
dimensions 28 x 42 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Sale, Paris (Drouot), November 22, 1961, #112
bibliography Sale, Paris (Drouot), November 22, 1961, #112

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC20	Meal w/One Main Dish	Table w/ham, herring, roll, basket of cheeses, dish of butter, dark bread, dish of sausages, roemer, mustard pot	(Ch5b); (H1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1625
dimensions 51 x 90 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1936
bibliography Vroom 1980, #47

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC21	Meal w/One Main Dish Ontbijt	Table w/pigeon pastry pie, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, berckemeier, nuts, overturned berckemeier, ming pitcher	(OG2f); (PP1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1626-27
dimensions 36.5 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1995
bibliography Still lifes of the Golden Age:Northern Euro. Ptgs from Heinz. Coll 1989, #9

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC35	Vanitas	Table w/violin, skull, sphere, watch, overturned roemer, nuts, extinguished oil lamp, quill, books	(W1); (C1a); (OG1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1630
dimensions 36 x 59 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Germany
bibliography Vroom 1980, #519

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

painting code PC42
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 49 x 66.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer L. Koetser, London, 1969
bibliography Adv. in Weltkunst October 1, 1969, p. 1019

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, pitcher capped w/berckemeier, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(OG2e); (LV2b.1); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC45
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 37.5 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on edge of table)
location Kunstsammlungen, Dusseldorf, #1407
bibliography Oud Holland 1951, 66, 57

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, dish of olives, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, watch, roll crumbs

significant motifs
(W3); (OG4a.2)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge (against flow of table)	low	tight

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painting code PC46
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 73.2 x 53.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 8, 1992, #14
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 8, 1992, #14

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, dish of olives, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon w/slices, watch, roll crumbs

significant motifs
(W3); (OG4a.1); (CO1a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of table)	low	tight

painting code PC47
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 36.5 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), November 14, 1990, #37
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), November 14, 1990, #37

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, dish of olives, overturned facon-de-venise glass, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts

significant motifs
(OG4d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of table)	low	tight

---

painting code PC48
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 38.5 x 55.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location priv. coll., USA
bibliography Segal, A Prosperous Past, 1988, addendum

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, dish of capers, overturned facon-de-venise glass, overturned berckemeier, oysters, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(OG4d & OG4b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC49
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 44.5 x 61 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer L. Koetser, London
bibliography Vroom 1980, #232

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, peeled lemon, 2 whole lemons

significant motifs
(OG4d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC50	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned facon-de-venise glass, oysters, watch, nuts	(W3); (OG4d); (CO7)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1632
dimensions 49.5 x 46 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on both knife & watch)
location Heinz coll., Washington
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC63	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, roll, olives	

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1636
dimensions 51.1 x 38.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 26, 1969, #70
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), March 26, 1969, #70

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC65	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, roll, overturned tazza, oyster shells, nuts, olive	(T1b); (CD1d); (Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1636
dimensions 42 x 59 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC
location Gemaldegalerie, Berlin, #985A
bibliography Vroom 1980, #81

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	tight

painting code PC66
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1636
dimensions 40 x 55.9 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1995
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/overturned tazza, peeled lemon, olive, nuts, oyster shells	(T6b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC67
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1636
dimensions 45.7 x 64.8 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 15, 1985, #65
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), January 15, 1985, #65

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, peeled lemon, dish of olives, roll crumbs, grapes, overturned berckemeier	(T1b); (LV2b.2), (OG4c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC68
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1636
dimensions 44.6 x 66 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Waterman, Amsterdam, 1987
bibliography Vroom 1980, #98 & #532

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, peeled lemon, dish of olives, grapes, overturned berckemeier	(T3b); (LV2b.2), (OG4c); (CO1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC69	Vanitas	Vanitas w/sphere, overturned tazza, overturned berckemeier, golden chain, shells, books, skull?	(T5b); (Br1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1636-37
dimensions 39 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, #18
bibliography Vroom 1980, #65 & #530

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC59	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, berckemeier, roll, pitcher, almanac, nuts, peeled lemon w.slices	(MP1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1636-38
dimensions 47.6 x 70.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Leonard Koetser, London, 1960
bibliography Dutch, Italian & Flemish Old Masters, Fall exhib., Leonard Koetser, London, 1960, #14; Vroom 1980, #176

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC72	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/berckemeier, overturned beker, watch, dish of olives, nuts	(B1); (W3); (CO7)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1637
dimensions 36 x 46 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location priv. coll.
bibliography Vroom 1980, #126

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of table)	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC77	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned pronck goblet, oyster shells, dish of olives	(Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1638
dimensions 35 x 52.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on edge of table)
location priv. coll., Sweden
bibliography Vroom 1980, #174 & #245

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC80	Vanitas	Vanitas w/skull, extinguished candle, musical instruments, book, overturned roemer, watch, playing cards, nuts, thigh bone, letter	(W1); (C1b); (OG1b); (CO7)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1639
dimensions 40 x 58 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC
location Dealer N. Pokutta, Munich, 1987
bibliography Vroom 1980, #68

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC82	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/roast chicken, pitcher, tray of berckemeiers, salt cellar, overturned berckemeier, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, roll	(OG2c.1); (F1)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1640
dimensions 53.5 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 3, 1985, #60
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 3, 1985, #60

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

painting code PC87
artist Pieter Claesz?
date c.1640
dimensions 59.5 x 79.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Graf Czernin Gallery, Vienna
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, peeled lemon, roemer, salt cellar, bowl of grapes and fruit

significant motifs
(LV1c); (CO1b); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC88
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1640
dimensions 59 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, #GK 90
bibliography Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, cat. 1982, p.134

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, roemer, overturned tazza, overturned pronck goblet, overturned pitcher, fluit, overturned berckemeier

significant motifs
(T5c); (OG2f); (CD1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC113
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 74 x 99 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Shickman Gallery, New York, 1968
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, pitcher, fluit, overturned beker, peeled lemon, grapes, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, nuts

significant motifs
(B3); (OG2c.1); (LV2d); (R4); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC114
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 51.6 x 83.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 10, 1990, #124
bibliography Sale, New York (Christie's), January 10, 1990, #124

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, roemer, overturned beker, salt cellar, fluit, dish of capers, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, bowl of grapes & fruit, pepper cone

significant motifs
(B4); (LV1b); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

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painting code PC116
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1640-43
dimensions 64.5 x 84.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 164.
location priv. coll., 1999
bibliography Vroom 1980, #90

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned beker, ham, extinguished candle, mustard pot, overturned berckemeier, nuts, peeled lemon, roll crumbs, overturned pitcher

significant motifs
(B4); (C2); (Br2); (LV2b.1); (CD1b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code PC110
artist Pieter Claesz?
date c.1643
dimensions 103 x 90 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, beer, fluit, mustard pot, dish of grapes, fish in a basket

significant motifs
(LV2a); (R1a); (H2); (Fi3c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code PC111
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1643
dimensions 83 x 114.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC 164.
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), May 6, 1993, #138a
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), May 6, 1993, #138a

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/fish, dish of olives, ham, roemer, overturned tazza, salt cellar, peeled lemon, roll, nuts, beer, fluit

significant motifs
(T1c); (LV2b.2); (CO1c); (H2); (Fi3c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code PC118
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1643
dimensions 49 x 66 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC ..43 (right side of ptg) - false
location Sale, London (Sothby's), December 12, 1993, #30
bibliography Vroom 1980, #109

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roemer, roll, salt cellar, peeled lemon w/slices, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code PC125
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1644
dimensions 50 x 64.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Galerie Heinmann, Munich
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, oysters, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, dish of capers, salt cellar, pitcher

significant motifs
(OG2c.1); (LV2a); (Fi1c); (Sh2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC130
artist Pieter Claesz?
date c.1644
dimensions 47.62 x 57.78 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Slatter, London
bibliography Adv. in Illustrated London News, April 28, 1956

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roll, overturned tazza, fluit, peeled lemon w/slices, grapes	(T1b); (LV2b.2); (CO2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC135
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1644
dimensions 37 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC and remnants of date (on left side of ptg)
location Akademie der bildenden kunst, Vienna, #1157
bibliography Vroom 1980, #116

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Ontbijt	Laid table w/herring, roll, roemer, beer, onions	(Fi2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC149
artist Pieter Claesz
date c. 1645
dimensions 47.5 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer G. Cramer, The Hague, 1979
bibliography Vroom 1980, #168

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/fish, roll, roemer, beer (waffle glass), salt cellar, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives, nuts, grapes	(LV2b.2); (Fi2d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals); right wedge	low	tight

painting code PC154
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1645
dimensions 51.5 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Sale, Zurich (Koller), September 17, 1997, #30
bibliography Sale, Zurich (Koller), September 17, 1997, #30

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, dish of olives, roll, roemer, beer, salt cellar, overturned berckemeier, orange & peeled lemon w/slices, buts, grapes	(OG2c.2); (LV2a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC150
artist Pieter Claesz
date c. 1645-47
dimensions 79 x 98 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 7, 1976, #60
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 7, 1976, #60

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, stoneware pitcher, mustard pot, beer, biscuits, roemer, fluit, overturned beker, peeled lemon w/slices	(B4); (LV2a); (R2a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC162
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1646
dimensions 47.5 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC w/remains of dating (on left)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), May 7, 1992, #137
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), May 7, 1992, #137

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, herring, mustard pot, nuts, beer, onions, sliced dark bread	(R1a); (H2); (Fi3b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	normal

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painting code PC171
artist Pieter Claesz?
date c.1647
dimensions 82 x 60 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location coll. L.S. Nilson, Stockholm, 1976
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's) July 7, 1976, #96a

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned beker, roemer, mustard pot, loaf of dark bread, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(B4); (CO2); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC180
artist Pieter Claesz?
date c,1647
dimensions 50.2 x 44.45 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Schaffer Gallery, New York
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/fish, roll, roemer, salt cellar, nuts, olives

significant motifs
(R1a); (Fi1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC181
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1647
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Museum der bildenden kunst, Leipzig, #998
bibliography

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, oysters, pepper cone, grapes

significant motifs
(LV2a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC181a	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, roll, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, oysters, pepper cone, grapes	(LV2a); (Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1647
dimensions 66 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sothbey MvW), April 23, 1979, #33
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Sothbey MvW), April 23, 1979, #33

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC182	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, roll, nuts, oysters, pepper cone	(R1a); (Sh1b)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1647
dimensions 58 x 45 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Berlin (Lepke), March 6-7. 1928, #31
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Lepke), March 6-7. 1928, #31

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
PC187	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roemer, overturned beker, roll, salt cellar, grapes, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts	(B4); (LV2a); (Sh2b & Sh2d)

artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1648-50
dimensions 88.6 x 64.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 16, 1998, #16
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 16, 1998, #16

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	right wedge	low	expanded

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painting code PC199
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1650
dimensions 67 x 93 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Charpentier), May 12, 1948, #62
bibliography Sale, Paris (Charpentier), May 12, 1948, #62

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, dish of olives, salt cellar, overturned berckemeier, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, roemer, beer (pasglass), overturned pitcher, grapes

significant motifs
(OG2c.2); (LV2d); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC209
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1654
dimensions 62.5 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), September 20, 1989, #560
bibliography Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), September 20, 1989, #560

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/crabs, roll, dish of olives, oysters, beer, salt cellar w/berckemeier, fluit, pitcher, overturned beker, watch, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, pipes, brazier, pepper cone

significant motifs
(B2); (W2); (LV2c); (R4); (Sh2b & Sh2d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code PC218
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1654
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location priv. coll., London, 1986
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, beer, salt cellar, roemer, grapes, pepper cone, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(LV2b.2); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	tight

painting code PC223
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1654
dimensions 59 x 79.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Kroller-Muller Museum, Otterloo, #58
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, beer (pasglass), berckemeier, nuts, mustard pot, basket of grapes, apples, orange, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(LV1b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code PC220
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1654-56
dimensions 41 x 46.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Christie's London, 1999
bibliography Adv. in Weltkunst (April 1, 1964) p.234

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, beer, salt cellar, roemer, grapes, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives, overturned tazza

significant motifs
(T1b); (LV2a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	tight

---

painting code PC232
artist Pieter Claesz
date c.1657-58
dimensions 68 x 87 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Drouot), June 15, 1951, #11
bibliography Vroom 1980, #48

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/platter of oysters, basket of cheeses, dish of butter, roll, biscuits, herring, nuts, dark bread, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, roemer, pepper cone

significant motifs
(Ch5a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

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painting code PC40
artist Pieter Claesz & Floris van
date c.1630
dimensions 49.3 x 39.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 28, 1999
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 28, 1999

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, pears, nuts, berries, tiny berries (fragment of larger painting)

significant motifs
(LV3b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code PC52
artist Pieter Claesz?, Francois Elout?
date 1633
dimensions 31 x 44.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1633 (on right wall)
location Dealer H.P. Buchen, Berlin, 1978
bibliography Vroom 1980, #237

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/berckemeier, oysters, roll, peeled lemon w/slices, olive

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

---

painting code PC56
artist Pieter Claesz?; Jacques de
date c.1635
dimensions 21.5 x 38.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions Rembr. (on watch)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 9, 1981
bibliography Vroom 1980, #175

thematic format
Vanitas

painting description
Vanitas w/skull, overturned berckemeier, book, thigh bone, lute, watch

significant motifs
(W1); (OG1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	x-centered (2 crossing diagonals)	low	tight

painting code	artist	date	dimensions	support	inscriptions	location	bibliography	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs	compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
PC169	Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets	1647	62 x 110 cm	canvas	1647 PC (on knife)	Sale, Monaco (Sotheby's), June 16-17, 1989, #352	Sale, Monaco (Sotheby's), June 16-17, 1989, #352	Meal w/One Main Dish Fruytagie	Laid table w/roemer, roll, fish, salt cellar, dish of olives, grapes & apples	(LV1c); (R2b); (Fi1d)	h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded
PC196	Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets	1650	93.5 x 139.5 cm	panel	PC A. 1650 (on right)	coll. Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston	Sale, London (Christie's) December 8, 1972, #28	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, pitcher capped w/berckemeier, mustard pot, dish of olives, dish of berries, roll, nuts, beer (pasglass); basket of grapes and apples	(OG2c.1 & OG2e); (LV1c); (R4); (H1)	h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded
PC210/222	Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets	1654	68 x 97.5 cm	panel	PC 1654 (on right)	Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), October 30-November 2, 1984, #477	Sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), October 30-November 2, 1984, #477	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/crabs, roll, dish of olives, oysters, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, nuts, salt cellar, fluit, overturned beker, apples, basket of grapes & apples, peeled lemon w/slices	(B4); (OG2c.1); (LV1b); (Sh2b & Sh2d)	h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code PC224
artist Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets
date 1655
dimensions 89.2 x 122.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1655
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 11, 1987, #14
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 11, 1987, #14

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, beer (pasglass), berckemeier, oysters, pepper cone, nuts, salt cellar, basket of grapes, apples, stoneware pitcher

significant motifs
(LV1c); (CO5); (Sh3a); (H2)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code PC137
artist Pieter Claesz?; Roelof Koets?
date c.1644
dimensions 90 x 107 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location formerly Wetzlar coll., Amsterdam
bibliography Vroom 1980, #146

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, overturned pronck goblet, pitcher, salt cellar, berckemeier, overturned berckemeier, nuts

significant motifs
(OG2c.1); (LV2d); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

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painting code PC142
artist Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets
date c.1644
dimensions 104.5 x 146 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC (on edge of plate)
location National Museum, Budapest, #53.478
bibliography exh. cat., Stilleven, Budapest, 1962, #46

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, roll, dish of olives, overturned bercekemeier, grapes & apples

significant motifs
(OG4a.1); (LV2d); (CD1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code PC194
artist Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets?
date c.1645-47
dimensions
support canvas
inscriptions
location Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Koln, #1505
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, crab, ham, beef, lobster, roll, overturned beker, artichoke, mustard pot, roemer, salt cellar, roll, orange, peeled lemon w/slices, bowl of grapes & apples, musical instruments, music books, dish of olives

significant motifs
(B4#); (LV1c); (R1a); (H3); (MP3); (V3); (Sh4c & Sh4d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code PC193
artist Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets
date c.1649
dimensions 114 x 172 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Bode Museum, Berlin
bibliography Vroom 1980, #221

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, roll, peeled lemon, beer, dish of olives, nuts, fluit, pitcher, overturned tazza, peaches, apples, grapes in corner of a room w/window

significant motifs
(T3c); (LV1c); (CD1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code PC138
artist Pieter Claesz & Roelof Koets
date c.1650 (Sam Segal)
dimensions 136 x 206 cm
support canvas
inscriptions PC (on knife)
location Sale, Paris (Hotel George V), June 17, 1997, #26
bibliography Sale, Paris (Hotel George V), June 17, 1997, #26

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/pronck goblet, pigeon pastry pie, overturned pitcher, tazza w/sweetmeats, tray of berckemeiers, overturned berckemeier, roll, dish of olives, nuts, basket of grapes, apples, curtain in background, facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(OG2c.1); (LV1c); (CD7b); (PP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

painting code RK 5
artist Roelof Koets
date 1620s/1630s
dimensions 61.5 x 74 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 7, 1996, #165
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 7, 1996, #165

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/cheeses, basket of grapes, lemon on a plate, apples, nuts, dish of butter, roll

significant motifs
(LV1c); (CO1b); (Ch7a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code RK 1
artist Roelof Koets
date 1625
dimensions 71 x 124 cm
support panel
inscriptions RKoets 1625
location Museum Mayer van der Bergh, Antwerp, #929
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 94; Vroom 1980, #405

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/cheese, halved apple & peel, dish of butter, berckemeier, salt cellar, bowl of apples, pears, bowl of grapes, roll, nuts, fluit, pitcher

significant motifs
(LV1b); (CO4); (Ch6a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition	high	normal

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painting code RK 6
artist Roelof Koets
date 1630s/1640s
dimensions 74.5 x 109 cm
support canvas
inscriptions Koets (on a leaf of vine)
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 12, 1989, #69
bibliography Vroom 1980, #207; Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 12, 1989, #69

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, roll, roemer, sliced lemon, salt cellar, grapes & vines, nuts

significant motifs
(LV1c); (R2a); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code RK 9
artist Roelof Koets
date 1642
dimensions 103 x 149 cm
support canvas
inscriptions RKoets 1642
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 11, 1973, #113
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 11, 1973, #113

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/tazza of fruit & sweetmeats, pie, roll, tray of berckemeiers, overturned beker, sliced lemon, overtuned pitcher, fluit, basket of grapes, nuts	(B2); (OG2c.1); (LV1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition; right wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code RK 2/4
artist Roelof Koets
date c.1625-29
dimensions 47.5 x 80 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Priv. coll.
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/cheeses, basket of grapes, bowl of apples, roll, biscuits, nuts, dish of butter, beer	(LV1b); (Ch2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code RK 3
artist Roelof Koets
date c.1625-29
dimensions 74 x 120 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Arthur van der Heuvel, Brussels, 1961
bibliography Adv. in Weltkunst April 15, 1961, 10 w.repro.

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/cheeses, basket of grapes, bowl of apples, roll, biscuits, plate of sweetmeats, dish of butter, facon-de-venise glass, berckemeier, peeled apple	(LV1b); (Ch2a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	high	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
RK 7	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, nuts, sliced lemon, overturned tazza, roemer, mustard pot	(T1b); (LV2b.1); (H1)

artist Roelof Koets
date c.1635-1640s
dimensions 63.5 x 93 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Hoogsteder, The Hague, 1993
bibliography Sale, New York (Chistie's) January 15, 1986, #97

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
RK 10	Fruytagie	Laid table w/cheese, dish of butter, basket of grapes, roll, sliced lemon, bowl of apples, stoneware pitcher	(LV1b); (Ch6a)

artist Roelof Koets
date c.1635-1640s
dimensions 52 x 80.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions RKo...A.16...
location Dealer X. Scheidwimmer, Munich, 1995
bibliography Dealer X. Scheidwimmer, Munich, May 9, 1995, #28

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
RK 8	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roll, salt cellar, berckemeiers, overturned goblet, pitcher, basket of grapes, apples, melon, nuts	(OG2c.1); (LV1c & LV2c); (Sh1d)

artist Roelof Koets
date late 1630s/1640s
dimensions 135 x 185 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location priv. coll., Amsterdam, 1945
bibliography Vroom 1980, #421

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidical composition; right wedge	low	expanded

painting code WCH1
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1621
dimensions 42 x 67 cm
support panel
inscriptions W.C.HEDA 1621
location Bredius Museum, The Hague
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 140; Vroom 1980, #325

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Vanitas	Laid table w/skull, brazier of coals, pipe, matchsticks, overturned roemer, paper	(OG1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	no dominant pattern	low	tight

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painting code WCH2
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1629
dimensions 46 x 69 cm
support canvas
inscriptions HEDA 1629
location Mauritshuis, The Hague, #596
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 109; Vroom 1980, #326

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, roll, lemon, overturned berckemeier, hansje-in-de-kelder, roemer, watch, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts	(W2); (OG2d); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against the table flow)	low	normal

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painting code WCH3
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1629?
dimensions 46.5 x 36 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 16.. (on edge of table)
location Furstliche Hohenzollernsche Sammlung, Sigmaringen, 1958
bibliography Vroom 1980, #324

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, cherries, nuts	

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH4	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, nuts	

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1630
dimensions 35 x 32 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA .1630. (on edge of table)
location RBK, NK2489
bibliography Vroom 1980, #327; RBK cat. 1985, #VI-24

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge (against flow of the table)	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH5	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives	(T1b); (CO1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1630
dimensions 45 x 60.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA .1630 (on edge of table)
location priv. coll., 1980
bibliography Vroom 1980, #328

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH6	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned facon-de-venise glass, nuts, roll. watch, peeled lemon w/ slices, dish of capers?	(W3); (OG4d); (CO2)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1630
dimensions 41.5 x 57.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1630. (on edge of table)
location Sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), November 9, 1937, #2
bibliography Vroom 1980, #759

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge (against flow of the table)	low	tight

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painting code WCH7
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1630
dimensions 38 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1630. (on edge of table)
location formerly w/Robert Smith, Washington
bibliography adv. in Simiolus 21(1992)

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned facon-de-venise glass, nuts, watch, peeled lemon w/ slices, dish of olives

significant motifs
(W3); (OG4d); (CO7)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge (against flow of the table)	low	tight

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painting code WCH9
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 26 x 37 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1631.
location Dealer Richard Green, London, 1996
bibliography Richard Green Gallery, London, cat. 1996, #6

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/berckemeier, oysters, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code WCH10
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 54 x 82 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1631. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Gemaldegalerie, Dresden, #1371
bibliography Vroom 1980, #331

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, overturned berckemeier, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(T1d); (W2); (Br2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH11	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices	(T1d); (CO1c); (MP1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 55 x 75 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1631? (on knife)
location Gemaldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
bibliography Vroom 1980, #332

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH12	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, roemer, overturned beker, watch, peeled lemon w/slices, roll, nuts	(B4); (W2); (CO7); (Fi1c)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 48 x 55 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1631. (on tablecloth - genuine?)
location Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
bibliography Zafran, Apollo (Oct. 1978): 243-244, fig. 4

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH13	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, roll, peeled lemon, oysters, pepper cone, nuts	(Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 36 x 49 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.16(31?). (on edge of table)
location priv. coll., England
bibliography Vroom 1980, #238 & 344

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of the table)	low	tight

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painting code WCH14
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 47 x 61 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1631. (on knife)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 3, 1991, #132
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), July 3, 1991, #132

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/oysters, overturned tazza, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1b); (CO1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH15
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1631
dimensions 40 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1631. (on edge of table)
location Sale, Paris, February 13, 1939, #105
bibliography Sale, Paris, February 13, 1939, #105

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, roemer, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(T1b); (CO1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH19
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1632
dimensions 65.5 x 89 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1632. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Dealer Noortman, Maastricht, 1994
bibliography Vroom 1980, #335

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned tazza. roemer, facon-de-venise glass, pronck goblet, salt cellar, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of table); no dominant pattern	low	normal

painting code WCH22
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1633
dimensions 40 x 33.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1633. (light tones in background)
location Dealer Bob Haboldt, Paris, after 1996
bibliography None

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/beker, overturned berckemeier, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(B6); (W3); (OG4a.1); (CO7)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code WCH23
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1633
dimensions 51.2 x 75.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1633. (on edge of table)
location priv. coll., Milan, 1995
bibliography None

thematic format
Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, roemer, facon-de-vense glass, beer, pipes, wick, and tobacco in almanac paper, dish of olives, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(T3b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH24
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1633
dimensions 51 x 84 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1633. (on edge of table)
location Sale, Amsterdam (Muller), June 25, 1924
bibliography Vroom 1980, #339a

thematic format
Roemers (etc)
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, roemer, vinegar decanter, beer, overturned berckemeier, plate of oysters, peeled lemon, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1a); (Br4); (CD1d); (CO1b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH25
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1633
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Acad. San Fernando, Madrid
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/crab, pitcher, overturned tazza, berckemeier, facon-de-venise glass, roll, peeled lemon, pipe w/ tabacco in almanac paper

significant motifs
(T2b); (CO1c); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code WCH26
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1633
dimensions 59 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1633 (on knife)
location Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, #705
bibliography Vroom 1980, #337

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned tazxza, beker, pitcher, berckemeier, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(T2b); (B5); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH27
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1633
dimensions 59 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1633 (on edge of table)
location Dealer Newhouse Galleries, New York, 1991
bibliography TEFAF, Maastricht, March 9-17, 1991, p.37

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned beker, facon-de-venise glass, lemon & peeled lemon w/slices, dish of olives, overturned berckemeier, nuts, oyster shells, pepper cone

significant motifs
(B1); (Br4)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH28
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1633
dimensions 55.8 x 76.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA 1633 (on edge of tablebloth)
location Sale, London (Christie's), December 8, 1972, #75
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), December 8, 1972, #75

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(T1a); (Br2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH29/81/110
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1634
dimensions 44 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1634 (on knife)
location Dealer Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam, 1970
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, overturned tazza, roemer, beer, peeled lemon, nuts, oyster shells, dark bread slices, mustard pot

significant motifs
(T1a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code WCH30
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1634
dimensions 44.5 x 62 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1634 (on edge of table)
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #A-137
bibliography Vroom 1980, #341

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, gilded stein, peeled lemon w/slice, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs
(T1a); (CD1d); (CO1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH31	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, beer, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon, dish of oysters, nuts, pepper cone	(T3a); (Br4; (CD1d); (CO1c); (Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1634
dimensions 43 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1634 (on edge of table)
location Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, #34
bibliography Vroom 1980, #340;Stillevens uit de gouden eeuw Mus. Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1989, #16

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH32	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned tazza, peeled lemon, overturned berckemeier, dish of olives, nuts	(T1b); (Br2); (MP1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1634
dimensions 43.7 x 68.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1634 (on knife)
location Museum Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid
bibliography Vroom 1980, #346, Gaskell, 17th-cent. Dutch & Flemish Painting, Thyssen-Bornemisza, 1989, #3

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH33/54	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roemer, overturned beker, pitcher, mustard pot, beer, nuts	(B2); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1634
dimensions 55.9 x 81.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1634. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Dealer H. Hubner, Wurzburg, 1989
bibliography Vroom 1980, #361

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code WCH34
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1634
dimensions 76 x 90 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1634. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Alte Pinakothek, Munich, #2083
bibliography Vroom 1980, #343

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roemer, overturned tazza, pitcher, beer, beer (pasglass), mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices, overturned berckemeier, nuts

significant motifs
(T1d); (Br2); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; right wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH35
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635
dimensions 41.2 x 59.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1635. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Sale, New York (Kende Gallery), May 12, 1989, #21
bibliography Sale, New York (Kende Gallery), May 12, 1989, #21

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, pronck goblet, facon-de-venise glass, beer, nuts

significant motifs
(N2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH36
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635
dimensions 53 x 71 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1635.
location Private collection
bibliography Vroom 1980, #352; Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550-1720. Rijksmuseum, 1999, #21

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, beker, pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, mustard pot, overturned berckemeier, nuts

significant motifs
(B5); (OG2d); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

painting code WCH37
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635
dimensions 50 x 62 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1635. (on edge of tablecloth)
location coll. A. Schloss, after 1899
bibliography Vroom 1980, #349

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, beker, facon-de-venise glass, overturned bercekemeier, peeled lemon, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs
(B5); (Br2); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH38
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635
dimensions 59 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1635. (on knife)
location priv. coll., Washington, on loan to National Gallery of Art
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's) January 10, 1991, #66

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned tazza, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, vinegar decanter, oyster shells, mustard pot, beer

significant motifs
(T1a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH40
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635
dimensions 106.1 x 111 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.1635. (on edge of tablecloth); marck on
location National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1991.87.1
bibliography Wheelock, Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century, NGA 1995, pp.99-102

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roll, overturned tazza, overturned roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beer, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, extinguished candle, dish of olives, peeled lemon, overturned berckemeier, oyster shells, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T2a & T5a); (C3); (Br3); (OG3a); (R1a); (MP2)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid, hint of pyramidically centered	low	expanded

painting code WCH41
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635
dimensions 88 x 113 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1635. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #A-4830
bibliography Vroom 1980, #351a; Wheelock, Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century, NGA 1995, p. 100, fig. 1

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, pronck goblet, pitcher, beer, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon, overturned berckemeier, oyster shells, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1a); (R1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH39
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1635 (or possibly 1646)
dimensions 58 x 78 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.16(35 or 46) (on edge of tablecloth)
location Alte Pinakothek, Munich, #5483
bibliography Vroom 1980, #348

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, mustard pot, roemer, overturned beker, beer, slices dark bread, nuts

significant motifs
(B1); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH42
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1637
dimensions 42 x 53.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1637 (on edge of table)
location coll. Mrs. Carter, LA
bibliography exh. cat. Mirror of Nature (Carter Collection), Los Angeles, 1981, #12

thematic format
Tabackjes

painting description
Laid table w/pipe, brazier, tobacco in almanac paper, overturned beker, beer, pitcher, facon-de-venise glass

significant motifs
(B3)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH43
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1637
dimensions 49.4 x 64.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1637 (on edge of tablecloth)
location priv. coll., USA, 1999
bibliography

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH43h
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1637
dimensions 51 x 73 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1637 (on edge of tablecloth); HEDA.1637.
location Museum Mayer-van den Bergh, #483
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 112; Vroom 1980, #357a

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH44
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1637
dimensions 44 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1637
location Louvre, Paris, #12390
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, plate III; Vroom 1980, #356; Schneider, Stilleben, 1989, p.104

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, beer (pasglass). beker, salt cellar, nuts, overturned facon-de-venise glass

significant motifs
(B5); (OG2i); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH46	Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/overturned pineapple gilt goblet, berckemeier, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, oyster shells, pepper cone, nuts	(Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1637
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Eugene Slatter, London
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 113

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH47	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/bit of mince pie, overturned pineapple gilt goblet, roemer, beer, nuts, bowl of sauce	

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1637?
dimensions 45 x 65 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1637?
location coll. Sinebrychoff, Helsinki, cat.1936, #11; National Museum, Warsaw
bibliography Vroom 1980, #358

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of table)	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH45f	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts	(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1638
dimensions 49 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1638
location Sale, Zurich (K), September 8-10, 1993, #238 (as Heda)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #360a

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH48	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, roemer, beer, peeled lemon, nuts	(CO1e); (MP1); (T1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1638
dimensions 50.1 x 68.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1638 (on knife)
location Buckingham Palace, London
bibliography White, Cat. of Royal Collection

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH49	Ontbijt Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/bekerschroef, salt cellar, overturned berckemeier, vinegar decanter, oyster shells, pepper cone, nuts	(OG4b); (Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1638
dimensions 35.56 x 52.705 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1638. (on spoon handle)
location Dealer Alfred Brod, London, 1956
bibliography Cat. of paintings by Old Masters, Gallery Alfred Brod, 1956, #16

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH51	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned beker, facon-de-venise glass, overturned bekerschroef, beer, beer (pasglass), pitcher, pronck goblet, mustard pot, nuts	(B3); (OG2g); (CD6a); (CO5); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1638
dimensions 102.5 x 83.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1638. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Kunsthalle, Hamburg, #71
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 114; Vroom 1980, #276

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH52
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1638
dimensions 118 x 97.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.1638. (on edge of lower table)
location priv. coll., Hamburg
bibliography Vroom 1980, #359

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/chicken, giant ming bowl of smoked herring?, mackarel, roll, peeled lemon, bekerschroef, berckemeier, ming stein?, salt cellar, beer (pasglass), ming pitcher, overturned beker, dish of olives, nuts, oyster shells, pitcher in wine cooler tub, overturned berckemeier

significant motifs
(B3); (Br3); (CO1c); (F3); (Fi5a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH55
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1639
dimensions 75 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1639. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 14, 1988, #100
bibliography Sale, New York (Sotheby's), January 14, 1988, #100

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, facon-de-venise glass, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, nuts

significant motifs
(T1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH56
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 50 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1640. (on knife)
location In Russia (taken from Germany during WWII)
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Lange), March 12, 1941, #48

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, hansje-in-de-kelder, beer (pasglass), overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon w/ slices, olive

significant motifs
(N1); (Br2); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH57
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 59 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1640. (on tablecloth)
location Suermondt-Museum, Aachen, #185
bibliography Vroom 1980, #364

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, hansje-in-de-kelder, beer (pasglass), beker, peeled lemon, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(N1); (B5); (W2); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH58
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 59.5 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1640.
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), December 13, 1982, #23 (as G. Heda)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #281 & #365

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, hansje-in-de-kelder, beer (pasglass), beker, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs
(N1); (B5); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH59
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 57.5 x 76 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1640. (on knife)
location priv. coll., Koln
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's) June 12, 1990, #238; exh. cat. Wahre Wunder Jos.-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, Koln, 2000

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, hansje-in-de-kelder, beer (pasglass), beker, dish of olives, nuts, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(N1); (B5); (CD1b); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code WCH61
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 59 x 78.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.164(0 or 6). (on tablcloth)
location Dealer Caretto, Turin, 1995
bibliography Vroom 1980, #308

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, roemer, beker, fluit, hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts

significant motifs
(N1); (B5); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH63
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 52 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1640.
location Dealer Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, 1980
bibliography None (See WCH37 a-p)

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH65
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 68.5 x 50 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1640. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Mauritshuis, The Hague
bibliography Vroom 1980, #283

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, beer (pasglass), vinegar decanter, oysters

significant motifs
(N4b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH66/GH2
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1640
dimensions 89.4 x 59.6 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1640. (on edge of tablecloth)
location coll., E. Frederiks, Oegstgeest
bibliography None

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roemer, fluit, mustard pot, roll, beer	(CD1b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH67
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1641
dimensions 60 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1641.
location Museum, Strasbourg, #1745
bibliography Vroom 1980, #366a

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, roemer, beker, fluit, facon-de-venise glass, peeled lemon w/slice, nuts	(N1); (B5); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH70
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1641
dimensions 59.5 x 79 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1641. (on knife)
location National Museum, Warsaw, #211638
bibliography Vroom 1980, #366b

thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautius cup, beker, fluit, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts	(N1); (B5); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH71
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1642
dimensions 58.5 x 67.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1642. (on edge of table)
location Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, #1112
bibliography Vroom 1980, #367

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned tazza, overturned berckemeier, peeled lemon, dish of olives

significant motifs
(T1d); (Br4); (CD1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code WCH75
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1642
dimensions 65 x 74.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1642 (on tablecloth)
location Museum d'Art et d'Industrie, St. Etienne, #639
bibliography Vroom 1980, #366c

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, fluit, pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, dish of olives, roll, peeled lemon, nuts, watch

significant motifs
(N2); (W2); (CO3); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH77
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1643
dimensions 76 x 109 cm
support panel
inscriptions Heda fecit 1643 (on illusionistically painted pice
location Dealer E. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1995
bibliography Vroom 1980, #370, Still lifes of the Golden Age:Northern Euro. Ptgs from Heinz Coll 1989, #18

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, overturned tazza, pitcher, pronck goblet, fluit, beer, dish of olives, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices

significant motifs
(T1a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH79	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, fluit, dish of olives, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices	(H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1643
dimensions 50 x 69 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1643. (on knife)
location Dealer, Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1995-1996
bibliography Vroom 1980, #369a

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH80	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, fluit, dish of olives, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices	(T1a); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1643
dimensions 58.4 x 78.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1643. (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Christie's), November 30, 1979, #122
bibliography

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table)	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH81a	Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/nautilus cup, overturned pronck goblet, facon-de-venise glass, berckemeier, oysters, pepper cone, empty plates	(N3a); (Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1644
dimensions 63 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1644. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam, 1968
bibliography Vroom 1980, #293

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH82
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1644
dimensions 52 x 72 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1644.
location National Gallery, London, #1469
bibliography Vroom 1980, #371

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, pitcher, berckemeier, salt cellar, roll, vinegar decanter, dish for olives, peeled lemon, pepper cone

significant motifs
(CD2a); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

---

painting code WCH83
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1644
dimensions 78 x 63 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1644.?
location Alte Pinakothek, Munich, #4847
bibliography Vroom 1980, #292

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, mustard pot, pitcher, hansje-in-de-kelder, beer (pasglass)

significant motifs
(H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH45g
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1644 or 1647
dimensions 49 x 69 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.164(4 or 7)
location Museum der bildenden kunst, Leipzig, #1020
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mackarel, overturned pitcher, tazza, fluit, beer, watch, nuts

significant motifs
(W2); (CD4); (Fi1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge	low	normal

---

painting code WCH90
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1645
dimensions 66 x 81 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1645 (on edge of overturned pitcher)
location Landesmuseum, Oldenbourg, #16.6.96
bibliography None

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/overturned pitcher, overturned tazza, roemer, fluit, roll, oysters, peeled lemon, vinegar decanter

significant motifs
(T1a); (CD1b); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH91
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1646
dimensions 56.5 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1646 (on edge of table)
location Sale, Overveen (De Zwaan), April 7, 1981, #143
bibliography Vroom 1980, #299

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, fluit, salt cellar, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon w/slice, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T1a); (CD1b); (R4); (Sh1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH92
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1646
dimensions 84.3 x 97.3 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1646. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Schwerin Museum, #96
bibliography Vroom 1980, #282 & #302

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, beer, fluit, pitcher, mustard pot, overturned nautilus cup

significant motifs
(N2); (CD1b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH94	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, pitcher, roemer, mustard pot, empty plates	(H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1647
dimensions 85.5 x 70.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.164(7)
location Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), November 8-10/15, 1983, #2166
bibliography Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), November 8-10/15, 1983, #2166

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH97	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, overturned pronck goblet, salt cellar, fluit, pitcher, roemer, roll, dish of olives, beer, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon, nuts	(Sh1d)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1648
dimensions 117.9 x 117.9 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.1648
location Hermitage, St. Petersburg, #5606
bibliography Vroom 1980, #372

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH98	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/overturned tazza, roemer, overturned berckemeier, dish of olives, peeled lemon	(T1a); (Br4)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1648
dimensions 47.5 x 62.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1648.
location Sale, London (Christie's), July 7, 1978, #216
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), July 7, 1978, #216

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH62/99
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1649
dimensions 60 x 78 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1649. (on fold of tablcloth)
location Museum voor schone kunsten, Ghent
bibliography Vroom 1980, #374

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, pitcher, beer (pasglass), roll, peeled lemon w/slices, berckemeier, nuts`

significant motifs
(T1b); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH100
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1649
dimensions 58 x 67.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.1649. (on edge of table)
location priv. coll.
bibliography exh. Basel. Kunstmuseum, 1987, #39

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, roemer, overturned berckemeier, dish of olives, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(T1d); (Br4); (CD1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH101
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1649
dimensions 45.9 x 68.2 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1649. (on edge of table)
location Staatliches Mus, Schwerin, #2449
bibliography Vroom 1980, #376; Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550-1720, Rijksmuseum, 1999, #22

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, nautilus cup, oysters, bread crumbs, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T2c); (N3a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH103	Roemers (etc)	Roemer in a niche w/fluit, facon-de-venise glass, dish of grapes & peaches	(CD1e)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1650
dimensions 67.3 x 58.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1650 (on wall)
location Dealer Galerie Virgine Pitchal, Paris, 2000
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 16, 1997, #50

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered?	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH104	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned tazza, roemer, fluit, peaches, mustard pot, dish of olives, beer	(T1a); (R3); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1651
dimensions 99 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1651 (on edge of table)
location Coll. Duke of Lichtenstein, #807
bibliography Bergstrom 1956, fig. 116; Vroom 1980, #378

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	left wedge	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH105	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, overturned beker, roemer, facon-de-venise glass, mustard pot	(B1); (CO1b); (R1a); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1651
dimensions 70 x 56 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1651 (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 11, 1991, #59
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 11, 1991, #59

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table)	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH106	Roemers (etc)	Laid table w/roemer, dish of olives, bread crumbs	(CD1d)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1651 (or 1659)
dimensions 46 x 39 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.165(1 or 9) (on knife) (Fred Meijer thinks
location Dealer Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam, 1970
bibliography Vroom 1980, #381

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH107	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, pitcher, fluit, hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon	(MP1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1653
dimensions 71 x 55.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1653
location Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Weimar, #G 1172
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH108	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, mustard pot, pitcher, roll, olives	(R3); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1653
dimensions 85.5 x 77 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.16.3 (on tablecloth)
location Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Weimar, #G 1156
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH111
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1654
dimensions 105 x 146.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1654
location Szepmuvesti Museum, Budapest, #53.479
bibliography exh. cat. Delights for the Senses, 1989, #20

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, nautilus cup, fluit, pitcher, extinguished candle, salt cellar, platter of oysters, overturned vinegar decanter, mustard pot, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(N4b); (C3); (OG3e); (H2); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH114
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1655
dimensions 83 x 98.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.1655 (on edge of tablecloth)
location priv. coll., England, 1995
bibliography Vroom 1980, #379a

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, overturned pitcher, pronck goblet, beker, bercekemeier, mustard pot, peeled lemon w/slices, beer, nuts in a landscape by a later hand

significant motifs
(B5); (CO1c); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH115
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1655
dimensions 72 x 53 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1655 (on wall)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), January 12, 1994, #19
bibliography Vroom 1980, #380

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Nautilus cup in a niche w/fluit, overturned beker, salt cellar, dish of olives, oysters, peeled lemon, pepper cone

significant motifs
(N5a); (B1); (CO1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH116	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/crab, roll, roemer, nautilus cup, overturned tazza, salt cellar, nuts, peeled lemon, pepper cone, fluit	(T2d); (N4b); (CD1b); (R3); (Sh1d)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1655
dimensions 73 x 88 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1655
location Sale, Berlin (Lange), September 25, 1941, #11
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Lange), September 25, 1941, #11

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH118	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/plate of oysters, pitcher, beer, berckemeier, bread crumbs, overturned vinegar decanter, hansje-in-de-kelder bowl, nuts, peeled lemon, pepper cone	(OG2); (Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1656
dimensions 50 x 83.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1656. (on tablecloth)
location Sale, Paris (George V), April 14, 1989, #219
bibliography Sale, Paris (George V), April 14, 1989, #219

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH119	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roemer, roll, mustard pot, pitcher, salt cellar, beer	(H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1656
dimensions 78 x 80.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1656. (on tablecloth)
location Szepmuvesti Museum, Budapest, #1025
bibliography Vroom 1980, #383; exh. cat. Delights for the Senses. 1989, #B19

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH120
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1656
dimensions 111.76 x 152.4 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.1656. (on tablecloth)
location Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, #57-56
bibliography Vroom 1980, #382

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roemer, roll, mustard pot, pitcher, fluit, overturned beker, salt cellar, beer, dish of olives, oysters, vinegar decanter, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(B3); (CD6b); (H2); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code WCH121
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1658
dimensions 88.5 x 109.5 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1658. (on tablecloth)
location Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, on loan from Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit
bibliography Vroom 1980, #377; RBK, cat-1985, #VI-25

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/crab, roll, large pastry pie, pitcher, roemer, fluit, overturned nautilus cup, salt cellar, beer, dish of olives, lemon, peeled lemon w/slice

significant motifs
(N2); (CD6b); (R3); (Sh4c); (PP2b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	expanded

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painting code WCH123
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1660
dimensions 73 x 85 cm
support canvas?
inscriptions HEDA.F.166(0 or 9)
location coll. Lazarco, Madrid, #11307
bibliography None

thematic format
Fruytagie

painting description
Laid table w/bowl of grapes, fluit, roemer, ming pitcher, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon w/ slice

significant motifs
(T1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code WCH124
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1661
dimensions 61 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.F.1661 (on edge of table)
location Sale, Berlin (Graupe), October 19, 1925, #8
bibliography Sale, Berlin (Graupe), October 19, 1925, #8

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, fluit, overturned beker, ming dish w/orange, peeled lemon w/slice, oyster shells

significant motifs
(B1); (CD1e); (CO1c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH125
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1661
dimensions 91 x 71 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.1661 (on edge of table)
location Dealer Roelofsz, Amsterdam, 1989
bibliography Dealer catalogue, 1989, #5

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, fluit, roemer, salt cellar, ming vase w/orange, oysters, pepper cone, peeled lemon, persian rug

significant motifs
(N5a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code WCH125a
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1661
dimensions 70 x 52 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.F.1661 (on edge of table)
location Dealer Neidhart, Munich, 1991
bibliography None

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, fluit, roemer, salt cellar, ming vase w/orange, oysters, pepper cone, peeled lemon, persian rug

significant motifs
(N5a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH126
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1661
dimensions 51.5 x 61.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.F.1661 (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 21, 1982, #20
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), April 21, 1982, #20

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, facon-de-venise glass, roemer, beer, ming vase w/orange, peeled lemon, persian rug

significant motifs
(N5a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code WCH127
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1661
dimensions 52 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.F.1661 (on edge of table)
location Sale, Berlin (Spik), October 3, 1957, #111
bibliography Vroom 1980, #387

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, fluit, nautilus cup, ming bowl w/oranges, peeled lemon w/slices, beer

significant motifs
(N5a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH128
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1662
dimensions 49.5 x 66 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.F.1662 (on edge of table)
location Sale, London (Christie's), June 21, 1968, #58
bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), June 21, 1968, #58

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, roemer, salt cellar, oysters, pepper cone, peeled lemon, persian rug, overturned vinegar decanter, ming bowl

significant motifs
(N5a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code WCH129
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1662
dimensions 76 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.F.1662 (on edge of table)
location Sale, Brussels (PSK), November 22-24, 1994, #1079
bibliography Sale, Brussels (PSK), November 22-24, 1994, #1079

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, roemer, fluit, overturned beker, peeled lemon, ming bowl w/fruit, grapes, oysters, pepper cone

significant motifs
(N5a); (B2); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code WCH130
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1663
dimensions 88 x 67 cm
support panel
inscriptions HEDA.F.1663 (on edge of table)
location Museo de Bellas Artes, Cadiz, #23
bibliography Oud Holland 69 (1954): 182-183

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Niche w/pitcher, roemer, fluit, overturned beker, peeled lemon w/slices, ming bowl w/oranges

significant motifs
(B2); (CD6c); (CO1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code WCH131
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1664
dimensions 96 x 70 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1664
location Sale, Paris (Druout), June 7, 1996 (as G. Heda)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #389

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/pitcher, roemer, fluit, salt cellar, peeled lemon, ming bowl w/oranges, oysters, pepper cone, overturned vinegar decanter, persian rug

significant motifs
(OG7); (CD6c); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	normal

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painting code WCH132
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1664
dimensions 76 x 65 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1664
location Dealer Bukowsi, Stockholm, 1970
bibliography None

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, roemer, fluit, salt cellar, peeled lemon, ming bowl w/oranges, oysters, pepper cone, vinegar decanter, persian rug

significant motifs
(N5a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH133
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1664
dimensions 78.5 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1664. (on edge of table)
location Sale, New York (PB), January 25-26, 1952, #77
bibliography Sale, New York (PB), January 25-26, 1952, #77

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, roemer, fluit, salt cellar, peeled lemon, ming bowl w/oranges, oysters, pepper cone, overturned vinegar decanter, persian rug

significant motifs
(N5a); (OG7); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH133a
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date 1664
dimensions 78.5 x 63.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1664. (on edge of table)
location National Museum of Cuba, Havana, #27
bibliography National Museum of Cuba, Havana, cat. 1978, #27

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, roemer, fluit, salt cellar, peeled lemon, ming bowl w/oranges, oysters, pepper cone, overturned vinegar decanter, persian rug

significant motifs
(N5a); (OG7); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code WCH134.1
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1665
dimensions 53 x 39 cm (fragment of
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), May 15, 1984, #26 (as P. Gallis)
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), May 15, 1984, #26 (as P. Gallis)

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/large peacock pastry pie, mince pie, pitcher, fluit, roemer, beer, nautillus cup, peeled lemon w/slices, ming bowl of oranges, salt cellar, overturned vinegar decanter, oysters, pepper cone, ming bowl (of olives?)

significant motifs
(N5); (OG3e); (MP3); (PP2a); (Sh4a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH134.2
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1665
dimensions 93 x 73.5 cm cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.F.1665. (on edge of tablecloth)
location Sale, London (Philips), April 16, 1991, #28
bibliography Vroom 1980, #391

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/large peacock pastry pie, mince pie, pitcher, fluit, roemer, beer, nautillus cup, peeled lemon w/slices, ming bowl of oranges, salt cellar, overturned vinegar decanter, oysters, pepper cone, ming bowl (of olives?)

significant motifs
(N5); (OG3e); (MP3); (PP2a); (Sh4a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid; pyramidically centered	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH135
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1667
dimensions 79.5 x 66 cm
support panel
inscriptions ..t.HEDA.1667. (on edge of table)
location Sale, New York (Christie's), November 5, 1982, #145
bibliography Vroom 1980, #392

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, fluit, roemer, salt cellar, overturned vinegar decanter, oysters, pepper cone, peeled lemon, ming bowl of oranges, persian rug, beer

significant motifs
(N5a); (OG7); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH8
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c. 1630
dimensions 39.5 x 60 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Charpentier), April 24, 1953, #17
bibliography Sale, Paris (Charpentier), April 24, 1953, #17

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, overturned facon-de-venise glass, roll crumbs, pepper cone, oysters, peeled lemon w/ slices, dish of olives

significant motifs
(OG4d); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	left wedge (against flow of the table)	low	tight

---

painting code WCH16
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1631
dimensions 40 x 57 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Heberle, May 19/20, 1890, #45
bibliography Sale, Heberle, May 19/20, 1890, #45

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, roemer, peeled lemon w/slices, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(T1b); (CO1c)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

---

painting code WCH17
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1631
dimensions 42 x 59 cm
support panel
inscriptions P.C.
location Gemaldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, #985a (as Claesz)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #81

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/overturned tazza, roemer, oysters, nuts, olive

significant motifs
(T1b); (CD1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH18
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1631
dimensions 43 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Koln, #1014
bibliography Vroom 1980, #333

thematic format
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/overturned beker, roemer, peeled lemon w/slice, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(B1); (CD1d)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	pyramidically centered	low	normal

---

painting code WCH20
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1631-33
dimensions 35 x 49 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.16..
location Dealer St. Lucas, The Hague, 1939
bibliography None

thematic format
Ontbijt
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/roemer, plate of oysters, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH21
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1632
dimensions 52 x 74 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Museo del Prado, Madrid, #2755 or 6
bibliography Vroom 1980, #334

thematic format
Ontbijt
Roemers (etc)

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, roemer, facon-de-venise glass, overturned tazza, watch, peeled lemon, nuts, pepper cone

significant motifs
(T3b); (W3); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH43f
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c. 1637
dimensions 45 x 61 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Museum der bildenden kunst, Leipzig, #652 (as Heda)
bibliography Museum der bildenden kunst, Leipzig, cat. 1929, #652 (as Heda)

thematic format
Ontbijt

painting description
Laid table w/plate of oysters, overturned stoneware pitcher, bekerschroef, vinegar decanter, facon-de-venise glass, salt cellar, nuts, pepper cone, nuts

significant motifs
(CD8a); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH50
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1638
dimensions 54 x 64 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer X. Scheidwimmer, Munich, 1980
bibliography Adv. in Weltkunst (June 1, 1980), p.1502

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, pitcher, mustard pot, beer

significant motifs
(CD1b); (R1a); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH52a
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1638
dimensions
support canvas
inscriptions
location Coll. Dr. A.J. Roston, Austin
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, large pastry pie, bekerschroef, salt cellar, pitcher, plate of oysters, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, pronck goblet, beer (pasglass), beer, nuts, peeled lemon, mustard pot, pitcher in wine cooler tub

significant motifs
(N1); (H3); (PP2b); (Sh4a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	no dominant pattern	low	expanded

painting code WCH60
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1638-1640
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location ??
bibliography Unknown

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, facon-de-venise glass, dish of olives, nuts, peeled lemon

significant motifs
(N1); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH64
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640
dimensions 55.5 x 70.7 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Galerie Mullenmeister, Munich?, 1986
bibliography Vroom 1980, #319

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH64a
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1640
dimensions 57 x 68 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Koln (Lempertz), June 11, 1958, #18a (as Claesz)
bibliography Sale, Koln (Lempertz), June 11, 1958, #18a (as Claesz)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives

significant motifs
(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH64b	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, nautilus cup, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, fluit, berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts, dish of olives	(N4b); (CO1c); (MP1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1640
dimensions 57 x 67 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), December 2, 1987, #322
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), December 2, 1987, #322

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH68/87	Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/overturned nautius cup, roemer, fluit, stoneware pitcher, dish of olives, nuts, peeled lemon w/slices	(N1); (CO1c)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1641
dimensions 55 x 45 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.164.
location Dealer Knoedler, London, 1959
bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's) June 24, 1959, #81

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table); pyramidically centered?	low	tight

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH69	Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/overturned nautius cup, beker, fluit, vinegar decanter, dish of oysters, pepper cone	(N1); (B5); (Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1641
dimensions 45 x 41 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby MvW), March 14-15, 1983, #13 (as G. Heda)
bibliography Vroom 1980, #295

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	tight

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painting code WCH72
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1642
dimensions 72.5 x 91.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location RBK
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned tazza, overturned berckemeier, pitcher, fluit, salt cellar, dish of olives, nuts

significant motifs
(N2); (OG2c.2); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH84
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1644
dimensions 104.1 x 114.9 cm
support canvas
inscriptions
location Sale, New York (Sothby's), January 12, 1989, #193
bibliography Sale, New York (Sothby's), January 12, 1989, #193

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, pitcher, salt cellar, pronck goblet, mustard pot, overturned nautilus cup, oysters, beer, pepper cone

significant motifs
(N2); (OG3f); (H1); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH85
artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1644
dimensions 61 x 76 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Musee des Beaux-Arts, Liege
bibliography None

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, pitcher, overturned tazza, mustard pot, oysters, beer, nuts (small lobster & parsley added later)

significant motifs
(T1d); (H1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table)	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH89	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned hansje-in-de-kelder, roemer, pitcher, peeled lemon, nuts	(MP1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1645
dimensions 54.9 x 71.4 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Dealer Afred Brod Gallery, London
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH93	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, beker, facon-de-venise glass, empty plates	(B1); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1646
dimensions 58 x 67 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 10, 1992, #60
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), November 10, 1992, #60

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH109	Ontbijt	Laid table w/pitcher, oyster shells, pepper cone, bread	(Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1653
dimensions 65 x 47 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location priv. coll., 1988
bibliography Sale, Lanen (Gijselman), November 10, 1987, #2362

Roemers (etc)			
compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH117	Meal w/Several Dishes	Laid table w/lobster, pigeon pastry pie, roll, pronck goblet, roemer, salt cellar, bekerschroef, dish of olives, lemon, fluit, vinegar decanter, nuts, pepper cone	(CD1c); (R3); (Sh4d); (PP2a)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1655-57
dimensions 114 x 103 cm
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA.F.165. (on tablecloth)
location National Gallery, London, #5787
bibliography None

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid; no dominant pattern	low	expanded

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH122	Fancy drinking vessels	Nautilus cup in a niche w/fluit, oysters, hansje-in-de-kelder, peeled lemon w/slices	(N5a); (Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda
date c.1660
dimensions 50.5 x 37.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Museum Ridder Smidt von Gelder, Antwerp, #SM 862
bibliography Museum Ridder Smidt von Gelder, Antwerp, cat. 1980, #SM 862

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	pyramidically centered	low	tight

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painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH132a	Fancy drinking vessels	Laid table w/nautilus cup, roemer, fluit, salt cellar, peeled lemon, ming bowl w/oranges, oysters, pepper cone, vinegar decanter, persian rug	(N5a); (Sh1b)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date c.1664
dimensions 63 x 51 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Galerie de Chartres), March 13, 1992 (as Juriaen Streeck)
bibliography Sale, Paris (Galerie de Chartres), March 13, 1992 (as Juriaen Streeck)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

painting code WCH136

artist Willem Claesz Heda?

date c.1667-68

dimensions 64.8 x 50.8 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, London (Christie's), March 25, 1977, #82 (as G. Heda)

bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), March 25, 1977, #82 (as G. Heda)

thematic format
Fancy drinking vessels

painting description
Laid table w/nautilus cup, fluit, roemer, salt cellar, overturned vinegar decanter, oysters, pepper cone, peeled lemon, ming bowl of oranges, persian rug, beer

significant motifs
(N5a); (OG7); (Sh1b)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	tight

---

painting code WCH66a

artist Willem Claesz Heda?

date early 1640s

dimensions 93 x 68 cm

support panel

inscriptions

location Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 11, 1996, #271 (as studio of Heda)

bibliography Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 11, 1996, #271 (as studio of Heda)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, pitcher, beer, beer (pasglass), berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(N2); (CD6a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH66b

artist Willem Claesz Heda?

date early 1640s

dimensions 89.5 x 73 cm

support canvas

inscriptions

location Sale, London (Christie's), July 8, 1988, #12 (as de Stomme?)

bibliography Sale, London (Christie's), July 8, 1988, #12 (as de Stomme?)

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, pitcher, beer, beer (pasglass), berckemeier, peeled lemon, nuts

significant motifs
(N2); (CD6a); (MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH78	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, overturned tazza, beer, nuts, mustard pot, peeled lemon	(T1a); (H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date early-to-mid 1640s
dimensions
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), June 12, 1990, #185
bibliography Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), June 12, 1990, #185

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid (against flow of table)	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH86	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/ham, roll, pitcher, mustard pot, beer, nuts	(H1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda?
date mid 1640s
dimensions 60 x 75 cm
support panel
inscriptions
location Sale, Paris (Sedelmeyer), May 25, 1909, #59
bibliography Sale, Paris (Sedelmeyer), May 25, 1909, #59

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	right wedge	low	normal

---

painting code	thematic format	painting description	significant motifs
WCH88	Meal w/One Main Dish	Laid table w/mince pie, overturned nautilus cup, roemer, facon-de-venise glass, fluit, peeled lemon, nuts	(N1); (CO2); (MP1)

artist Willem Claesz Heda? or Pieter
date c.1645
dimensions 55 x 71.5 cm
support panel
inscriptions PC 1645 (genuine?)
location priv. coll., Germany
bibliography Vroom 1980, #296 & #366d

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	normal

---

painting code WCH76
artist Willem Claesz Heda (part by
date c.1647 (added to c.1654 by
dimensions 120 x 107 cm
support canvas
inscriptions marked with a ring by the roll
location priv. coll., France
bibliography Briels, Vlaamse Schilders, 1987, fig. 325

thematic format
Meal w/Several Dishes

painting description
Laid table w/ham, roll, roemer, overturned nautilus cup, pitcher, pronck goblet, mustard pot, salt cellar, oysters, pepper cone, peeled lemon, cherries, grapes, beer, w/curtain

significant motifs
(N2); (LV2a); (H2); (Sh3a)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
v	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

---

painting code WCH102
artist Willem Claesz Heda &
date 1649
dimensions 41 x 50 in.?
support canvas
inscriptions .HEDA fecit 1649
location Dealer Colnaghi, London, 1991
bibliography TEFAF, Maastricht, March 1991

thematic format
Portraiture

painting description
Family portrait in Dutch countryside

significant motifs

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h			

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painting code WCH53
artist Willem Claesz Heda
date 1639
dimensions 58 x 83 cm
support panel
inscriptions .HEDA.1639.
location Museum voor schone kunsten, Ghent, #S56
bibliography Vroom 1980, #342

thematic format
Meal w/One Main Dish

painting description
Laid table w/mince pie, roemer, overturned pitcher, facon-de-venise glass, beer, nuts, dish of olives, peeled lemon w/ classical landscape painted at a later date

significant motifs
(MP1)

compositional format	compositional disposition	compositional viewpoint	compositional cropping
h	off-centered pyramid	low	expanded

APPENDIX B

INVENTORY DATA ON HAARLEM TABLETOP STILL-LIFE PAINTINGS

GPI = Getty Provenance Index

Note: Inventory entries organized chronologically

Floris van Dijck

GPI - N-3642
Agatha Pieters Bals, widow of Cornelis Claesz van Rijck, Groote Marckt, Haarlem, December 12, 1648
"Het scheijden der Apostelen van Mr. Floris van Dijck" - Inde camer
"Ses cleijne frutagien van Mr. Floris van Dijck" - Int voorhuys

GPI - N-5215
Cornelis van der Tin and Jacobge Benninghs, Aneganck, Haarlem, March 26, 1649
"Een ontbijten van Flooris van Dijck" - Inde achter camer

GPI - N-3807 *(collection also contained paintings by Pieter Claesz)
Nicolaes Duijst van Voorhout, Spaerne, Haarlem, April 16, 1650
"Een stuck ontbijts van Florens van Dijck" - Int voorhuys
"Een stuck schilderij met de keucken van Floris van Dijck" - Inde keucken

GPI - N-3248
Gerrit de Jongh and Brechtje Jans, Haarlem, November 2, 1656
"1 stuck van Mr. Floris van Dijck" – Keucken

Floris van Schooten

GPI - N-2071
Aert Coninx de Oude, Herengracht, westzijde, Amsterdam, April 13 – May 17, 1639
"Een stuckje, sijnde twe ketels, van (monogram 5:) FVS" - In 't eetzaeltge
"Een entvogel, cool en ketel in een stuck, van (monogram 6:) F.V.S." - Op 't voordercamertge boven 't eetzaeltge

GPI - N-2638
Bartholomeus Veer and Adriaentge Arents van Schaick, Spaerne, Haarlem, September 2-3, 1642
"4 stuckgens van van Schooten"

GPI - N-5182 *(collection also contained paintings by Pieter Claesz)
Franchoijs Maertens, Haarlem, June 23, 1648
"2 van Floris van Schooten f. 2:10:--" - Opde achtercamer

GPI - N-3718 *(Collection also contained painting by Willem Claesz. Heda)
Elisabeth Henricxs, huisvrouw van Jan Jansz Sluijter, Haarlem, August 1653
"Een van Florens van Schooten f. 3:--:--"
"Een van Florens van Schooten met een vergulde lijst op f. 3:--:--"

GPI - N-2900
Jacob Keune, Haarlem, November 24, 1653
"Een stuck van Floris van Schooten"

GPI - N-5256 *(Collection also contained paintings by Pieter Claesz)
Cornelis van Teylingen, Haarlem, March 14, 1658
"Stuckie met druijven van Floris van Schoten met een ebbe lijst"

GPI - N-3693
Catharijna Breemans, weduwe of Gillis Nieuwenhuijse, Schachelstraet, Haarlem, March 11, 1660
"Een copie van Floris van Schooten" - Int voorhuys
"Een fruijtge van Floris van Schooten" - Inde keucken

GPI - N-3111 *(Collection also contained painting by Willem Claesz. Heda)
Jan Claerhout, Kruisstraat, Haarlem, 1665
"Een fruijtschilderijtie van Floris van Schooten met een slechte lijst" - Int voorhuys

GPI - N-5297 *(Collection also contained painting by Pieter Claesz)
Geertruijd Olijcan, Haarlem, November 11, 1666
"Een stuck met kool en wortel van Floris van Schoten" - Andere meubelens

GPI - N-2545
Balthasar Cornelisz Groen and Maria can Vaerle, Spaerwouderstraet alwaer Batavia vuijthanght, Haarlem, February 16, 1671
"Een stuck schilderij van Floris van Schooten met een ebbe lijst"

GPI - N-3300 *(Collection also contained painting by Pieter Claesz)
Abram Huijses and Jannitje Jans, Oude Gracht alwaer de swarte hant uythangt, Haarlem, August 24, 1674
"Een stuck schilderij van Floris van Schooten" - Boven op de voorkamer

Pieter Claesz

GPI - N-2296
Jan Arentsz. van Naerden, Amsterdam, December 11, 1637
"Een bancket, van Pieter Claess, met een groote roemer f. 60:--:--" - In `t voorhuys

GPI - N-2242
Catarina Thijs, weduwe van Samuel van Swol, Amsterdam, April 15 & 21, 1639
"1 crabbebancket, Pieter Claesz f. 42:--:--" - In `t voorhuys

GPI - N-2212 *(Collection also contained paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda)
Anthoni Gaillard, op de hoek van de Beurs, Amsterdam, December 21, 1639
"Een roomer met limon ende carstaignen, van Pieter Claessen" - Schilderijen in de kamer achter de winckel bevonden
"Een bancquetje, van Pieter Claessen" - Schilderijen in de kamer achter de winckel bevonden

GPI - N-2294
Gabriel Ijpelaer, Amsterdam, 1643
"Een banckettien, van Pieter Claess f. 10:--:--" - ovaal

GPI - N-5177
Leendert Gijsbertsz Bardiuns and Trijntge Thomas, Haarlem, November 14, 1647
"pr. Pieter Claesz f. 24:--:--" - Inde keucken en voorhuys
"pr. Pieter Claesz f. 21:--:--" - Inde keucken en voorhuys
"pr. Pieter Claesz f. 18:--:--" - Inde keucken en voorhuys
"pr. Pieter Claesz f. 11:--:--" - Inde keucken en voorhuys

GPI - N-3637
Leendert Gijsbertsz Bardenis and Trijntgen Thomas, Osse marckt opde hoeck vande Barrevoets stege, Haarlem, January 24, 1648
"Principael van Pieter Claesz op f. 24:--:--"
"Noch vande selve f. 21:--:--"
"Noch vande selve f. 18:--:--"
"Noch vande selve [Pieter Claesz] f. 11:--:--"

GPI - N-2205 *(Collection also contained painting by Willem Claesz. Heda)

Frederick Schoonsteen and Elysabet Meulemans, Oudezijds Achterburgwal, Amsterdam, April 10, 1647
"Pieter Claess"

GPI - N-2510
Aeffie Damius van Hove, weduwe van David Jansz Ilpendam, Ouwe gracht, Haarlem, June 10, 1647
"1 schilderij van Pieter Claesz" - Int saeltie

GPI - N-2275
Reijncke Gerrits, Amsterdam, June 12, 1647
"Een bancketje, met een ebben lijst, van Pieter Claesz f. 36:--:--" - In de binnecamer

GPI - N-5182 (Collection also contained painting by Floris van Schooten)
Franchoijs Maertens, Haarlem, June 23, 1648
"Een schilderij pr. van Pr. Claesz f. 16:--:--" - Opde achtercamer

GPI - N-3646
Jan Dingmans and Aeltge Willems, St. Jansstraet, Haarlem, March 19, 1649
"Een stuckgen van Pieter Claesz f. 6:--:--" - Opde voorkamer
"Een stuck van Pieter Claesz f. 15:--:--" - Inde beneden camer

GPI - N-3807 *(collection also contained paintings by Floris van Dijck)
Nicolaesz Duijst van Voorhout, Spaerne, Haarlem, April 16, 1650
"Een groot stuck schilderij met banquet van Pieter Claesz" - Inde camer
"Een groote roemer van Pieter Claesz" - Inde camer

GPI - N-3713
Dirck Smuijser and Catharina Warmonts, Seijlstraet, Haarlem, January 23, 1653
"Een stuck van Pieter Claesz f. 30:--:--" - Inde sijdelcamer
"Een stuck van Pieter Claesz f. 20:--:--" - Inde sijdelcamer
"Een groot stuck van Pieter Claesz f. 60:--:--" - Int voorhuys
"Een stuck van Pieter Claesz f. 30:--:--" - Int koock kamertgen

GPI - N-2050
Antony de Brul, weduwnaar van Margrita Sonmans, Prinsengracht, bij de Reestraat, Amsterdam, March 3, 1653
"Een stuck van Pieter Clasien" - Op de voorcamer
"Een onbeijt (N.B. doorgehaald: met een ham), van Piter Clasen" - In 't voorhuys

GPI - N-3245
Baerendt Roeloffsz Bansch, Haarlem, 1656
"Een stuck van Pieter Claesz"

GPI - N-5255
Hester Macque, weduwe van Jan Hermansz van Gelder, Korte Veerstraat, Haarlem, January 29, 1658
"Een ontbijten van Pieter Claesz met een ebbe lijst" - Int voorhuys
"Een ontbijten van Pieter Claesz met een ebbe lijst" - Opde achtercamer

GPI - N-5256 *(Collection also contained painting by Floris van Schooten)
Cornelis van Teylingen, Haarlem, March 14, 1658
"Een stuck offe principael van Pieter Claesz met een ebbe lijst"
"Een principael van Pieter Claesz"
"Principael van Pieter Claesz met ebbe lijst"

GPI - N-1749
Johan Schade, Utrecht, August 31, 1658
"Een bancquetghen van Piter Claessen" - In 't groote saleth[1]
"Een Vanitas van Piter Claessen" - In de slaepkamer[2]

GPI - N-1874
Jacob van Lier and Janneken de Bucquaij, Spaerne, Haarlem, March 21, 1659
"2 stucken van Pieter Claesz met swarte lijsten" - inde sael

GPI - N-1851
Pieter d' Assonville and Anna Vlaminghs, Haarlem, September 14, 1661
"Een Roemer sijnde een stuck van Pieter Claesz" - inde keucken
"Noch een stuck van Pieter Claesz" - inde keucken

GPI - N-3691
Cornelis Pietersz Decker and Aeffie Cornelis, Blomendaal, Haarlem, November 3, 1661
"Een stuck schilderij van Pr. Claesz sijnde een ontbijt met een ebbe lijst f. 15:--:-- - Opt boven camertie
"Noch een [schilderij sijnde een ontbijt] van dito meester [Pr. Claesz] f. 9:--:--" - Opt boven camertie
"Een ontbijtie van Pr. Claesz f. 5:--:--" - Inde groote keucken

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[1] This inventory has been published in "Oud Holland" of 1921 together with its sale information. Sales number was 22. The sale took place on Sept 19, 1658. Valuation:20:10:--
[2] This inventory has been published in "Oud Holland" of 1921 together with its sale information. Sales number was 29. The sale took place on Sept.19, 1658. Valuation:10:--:--

GPI - N-2477
Josina van Nesten and Claes Claesz Maenbeeck, Haarlem, September 4, 1662
"Noch een stuck schilderij met een ebbe houten lijste van Pieter Claesz sijnde een ontbijt"

GPI - N-3685
Gerrit Willemsz Verstraeten and Anna Schuts, Begijnhof, Haarlem, December 4, 1662
"Een ontbijtie van Pieter Claesz met een swarte lijst f. 2:10:--" - Op de voorcamer int beste huijs
"Een roemer van Pr. Claesz f. 4:--:--" - Int voorhuys
"Drie stucken van Pr. Claesz f. 12:--:--" - Int voorhuys

GPI - N-5279
Geertie Lamberts, weduwe van Jacob van Berge, Warmoestraet, huys genaempt het Claeverbladt, Haarlem, February 13, 1663
"Een ontbijten van Pieter Claesz f. 4:--:--" - Inde camer

GPI - N-3503
Abraham Jansz de Mijter, Sijlstraet, Haarlem, March 7, 1663
"Een ontbijtie van Pieter Claesz met ebbe lijst f.6:--:--"
"Een roemer met olijve van Pieter Claesz met ebbe lijst f. 7:10:--"
"Een roemer van Pieter Claesz f.6:10:--"

GPI - N-3675
Anna Borst, weduwe van Garbrant Borst, Backenessergracht, Haarlem, September 23, 1663
"Een bancket van Pieter Claesz met een vergulde lijst" - Inde voorcamer

GPI - N-3345
Abraham Casier and Aefge de Marees, Haarlem, November 1663
"Een bancketge van Pieter Claesz" - Inde camer

GPI - N-5297 *(Collection also contained painting by Floris van Schooten)
Geertruijd Olijcan, Haarlem, November 11, 1666
"1 ontbijten van Pieter Claesz" - Int voorhuys

GPI - N-3632
Pieter van den Hove and Maria Schatter, Haarlem, November 30, 1666
"Een ontbijten van Pieter Claes met een ebbe lijst" - Inde camer achter het voorhuys

GPI - N-5057

Hester Cluysaenes, weduwe van Symon Wassenaer, Lange Bagijnestraer aende eene zijde de Franse kerck, Haarlem, December 28, 1666

"een bancketie van Pieter Claesz. met een crab f. 12:--:--" - int voorhuys
"ditto [Bancketie van Pieter Claesz.] met een ham f. 10:--:--" - int voorhuys
"een ditto [bancketie van Pieter Claesz.] met een peckelharingh f. 6:--:--" - int voorhuys
"een vanitasie van dito [Pieter Claesz.] f. 6:--:--" - int voorhuys
"een ontbijt van Pieter Claesz. f. 5:--:--" - Inde keucken

GPI - N-3603

Agatha Dicx, weduwe van Matheus Hofflant, Scheepmaeckersdijck brouwerij 't Scheepie, Haarlem, February 1, 1667

"Noch een bancket stuck schilderij met een swarte lijst door Claesz f. 30:--:--" - Inde middelcamer over de kelder

GPI - N-5305

Gerrit Kinckhuijsen and Elisabeth Ampen, Kruisstraat, Haarlem, September 5, 1668

"Een stuck schilderij van Pieter Claesz f. 16:--:--" - Int voorhuys
"3 stuckies van Pieter Claesz f. 18:--:--" - Inde camer achter het voorhuys
"Een stuckie van Pieter Claesz f. 10:--:--" - Inde camer daerachter (Int keuckentie)

GPI - N-5314

Jan Miense Molenaer, Haarlem, October 10, 1668

"Een stuck van Pieter Claes" - Int voorhuys
"Een stuck van Pieter Claes" - Inde Gangh
"Een stuckje met een roemer van Pieter Claesz" - In de Kamer
"Een tesje van Pieter Claesz" - Int Eetsaeltje
"Een ontbijte van Pieter Claesz" - Op de Schilder Camer
"Een copij van Pieter Claes" - Op de Cleer Solder
"Een copye van Pieter Claesz twee doecken met een gesneen lijst" - Op de Cleer Solder
"5 stucken van Pr. Claes sonder lijst" - Op de boven Voorcamer

GPI - N-3030

Perijntge Cijs, weduwe van Cornelis de Lange, Haarlem, January 26, 1669

"Een dito van Pieter Claesz f. 7:10:--"

GPI - N-2309

Laurens Maurensz. Douci, De Vergulde Swaen, Overtoom, Amsterdam, February 5, 1669

"Een vanitas, van Pieter Claes f. 8:--:--"

GPI - N-3953 *(Collection also contained painting by Willem Claesz. Heda)
Anthonius van der Kerck, Catharina van der Kindert and Johan van der Kindert, Haarlem, February 17, 1669
"Een stuck van Pieter Claesz" - Inde slaep kamer

GPI - N-4784
Gerrit ten Bergh, Damstraat, Haarlem, February 26, 1669
"Een banquet van Pieter Claesz f. 6:--:--" - Inde zijdelcamer

GPI - N-5022 *(Collection also contained painting by Willem Claesz. Heda)
Jan Sacharias and Trijntie Tijs, Kruisstraat, Haarlem, October 30, 1669
"twee stucx schilderije van Pieter Claesz" - int voorhuys
"een stuck van Pieter Claesz" - int sij camertie

GPI - N-4824
Anna Wiers, weduwe van Antony le Borgne, Haarlem, December 7, 1669
"Noch een stuck van Pieter Claesz f. 5:--:--"
"Noch een stuckie van Pieter Claesz f. 1:--:--"

GPI - N-2036
Christina van Steenkiste, weduwe van Lucas van Beeck, Amsterdam, December 9, 1669
"Een roemer, van Pieter Claess 6:--:--" - In de groote camer

GPI - N-2031 *(Collection also contained paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda)
Harmanus Capoen and Maria Geraers, Haarlem, December 19, 1669
"een stuckje van Pieter Claesz f. 5:--:--" - in het achter camertje onder het bove camertje

GPI - N-4740
Hebdrick Huijskens and Machteltie Hendricxs, Haarlem, January 1670
"1 vanitas van ditto met een ebbe lijst" - Int voorhuys
"1 ditto [stuck schilderij] van Pieter Claesz met een ebbe lijst" - Int voorhuys

GPI - N-3122
Dirck Joosten Fontijn, Haarlem, February 11, 1671
"Een bancketie van Pieter Claesz"

GPI - N-5140
Daniel Colterman and Elisabeth des Hayes, Wijde Appelaersteech, Haarlem, September 8, 1672
"een fruytagie van Pieter Claesz." - inde kamer camer
"een bancketie van Pieter Claesz" - inde kamer camer
"een vanitas van Pieter Claesz" - op de kamer boven het voorsalet

"een stuck van Pieter Claesz" - boven de kelder camer

GPI - N-4591
Cornelis van Loo and Dorothea Olijcan, Schachelstraet, Haarlem, February 1673
"1 ditto ontbijtie van Pieter Claesz f. 5:--:--" - Op de voorkamer boven het voorhuijs

GPI - N-3300 *(Collection also contained painting by Floris van Schooten)
Abram Huijses and Jannitje Jans, Oude Gracht alwaer de swate hant uythangt, Haarlem, August 24, 1674
"Noch een stuck van Pieter Claesz" - Boven op de voorkamer

GPI - N-5068
Grietgen Teunis, weduwe van Albert Harmensz Dingsen, Korte Veerstraat, Haarlem, December, 30, 1674
"een ovael bancketgen van Pieter Claesz." - opde kelder kamer\
"een ontbijt van Pieter Claesz." - int voorhuys

GPI - N-3176
Jan Wils, Haarlem, January 5, 1677
"2 stuckjes schilderij van Pieter Claesz" - Int agtercamertje

GPI - N-2539
Sara Abrams, Haarlem, January 9, 1677
"Een stuckje schilderij van Pieter Claesz no. 4 f. 2:10:--"

GPI - N-5087
Johan Baert and Anna Barnarts, Haarlem, April 30, 1677
"1 ontbijt van Pieter Claesz. f. 2:--:--"

GPI - N-4177
Symon van Tetterode, Groote Houtstraet overde Paerdesteegh, Haarlem, October 31, 1679
"1 dito [stuckie] Classon" - Inde camer mette houte vloer

GPI - N-2373
Johannes Stiphout, weduwnaar van Marije de Groot, Damstraat, Haarlem, January 12, 1680
"noch een bancketge van Pieter Claesz" - opde achter camer

GPI - N-42
Maria Zeeman, deceased spouse of Abraham Charels, grocer, op 't Water over de Koonrbeurs, Amsterdam, December 21, 1682
"een ham van Pieter Claasz" - Op de kamer boven de lantaarn op de plaats

"een creeft van Pieter Claasz" - Op de kamer boven de lantaarn op de plaats

GPI - N-3038
IJsbrant Schatter, Haarlem, May 28, 1684
"1 dito van Pieter Claesz" - Int voorhuys
"1 dito van Pieter Claesz" - Int voorhuys
"1 bancket van Pieter Claesz" - Inde keucken
"1 stuck van Pieter Claesz" - Inde keucken
"1 groot stuck van Pieter Claesz" - Inde groote kamer
"1 stuckje van Pieter Claesz" - Inde groote kamer
"1 stuck van Pieter Claesz" - Inde beste kamer
"1 groot stuck van Pieter Claesz" - Inde beste kamer

GPI - N-4330
Aeltie Pieters Begga, weduwe van Willem Claesse Stam, Wijngaert straet, Haarlem, August 3, 1684
"Een schilderijtie sijnde een bancquettue, van Pieter Claesz" - Int voorhuijs
"Drie schilderijties verbeeldende bancquetties door Pieter Claesz" - Opde boven voorkamer

GPI - N-3985
Cornelis Snijder, Damstraat, Haarlem, May 5, 1685
"1 dito [stuckie] van Pr Claese" - Int kamertje

GPI - N-4339
Judith Loreijn, weduwe van Dammas Guldewagen, Haarlem, June 2, 1685
"Veertich stucken van Pieter Claesz"

GPI - N-4049
Rudolphus Mensingh and Alida Coties, Haarlem, July 5, 1685
"Een groote roemer van Pieter Claese"

GPI - N-99
Barbara Carel, deceased widow of Jeronimus Ranst, de Oude Schans, "in de twee Tygers", Amsterdam, January 7, 1687
"Van Pieter Claesz. een collation 6:06:--" - Binnecamer

GPI - N-186
Henrij Nieugaert, deceased spouse van Eva van Liebergen, Amsterdam, April 24, 1687
"Een stilleeven van Pieter Claesz. 3:03:--"

GPI - N-230

Leonard Winninx, deceased spouse van Helena van den Heuvel, Singel aande Westzijde, Haarlem, June 17, 1693

"Een banquetje van Pieter Claesz. drie gulden 3:--:--" - Opde camer daar neeven [op de turfzolder]

GPI - N-3085
Maria Baillij, Haarlem, February 18, 1697

"Een dito sijnde een Banquet van Pieter Claese" - Inde Eetsael

GPI - N-4908
Catharina de Jonker, weduwe van Jan Groen, Spekstraat, Haarlem, June 12, 1697

"Vissen van Pieter Claasen"

GPI - N-5499
Maria van Strijp, weduwe van Eduard Wallis, Krocht, Haarlem, June 3, 1707

"Een bancketje van Pieter Claesz" - Int portaeltje
"Een bancketje van Pieter Claesz" - Inde inkoopkamer

GPI - N-4993
Godlief Zurhelle, Spaarne, opde hoek vande Bakenesse gragt, Haarlem, May 28, 1715

"Stilleven door Pieter Claesse f. 5:--:--"
"dito stilleven f. 4:--:--"

GPI - N-870
Paulus Huntum, Amsterdam, March 1 & December 27, 1718

"Een stilleeven van Pieter Claasz 10:--:--" - Op de voorcamer

GPI - N-5759
Geertruijd Colombie, Haarlem, June 27, 1721

"Een krap & ca. Pieter Klaes"

Willem Claesz. Heda

GPI - N-2212 *(Collection also contained paintings by Pieter Claesz)
Anthoni Gaillard, op de hoel van de Beurs, Amsterdam, December 21, 1639

"Een bancketje, van Heda" - Schilderijen in de kamer achter de winckel bevonden
"Een silvere schaal met roomer, van Heeda" - Schilderijen in de kamer achter de winckel bevonden

"Een romer met druyven van Heeda" - Schilderijen in de kamer achter de winckel bevonden

GPI - N-2268
Anthoni Pinel, Raamsloot, in de ververijen 'In Samson', Amsterdam, April 23, 1643
"Een schilderij van een backetjen ende geschildert silverwerck, in een swarte lijst, van Heda" - In de binnencamer

GPI - N-2205 *(Collection also contained painting by Pieter Claesz)
Frederick Schoonsteen and Elysabet Meulemans, Oudezijds Achterburgwal, Amsterdam, April 10, 1647
"Heda"

GPI - N-1690
Jacob Marell, widower of Catharina van de Staet, Utrecht, June 4, 1650
"Een bancquetjen van Heda 15:10:--"

GPI - N-3718 *(Collection also contained paintings by Floris van Schooten)
Elisabeth Henricxs, huisvrouw van Jan Jansz Sluijter, Haarlem, August, 1653
"Een roemer van Heda f. 5:--:--"

GPI - N-3404
Samuel van der Vliet, Kerckstraat, Haarlem, July 28, 1660
"Een stuck schilderij van Heda met een gebacke paeuw" - Inde camer

GPI - N-3111 *(Collection also contained painting by Floris van Schooten)
Jan Claerhout, Kruisstraat, Haarlem,1665
"Een bancket van Heda met een ebbe houten lijst" - Int voorhuys

GPI - N-4796
Daniel Danijns, Gierstraet alwaer het vergulde claverbath uythanght, Haarlem, 1667
"Een bancquet van Heda met een slechte lijst" - Inde kamer aende plaets

GPI - N-3953 *(Collection also contained painting by Pieter Claesz)
Anthonius van der Kerck and Catharina van der Kindert, Haarlem, February 17, 1669
"Een stuck van Heda" - Int salet

GPI - N-5022 *(Collection also contained paintings by Pieter Claesz)
Jan Sacharias and Trijntie Tijs, Kruisstraat, Haarlem, October 30, 1669
"een stuck van Heda" - int sij camertie

GPI - N-2031 *(Collection also contained painting by Pieter Claesz)
Harmanus Capoen and Maria Geraers, Haarlem, December 19, 1669
"een schilderij ontbijt van Heda f. 8:--:--" - in het keldertje aent voorhuys
"een stuck schilderij van Heda f. 15:--:--" - opde groote camer

GPI - N-3906
Anna van Aert, weduwe van Jan de Cramer van Wassenbergh, Oude Gracht, Haarlem, April 9, 1679
"1 groot stuck van Heda f. 30:--:--"
"1 cleijn stuckje van Heda f. 12:--:--"

GPI - N-289
Govert Jochemsz. van der Raeck, Keizersgracht 317, Amsterdam, August 1, 1681
"Een stilleven van Heda 50:--:--" - In't voorhuijs

GPI - N-2586
Guertie van Griecken, weduwe Willem Dingemans, Janstraet, Haarlem, January 22, 1682
"Een stuckie schilderij van Heda sijnde een stilleven" - Inde Camer

GPI - N-42
Maria Zeeman, deceased spouse of Abraham Charels, grocer, op 't Water over de Koornbeurs, Amsterdam, December 21, 1682
"een schilderije een hoorn van Heda" - Op de beste kamer
"een silvere kan van Heda" - Op de kamer boven de lantaarn op de plaats

GPI - N-26
Tames van den Bergh and Adriana de Man, Amsterdam, July 5, 1683
"een still-leeven van Heda"

GPI - N-4919
Francois van den Berg and Anna Meekema, Haarlem, July 19, 1701
"Een dito van Heda" - Int Sijkamertje

GPI - N-395
Samuel Barra and Elisabeth Davidts van Keulen, Amsterdam, April 12, 1702
"Een stil leven van Heda" - Voor- en achterkamer

GPI - N-448
Barbara Mirou, deceased widow of Balthasar van de Perre, chief accountant of the East India Company, Amsterdam chamber, Amsterdam, May 21, 1703
"Een dito [schilderijtje] van een banquetje van Heda 12:--:--" - In de boven zijde camer

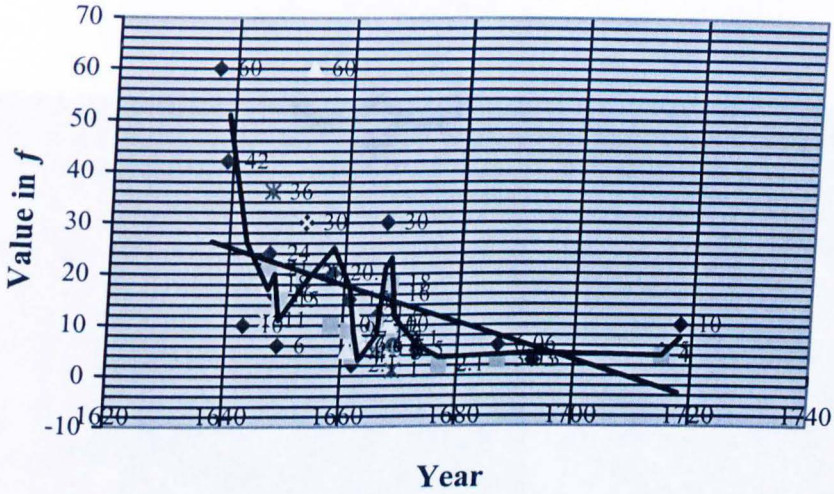
GPI - N-5655
Antonius Deijnoot, Haarlem, May 15, 1706
"Een teeckeningh van Heda" - Int voorhuijs

GPI - N-433
Mr. Jacob van Ring, Amsterdam, November 24, 1710
"Een banckquet van Heda 6:--:--" - In de voor zijdelkamer

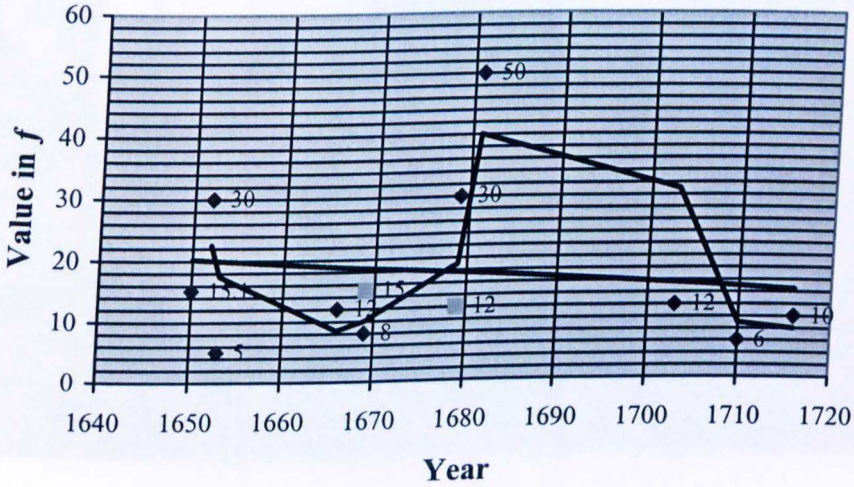
GPI - N-724
Joan van Waveren and Debora Blaeuw, Singel, in 't "huis van Oetgens", Amsterdam, May 18, 1716
"Een stilleeven van Heda 10:--:--"

APPENDIX B – GRAPHS OF VALUATIONS OF PAINTINGS

Valuations of Paintings by Pieter Claesz in Inventory Data



Valuations of Paintings by Willem Claesz. Heda in Inventory Data



Note: Straight lines indicate the trend in the seventeenth century of prices in inventories

Fig. 1. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*, 1635, National Gallery of Art, Washington

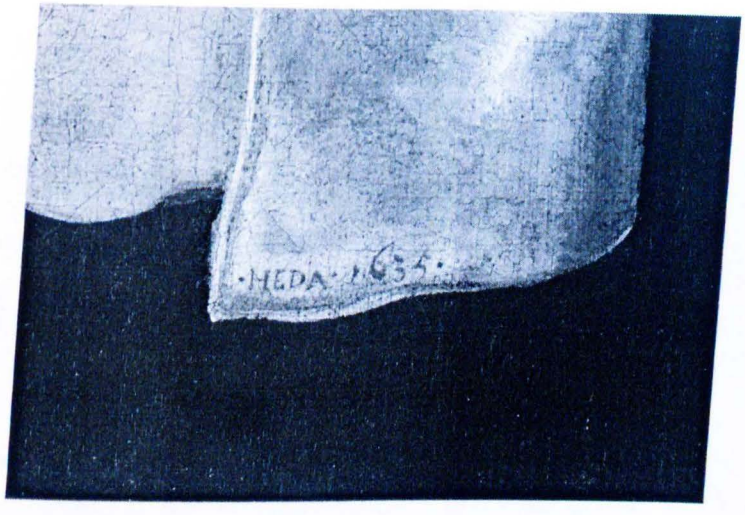


Fig. 2. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*, detail of signature

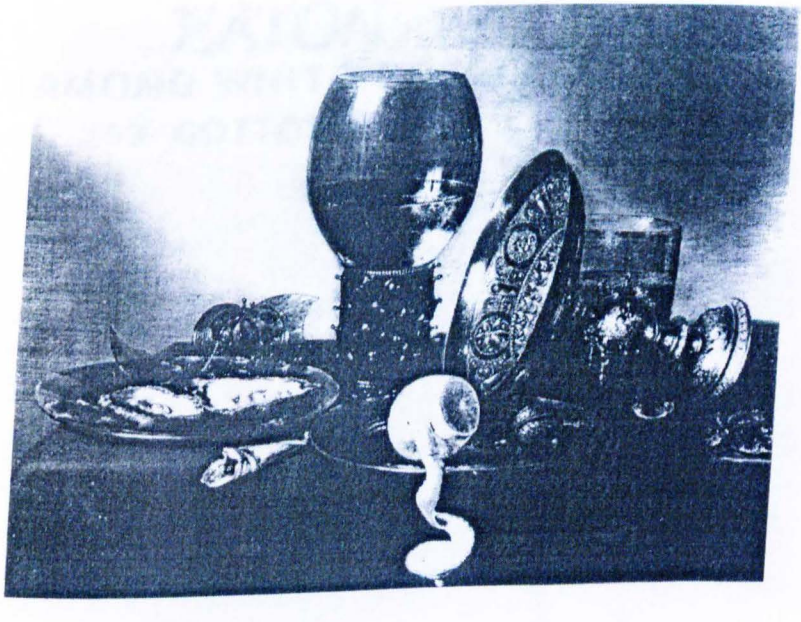


Fig. 3. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer with overturned tazza*,1634, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Fig. 4. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters and overturned tazza*, 1635, private collection

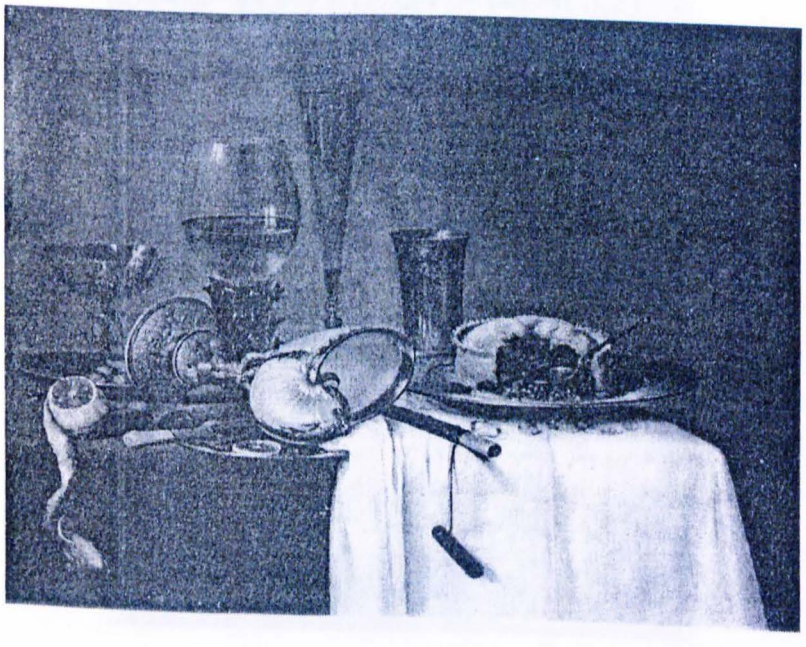


Fig. 5. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie and overturned nautilus cup*, 1641, National Museum, Warsaw

Fig. 6. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with oysters, bekerschroef and overturned pitcher*, 1637, Private collection

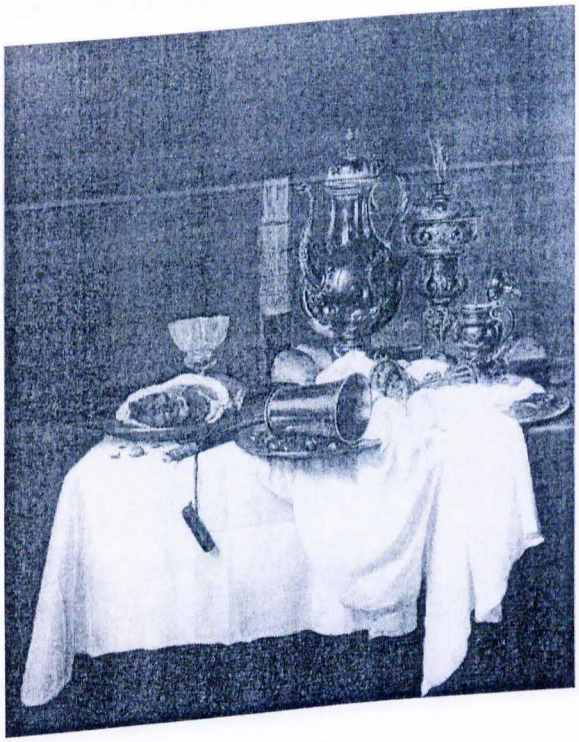


Fig. 7. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Ham and drinking vessels*, 1638, Kunsthalle, Hamburg

Fig. 8. "Liceat Sperare Timenti," from Jacob Cats, *Proteus, ofte mine-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden*, Rotterdam, 1627

Fig. 9. Anonymous Haarlem painter, *Tabletop with lobster, crab, shrimp and stack of cheese*, c.1615-1620, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

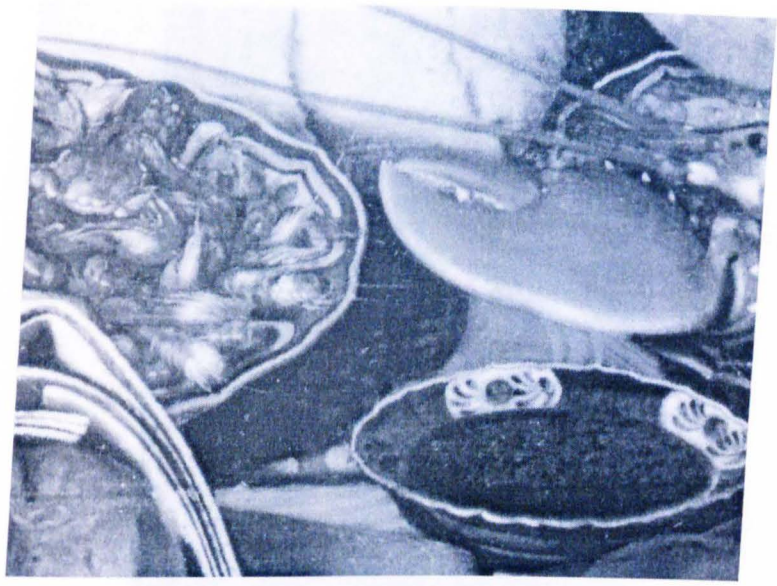


Fig. 10. Anonymous painter, *Tabletop with lobster, crab, shrimp and stack of cheese*, detail showing crouching figures

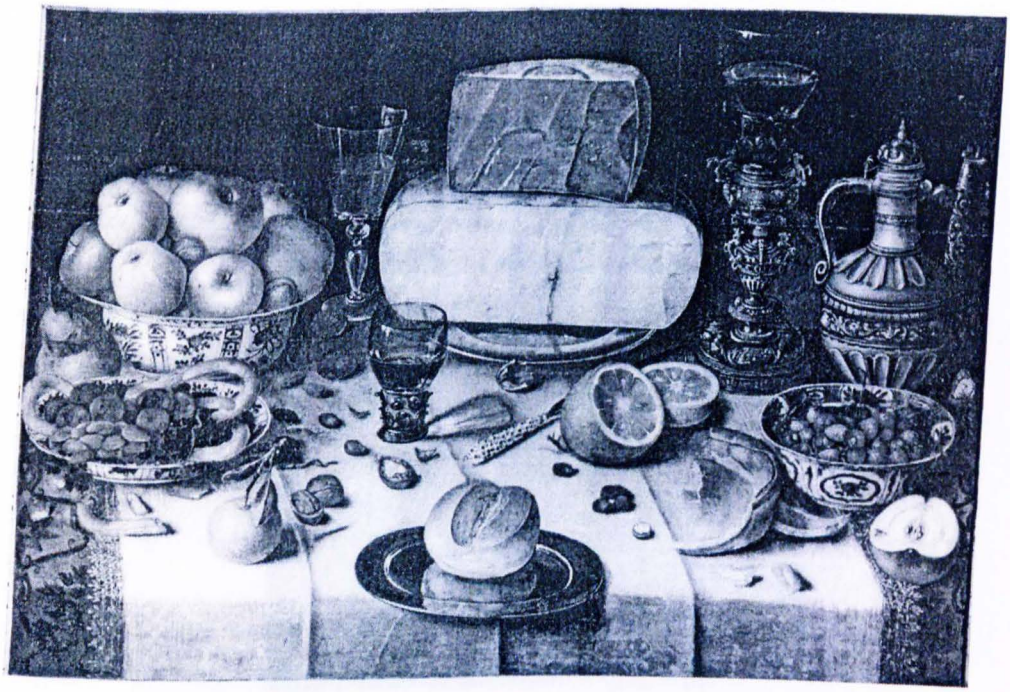


Fig. 11. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit and roll*, 1612, Russell Collection, Amsterdam

Fig. 12. Willem van Aelst, *Still life with dead game*, 1661, National Gallery of Art, Washington

Fig. 13. Willem Kalf, *Wine glass on a gilded silver foot and a bowl of fruit*, 1663, The Cleveland Museum of Art

Fig. 14. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *A Monk and a Nun*, 1591, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

Fig. 15. Hendrick Goltzius, *Lot and His Daughters*, 1616, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

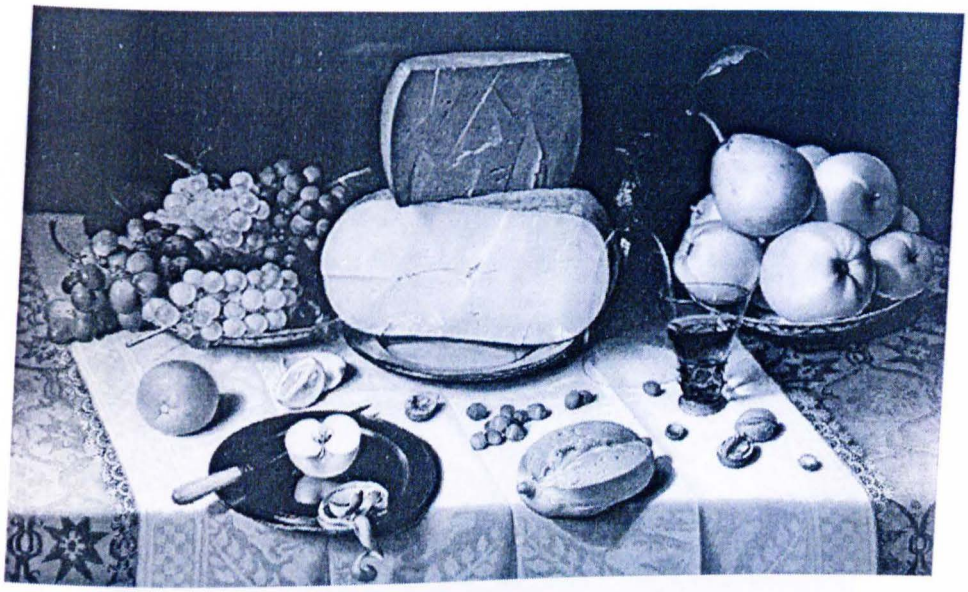


Fig. 16. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit and roll*, 1610, private collection, The Hague

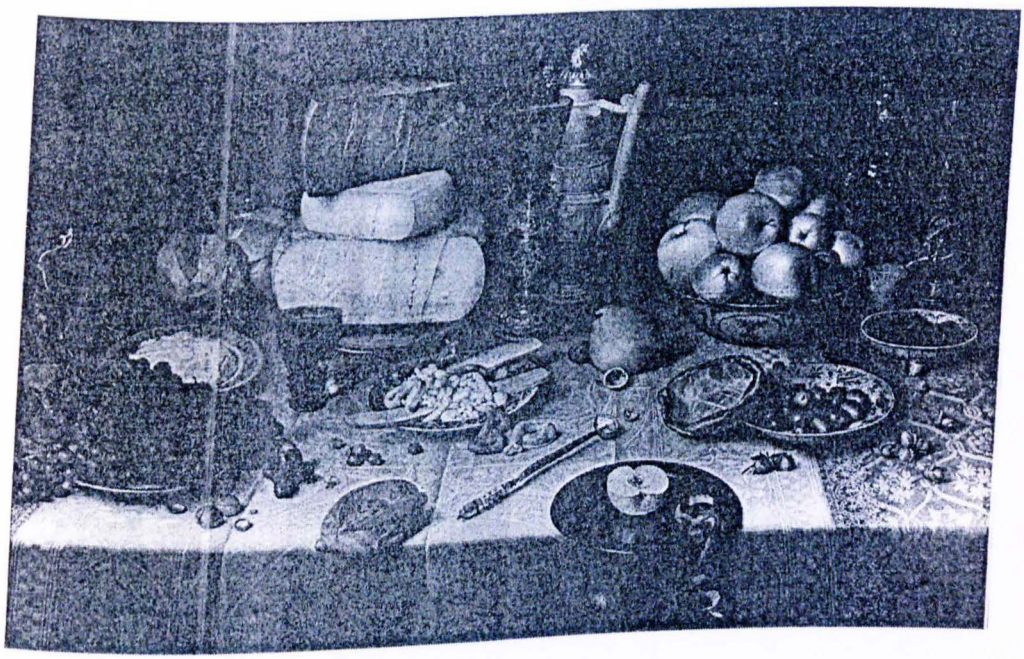


Fig. 17. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit, drinking vessels, a roll and halved apple*, 1610, formerly Collection Scudamore Griffiths, Campden

Fig. 18. Hieronymous Francken the Younger, *Tabletop with roll, sweetmeats and fruit (Rich Man's Meal?)*, c.1601, private collection

Fig. 19. North netherlandish master, *Laid Tabletop with religious scene in background*, c.1580, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft

Fig. 20. Hendrick Avercamp, *Winter Landscape with Skaters*, c.1609 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 21. David Vinckboons, *Merry Company feasting in the open air*, c.1610, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 22. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Officers of the St. George Milita Company*, 1599, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

Fig. 23. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit, melon slices and nautilus cup*, 1622, Russell Collection, Amsterdam

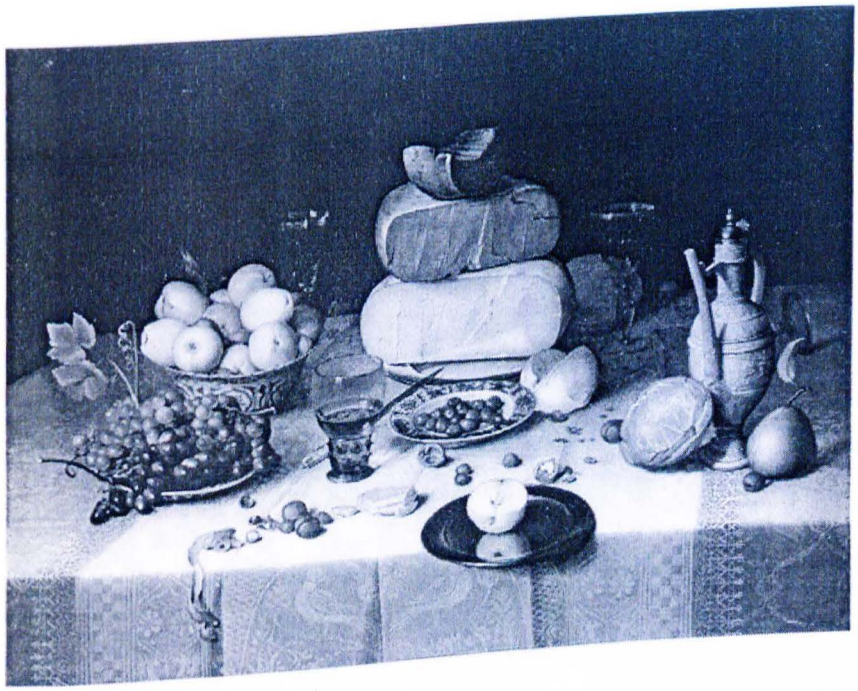


Fig. 24. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit, rolls, and halved apple*, c.1615, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

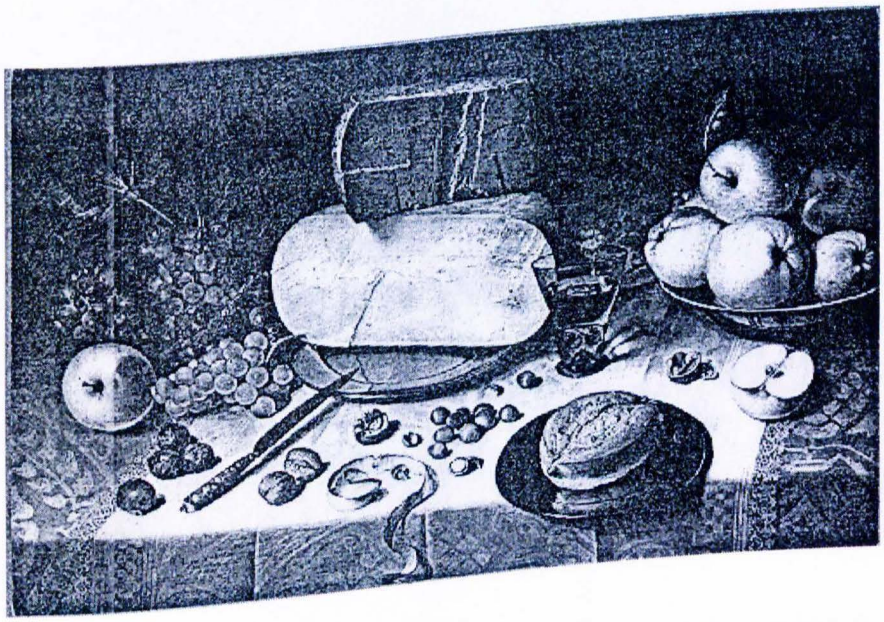


Fig. 25. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, bowl of apples, roemer and roll*. 1613, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

Fig. 26. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with bowls of fruit, a roemer of wine and book*, 1601, private collection, Germany

Fig. 27. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, basket of grapes, sweetmeats and a roll*, 1614, National Gallery, Prague

Fig. 28. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with several dishes of fruit and two ornate goblets*, 1617, private collection, Switzerland

Fig. 29. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef and stack of cheese*, late 1610s, Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterloo

Fig. 30. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with plate of mussels, porridge and stack of cheese*, late 1610s, Heinz collection, Washington

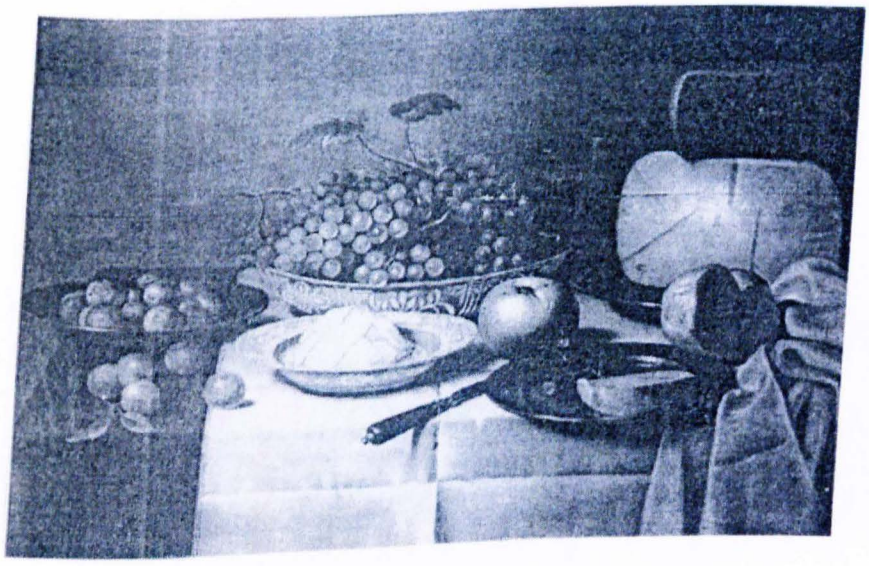


Fig. 31. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with bowl of fruit and stack of cheese*, early 1620s, private collection, Denmark

Fig. 32. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, fruit and sliced roll*, late 1610s, Von der Heydt Museum, Wuppertal

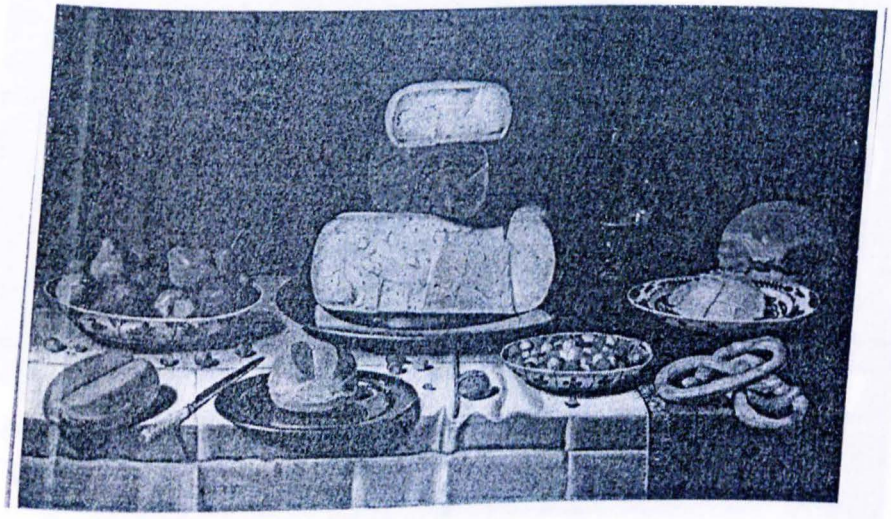


Fig. 33. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, pretzels, dishes of fruit and roll*, late 1610s/early 1620s, formerly art market

Fig. 34. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with dishes of fruit and a stoneware pitcher*, 1621, formerly art market

Fig. 35. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with platter of fruit, stoneware pitcher and rolls*, c.1621-1622, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn

Fig. 36. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with dishes fruit*, 1621, art market

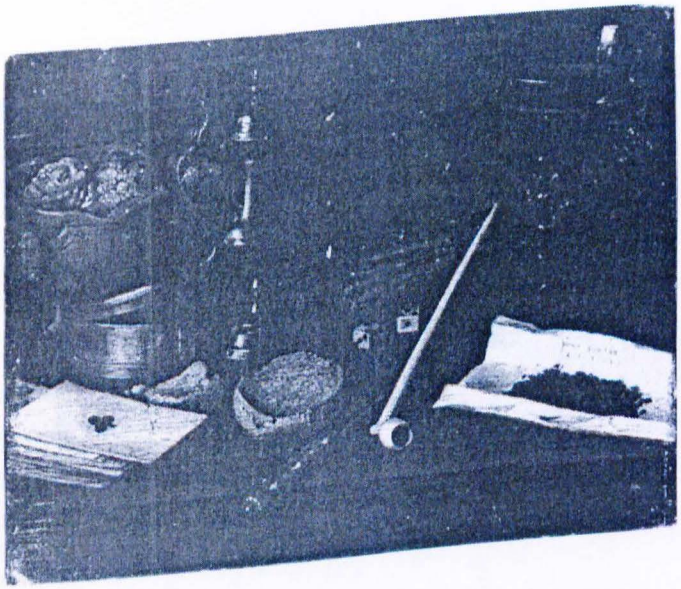


Fig. 37. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with smoking implements and cards*, 1622, art market

Fig. 38. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie platter of apples and grapes and overturned bekerschroef*, c.1622-1623, art market

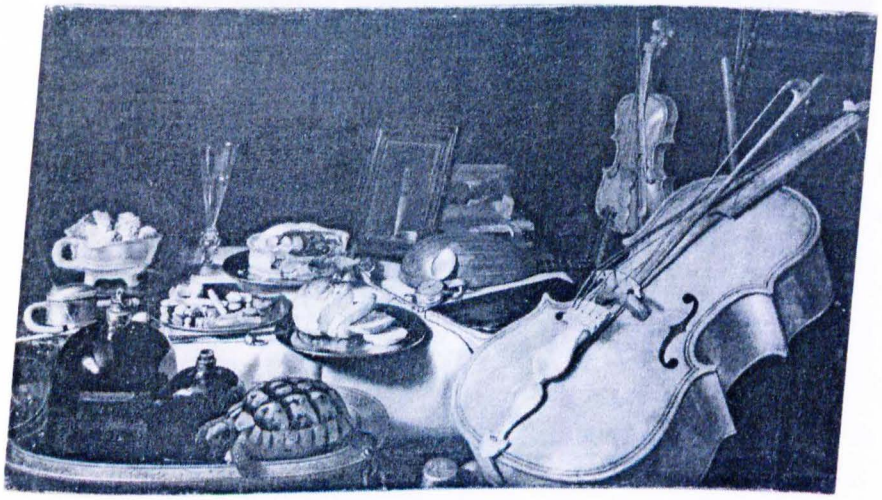


Fig. 39. Pieter Claesz, *Allegory of the Five Senses*, 1623, Louvre, Paris

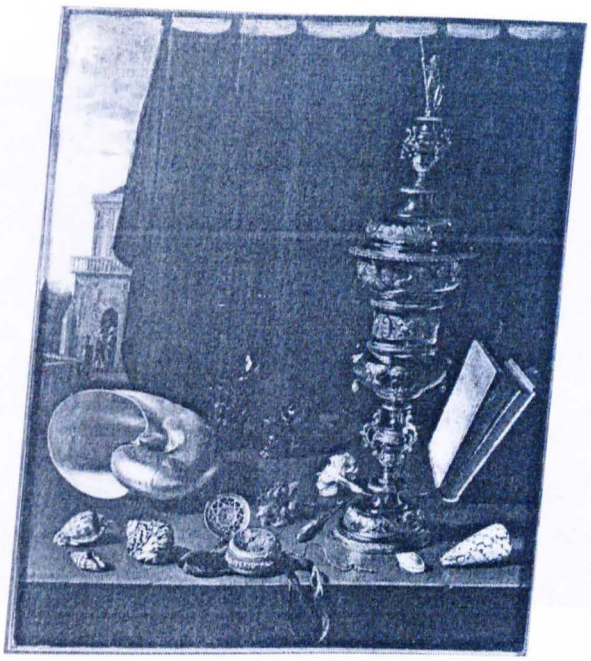


Fig. 40. Pieter Claesz, *Still Life with pronck goblet, shells, a watch and book*, 1624, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kusntsammlungen, Dresden

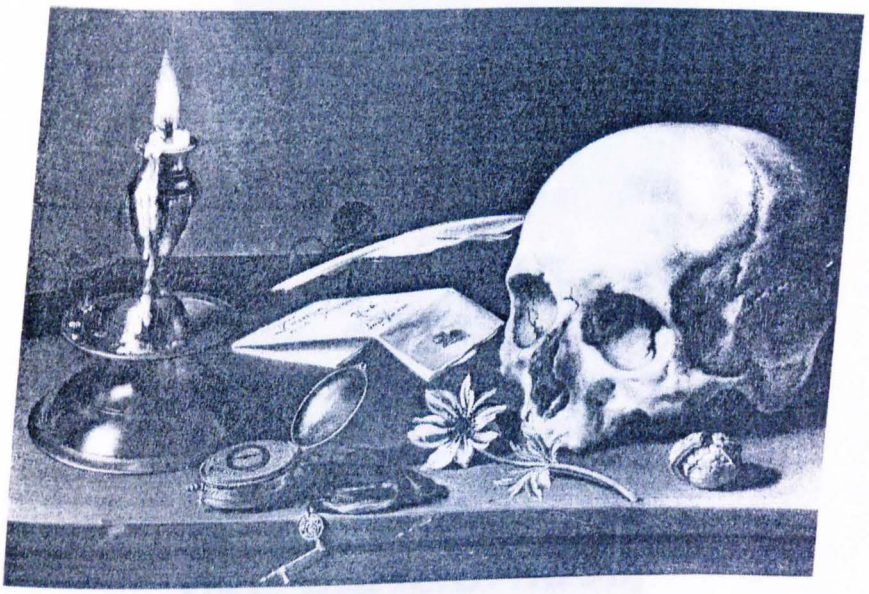


Fig. 41. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with burning candle*, 1625, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

Fig. 42. Dirck Hals, *Merry Company feasting in an Arbour*, c.1615, private collection

Fig. 43. Judith Leyster, *Carousing Couple*, 1630, Louvre, Paris.

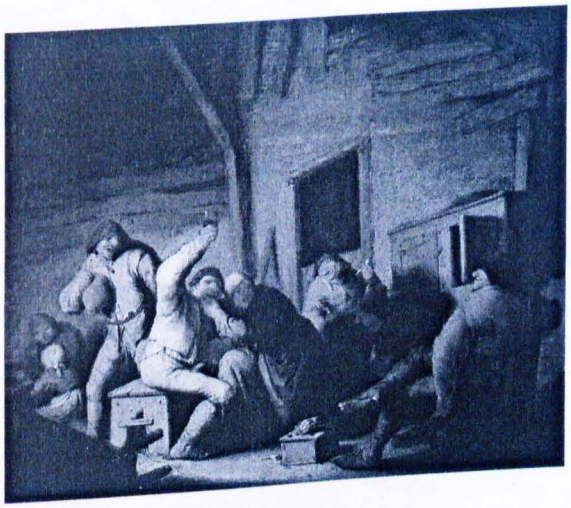


Fig. 44. Adriaen van Ostade, *Carousing Peasants*, 1634?, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

Fig. 45. Adriaen Brouwer, *The Smokers (The Peasants of Moerdijk)*, c.1627-1630, private collection

Fig. 46. Pieter van Santvoort, *Landscape with a road and farmhouse*, 1625, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Fig. 47. Pieter de Molijn, *Dune landscape with trees and wagon*, 1626, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig

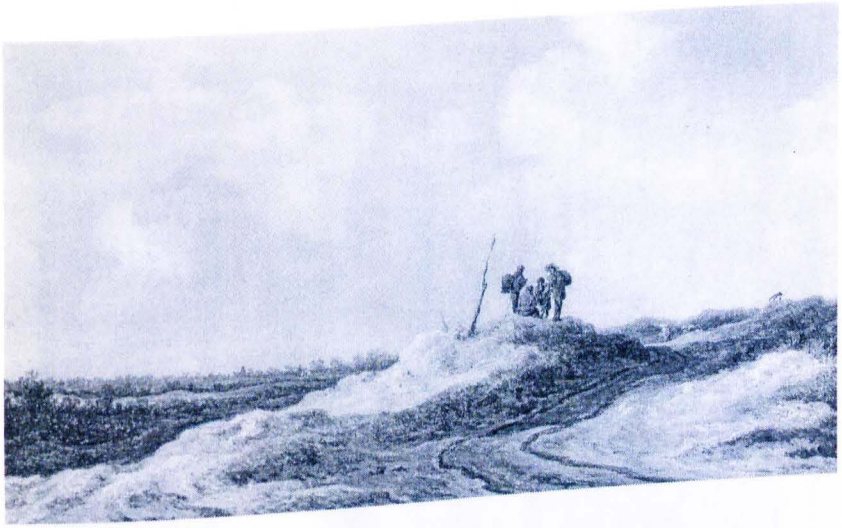


Fig. 48. Jan van Goyen, *Dune landscape*, 1630, private collection

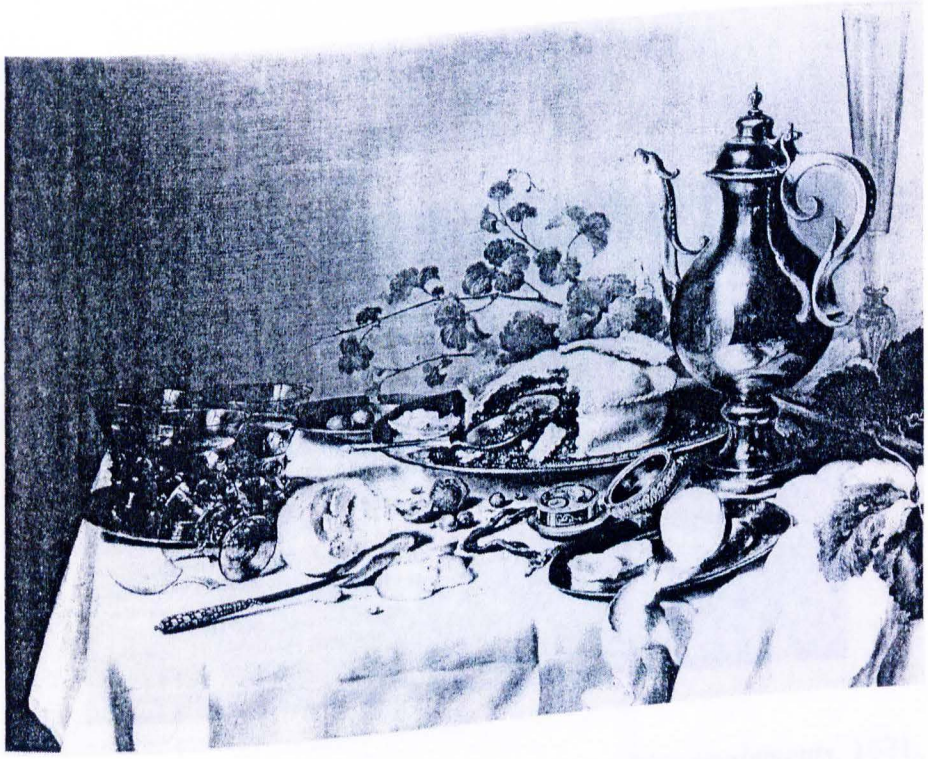


Fig. 49. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, tray of berckemeiers and a watch*, 1641, private collection, Edinburgh

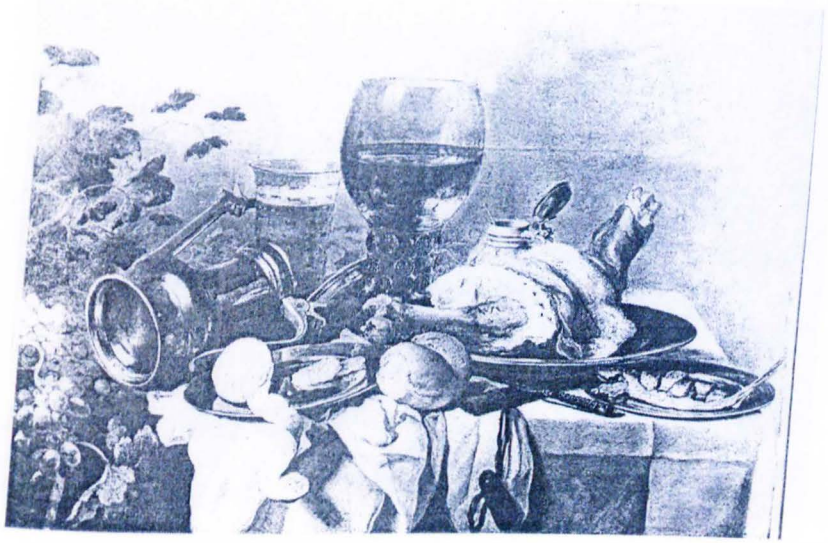


Fig. 50. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, ham and roll*, 1644, art market

Fig. 51. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Vanitas still life with smoking implements*, 1621, Museum Bredius, The Hague

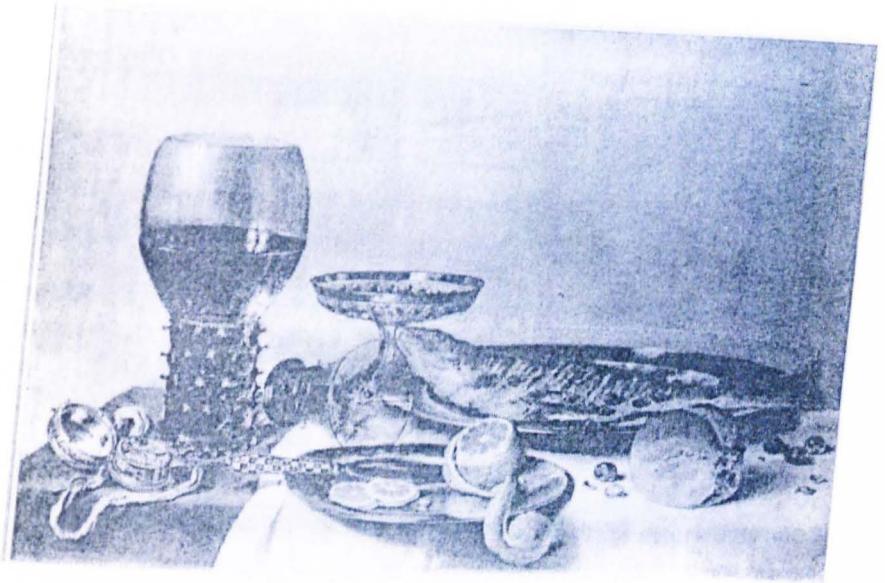


Fig. 52. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mackerel, roemer, roll and watch*, 1629, Mauritshuis, The Hague

Fig. 53. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned tazza*, 1630, private collection

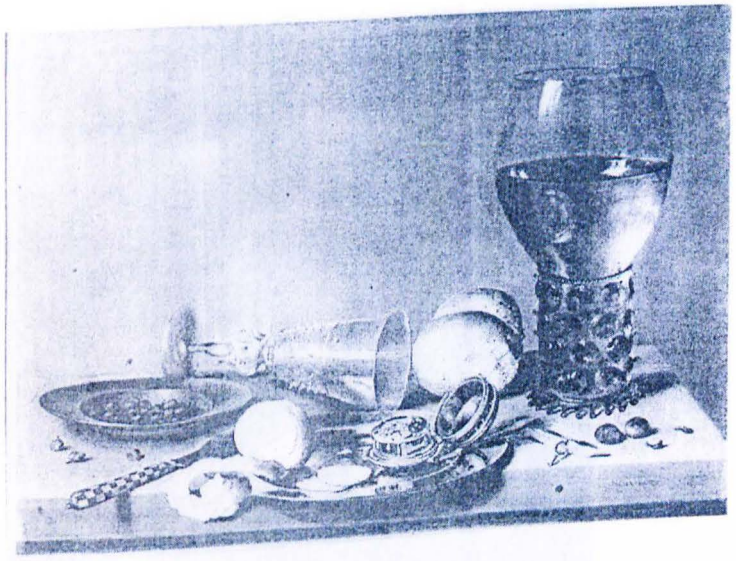


Fig. 54. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer, roll, overturned façon-de-venise glass and roll*, 1630, private collection, The Hague

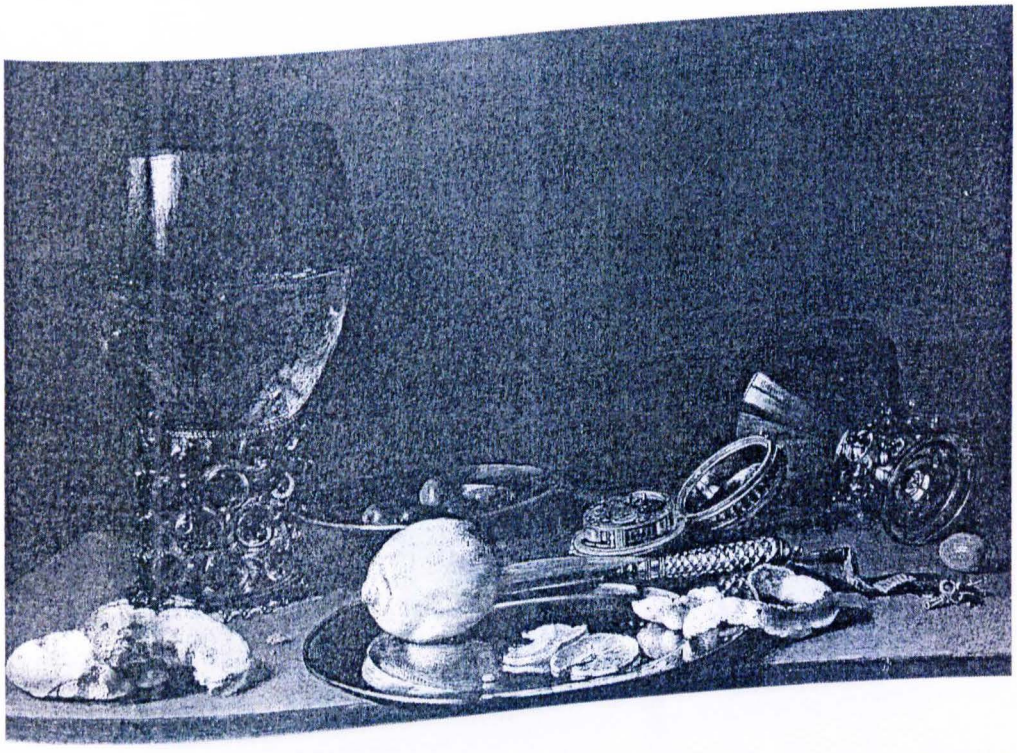


Fig. 55. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, lemon and watch*, c.1632-33, formerly art market

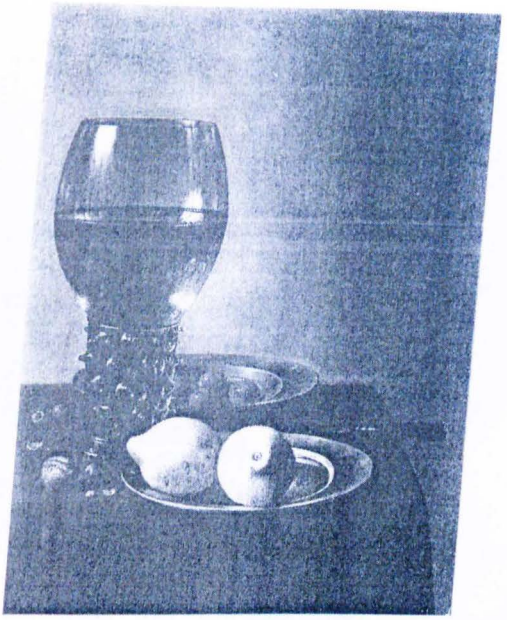


Fig. 56. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with roemer and two lemons*, 1630s, art market

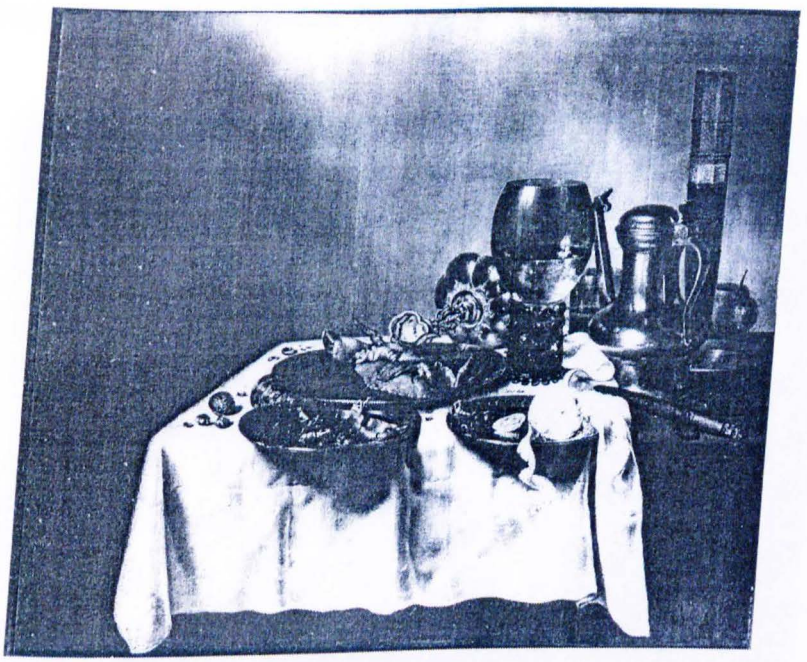


Fig. 57. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with crab, roemer and other drinking vessels*, 1634, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

Fig. 58. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters, roll and drinking vessels*, 1635, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

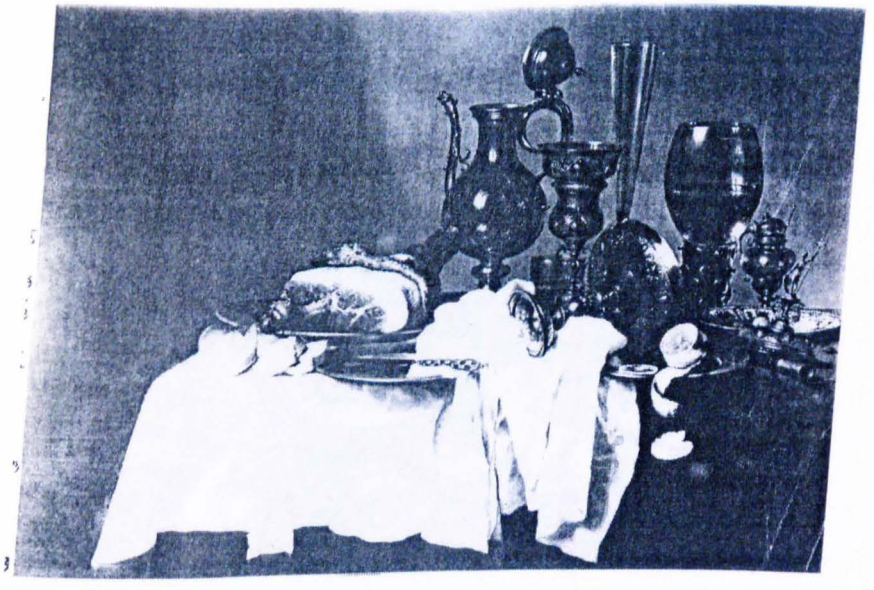


Fig. 59. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with ham, roll and drinking vessels*, 1643, Heinz collection, Washington

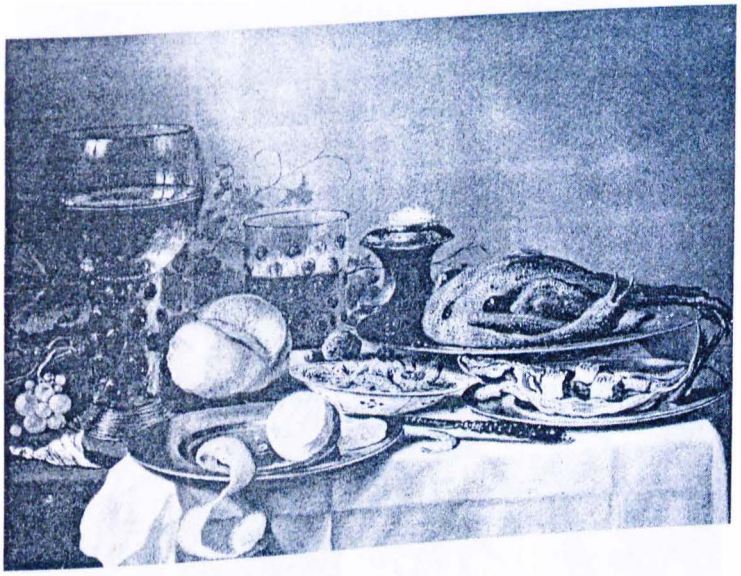


Fig. 60. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roast chicken, herring, roemer and roll*, 1642, art market

Fig. 61. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned lobster and roll*, 1641, art market

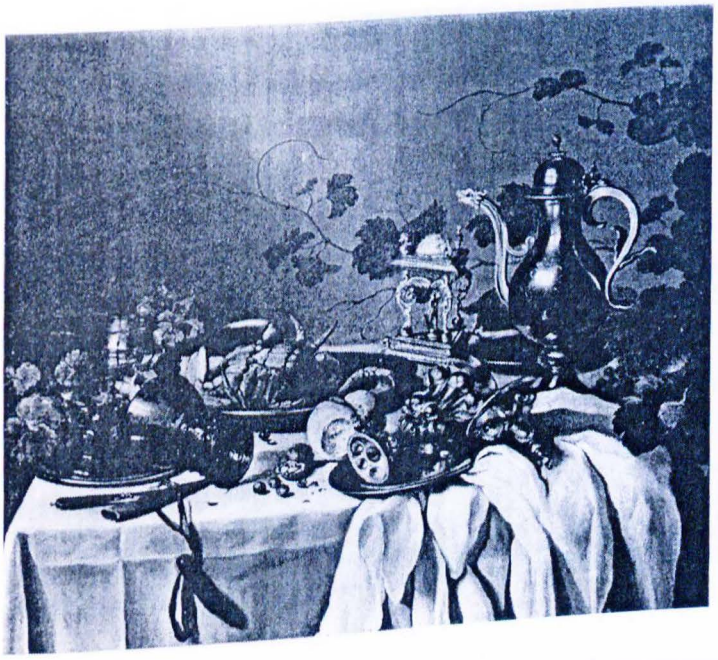


Fig. 62. Pieter Claesz or Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and pitcher*, c.1645, art market

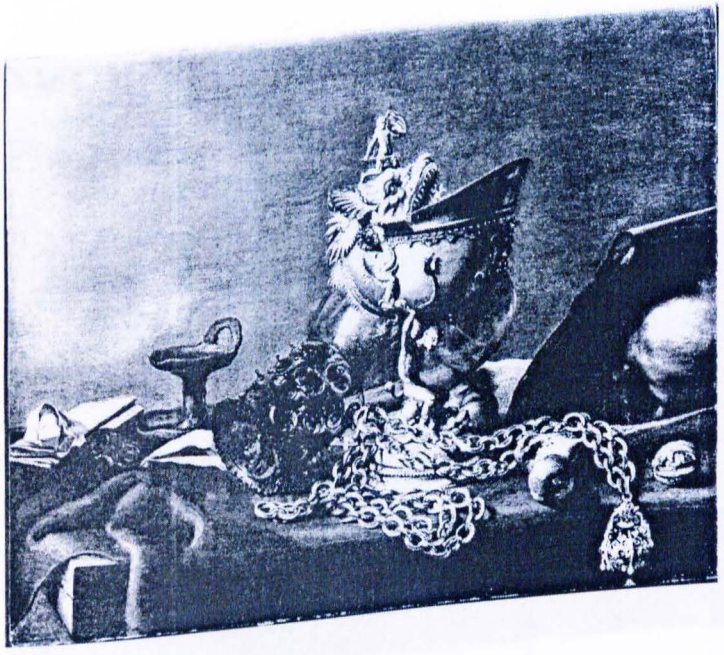


Fig. 63. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with nautilus cup and golden chain*, 1634, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster

Fig. 64. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with smoking implements and stoneware pitcher*, 1640, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis

Fig. 65. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with turkey pie*, 1627, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

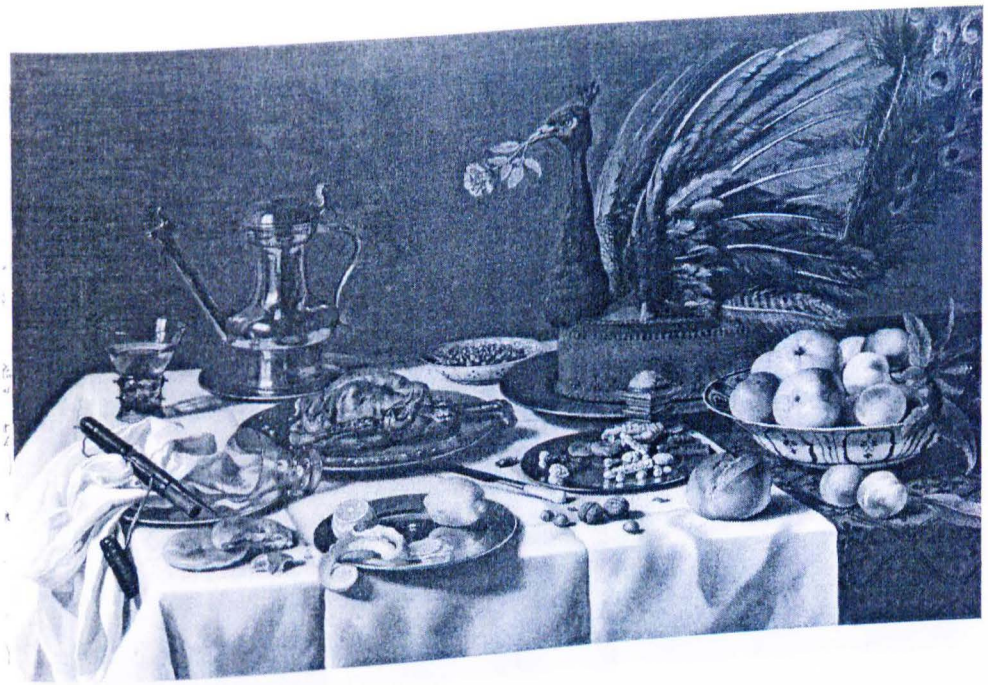


Fig. 66. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with peacock pie*, 1627, private collection, Boston

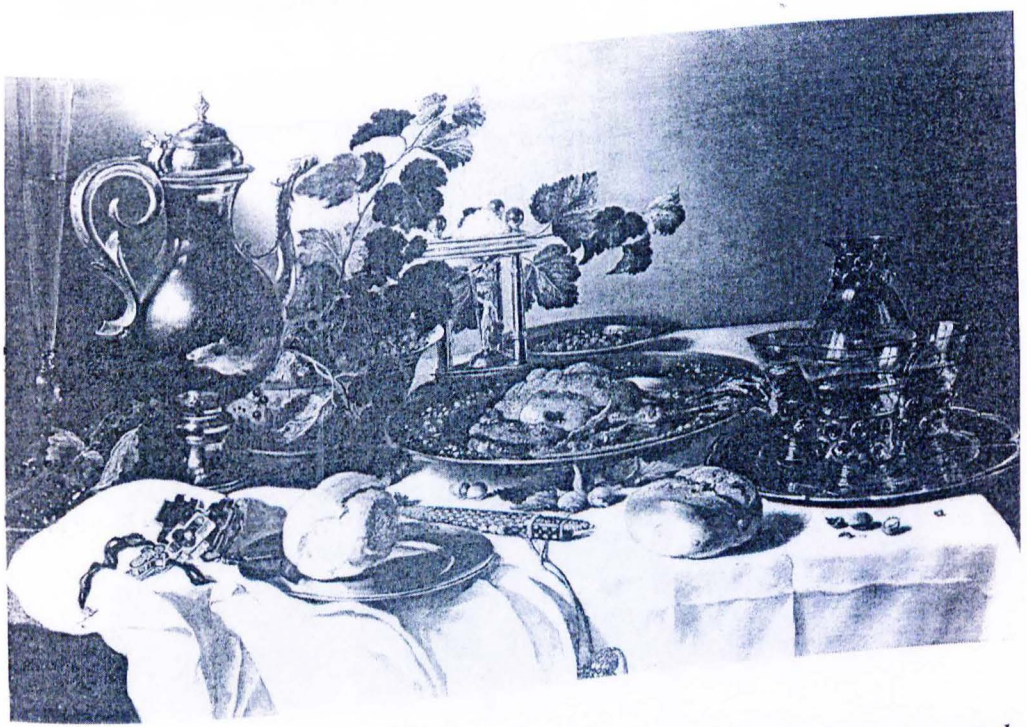


Fig. 67. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roast chicken, rolls, tray of berckemeiers and watch*, 1641, Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, NY

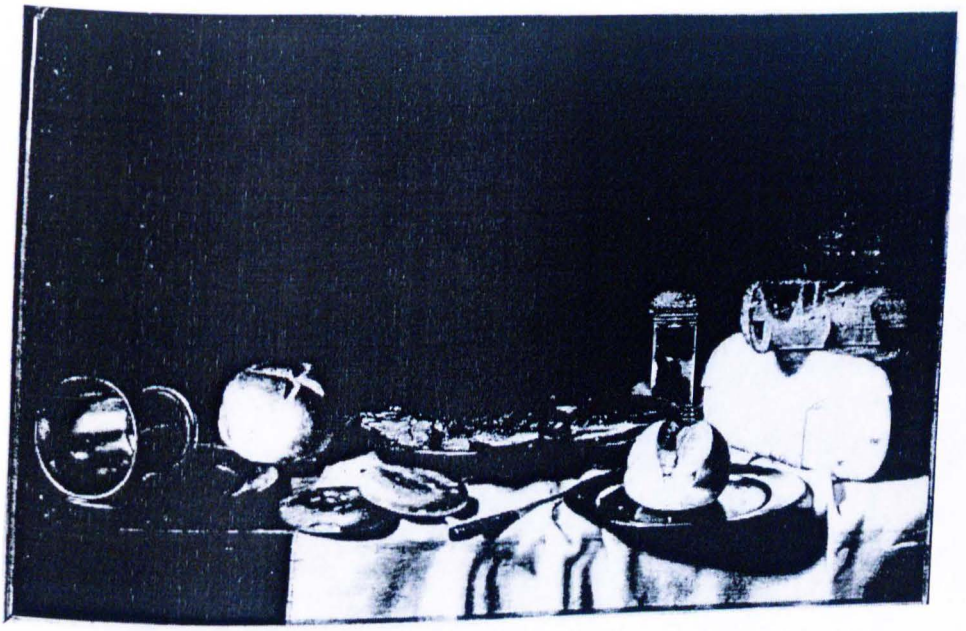


Fig. 68. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with mackerel, stack of cheese, and rolls*, mid-1630s, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

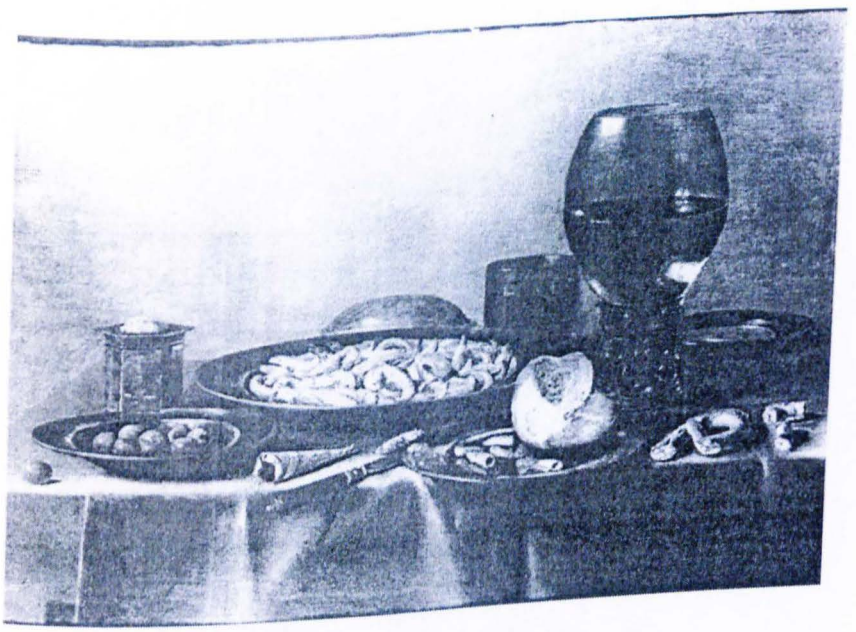


Fig. 69. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with plate of shrimp, roemer and roll*, c.1635, art market

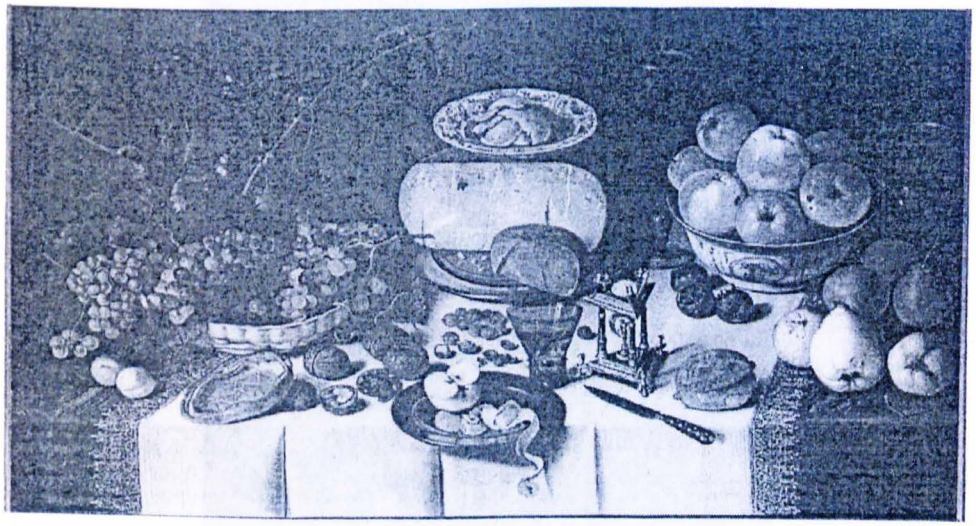


Fig. 70. Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, dish of grapes, bowl of apples, rolls and halved apple*, 1625, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp

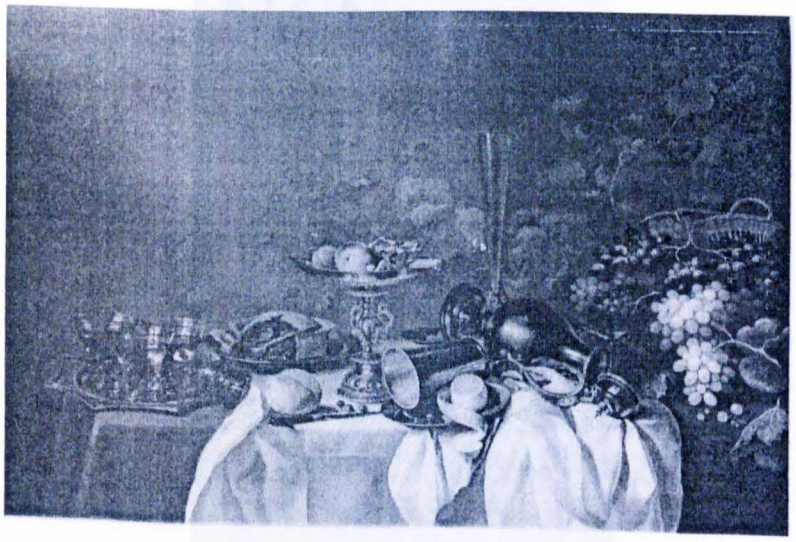


Fig. 71. Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with tazza of fruit and delicacies, mince pie, and basket of grapes*, 1642, art market

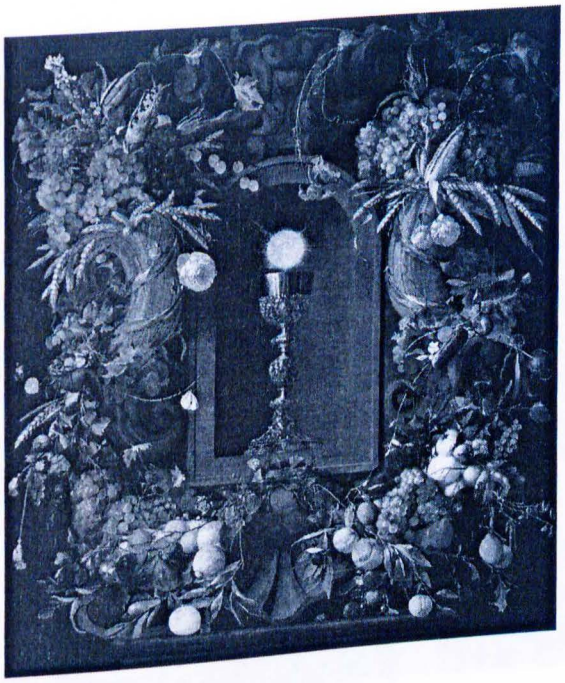


Fig. 72. Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Eucharist surrounded by flowers and fruit*, 1648, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Fig. 73. Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Roemer in a niche surrounded by flowers and fruit*, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden

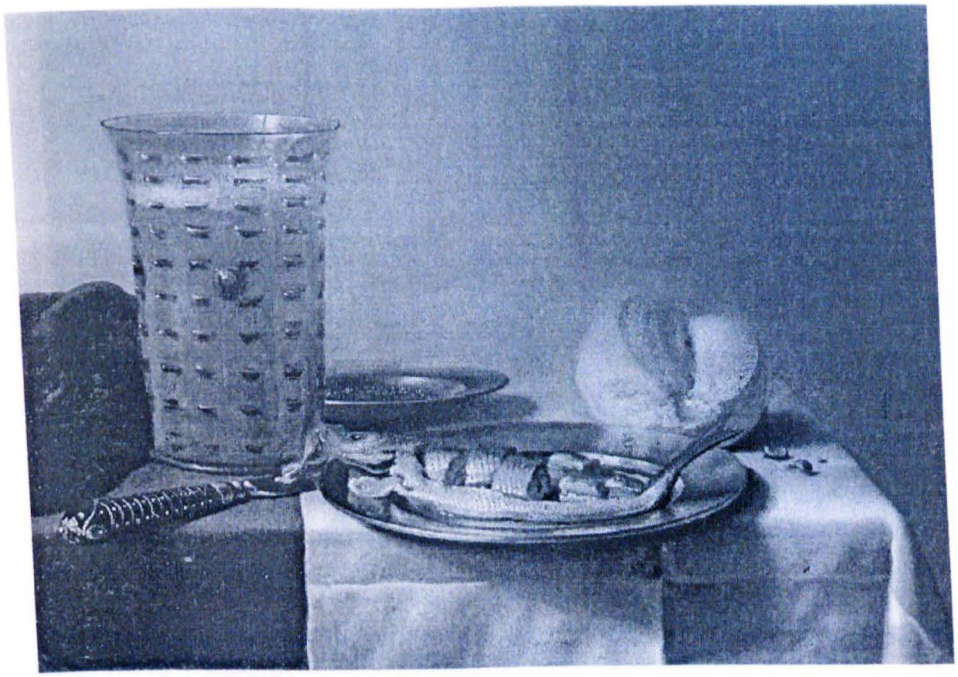


Fig. 74. Pieter Claesz, *Still life with herring, roll and beer*, 1636, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

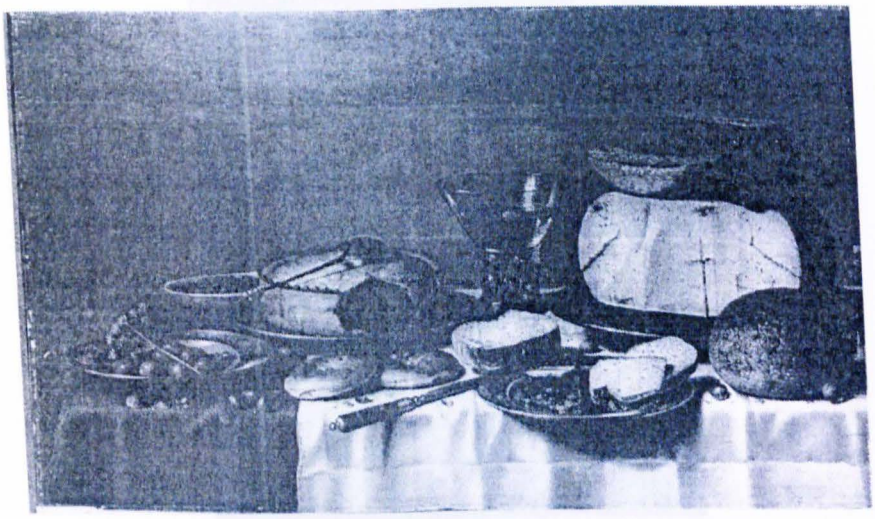


Fig. 75. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with mince pie, berckemeier, sliced roll and cheese*, mid-1630s, private collection, Copenhagen

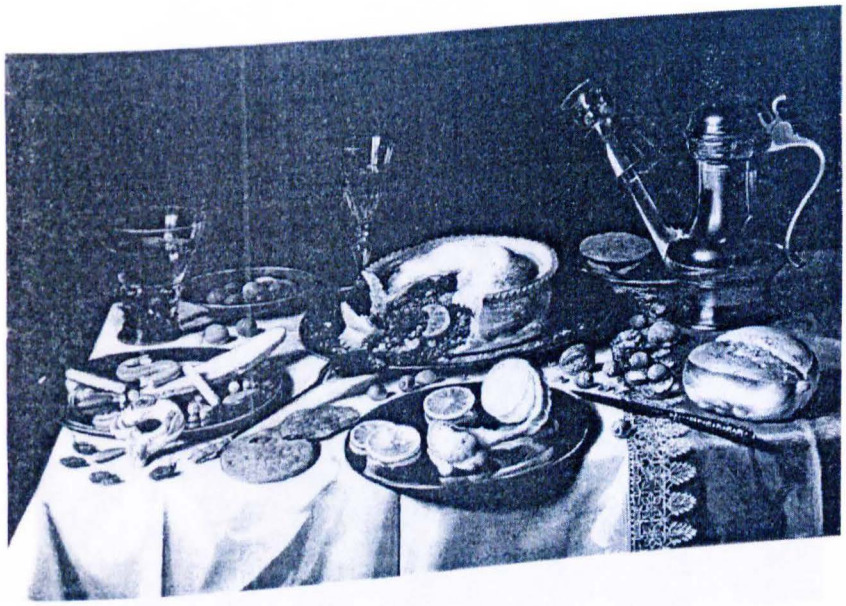


Fig. 76. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, pastries, roll and lemon*, c.1625, Art Institute of Chicago

Fig. 77. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, roll and bowl of berries*, c.1643, Museum voor schone kunsten, Brussels

Fig. 78. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, roll and roemer*, 1646, Heinz collection, Washington

Fig. 79. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with crab, lemon and roemer*, 1644, Musée des Beaux Arts, Strasbourg

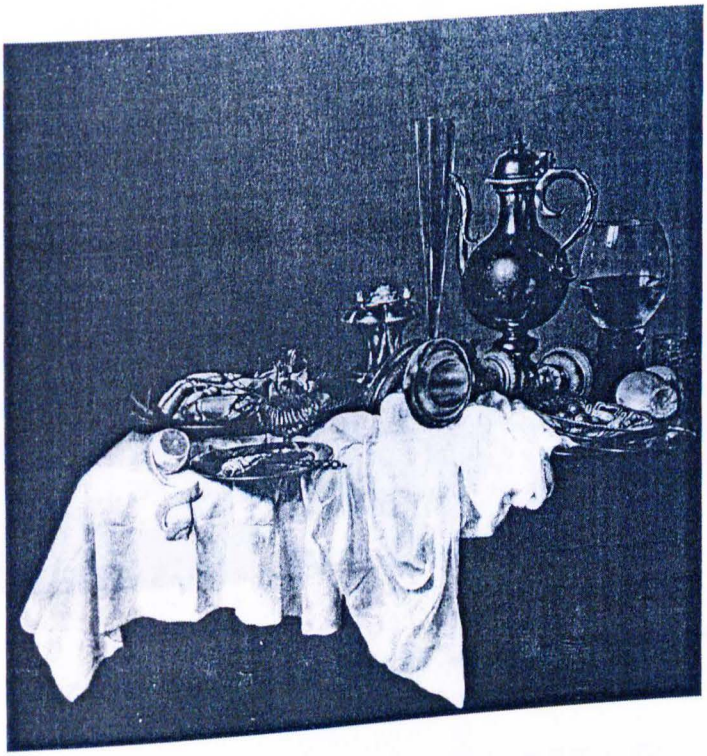


Fig. 80. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and drinking vessels*, 1648, Hermitage, Saint Petersburg

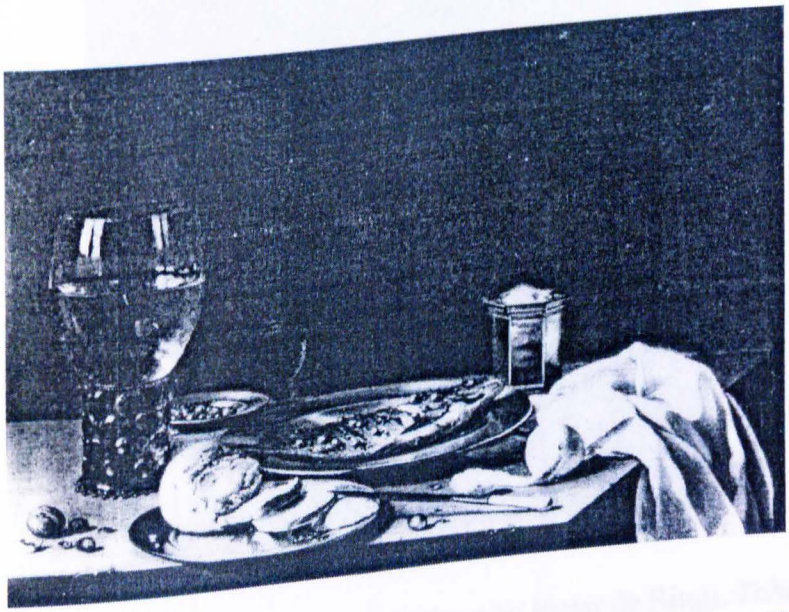


Fig. 81. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel, sliced roll and roemer*, 1628, location unknown

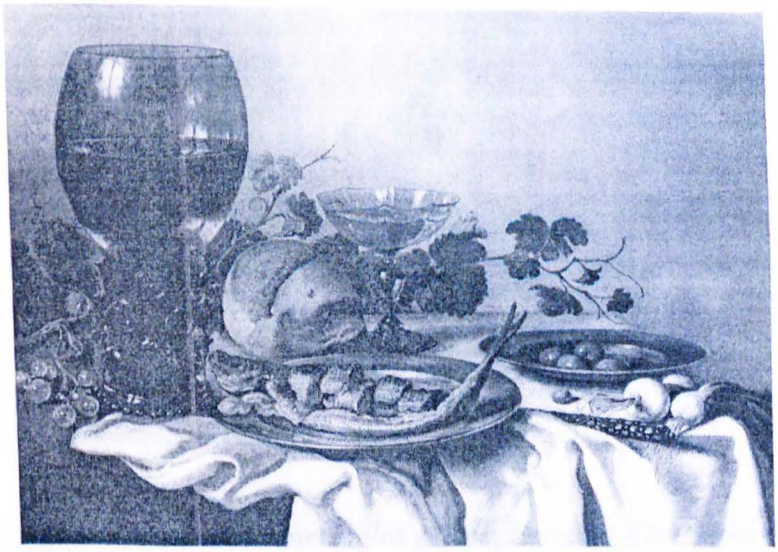


Fig. 82. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll and roemer*, 1643, art market

Fig. 83. Willem Claesz. Heda (with later additions by Pieter de Ring), *Tabletop with ham, oysters, overturned nautilus cup and other drinking vessels*, c.1647, art market

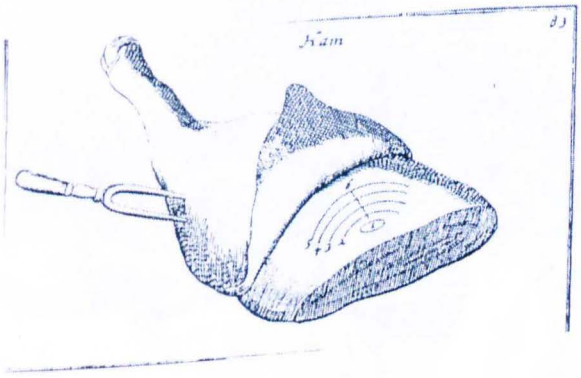


Fig. 84. Illustration of the proper carving of a ham, from *De Cierlijcke Voorsnydinge*

Fig. 85. Jan Steen, *Prayer before the meal*, 1660, Sudeley Castle

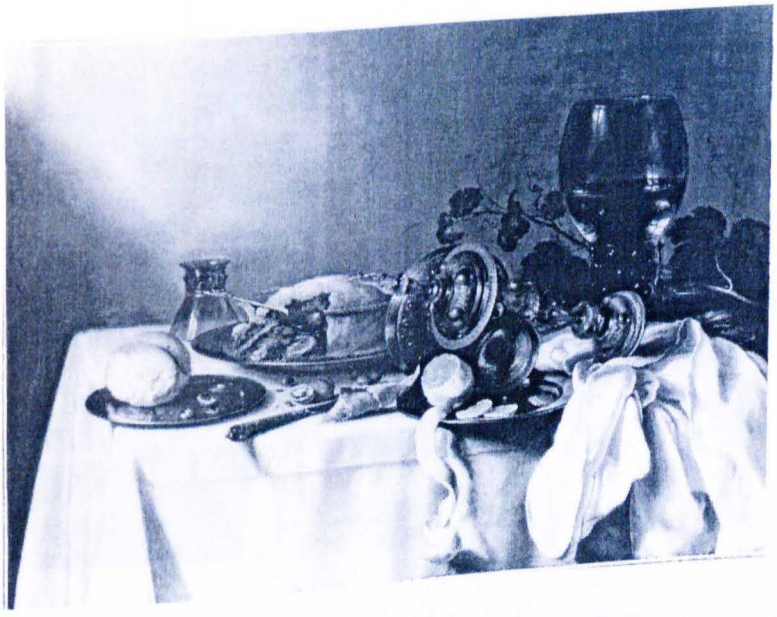


Fig. 86. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned tazza and overturned pronck goblet*, 1637, Winterthur Museum, Jacob Briner Rathaus foundation

Fig. 87. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie and overturned tazza*, 1633, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

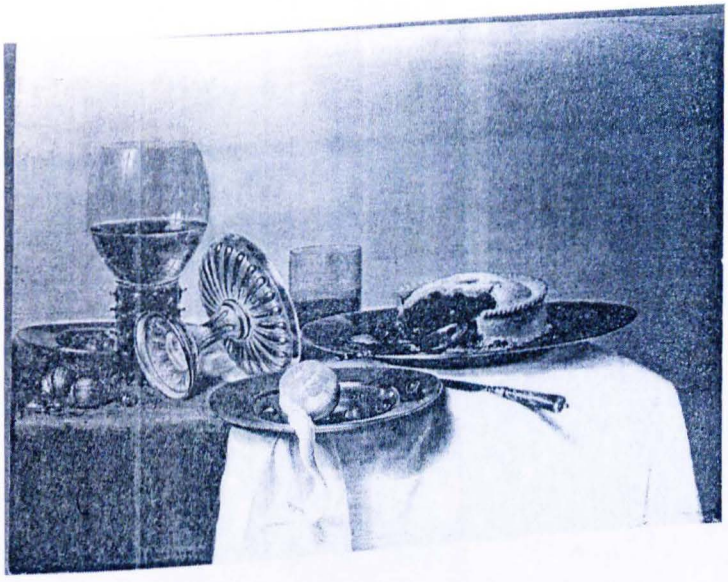


Fig. 88. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned tazza and lemon*, 1638, The Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Fig. 89. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with overturned crab, overturned nautilus cup, large pastry pie and roll*, 1658, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

Fig. 90. Esias van de Velde, *Merry Company in the open air*, 1615, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 91. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with pigeon pie*, c.1625-1627, formerly Heinz collection, Washington

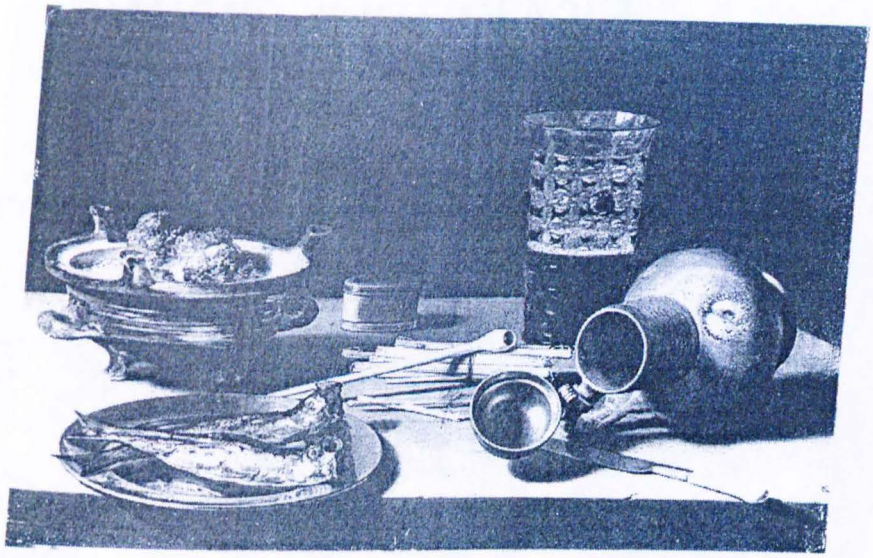


Fig. 92. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with smoked herring, smoking implements and overturned pitcher*, 1627, Timken Art Gallery, San Diego

Fig. 93. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with ham, sliced roll, herring and backet of cheeses*, late 1610s, private collection, Belgium

Fig. 94. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel, tray of berckemeiers, roll and roemer*, 1651, art market

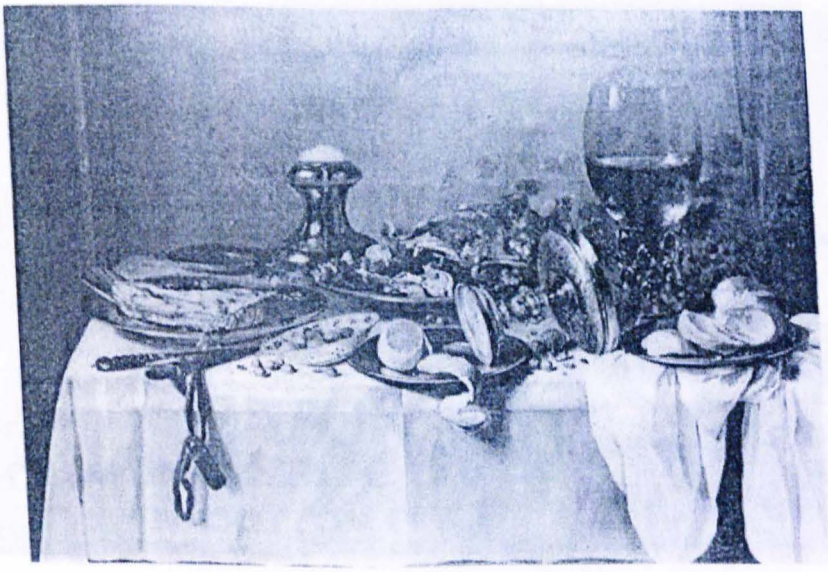


Fig. 95. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with salmon fillet, overturned tazza and lemon*, 164(5?), art market

Fig. 96. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and overturned beker*, c.1648, art market

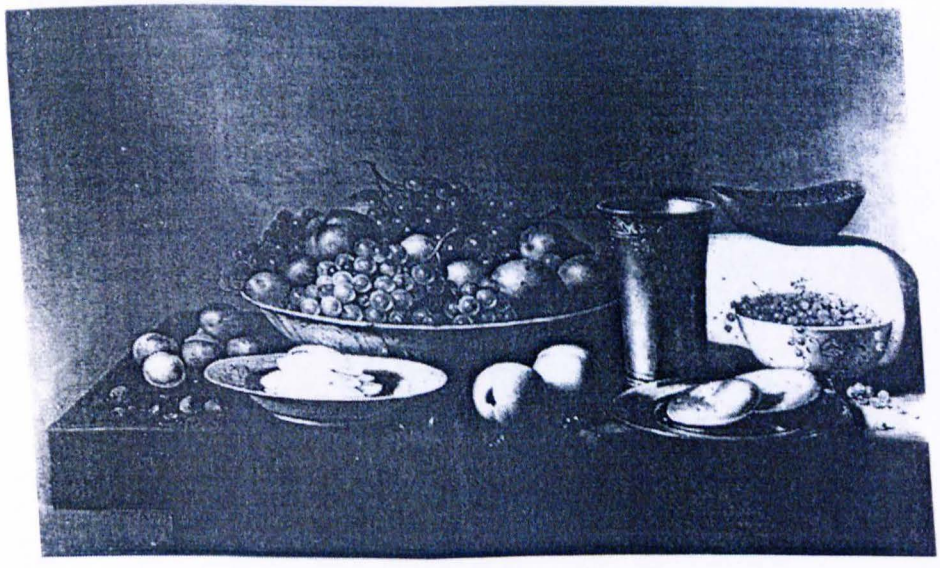


Fig. 97. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with bowl of fruit, stack of cheese and beker*, early to mid 1630s, art market

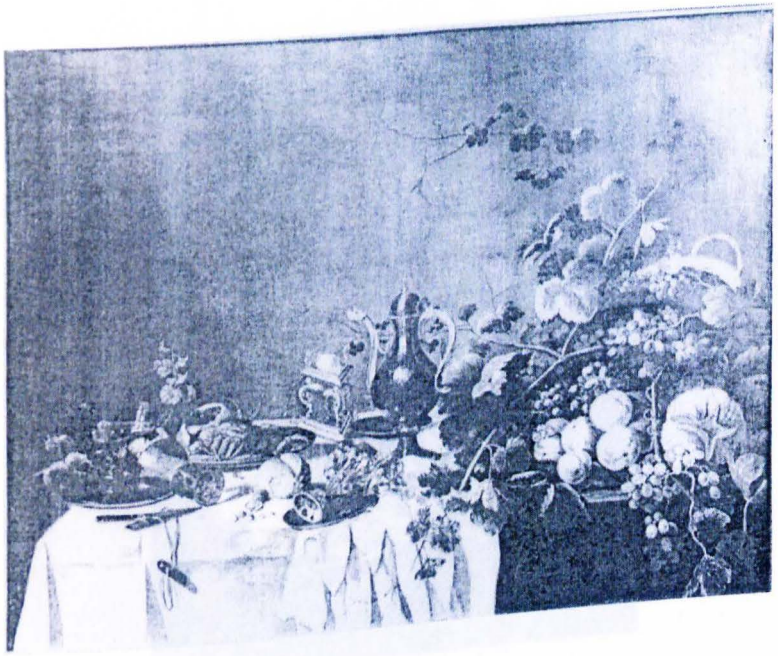


Fig. 98. Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with overturned crab, roll and basket of grapes and fruit*, c.1645, location unknown

Fig. 99. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with mince pie, roemer, roll and pile of fruit*, c.1645-1648, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

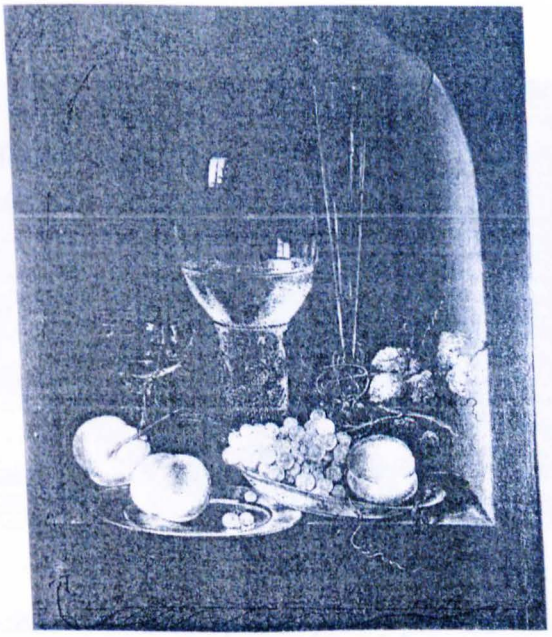


Fig. 100. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer, peaches and grapes in a niche*, 1650, art market

Fig. 101. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, dishes of fruit and halved apple*, c.1613-1614, art market

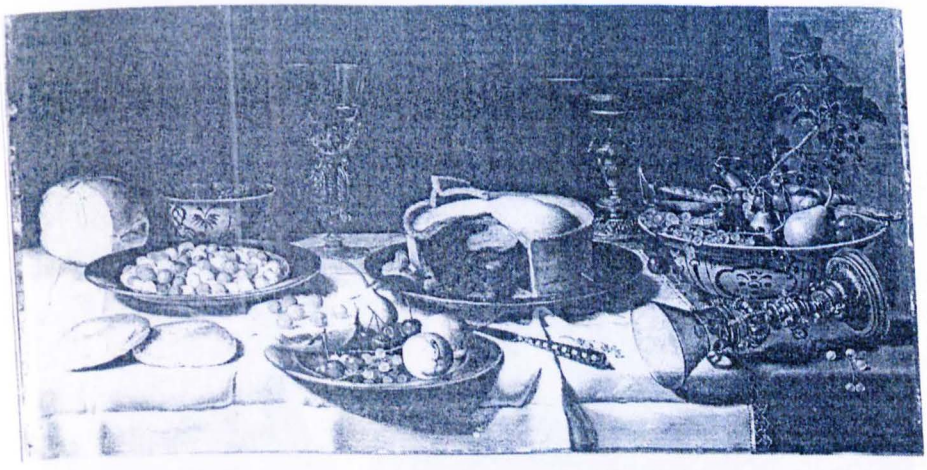


Fig. 102. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with pastry pie, dishes of fruit and overturned bekerschroef*, late 1620s, Ole Olsen collection, Klampenborg

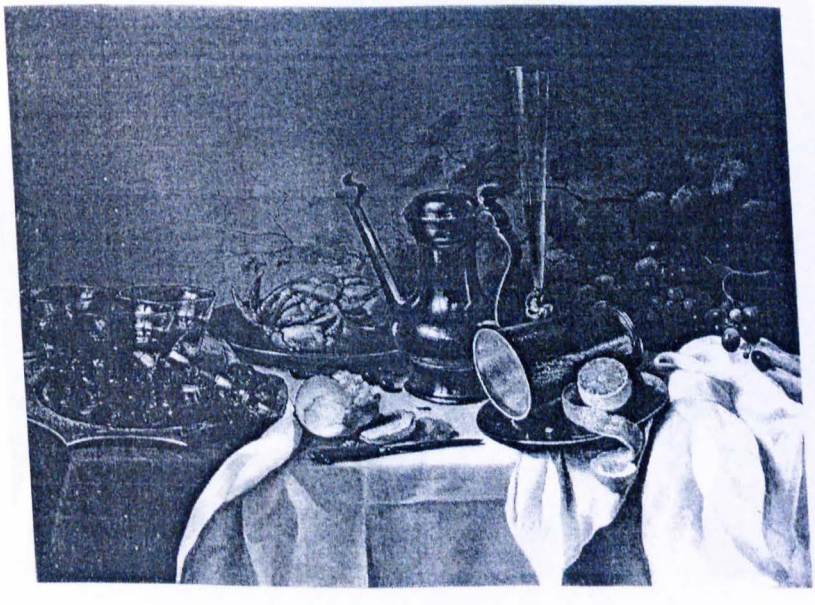


Fig. 103. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab, tray of bercekemeiers and pitcher*, c.1642-1645, art market

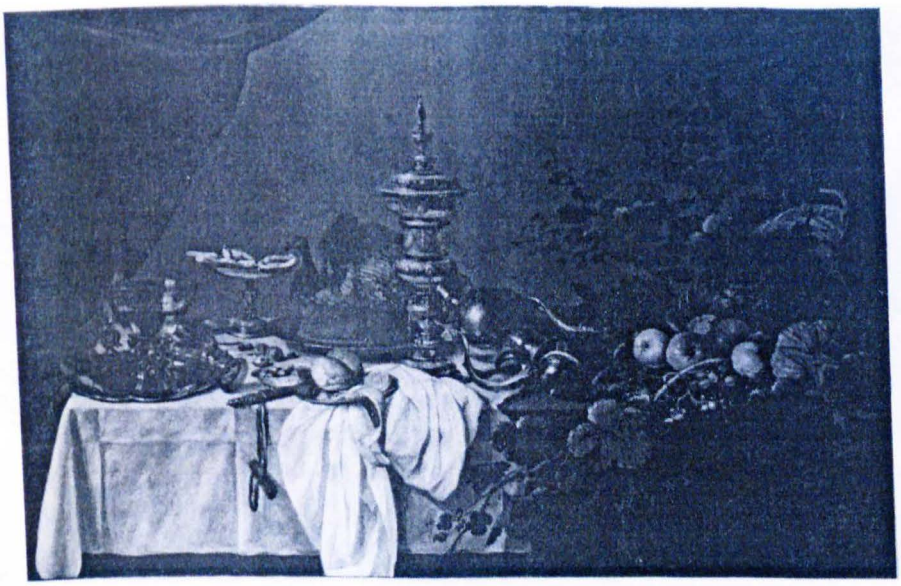


Fig. 104. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with pronck goblet, pigeon pie and fruit*, mid-1640s, art market

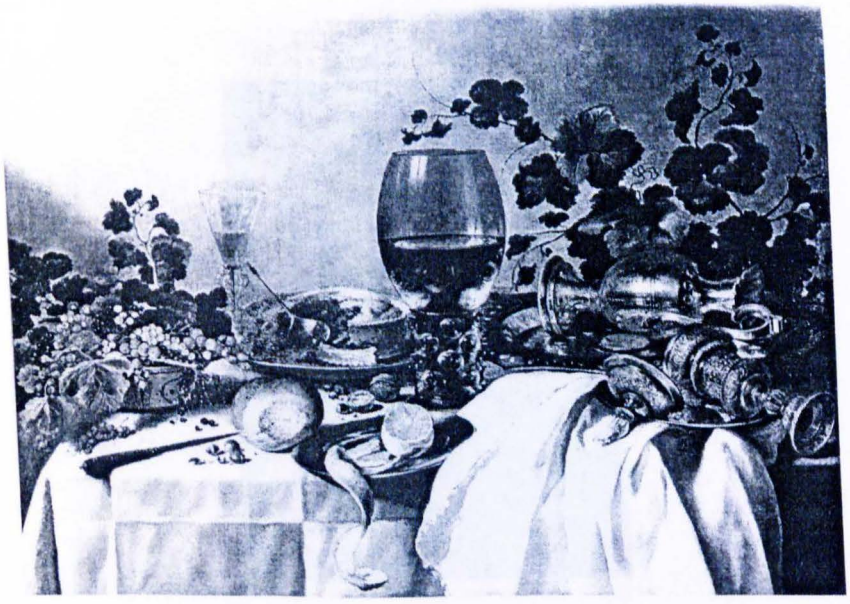


Fig. 105. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, mince pie and overturned drinking vessels*,1639, private collection

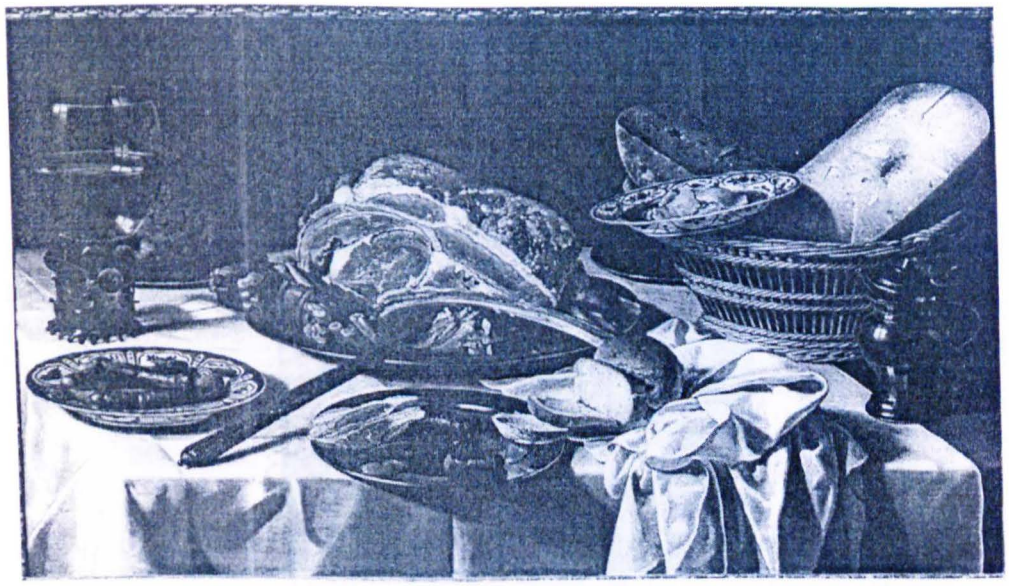


Fig. 106. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with plate of beef, plate of sausages and basket of cheese*, c.1627-1628, location unknown

Fig. 107. Job Berckheyde, *The Baker*, c.1681, Worcester Art Museum

Fig. 108. Jan Steen, *Bakker Arent Oostwaard and his wife Catharina Keizerswaard*, 1658, Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 109. Jan de Bray, *The Acts of Mercy – Feeding and Clothing the Orphan Children*, 1663, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

Fig. 110. Anonymous Dutch painter, *Portrait of family saying grace before the meal*, 1601, Museum het Catherineconvent, Utrecht

Fig. 111. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of mussels, plate of crabs and stack of cheese*, early to mid 1630s, art market

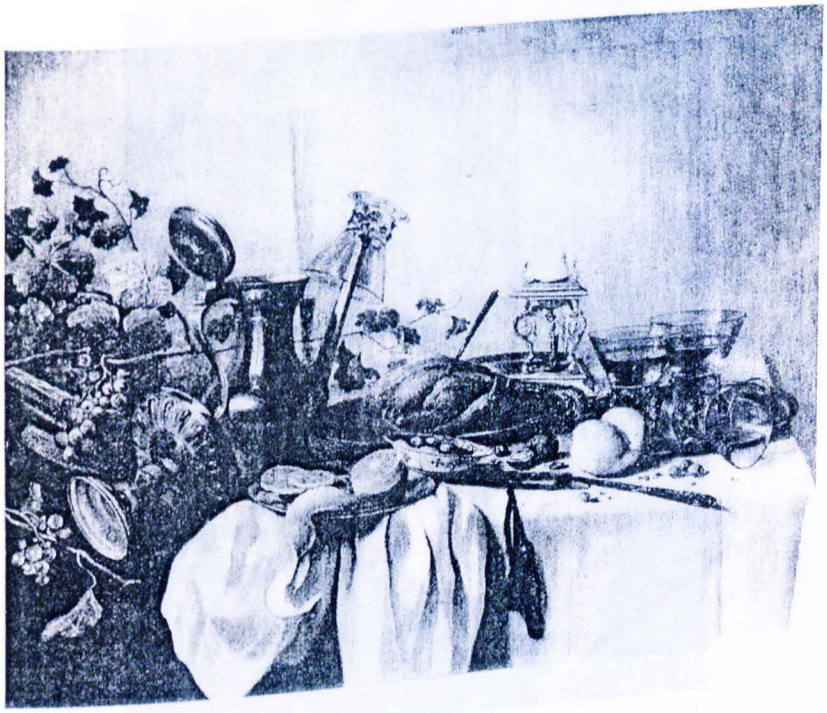


Fig. 112. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roasted chicken, tray of berckemeiers and overturned tazza*, 1645, location unknown

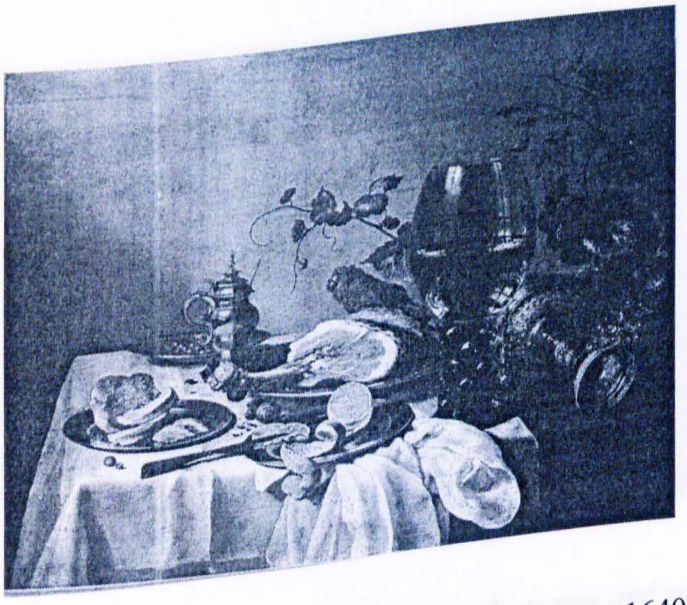


Fig. 113. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, sliced roll and lemon*, 1640, private collection

Fig. 114. Gerrit Heda, *Tabletop with ham, roll and overturned tazza*, 1649, Pushkin Museum, Moscow

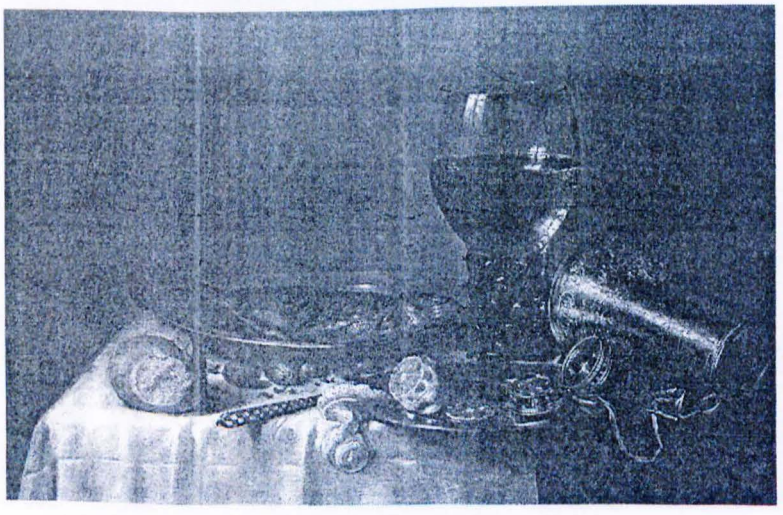


Fig. 115. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mackerel, roemer and watch*, 1631, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford

Fig. 116. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, overturned tazza and roll*, 1633, Gemäldegalerie, Kassel

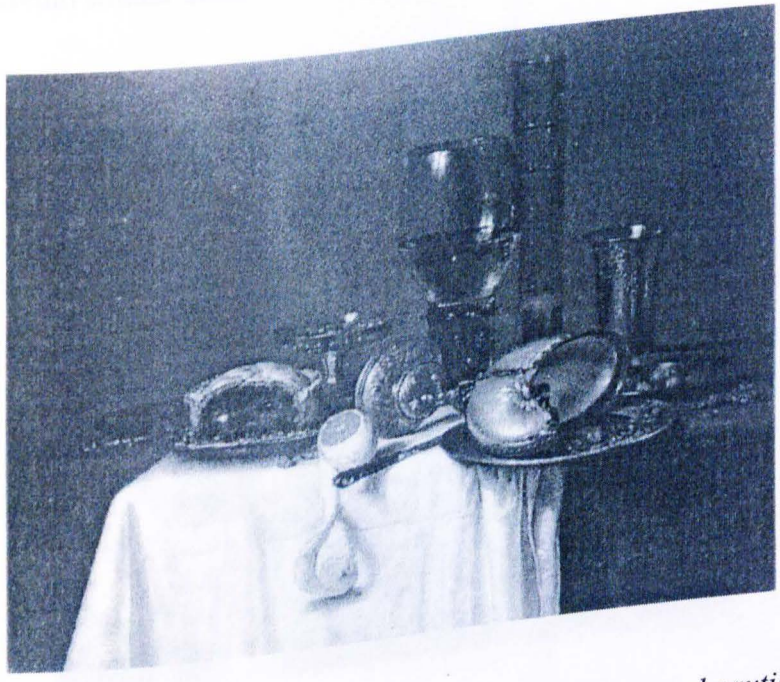


Fig. 117. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned nautilus cup and drinking vessels*, 1640, private collection, Cologne

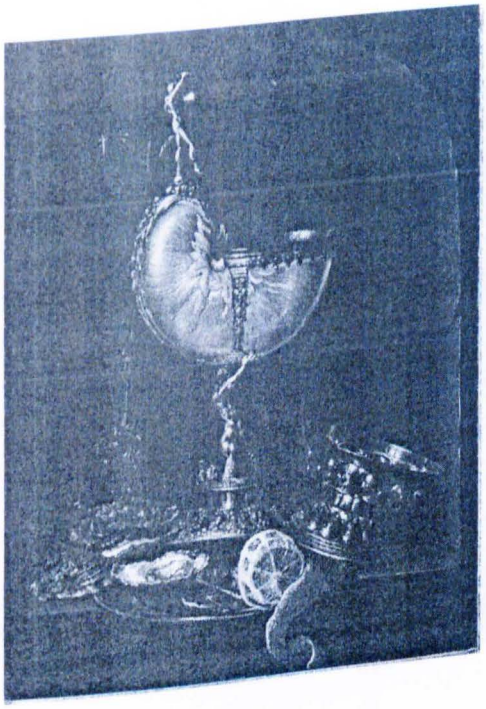


Fig. 118. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Nautilus cup, lemon and oysters in a niche*, c.1660, Museum Ridder Smidt van Gelder, Antwerp

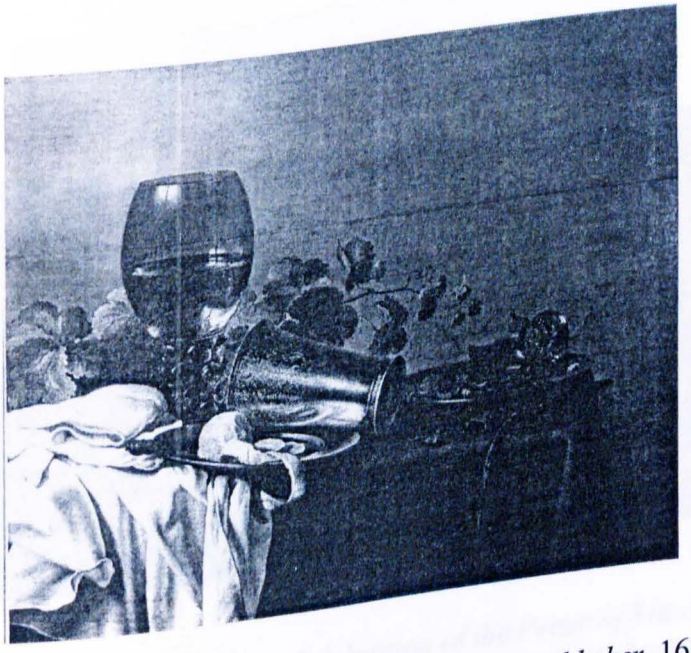


Fig. 119. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned beker*, 1635, formerly art market

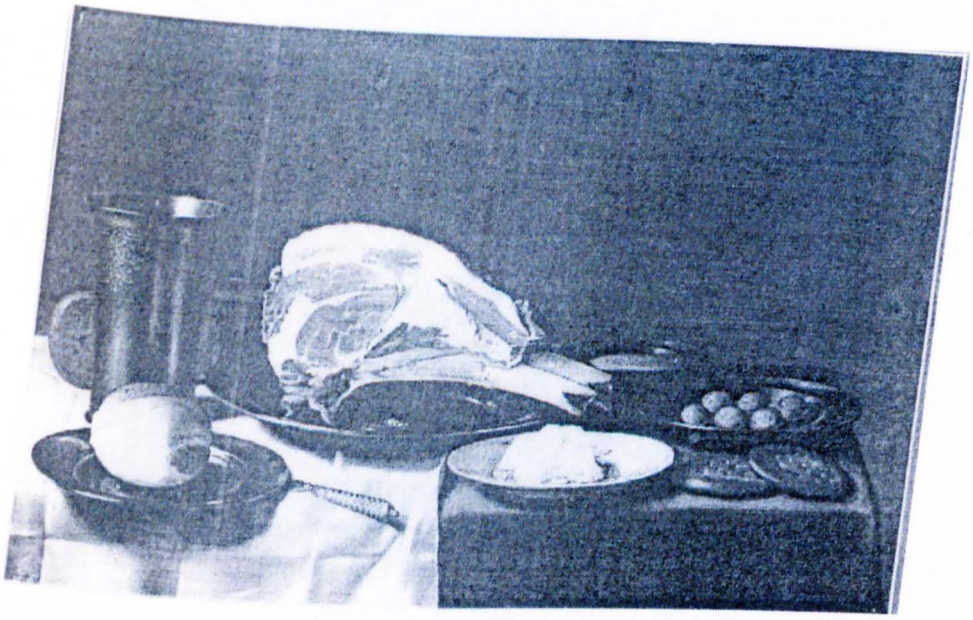


Fig. 120. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef*, late 1620s, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig

Fig. 121. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Celebration of the Peace of Münster, 1648, at the Crossbowmen's Headquarters*, 1648, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 122. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with overturned berckemeier and watch*, 1630, Mauritshuis, The Hague

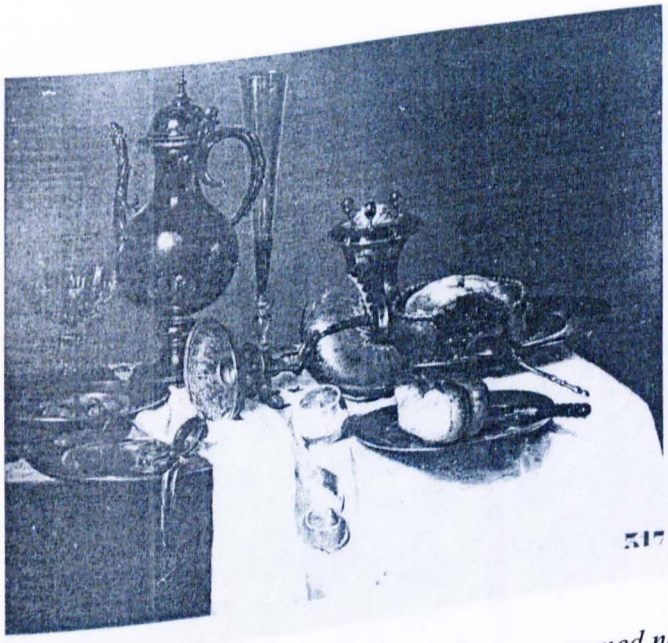


Fig. 123. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie, overturned nautilus cup and drinking vessels*, 1642, Museum d'Art et d'Industrie, St. Etienne

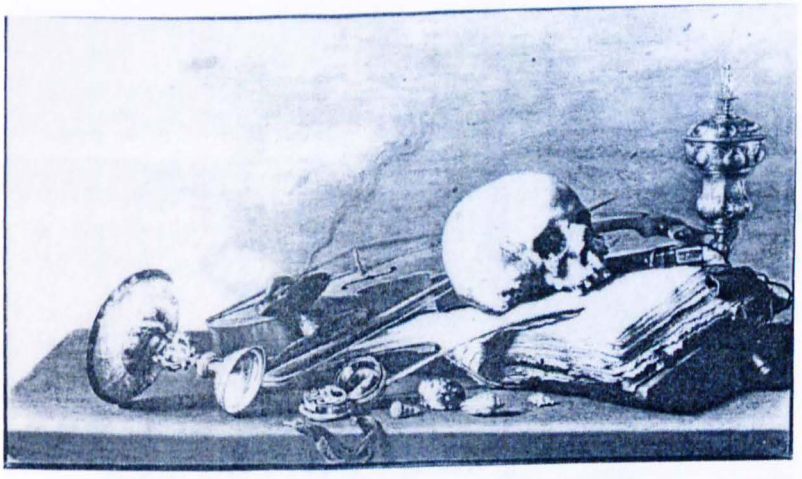


Fig. 124. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with violin and overturned tazza*, 1629, art market

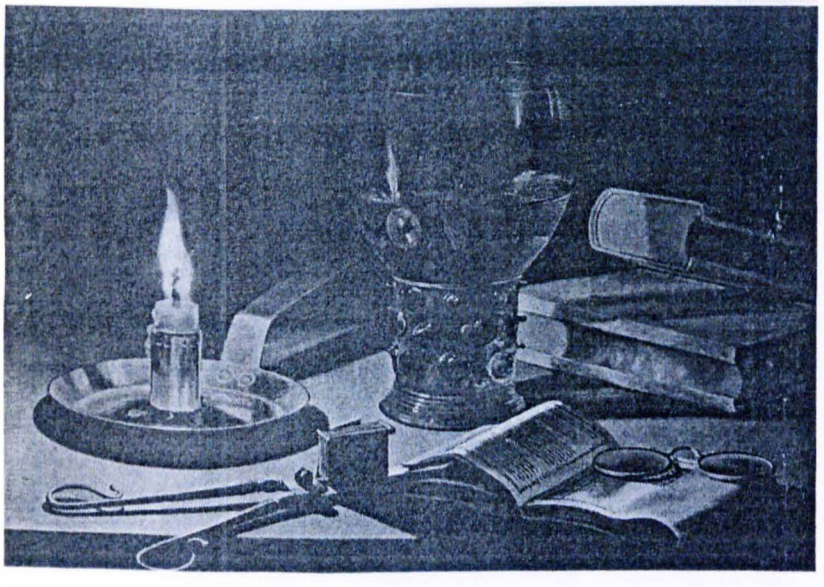


Fig. 125. Pieter Claesz, *Still life with roemer, books and candle*, 1627, Mauritshuis, The Hague

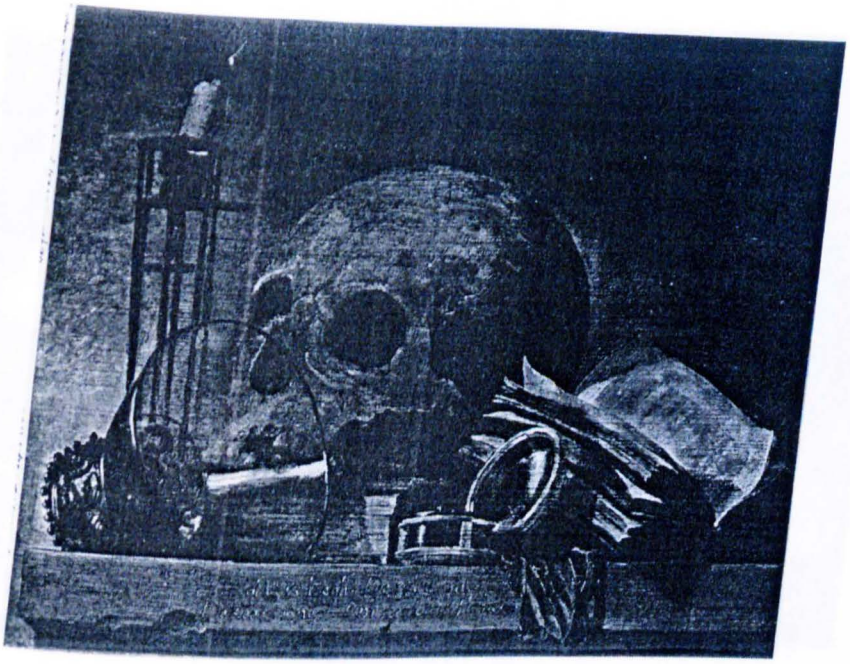


Fig. 126. Anonymous Dutch painter, *Vanitas still life with epithet*, early 1630s, private collection

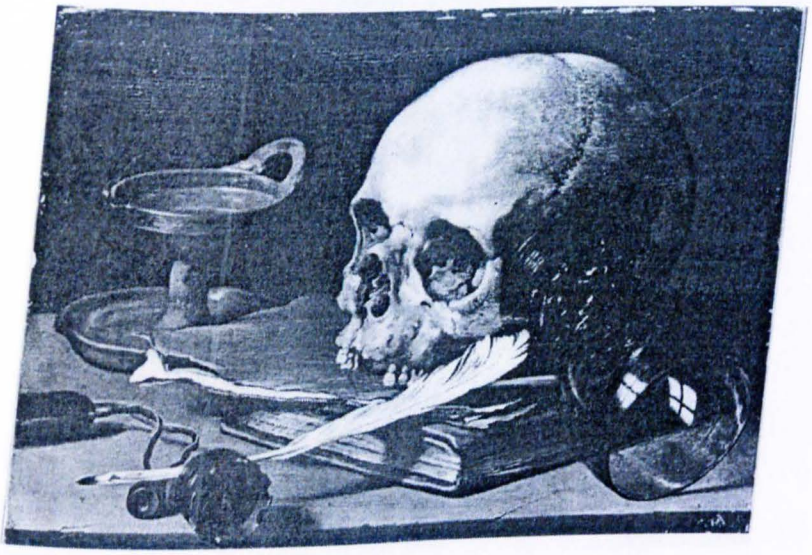


Fig. 127. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with quill and pen and overturned roemer*, 1628, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 128. Floris van Dijck, *Tabletop with stack of cheese, dishes of fruit and roll,* 161(3?), art market

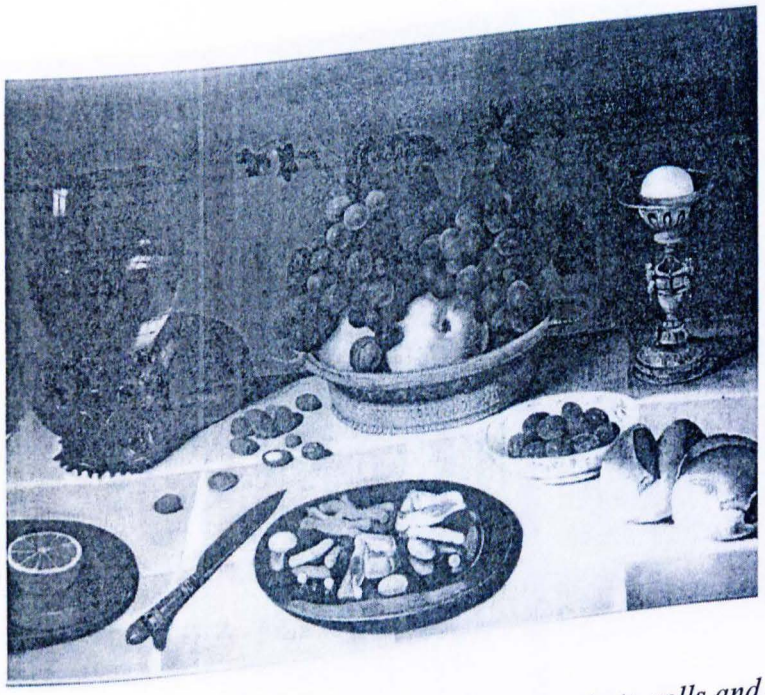


Fig. 129. Circle of Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with basket of fruit, rolls and pastries,* c.1615-1620, Rijksdienst voor Beeldende Kunst

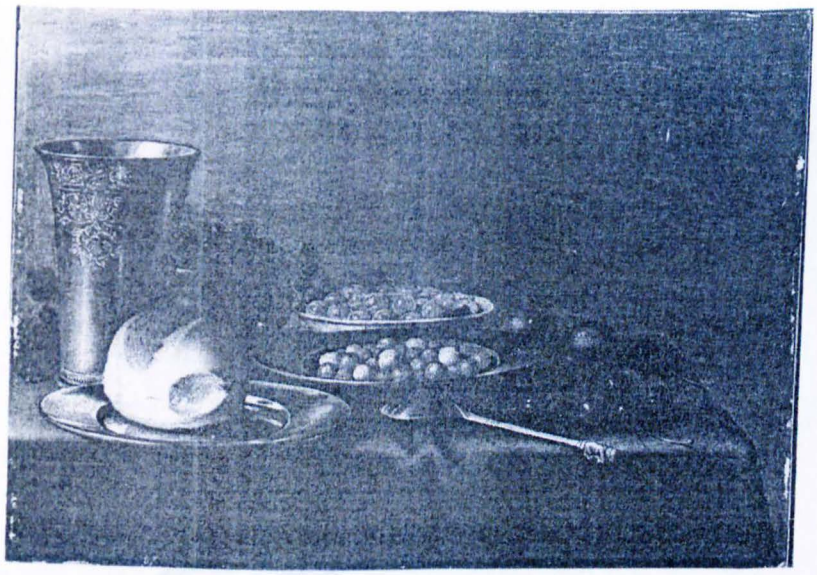


Fig. 130. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with plates of fruit, roll and beker*, 1630s, art market

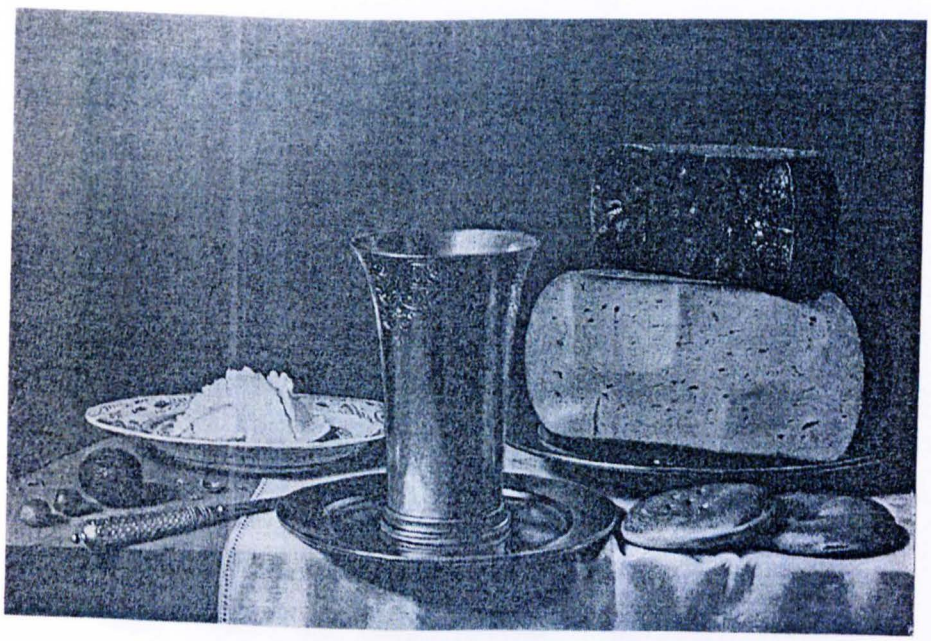


Fig. 131. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with beker and stack of cheese*, late 1620s-mid-1630s, formerly art market

Fig. 132. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with bowl of fruit, stack of cheese and roll,* mid- to late 1620s, formerly art market

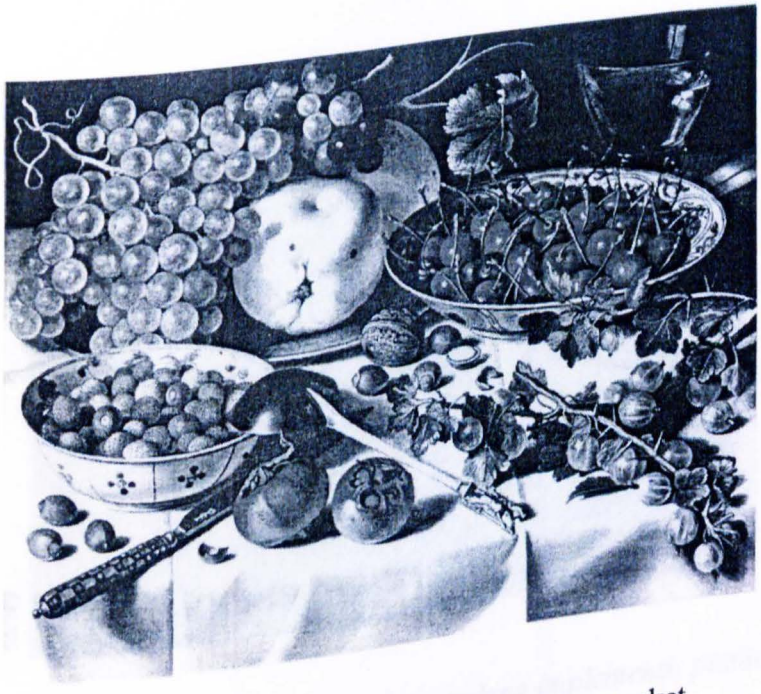


Fig. 133. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with fruit*, c.1621-1622, art market

Fig. 134. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with beer and smoking implements*, 1642, art market

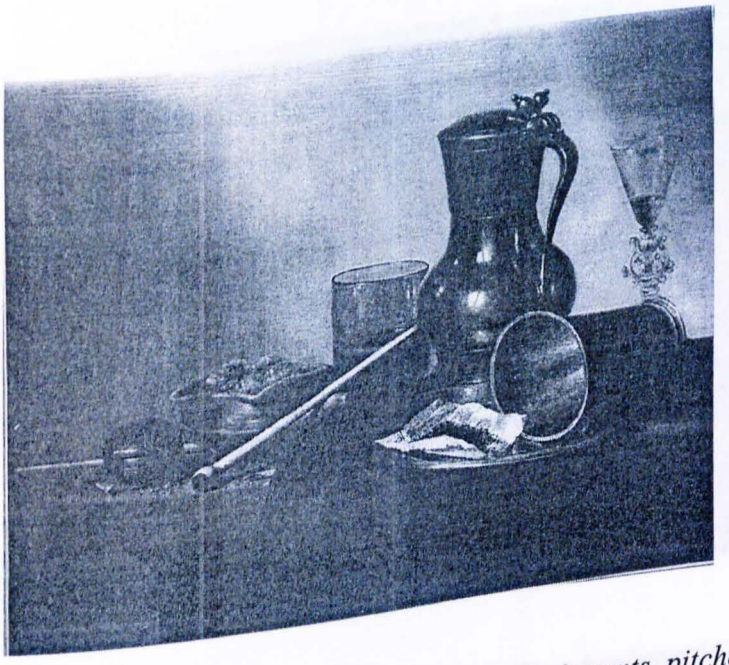


Fig. 135. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with smoking implements, pitcher and overturned beker*, 1637, Carter Collection, Los Angeles

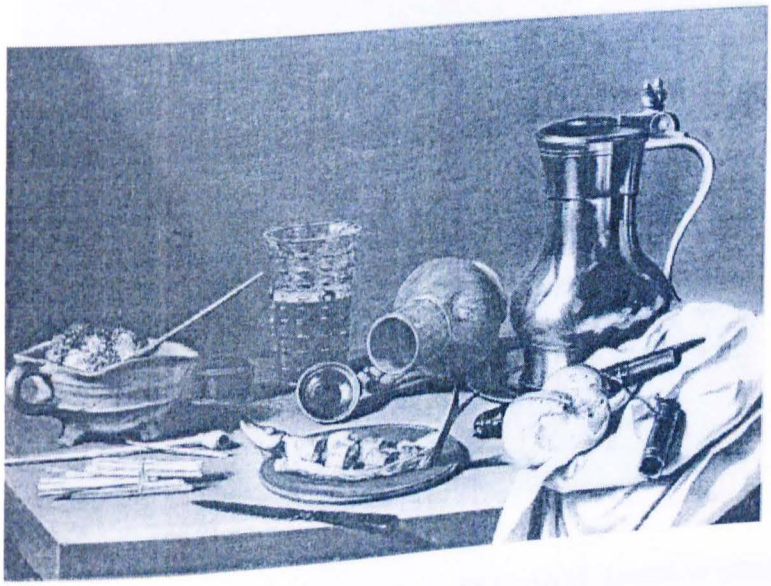


Fig. 136. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll and smoking implements*, 1627, art market

Fig. 137. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll, smoking implements and pitcher*, 1644, Mauritshuis, The Hague

Fig. 138. Adriaen Brouwer, *Fight over Cards*, c. 1631-1635, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden

Fig. 139. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer with a nut*, 1630, Rijksdienst voor Beeldende Kunst

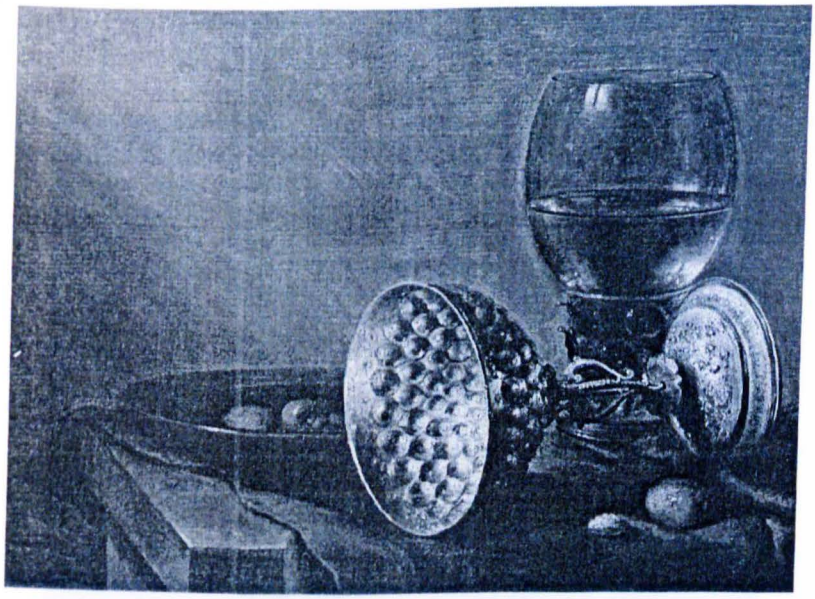


Fig. 140. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned goblet*, 1630, art market

Fig. 141. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Roemer with fruit*, 1629, Fürstliche Hohenzollernsche Sammlungen, Sigmaringen

Fig. 142. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned tazza*, 1642, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

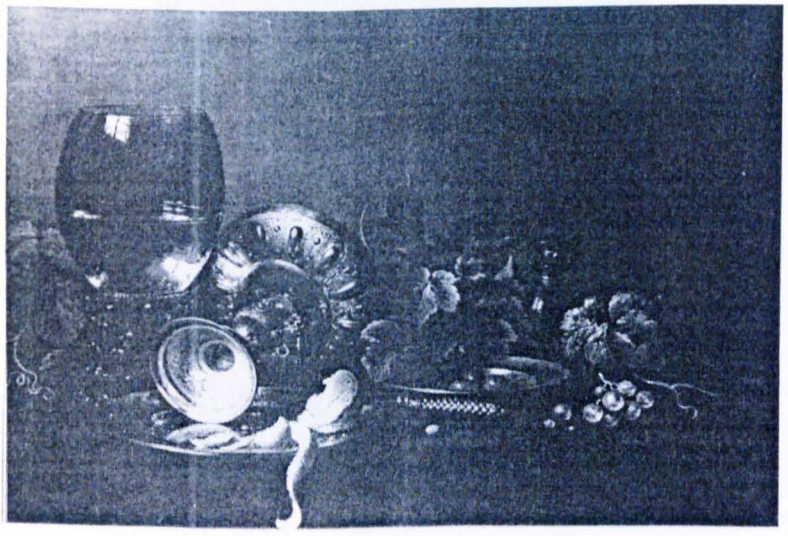


Fig. 143. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer and overturned tazza*, early 1640s, formerly art market

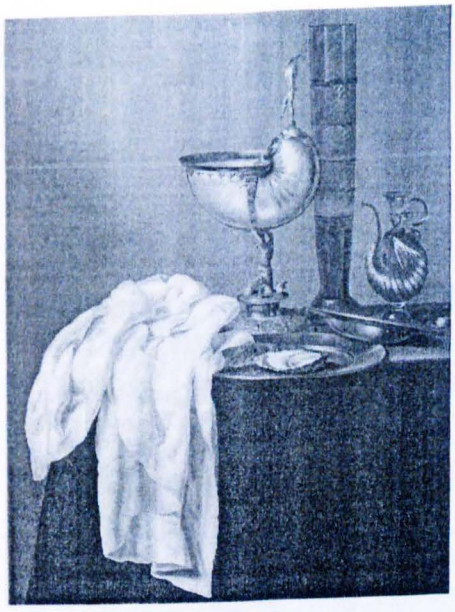


Fig. 144. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with nautilus cup and pasglas of beer*, 1640, Mauritshuis, The Hague

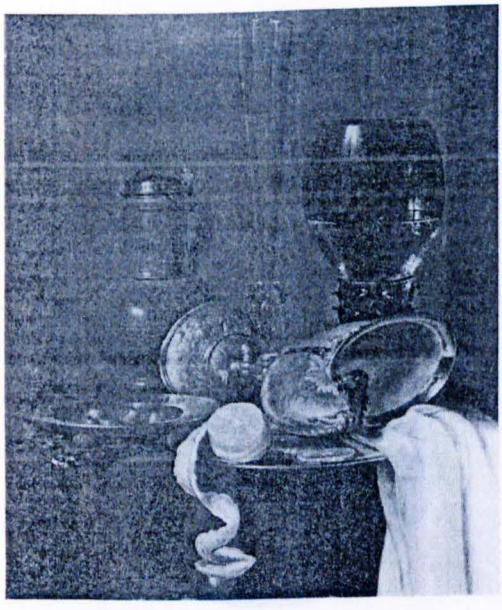


Fig. 145. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with overturned nautilus cup and lemon*, 164(4?), formerly art market

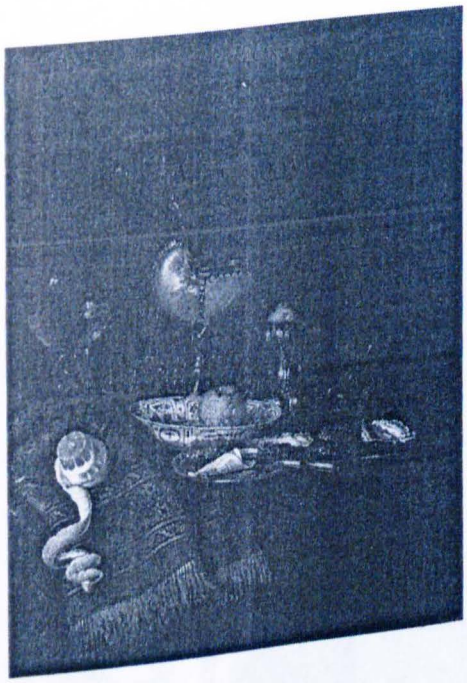


Fig. 146. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with nautilus cup and ming bowl with orange*, 1661, formerly art market

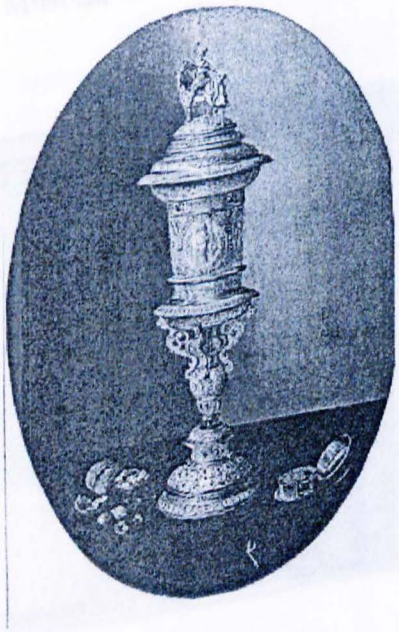


Fig. 147. Pieter Claesz, *Ceremonial Cup of the Brewer's Guild of Haarlem with watch*, 1641, art market

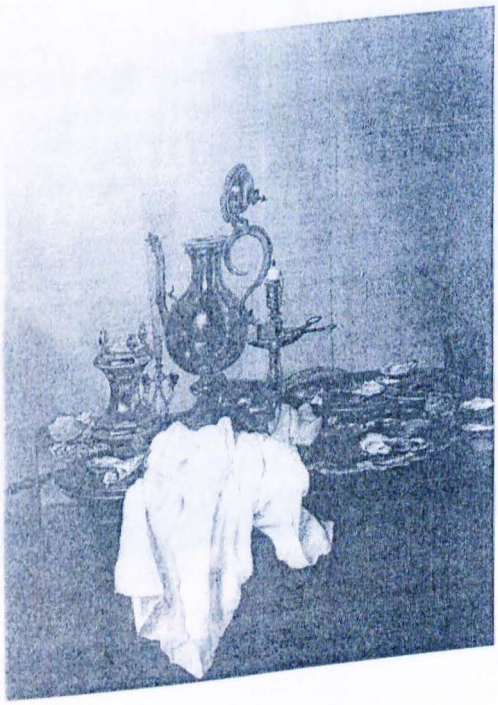


Fig. 148. Gerrit Willemsz. Heda, *Tabletop with drinking vessels and oysters*, c.1647-1650, Staatliches Museen, Schwerin

Fig. 149. After Pieter Claesz (Cornelis Cruys?), *Tabletop with pigeon pie, pronck goblet and fruit*, mid-1640s, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft

Fig. 150. Willem Claesz Heda, *Tabletop with berckemeier and oysters*, 1631, art market

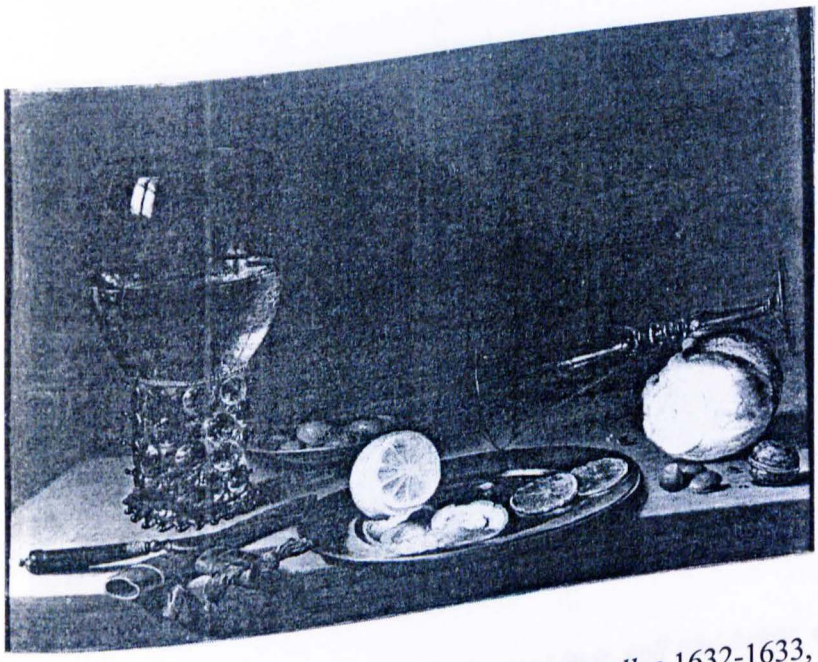


Fig. 151. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, lemon and roll*, c.1632-1633, art market

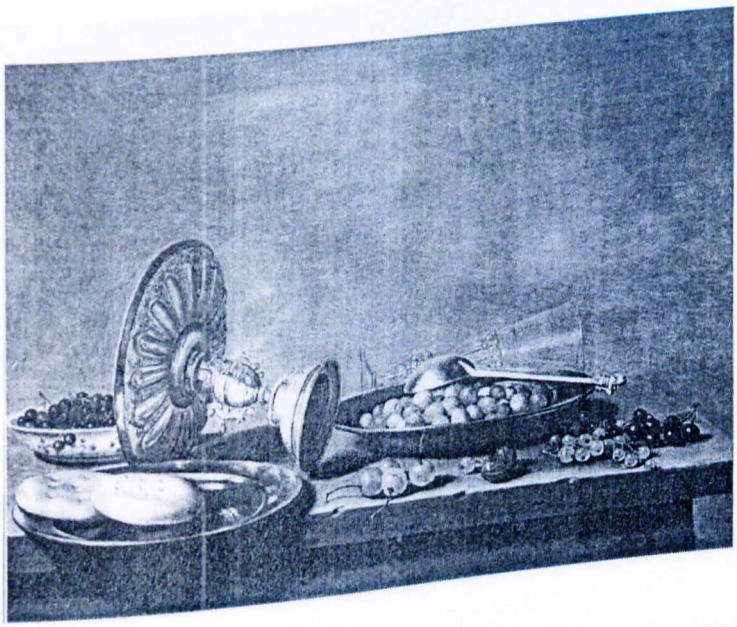


Fig. 152. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with overturned tazza and fruit*, early 1630s, formerly art market

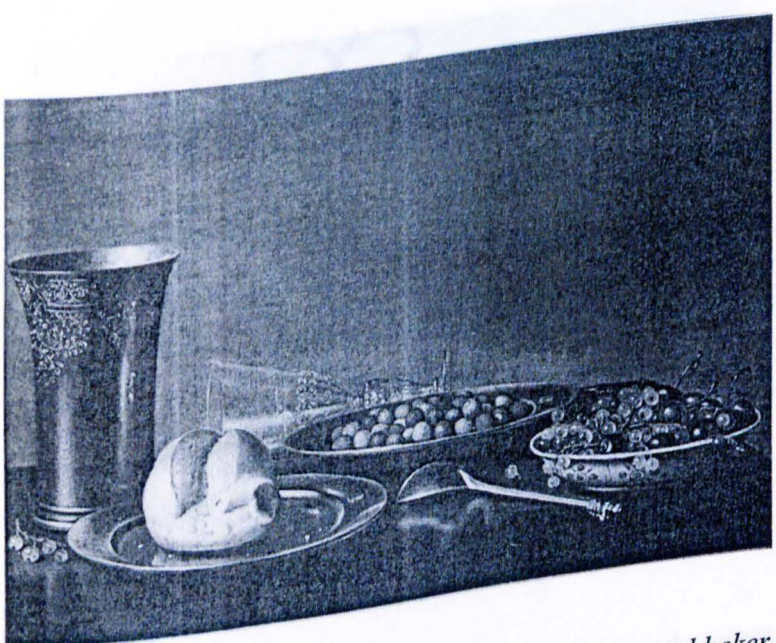


Fig. 153. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dishes of fruit, roll and beker*, early 1630s, formerly art market

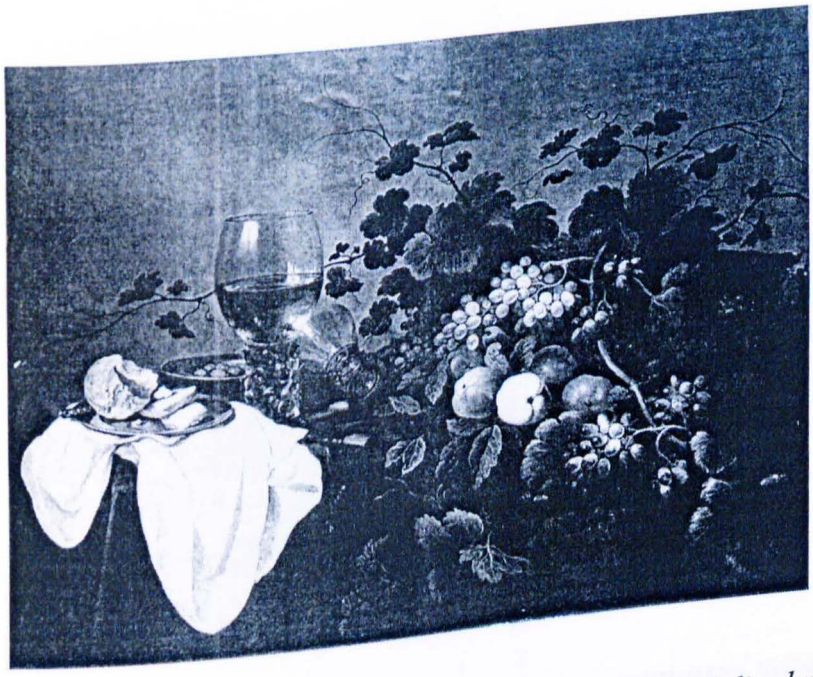


Fig. 154. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with roemer and sliced roll and fruit*, mid-1640s, National Museum, Budapest

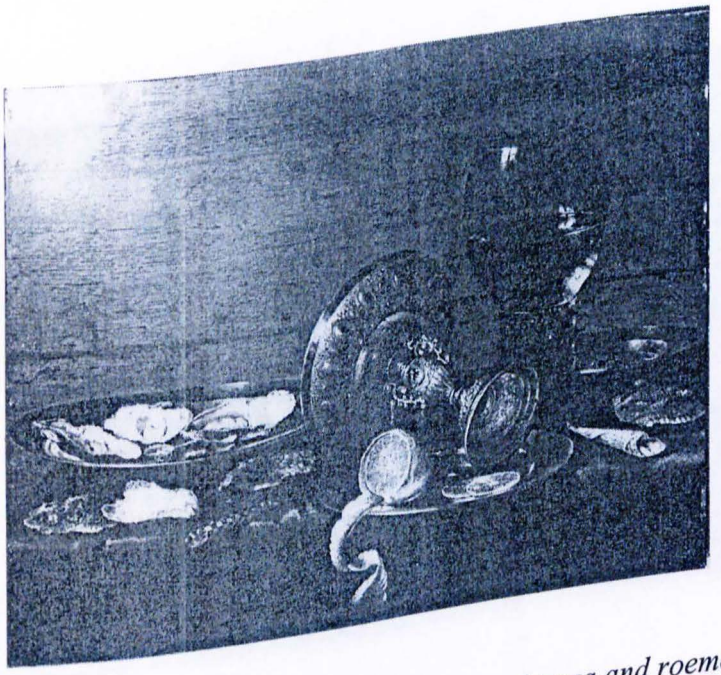


Fig. 155. Willem Claesz Heda, *Tabletop with overturned tazza and roemer*, 1631, art market

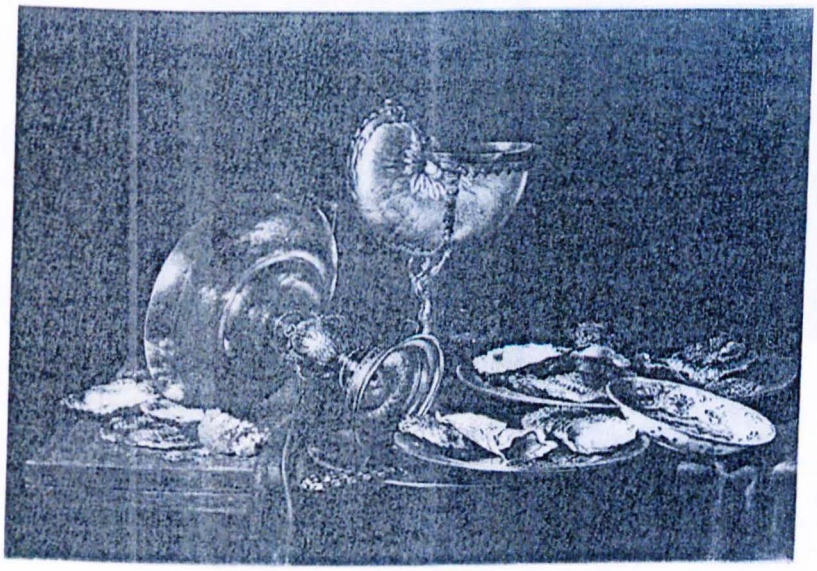


Fig. 156. Willem Claesz Heda, *Tabletop with nautilus cup, overturned tazza and oysters*, 1649, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin

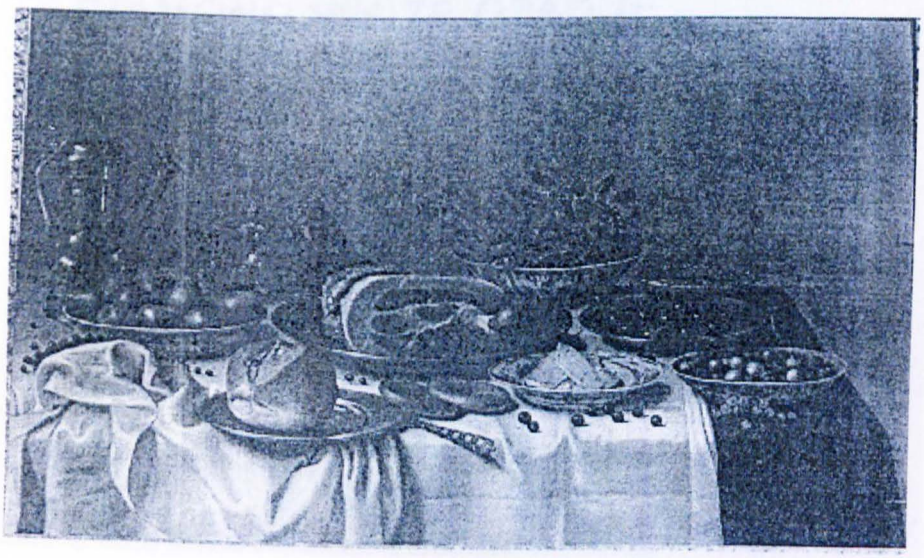


Fig. 157. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with ham and dishes of fruit*, 1630s, Coll. S.J. Graaf von Limburg-Stirum, Spijkerbosch, Olst

Fig. 158. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef, stack of cheese and roll*, mid-to late 1620s, Kunsthalle, Hamburg

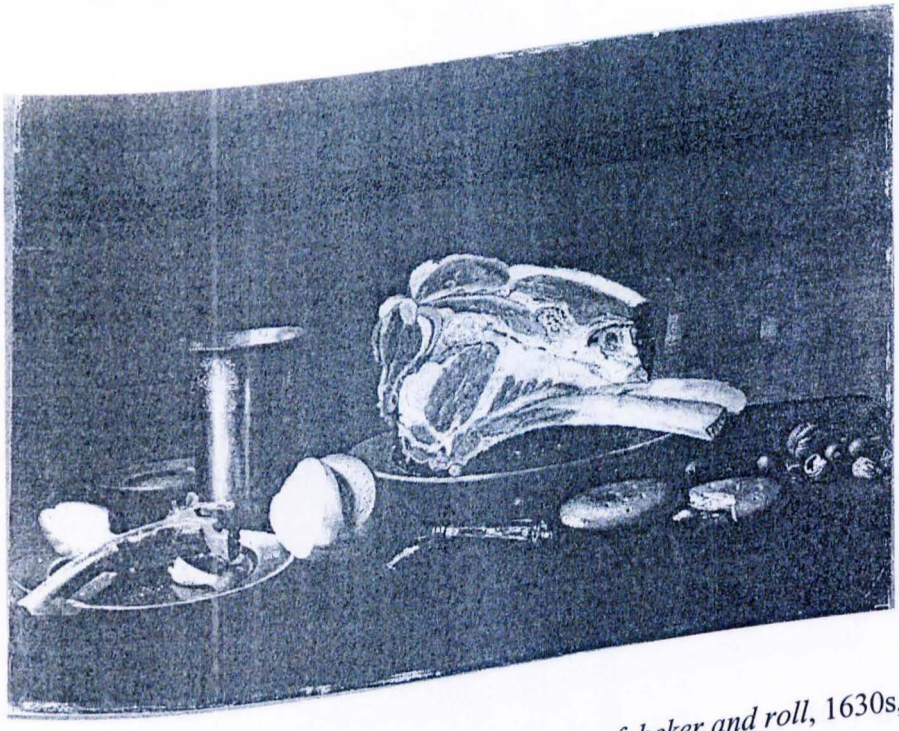


Fig. 159. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with dish of beef, beker and roll*, 1630s, Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Dusseldorf

Fig. 160. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, roll and basket of cheeses*, 1624, Rijksdienst voor Beeldende Kunst

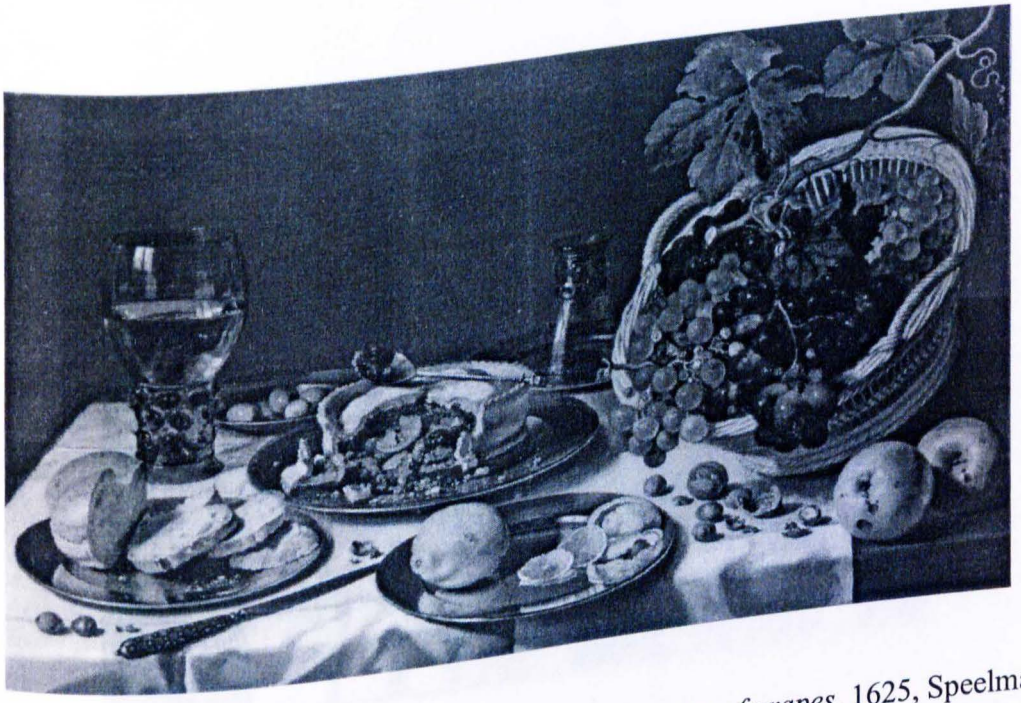


Fig. 161. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie and basket of grapes*, 1625, Speelman Collection, Amsterdam

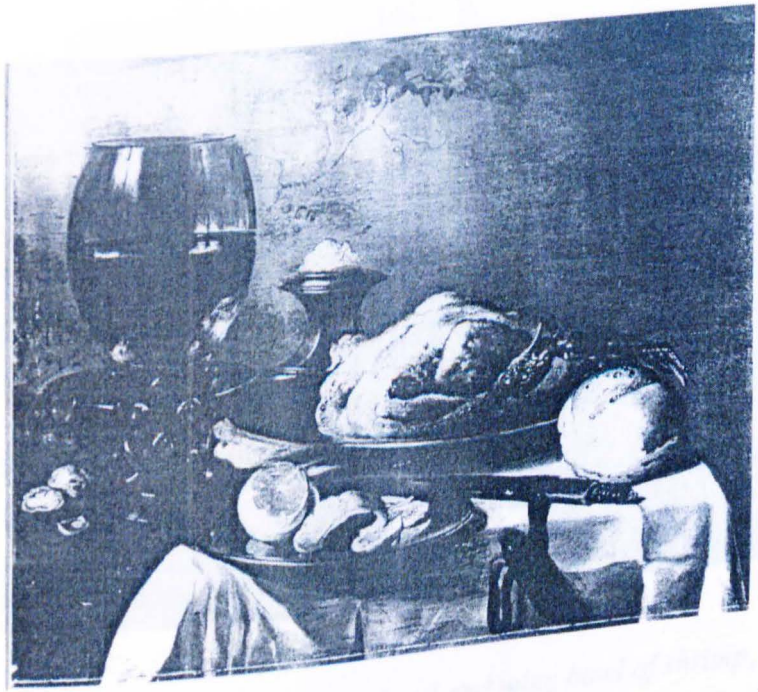


Fig. 162. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roasted chicken, roemer and roll*, c.1643-1644, National Gallery, Prague

Fig. 163. Pieter Claesz?, *Tabletop with mince pie*, c. 1642-1643, National Museum, Budapest

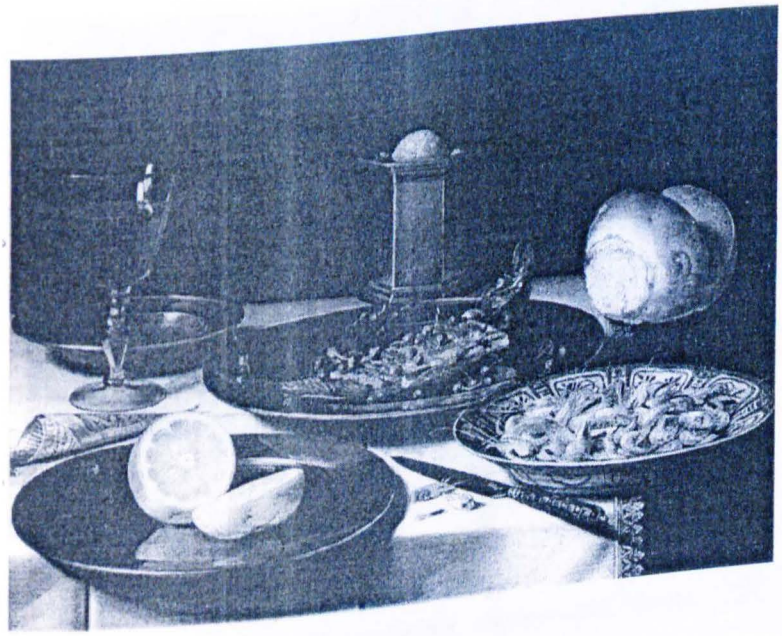


Fig. 164. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel and ming bowl of shrimp*, mid-1620s, art market

Fig. 165. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with herring, onions and beer*, c.1628-1629, formerly art market

Fig. 166. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie, roemer and lemon*, 1637, formerly art market

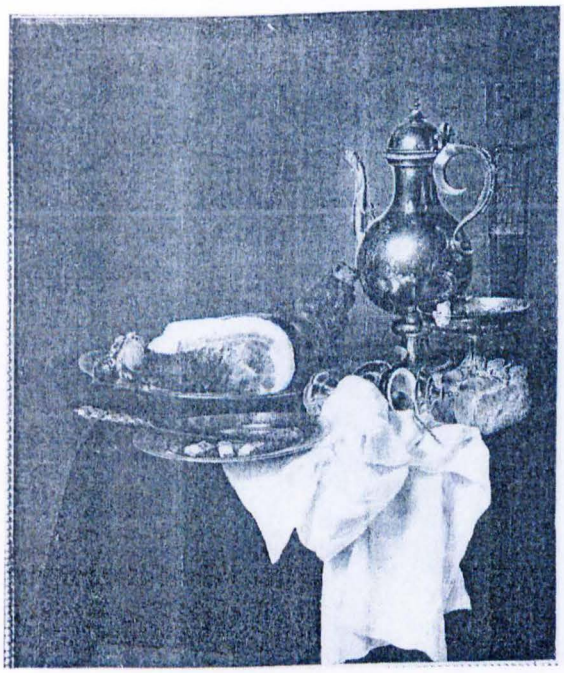


Fig. 167. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with ham and overturned mustard pot*, 1644(?), Alte Pinakothek, Munich

Fig. 168. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters and overturned vinegar decanter*, 1656, art market

Fig. 169. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with plate of oysters, roemer and overturned tazza*, 1632, art market

Fig. 170. Gerrit Willemsz. Heda, *Tabletop with ham, tray of berckemeiers and drinking vessels*, 1650, National Gallery of Art, Washington

Fig. 171. Gerrit Willemsz. Heda, *Tabletop with mackerel, tray of berckemeiers and drinking vessels*, 1647, private collection, Canada

Fig. 172. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mackerel, roll, overturned beker and roemer*, 1646, art market

Fig. 173. Pieter Claesz and Roelof Koets, *Tabletop with dish of beef, tray of berckemeiers, basket of fruit*, 1650, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston

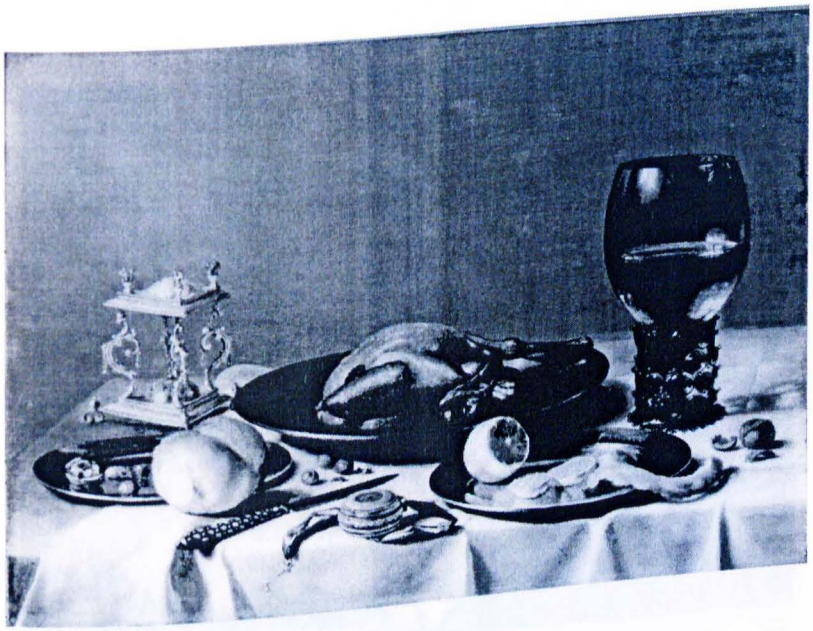


Fig. 174. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roasted chicken, lemon and a watch*, 1630, art market

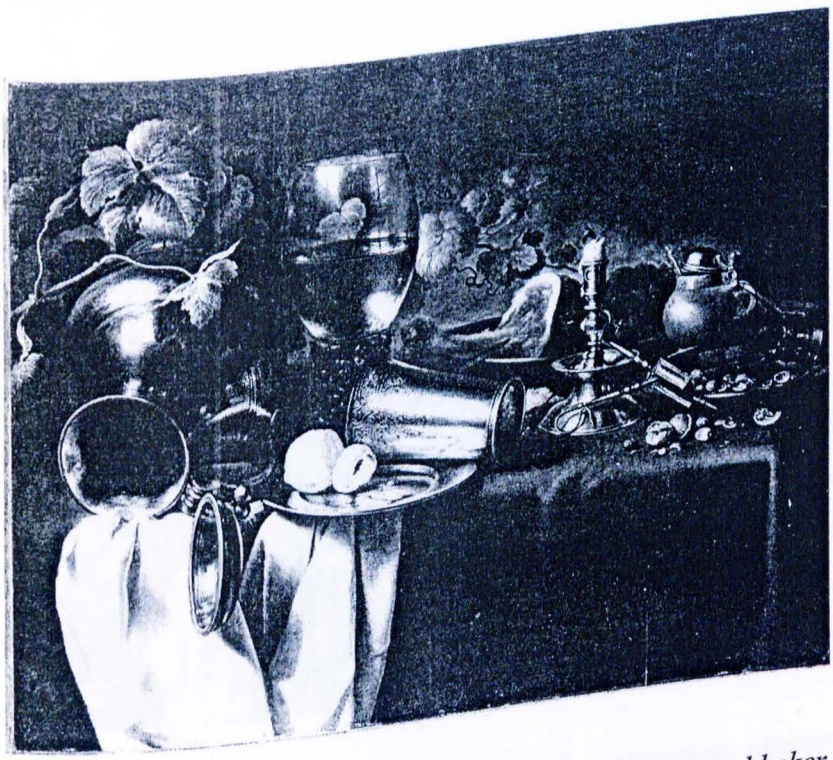


Fig. 175. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roemer, overturned pitcher and beker, ham and candle*, mid-1640s, private collection

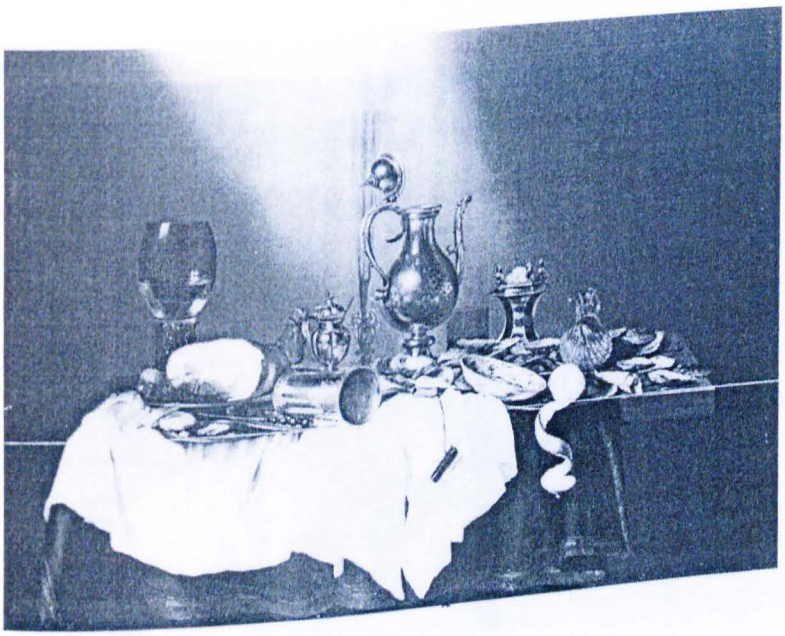


Fig. 176. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with pitcher, oysters and ham*, 1656, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

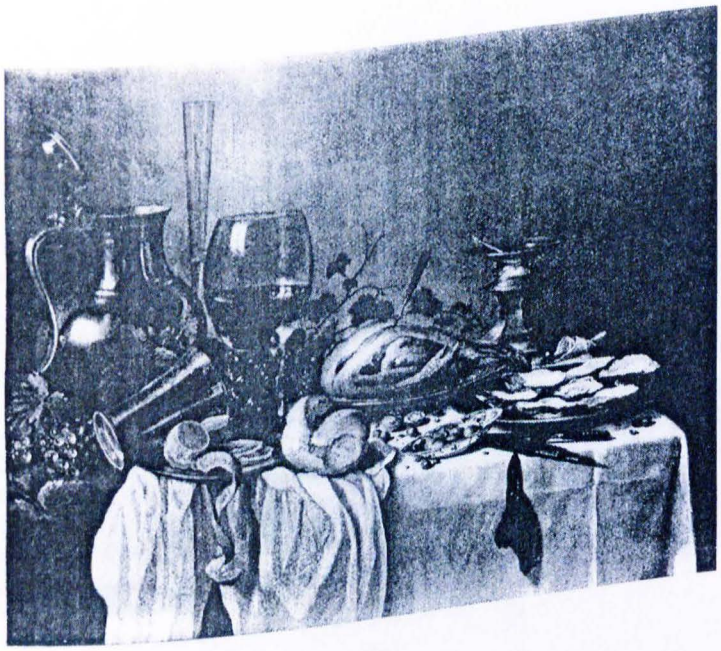


Fig. 177. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with roast chicken, plate of oysters, roemer, roll and overturned beker*, 1647, location unknown

Fig. 178. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with crabs and oysters*, mid-1640s, art market

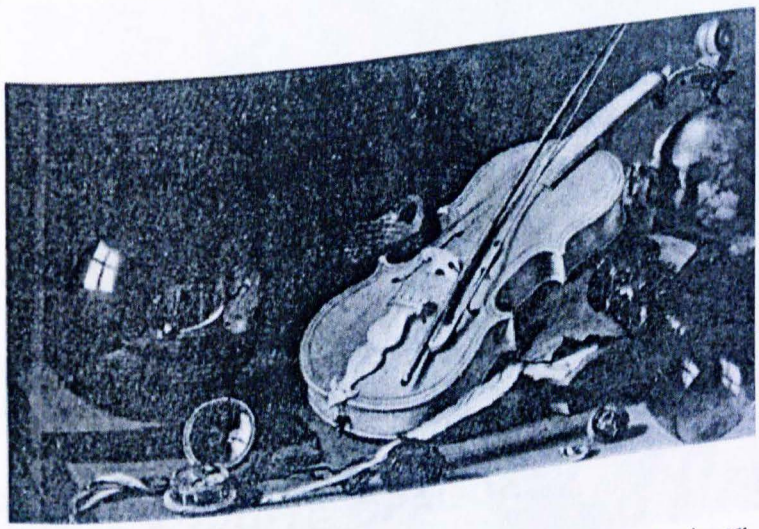


Fig. 179. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life with violin and spherical mirror*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg

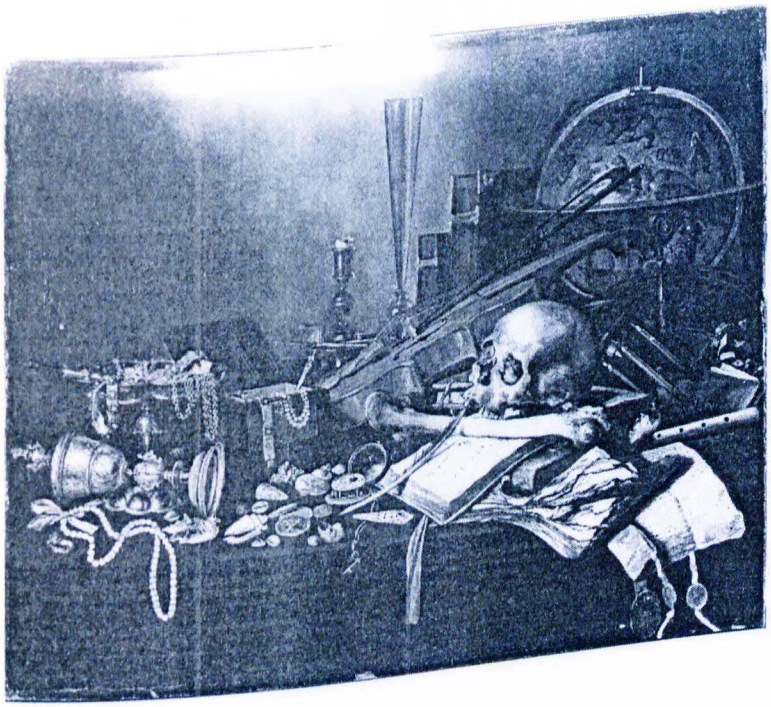


Fig. 180. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life*, 1653, art market

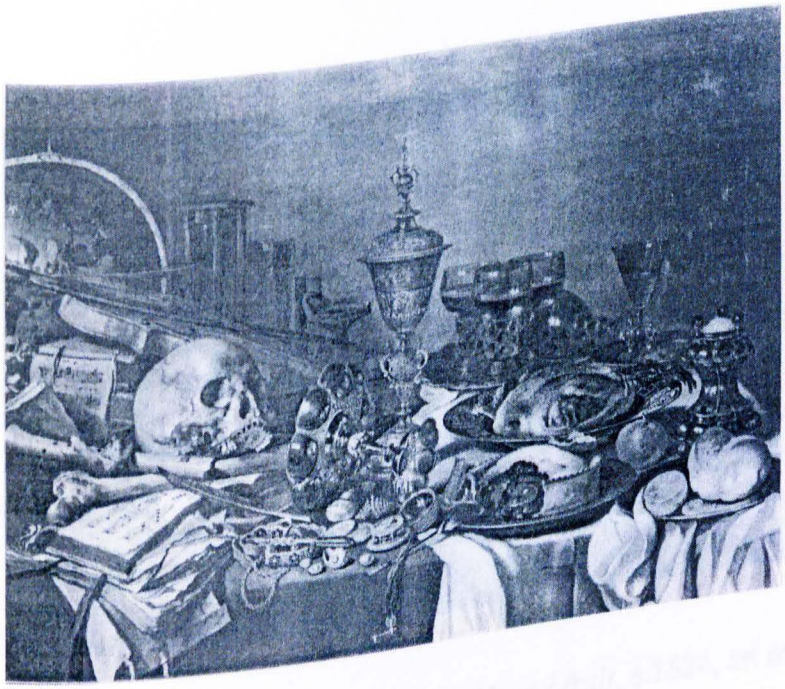


Fig. 181. Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas still life*, 1653, art market

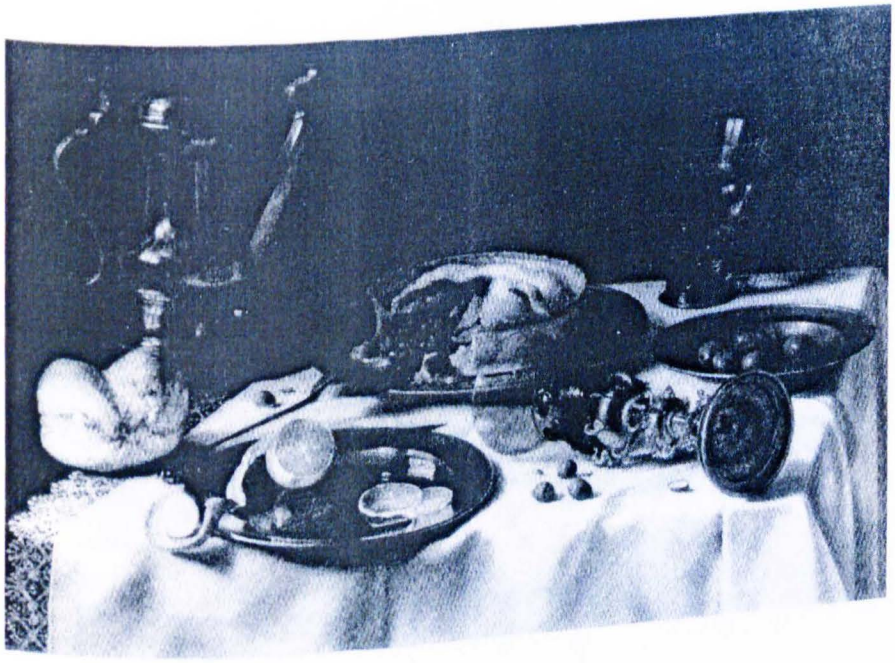


Fig. 182. Nicolaes Gillis, *Tabletop with mince pie*, 1625, private collection

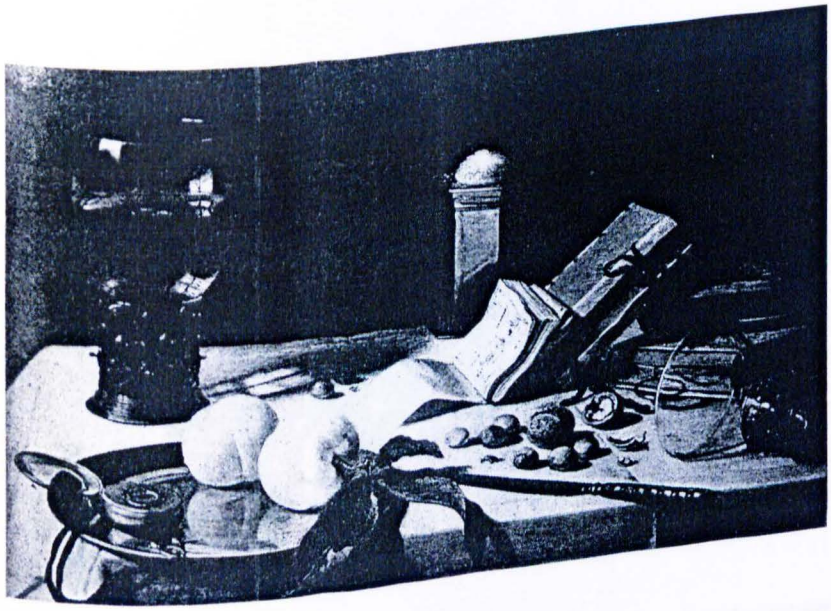


Fig. 183. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with books, watch and fruit*, c.1624, art market

Fig. 184. Floris van Dijck, *Still life with two melons*, 1628, private collection

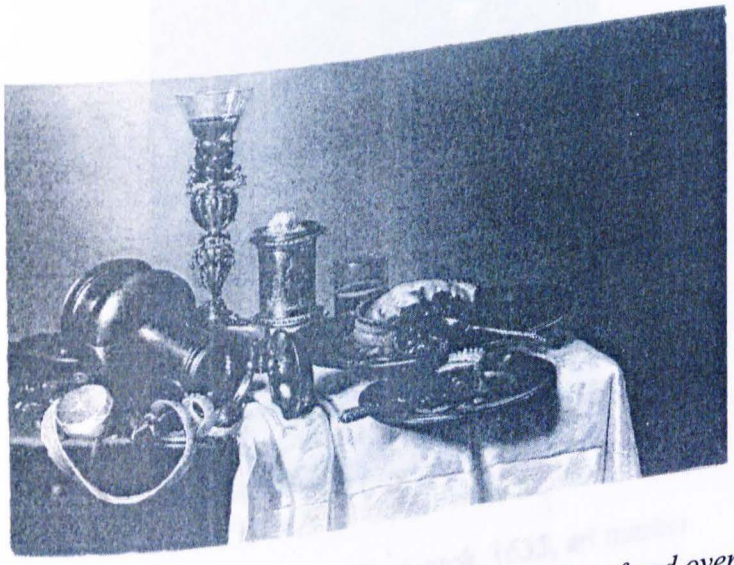


Fig. 185. Cornelis Mahu, *Tabletop with mince pie, bekerschroef and overturned pitcher*, 1642?, location unknown.

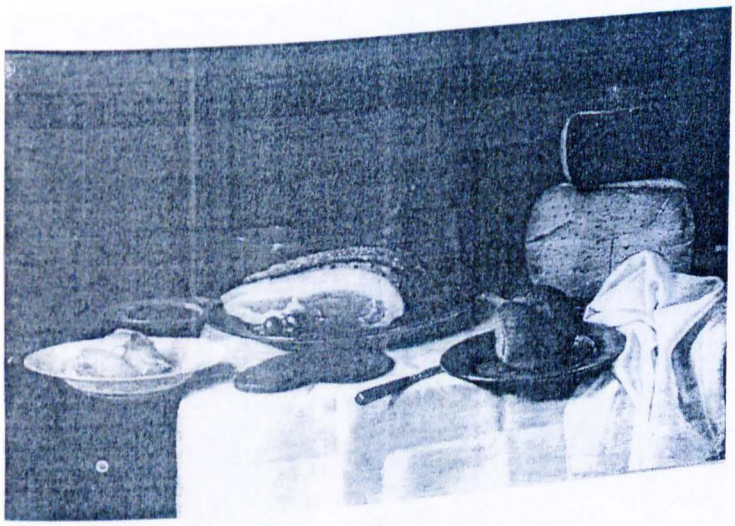


Fig. 186. Floris van Schooten, *Tabletop with ham, stack of cheese and roll*, 1639s, Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

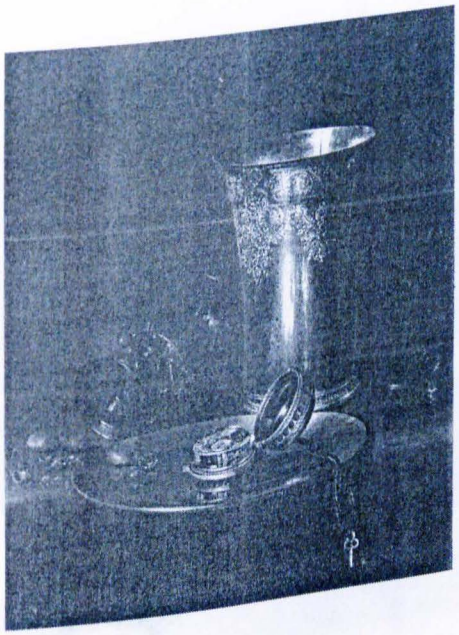


Fig. 187. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Beker with a watch*, 1633, art market

Fig. 188. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with mince pie and overturned nautilus cup*, 1641, Strasbourg Museum

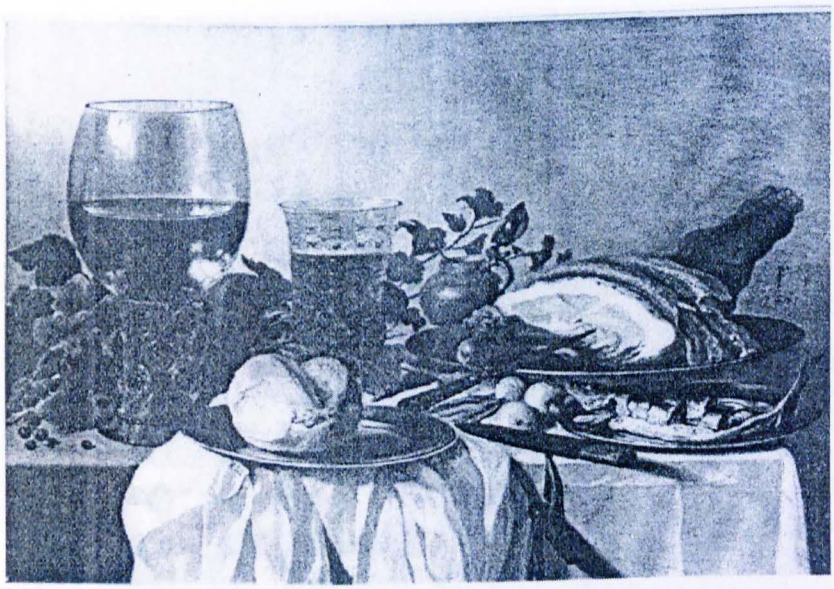


Fig. 189. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with ham, herring, roemer and roll*, 1647, Kunsthalle, Bremen

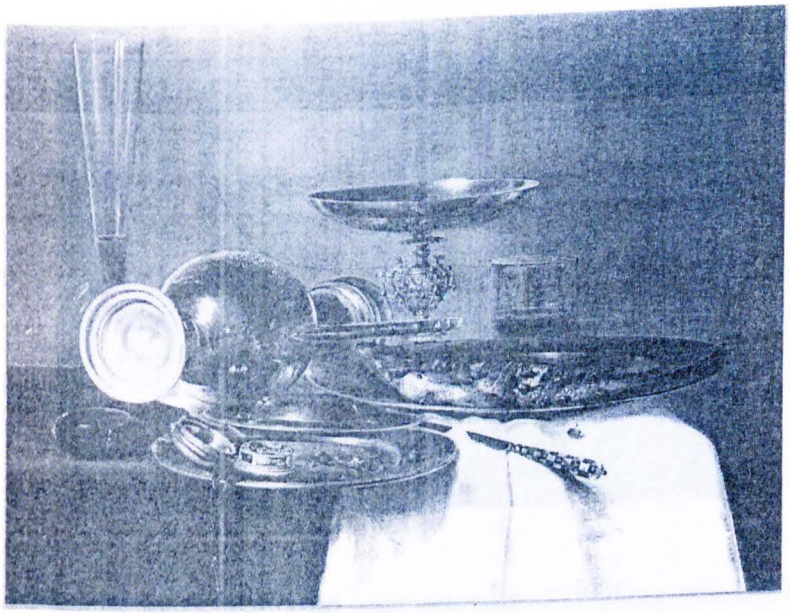


Fig. 190. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with oysters, tazza and overturned pitcher*, 1637, art market

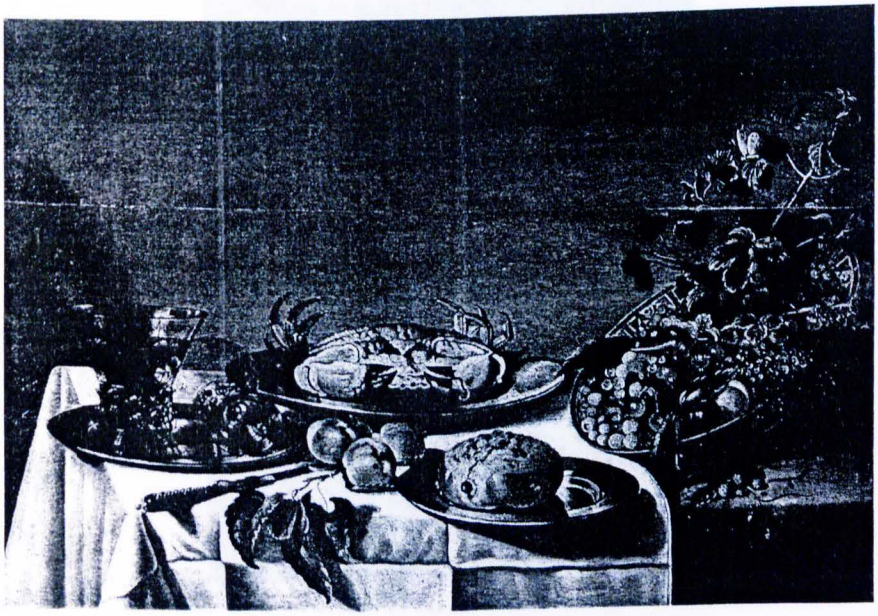


Fig. 191. After Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab and pitcher*, early 1640s, art market

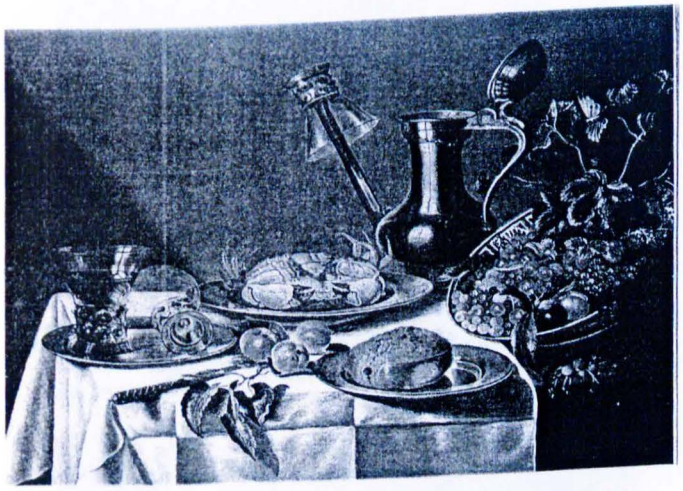


Fig. 192. After Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with overturned crab and pitcher*, c. 1645, art market

Fig. 193. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Fall of Man*, 1592, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

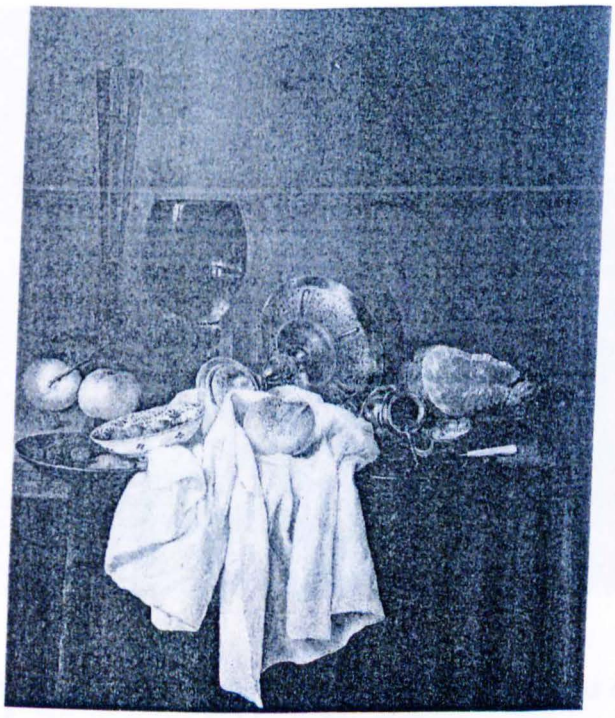


Fig. 194. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with overturned tazza, ham and roll*, 1651, Schloss Lichtenstein, Vaduz

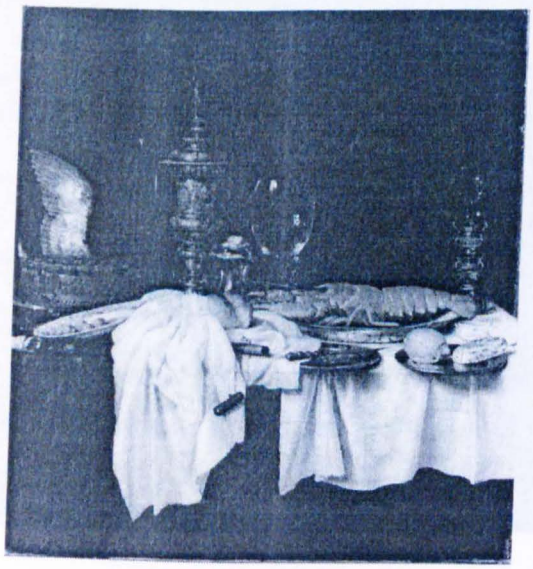


Fig. 195. Willem Claesz. Heda, *Tabletop with lobster and pigeon pie*, 165(2?), National Gallery, London

Fig. 196. Jacob Matham, *Amorous Couple* from *The Consequences of Drunkeness*, c.1620-1625, Rijskprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

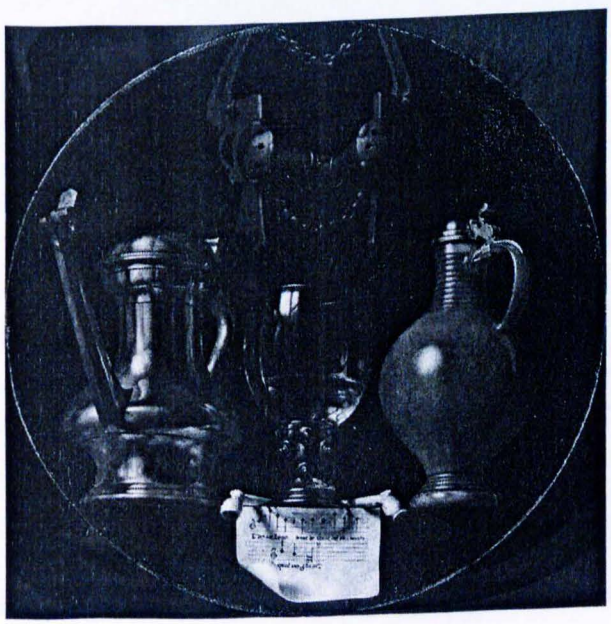


Fig. 197. Johannes Torrentius, *Allegory of Temperance*, 1614, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 198. "Elck wat wils", from Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, 1614

Fig. 199. Pieter Claesz, *Tabletop with mince pie and other dishes*, late 1640s-early 1650s, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne

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