

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORANGE-NASSAU PRINCELY  
ARTISTIC ACTIVITY, 1618-1632

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
The City University of New York

2008

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## Abstract

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORANGE-NASSAU PRINCELY ARTISTIC  
ACTIVITY, 1618-1632

by

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This dissertation examines the development of artistic activity under Maurits (1567-1625) and Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) of Orange-Nassau in The Hague during the period 1618-1632. These half brothers were successive Princes of Orange and Stadholders of the United Provinces of the Northern Netherlands in the turbulent Eighty Years War (1568-1648) against Spain; they were vital to the early history of the nation and contributed immeasurably to its success.

In 1618, Maurits inherited the title Prince of Orange, and its attendant wealth and privilege, which was subsequently inherited by Frederik Hendrik in 1625. The rise to the sovereign position of Prince brought a fundamental change to each man's personal and public life and served as the impetus to expanded artistic activity and courtly splendor. At the same time, the Orange-Nassau half brothers possessed supreme political and military control. The consolidation of Orange-Nassau ancestral titles and wealth with military and political power under Maurits established the practical foundation for the later environment of princely magnificence under Frederik Hendrik. The years 1618-1632, the final years of Maurits's reign and the

first years of Frederik Hendrik's, were crucial for the development of Orange-Nassau princely artistic activity.

This study focuses on these changes to the lives of Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, offers a re-evaluation of the Orange-Nassau half-brothers' relationship to the visual arts, and provides a chronological account of the expansion of their artistic activity, 1618-1632. In doing so, it demonstrates the continuity between the two half brothers, who successively held all the same positions, titles, and responsibilities, and who were each new to their status as Prince of Orange between 1618 and 1632. This study also offers new interpretations of specific paintings appearing at the court in The Hague, by looking critically at the known information on individual works and situating them specifically within the historical environment in which they appeared.

Through the steady growth in architectural and artistic patronage during the years 1618-1632, Maurits and Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau developed a courtly environment that would become truly princely in its image of splendor and magnificence.

## Acknowledgments

This dissertation began under the guidance of the late Leonard J. Slatkes. He was a mentor who encouraged thought and observation, and who was generous with his time, knowledge, and advice. Afternoons spent discussing art, art history, writing, opportunities, challenges, and professional life were valuable and enjoyable. More importantly, time spent looking intensively and creatively at works of art was enlightening. His enthusiasm and example are not forgotten.

Frima Fox Hofrichter accepted the difficult task of advising this dissertation when it was well advanced, and she devoted great time, attention, and support to its improvement and completion; her guidance has been admirable and much appreciated. James M. Saslow agreed to serve as official chair of the dissertation committee and helped bring the process to a successful close. Barbara G. Lane and Christopher D. M. Atkins were willing last-minute additions to the committee, and a volunteer scholar provided needed criticism at an earlier stage in this project.

The New York Public Library, The Frick Art Reference Library, The Getty Research Institute, the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (Netherlands Institute for Art History), The Ingalls Library of The Cleveland Museum of Art, and the library of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art were all significant and welcoming research centers, and staff at these institutions assisted greatly both during visits and from a distance.

Friends and colleagues from Michigan, New York, California, Florida, and The Netherlands contributed in a variety of ways, offering useful information, sound

advice, and refreshing diversion. They deserve individual recognition that brevity does not allow, but will nevertheless be acknowledged in time and in person. Of particular note, however, my brothers, Paul and Mark Magreta, have been constant in their interest and counsel. Samantha Rippner, Heather Lemonedes, Michael and Jennifer Niborski, and Anthony and Tressa Bartalino have shown kindness, hospitality, and friendship that have been moving in their selflessness and sincerity.

Finally, the completion of this dissertation and my life these past years would have been very different, much more difficult, and indeed less satisfying without the quiet encouragement and steadfast support of those to whom, with great respect and profound thanks, it is humbly dedicated, my parents, Melvin and Patricia Magreta.

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Figure 93. Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (1606-1669), *The Abduction of Proserpina*, c. 1631, oil on panel, 84.4 x 79.7 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Figure 94. Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (1606-1669), *Minerva*, c. 1631-1632, oil on panel, 60.5 x 49 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Figure 95. Jan Lievens (1607-1674), *The Gypsy Fortune Teller*, c. 1631, oil on canvas, 161.2 x 142.3 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. no. II300).

Figure 96. Jan Lievens (1607-1674), *Man in Oriental Costume*, monogrammed: L, c. 1628, canvas, 135 x 100.5 cm, Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci (inv. no. GK 1884).

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Figure 99. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Thetis Receives the Arms of Achilles from Hephaestus*, oil on canvas, 107 x 144.5 cm, Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci (inv. no. 7762).

Figure 100. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Achilles Amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes*, c. 1631/1632, oil on canvas, 123 x 137.5 cm, Kunstsammlung Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden (inv. no. 43).

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Figure 102. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Rinaldo and Armida*, c. 1631, oil on canvas, 133 x 109 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. 1235).

Figure 103. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Rinaldo and Armida*, c. 1629, oil on canvas, 236.5 x 224 cm, The Jacob Epstein Collection, The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore (inv. no. 1951.103).

Figure 104. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Portrait of Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau*, c. 1632, oil on canvas, 112.5 x 95 cm, The Mary Frick Jacobs Collection, The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore (inv. no. BMA 1938.217).

Figure 105. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Portrait of Amalie von Solms-Braunfels*, c. 1632, oil on canvas, 112 x 94 cm, Private Collection.

Figure 106. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Portrait of Willem II of Orange-Nassau*, c. 1632, oil on canvas, 119 x 105 cm, Museum Schloss Mosigkau, Dessau-Mosigkau (inv. no. 13).

Figure 107. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1640), *Portrait of Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau*, c. 1632, *grisaille* oil sketch, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.

Figure 108. Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660), *Baltasar Carlos and a Dwarf*, 1632, oil on canvas, 128 x 101.9 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (acc. no. 01.104).

Figure 109. Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *Alexander Crowning Roxanne*, c. 1625, oil on canvas, 116.3 x 105.8 cm, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Wörlitz, Dessau.

Figure 110. Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651), *Theagenes and Charicleia Amidst the Murdered Pirates*, signed and dated, lower left: *A. Bloemaert. fe. 1625*, oil on canvas, 95 x 117.5 cm, Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci (inv. no. GKI2531).

Figure 111. Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651), *Theagenes Receives the Palm of Honor from Charicleia*, signed and dated, lower left: *A. Bloemaert. fe./ 1626*, oil on canvas, 157.2 x 157.7 cm, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague (inv. no. 16).

Figure 112. Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651), *Theagenes and Charicleia at the Pythian Games*, signed and dated, lower left, *A. Bloemaert. fe. 1628*, oil on canvas, 152 x 165 cm, lost, formerly Schloss Schwedt, Berlin (inv. no. GKI7287).

Figure 113. Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), *Granida and Daifilo Pursued Artabanus and his Soldiers*, signed and dated, lower center: *GHonthorst fesit 1625*, oil on canvas, 145.2 x 178.5 cm, Centraal Museum, Utrecht (inv. no. 5571).

Figure 114. Dirck van Baburen (1594/95-1624), *Granida and Daifilo*, signed and dated, lower right: *T. D. Baburen / ...fecit An<sup>o</sup> 16.3*, oil on canvas, 165.7 x 211.5 cm, Private Collection.

## **Introduction**

Maurits (1567-1625), Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, Baron of Breda, Stadholder of a majority of the United Provinces of the Northern Netherlands, and Commander-General of the Dutch armed forces, died in 1625 and was succeeded in all these titles and positions by his half brother Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647). The year 1625 was critical for the House of Orange-Nassau and for the United Provinces in the Eighty Years War (1568-1648) against Spain, in which they suffered the famous, strategic, and demoralizing loss of the fortified Nassau city of Breda. Turbulence and transition defined the military, political, economic, and religious situation during the years 1618-1632 in the Northern Netherlands. Maurits and Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau, hereditary Princes of a sovereign territory and appointed protectors of their homeland, were the commanding figures, vital to the history of the United Provinces, and they contributed immeasurably to its success. It was a time of social, political, and artistic transformation at the Orange-Nassau court in The Hague. The conditions necessary for extensive aristocratic display came into being and the groundwork for later splendor and magnificence was established. This dissertation examines the development of artistic activity under Maurits and Frederik Hendrik during this significant period, 1618-1632.

Maurits's life was primarily defined by military obligation as Stadholder and Commander-General; he had limited activity in the visual arts. In 1618, Maurits became legitimate Prince of Orange upon the death of his elder half brother in the Southern Netherlands, Filips Willem (1554-1618), and inherited the wealth, lands, and titles of the Orange-Nassau ancestral line. Also in 1618, Maurits rose to his

greatest political power, which he held fiercely through years of ill health until his death in 1625. In that year, the inheritance, stature, responsibility, and authority of the Orange-Nassau fell to Frederik Hendrik. The year 1625 also saw Frederik Hendrik's marriage to Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675) and the devastating loss of the city of Breda. Frederik Hendrik commanded the military and political structures begun under Maurits and, after a period of uncertainty, gained increasing success as the 1620s progressed. By 1632, Frederik Hendrik reached his most secure position and greatly expanded his artistic activity with extensive architectural and decorative patronage in the 1630s and 1640s. Between Maurits's rise to both the title Prince of Orange and absolute political power in 1618 and Frederik Hendrik's great patronage beginning around 1632, there was a steady expansion of princely architectural and artistic activity under the successive Stadholder-Princes.<sup>1</sup>

Beginning in 1618, Maurits (and, in 1625, Frederik Hendrik) went from being a powerful but essentially regional aristocrat of considerable military and political position to an extremely wealthy hereditary prince of sovereign stature and *de facto* ruler. The title Prince of Orange brought a fundamental change to each man's life and served as the impetus to increased artistic activity appropriate to their new aristocratic position. The years 1618-1632, the final years of Maurits's reign and the

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<sup>1</sup> The titles "Prince of Orange" and "Stadholder" were distinct. The former was the greatest of the Orange-Nassau family's hereditary aristocratic titles and signaled their status as head of the sovereign state of Orange in France. The latter changed over time along with the political situation in the Netherlands; under Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, it was an appointed position of executive power granted by the individual "States" (or political bodies) of each sovereign province.

first years of Frederik Hendrik's, were crucial for the development of Orange-Nassau princely artistic activity.<sup>2</sup>

The literature on Maurits's artistic activity remains limited; by contrast, that dealing with Frederik Hendrik is more substantial. This accurately reflects the amount of known artistic activity under the two successive Orange-Nassau half brothers. The earliest serious study of art at the Orange-Nassau court in The Hague in the first half of the seventeenth century was given as a lecture in Amsterdam and subsequently published in 1928; it placed Frederik Hendrik on the modern art-historical map as a patron who supported a wide variety of artists.<sup>3</sup> Intermittent publications on art and the Orange-Nassau followed in subsequent decades, notable among which were studies on the architectural projects of Frederik Hendrik and the iconographies of both Maurits and Frederik Hendrik.<sup>4</sup> In 1974-1976 the Orange-Nassau inventories were published, making widely available crucial documents for any study of the Orange-Nassau courtly or artistic environment.<sup>5</sup> A scholarly biography of Frederik Hendrik appeared in 1978, in which the visual arts had no

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<sup>2</sup> The term "artistic activity" will be used throughout this study and refers to the patronage and collecting of works of art (that is, commissions and purchases) as well as receiving gifts of art, personal exposure to artworks, the display and promotion of a collection, and familiarity with artists and their work.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Hudig, *Frederik Hendrik en de Kunst van zijn Tijd* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1928). This published lecture opened a new area of investigation for the study of seventeenth-century Dutch art; it also, however, may have cast Frederik Hendrik in a role he only marginally deserved, born in part from a lack of evidence and colored by a hint of patriotic celebration.

<sup>4</sup> D. F. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1945); C. de Wit, "De ikonographie van Prins Maurits," *Mededelingen Gemeentemuseum den Haag* 13, no. 1/2 (1958): 15-37; M. E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 32 (1978): 91-120.

<sup>5</sup> S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes en Daarmede Gelijk te Stellen Stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976).

place and in which the author suggested that his subject engaged in the arts as a result of his position and not out of personal interest.<sup>6</sup> This view of Frederik Hendrik's artistic activity was met with immediate disagreement in an article on Orange-Nassau patronage in 1979.<sup>7</sup> Frederik Hendrik has been regarded as an interested, dedicated patron of the visual arts in subsequent literature, including a number of specialized studies dealing mostly with the 1630s, 1640s, and projects after his death, into the 1650s.<sup>8</sup> Two exhibitions in The Hague in 1997, with corresponding catalogues, were devoted to the artistic and courtly lives of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, after the 1958 article examining the iconography of Maurits, this elder half brother did not figure significantly in art-historical literature until the turn of the twenty-first century. In 2000, there was an exhibition and catalogue devoted to him, with essays on his intellectual, courtly, and artistic life; and a scholarly biography of Maurits appeared in the same year.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> J. J. Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje: Een biografisch Drieluik* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1978), including pp. 139 ff, especially 143.

<sup>7</sup> C. W. Fock, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century," *Apollo* 110, no. 214 (December 1979): 466-475, especially p. 467, with: "But the biographer [Poelhekke] is wrong to suggest that the prince's interest in the fine arts generally, which he dismisses in a few lines, had little to do with this personal tastes and was merely something he felt to be due to his position."

<sup>8</sup> See notes and bibliography for such sources. Two dissertations are of particular note: Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1992); Rebecca Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, eds., with contributions by Ben Broos, C. W. Fock, Simon Groenveld, Jørgen Hein, Michiel Jonker, Wolfgang Savelsberg, Jaap van der Veen, *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague* (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders, 1997); Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans, eds., *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms* (The Hague: Historical Museum; Zwolle: Waanders, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> Kees Zandvliet, ed., *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders b.v., 2000), with Wouter Kloek, "Maurits en de beeldende kunst," pp. 138-159; A. Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau, 1567-1625: De winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2000).

The Orange-Nassau inventories provide the most important documentary material, particularly a 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory of Frederik Hendrik's two urban residences – the *Stadhouderlijk Kwartier* [Stadholder's Quarters] and the Noordeinde residence.<sup>11</sup> No inventory of Maurits's holdings upon his death in 1625 exists, nor is there an inventory from Frederik Hendrik's death in 1647. Indeed, the 1632 inventory is the only Orange-Nassau inventory from the Northern Netherlands during the span of the half-brothers' lifetimes. It coincides with the beginning of the expansion of Orange-Nassau artistic activity in the 1630s, provides the most accurate extant record of the artistic environment at the court in The Hague until that point, and is crucial for understanding the period of Orange-Nassau artistic development between 1618 and 1632.<sup>12</sup> Earlier inventories of Orange-Nassau residences in the Southern Netherlands as well as later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Orange-Nassau inventories are also useful in tracking and identifying works of art in the Orange-Nassau collections. The 1632 inventory is part of the documents of the *Nassause Domeinraad* [Council of the Nassau Domains] housed in the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* [General State Archives] in The Hague. The *Nassause Domeinraad* documents also include *thesauierrekening* [treasury accounts] beginning in 1625, but the vast majority of works of art recorded in Orange-Nassau possession before 1632

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<sup>11</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*. The 1632 inventory appears in vol. 1 (1974), pp. 179-237. It was also published earlier: S. W. A. Drossaers, "Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadhouderlijk Kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage, met aantekeningen van C. Hofstede de Groot en Jonkvr. C. H. de Jonge," *Oud Holland* 47 (1930): 193-236, 241-276. The entries in the two publications match, though the 1974 publication is a more thorough transcription; both include important explanatory notes. A transcription, translation, and analysis of the paintings, tapestries, and select art objects listed in the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory appears here as Appendix I; see also Appendices I.1-I.4 for summaries of artists, genres, portrait sitters, and tapestries appearing in the inventory.

<sup>12</sup> The inventory coincides with the growth of Frederik Hendrik's artistic patronage at the beginning of the 1630s, and its date of 1632 provides the terminus for this study.

do not appear in the *thesauierrekening*.<sup>13</sup> There are numerous extant letters to and (less so) from both Maurits and Frederik Hendrik on political, military, religious, and familial affairs, but not art.<sup>14</sup> The correspondence and youthful autobiography of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), secretary to Frederik Hendrik and educated polymath, are also important.<sup>15</sup> His letters deal in large part with court (and personal) business and the autobiography treats art extensively, though rarely are the pictorial arts of the courtly environment specifically addressed. Thus, beyond the 1632 inventory, relatively little contemporary documentary material exists concerning art at the Orange-Nassau court during the period under consideration, particularly for Maurits.

There is no study of the artistic activity at the court in The Hague in the 1620s, nor any serious attention to the process of its development before subsequent expansion in the 1630s. Also, in the literature above, the importance of Maurits's and Frederik Hendrik's rise to the status, power, and wealth of legitimate Prince of Orange has not been recognized as the impetus to increased courtly artistic activity or the cultivation of an atmosphere of splendor and magnificence commensurate with

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<sup>13</sup> The Hague, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Nassause Domeinraad, inv. nos. 1034-1043; they are cited in the secondary literature with relevant paintings. There are no extant Orange-Nassau payment records for the period concerning Maurits. For the Nassau Domeinraad archives generally, see M. C. J. C. van Hoof, E. A. T. M. Schreuder, and B. J. Slot, *De archieven van de Nassause Domeinraad 1581-1811: met retroacta vanaf de dertiende eeuw* (The Hague: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1997).

<sup>14</sup> G. Groen van Prinsterer, ed., *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau*, Second series, 3 vols. (Utrecht: Kemink et Fils, 1857-1859): vol. 1, 1584-1599; vol. 2, 1600-1625; and vol. 3, 1626-1642. J. G. Smit, "Prins Maurits en de goede zaak: brieven van Maurits uit de jaren 1617-1619," *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen* 1 (1979): 42-173.

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Worp, ed., *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, 6 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911-1917); Constantijn Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, trans. C. L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij B.V., 1987). Huygens's original text was written in Latin c. 1629-1631.

their new positions. Lastly, there is no study that deals with the artistic activity of two half brothers together, in terms of continuity.

Maurits has in large part been considered a martial figure with little cultural interest and Frederik Hendrik an enlightened patron. However, the nature of each man's relationship to the visual arts is exaggerated toward their respective opposites; and the distinction drawn between the two men, otherwise so connected, is unwarranted. Frederik Hendrik was Maurits's successor in almost every way, but they are typically treated separately, as distinct chapters in the history of the United Provinces or the Orange-Nassau family. However, they were both primarily successful commanders of national armies as well as political leaders; they both spent their lives as servants to the United Provinces, fighting against the tyranny and intolerance of their mutual enemy; and they both reigned over periods of varying military uncertainty and success, social tension, religious division, and political transition. The years 1618 and 1625 were turning points in, respectively, Maurits's and Frederik Hendrik's lives and of particular importance in terms of the responsibilities and privileges of princely magnificence, courtly splendor, and artistic patronage that their new positions allowed. While Maurits's artistic activity was limited before 1618, the same is true of Frederik Hendrik before 1625 and this limitation has been widely recognized.<sup>16</sup> Frederik Hendrik's steady expansion,

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<sup>16</sup> F. Lugt, "Italiaansche kunstwerken in Nederlandsche verzamelingen van vroeger tijden," *Oud Holland* 53 (1936), p. 106: "maar het valt te betwijfelen of de Prins [Frederik Hendrik] reeds omstreeks 1630 onder de schilderijen verzamelaars kon worden gerekend." Benedict Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen* (London: Lund Humphries, 1958), p. 50: "The Prince [Frederik Hendrik] was not particularly interested in art in his youth, any more than was his half brother Maurice." Fock, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century," p. 467: "he [Frederik Hendrik] did so [acted as an art patron] increasingly in his later years in furtherance of his resolve not to be merely the first citizen of a bourgeois republic, but to maintain a Court that would rival those of foreign princes." Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, "Art and the Princes of Orange to 1625," in

toward the end of the 1620s, upon the foundations of a courtly architectural and artistic culture laid by Maurits differed by degree but was not fundamentally different in character from the first half of the decade. The period 1618-1632 was one of continuity, transition, and growth, vital for the development of Orange-Nassau courtly and artistic splendor.

This study offers a new look at the patronage and collecting of the Orange-Nassau half brothers and provides a chronological account of the development of their artistic activity, 1618-1632. In so doing, it offers a re-evaluation of their relationship to the visual arts, rehabilitates Maurits as a cultured individual, and counters perceived views about the beginnings of Frederik Hendrik's artistic activity and the nature of his interest in the visual arts. This study also offers new interpretations of various paintings appearing at the court in The Hague, by looking critically at the known information on individual works and situating them specifically in the light of the historical environment in which they appeared.

Given the specific focus on Maurits's and Frederik Hendrik's courtly artistic activity, a large amount of visual art simply of or about the Stadholders will not appear here. Scores of portraits of both men were painted over their lifetimes, most of them copies of a limited number of originals. Though the portrait types of each man will appear within the discussion below, the copies (and sometimes even the originals) were not initiated by the Stadholders themselves but fulfilled a domestic

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*Princely Patrons*, p. 17: "For just at that moment [c. 1629] the first signs of Frederick Henry and Amalia's considerable patronage was beginning to emerge." Jonathan Israel, "The United Provinces of the Netherlands: The Courts of the House of Orange c. 1580-1795," in *The Princely Courts of Europe*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999), p. 126: "It was not until the 1630s that Frederik Hendrik and Amalia embarked on their more grandiose projects."

and international market for their portraits.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, Maurits and Frederik Hendrik appeared in a wide variety of illustrated print material including portraits, narrative scenes, and allegorical images. There is, however, no evidence that such prints were commissioned by the Stadholders or were part of their courtly undertaking.<sup>18</sup> Instead, there are numerous instances where there is evidence to the contrary.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, though such prints offer useful information about the artistic and political culture of the period, they are neither a courtly art nor the type of grand patronage commensurate with Maurits's and Frederik Hendrik's august positions.

Architecture, gardens, tapestries, and especially paintings constitute the visual material of the courtly environment and are the material focus of this study.<sup>20</sup>

Collectively, they are the largest, most conspicuous, expensive, and characteristically courtly arts. They were used, in The Hague and throughout Europe, to present an image of the individual ruler, the splendor of his life and environment, and the extent of his personal and temporal power.

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<sup>17</sup> See Chapters Four, Six, Seven, and Eight.

<sup>18</sup> *Stadhouders in Beeld. Beeldvorming van de stadhouders van Oranje-Nassau in contemporaine grafiek 1570-1700 (Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum 2006)*, eds. Sabine Craft-Giepmans, Charles Dumas, Simon Groenveld, and Elmer Kolfin (Rotterdam and Gronsveld: Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn & Co's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 2007), provides a thorough discussion of printed imagery of the Orange-Nassau Stadholders including individual essays on prints depicting Maurits and Frederik Hendrik. Regarding the absence of evidence of active patronage of prints on the part of Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, see especially (therein) Elmer Kolfin, "Slotbeschouwing: over nieuwsprenten, propaganda en prentgebruik," pp. 193-195.

<sup>19</sup> Specific instances of the national government (the States General), and civic bodies commissioning such works will be encountered in Chapter Four. For the most part, such prints appear to have been produced by shrewd independent print publishers looking to capitalize on pro- (or anti-) Orange sentiment within an open market for such inexpensive printed works of art.

<sup>20</sup> Sculpture, another important courtly art, is almost completely absent from the Orange-Nassau court at this time; sculptures of any consequence appear only in the 1630s and 1640s in the new palaces of Frederik Hendrik.

This study is divided into three sections, each with three chapters. Section One addresses the international, familial, and domestic artistic and historical context for the study of Maurits and Frederik Hendrik during the period under consideration. Chapter One offers a brief look at courts throughout western Europe during the seventeenth century and the 1620s in particular to set a comparative stage for the study of Orange-Nassau artistic activity to follow. Chapter Two presents a summary of the familial and political history of the Orange-Nassau prior to the period under investigation, with particular emphasis on their artistic heritage and interests. Chapter Three provides an overview of the political, military, social, and religious environment in the United Provinces leading into and throughout the 1620s, focusing on the lives and the defining roles of Maurits and Frederik Hendrik.

Section Two is devoted to Maurits and his artistic activity within the evolving historical context in which he lived. Chapter Four provides a biographical account of Maurits and a discussion of his artistic activity until the year 1618. Chapter Five addresses Maurits's inheritance of the title Prince of Orange in 1618 and the corresponding changes in his international position, aristocratic stature, and personal holdings. Chapter Six examines the period 1618-1625, during which time the artistic environment surrounding Maurits expanded in scope and altered in focus as a result of his rise in stature.

Section Three is about Frederik Hendrik and his artistic activity before the growth in his patronage of the 1630s, with specific attention to historical events. Chapter Seven addresses Frederik Hendrik's life and artistic exposure until 1625, during which period Maurits was his greatest influence. Chapter Eight presents the

change in Frederik Hendrik's life in 1625, when he succeeded Maurits, married Amalie von Solms-Braunfels, and suffered the threatening and humiliating military loss of Breda. Chapter Nine examines the developing artistic activity of Frederik Hendrik – and Amalie as well, to the degree that they are inseparable – from 1625 until 1632, the period before the significant expansion in patronage in the 1630s.

The period 1618-1632 was crucial for the development of princely artistic activity at the Orange-Nassau court in The Hague. The consolidation of Orange-Nassau ancestral titles and wealth with military and political power under Maurits recalled the stature of sixteenth-century Orange and Nassau forebears. Frederik Hendrik would later reign over an environment of princely magnificence commensurate with that lost to the family through the devastation of war. The foundations for that environment were laid between 1618 and 1632 by the successive Stadholder-Princes, Maurits and Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau.

## **Section One: Courtly, Familial, and Historical Framework**

### **Introduction**

Maurits (1567-1625) and Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) of Orange-Nassau came to power during a period of great change in Europe. They presided over the military and political structures of a nation fighting for international legitimacy as a sovereign state against the largest empire in the world. Wars of contested succession, territory, and religious division were waged throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, both in Europe and worldwide colonial outposts. European nations in conflict and alliance were ruled by absolute monarchs, often with lavish courts, and populated by nobles, soldiers, administrators, and ambassadors. The House of Orange-Nassau had been a part of the highest levels of international military and political activity for generations, but with the revolt of the United Provinces against Spain they found themselves in a new position of leadership, fighting instead of supporting their sovereign.

International courtly environments, Orange-Nassau history, and the contemporary political situation provide the backdrop against which developed the lives, courts, and artistic activity of Maurits and Frederik Hendrik. Between 1618 and 1632, the Dutch Stadholders gained in international aristocratic and political stature and united Orange and Nassau patrimony, both of which provided the impetus for the cultivation of courtly atmospheres of increasing luxury and display; they also changed the course of Dutch politics by negotiating a tense, uncertain, and divisive political period and achieved an unquestioned position of power within the young Dutch nation.

## Chapter One: Courtly Art in Europe circa 1625

“...the greatest amateur of paintings among the princes of the world.”<sup>21</sup>

This is how Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) characterized Charles I Stuart of England (1600-1649) in 1625. Rubens, the well-traveled artist-diplomat, was acquainted with princes throughout Europe; he knew about paintings, princes, courts, and their collections; and his assessment of Charles I was accurate. The English king and his contemporary Philip IV Habsburg of Spain (1605-1665) were passionate and knowledgeable amateurs of painting, the greatest royal collectors and patrons of the age.<sup>22</sup> Charles I and Philip IV were sovereign monarchs of dominant European nations, far greater in aristocratic stature and political power than Maurits (1567-1625) and Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) of Orange-Nassau both before and even after their rise to Prince of Orange. These kings of England and Spain rose to power during the 1620s, established their artistic interests, and set the bar for European courtly artistic display. They provided an example and impetus for others to follow.

The seventeenth century was a period of increasing internationalism in politics, society, and the arts. It was dominated by large national courts. From the Holy Roman Imperial court of Rudolf II (1552-1612) in Prague at the opening of the century to the court establishment *par excellence* under Louis XIV (1638-1715) of France at the century's close, the Baroque age was dominated by major powers and the court structures that supported them. It was a period of extravagant artistic

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<sup>21</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, trans. Ruth Saunders Magurn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. Reprint. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 101; to Valavez, 10 January 1625.

<sup>22</sup> On these two monarchs' artistic interests and activities see Jonathan Brown and John Elliott, eds., *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations Between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) and Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

undertaking and cultural expansion throughout Europe, with courts defining artistic magnificence at the highest levels. The 1620s were a particularly active decade for courtly artistic activity throughout Europe.

In April 1625, Charles I ascended the throne of England upon the death of his father James I (1566-1625) and, in June of the same year, married Henrietta Maria (1609-1669) of France. His artistic interests expanded upon the example of his father and older brother Henry Frederick (1594-1612), the former Prince of Wales. Charles I purchased and commissioned important works on a grand scale. During the period of his Personal Rule before the English Civil War, Charles I amassed an enormous and impressive collection of paintings in a span of fifteen years. He presided over one of the greatest collections in Europe, with prized possessions purchased from Italian courts as well as gifts, commissions, and purchases from artists, agents, clients, emissaries, and foreign governments throughout Europe.

Knowledgeable, passionate, and with resources to indulge his artistic interests, Charles I began collecting early, with the acquisition of the *Acts of the Apostles* tapestry cartoons by Raphael (1483-1520) in 1623, when he was 23 years old and before he was even king. In the same year he traveled to Spain with the Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628) to contract a political alliance through a marriage to Infanta Maria Anna. Though no marriage resulted, the lengthy visit exposed Charles I to the artistic treasures of the Spanish royal court. This “seminar in Spain” was vital for his artistic education and the growth of the English royal collection.<sup>23</sup> His single greatest

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<sup>23</sup> Jonathan Brown, “Artistic Relations Between Spain and England, 1604-1655,” in Brown and Elliott, *The Sale of the Century*, pp. 44-50; David Howarth, “The Arundel Collection: Collecting and Patronage in England in the Reigns of Philip III and Philip IV,” in Brown and Elliott, *The Sale of the Century*, pp. 77-78.

purchase came in 1628, acquiring the bulk of the Mantuan ducal collection, including works by such masters as Raphael, Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530), Correggio (c. 1489-1534), Titian (c. 1488-1576), Tintoretto (1519-1594), Caravaggio (1571-1610), and Guido Reni (1575-1642). Rubens, who had served the Duke of Mantua two decades before, felt this loss for the city poignantly: “This sale displeases me so much that I feel like exclaiming, in the person of the Genius of that state: *Migremus hinc!* [Let us depart hence!].”<sup>24</sup> The following year, the *Triumphs of Caesar* by Andrea Mantegna (c. 1431-1506) were added to the English collection. Charles I lavishly patronized living artists as well. In the 1620s, Orazio Gentileschi (1563-1639) came from Italy (via France) and Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) came from Holland to work for Charles I and Henrietta Maria.. While Rubens was in England on a political mission in 1629/1630, he received the commission for the Whitehall ceiling glorifying James I and the Stuarts. He also presented Charles I with a gift of the *Allegory of Peace and War* (Buckingham Palace). Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), the greatest portraitist of the age, was enticed from the Spanish Netherlands to England in the 1630s. He worked there for nearly a decade, painted the king and the royal court, and set the standard for British portraiture for more than a century.

The royal collection of Charles I was the center of the most dynamic artistic courtly culture of the 1620s. The effect of this artistic activity was so great that already in 1629 Rubens admitted that “when it comes to fine pictures by the hands of first-class masters, I have never seen such a large number in one place as in the royal

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<sup>24</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 269; to Pierre Dupuy, 15 June 1628.

palace and in the gallery of the late Duke of Buckingham.”<sup>25</sup> The overall impression was one of magnificence, communicated through extensive artistic holdings of the highest quality within an environment in which collecting art was part of a system of political and cultural patronage from the king to the royal favorite to lesser nobles. While the collecting and display of art served such a political function publicly, in the case of Charles I it was also driven by the personal attention of a powerful man interested in culture and art.<sup>26</sup>

In Spain, a sixteen-year-old Philip IV took the Spanish throne in 1621, beginning a forty-four-year reign in which the arts would come to play a significant personal and political role. He inherited one of the finest and most extensive painting collections in Europe, which he subsequently more than doubled in size. He built and decorated two completely new palaces, the Buen Retiro and the Torre de la Parada, with purchases and commissions from artists all over Europe.<sup>27</sup> Philip IV imported art and artists and, through his agents in London, even bought the best of the English royal collection when liquidated after the fall of Charles I.<sup>28</sup>

Philip IV’s patronage and collecting were the result of not only decorative necessity, but the monarch’s sincere personal interest in art. In addition, paintings

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<sup>25</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 322; to Peiresc, 9 August 1629.

<sup>26</sup> While imprisoned, Charles I, deprived of his pictures, had a copy of Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*. This popular sixteenth-century story provided the subject of numerous contemporary paintings, including Van Dyck’s *Rinaldo and Armida* (Baltimore Museum of Art) owned by Charles I.

<sup>27</sup> For the Buen Retiro see Jonathan Brown and John Elliot, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), including Lope de Vega’s comment, p. 70: “The building was no sooner mentioned than it was built.” For the Torre de la Parada see Svetlana Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada*, *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard, vol. 9 (London: Phaidon, 1971).

<sup>28</sup> Brown and Elliott, *The Sale of the Century*.

were used by the royal house as propaganda, both when things were going well and when they were not, in order to present the image of success and control. In size and scale, the artistic grandeur of the Spanish court was fitting for the largest and most powerful empire in the world. Individual paintings and entire suites of works functioned more specifically within a political context, extolling the grandeur of the empire and the Habsburg house. In the 1630s, when *The Surrender at Breda* by Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660) was commissioned and executed for the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro, the image outshone the reality [fig. 1]. This room's extravagant display of recent military victories under the escutcheons of the twenty-four kingdoms of Spain, all in the commanding presence of portraits of three generations of Habsburgs, showed the entire Spanish empire united under the success and glorious leadership of the Habsburg monarch and a continuity from the days of Charles V (1500-1558) and Philip II (1527-1598) to the young Prince and heir, Baltasar Carlos (1629-1646). It was political propaganda at its finest when propaganda was needed most, as the worldwide Spanish empire was in difficult circumstances.<sup>29</sup> It is also only one, if the most celebrated, of a number of large painted cycles executed under the reign of Philip IV.

The 1620s in France were a time of change and consolidation. The glories of Fontainebleau under François I (1494-1547) were long past and the splendor of Versailles under Louis XIV was still decades away. In between, a succession of brief reigns, regencies, early deaths, and the disastrous wars of religion left the nation and

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<sup>29</sup> Although still the most powerful man in the world, Philip IV had lost territory in the Netherlands, Italy, and the Americas. Gold and silver imports from the new world were low, relations between the various kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula were tense, and the state was teetering on bankruptcy.

the monarchy unstable. Henri IV (1553-1610), however, managed to return order through the rational, practical administration of the court and the country. His assassination in 1610 once more kept the court from reaching an extravagant height. His widow, Marie de' Medici (1573-1642), commissioned from Rubens in 1622 the series of canvases known as the Medici cycle (Paris, Louvre), glorifying her person. This ambitious and famous cycle was completed and publicly presented in 1625 and seen by all members of the court and international guests, including the Duke of Buckingham, in Paris for Charles I's proxy marriage. The series was dynastic and political propaganda, successfully communicated in a captivating and sumptuous group of paintings. It was a centerpiece of the lavish Luxembourg palace; the building itself was a significant work of architecture (1615) in which the talents of numerous artists were displayed, including the itinerant Orazio Gentileschi before he left for England. During the 1620s, Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) became head of the Council of State and, though he did not play a major role as an art collector until later, in this period he helped lay the political and social foundations for the future greatness of France and its courtly extravagance.

In Italy, the Papal court saw the short reign of Pope Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi, 1554-1623, reigned 1621-1623) and the Bolognese artists he favored, followed by Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini, 1568-1644, reigned 1623-1644). The papal court of Urban VIII was not only religious, but also humanistic, scholarly, and artistic in character, and his reign saw enormous expansion in architectural and artistic projects and the patronage of Claude Lorrain (1604-1682), Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669), and especially Gianlorenzo Bernini

(1598-1680). Urban VIII was following papal precedent in his patronage but that he did so on such a scale and for a period of twenty years makes his reign particularly significant artistically. Outside Rome, Italian cities were for the most part either past their courtly prime or not courtly in character. Republican Genoa and Venice were wealthy and successful and the leading banking, merchant, and aristocratic families had collections and patronized the arts, but there were no sovereign courts of a European character. Venetian holdings, like those of Mantua, were also being sold in the early seventeenth century to English collectors.

By the 1620s, the Holy Roman Imperial court was past its highpoint under Rudolf II at Prague and fully embroiled in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). This European-wide political and religious conflict ravaged the German lands, people, and minor courts with sometimes disastrous consequences. Of the lesser courts of Europe, Christian IV (1577-1648) of Denmark spent much of the 1620s engaged in the Thirty Years War but was a patron of architecture and the arts before and after: he expanded Frederiksborg palace (1602-1620) and rebuilt Kronborg after its destruction by fire in 1629, both with the assistance of Dutch artists and architects.<sup>30</sup>

The court of the Palatine Electors at Heidelberg serves as a grand example of the negative effects possible during the Thirty Years War on Germanic nobility. Friedrich V (1596-1632), Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, and his wife Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), daughter of James I, briefly presided over a court in Heidelberg and were active in the visual arts, including painting, garden design, and

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<sup>30</sup> *Art in Denmark 1600-1650*, Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, vol. 2 (1983) (Delft: Delftsche Uitgevers Maatschappij b.v., 1984), with essays on architecture, sculpture, and painting at the courts of Frederik II and Christian IV.

theatrical performances. Then, Friedrich V's devastating defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 deprived him of his Bohemian kingdom and he lost the Palatinate as well in 1623. The couple spent the 1620s in The Hague, dependent on the hospitality and support of the Orange-Nassau and the Stuarts to maintain their court. Their lifestyle was more modest than at Heidelberg, if still more extravagant than was typical in Holland.<sup>31</sup> During the 1620s, Friedrich V was at war trying to regain his lands and the couple's circumstances prevented them from extensive patronage. The two were, however, an enlightened and sophisticated pair with wide-ranging interest in the arts, familiar with artists first-hand, and had a developed taste for courtly extravagance. Near the end of the 1620s, their patronage and collecting increased, spurred on by Elizabeth's brother in England, Charles I, and the diplomatic and personal exchange of gifts across the English Channel. It was not until Friedrich V's death in 1632 that Elizabeth, now ever more dependent on the Stuart throne but free from the responsibilities of regaining the Palatinate (that fell to her son), began collecting on a greater scale.

Aside from the displaced foreign Bohemian court, the closest court to The Hague, in tradition and geography, was in Brussels. The Archdukes Albrecht (1559-1621) and Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633) were sovereigns in title and regents in practice for the kings of Spain. He was the grandson, son, and brother of successive Emperors, formerly a Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, a successful military commander, and had wide experience and contact in the Empire and Spain; she was the favorite daughter of Philip II and an intelligent and capable woman; they were both particularly devout Catholics. Together, they presided over a court for 23 years

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<sup>31</sup> Friedrich V and Elizabeth will appear again in Chapters Six, Eight, and Nine.

(1598-1621), employing a wide variety of artists, including Otto van Veen (1556-1629), Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625), Hendrik de Clerck (c. 1570-1630), and especially Rubens.<sup>32</sup> In addition to painters, Wenceslaus Coebergher (c. 1560-1632) and Salomon de Caus (c. 1576-1626) designed architectural projects and gardens and grottos. The couple improved the palace at Brussels, Albrecht inherited more than one hundred paintings from the estate of Rudolf II, and their total collection eventually numbered some five hundred works. Their patronage was learned and allegorical, complete with works communicating imperial connections, courtly grandeur, and devotional fervor. The couple was also particularly active in the reconstruction of destroyed monuments and the large-scale redecoration and promotion of religious institutions that took place during the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621), when a temporary cessation to the Eighty Years War (1568-1648) saw a marked increase in artistic activity throughout the Spanish Netherlands. Rubens was at the center of nearly all their artistic projects and once commented (with admitted flattery) on Albrecht's "strong affection which he has always shown for the art of painting, and for me in particular."<sup>33</sup> After the death of Albrecht in 1621, Isabella continued to act as a significant patron. She called Jacques Callot (1592-1635) from Nancy to Brussels in 1625 to record the siege of Breda; Callot's print depicts the extent of a determined and famous siege that was the object of a form of tourism and

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<sup>32</sup> Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds., *Albert and Isabella, 1598-1621: Essays* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds., *Albrecht en Isabella, 1598-1621: catalogus* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Nora de Poorter, "Of Olympian Gods, Homeric Heroes and an Antwerp Apelles: Observations on the Function and 'Meaning' of Mythological Themes in the Age of Rubens (1600-1650)," in *Greek Gods and Heroes in the Age of Rubens and Rembrandt*, ed. Peter Schoon and Sander Paarlberg (Athens and Dordrecht, 2000), pp. 65-85 (see especially pp. 72-73).

<sup>33</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 56; to Archduke Albrecht, 19 March 1614.

among the most storied of all Spain's seventeenth-century victories.<sup>34</sup> Rubens remained Isabella's favorite. Following his completion of the Medici cycle for Paris, he executed for Isabella the *Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestry cartoons subsequently woven for the chapel of the Poor Clares in Madrid. This was perhaps her single greatest act of patronage and a visual summary of her devotion to Flemish art in general and Rubens in particular, and even more so to her Spanish background, the House of Habsburg, the Catholic faith, and the Counter-Reformation.

Rubens, court artist to the Habsburg Archdukes in Brussels, worked throughout these diverse European courtly environments (including Mantua, Rome, Brussels, Madrid, Paris, and London) and his works even entered the Orange-Nassau collection in The Hague. He was the court artist *par excellence*, whose life and art exemplified the relationship between painting and politics. His artistic talent even served as a pretense for travel and the conduct of diplomatic missions both secret and open. His noble bearing, wide learning, command of languages, and familiarity with princes, courts, and politics fit him for the role of diplomat, contributed to his fame, and earned him two knighthoods. Though politically active and connected, he remained an artist at heart, an artist whose greatest works were political in nature, through commission or allegory.

In combining art and politics, Rubens was not alone. Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663) and Endymion Porter (1587-1649) both acted as political and artistic agents on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I. Gerbier, who had worked for Maurits before moving to London, had been with his two patrons in Spain

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<sup>34</sup> Simone Zurawski, "New Sources for Jacques Callot's *Map of the Siege of Breda*," *Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (December 1988): 621-639.

in 1623 and was in Paris in 1625 with Buckingham and Rubens, at which point Buckingham tried to entice Rubens to work both for him and the English crown.<sup>35</sup> Such agents were essential in the formation of significant collections. Whether artists like Rubens or Gerbier, or ambassadors, these individuals identified new talent and available art, negotiated sales, and arranged for shipments. In the process, significant royal and non-royal collections were formed. One particularly relevant ambassador was Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester (1573-1632). As English ambassador to Venice, he toured the collections of Venice with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), a collector of discriminating taste and broad interests who collected intensively for years with specific attention to historical and artistic importance. Carleton arranged shipments back to England and even dealt in paintings and antiquities in his ambassadorial posts. Two years after his appointment to The Hague in 1616, he traded his collection of antiquities to Rubens for the Antwerp master's own paintings to complement the Italian works he was simultaneously amassing. This resulted in a large personal collection that was the greatest collection of international art in the United Provinces in the 1610s.<sup>36</sup>

Rubens was not only an artist and diplomat for major artistic collectors in Europe, but a collector himself. His collection was large, diverse, and impressive,

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<sup>35</sup> In addition to trying to lure Rubens, Buckingham, while in France, "hired a whole retinue of artists [that]...all arrived in London as a result of Buckingham's vision of the promotion of the Stuart dynasty." David Howarth, "The Arundel Collection: Collecting and Patronage in England in the Reigns of Philip III and Philip IV," pp. 78-79.

<sup>36</sup> J. G. van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de Zeventiende Eeuw," *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 3 (1950-1951), p. 131; Robert Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney, Studies in British Art, vol. 12 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 249-250.

including paintings (his own originals and copies, as well as those of northern contemporaries and Italian masters), ancient sculpture, medals, gems, and objects of great variety. The bulk of the collection (including the Carleton antiques) was sold to Buckingham in 1626/1627 for the enormous sum of 100,000 guilders with Gerbier acting as intermediary. Such a purchase is a grand example of art as a political commodity and typical of Buckingham who, with great verve and greater speed, developed a collection concerned with grandeur, display, and magnificence, fully exploiting the impressive nature of art within courtly and political environments. Thus, when Rubens commented upon the quality of paintings in England in 1629, singling out the collections of Charles I and Buckingham, some of the works had been in his possession and had moved through the vibrant and truly international artistic culture of courtly collecting with which he had unique experience and facility.

Against such a backdrop of international courtly artistic activity, the personal investment of various sovereigns in the arts, and the role of paintings within a political environment, Maurits and Frederik Hendrik simply had no significant place. During the 1620s their activity was comparatively limited, practical, and local, reflecting the character and experience of the two successive Stadholders. The 1620s saw them first enter the highest tier of European politics and aristocracy. Maurits's ascension to the sovereign title Prince of Orange in 1618 corresponded to his capture of political power over a nation that had only recently gained international legitimacy. The Dutch Orange-Nassau, Maurits and his successor Frederik Hendrik, found themselves in new positions of power, advantage, and obligation. It would take time for them to raise their courtly stature to a truly international level. They would do

this successfully through increased building campaigns, artistic patronage, advantageous marriages, political alliances, and military success. The foundations of an enhanced courtly environment were laid between 1618 and 1632; and if it did not compare to the highest levels of dynamic artistic activity at courts throughout Europe, it did build upon the newly consolidated rights, traditions, and inheritance of their Orange and Nassau ancestors.

## Chapter Two: Orange-Nassau Ancestry and Artistic Heritage

“I was also in the Count of Nassau’s house which is very splendidly built and beautifully adorned...and I saw the two fine large halls and the treasures everywhere in the house...and from it there is a most beautiful view, at which one cannot but wonder; and I do not believe that in all the German lands the like of it exists.”<sup>37</sup>

This is how Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) described the splendor of the Nassau court in Brussels in 1520, at which time Hendrik III (1483-1538) was Count of Nassau. During the middle of the sixteenth century, the Nassau, and subsequently Orange-Nassau, were aristocrats of the highest level, commanding important military and political positions within the orbit of the Habsburgs, and with a splendid court appropriate to their wealth and stature. In the two hundred years from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the family experienced great changes within European aristocratic and political arenas that in turn directly affected their wealth, position, and artistic activity. The leaders of this noble house variously held positions of great height, tenuous uncertainty, impotent obscurity, new-found power, regained splendor, political disaster, and, finally, European sovereignty.

One artistic monument and the vicissitudes of its existence symbolized the fate of the House of Orange-Nassau through the generations. The *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries (no longer extant) were a prized possession of the Orange-Nassau to which they continually returned. The original tapestries were commissioned by Hendrik III around 1530 and woven to designs by Bernaert van Orley (1491/92-1542) [fig. 2].<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Albrecht Dürer, *Diary of His Journey to the Netherlands 1520-1521*, ed. J. A. Goris and G. Marlier (Greenwich CT: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1971), pp. 64-65.

<sup>38</sup> The *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries will be discussed periodically and in greater detail throughout this study (see especially the Epilogue). There are a number of specialized articles treating the *Nassau Genealogy*, the most important of which is C. W. Fock, “Nieuws over de tapijten, bekend als de

Each of eight tapestries depicted two equestrian portraits of an ancestral Nassau couple, beginning with Adolf of Nassau (c. 1250-1298), King of the Germans, Emperor-Elect of the Holy Roman Empire, and the pride and progenitor of the Nassau lineage. These tapestries were a glorious statement of Nassau ancestry, power, and prestige.

The Nassau family originally reigned over German lands near the Rhine and Lahn rivers (between Mainz and Bonn in western Germany) and steadily increased their property, status, and wealth. The marriage of Engelbert I of Nassau (1370-1442) to Johanna of Polanen (1392-1445) in 1403 brought the Barony of Breda into the family and it became the ancestral seat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hendrik III of Nassau (1483-1538) was lord of collective Nassau titles and holdings and a favorite of Charles V of Habsburg (1500-1558). His military and political service to the Emperor strengthened his power in the Netherlands, including the positions of Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. In addition to the Nassau palace at Breda, Hendrik III presided over the court in Brussels that Dürer praised. Among his artistic treasures were *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Prado) by Hieronymous Bosch (c. 1450-1516) and the *Nassau Genealogy*. Hendrik III married three times, to Françoise of Savoy (d. 1511), Claudia of Chalons and Orange (1498-1521), and Mencia de Mendoza y Fonseca (1508-1544). A son born of the second marriage was universal heir to Hendrik III and also inherited the title Prince of Orange from his maternal uncle. Thus, René de Chalons (1519-1544) united the

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Nassause Genealogie,” *Oud Holland* 84, no. 1 (1969): pp. 1-28. The tapestries are lost. Only seven watercolor designs by Van Orley survive – four in Munich (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung) and one each in Rennes (Musée de Rennes), Los Angeles (The J. Paul Getty Museum), and New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

Nassau and Breda titles with that of Prince of Orange and presided over the court of his father in Brussels. His early death at battle left his entire inheritance to his cousin Willem, Hendrik III's brother's son.

This heir, Willem I (1533-1584), became Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, and Baron of Breda, along with numerous lesser titles. He regained the position of his uncle within the court of Charles V, became one of the most important nobles in the Spanish Netherlands, and maintained the aristocratic position and courtly splendor established by his Nassau forebears. When, however, in 1567, Willem I sided against Spanish rule and Catholic intolerance, his position changed dramatically. He became the leader of the rebellious Northern Netherlandish provinces in what would become the Eighty Years War (1568-1648).

Willem I's life can thus be divided into two phases of very different natures. The former was characterized by his highly privileged position within the Spanish hierarchy in the Netherlands, where he had been educated and trained to be a Catholic nobleman in the service of the Habsburgs. Willem I would become the trusted confidant of Emperor Charles V who, when aging and ill, leaned on Willem I during his abdication. He was a commander in the army, a member of the *Raad van State* [Council of State], and Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Burgundy, making him the most important noble in the Netherlands. During these years, he married the first two of his four wives, Anna of Egmond, Countess of Buren (1533-1558), and Anna of Saxony (1544-1577), each of whom bore him multiple children. Willem I presided over a court in Brussels second in wealth and splendor only to the sovereign or regent, complete with the artistic patrimony and courtly magnificence

inherited from his Orange and Nassau ascendants. Three documents record the splendid collection of expensive goods under the control of Willem I.<sup>39</sup> The *Nassau Genealogy* was one of numerous sets of expensive narrative tapestry cycles joined by lesser decorative tapestries. He owned jewelry, paintings, rarities, furniture, linens, hangings, carpets, and enormous amounts of gold plate.

The exalted position of the Nassau and the splendid court over which they presided changed abruptly in 1567 when Willem I opposed Spanish policy for ruling the Netherlands and Catholic intolerance of Protestant practice. He fled to the Nassau palace at Dillenburg (in which he had been born), was declared an outlaw by the Spanish in Brussels, and had his properties confiscated. His support of native Netherlandish rights and religious tolerance as well as his stature and political acumen made him a desirable leader of the rebellion. Willem I's new life after 1567 was one of military operation, political aggression, and relative aristocratic poverty. He married his third and fourth wives, Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier (1546-1582) and Louise de Coligny (1555-1620), who each bore him more children. His incomes stemmed largely from Southern Netherlandish holdings to which he had no access or recourse. During the war, Willem I had only roughly one-sixth of the income from his lands, with the remainder in Spanish hands.<sup>40</sup> He nevertheless committed vast sums of his personal fortune to the cause for which he fought for the remainder of his life, and he died in such debt that it took more than fifteen years of

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<sup>39</sup> S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 1-64: "Lijsten van goederen afkomstig uit het kasteel te Breda 1567," "Inventaris van het hof van Nassau te Brussel 1568," "Verpande goederen Willem I 1572."

<sup>40</sup> P. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1966), pp. 190-196.

garnering estate incomes to repay. In 1567, large amounts of his splendid courtly household possessions in Brussels and Breda had been confiscated. Others had been transferred to Dillenburg and were subsequently pawned and sold. Orange-Nassau artistic and material patrimony was thus in large part lost to the family. This liquidation was necessary to maintain Willem I's existence and finance his military campaigns. Life as the military and political leader of struggling rebellious provinces left little money or time for any new artistic campaigns or to save prized possessions.<sup>41</sup> Even the *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries were lost to the main branch of the Orange-Nassau.

Willem I's entire life was defined by political events. His political and military offices, the inheritance gained and that left to his descendants, his religion, marriages, the naming of his children, and the court over which he presided were all affected by politics. Originally raised Lutheran, Willem I converted to Catholicism when he rose to political power in the orbit of Charles V, thus fulfilling the Emperor's wish. After breaking with Spain he converted back to Lutheranism and then later to Calvinism. His marriages were all politically significant, the first two providing additional lands, titles, and influence and the last two to Protestant women of prominent French families. While a Catholic and living in Brussels, his first son, Filips Willem (1554-1618), was born and named jointly after his father (and grandfather) and Philip of Habsburg (1527-1598), at that time heir to Spain and the

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<sup>41</sup> It is possible that the *Valois Tapestries* (Florence, Uffizi) were commissioned by Willem I (or the States General) as a political gift to curry favor with the French royal family, whose support the Dutch were courting at precisely this time; see Frances A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1959). The specificity of the iconography supports such an interpretation; but, if stemming from Willem I, it would be a truly unique endeavor at this time and a serious commitment of resources.

Netherlands. In contrast, thirty years later, Willem I's last legitimate son was named Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), after his two godfathers, Frederik II of Denmark (1534-1588) and Henri of Navarre (1553-1610), two of the most significant (male) Protestant rulers in Europe.<sup>42</sup> Maurits (1567-1625) was named after his maternal grandfather, Elector Moritz of Saxony (1521-1553). He was born in November 1567 at Dillenburg after his father's flight from Brussels and was Willem I's first child to be baptized anything other than Catholic. The naming of Willem I's many daughters is even more obviously political; in order of their birth, they were: Maria, Anna, Emilia, Louise Juliana, Elizabeth, Catharina Belgica, Charlotte Flandrina, Charlotte Brabantia and Emilia Antwerpiana.<sup>43</sup> Lastly, even Willem I's death was political: he was assassinated in 1584 by a pro-Spanish Frenchman for his political leadership of the rebel provinces. Upon his death, there was little in the way of income, security, or artistic heritage that would fall to his widow, many daughters, and three sons, whose lives, like their father's, would continue to be dominated by war, politics, and religion.

The history of the Orange-Nassau family temporarily split upon the death of Willem I. Count Maurits of Nassau, age seventeen, inherited minor holdings, a

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<sup>42</sup> M. E. Tiethoff-Splithoff, "De Portretten van Stadhouders Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 32 (1978): 91-120. Henri of Navarre (not yet Henri IV) was a Huguenot Protestant at the time before converting to Catholicism for the throne of France and becoming Henri IV. Hendrik III, Willem I's uncle, was not the immediate reference in the naming of Willem I's youngest son.

<sup>43</sup> There were two named both Maria and Anna (the first of each dying young). They bore two typically Catholic names (Maria was named after Maria of Hungary, Charles V's sister, and Anna shared her name with her mother). Later, after the conversion to Protestantism, Elizabeth was named after her godmother Elizabeth of England (one of the most powerful Protestant rulers in Europe, a choice and naming analogous to Frederik Hendrik's) and the names of the last four daughters are clearly political, whether they served as Willem I (unusually) claiming for his own the territories over which he held or coveted control or whether such names are a less selfish, more embracing homage to his dear and native homeland.

Nassau title, and the responsibility of Willem I's political and military role in the Northern Netherlands; he would go on to lead the fledgling nation for most of the next forty years. However, Willem I's legitimate heir was his eldest son, Filips Willem. He had been kidnapped in 1568 from Leuven by the Spanish, held captive in Spain, and was raised as a Catholic and servant of the Spanish crown, thus placing him on the other side of the Netherlandish political and religious divide. He was nevertheless rightful Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau; he held all his father's greatest titles and, with time, his lands and properties. Upon his release from Spain he went first to Orange and then returned to the Southern Netherlands in 1596, where he remained loyal to Spain and the reigning Archdukes in Brussels. He was otherwise a politically and militarily insignificant figure.

He did, however, develop an increasingly luxurious courtly atmosphere in the ancestral Nassau palaces at Brussels and, after 1609, Breda.<sup>44</sup> Two inventories record the possessions of these households after the death of Filips Willem and his wife Eleonore of Bourbon-Condé (1587-1619).<sup>45</sup> They present the image of courtly atmospheres of significant splendor approaching that of his father and Nassau ascendants in the same family palaces at Brussels and Breda: a great amount of gold service, highly valuable jewelry, large numbers of expensive tapestries as well as paintings, fine clothing, furniture, linens, fabrics, porcelain, rock crystal, and exotic

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<sup>44</sup> Breda, a significant strategic city as well as a Nassau ancestral property, was in the control of the United Provinces after 1590. In 1609 with the beginning of the Twelve Years Truce, Maurits allowed Filips Willem, rightful heir and lord there, access to the property and rights. During the Truce, the Nassau men, including the three half brothers, met in the family castle at Breda.

<sup>45</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, pp. 91-168: "Inventaris van het Hof van Nassau te Brussel 1618" and "Inventaris van het Kasteel te Breda 1619."

objects. Upon Filips Willem's death without issue in 1618, Maurits inherited all the possessions, properties, lands, incomes, and titles of this half brother and their common father.<sup>46</sup> Eleonore and, after her death, her brother contested the inheritance and part of the Brussels and Breda holdings became Bourbon-Condé possessions, but the remaining vast majority and the palaces themselves fell to Maurits. As such, the material, aristocratic, political, and military positions of the Orange-Nassau were again united in one individual.<sup>47</sup>

Maurits's own death without a legitimate child left the entire Orange-Nassau material and aristocratic patrimony as well as Maurits's political and military power to his younger half brother and the last legitimate son of Willem I, Frederik Hendrik. Enjoying the stature, wealth, and power consolidated under Maurits and the success of the United Provinces that his family led, Frederik Hendrik strengthened his position and established a level of aristocratic splendor that the family had not enjoyed for sixty years. He arranged for the most advantageous marriage the Orange-Nassau had known, when Frederik Hendrik's only legitimate son, Willem II (1626-1650), married a daughter of the English royal family, Mary Stuart (1631-1661). Though Willem II died young in the midst of a politically disastrous march against Amsterdam, he did father a son, Willem III (1650-1702), thus maintaining direct inheritance within the House of Orange-Nassau. In 1689, Willem III also became

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<sup>46</sup> Despite being on the other side of the political and religious conflict, Filips Willem's testament listed Maurits as universal heir, "tot welvaren ende conservatie van de grandeur van ons Huys"; Groenveld, "De man met de looden schoenen: Een levenschets," in Kees Zandvliet, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), p. 31.

<sup>47</sup> Filips Willem's holdings listed in the 1618 and 1619 inventories and the importance of Maurits's inheritance of not only the palaces and possessions but also titles, lands, and privileges will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five, as part of the changes in Maurits's life around 1618.

King of England as joint ruler with his wife, Mary Stuart (II) (1662-1694).<sup>48</sup> Though often at war with France, and with the Dutch nation vulnerable during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Willem III presided over courtly environments in both England and the United Provinces. He would, however, die without issue, bringing an end to the primary line of the Orange-Nassau family after it had reached its greatest height, sovereignty of one of the most powerful nations in Europe.

Within this two-hundred-year span of Orange-Nassau history and courtly stature, 1618 saw the Orange-Nassau aristocratic and political positions reunited. This union provided Maurits and Frederik Hendrik with the legitimate foundations for seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau courtly grandeur. Its development, however, was limited during the succeeding period as the Orange-Nassau half brothers played defining roles amidst great political difficulty and uncertainty.

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<sup>48</sup> Willem III's mother, Mary Stuart (I) (1631-1661), was a daughter of Charles I; his wife, Mary Stuart (II) (1662-1694), was a daughter of James II.

### Chapter Three: History and Politics of the Period 1618-1632

“Pardon me, O Fatherland, but your joys are not so great,  
And you are making quarrels not in accordance with my tastes...  
I shall read the growing laments about the death of my Fatherland”<sup>49</sup>

This is how a young Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) summarized the political and religious atmosphere of the United Provinces in a poem written before his trip to England in 1618. “Death of my Fatherland” provides a grim characterization of national affairs, but is nonetheless accurate. The year of Huygens’s departure for England in the company of the English ambassador to The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632), was one of great unrest. The Eighty Years War (1568-1648) with Spain had waged for decades and caused increasing political strife. While the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621) offered some respite from military conflict, political division grew and was accompanied by a bitter religious controversy that rent the Dutch Reformed Church in two and reached the highest levels of government. In 1618, the opposing factions clashed and the newly acceded Prince Maurits (1567-1625) of Orange-Nassau overcame his opposition and ushered in a period of near-monarchical rule. The Thirty Years War (1618-1648) broke out and the Eighty Years War was to resume in 1621. War, tension, struggle, uncertainty, and princely power would be the defining characteristics of the period from 1618 to 1632.

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<sup>49</sup> Constantijn Huygens, *Constantini Huygens in Angliam abituri ad Patrem tumultuantem apotasis* [A poem to his turbulent fatherland from Constantijn Huygens as he is about to depart for England], 1618, ([www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Huygens/HUYG18.html](http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Huygens/HUYG18.html), Leiden University Department of Dutch Language and Literature, Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens, CH1618:004), translated here from the Latin by Taylor Corse. See, also, Mans van der Heide, “Huygens in Engeland: de teleurstelling van D’Uytlandighe Herder,” *De zeventiende eeuw* 3, no. 2 (1987): 38-42, which discusses not only this Latin poem but also Huygens’s “D’Uytlandighe Herder,” written in 1622 (while again in England) and specifically their meaning in relation to the political situation of the day.

The revolt against Spanish taxation, control, and religious persecution began in the 1560s and military conflict broke out in 1568. The earliest years of war saw great devastation to the northern provinces, officially joined by the Union of Utrecht in 1579. From the beginning of the revolt, it was led by Willem I (1533-1584), Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, Stadholder of the Seven United Provinces, Commander-General of the army, and “Father of the Fatherland.” Meanwhile, attempts to find a foreign monarch as a viable sovereign proved ineffective and the rebellion continued under the republican administration of the provinces and the military command of their Stadholder-Prince, Willem I. He was assassinated in Delft in 1584 and a period of transition followed in the second half of the 1580s. Maurits was seventeen years old and studying at Leiden University when his father was murdered. He soon followed in his footsteps, and was appointed Stadholder of five provinces (Holland and Zeeland in 1585 and Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel in 1590) and Commander-General of the army (1587), positions he would hold for nearly forty years until his death in 1625.

The rebels lost their most important city, Antwerp, to the Spanish in 1585. Even in this defeat, the Northern Netherlands would eventually gain through the thousands of Protestant refugees who greatly contributed to the economic and political success of the fledgling nation in succeeding decades. In 1588, the Spanish Armada was defeated by the English, a devastating blow to the Spanish military and a relief to the rebellion. On land, Spanish forces diverted to France, a growing Dutch economy providing increased funding for the war, and Dutch advancements in military science and operations led to a decade of successes in the 1590s. Maurits

became known throughout Europe as a brilliant general, studying military history, pioneering military tactics, and revolutionizing warfare. He was joined in these innovations by Willem Lodewijk of Nassau (1560-1620), his cousin, brother-in-law, fellow Stadholder (of Friesland and Groningen), and military compatriot. Maurits was much more of a soldier than Willem I ever was, and it was his victories that brought stability and security to the United Provinces.

His first important military victory, at the age of twenty-two, was the capture of Breda in 1590 and a more splendid entry into the annals of military history could hardly be written. Employing a Trojan-horse tactic of deception and stealth, Dutch forces entered the fortified city concealed in a barge loaded with turf. The surprise attack was an immediate and significant victory. This was all the more so for Maurits personally, as Breda was an ancient and important seat of the Nassau family, a “crown jewel” of its domains.<sup>50</sup>

Breda was the first of forty-three towns and fifty-five forts taken in the 1590s.<sup>51</sup> Numerous cities along the IJssel and Rhine were captured in 1591, securing shipping and supply routes. Steenwijk fell to Maurits in 1592, after a devastating and revolutionary siege in which he joined Willem Lodewijk, followed in 1593 by Geertruidenberg and, in 1594, Groningen. Then in 1597, while Spanish troops were still in France, Maurits and the States army launched a major offensive campaign and captured the eastern front with efficient and sophisticated sieges. The Dutch army

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<sup>50</sup> Breda in Brabant and Orange in France are repeatedly, and rightly, referred to as the “crown-jewels” of the Orange-Nassau inheritance of Willem I, in Kees Zandvliet, ed., *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders b.v., 2000).

<sup>51</sup> Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 242ff. for the details of the 1590s military campaigns.

(composed of international soldiers) was the most technically proficient in Europe, employing the latest techniques in military science, and relentlessly drilled in novel troop formations and exercises. Maurits, with Willem Lodewijk and his captains, was in large part responsible for these advancements and the victories that resulted. They established Maurits's fame and position. He became the foremost general in Europe. With each success, he added to his reputation and stature. Maurits did all this as a servant of the States, appointed Stadholder of five provinces and obliged to both those individual provinces and the States General that oversaw the revolt and national politics.

While Maurits was winning these tremendous victories, it was Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619), Advocate of Holland, who dominated the States of Holland and, with them, the States General and national politics, mediating between the provinces (if asserting Holland's supremacy), undertaking international negotiations, and arranging for the financing of the war. In tandem, Maurits and Van Oldenbarnevelt gave a security and recognition to the United Provinces no less important than Willem I's role in their establishment. Van Oldenbarnevelt had served the government under Willem I and saw in Maurits a promising and desirable servant of the States. The statesman, some twenty years Maurits's senior, promoted the intelligent, ambitious but as-yet-inexperienced Nassau hope in the politically uncertain years after Willem I's death. The partnership was successful. As the 1590s progressed, the nation became more secure and each man gained further recognition and confidence.

Cooperation would turn to opposition as the new century unfolded and fundamental differences of opinion regarding military tactics and campaigns, international alliances, peace negotiations, and religious conflict pushed these two powerful and resolute men further apart. The seeds of this division were sown in the early 1590s but became visible and irreconcilable at the famous battle of Nieuwpoort, 1600, a celebrated but hollow victory for the Dutch. The campaign was supposed to have been a siege of Dunkirk to control the coast and stop attacks on Dutch shipping interests. Maurits was opposed but the States General had the final say as to the selection of military targets. An enormous offensive was designed and the unplanned defensive field battle at Nieuwpoort was the result. Victory was possible due to Maurits's exceptional military knowledge and command, necessary to fight off a superior and unexpected enemy force that if victorious would have decimated the Dutch field army and threatened the security of the nation. Despite the Dutch victory, it took a toll on the army and resulted in no strategic or territorial advantage. Maurits was both correct in opposing this campaign and responsible for saving it when it went unexpectedly wrong.<sup>52</sup>

The following years were comparatively inactive in terms of military operation. While the Spanish laid siege to Ostend for more than three years before its capitulation in 1604, the Dutch negated its loss by Maurits's capture of cities on the Scheldt estuary. The years 1605 and 1606 saw major Dutch defeats at the hands of Ambrogio Spínola (1569-1630), commander of the Spanish forces, and caused panic in the Republic; but with no further action an armistice was signed in April 1607 that, to the surprise of all of Europe, favored the Dutch. In the same month the Dutch

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<sup>52</sup> For the Battle of Nieuwpoort, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 257-259.

Atlantic fleet sailed into the Gibraltar harbor and destroyed the Spanish fleet. Unfavorable cease-fire terms and this routing humiliated the Spanish and were great successes for Van Oldenbarnevelt. In subsequent negotiations during 1608 over a longer truce, the Dutch and Spanish seemed irreconcilably divided on issues of colonial trade, sovereignty, and Catholic worship. Against the opposition of Maurits and three provinces, Van Oldenbarnevelt mobilized the Holland regents in favor of a truce and on 9 April 1609 the Twelve Years Truce was signed.

During the Truce, the temporary cessation of hostilities allowed a shift in focus to domestic issues. In the Southern Netherlands, it was a peaceful decade of rearming, rebuilding, and the reestablishment of political and religious institutions, with Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) gloriously reasserting the visual presence of the Catholic Church. The Northern Netherlands, by contrast, were torn by domestic strife. Instead of ushering in a period of peace, rest, and the consolidation of political, economic, religious, and social activity, the Truce years saw domestic disagreements and religious and political division split the new nation.

What began as an academic debate among the theology faculty of Leiden University grew into a fundamental and bitter rift within the Dutch Reformed Church. Shortly after the 1603 appointment of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), his views on predestination and free will left him pitted against his fellow theology chair Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641). By 1605, this controversy within the Dutch Reformed Church had spread through all the provinces and every level of society. Van Oldenbarnevelt and Johannes Uytenbogaert (1557-1644), the foremost preacher in The Hague, favored the more liberal interpretation of Arminius; Van

Oldenbarnevelt attempted to orchestrate a national synod confirming Arminian Calvinism and thus loosening the doctrinal rigidity and political weight of the church. This proposal met vehement resistance and no synod was called, but Van Oldenbarnevelt's significant support made it the politically ascendant branch of a church and a nation increasingly divided.

This religious rift destroyed any hope of internal peace during the Truce. In 1610, in Utrecht, an uprising of traditional Calvinist citizens and militia members seized the city and removed the more liberal regents from power. The States General, urged by Holland and Van Oldenbarnevelt, authorized a military incursion. Maurits declined to lead the troops in favor of Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647). The civic dissidents and hard-line Calvinists gave way without a fight and the old order was restored. This brief assignment was Frederik Hendrik's first visible public involvement in political affairs.<sup>53</sup> Except for his presence on military campaign as early as 1597, he would play an otherwise insignificant role in domestic politics until Maurits's death in 1625.

Emboldened by this success and to counter further uprisings, Uytenbogaert, Van Oldenbarnevelt, and the liberal Arminians took a more offensive tactic and submitted a "Remonstrance" to the States of Holland in July 1610. This document summarized the liberal faction's religious and political views and lent the name "Remonstrants" to its adherents; the opposition became "Counter-Remonstrants." Van Oldenbarnevelt and the Remonstrants held power during succeeding years despite continued domestic discord and the indignation of international Protestants.

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<sup>53</sup> For an account of the events see Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 424-425, where he characterizes Frederik Hendrik's involvement as "his first opportunity to enter the limelight."

King James I (1566-1625) of England was concerned about the religious division and shocked by the liberality of its doctrine and supporters.<sup>54</sup> In 1613, James I made Maurits a member of the Order of the Garter. This raised the Stadholder's position within European aristocracy and bound him to the religious and political camp of England. Indeed, Maurits quietly was opposed to Van Oldenbarnevelt and the Remonstrants but long chose to avoid the civil war that would result from open hostility. Without active military responsibility during the Truce, Maurits's authority was diminished and he was in a more subordinate position to the States General and the individual sovereign provinces, responsible for his appointment as both Stadholder and Commander-General.<sup>55</sup>

While religious and political strife characterized internal political affairs, the United Provinces became involved with the neighboring territory of Jülich-Cleves, itself torn by religious and political contest. After a successful campaign with France in 1610, the Dutch failed to react to Spínola's capture of the strategically valuable Calvinist bastion of Wesel in 1614. Van Oldenbarnevelt was held responsible. He and his Remonstrant allies spent the next three years trying to maintain their grip on the tenuous political state but Counter-Remonstrant dissatisfaction was rising. By 1617, the population was polarized and civic and religious disturbances were common: town councils were replaced by popular intervention and churches

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<sup>54</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 428, including the king being "horrified by the appointment of Vorstius [to the theology chair at Leiden], whom he regarded as an out-and-out heretic."

<sup>55</sup> This dichotomy between sovereignty and authority was a characteristic of Dutch national politics and recognized by Sir William Temple, English Ambassador to The Hague later in the century. Olaf Mörke, "Sovereignty and Authority: The Role of the Court in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: the Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991): 455-477.

appropriated by force. The tenuous balance Van Oldenbarnevelt had controlled was gone.

In July 1617, Maurits attended services of the Counter-Remonstrant branch of the Dutch Reformed Church in the *Kloosterkerk* [Cloister Church] in The Hague. In doing so, he left the preaching of Uytenbogaert and broke with the past and with the controlling branch of the divided state religion. Much more importantly, Maurits openly opposed Van Oldenbarnevelt and publicly cast his lot with the Counter-Remonstrant religious and political factions then fighting for control. Soon after, on 4 August 1617, Van Oldenbarnevelt orchestrated the passage of the so-called “Sharp Resolution,” which legalized the creation of civic militias and emphasized the sovereignty of the provinces and their right to dictate policy and defense, thus undermining the Stadholder’s position, military order, and the rights of the Generality. Such a political step to counter the growing opposition presented by a religious conflict indicates the degree to which religion and politics were entwined. The Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants were as if two distinct religions and the unrest caused by the divide was so great that the nation was on the brink of civil war. Van Oldenbarnevelt’s open political defiance and leadership of the Remonstrants would ultimately be the cause of his dramatic downfall.<sup>56</sup>

Maurits was adamantly opposed to the “Sharp Resolution.”<sup>57</sup> In the following months he called for the support of loyal and disaffected towns alike with both letters

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<sup>56</sup> The impasse between Maurits and Van Oldenbarnevelt and the ultimate success of Maurits was observed and commented upon as early as 1607 by François van Aerssen, who served first as Ambassador for the States and then as faithful servant of Maurits. A. Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau 1567-1625: De winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2000), p. 207.

<sup>57</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 441, with Maurits’s reference to it as an “affront to the true Reformed religion and our person.”

and visits. A *coup* to remove Van Oldenbarnevelt was expected with the very real possibility of civil war, but Maurits proceeded deliberately, carefully, and effectively. In 1618, with the support of the Chancellor of Gelderland, Maurits replaced the Remonstrants of the Nijmegen council with Counter-Remonstrants, claiming his right to do so as Stadholder.<sup>58</sup> This was bolder than his previous actions, but neither unlawful nor executed with military force. In the spring of 1618, Maurits, now legitimate Prince of Orange upon the death of Filips Willem on 20 February 1618 in Brussels, continued to rally support in Gelderland and Overijssel. Then, famously, he entered Utrecht with his army on the orders of the States General in July 1618, disbanded the civic militia on 31 July, and purged the town council. Towns in Holland capitulated, disbanding their own militias, in effect denouncing the “Sharp Resolution,” and acquiesced to the calling of a national synod to settle the divisions within the Reformed religion. On 29 August 1618, following the resolution of the States General, Van Oldenbarnevelt and his accomplices were arrested. The Synod of Dordrecht was convened and in 1619 confirmed Counter-Remonstrant theology as the true Reformed religion. A court was established to try the accused, who were all found guilty of treason. Van Oldenbarnevelt, who had faithfully, effectively, and even brilliantly served the government for more than forty years, was sentenced to death.

Against strong protests of important figures, Maurits allowed the execution of Van Oldenbarnevelt, an event that sent shock through the nation and precipitated the

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<sup>58</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 444.

exodus of Remonstrant leaders.<sup>59</sup> Maurits became, in a short period of time in 1618-1619, the most powerful, feared, and influential man in the United Provinces.

The events of 1618-1619 were truly revolutionary; they established the form of government that endured for the remainder of Maurits's years, and that Frederik Hendrik was to inherit and successfully command in the earliest years of his reign.<sup>60</sup> Maurits consolidated his rule during 1618 and 1619 by ensuring that town councils, provincial assemblies, militias, the Holland *ridderschap* [knighthood], preachers, schoolmasters and any other position of authority were controlled by Counter Remonstrants. This program sometimes involved military force, also used to quell periodic uprisings. The Stadholder had extensive power and the States General gained too at the expense of Holland. Remonstrant religious practice was entirely suppressed and its political aspect remained weakened, in exile, or in tiny pockets of resistance until 1625.

In the meantime, Frederik Hendrik was conspicuously absent from almost all domestic issues of this contentious period. When Maurits disbanded the Utrecht militia, arrested Van Oldenbarnevelt and his accomplices, instituted local governments of sympathetic ilk, and essentially took personal control of the government in 1618-1619, Frederik Hendrik was not involved.<sup>61</sup> In 1619, he was sent

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<sup>59</sup> Louise de Coligny, fourth wife of Willem I and mother of Frederik Hendrik, pleaded with Maurits on behalf of the Orange-Nassau to spare the life of Van Oldenbarnevelt. Though unsuccessful, she was a logical choice, having experienced the effects of religious strife in ways more personal than almost all others. Not only was her husband Willem I assassinated, a blow felt by all the Orange-Nassau, but also both her father and (first) husband were killed in the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris, 23-24 August 1572.

<sup>60</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 450-451.

<sup>61</sup> This may be due to a number of reasons. Maurits was firm and dominant in his leadership, right up until his death, which may have left no room or role for Frederik Hendrik; or his exclusion may have been a calculated decision, shielding the heir-apparent from the potential stain of involvement should

to Orange, Maurits's newly acquired sovereign principality, and charged with the task of installing Maurits's governance (through lieutenants).

With the Remonstrant political faction overcome, the Counter-Remonstrant theology upheld, loyal politicians in various levels of government, and increased aristocratic status with the acquisition of the title Prince of Orange, Maurits was now in control of the nation. He was shrewd and secretive, confiding in only a small group of senior noble advisors, keeping everyone guessing his intentions, and devoting great attention to politic affairs.<sup>62</sup> While consolidating domestic politics and asserting his own position, Maurits lent support to the Protestant factions of Germany including his nephew Friedrich V (1596-1632), Elector Palatine and (briefly) King of Bohemia, at the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. Maurits was the only European power initially to back the Protestants with men, arms, and funding. This decision was, at least in part, an effort to deflect the Habsburgs from the United Provinces during and after the uncertain years leading to the end of the Twelve Years Truce. The individual provinces were divided about resuming the war and open discussion would have exposed such divisions to Spain. Maurits arranged for negotiations to take place between himself and Brussels to both maintain control and keep internal division at bay. Though favoring a truce, it soon became apparent that no acceptable terms could be reached regarding the familiar issues of trade restrictions and Catholic worship. Thus, in April 1621, the war that had begun under one dominant Orange-Nassau Stadholder-Prince resumed under another.

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Maurits fail, thus allowing Frederik Hendrik some future in whatever would result. It is also possible that Frederik Hendrik was opposed to the actions and did not take part.

<sup>62</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 466 and 471-472.

Willem I, the origins of the war, and the formation of the nation were brought into tangible view with the completion of *The Funeral Monument to Willem I* (1614-1621) in the *Nieuwe Kerk* [New Church] in Delft, one of the most important and political works of art of the entire Dutch Golden Age [fig. 3].<sup>63</sup> It was commissioned by the States General as a memorial to Willem I as “Father of the Fatherland,” a monument to the nation through a commemoration of its foundation, a symbol of liberty, a celebration of a state, and an object of national pride. No other figure could match Willem I of Orange-Nassau in importance and no other monument could communicate symbolically more about patriotism, dedication, and liberty. None could serve so well as a reminder and a rallying cry to a nation often torn from within and threatened from without. The tomb also symbolized the republican and the princely aspects of Dutch national politics at the same time that they came to their most heated and violent ends. However, its republican characteristics are visually superseded by its glorification of Willem I: the sculpted mottoes of Willem I, two depictions of him, the weeping torch-bearing putti, the faithful dog, and the *tour de force* bronze figure of *Fame* trumpeting the glory of the deceased all leave any aspect of republican virtue lost in a sea of heroic celebration of Willem I. The most certain connection between the monument and the nation was that Willem I was the nation’s founder and champion; to invoke the foundations of the state was to recognize Prince

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<sup>63</sup> The most important sources on the tomb are Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2003); Nicole Ex and Frits Scholten, *De Prins en De Keyser. Restauratie en geschiedenis van het grafmonument voor Willem van Oranje* (Bussom: Uitgeverij Thoth, 2001); Els Jimkes-Verkade, “De Ikonologie van het grafmonument van Willem I, Prins van Orange,” in *De Stad Delft: cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, 2 vols. (Delft: Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, 1981), vol. 1, 214-227 and vol. 2, figs. 276-299; and Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *Hendrick de Keyser. Beeldhouwer en Bouwmeester van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1930).

Willem I of Orange-Nassau. An equally important relation between the nation and the tomb is the use of the term *pater patriae* in the epitaph written by Constantijn Huygens [fig. 4]. Going back to its Roman origins this term had a specifically and exclusively republican meaning.<sup>64</sup> Maurits is also mentioned in the epitaph, inheriting his father's cause and virtues. The hereditary character of national leadership implied by such an inclusion was, of course, common in sovereign courts in Europe. It was also a standing reality in the Northern Netherlands, but one that was contested precisely during the construction of the funeral monument. In the end, *The Funeral Monument of Willem I* reflects the contemporary political scene: an Orange-Nassau Stadholder Prince dominating a republican nation.

Despite being in control, Maurits found that the years following his rise opened new problems for him politically and personally. In Van Oldenbarnevelt he lost not only his domestic adversary but the effective administrator mediating a complex governmental structure and arranging funding for the war. The period of peace during the Twelve Years Truce affected the resolve and the willingness of the nation to fight an offensive war, one for which they were no longer prepared. Domestic politics continued to divide Holland. The economy turned sharply downward as the war resumed. France and England were not as strong allies as they had proven to be in the past (or would be in the future), and provided no substantial aid in funds. The outbreak of the Thirty Years War strained finances and troops. In

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<sup>64</sup> Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, pp. 84-85, including: "The decision of the States-General to honour William the Silent as *Pater patriae* with a public tomb cannot be seen in isolation from this republican tradition. By doing so it placed itself firmly among the ranks of famous republics, from Rome to Florence, thus affirming its own role as a sovereign power. However, it went a step further than its predecessors by building a tomb for William, the first one ever erected at public expense for a father of his country. Even the commission for the tomb of Cosimo de' Medici, who is called *Pater patriae* in the epitaph in the floor of the church of San Lorenzo, was not a state but a family affair."

1620, Willem Lodewijk died and Maurits lost his cousin, brother-in-law, fellow Stadholder, military compatriot, constant right arm, and lifelong friend. Moreover, Maurits's youngest and favorite son, Maurits (1604-1617), and his lifelong secretary, Johannes Milander (1547-1621), died during this period.<sup>65</sup> There were threats on his life and assassination attempts.<sup>66</sup> In addition, Maurits became very ill by 1622 and his steadily failing health moved from grave to incapacitating by the end of 1624.

In the years after the war resumed in 1621, increased spending on troops and fortifications was necessary, funded by an unwelcome increase in taxes that further strained the economy. Maurits and the Counter-Remonstrants were not able to secure political support in Holland and their system instituted in 1618-1620 was increasingly strained. It was dependent on a strong Stadholder, but Maurits was sick and weak, indeed very slowly dying.<sup>67</sup> He continued to carry out secret truce negotiations with Spínola throughout 1620-1623 and the possibility of a truce kept Spanish offensive aggression at bay. This eased the pressure on an increasingly defensive Dutch military position until Spínola realized the negotiations were little more than a stall tactic and began a determined offensive against the United Provinces and the Orange-Nassau.

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<sup>65</sup> Maurits (the younger) was one of three illegitimate sons of Maurits by his longtime companion Margaretha van Mechelen. Johannes Milander, who will be treated in Chapter Four, was lifelong secretary to Maurits and a sympathetic personality to the learned and careful Stadholder.

<sup>66</sup> After an assassination plot against Maurits in 1623 was discovered, Reynier van Oldenbarnevelt (son of Johan) was executed as was another conspirator and a total of 15 people that spring (Willem van Oldenbarnevelt, a co-conspirator, successfully fled); see Ilja M. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and His Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2001), pp. 275-276.

<sup>67</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 480, with Dudley Carleton's assessment of Maurits in 1623 as already "much broken."

Beginning in the summer of 1624 Spínola began a siege of Breda, a crucial city in the defense of the United Provinces, a strategic point on the road linking north and south, a stronghold considered impregnable, an ancient and revered seat of the Nassau family, and the first major victory of Maurits. During the siege, Maurits lay dying in The Hague, though retaining all his powers until his death. Frederik Hendrik, his half brother and the last legitimate son of Willem I, was the logical successor. He would eventually be appointed Stadholder of five of the seven United Provinces and be named Commander-General of the military. He was also universal heir to all the noble lands, goods, and titles of Maurits, who demanded that Frederik Hendrik marry to produce a legitimate heir. On 2 April 1625, Frederik Hendrik married Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675) and, before the month was out, became Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, and Baron of Breda upon the death of Maurits on 23 April 1625.

The great general did not live to see the humiliating and threatening fall of his first major military victory upon the surrender of Breda less than two months later. Even before the siege was over and Maurits died, one Dutch correspondent wrote “Here is nothing but gloom for the present and fear for the future.”<sup>68</sup> The loss of Breda in 1625 was a crushing blow to the United Provinces and to the Orange-Nassau. Its loss, falling directly on the heels of Maurits’s death, cast a pall of uncertainty over the future.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Nicolaes van Reigersberg to his brother-in-law, Hugo de Groot, in Paris in 1624; as quoted in Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 485. Israel describes how bad the situation was – including new taxes, poverty, famine, civic uprising, shortages of military funds and the grim outlook for the besieged Breda.

<sup>69</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 485: “Maurits died, in April 1625, with the Republic’s fortunes at a lower ebb than at any time since 1590.”

By contrast, it gave great hope to Philip IV and Spain; Breda was perhaps the greatest of many important worldwide military victories for the Spanish empire in 1625, that *annus mirabilis*, and celebrated in *The Surrender of Breda* by Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660) in the Hall of Realms in the Palace of the Buen Retiro in Madrid [see fig. 1].<sup>70</sup>

The Spanish threat precipitated by the fall of Breda exacerbated a domestic atmosphere of economic depression, political instability, and renewed religious conflict. With Maurits's death and the Counter-Remonstrants' declining control over Holland, Remonstrant religious practice slowly resumed and a liberal "political Arminianism" gained ground. Both sides needed the support of the Stadholder. Frederik Hendrik, who had thus far operated in the background, would negotiate the tenuous political situation by adopting a *via media* with both groups simultaneously held at bay by favors and dependent on his power. This was the period of the *politique*, the liberal and flexible politician less tied to religious dogma, and Frederik Hendrik was one to the core. He was a very capable politician and, though he leaned increasingly towards the ascendant Remonstrants, executed the same system inherited from his half brother of dependence on the Stadholder and reliance on a group of strong provincial managers (most having served under Maurits).

Though Maurits had died, he was not soon forgotten. In October 1626, Rubens commented upon Frederik Hendrik's military skill with the following: "It

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<sup>70</sup> Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, pp. 29-30, including: "His [Philip IV's] reputation secured by these glorious victories, it might now be possible for the King to negotiate an honorable settlement with the Dutch. Once this had been achieved, his peoples could look forward to a new golden age – an age in which Philip the Great, victorious in his wars, could hold court amidst all the splendors of a Spain at peace." This quotation is not rhetoric, but an honest and eloquent assessment of exactly what the victory meant and what was hoped for in Spain. Other paintings relating specifically to the historical situation in 1625 and the surrender of Breda will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

does not appear that the present Prince of Orange possesses the genius for warfare to so propitious a degree as his brother, whose glory he will hardly reach unless these unfortunate first fruits of his government are obscured by subsequent prosperity.”<sup>71</sup> This statement, comparative as it is, says as much about the fame and reputation of Maurits as it says anything of Frederik Hendrik. Rubens was correct, though, in his assessment, as Frederik Hendrik did not show the military skills of Maurits at this point. The painter from Antwerp was also correct, and somewhat prophetic, in his acknowledgment of what future success might provide.

Frederik Hendrik weathered a desperate situation between 1625 and 1628. Trade continued to worsen. The Spanish still had the upper hand, holding major defensive positions along the southern front; to the north-east the Habsburg Emperor held a dominant and potentially threatening position in Germany. The province of Holland was so deeply split that only the greater threat of Spain tempered domestic conflict. However, the Spanish could not afford an offensive war either, and no significant campaign followed Breda. With the situation far from secure, a rapid series of events then favored the Dutch. In 1627, Frederik Hendrik successfully laid siege to the strategically valuable city of Grol.<sup>72</sup> The conflict of the Mantuan succession (1628-1631) forced Spain to divert attention, funds, men, and arms to Italy. The Dutch now had the support of France and an alliance with England.<sup>73</sup> The relationship with England and the international stature of Frederik Hendrik were

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<sup>71</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 144; to Pierre Dupuy, 8 October 1626.

<sup>72</sup> Rubens commented upon the victory (or in his case, the loss) of Grol, with due acknowledgment of its significance. The same could be said of the siege of Breda, references to which appeared in his letters throughout 1624 and 1625. *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, pp. 97-111 and 196-199.

<sup>73</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 496-499.

enhanced in 1627 when he was presented with the English Order of the Garter. The same honor received by Maurits fourteen years prior was presented to Frederik Hendrik in The Hague by Sir Dudley Carleton, who came to the United Provinces as ambassador on this mission.<sup>74</sup>

Farther afield, in 1628 the Dutch West Indies Company fleet under the command of Piet Hein (1577-1629) famously captured the Spanish convoy of treasure, the “silver fleet,” holding eleven million guilders worth of silver. Though half a world away, this event was momentous. On the most fundamental level it robbed the Spanish budget of an enormous amount of money that, in part, would have been used to fund the war against the Dutch.

The turning of the tide fully in favor of the United Provinces militarily came in 1629 with the disruption of Spanish offensive supply lines through the capture of Wesel and the surrender, after a five-month siege by Frederik Hendrik, of ‘s-Hertogenbosch.<sup>75</sup> 1629 was a spectacular year for the Dutch. It was the “subsequent prosperity” Rubens admitted could obscure Frederik Hendrik’s “unfortunate first fruits.” In four years Frederik Hendrik had brought the nation a long way. He had

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<sup>74</sup> Rubens recounted the event and cast suspicion as to whether the visit was a cover for some political mission, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 192 and note 3, p. 476; to Pierre Dupuy, 7 July 1627. That there was some political component to the visit is likely as Carleton remained in The Hague for some time afterward as Rubens noted, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, pp. 250-251; to Spínola, 30 March 1628.

<sup>75</sup> The event was so significant it is worth quoting at length the assessment of Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 507-508: “This was a sensational event, a shattering blow to Spanish prestige, which caused deep dismay in Madrid. The double loss of Wesel and ‘s-Hertogenbosch represented the first really large-scale Spanish defeat in Europe since the scattering of the Armada of 1588. Nieuwpoort was a battle lost but also one which proved the continuing strategic superiority of Spain the Low Countries, and the qualitative edge of the Spanish infantry. The defeat of 1629 was ‘epoch-making’, showing that it was now the Dutch who enjoyed overall strategic superiority, at least while the Mantuan war continued.... Deeply shaken, and abandoning all his Low Countries objectives pursued since 1621, Philip IV overruled Olivares, and resolved to extricate himself from the Netherlands quagmire by offering a long and (for the first time) unconditional truce – a truce being preferred to a full peace, at this stage, to circumvent the thorny matter of sovereignty.”

not yet, of course, won the war and domestic political and religious tension was a continual problem. Spain was, however, now in such a position as it never had been and made desperate overtures to peace.

After the humiliating and devastating defeats of 1629, Spain presented an offer of unconditional truce to the provincial states. Though six provinces quickly determined their positions, resulting in a deadlock of three to three in favor and against a new truce, the debate in the cities of Holland was lengthy and polarized, with no small component of religious division. The theologico-political split between the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants intensified as the Counter-Remonstrant hold on the government steadily weakened each year after Maurits's death. The debate dragged on throughout 1630 so that Frederik Hendrik, in favor of a truce (but not openly), could not even take the field with his army.

The truce proposal eventually failed and a great offensive was desired, planned, and begun in 1631 on the port of Dunkirk to shame the Spanish and disrupt the raids plaguing Dutch shipping traffic. After penetrating into Flanders, upon encountering a strong Spanish force, the attack was called off by the regent deputies in the field who decided they could not risk the entire army. A furious Frederik Hendrik was forced to order the retreat.<sup>76</sup> Thus, on an enormous offensive campaign of the same military target as in 1600, the division between the Stadholder and the States deputies was again at the root of political tension. In 1600, Maurits had opposed the great risks of the offensive only to be overridden and proven right when

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<sup>76</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 513.

he was left to save the army in a defensive field battle. Thirty-one years later Frederik Hendrik pressed forward, only to be called back by the politicians.

The next year, 1632, Frederik Hendrik swept down the Maas valley taking town after town until he began a successful siege of Maastricht, which surrendered in August. Rubens was sent to Maastricht to talk truce, but ignored. Talks of peace, not simply truce, did however dominate the end of 1632 and most of 1633. The debate was not simply within the northern provinces, which were again split along the same lines with Holland in the decisive middle, but proposals were exchanged with delegates from the Southern Netherlands in The Hague. While increasing concessions were made on both sides, the religious and political split in Holland proved fatal for the talks. Frederik Hendrik, having sided with the Remonstrant towns and favoring a peace (seeing the time right for it within European politics), nevertheless refused to make the same number of concessions as those eager to end the war. The Stadholder and Remonstrants in Holland were in open disagreement, as they had been leading into 1618. Now, not only domestic survival and power were at stake but also the continuation of the war. Frederik Hendrik abandoned the Remonstrant block and lost support in Holland, but with Utrecht and Gelderland now on his side, the States General voted to break off the peace talks.<sup>77</sup>

Though it was a political risk for Frederik Hendrik to turn his back on loyal supporters of seven years, the Holland Remonstrants had gained sufficient power in preceding years that they no longer needed the Stadholder and could defy him. By casting his lot with the Counter-Remonstrants Frederik Hendrik mobilized the support

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<sup>77</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 521-523.

of a faction that needed him and thus maintained a position of importance, though now on the other side of the theologico-political fence. Frederik Hendrik's switch had less to do with religious preference between the two camps than political influence and power. His real support lay not with civic regents of any persuasion but, like Maurits before him, with a select group of provincial managers who aptly navigated the factional waters, achieving the Stadholder's desired end. Additionally, Frederik Hendrik effectively, but briefly, broke the stranglehold of the province of Holland on national affairs, simultaneously elevating his own position of power, with the majority of the States General on his side.<sup>78</sup>

Frederik Hendrik's factional about-face of 1633 was dramatic, but there were no fears of civil war, no *coup*, no charges of treason, and no political executions. The political conflicts of Frederik Hendrik's rule, if less visible and certainly less dramatic than Maurits's, were still personally and nationally significant. Thus, in the years following his accession to power in 1625, Frederik Hendrik carved out political alliances and international contacts, achieved military victories, and negotiated the divisive domestic political climate with an adept posture of varying conciliation and dominance. He had effectively worked to his advantage the position of a powerful Stadholder within a system of factional division that was established by Maurits and inherited upon his death. In the meantime, through the 1631 Act of Survivance that assured Frederik Hendrik's young son, Willem II (1626-1650), would succeed him as Stadholder, Frederik Hendrik provided for the continued importance of the House of Orange-Nassau in the political and military future of the United Provinces and in doing so simultaneously pledged its dedication to the States.

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<sup>78</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 526.

Such a favorable state of political affairs for Frederik Hendrik was not to exist for long. The unified Remonstrant block in Holland came to constitute a majority, negating the internal divisions that had allowed Frederik Hendrik to manipulate it to his advantage.<sup>79</sup> He still held the power of the Generality but a unified Holland was a significant adversary. As the 1630s progressed, the Stadholder's political effectiveness slowly diminished; his secret committees eventually lost their power; religious division lost intensity; Remonstrants solidified power; the military budget was cut; and he gained no more military victories as splendid as in 1629 or 1632 (though he did retake Breda in 1637). In the 1640s, peace talks were underway and Frederik Hendrik was limited by poor health.

Thus, in terms of political control over the United Provinces, religious division, military operations, and the absolute power of the Orange-Nassau, the period 1618-1632 is unique. This span of fifteen years centered on the death of Maurits and the transfer of power to Frederik Hendrik in 1625 was crucial in the history of the United Provinces and the House of Orange-Nassau. This period saw the consolidation of political power and aristocratic stature, the confluence of which provided the foundations for seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau princely splendor.

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<sup>79</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 540-541, discusses how the stable system of government instituted by Maurits and successfully executed for the next fifteen years was contingent upon a divided province of Holland. A unified Holland regained its ascendancy and control of the nation.

## **Section Two: Maurits of Orange-Nassau**

### **Introduction**

Maurits (1567-1625) was a shrewd and confident leader, educated, studious, and conscientious. His prowess on the battlefield earned him his fame and his dedicated hours at study both helped make that possible and characterized his personal life. A fervent student of history and military tactics, he also studied mathematics, defense, architecture, and religion. He could read, write, and speak German, Dutch, French, and Latin. His generally understood historical character as foremost a soldier with little interest in matters of culture is unwarranted but expected, as he reigned over no extravagant court and patronized comparatively few cultural affairs. A bachelor all his life, he left no legitimate children, and for most of his life had no great inheritance. His world was primarily of the military and political arenas, out of necessity, dedication, and interest.

These were the fields in which he excelled and over the course of the decades after Willem I's (1533-1584) death, Maurits established his place in the Northern Netherlands, earning great respect through his splendid military campaigns which brought the United Provinces from a relative low point in 1584. His increasing power and stature derived from such successes contributed to the tensions with the republican factions during the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621). These tensions resulted in the political coup of August 1618. Before this, in February 1618, Maurits became Prince of Orange and, with this single most significant event in his personal life, everything changed.

In 1618, Maurits became sovereign prince of a foreign land and had been leader of the United Provinces for more than thirty years. With the increase in aristocratic stature came changes to his personal life including those affecting his artistic activity and the development of a princely courtly environment. Maurits's artistic activity must be seen in conjunction with his biography and the historical environment outlined in Chapter Three, including the threatening military situations and tense domestic religious and political controversies that characterized the majority of his life and to which the bulk of his attention was necessarily devoted. It was only after increased wealth and position in 1601 and 1609 that Maurits could indulge in aristocratic expense and after 1618, princely magnificence. Artistic pursuits of an appropriate or expected level are a luxury of status and wealth. They, further, develop over time and place and need a host of conditions to flourish, including money, knowledge, interest, desire, advisors, time, and capable artists.

Maurits's artistic activity began modestly. It was local in origin, functional in nature, straightforward in purpose, and influenced by specific contemporary events, and it developed over time. These considerations were in keeping with his practical character. With greater time, income, and exposure, the purview of his artistic activity expanded. This expansion coincided with specific historical events that allowed it. Though never a great patron by European royal standards, Maurits was exposed to and responsible for a variety of artistic and architectural projects. This artistic development was part of a courtly environment of increasing grandeur and laid the foundations for seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau artistic splendor achieved under his successor Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) in the 1630s and 1640s.

## Chapter Four: Maurits – Life and Art until 1618

“When Vroom got home he painted the seventh day of the battle between the English and the Spanish fleet on a large canvas, a piece with an amazing number of details which was seen with great admiration and pleasure by His Excellency Count Maurits and the Admiral Justinus.”<sup>80</sup>

With this passage, Karel van Mander (1548-1606) provides a rare record of Maurits’s (1567-1625) contact with a work of art. Maurits and Justinus (1559-1631) were, respectively, Admiral-General and Admiral of the navy and therefore it should be little surprise that a painting of the defeat of the enemy Spanish Armada in 1588 “was seen with admiration and pleasure.”<sup>81</sup> What, however, pleased the half brothers? Was it the accuracy of vessels, rigging, sails, and weaponry or Hendrick Cornelisz. Vroom’s (1566-1640) skill in rendering them? Was it the faithful representation of naval tactics and operations or the life with which they were depicted? Was it the fact that the painting depicted one of the most famous naval battles in history and a great defeat and shame for the enemy Spanish, or that the picture was a finely executed and ingenious artistic composition? Given what is known of the two men around the turn of the century, it is difficult to posit an appreciation of the artistic merits of the painting over its subject of a celebrated naval victory.

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<sup>80</sup> Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603-04)*, 6 vols., ed. and trans. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994), vol. 1, p. 410, fol. 288r. Miedema discusses the terms “verwonderen en behaghen (admiration and pleasure): Pleasure found in the work and admiration felt for its creator often go hand-in-hand. *Behaghen* and *bevallen* are roughly synonymous, and closely connected with *gratie*.” Van Mander, vol. 5, p. 205.

<sup>81</sup> Justinus van Nassau was an illegitimate son of Willem I, and thus a bastard half brother of Maurits. He was Admiral of the Dutch fleet for a time (as Van Mander says) but at the time of publication of the *Schilder-boeck* he had already come to occupy the post of governor of Breda, which he held from 1601 to 1625 and in which he is depicted in Diego Velázquez’s *The Surrender of Breda*.

Maurits's military role was not simply one of obligation but also affinity and interest, as shown by his attention to study when not on campaign and the company he kept in The Hague. Herein lies his appreciation of Vroom's depiction of a celebrated naval battle. Maurits's certain interest in the painting's subject provides the cause for his attention to it.

The glimpse Van Mander gives into Maurits's involvement with the visual arts is limited but reflects the Stadholder's biographical interests as well as his deliberate and forthright character. Each time Van Mander mentioned Maurits in his *Schilder-boeck*, of which the Stadholder owned a copy, he referred to him with his correct title of "Count."<sup>82</sup> In doing so, the keen connoisseur was also a careful observer of social propriety. In 1604, indeed for all but the last seven years of his life, Maurits's highest aristocratic position and title was that of Count.

Maurits of Orange-Nassau (1567-1625) was born on 13 November 1567 in the Nassau palace at Dillenburg.<sup>83</sup> Earlier that year, his father Willem I fled Brussels with his family and court and took refuge with his brother Jan VI of Nassau (1536-1606). In January 1568, "Moritz August" was baptized in the Lutheran faith. Shortly thereafter, his mother, Anne of Saxony (1544-1577), left Dillenburg, first for Cologne, then the Nassau palace at Beilstein, then Dresden, never to see her son

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<sup>82</sup> Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, see, especially, vol. 5, p. 236, commentary re. fol 288r46, in which Miedema explicitly recognizes this. The library of Maurits will be addressed below; by 1608, Maurits owned a copy of both *Het Schilder-boeck* and the *Uytlegginge van den Ovidius* by Van Mander, Haarlem, 1604; see A. D. Renting and J. T. C. Renting-Kuijpers, *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library. The Catalogue Compiled by Anthonie Smets in 1686, the 1749 Auction Catalogue, and other Contemporary Sources* (Utrecht: Hes Publishers, 1993), pp. 508 and 575, cat. nos. 2557 and 2959 (Von Dohna inv. nos. 383 and 328).

<sup>83</sup> For biographical accounts of Maurits see A. Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau: de winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2000) and Simon Groenveld, "De man met de loden schoenen: een levenschets," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, ed. Kees Zandvliet (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders b.v., 2000).

again. Always willful and erratic, her difficult temperament worsened into complete insanity before her early death. Maurits remained in Dillenburg, never knowing his mother and, for much of his youth, with his father absent, leading the revolt in the low countries. He was raised with his sisters Anna (1563-1588) and Emilia (1569-1629) and his half-sister Maria (1556-1616) by his uncle Jan VI, whom Maurits affectionately called “Monsieur mon père” [my gentleman father].

Jan VI was a devout Protestant, first Lutheran then Calvinist, who believed greatly in education and all of the many (male) Nassau cousins under his charge were taught Latin, French, history, classics, horsemanship, fencing, and, above all, the reformed religion of the Heidelberg catechism. It was a stable and practical environment that provided Maurits a sound basis for his intellectual and noble education. It was also, however, austere compared to the glorious years of Hendrik III of Nassau (1483-1538) and the early years of Willem I in Brussels and Breda. Though Willem I had sent many of his possessions from both residences to Dillenburg in 1567, they remained there only briefly. His straitened circumstances forced him to sell or pawn most of his gold, silver, jewels, tapestries, paintings, and other household furnishings by the early 1570s.<sup>84</sup> The *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries, which had been sent from Breda, however, stayed in Dillenburg; they were singled out by Jan VI as being of special importance and worth keeping within the Nassau family at all costs.<sup>85</sup> Maurits may have seen them there as a boy but, in his earliest

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<sup>84</sup> S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976), vol. 1, pp. 1-64, “Lijsten van goederen afkomstig uit het kasteel te Breda 1567,” “Inventaris van het hof van Nassau te Brussel 1568,” and “Verpande Goedern Willem I 1572.”

<sup>85</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 9, “Lijsten van goederen afkomstig uit het kasteel te Breda 1567,” no. 133 “Huyct

years, there was little in terms of artistic patronage or splendid courtly environment to which he would have been exposed.

In 1576, and just turning nine years old, the young Maurits was sent with his older Nassau cousins to the Calvinist university at Heidelberg. His father called him back the next year and the young Maurits went to live with Willem I in the now-more-stable provinces. He spent the next four years in Breda with his father, sisters, stepmother and young half-sisters, as well as his cousins Willem Lodewijk (1560-1620) and Filips (1566-1595). The earliest known image of Maurits dates from these years; by an unknown Antwerp painter, this conventional three-quarter length portrait shows Maurits poised and armed for his destined military service [fig. 5].<sup>86</sup>

In 1582, Maurits entered the university at Leiden where he would remain for less than two years. There, he improved his Latin under the tutelage of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), from whom he also learned politics and ancient history as well as both philosophical and practical neo-Stoicism. Maurits also studied law and mathematics, in which he was particularly interested. He was a dedicated and capable student but his studies were abruptly brought to an end upon Willem I's assassination on 10 July 1584.

A young but mature sixteen-year-old Maurits was thrust into political life.

With Willem I's eldest son, Filips Willem (1554-1618), sequestered in Spain, it fell to

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pièches de tapisseries riches ouvrées d'or et d'argent et soye, avecq la deschynte ou généalogue de la maison de Nassau" and vol. 1, p. 47 (marginal note written by Jan VI in the introductory letter to the "Verpande Goederen Willem I 1572"): "Da auch E. L. voon tapezereienn ettwas zu behalten gemeint, wölte ich insonderheit gern sehen, auch darumb gebetten haben, das sie denn Stamb Naszaw welches ein schene tapezerey ist, behaltten wolttenn, damit dieselbe beim hausz bleiben unnd nicht in frembde hende möge kommenn ut supra."

<sup>86</sup> C. de Wit, "De Ikonographie van Prins Maurits," *Mededelingen van het Gemeentemuseum van Den Haag* 13 (1958), pp. 15-37, for portraits of Maurits throughout his life.

Maurits to try to fulfill his father's political and military roles. This did not happen immediately as there was opposition, including questions about the youth's fitness for such weighty positions. Maurits energetically asserted his education, lineage, and personal qualities and achieved success and stature within the United Provinces. On his eighteenth birthday, he officially became Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland and, later, Commander-General and Admiral-General of these provinces' armies and navies. He assumed his first noble position as Marquis of Veere and Vlissingen and attempted to gain any of his father's lands and titles to which he had a claim.<sup>87</sup> Many had been confiscated in the southern provinces and Filips Willem (and his sister Maria) had claims as well. The title Prince of Orange clearly belonged to Filips Willem. Maurits received the honorary, but hollow, title "*geboren prins van Oranje, graaf van Nassau*" [born Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau] from the States of Holland. In 1590, he also became Stadholder of Gelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht and as such *de facto* Stadholder of the United Provinces as well as their joint Commander-General.

With the distribution of Willem I's hereditary lands among his heirs still unsettled and their incomes still used to repay the enormous debts he had incurred while leading the revolt, Maurits's personal income during these years was relatively limited, consisting mainly of his salaries for his various political and military positions. Further, as *de facto* head of the House of Orange-Nassau it was in part his responsibility to support his numerous young sisters and half-sisters as well as his

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<sup>87</sup> The position of Marquis of Veere and Vlissingen was officially part of the complicated and debt-ridden estate of Willem I. Maurits exercised his rights as Marquis though it would be decades before his right to it was settled. P. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1966), for the estate of Willem I.

infant half brother, Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647). Actual care for these children fell to female relatives, especially Louise de Coligny (1555-1620), Willem I's fourth wife and widow, who raised her son and many of her stepdaughters with financial support from various cities and provinces. In the meantime, the family had moved from Breda, which was taken by Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma (1543-1592), in 1581, to Delft, where Willem I was assassinated in 1584, to various cities in Holland and Zeeland, and finally to The Hague, and with each move was reliant on the provincial states for supplying a residence.

Thus, the 1580s were a period of uncertainty, struggle, movement, and military and political responsibility. There was no time, money, or security for courtly activity or extravagant expenditure. Maurits was now fully embroiled in the United Provinces' war of independence. The war would be his primary obligation, his lifelong dedication, and ultimately the source of his eventual greatness. For half of the Eighty Years War, from shortly after Willem I's death in 1584 to Maurits's own death in 1625, it was Maurits at the rudder, steering the Dutch in both hostile and peaceful times. A glimpse of the fortitude of his character can be seen in a portrait of the still-beardless Maurits, c. 1589, by Daniël van den Queborn (1552/57-1604/07) [fig. 6]. Maurits's firm grip on his baton of command foreshadows the coming decade of military success he would lead.

This painting is an early example of the many portraits of Maurits – including paintings, prints, and medals – with origins outside his instigation or even environment.<sup>88</sup> Civic magistrates, distant family members, foreign collectors, the

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<sup>88</sup> Wouter Kloek, "Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 138-159, especially p. 139, is careful to distinguish works about or concerning Maurits and those to which he

Dutch government, and presumably a variety of Dutch citizens were interested in owning images of the increasingly famous Stadholder. Daniël van den Queborn, an Antwerp-born portraitist who moved to Middleburg after 1585, painted this work on commission from the magistrates of the city of Arnemuiden, where it still hangs today.<sup>89</sup> Around 1594, Van den Queborn moved to The Hague, taking up the post of “painter to His Excellency” that Van Mander ascribes to him.<sup>90</sup> In the same year a series of eight portraits of members of the Orange-Nassau family were ordered from Van den Queborn by a brother-in-law of Willem I.<sup>91</sup> These eight portraits may have been either unique paintings or copies of portraits that Van den Queborn had already completed for the court in The Hague, or was in the process of executing. However, no versions of such paintings exist today. In fact, only one portrait of Maurits by Van den Queborn exists from his possible tenure as court painter in The Hague from c. 1594 to 1604/07. A full length portrait in civilian clothing from c. 1598 was given as a gift from Maurits, along with a portrait of Willem I, to Leiden University (where they still hang) [figs. 7 and 8]. In presenting them, Maurits fulfilled the promise to send such portraits that he made more than ten years earlier in the Latin letter sent to

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can be directly connected, including commissions, gifts (to and from), and a number of works in various civic quarters at his disposal, which are on the whole better documented than the artistic production stemming from his personal and courtly positions.

<sup>89</sup> C. de Wit, “De hofschilder van Maurits,” *Mededelingen van het Gemeentemuseum van Den Haag* 10, no. 2 (1955), pp. 54-63; De Wit, “De Ikonographie van Prins Maurits,” pp. 16-19.

<sup>90</sup> Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. 1, p. 178, fol. 230r: “Master Daniel [van de Queeborne], painter to His Excellency at The Hague” and vol. 3, p. 206, note to 230r08.

<sup>91</sup> De Wit, “De Ikonographie van Prins Maurits,” pp. 18-19; De Wit, “De hofschilder van Maurits,” p. 62. De Wit lists “Gunther von Schwarzburg” as the patron but Günther XL died in 1552 and his son Günther XLI died in 1583. Thus the 1594 commission more likely came from one of the latter’s brothers: Albrecht VII (1537-1605), who was married to Juliana of Nassau (1546-1588), or Johann Günther (d. after 1597). Juliana was Willem I’s sister, as was Catharina of Nassau (1543-1624), who was married to either Günther XLI or Johann Günther.

the rectors of the university after his father's assassination and the conclusion of his studies. Other portraits of the Stadholder by the "painter to his Excellency" may have existed that served as the reference point for various prints and medals from this period. However, none exist in any original or painted copies and no painter is mentioned on the prints (as "inventor"). Four engraved portraits copy the same face in oval format surrounded by the same inscription. All likely reproduce the image of Maurits from a medal (no longer extant) commissioned by the States General after Maurits's celebrated victory at Groningen in 1594.<sup>92</sup> This medal commission is significant in a number of ways: an historical event provided the impetus for the work, it stemmed from the national government and not from Maurits himself, it was widely copied in print outside the instigation of the court, and the inscription includes the Latin phrase "*Natus Aur. Princ*" [born Prince of Orange] that had been conferred on Maurits as an honorific.

Maurits's apparent patronage of his own image was limited and followed the path of his artistic patronage more generally as it was developing during these years in five basic respects. First, it was instigated by outside sources: Van den Queborn seems to have first come to his attention from a third-party portrait commission. Second, stylistically, the choices were traditional: Van den Queborn, from Antwerp, provided a conventional late-sixteenth-century aristocratic portrait type of which Maurits would have been familiar from his youth. Third, the chosen artist was local: Maurits, as Marquis of Veere and Vlissingen and Stadholder of Zeeland, had residences and spent time in the province where Van den Queborn lived, and the artist later moved to the city of his master's primary residence. Fourth, the portraits were

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<sup>92</sup> De Wit, "De Ikonographie van Prins Maurits," pp. 26-29.

functional: though portraits always serve a basic practical purpose, in the case of Maurits's one known early portrait commission for Leiden, it fulfilled a previous promise. Fifth, though other portraits of Maurits likely existed, the output of his "court artist," Van den Queborn, must be considered modest in both quantity and quality. As such, it reflected the current position of a man of still limited financial means and even more limited artistic exposure.

Maurits's great military success in the 1590s brought him increasing stability, fame, and wealth. The decade also saw some of his earliest encounters with significant works of art. By 1594, he would have seen two versions of the *Massacre of the Innocents* by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638). The first was painted in 1590, likely on a 1589 commission from the Haarlem civic magistrates and intended for Naaldwijk castle, recently put at the disposal of Maurits [fig. 9].<sup>93</sup> During the same period, Cornelis painted four more works commissioned by the same civic magistrates to decorate the *Prinsenhof* [Princes' court] in Haarlem: *The Massacre of the Innocents* [fig. 10], *The Fall of Man*, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, and *A Monk and a Nun*.<sup>94</sup> The suite of paintings taken together forms an allegory based on rhetorical conceptions that cautions against misconduct and advocates temperance in governing lest one fall into bad government or, worse, tyranny. Both images of *The Massacre of the Innocents* referred to Spanish tyranny and the devastating effects it inflicted upon Haarlem within living memory. Such

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<sup>93</sup> Pieter J. J. van Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem 1562 – 1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*, trans. Diane L. Webb (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1999), pp. 32, 208-209, and 306-307, cat. no. 41.

<sup>94</sup> Van Thiel, *Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem*, pp. 32 and 208-220; and, for *The Massacre of the Innocents*, pp. 307-309, cat. no. 42.

specific meaning would not have escaped the educated Maurits when he stayed in the newly decorated *Prinsenhof* on his 1594 visit to Haarlem, on a victorious tour of the provinces after freeing Groningen or, for that matter, when visiting the palace at Naaldwijk. The paintings were also Maurits's first encounter with domestic contemporary history painting on a large scale and an example of the specific historical commentary they could provide.

At the end of the 1590s, Maurits was involved with two major architectural projects. The first was the church at Willemstad (c. 1596-1610) [fig. 11]. Willemstad was a city with a strategic defensive position along the southern front, originally fortified under Willem I, after whom it was named. Maurits continued building the fortifications at Willemstad, one of many cities and fortresses whose defenses were improved by Maurits during the 1590s. This very functional, military form of building characterized the Stadholder's earliest involvement with architecture, mainly confined to principles of design (here defensive) and the practical aspects of building. The church at Willemstad is a notable departure from fortifications and an architecturally significant structure. In addition to subsidizing its construction, Maurits insisted on its round or octagonal form, based on his familiarity with sixteenth-century architectural theory. It is also the first church built in the Netherlands specifically for Protestant worship. The church at Willemstad was thus a monument to progressive design, Maurits's learning, his support of the Reformed religion, and, most simply, his attention to the city established by his father.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Annemie de Vos, with collaboration of Charles van den Heuvel and Koen Ottenheim, "Propaganda voor Staat en Huis: Maurits en de Bouwkunst," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 130-132.

The second architectural project was the expansion of the physical environment of Maurits's court at the *Stadhouderlijk Kwartier* [Stadholder's Quarters]. Maurits lived primarily in the Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague for his entire adult life until his death there in 1625. The complex was owned by the States of Holland and put at the disposal of the Stadholder. In 1598, Maurits requested an improvement to the residence, a request the States could hardly deny given the success Maurits had had in recent years.<sup>96</sup> The resulting expansion was the so-called *Mauritstoren* [Maurits tower] on the northwest corner of the *Binnenhof* [inner court] complex, completed in 1600. The choice of a tower for this structure may have been influenced by the existence of a similar tower in the corner of the Nassau castle at Breda, won by Maurits and the States army in 1590. The *Mauritstoren* was the "intellectual heart" of Maurits's court, housing, in addition to his bedroom and a new dining room, a room for Willem Lodewijk, as well as a treasury, the library, and the map, chart, model, weapon, and mathematical instrument collection that served Maurits and his military and scholarly circle.<sup>97</sup>

According to one commentator in The Hague, Adam van Breen (c. 1585-after 1640), in 1618, Maurits "studied day and night without resting."<sup>98</sup> This study undertaken by Maurits brought his military reputation, and acknowledging his intellectual and military environment highlights definitive aspects of his life and

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<sup>96</sup> Kees Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 56, interprets this addition to the Stadholder's Quarters specifically as a reward for his military successes.

<sup>97</sup> Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure," pp. 44 and 51.

<sup>98</sup> Adam van Breen, *Nassausche wapen-handelinge, van schild, spies, rappier, ende targe*, 1618, n. p. (p. 1).

provides a context in which certain artistic activity occurs. In all his studies, reforms, innovation, and successes, he was joined by his cousins Willem Lodewijk and Jan VII (1561-1623), his senior military officials, as well as engineers, mathematicians, architects, and cartographers who all brought their individual practical and humanist learning to bear on the military arts and sciences.

While during nearly half of any given year these men, including Maurits, would be spread throughout the provinces besieging or defending one target or another, or engaged in the repair or reinforcement of fortifications, troop movement, drill, scouting, or command that went along with military operations, The Hague provided their permanent headquarters. The Dutch military reforms under Maurits were both theoretical and practical, including: standing armies, timely pay, disciplined soldiers, uniform commands, and competent commanders, as well as reforms in troop drill, formations, and organization, weapons handling, siege tactics, fortification design, and ballistics. While mathematics and engineering had a central role in these reforms, it was ancient history and military practice that provided the most influential sources for Maurits and his cousins.<sup>99</sup>

Maurits entrusted one of his military engineers with the joint position of librarian and keeper of the collections at the Stadholder's court. Samuel Cloot (active c. 1610), who was Constantijn Huygens's (1596-1687) arithmetic tutor and highly praised by the young student, filled the post c. 1609, as did Pieter Craey from 1621-

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<sup>99</sup> J. P. Puype, "Reform and Radiation: Tactics and Weapons of the Dutch Army until the Peace of Westphalia and Their Influence in Other European Countries," in *Van Maurits naar Munster: Tactiek en triomf van het Staatse leger / From Prince Maurice to the Peace of Westphalia: Tactics and Triumphs of the Dutch Army*, ed. J. P. Puype and A. A. Wiekart (Delft: Legermuseum, 1998), p. 14: "The counts of Nassau, Maurice and also his cousins William Louis and John VII, took their classical studies seriously, as did – in fairness – most other European military scholars and commanders, but it was they who took them to their logical extremes."

1625.<sup>100</sup> Simon Stevin (1548-1620) was a personal instructor and advisor to Maurits in mathematics and its military and practical application. Johan Milander (1542-1621), Maurits's personal secretary for more than thirty years and described as studious and careful, was also part of the intellectual inner circle of Maurits and one of the most important figures while the Stadholder was in The Hague.<sup>101</sup>

Closely aligned with the Stadholder's court's military reform, and founded by Maurits and Stevin, was the so-called *Duytsch mathematique*, which was a course of study taught in Leiden in the vernacular on the practical application of mathematics and engineering.<sup>102</sup> Young nobles from across Protestant Europe came to learn the latest in the military arts and sciences in Leiden and The Hague. One such individual was Abraham von Dohna (1579-1631), a German noble who after traveling to various universities spent the years 1604-1608 in The Hague, where he made an inventory of Maurits's library listing more than four hundred titles.<sup>103</sup> The library included

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<sup>100</sup> The post was continued under Frederik Hendrik: Pieter Manteau van Dalem (c. 1607-1688) was succeeded by Anthony Smets (c. 1610-1690), who acted as a part-time librarian for the Orange-Nassau for generations (1636-1689); see Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, "Historical Introduction," in *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library*, especially p. 31, where it is acknowledged that keeping the library would have originally been a secondary (but related) function to other more martial concerns (maps, charts, engineering). This is not to underestimate the importance of the library itself and the attention it received, especially under Maurits (p. 41), where it likely received its original numbering system still used generations later under Smets. See also, for Clout and Craey, *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 443; and Constantijn Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, trans. C. L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij B. V., 1987), pp. 51-53.

<sup>101</sup> A somewhat unknown figure, Milander is mentioned twice in *Maurits, Prince van Oranje*, pp. 57 and 361, and slightly more often in Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, pp. 26, 73, and 219-220; see especially p. 219: "In den Haag zien we hem [Maurits] als stadhouder, en de belangrijkste man in zijn omgeving is de secretaris Johan Milander...Hij had de naam zeer geleerd en extreem zuinig te zijn, eigenschappen die dus wel pasten bij de studieuze en spaarzame Maurits."

<sup>102</sup> In support of this study, in 1600, Maurits gave the money to buy all available books on mathematics that the Leiden University library did not own; Groenveld, "De man met de loden schoenen: Een levensschets," pp. 17-18.

<sup>103</sup> Anton Chroust, "Die Bibliothek de Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," *Oud Holland* 15 (1897): 11-23; A. A. Wiekart, "De bibliotheek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau," in *Van Maurits naar Munster*, pp. 17-52. Chroust lists the works as recorded by Von Dohna; Wiekart lists them

numerous works on those subjects of Maurits's greatest interest: history, war, politics, engineering, and mathematics, and gives a glimpse into the wide range of titles and authors (both ancient and modern) that he studied.<sup>104</sup> Further Orange-Nassau inventories included material perhaps added by Maurits between 1608 and 1625 and indeed a large portion of the books in a complete 1686 inventory date from Maurits's time.<sup>105</sup>

The "Painting" section of the 1608 library inventory lists "engraved images of horses," two books with prints of famous "captains," unidentified books of "images" or "military images," books by Hieronymus Cock (c. 1510-1570) and Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), drawings after Michelangelo (1475-1564), and the *Thronus Justitiae* with prints designed by Joachim Wtewael (1566-1638).<sup>106</sup> In addition to their artistic

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alphabetically by author. See also Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library*.

<sup>104</sup> Von Dohna's inventory is organized by subject: ancient and modern history (1-66), war (67-108), architecture and machines (109-126), mathematics (127-180), geography and cosmography (181-213), geometry (214-230), theology (231-272), philosophy (273-292), medicine (293-298), miscellaneous (299-354), equestrian (355-369), fencing (370-375), painting (376-388), and politics and law (389-403) and included such authors as Herodotus, Archimedes, Livy, Vitruvius, Polybius, Julius Caesar, Tacitus, Suetonius, Aelian, Leo VI, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini, as well as contemporaries Brahe, Lipsius, Marnix van St. Aldegonde, Stevin, and Vredeman de Vries. Chroust, "Die Bibliothek de Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," pp. 11-23.

<sup>105</sup> Zandvliet, "Het hof van een Dienaar met Vorstelijke Allure," p. 51, posits that he added about fifty books a year between 1608 and 1625. Though reasonable (based on acquisitions up to that period and some speculations based on later seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau book inventories), anything beyond the 1608 inventory is speculation. Between 1608 and 1686 books entered the Orange-Nassau library from wide-ranging and varied sources. The Truce years, 1609-1621, are disproportionately well represented in the 1686 inventory; see Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library*.

<sup>106</sup> Chroust, "Die Bibliothek des Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," p. 22; Wiekart, "De Bibliothek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau," pp. 17-52. The entries are (with their Von Dohna inventory number): Galle, Phillips, *Printboeck met Peerden van Stradanus. Antwerpen, 1578* (VD360); *Ritratti di cento capitani illustri intagliati de Aliprando Caprioli et dati in luce da Filippo Tomasino. Roma, 1600.* (VD388); *Effigies de princes et capitaines de nostre temps* (VD376) [unidentified]; *Beeldboek van koperdruksels* (von Dohna 378) [unidentified]; *Beelden* (VD379) [unidentified]; *Krichsbeelden* (VD380) [unidentified]; *Gebouwen ende Perspectiven van den Schilder Jeronimus Cock, 1560* (VD 386); Albrecht Dürer, *Underweysung der Messung mit dem Zirkel und*

components, the identifiable works relate to Maurits's known interests in perspective, the military, horses, and politics. These items show art in its functional aspect and place it within the direct and personal orbit of Maurits's study.

Study and its practical application provided the basis of Maurits's military reforms and an important part of his courtly environment. At least three publications resulted from the same environment. Simon Stevin's *Wisconstighe Ghedachtenissen* [literally "Mathematical Memoirs"] was published in two volumes in 1605 and 1608, and immediately translated from Dutch into French and Latin.<sup>107</sup> It treated all manner of scientific exploration with a mathematical basis including trigonometry, navigation, astronomy, perspective, optics, and mechanics. Maurits himself was instrumental in developing the content of the book, ostensibly written by his advisor, to the extent that the Stadholder was considered as author by contemporaries.

Other publications treated the military, and involved the visual arts directly. In 1598, in the thick of the decade of military reform and success, Jan VII of Nassau was in The Hague discussing the military with Willem Lodewijk and Maurits. He settled on the idea of publishing works on the States army, and Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629) was chosen to produce them.<sup>108</sup> Twenty-one prints and a title page for a

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*richtscheyt in Linien Ebnen uñ gantzen Corporen...*, Neurenberg, 1538 (VD130); *Seer constige ende curieuse Teeckeningen met Omber ende loodwit op papier uytgewerkt, van de Const van Michel Angelo in de Capelle vande Paus tot Roomen naergelaeten* (VD377) [unidentified]; Willem van Swanenburgh, *Thronus Justitiae. A Pictore Joachimo Uyttenwallio et Sculptore Willo. Swanenburghio. Amstel*, 1607 (VD392).

<sup>107</sup> Charles van den Heuvel, "Wisconstighe Ghedachtenissen: Maurits over de Kunsten en Wetenschappen in het werk van Stevin," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 106-121.

<sup>108</sup> I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn: Three Generations*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 54-55, vol. 2, pp. 62-78, cat. nos. 300-321 and 342-464, see especially vol. 2, pp. 64-65 with reference to a letter from Jan VII to Willem Lodewijk of 1608 reminding him that the books were his idea. A similar, but much more naïve, book dating from the Dillenburg years and possibly given by Jan VII to De Gheyn or Maurits is listed in the 1608 library inventory of Maurits's

planned publication on the cavalry were completed by De Gheyn in 1599. The more ambitious and famous book on the infantry followed, the *Wapenhandelinghe van roers musquetten ende spiessen* [Exercise of Arms of rifle, musket, and pike] [fig. 12].<sup>109</sup> It was intended not simply as a military record but as a drill instruction manual, the great innovation of which was that it was to be entirely illustrated. It provided an image of every correct position in which a soldier would need to handle his weapon. Pierre du Moulin, a captain in Maurits's guard, served as a model for De Gheyn, who drew each position, which was subsequently engraved [figs. 13 and 14].<sup>110</sup> Though the drawings and engravings were executed around the turn of the century the book was not published until 1607/1608 in order to keep the information from the enemy. At that point, on the verge of Truce, the book was published, translated into five languages, and distributed widely with privileges granted by the Emperor, the King of France, and the States General. It was a great success and published in many editions. In 1618, a similar and complementary book was published, the *Nassausche wapen-handelinghe, van schilt, spies, rappier, ende targe* [The Nassau Exercise of Arms with shield, pike, sword, and targe-shield] by Adam van Breen [fig. 15].

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library, Von Dohna 87. Wiekart, "De Bibliotheek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau," pp. 32 and 33, nr. W.41.

<sup>109</sup> The full title of this book is *Wapenhandelinghe van roers, musquetten ende spiessen achtervolgende de ordre van Sijn Excellentie Maurits Prince van Orangie*, 1607, and on the title page the name of "Jacob de Gheijn" appears for his execution of the figures. See *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, especially p. 251, cat. no. 102. Maurits's reference as Prince of Orange before gaining that title likely has to do with the fact that the privilege for publication was given by the States which had referred to Maurits as Prince of Orange for years.

<sup>110</sup> Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, p. 117. Huygens had great admiration for Du Moulin as a complete soldier, who also instructed Constantijn and Maurits Huygens on the proper handling of weapons.

Maurits's name appears on the title page of both the 1607 and 1618 works and it was his reforms of the States infantry that were represented. Despite this, the exact role Maurits had in the two books is not known. The instigation for the first rests with Jan VII; and the States General allowed its publication and rewarded the artist with two hundred guilders for its dedication and presentation. Earlier, De Gheyn had executed prints of Maurits's military victories at Geertruidenberg (1593) and Turnhout (1597) on commissions from, respectively, the Admiralty of Amsterdam and the States General.<sup>111</sup> It was likely the success of these prints that brought De Gheyn to the attention of Maurits and his military commanders and influenced his selection for the publications on the cavalry and infantry. Likewise, a medal commemorating the celebrated victory at Nieuwpoort (1600) with an equestrian Maurits on the obverse designed by De Gheyn was commissioned by the States General and not the Stadholder [fig. 16].<sup>112</sup>

Indeed, much of the artistic production that concerned the Stadholder during the decades on either side of the year 1600 originated outside his own person. It is true that his name, image, or coat of arms appear on these prints, medals, and books and they all stem from an environment in which he was the presiding figure. However, his position is perhaps above the practical concerns of such didactic and propagandistic images that benefited the entire nation. Nor can he be considered as the prime mover in any such works. In fact, even the genealogical tree of the Nassau

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<sup>111</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, pp. 35, 52-53, vol. 2, pp. 39-40, cat. nos. 147 and 148.

<sup>112</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, p. 63, vol. 2, p. 40, cat. no. 149.

family produced at approximately the same time was a propaganda project paid for by the States General and States of Holland.<sup>113</sup>

While none of the works by De Gheyn cited thus far can be attributed to the patronage of Maurits, they certainly brought the artist and Stadholder into direct contact and somewhere therein was forged the fraternal relationship the two would share.<sup>114</sup> Their contact would span twenty-five years (with, however, few known commissions) and, in 1625, it would be De Gheyn who would draw the Stadholder on his deathbed as a frail shadow of his once vigorous self.

Van Mander reported the earliest recorded artistic commission from Maurits to De Gheyn:

Then it happened that in the battle in Flanders His Excellency Count Maurice had won a splendidly beautiful horse from the illustrious Archduke and he let De Gheyn know that he wished to have it painted by him, as large as life, which he gladly accepted to do, all the more because he had so much enthusiasm for large work. He then painted this horse thus: with a man who led it by the rein. He satisfied His Excellency well with this but himself not at all; and he decided to try another manner...<sup>115</sup>

The painting referred to is the *Portrait of a Spanish Horse (or White Stallion)* by Jacques de Gheyn II [fig. 17].<sup>116</sup> Van Mander indicated the work was specifically requested from De Gheyn by Maurits, whom he again correctly referred to as both Excellency and Count. The painting is signed and dated, *DGHEYN FE 1603*, and is

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<sup>113</sup> *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 167-168, cat. no. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, p. vii.

<sup>115</sup> Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. 1, p. 437, fol. 294v.

<sup>116</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, pp. 74-76, vol. 2, p. 17, cat. no. 15. The “splendidly beautiful” horse may not have belonged to Archduke Albrecht of Austria (1559-1621) but instead Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Admiral of Aragon (d. 1623), himself seized during the battle of Nieuwpoort. Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, p. 74, vol. 2, p. 17, for reference to Mendoza; and *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 234, for the traditional reference to the Archduke.

inscribed with a Latin chronostichon written by Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) who also wrote another Latin distich about the horse and the victory.<sup>117</sup> It is an image of a war trophy from a glorious and politically pivotal battle and offers insight into the man who commissioned it. Maurits was an avid horseman and hunter who owned stables and a stud farm, the captured stallion was an important military trophy, and portraits of horses had a Renaissance pedigree. As such, this commission was in keeping with its patron's interests, was connected to contemporary historical events, and followed artistic precedent. Further, the painting was commemorative and propagandistic. Much of this, in terms of full-scale painting, however, was new to Maurits.

Within the extensive tradition of equestrian imagery, there is another similar life-size painting of a horse led by a groom, though set in a landscape, in Hatfield House, England [fig. 18].<sup>118</sup> The painting's later frame bears the inscription: *A° DNI 1594. Reg: ELIZA 36*. The horse was said to belong to Elizabeth I (1533-1603) and the painting belonged, at an early date (and likely from execution), to Robert Cecil (c. 1563-1612) – the powerful servant of Elizabeth I and James I (1566-1625) – who built Hatfield House in 1611. Further, Robert Cecil owned a presentation copy of De Gheyn's *Wapenhandelinghe*.<sup>119</sup> Neither De Gheyn nor Maurits ever went to England and could not have seen the painting. However, Edward Cecil (1572-1638), Robert's nephew, was a successful captain of a cavalry company in Maurits's army who had a

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<sup>117</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, p. 76, vol. 2, 17, for Grotius's Latin texts: "*HVNC DEDIT AVSTRIACO TELLVS HISPANA CREATRIX VICTORIQVE DEDIT FLANDRIA MAVRITIO*"; *In imaginem equi capti in proelio ad Neoportam. / Pars ego Flandriaci non contemnenda Triumpho, / Praeda fui, fierem ne fugientis equus.*"

<sup>118</sup> Erna Auerbach and C. Kingsley Adams, *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House* (London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1971), pp. 65-66, cat. no. 58, p. 135, ill. no. 39.

<sup>119</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, p. 76.

crucial role in the final thrust of reserve soldiers that secured the victory at Nieuwpoort (1600). He corresponded continually with his uncle, traveled between the provinces and England between 1600 and 1603, and was personally known to Maurits.<sup>120</sup> In addition to being a cavalry captain and an avid horseman, Edward Cecil was eager for promotion in the States army. He and Maurits are known to have discussed a hunting dog and must certainly have also discussed horses, crucial to their mutual interests in the hunt and their military occupation.<sup>121</sup> Edward Cecil, who could have known his uncle's painting and have recently seen it before De Gheyn began work, is a possible intermediary to provide knowledge or description to Maurits or De Gheyn of a painting very close in appearance to the *White Stallion*.

The two paintings need not be directly related, however, as they are both part of a well-established tradition of portraits of prized stallions of nobles, and equestrian art in general, including paintings, sculptures, and prints.<sup>122</sup> Any number of influential sources were available, including the *Royal Stable of Don Juan of Austria*, a series of forty prints of horses designed by Stradanus (1523-1605), engraved by various artists, first published by Philips Galle (1537-1612) in Antwerp c. 1578, and widely copied.<sup>123</sup> A set of "*Peerdebeelder gedruckt*" [engraved images of horses]

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<sup>120</sup> Charles Dalton, *Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil Viscount Wimbledon*, 2 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1885), pp. 47ff. A portrait of "Lady Cecil" appeared in the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory (see Appendix I, no. 1007), most likely of Edward's wife, who traveled through the Netherlands with her husband in the train of Elizabeth Stuart in 1613 on the way to Heidelberg after Elizabeth's marriage to Friedrich V in London.

<sup>121</sup> Dalton, *Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil Viscount Wimbledon*, p. 84.

<sup>122</sup> Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture and Horsemanship 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989).

<sup>123</sup> Philips Galle was the publisher of the book with images designed by Stradanus and engraved by Adriaen Collaert, Hendrick Goltzius, Hieronymus Wierix and others. Manfred Sellink and Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*:

listed in the 1608 inventory of Maurits's library has been identified with this very book of prints.<sup>124</sup> Given the close relationship between Maurits and De Gheyn, it would certainly have been available for the artist to study (if owned by 1603, which is reasonable). The pose of De Gheyn's stallion compares most favorably with that of "*Phrysió*," though in reverse [fig. 19]. "*Phrysió*" also bears an elaborate and flowing mane, the same distinguishing characteristic of the prized Nieuwpoort stallion. The horse in De Gheyn's painting is led to the viewer's left, while "*Phrysió*" faces right in the original engraving. However, copies in reverse of the series were also printed at an early date and the seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau book inventories do not specifically state that it was the first Antwerp version. De Gheyn, who had recently completed the book on the cavalry, also executed drawings of horses, even those to be identified with the splendid Spanish stallion. Prints, such as from the *Royal Stable of Don Juan of Austria*, provided a complementary artistic source to his own life studies and an available model for the general pose of the stallion.

The greatest change in the painting is the interior setting. Perhaps the solid dark background was chosen to accentuate the white stallion through contrast, or perhaps De Gheyn, the novice painter (if experienced artist), was more comfortable

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*Philips Galle*, 4 vols. (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2001), vol. 1, p. xlvi, fig. 6, and vol. 4, p. 250, cat. no. R19; Ann Diels and Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: The Collaert Dynasty*, 8 vols. (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2005), vol. 6, pp. 184-190, cat. nos. 1482-1489; Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman and Marjolein Leesberg, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: volume LXVIII, The Wierix Family*, 10 vols. (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2001), vol. 10, pp. 125-167, cat. nos. 2196-2209; Walter L. Strauss, ed., *Hendrik Goltzius 1558-1617: The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts*, 2 vols. (New York: Abaris Books, Inc., 1977), vol. 1, pp. 184-193, cat. no. 91; see also Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn*, vol. 1, p. 76.

<sup>124</sup> Chroust, "Die Bibliothek des Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," p. 22, no. 380; Wiekart, "De Bibliothek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau," p. 39, no. W151, "Galle, Phillips (red. / ed.), *Printboeck met Peerden van Stradanus. Antwerpen, 1578*" (Von Dohna no. 380); Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library*, p. 617, no. 3274.

with the same type of background that appeared in his still life paintings than the extensive landscape vistas visible in the prints. This dark background and the two crude windows are among the more disturbing aspects of this work in poor condition. Additionally, the awkwardness of the groom, the lack of spatial articulation, and the somewhat incongruous posture of the horse (despite live and artistic models) all detract from its overall impact. The painting was beyond De Gheyn's range of small and detailed engravings and floral still lifes, and transferring the sophistication, tension, and pose of Stradanus's design to a life-size painting of a living horse proved too great a challenge. De Gheyn, according to Van Mander, was not satisfied with the work.

Maurits, on the other hand, was pleased with the painting: "He satisfied His Excellency well." Maurits's satisfaction likely had little to do with artistic execution and everything to do with the subject and the fulfillment of his request. Maurits was no connoisseur, whether he was blind to the painting's drawbacks or appreciated it in spite of them. Though not a great work of art, it is one of historical specificity and explicit intention. As such it corresponds to the patronage of a man who was still an artistic novice: practical, overt, explicitly illustrative, and historically determined. It is a fitting work for one of Maurits's first known painting commissions.

A *Venus and Cupid* by De Gheyn was most likely painted for Maurits slightly after the *White Stallion* and bears the mark of Willem III of Orange-Nassau (1650-1702) on the reverse of the panel [fig. 20].<sup>125</sup> In subject and style the work generally follows Bartholomeus Spranger (1546-1611), with the pose of the major figure drawn from the Belvedere *Crouching Venus*, and its overall mannerist treatment was

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<sup>125</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn*, vol. 1 p. 109, vol. 2, p. 14, cat. no. 6.

outmoded by c. 1605. In this work, Venus and Cupid are isolated against a dark background. She is shown nearly naked and holds aloft a flaming heart in one hand and, with the other, gently embraces Cupid, who is aiming an arrow at her bare midriff. Two turtle doves and various flowers strewn on the cloth on which Venus sits complete the composition. Though it is at first difficult to reconcile this image of love and eroticism with the often politically motivated patronage of Maurits, next to his reputation as a great military general, he was also known as a notorious womanizer.<sup>126</sup> It has been posited that such a work may have served as decoration for a room in which Maurits's liaisons occurred.<sup>127</sup> Its intention and early ownership are, however, speculative. De Gheyn's relationship with Maurits and the much later mark of Willem III probably connect the painting with Maurits, but De Gheyn did not work exclusively for the Stadholder, painted other versions of the subject, and Willem III purchased many earlier paintings later in the century.

Even greater uncertainty surrounds another De Gheyn painting often associated with Maurits, *Julius Caesar dictating on Horseback* [fig. 21].<sup>128</sup> The subject derives from Plutarch and was recommended by Van Mander, though was rarely represented. De Gheyn's painting is far from successful. At right, Caesar sits atop what is clearly the Nieuwpoort stallion and dictates to a group of attentive scribes while himself writing. The entire scene is set against an army tent with no

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<sup>126</sup> Maurits fathered numerous illegitimate children with many different women. He did have a long-time consort named Margaretha van Mechelen (c. 1581-1662), a lady in waiting to Louise de Coligny who caught Maurits's eye with her striking beauty. She bore him three sons who were raised at the court and had a higher status than his other children. They were Willem (c. 1601-1627), Lodewijk (1602-1665) and Maurits (1604-1617). Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>127</sup> Kloek, "Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst," p. 144.

<sup>128</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn*, vol. 1 p. 110, vol. 2, p. 16-17, cat. no. 13.

clear delineation of space and ill-defined relationships between the figures. The painting was in Ham House in England by the middle of 1618 when Jacques de Gheyn III (c. 1596-1641) drew sections of it in his sketchbook and has been dated to c. 1615. Ham House was built in 1610 by Sir Thomas Vavasour of Skellingthorpe (1560-1620), who had earlier served under Maurits in the States army. This is the source of the tenuous connection with Maurits and the possibility that the work was given by Maurits to Vavasour. There is, however, no evidence of such a possibility and it would be a truly exceptional occurrence, the only known presentation of a painting by Maurits to any individual military official or dignitary. De Gheyn's relationship to Maurits, again, and even the military subject are insufficient grounds on which to claim the Stadholder's involvement. At Ham House, the painting was hung with a *Diana with Nymphs* dated 1615 by Adriaen van Nieulandt (1587-1658), who had no connection to Maurits and may simply have received the commission directly from Vavasour.<sup>129</sup>

De Gheyn's most important works for Maurits were not paintings, which the artist never mastered on a large scale. Instead, the prints and books within the military atmosphere surrounding Maurits forged their bond. De Gheyn's greatest work for the Stadholder would, however, only come later, as a designer for architectural and garden projects that were part of Maurits's developing artistic and courtly environment.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Maurice Tomlin, *Ham House: A National Trust Property Administered by The Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986), pp. 46-49. Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn*, vol. 2, p. 17 cat. no. 13, offers another, less likely alternative that the painting was given to James I, inherited by Charles I and only later entered Ham House (and thus would have been seen by Jacques De Gheyn III at Hampton Court and not Ham House).

<sup>130</sup> See Chapter Six.

From the first decade of the seventeenth century, though, there is another certain commission of paintings, again recorded by Van Mander:

A short while ago his Excellency Count Maurus brought sixteen painted tapestry cartoons, very well and art-fully completed by Bernardt [van Orley], to The Hague in Holland. On each of them is a life-size man or woman on horseback: the ancestry and descent of the house of Nassau depicted from life. His Excellency Count Maurus had these copied in oil-paint by Hans Jordaen of Antwerp, an art-full painter who lives in Delft.<sup>131</sup>

The cartoons to which Van Mander refers are of the celebrated *Nassau Genealogy*.<sup>132</sup> None of the cartoons, original tapestries, or the copies in oil exist; only the watercolor designs by Bernaert van Orley (1491/92-1542) are extant to give some idea of their appearance [see fig. 2].

Maurits may have remembered the original tapestries celebrating the Nassau house and lineage from his youth in Dillenburg, where they remained. The commission of oil copies by Hans Jordaens I (c. 1555-1630) – less expensive than a new set of tapestries, if less grand – is important for its subject matter rather than execution. Few other commissions by Maurits could be more appropriate in his earliest years of artistic patronage. Though the theme of the series is specifically private, they are a very public statement of Nassau importance and stature. They serve not only as commemoration but also propaganda. Maurits called upon his ancestors as legitimacy for his position of increasing power and influence.

Commissioned about the same time as De Gheyn's *White Stallion*, the series of paintings after the *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries was Maurits's first large artistic

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<sup>131</sup> Van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. 1, p. 102, fol. 211r. Van Mander corrects his mistaken sixteen tapestries to eight, vol. 2, p. 330.

<sup>132</sup> Given Van Mander's use of the terms "life-size" and "cartoons" these must have been completed cartoons for the tapestries, now lost, and not the small watercolor studies.

enterprise. It was not, however, an original work of art but a series of copies, and executed by a local artist (Delft being local to The Hague). Where it may lack in artistic innovation it resounds with significance. By importing and copying a revered set of tapestries, Maurits not only linked himself to familial history and past artistic holdings but also showed that he found in his past worthy artistic examples to celebrate and from which to learn. Though large and public, it was a modest *entrée* into artistic activity, rooted in ancestral devotion.

If Van Mander's timing is accurate – “a short while ago” before 1604 – then the commission came after Maurits's decade of success and time and money were available to attend to such an undertaking. While these historical considerations may have contributed to the instigation of the series, they did not result in a known string of commissions that would mark the earliest years of the century as a turning point for Maurits and the arts. No known commissions for paintings or tapestries followed for many years, and the prints and medals associated with him do not stem from his patronage.

Maurits's artistic activity was limited to specific isolated instances for most of his life, even as increasing time, money, and stature allowed greater attention to such activity. The military victories of the 1590s that established Maurits's fame and position brought greater reputation, stature, and income. The States General rewarded him above his salaries for splendid victories; war booty provided extra income; and the capture of Spanish ships brought enormous amounts of money to the East India Company and consequently Maurits as both investor and Admiral-General of the navy. During the first decade of the new century, Maurits's incomes from the

Orange-Nassau lands also increased as the debts of Willem I were finally liquidated.<sup>133</sup> In 1609, when the Twelve Years Truce began, settlement of his father's inheritances and estates was possible and for this purpose he met his half brother Filips Willem for the first time in October 1608.<sup>134</sup> The Truce also brought a significant increase, seemingly paradoxically, to Maurits's pay for his political and military positions. This was in effect compensation for the absence of war booty that Maurits had routinely captured and earned throughout the previous twenty years. By the beginning of the Truce, Maurits was enormously wealthy.

One lone, but significant, work of art certainly connected to Maurits appeared in the second half of the first decade of the century. In 1607, ten years after his last known portrait by Van den Queborn, Maurits was painted by Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt (1567-1641) [fig. 22].<sup>135</sup> Typically, the 1607 portrait was not commissioned by Maurits. The commission came from the city of Delft, thus repeating the pattern from the first Van den Queborn portrait and removing the active involvement of Maurits. Van Mierevelt would become the primary portraitist of the House of Orange-Nassau for the next twenty years and this image would be the definitive representation of Maurits, reproduced repeatedly in painted copies and used as the basis for a variety of prints, whether portrait, narrative, or allegorical. In format, the 1607 Van Mierevelt portrait generally follows that of Van den Queborn or

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<sup>133</sup> Zandvliet, "Het Hof van een Dienaar met Vorstelijke Allure," p. 41. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje*, pp. 225-278.

<sup>134</sup> Kees Zandvliet, "De Kaartenkamer van Maurits," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 89; Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje*, p. 264; Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, pp. 216-217. For further information on Maurits's funds, see Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure," p. 43 and Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, p. 217.

<sup>135</sup> De Wit, "De Ikonographie van Prins Maurits," p. 31.

the anonymous three-quarter-length portrait from Maurits's youth [see figs. 5 and 6]: the subject is shown standing, at three-quarters view, in armor (with helmet on a table behind). Van Mierevelt's painting of Maurits, however, is less rigid and severe than its sixteenth-century counterparts. It possesses greater atmosphere and spatial articulation, and is also more psychologically penetrating than any previous portrait of Maurits, displaying all the qualities that made Van Mierevelt was internationally famous.

The grandest of all repetitions of Van Mierevelt's portrait of Maurits is the full-length portrait dating from 1613 or shortly thereafter [fig. 23].<sup>136</sup> Again, the portrait does not appear to stem from Maurits's patronage; instead the commission came from the States General and the work hung in their assembly room until the eighteenth century. Maurits is shown in a sumptuous interior, standing on a stone or marble floor in front of a table covered in blue velvet with gold trim and, hanging above, a green embroidered tapestry. Maurits wears the golden set of parade armor that he was given by the States after the celebrated victory at Nieuwpoort. The orange sash across his chest represents the family color. Around his neck hangs the medallion of the Order of the Garter, which King James I of England bestowed upon him in 1613. This great honor may have provided the impetus for the painting's execution. Maurits's elevation to the Order of the Garter placed him among the highest ranks of European aristocracy (and bound him to the religious camp of England). The presentation of the honor was accompanied by full pageantry in The

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<sup>136</sup> *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 267-269, cat. no. 125.

Hague, including ceremonies and banquets.<sup>137</sup> Maurits incorporated the garter and its motto, “*honi soit qui mal y pense*” [shamed be he who thinks evil of it] into his coat of arms and had some of the books in his library bound and rebound in recognition of this significant increase in status.<sup>138</sup>

Very different in scale and purpose is the miniature portrait of Maurits by Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663) [fig. 24]. This multi-talented artist, engineer, and diplomat, whose career as cultural agent in England for the Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628) and Charles I (1600-1649) was still ahead of him, worked briefly as a calligrapher for Maurits in 1616.<sup>139</sup> The Stadholder is shown in his golden armor with the orange sash and medal of the Order of the Garter, much as portrayed by Van Mierevelt in 1613. His face, however, is less stern and very sensitively painted, the intimacy of the miniature a world away from the imposing full-length portrait.

The increased status of the Order of the Garter may have been the impetus behind a new classically designed urban palace considered but never constructed.<sup>140</sup> In November 1615, the Florentine architect Constantino de’ Servi (1554-1622), who had previously worked in England, submitted designs for the “Palazzo della Haya” [Palace of The Hague] to the States General and to Maurits himself, who viewed them with Sir Edward Cecil. Intended to replace the Stadholder’s Quarters at the

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<sup>137</sup> Zandvliet, “Het Hof van een dienaar met vorstelijk allure,” p. 60.

<sup>138</sup> Jan Storm van Leeuwen, “Boekbanden in de Oranje-Nassaubibliotheek,” in *Boeken van Oranje. De Oranje-Nassaubibliotheek ten tijde van Willem III*, ed. Joke Kuijpers and Anne-Dirk Renting (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1988), p. 69.

<sup>139</sup> Marika Keblusek, “Cultural and Political Brokerage in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Balthazar Gerbier,” in *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain, 1550-1800*, ed. Juliette Roding et al., *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 13 (2003) (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), pp. 73-82.

<sup>140</sup> De Vos, “Propaganda voor Staat en Huis,” pp. 124, 127, and 129.

*Binnenhof*, an Italianate building would have completely redefined the appearance of the center of The Hague. Nothing beyond a wooden model sent from Italy by de' Servi ever came of this possible endeavor. It was, indeed, poor timing for Maurits to ask the States to build him a costly and extravagant urban palace, given the religious and political division that was growing ever stronger during this period; and it is almost inconceivable that Johan Van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619) would condone not only the expenditure on Maurits but also the implicit recognition such a residence would carry. There is also no indication that Maurits personally was ready to spend the money and time that such an enterprise would require (even if he had owned the land on which it might have been built, which he did not). This possible architectural project does provide the one instance in which Maurits came into meaningful contact with any foreign (non-Netherlandish) artist or architect – a point that underscores the focused range of his artistic activity.

The Truce years of the second decade of the seventeenth century would have allowed Maurits greater time, and certainly money, to devote to personal, cultural, and artistic matters, or to any non-military activity.<sup>141</sup> However, he still found himself on military campaign, if not actively engaged, in the German territories surrounding the dispute over Jülich-Cleves.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, external pressures gave way to internal division that required his constant attention; difficulties with Van Oldenbarnevelt were growing and the Remonstrant/Counter-Remonstrant controversy split the nation. Most importantly, there was still no evidence of a significant

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<sup>141</sup> In the southern provinces, the Truce years saw an enormous growth in artistic patronage, from the court of the Archdukes and all segments of society.

<sup>142</sup> Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 407-408; Van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau*, pp. 247-248.

personal interest in the visual arts by Maurits that would lead to the expectation of increased patronage or collecting.

There is, however, one series of paintings widely related to Maurits during the Truce years: twenty-five portraits of military officers in the same format by Jan van Ravesteyn (c. 1570-1657) were begun in 1611 and continued until sometime between 1618 and 1625 [figs. 25 and 26].<sup>143</sup> Their original commission is unknown but the range of dates and their later presence in the Orange-Nassau collections favors the patronage of Maurits. Begun shortly after the commencement of the Truce and continuing until shortly before Maurits died, this series takes as its subjects those individuals who had served Maurits in the most important arena of his life, the military. The portraits are political and commemorative; they bear witness to the international nature of the Dutch army and Maurits's personal contacts. At a time when many of his foreign officers were leaving the Provinces during a Truce that no longer required their service, the portraits would have been images of departing friends. As a commission, it was in line with Maurits's known character and the functional nature of his artistic exploits and direct relationship to contemporary events. It also positioned Maurits within the greater courtly practice of owning portraits of significant figures (in addition to the engraved portraits of "captains" in his library). Whereas monarchs and noble relatives hardly need any further justification, galleries of important men – whether famous in the arts, letters, or

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<sup>143</sup> For this series of officers portraits see Kloek, "Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst," p. 144; *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 239 ff.; and M. E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De portretten van Stadhouders Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau*, 32 (1978), p. 101. The series is first recorded in Orange-Nassau inventories at Honselaarsdijk in 1707, Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 532, no. 226.

military – were popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The sixteenth-century Italian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) is the most famous originator of such a gallery and the Orange-Nassau family themselves would have one year later, first at the Huis ter Nieuburg near Rijswijk and then Honselaarsdijk.<sup>144</sup>

Jan van Ravesteyn was an accomplished local master working in the manner of Van Mierevelt and provided a unified series that, if it therefore lacks variety, gives a faithful image of the various sitters. In terms of both execution and conception, the series is not exceptional. Rather, it confirms the conventional nature of Maurits's patronage and its continuity over a lengthy period: descriptive and functional, initiated by specific events, executed by local masters, and consistent with stylistic traditions. Though now more than thirty years after the painting of Maurits as child commander, the sober, half-length, military portrait is still the type of painting that most accurately summarizes Maurits's personal character and his interest in the visual arts. However, a lifetime of experience, struggle, and achievement had passed in which the child-soldier became the greatest general in Europe.

Maurits was a second son, born in exile to a rebel father, and of little estate throughout much of his life. He had the responsibility of leading a struggling nation and devoted his public life to politics, the Reformed religion, and especially the military. Intellectual pursuits and devotion to the House of Orange-Nassau characterized his personal life. Through great prowess, he carved out a position of

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<sup>144</sup> Maurits owned a copy of Paolo Giovio's *Histoire de Paolo Jovio de toutes les Parties du Monde*, Lyon, 1558; Chroust, "Die Bibliothek de Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," p. 15 and Wiekart, "De bibliotheek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau," p. 39, W.164 (Von Dohna no. 40). Regarding the portrait gallery of famous people at Honselaarsdijk (though beyond the scope of this study), there is no indication that the individual paintings were executed precisely for such a destination; they were more likely brought together from different and long-standing origins within Orange-Nassau inheritances.

importance, stature, fame, and wealth, dedicated to the nation he helped secure. The visual arts played a subordinate role to his practical obligations. Further, Maurits had no direct experience of an environment of artistic splendor to inform him of the merits of art as cultural expression and the efficacy of magnificence as political currency. For most of his life he was neither legitimate head nor primary heir of his ancient House; and he had little time, money, experience, or, most importantly, right to courtly extravagance. This situation changed in 1618.

## Chapter Five: Maurits – Changes in 1618

“for the welfare and conservation of the grandeur of our house.”<sup>145</sup>

With these words, Filips Willem’s (1554-1618) testament named Maurits (1567-1625) his universal heir. Despite being on opposite sides of the political and religious conflict, the two men shared the House of Orange-Nassau as their collective patrimony and both saw the maintenance of it as their primary responsibility. Maurits inherited nearly all Filips Willem’s goods and possessions and, more importantly, all his lands and titles, the greatest of which were the principality of Orange and Barony of Breda.<sup>146</sup> Maurits was now, in 1618, among the highest rank of nobility in Europe. Orange was a sovereign territory and he was now both a sovereign Prince of a foreign land (in which he never set foot) and an appointed protector of his homeland. The change of position in 1618 was not merely titular but a fundamental distinction of prestige, aristocracy, privilege, and right as well as the validity of exercising them.

Maurits’s rise to the title Prince of Orange was a crucial event in his personal life and occurred precisely during one of the most decisive periods in his public life and seventeenth-century Dutch history. Later the same year, he would remove his political opposition and stand firmly alone at the head of the Dutch nation. Maurits was certainly the leader of the United Provinces. By the end of 1618, he was: Prince

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<sup>145</sup> Simon Groenveld, “De man met de loden schoenen: een levenschets,” in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, ed. Kees Zandvliet (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders b.v., 2000), p. 31: “tot welvaren ende conservatie van de grandeur van ons Huys.” See also, Scherft, *Het Sterfhuys van Willem van Oranje* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1966), pp. 244-245.

<sup>146</sup> Maurits, however, continued to sign his name as a Nassau; prince of Orange may have been his title, but Nassau was his family and House. Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt. during his embassy in Holland, from January 1615/16, to December 1620*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London, 1780), pp. 274-275: “Aug 1. [1618] N.S. Maurice prince of Orange from Utrecht to sir Dudley Carleton, then at London” in French and signed “Maurice de Nassau.” A. Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau 1567-1625: De winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2000), p. 28: “Hij bleef altijd tekenen als Maurits van Nassau.”

of Orange, Count of Nassau, Baron of Breda, Commander-General of the army and Admiral-General of the navy, Stadholder of five (and soon to be six) of the seven United Provinces, and eldest remaining (legitimate) son of the Dutch national hero and founder of the nation. Maurits had been an integral part of national politics and led the military for more than thirty years; and he had supporters throughout all the important local and provincial governments and able international ambassadors. For the first time since the death of Willem I (1533-1584), there existed a legitimate princely power in the United Provinces who simultaneously held complete political control of the nation.<sup>147</sup> For the remainder of Maurits's life, and well into his successor's, the United Provinces were run as if a monarchy.<sup>148</sup>

Filips Willem died on 20 February 1618. Sir Dudley Carleton (later Viscount Dorchester, 1573-1632) reported from The Hague to London:

On this side there is no small joy at the news we have this last night from Brussels, that his [Filips Willem's] will, being opened in presence of one expressly sent thither from count Maurice, was found to be perfect, and thereby his excellency declared heir of all his possessions, as well on the father's side as the mother's; and he dying without heirs, count Henry to be his successor.<sup>149</sup>

Carleton succinctly reported the news, the reaction to it from pro-Maurits factions, the clarity of the will, and the intended succession from eldest, to middle, to youngest

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<sup>147</sup> Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 700: "It [an opening phase of republican government] ended, after thirty years, with Maurits's *coup d'état* of 1618, which fundamentally changed the structure of power at all levels in the United Provinces, replacing a fully republican with a quasi-'Caesarean' system."

<sup>148</sup> Heinz Schilling, "The Orange Court: The Configuration of the Court in an Old European Republic," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c. 1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London: The German Historical Institute; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 447: "Then, in the second decade of the seventeenth century, the republican phase gave way to a quasi-monarchical movement."

<sup>149</sup> Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 245, to secretary Lake, 21 February 1618.

sons of Willem I. This was the last time in Carleton's correspondence that he referred to Maurits as "count"; the will having been opened and proclaimed, his new title "prince" was used thereafter. Johann de Hertoghe (d. 1630), one of Maurits's favorites and later Governor of Orange, was indeed sent to Brussels to oversee the opening of the will and ensure proper execution of the estate.<sup>150</sup> Filips Willem's widow, Eleonore of Bourbon-Condé (1587-1619), contested the will; and inventories of the Orange-Nassau palaces at Brussels, Breda, and Buren were taken in 1618 and 1619.<sup>151</sup> She died on 20 January 1619, exactly eleven months after her husband. Her brother, Henri II, Prince of Condé (1588-1646), continued to contest the inheritance for more than another year with a variety of legal and illegal actions in both Brussels and France.<sup>152</sup> In June 1620, a settlement was finally reached between him and Maurits, in which the Prince of Condé received cash and certain furnishings from the palace at Breda, including an extraordinarily expensive bed and hangings as well as a series of tapestries of *Orlando Furioso* that were woven by François Spiering (1551-

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<sup>150</sup> Maurits, *Prins van Oranje*, p. 335, cat. no. 173. Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje*, p. 277, reports that the opening of the will occurred six days after Filips Willem's death, in the presence of the widow and De Hertoghe.

<sup>151</sup> S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976), vol. 1, pp. 129-178: "Inventaris van het hof van Nassau te Brussel 1618," "Inventaris van het kasteel te Breda 1619," and "Inventaris van het kasteel te Buren 1619." The residence at Buren was only rarely used and modestly furnished.

<sup>152</sup> Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, various letters from 1618 to 1620, especially pp. 329-330, 18 December 1618 with the account of an emissary of Maurits attacked, stabbed, and left for dead, and p. 469, 6 March 1620: "The prince of Orange finds himself much troubled by the prince of Condé in his principality of Orange, who in his sister's right doth prosecute the codicil of the late prince's will; touching which this prince having a sentence in his favour at Brussels, the prince of Condé seeks to remove the judgment of the cause to Paris; to which the prince of Orange will no ways yield; and he conceives this proceeding of the prince of Condé to grow out of mos. De Luynes's longing after that principality, out of which he would thrust this prince by molestations, since he cannot gain his consent by other means."

1630) and given to Filips Willem and Eleonore by the city of Breda in 1609.<sup>153</sup>

Maurits, however, was universal heir to all Filips Willem's lands, titles, and incomes, and to the ancestral Nassau palaces in Brussels and Breda and their extensive furnishings.

The inheritance brought not only wealth and possession but also a significant change in terms of his place within both national and European politics. On a 23 May 1618 visit to Amsterdam, Maurits was lauded by performances from various *rederijkerskamers* [chambers of rhetoric] with the presentation of the Princedom of Orange.<sup>154</sup> His sovereign status was immediately recognized by foreign princes who sent emissaries of condolence and congratulation as well as requests for political and military support throughout Europe. Carleton reported some of the changes this accession brought, including French ambassadors inquiring as to whether Maurits would be interested in selling the principality of Orange to the French crown, and concerns about religious practice there (there would be no condemnation of Catholic practice under Maurits but religious toleration in Orange).<sup>155</sup> In fact, the Prince of Condé and factions in France presented a continual problem contesting Maurits's

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<sup>153</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 166, and for the *Orlando Furioso* tapestries, pp. xvii and 151, inv. no. 534; Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 469, 2 June 1620: "P.S. At the closing hereof understand, that Belleaujuin is departed this afternoon with this project of a composition betwixt the prince of Orange and the prince of Condé, for the satisfaction of all that belongs to the late prince's testament and codicil; that the prince of Orange is to pay the prince of Condé 100,000 florins presently; 100,000 florins within the space of a year following; and to give him one of the richest suits of hangings belonging to the late prince, and the curiosities of a certain cabinet, which were collected by the princess."

<sup>154</sup> D. P. Snoop, *Praal en Propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1975), pp. 36-38.

<sup>155</sup> Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, pp. 247-249, to secretary Lake, 1 March 1618.

right. The territory of Orange, and the title Prince, were, however, so important to Maurits that, according to Carleton, Maurits professed “he will have the honour of having war made upon him by a French king; for nothing else in the world shall make him quit his patrimony.”<sup>156</sup>

By naming Maurits universal heir, Filips Willem ensured the maintenance and unity of that patrimony. Filips Willem had returned from Spain to the Netherlands in 1596 and did not enter the Northern Netherlands until 1608. He was the confidant of the Archdukes Albrecht (1559-1621) and Isabella (1566-1633) and, like them, a staunch supporter of the Counter-Reformation and a patron of the church at Scherpenheuvel even before its redesign by the Archdukes under Wenceslaus Coebergher (c. 1560-1632) in 1613.<sup>157</sup> Based primarily at the Nassau court in Brussels, Filips Willem held the uniquely autonomous position of being himself a sovereign ruler. He had a military role but never combated Maurits on campaign. While in the Netherlands, he set about trying to return the Nassau palaces to their glory of the previous century, first at Brussels and then at Breda in 1609 when given possession of the ancestral palace by Maurits at the beginning of the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621). The 1618 and 1619 inventories of these palaces indicate the extent to which Filips Willem was successful in reestablishing a splendid Orange-Nassau courtly environment. Combined, the residences at Brussels and Breda had a large amount of gold and silver plate, extravagant jewelry, medals and objects of rock

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<sup>156</sup> Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 449, 6 March 1620. See also Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje*, p. 190, for Maurits’s concern for Orange as early as the 1590s.

<sup>157</sup> Koen Ottenheim, “The Catholic Nassaus in Brussels and Their Buildings,” in *Albert and Isabella 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 185.

crystal, expensive clothing, linens, furniture, fabrics, tapestry cycles, paintings, and all necessary furnishings of a large courtly household.

Although Maurits was universal heir to Filips Willem, many Nassau lands on enemy territory and the ancestral palace at Brussels, directly adjacent to the Archducal court, were difficult to access after the end of the Truce. Three days after Filips Willem's death, Count Jan VIII of Nassau-Siegen (1583-1638), a Catholic and active supporter of the Spanish Netherlands, entered Brussels. He settled there, married, and, after proving his fidelity (to the Spanish) by participating in the siege of Breda in 1625, eventually received Nassau lands in the Southern Netherlands including the palaces at Brussels and Breda.<sup>158</sup>

Breda had been, since 1590, under the control of the United Provinces but Filips Willem was rightful Baron. In 1609, he was given access to the property by Maurits. Breda and all its possessions then became the property of Maurits from 1618 until his death. A year before he died, however, the city was encircled by the Spanish army and would fall to Ambrogio Spínola (1569-1630) the following summer, thus closing off the ancestral palace for the new rightful lord, Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647).

Many of the objects in the two southern palaces were brought north, almost certainly by Maurits directly after the estate was settled, as neither palace would be accessible after 1621 and 1625. Comparison of the 1618 and 1619 inventories with the later 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory (since none from Maurits's death in 1625 is

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<sup>158</sup> Ottenheym, "The Catholic Nassaus in Brussels and Their Buildings," pp. 186-187.

extant) yields useful information.<sup>159</sup> Most simply, these items originally belonged to Filips Willem and were subsequently inherited by his universal heir, Maurits, before they were, in turn, inherited by Maurits's own universal heir, Frederik Hendrik.<sup>160</sup>

Paintings and tapestries routinely bear the lengthiest and most specific descriptions in the inventories and are thus the easiest, and often the only, items identifiable in various inventories. Some of the tapestries recorded in 1618 and 1619 seem to reappear in the 1632 inventory of Frederik Hendrik.<sup>161</sup> While these may be different sets of the same subject or theme, the volume of tapestries in the 1632 inventory and the distinction between those that were "old" and "new" indicate that some came from Brussels or Breda.<sup>162</sup> Three series of "Pomona" tapestries appear in the 1632 inventory, each in eight pieces, any one of which may be related to a series of the same subject given a high valuation in Brussels in 1618 (though in only seven pieces).<sup>163</sup> In both 1632 and 1619, a series of "Perseus" appears, but with six and

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<sup>159</sup> Many works originally associated with Brussels and Breda and inherited by Maurits are listed in the Noordeinde residence in 1632. Their presence in this palace, specifically Frederik Hendrik's residence, should not prohibit identification with Maurits's ownership or possible transfer of works between 1618 and 1625; other works certainly identified with Maurits appear in the same residence. By 1632, Frederik Hendrik would have been sole heir of the entire patrimony for seven years; and works certainly were moved, especially as new paintings were acquired for the Stadholder's Quarters or during their renovation.

<sup>160</sup> There is no grounds for a great inheritance of Maurits's courtly holdings to his two surviving illegitimate sons, for which see Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, "Art and the Princes of Orange to 1625," in *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague*, ed. Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), p. 14; following (Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer in) Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. xvii.

<sup>161</sup> The likelihood of Filips Willem's tapestries reappearing in the collection and ownership of Frederik Hendrik was recognized long ago by C. H. de Jonge in her annotations to the 1632 inventory, S. W. A. Drossaers, "Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadhoudelijk Kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage, met aantekeningen van C. Hofstede de Groot en Jonkvr. C. H. de Jonge," *Oud Holland* 45 (1930), p. 208.

<sup>162</sup> See also Appendix I.4: Tapestries in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory.

<sup>163</sup> Appendix I, nos. 24, 353, and 722.

seven pieces respectively.<sup>164</sup> More certainly, a dossal of green and gold velvet and silk and bearing the arms of Egmont and Buren must be identical with such an item given by Maria of Orange-Nassau (1556-1616) to Filips Willem in 1606 and recorded in Breda in 1619.<sup>165</sup> Maria and Filips Willem were the two children of Willem I's first wife, Anne of Egmont, Countess of Buren (1533-1558), and thus this expensive cloth with her arms is a natural possession to be exchanged between her two children and then housed at Breda. By contrast, in 1632 it was kept in a furniture attic with numerous other hangings and tapestries and listed specifically as "old" – a designation it shared with many other tapestries including another dossal with the arms of Chalons and Nassau.<sup>166</sup>

The Brussels 1618 inventory lists fifty-four paintings and Breda 1619 lists 101; neither is a "princely" number, and both are modest compared to Filips Willem's holdings in gold service, fabrics, linens, and jewelry. No artists' names are mentioned in either the 1618 or 1619 inventories, limiting absolute identification of the works or their reappearance in the 1632 or subsequent Orange-Nassau inventories.<sup>167</sup> Nevertheless, certainties, probabilities, and trends may be identified in the movement of art between the various Orange-Nassau residences. Of the identifiable works, many are among the most highly valued. The exact date of

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<sup>164</sup> Appendix I, no. 148. In the 1632 inventory, the "Perseus" tapestries are listed with two other unknown histories.

<sup>165</sup> Appendix I, no. 873.

<sup>166</sup> Appendix I, no. 872. Nine of a total forty-seven tapestries are listed as "old"; see also Appendix I.4: Tapestries in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory.

<sup>167</sup> There are other Orange-Nassau and Nassau inventories that have have no, or relatively few, attributed paintings; see Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, 3 vols. By contrast the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory lists 165 attributed paintings out of a total of 379; see Appendix I.1: Artists in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory.

transport north is not known, though it was almost certainly in the years immediately after 1618.<sup>168</sup>

A painting of a horse specifically listed in 1632 as “coming from Breda” may be identified with a painting listed in a 1597-1603 inventory or one in the 1619 inventory.<sup>169</sup> The next 1632 entry lists four paintings of the four elements, a group of which was also listed in Brussels 1618 (and with a moderate valuation).<sup>170</sup> Shortly thereafter, there appears a “kitchen” by Maerten de Vos (1532-1603).<sup>171</sup> A later Noordeinde inventory (1668), lists a painting as both a kitchen piece and “Lazarus and the Rich Man,” precisely the kind of historical subject typical of De Vos. In the Breda 1619 inventory, a painting of a kitchen is listed as a mantelpiece and with a high valuation, both of which indicate it was a picture of some quality, and the later attribution to De Vos, a sixteenth-century Southern Netherlander, supports identification of the two works. Denys van Alsloot’s (before 1573-1625/26) “the city and castle of Breda” listed in 1632 is likely a painting of the same subject in Brussels.<sup>172</sup> The works of Van Alsloot, a Brussels-based artist, were more likely to have been in the possession of Filips Willem in the 1610s than of either Maurits or

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<sup>168</sup> In the case of the palace at Brussels, the objects must have been moved north between 1618 and 1621, after which point the ancestral palace would have been inaccessible. Objects from Breda could have been moved anytime between 1619 and 1624, when the siege began. It is also possible that objects were removed from Breda after the city’s surrender in 1625 on such favorable terms that they may have allowed the removal of goods from the Nassau palace.

<sup>169</sup> Appendix I, no. 483. The three inventory entries may even refer to the same painting. The possibility of this work being De Gheyn’s *White Stallion* has been presented (*Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 234), though it seems unlikely that this painting would have been taken from The Hague to Breda and then back again between 1603 and 1609 or 1618 and 1624 and even less likely that it would have been left in Breda while Filips Willem resided there.

<sup>170</sup> Appendix I, no. 484 a, b, c, d.

<sup>171</sup> Appendix I, no. 488.

<sup>172</sup> Appendix I, no. 492.

Frederik Hendrik at any time. Another Van Alsloot appears in 1632 that may again be associated with the Brussels inventory (where it had a high valuation) and is identified today with a painting dated 1614.<sup>173</sup> A “Diana and Acteon” by Hendrik van Balen (1575-1632), again a Southern Netherlandish artist, listed in 1632 is almost certainly the same painting that moved from Brussels to Breda 26 June 1618 and was listed in both the Brussels and Breda inventories.<sup>174</sup> A “kermis van Hooboken” by Pieter Aertsen (1507/08-1575) or Joachim Beuckelaer (c. 1533-1574) is almost certainly a large and highly valued painting listed in 1618 as a “dédicasse de villaige” (or, less likely, the more modestly valued “dédicasse de Hoboquen”).<sup>175</sup> An anonymous painting of “Piramus and Thisbe” was housed in the *Speelhuis* [pleasure pavilion] built by Maurits in the years directly after 1618 and is likely the more valuable of two paintings of the same subject from Breda (the lesser was also paired with a Mars and Venus).<sup>176</sup> Eleven total paintings of the four seasons and the seven planets appear in the 1632 and Breda 1619 inventories, each time described as watercolor.<sup>177</sup>

Less certainly, two paintings by Paul Bril (1554-1626) precede the second Van Alsloot mentioned above, and one work each listed as by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625), Van Balen, and Brueghel/Van Balen fall on either side of this group

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<sup>173</sup> Appendix I, no. 64.

<sup>174</sup> Appendix I, no. 72. Five paintings attributed to Van Balen appear in the 1632 inv. (Appendix I.1: Artists in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory), including the “Diana and Acteon” and “a virgin and child,” an “adoration of the shepherds,” a “Venus,” and a “Banquet.”

<sup>175</sup> Appendix I, no. 142.

<sup>176</sup> Appendix I, no. 481. For the *Speelhuis*, see Chapter Six.

<sup>177</sup> Appendix I, nos. 685 a, b, c, d, and 686 a, b, c, d, e, f, g.

appearing “*op de galderije van zijne excellentie*” [in the gallery of his excellency].<sup>178</sup> While the gallery was hung with numerous works of various origins, including those certainly acquired later under Frederik Hendrik, the appearance of this group is notable. Examination of Orange-Nassau inventories indicates that works were often moved in groups from one palace to another over time. This group of six works, all by Southern Netherlandish artists who died in or around 1625, has a likely origin in the south with Filips Willem.<sup>179</sup> A “Magdalene,” two paintings of the “Crucifixion,” and a “daughter of the great Turk” could be associated with works in either the 1618 or 1619 inventories.<sup>180</sup> The most expensive painting in either the Brussels or Breda inventories was a large seascape with ships in Brussels.<sup>181</sup> With a valuation far higher than any other painting and equivalent to minor tapestry cycles, it was likely a large and detailed sea battle by Hendrick Cornelisz. Vroom (1566-1640). It cannot be clearly identified with any painting in the 1632 inventory.<sup>182</sup>

The identification of a single portrait in multiple inventories is difficult, especially when appearing without attribution. However, four portraits of Filips Willem appear in the 1632 inventory, more than of Maurits, Frederik Hendrik, or

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<sup>178</sup> Appendix I, nos. 60-65.

<sup>179</sup> Paintings from Filips Willem are spread throughout the 1632 inventory with specific concentrations at inv. nos. 60-65; 483, 484a-d, 488, 492; and 685a-d, 686a-g, 696. Many of the works from the 1632 “gallery of his excellency” would be moved together to the “cabinet on the parterre” at Honselaarsdijk by 1707 (see Appendix I, nos. 53, 54, 58, 66, and 78) and from “the gallery of my lady the princess” at the Stadholder’s Quarters in 1632 to the “gallery of her highness’s alcove” in Noordeinde by 1673 (see Appendix I, nos. 230, 231a, 231c, 232, 234b, 234c, 236, 237, 238, and 241).

<sup>180</sup> Appendix I, nos. 85, 108, 109, and 696.

<sup>181</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 127: “820 Une grande peinture de plusieurs navires peint à l’huile sur toile...2000£.”

<sup>182</sup> The possibility that it relates to 1632 inv. no. 684b (Appendix I, no. 684b) will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Willem I, and second only to Henri IV (1553-1610) of France in number (with five). Portraits of Filips Willem and his wife Eleonore of Bourbon-Condé (as well as some of her Bourbon and Condé relatives) likely originated in the Southern Netherlandish residences.<sup>183</sup>

It is evident that numerous paintings and tapestries were brought from the two Southern Netherlandish residences to The Hague; and it is possible that furniture, linens, clothing, and gold and silver plate were as well. The 1632 inventory lists only the two urban residences in The Hague and does not list any of the table service or jewelry. Thus, the full picture of what may have been transferred is incomplete. In terms of what was brought north, many of the paintings with higher valuations in the 1618 and 1619 inventories reappear in later Orange-Nassau inventories; that is, the best works seem to have been brought to the primary Orange-Nassau residences as well as tapestries, especially hangings with specific familial importance.

The movement of such works of art, however, does not in itself indicate aesthetic interest on the part of Maurits himself. Their movement to the primary residence of the Orange-Nassau in The Hague is an effort to create an environment of appropriate princely grandeur corresponding to Orange-Nassau status.<sup>184</sup> Great paintings and tapestries are a potent element to such an end. The inheritance, apart from the individual objects themselves, provided the level of grandeur and the type of display that was possible and appropriate for a noble of Maurits's new princely status.

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<sup>183</sup> See Appendix I.3: Portrait sitters listed in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory.

<sup>184</sup> Wouter Kloek, "Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 141: "Het is niet onmogelijk dat Maurits de rol van kunstminnaar aan Filips Willem heeft gelaten en pas na diens dood in 1618, nu eindelijk werkelijk Prins van Oranje geworden, aanleiding heeft gezien zich met een grotere luxe to omringen." Though "art-lover" is too strong a term to use with Maurits, the importance of the inheritance in the creation of a princely environment is accurate.

He could reclaim the ideological heritage of the glory days of Orange and particularly Nassau splendor under Hendrik III (1483-1538) and Willem I. It was their same Nassau palaces that Filips Willem inhabited, where he had built up a court, and which now fell to Maurits as new and legitimate head of the House of Orange-Nassau dynasty. Maurits had succeeded in consolidating the inheritance of his father, for which he always striven.<sup>185</sup>

The inheritance and command over the patrimony brought both great power and great income.<sup>186</sup> The debts of his father had been liquidated and the estate settled in 1609; and by 1618 Maurits had control over its foremost holdings and incomes. He also had his salaries as Stadholder and Commander-General, diverse investments, and war spoils. Though the first two decades of the century had seen his incomes grow, after 1618 his personal wealth increased substantially, with a reported annual income of as much as 900,000 guilders.<sup>187</sup> Maurits also received numerous gifts: money, gold and silver service, a gold set of armor, a case of mathematical instruments, horses, exotic animals, spices, Chinese and Japanese lacquer and porcelain, and, later, paintings. He was responsible for giving numerous gifts to clients in a system of patronage as well as, more importantly, to foreign dignitaries

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<sup>185</sup> *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 195. Frederik Hendrik had already received those portions of Willem I's estate designated for him and thus, Maurits did not control the entirety of the Orange-Nassau legacy, but certainly its overwhelming bulk and the foremost properties and titles.

<sup>186</sup> Scherft, *Het Sterfhuis van Willem van Oranje*, p. 61: "De nalatenschap van Willem van Oranje zag hij minder als een bron van inkomsten dan wel als een mogelijke basis voor een sleutelpositie in de Verenigde Provinciën."; see also pp. 268-279 for Maurits's defiant posture (and greed) in the final settlement of affairs.

<sup>187</sup> Kees Zandvliet, "Het Hof van een Dienaar met Vorstelijke Allure," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 43: "In 1617 begrootte zijn thesaurier zijn kapitaal op bijna 1.4 miljoen pond. Een jaar later kwam Maurits door het overlijden van Filips Willem in het bezit van diens domeinen, waaronder Breda en Orange. De Venetiaanse gezant Trevisiano schatte zijn inkomsten uit domeinen en ambten in 1620 op 800 tot 900.000 gulden per jaar."

and sovereigns.<sup>188</sup> It is not always clear that he bore these costs himself, but he was instrumental in the selection and presentation of gifts that officially came from and were paid by the States General.<sup>189</sup>

Maurits's early days of limited titles and relative poverty were very different from his last seven years as fabulously wealthy Prince of Orange. By 1618 though, he had a considerable court establishment surrounding him, active in publicly communicating stature.<sup>190</sup> Indeed, the court was neither dull nor militaristic but, at its height, comprised many of the necessary and desirable courtly characteristics: various properties, substantial income and expenditure, a large and hierarchical staff, gifts presented and received, and the reception of numerous foreign dignitaries and embassies.<sup>191</sup> There were performances and events and Maurits himself played the lute and was a good dancer. His apartments were decorated with tapestries and paintings and there was also a menagerie of birds and animals. Portraits show him in clothing made of expensive fabric complete with large amounts of gold thread and wearing an elaborate diamond hat band. Baldassare Castiglione's (1478-1529) *Courtier*, the standard guide to good courtly behavior, was listed in Maurits's

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<sup>188</sup> Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure," pp. 56-57 and 60.

<sup>189</sup> Among such gifts were prints, medals, and horses, the former two of which there is no evidence that Maurits commissioned, despite the fact that numerous contemporary prints and medals celebrate Maurits and his victories. In 1616, the French king sent four horses for Maurits and two for Frederik Hendrik. They were presented by the famous horseman and riding instructor, Pluvinel, and Maurits presented him, in exchange, with a medal depicting Maurits and set with diamonds worth 6,500 francs. Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 47, to secretary Winwood, 28 August 1616.

<sup>190</sup> Zandvliet, "Het Hof van een Denaar met Vorstelijke Allure," pp. 36-63.

<sup>191</sup> Many of the expenses of the court, including salaries, were paid by the States General or the States of Holland; Zandvliet, "Het Hof van een Denaar met vorstelijke allure," pp. 39-40.

library.<sup>192</sup> The court was a vibrant atmosphere populated by, at various times throughout Maurits's long Stadholderate, visiting dignitaries, military nobles, international noble youth, scholars, engineers, and artists. Indeed, Maurits's court can be considered as continuous within Orange-Nassau tradition from Willem I to Willem III (1650-1702), though Willem I's debts, Maurits's early poverty, and the political climate caused a temporary, but significant, rupture that was overcome by Maurits.<sup>193</sup>

Maurits's becoming legitimate Prince of Orange was a significant change in his life, personally and publicly, which in turn served as the impetus for further change, in the conduct of political, military, and private life. Everything was in place in 1618 for Maurits to wield publicly and manifest symbolically the power of his position. He took personal control of the government, ousted his political opposition, consolidated his power through loyal supporters, undertook international negotiations, and made official the religion of his preference.

The traditional view of Maurits as only a military figure has left the typical outward signs of grandiosity and display as antithetical, incongruous, or simply not present. Nor should a lifetime of such signs of cultural and artistic interest be expected. These often take a combination of examples to follow, time to develop,

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<sup>192</sup> Anton Chroust, "Die Bibliothek de Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," *Oud Holland* 15 (1897), p. 20, no. 277; A. A. Wiekart, "De bibliotheek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau," in *Van Maurits naar Munster: Tactiek en triomf van het Staatse leger / From Prince Maurice to the Peace of Westphalia: Tactics and Triumphs of the Dutch Army*, ed. J. P. Puype and A. A. Wiekart (Delft: Legermuseum, 1998), p. 41, no. W.196; *Il libro del Cortegiano del Conte Baltazar Castiglione*, Venice, 1528, (Von Dohna 277). Also, just as upon receiving the Order of the Garter in 1613, Maurits had at least some of his books bound (or re-bound) with bindings indicating his new status as Prince of Orange in 1618; Jan Storm van Leeuwen, "Boekbanden in de Oranje-Nassaubibliotheek," in *Boeken van Oranje. De Oranje-Nassaubibliotheek ten tijde van Willem III*, ed. Joke Kuijpers and Anne-Dirk Renting (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1988), p. 69.

<sup>193</sup> Zandvliet, "Het Hof van een Dienaar met Vorstelrijke Allure," p. 63, acknowledges the continuity between the courts of Maurits and both his predecessors and successors.

money to fund, right to display, and reasons for existence and practice. Maurits's income expanded in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, and the period of the Twelve Years Truce allowed increased time for a variety of personal endeavors, but there was still no significant growth in patronage until the acquisition of the princely title. This provided the impetus to artistic, architectural, and courtly activity, which did not develop out of a newfound personal interest but was instead the result of his increased station. In order to present himself successfully and appropriately as a Prince, Maurits needed to, and could legitimately, expand the scope of his activity. As such, the increase after 1618 is in keeping with his approach to the arts: it was functional, practical, and specifically determined by historical events. He would only live another seven years; and with the resumption of the war in a nation no longer prepared to fight, torn by religious division, and with Maurits forced to lead the political bureaucracy as well as the military, his activity grew only modestly. There were changes, however, in scope and scale that indicate the importance of the increased aristocratic and political stature that he consolidated in 1618.

In addition to being a military genius respected throughout Europe and a competent if ruthless politician, Maurits was a learned and conscientious man who capably developed the foundations of aristocratic and cultural pursuits appropriate to his station and which would only come to full fruition under his successor Frederik Hendrik. This happened during years that would be personally very difficult for Maurits, 1618-1625.

## Chapter Six: Maurits – Life and Art 1618-1625

“For this Hero, who all his life had taken no pleasure in building, began, towards the end of his life, to make some attempts at it, which seemed to promise the erection of greater monuments, if he had lived longer.”<sup>194</sup>

Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) recognized the growth of building activity in Maurits’s (1567-1625) last years. He did not attribute such an increase to any specific impetus but he did acknowledge that Maurits’s death cut short the potential scope of his activity. Huygens was correct; there was a notable expansion in the number, scale, and pace of Maurits’s building activities near the end of his life. His relationship to the pictorial arts as well expanded in quantity and scope in keeping with his newly held, absolute aristocratic and political positions. His death cut short any further activity, but the consolidation of power and title and the enormous wealth amassed during his life was by then coupled with a princely artistic and architectural environment that provided the foundation for Frederik Hendrik’s (1584-1647), and indeed all seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau, artistic activity.

As abrupt as the Orange-Nassau’s courtly and artistic fall was in 1567, the process of regaining grandeur was neither abrupt nor dramatic, but a continuum of difficult early steps and fortunate developments. Maurits had been starting from scratch in 1584. By 1601, he had achieved enormous success and fame and had begun to receive income that, as the years passed, increased along with his reputation and honors. In 1618, the mission inherited from his father and the reputation he earned were given new life and purpose upon inheriting the Orange-Nassau legacy. However, several factors negatively affected his newfound success. He now had the

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<sup>194</sup> Constantijn Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, trans. C. L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam: Em. Querido’s Uitgeverij B. V., 1987), p. 76. This English translation is from J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *The Drawings of Jacques de Gheyn* (Amsterdam, 1936), pp. 18-19.

burden of running the government in addition to the military and preparing for the resumption of hostilities at the end of the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621); he received death threats as early as April 1618 and was the target of assassination attempts.<sup>195</sup> His youngest son, Maurits (1604-1617), his lifelong secretary, Johan Milander (154-1621), and his cousin and closest advisor, Willem Lodewijk (1560-1620), died during these years. Maurits himself became sick as early as 1619, seriously so by 1622, and to the point of incapacitation by 1624.<sup>196</sup> These were the personal realities of the last years of his life. It is within this environment of prestige, power, and difficulty that Maurits's architectural and artistic activity increased after 1618, and his courtly environment acquired the first signs of real splendor that would be fully manifest under Frederik Hendrik only in the 1630s.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> For the death threat see Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt. during his embassy in Holland, from January 1615/16, to December 1620*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London, 1780), p. 262. After an assassination plot against Maurits in 1623 was discovered, Reynier van Oldenbarnevelt (son of Johan) was executed as was another conspirator and a total of 15 people that spring (Willem van Oldenbarnevelt, a co-conspirator, successfully fled). For the details of the treason and assassination conspiracies, see Iija M. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and His Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2001), 275-276. Crispijn de Passe the Elder engraved images of many of the protagonists in these affairs, complete with brief descriptive texts.

<sup>196</sup> A. Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau: de winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2000), p. 285; Simon Groenveld, "De man met de loden schoenen: een levenschets," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, ed. Kees Zandvliet (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders b.v., 2000), p. 33, with the contemporary account from David Beck (The Hague), 18 November 1624: "hebben gehoorde dat de prins *ter doodt kranck* ut he leger naar huis zou komen." David Beck, *Spiegel van mijn leven: een Haags dagboek uit 1624*, ed. S. E. Veldhuizen (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993), pp. 207-208.

<sup>197</sup> Jonathan I Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 306, states that the Stadholder's court "was comparatively modest before the coup of 1618 but subsequently gained considerably in splendour, especially after the arrival of the 'Winter' king and queen of Bohemia, and their entourage, in The Hague, in 1621 and under Frederik Hendrik, in the 1630s." The impetus, instead, is not the political *coup* but the increase in aristocratic stature. See, also, I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques De Gheyn: Three Generations*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983), vol. 1, p. 138: "By the end of the Truce (1621), he [Maurits] had acquired the status of a ruling monarch, although sharing his authority with the States General. His powers were consolidated and his income was considerably increased. For the first time this would

Prior to 1618, Maurits's building projects had been primarily limited to fortifications and military architecture, along with few specific projects such as the church at Willemstad, the requested *Mauritstoren* [Maurits tower], and the plans for a palace in The Hague. Immediately in 1618, there was a marked expansion to Maurits's activity as a patron of architectural projects, as recognized by Huygens.<sup>198</sup> This growth was a direct result of his becoming Prince of Orange and can be seen as an effort to support his position as a ruler of European stature.

As had happened in the 1590s, Maurits again requested that the States of Holland expand the Stadholder's Quarters.<sup>199</sup> The result was the 1620 rebuilding (on the same foundations) of the wing on the western side of the *Binnenhof* [inner court] complex facing the *Buitenhof* [outer court]. The layout after this date is represented in a painting by Hendrick Ambrosius Pacx (c. 1602/03-after 1658) of *The Princes of Orange and their Families Riding out from the Buitenhof*, in which the orderly new wing along the *Buitenhof* can clearly be contrasted with the more haphazard

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have been sufficient to allow for patronage of the arts, but Frederick Henry was really the first Stadtholder to make full use of such an opportunity."

<sup>198</sup> For architectural projects related to Maurits, see Annemie de Vos, with collaboration of Charles van den Heuvel and Koen Ottenheym, "Propaganda voor Staat en Huis: Maurits en de Bouwkunst," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 122-136. The essay's title captures the public propagandistic function of grand architectural projects and the dual concerns of State (republic) and House (Orange-Nassau family) which jointly defined Maurits's life and characterized his building activity. De Vos also explicitly recognizes the change that the status Prince of Orange brought, see especially p. 123: "Maar vanaf het ogenblik dat zijn positie in de Republiek vrijwel onaantastbaar was geworden en dat hij het prinsdom Orange van zijn broer Filips Willem erfde, legde Maurits zich concreet toe op de architectuur en tuinarchitectuur. Zijn bouwopdrachten werden toen enigermate vergelijkbaar met de prachtlievende propagandaprojecten van andere vorstelijke hoven in Europa."

<sup>199</sup> Kees Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 44 and 56, interprets this addition to the Stadholder's Quarters specifically in recognition of his increased status as Prince of Orange; De Vos, "Propaganda voor Staat en Huis," pp. 127-130, including, p. 127: "In een resolutie van 3 januari 1620 staat te lezen dat de prins Holland verzoekt to *eene verbeteringe van accommodatie van Zijn Logijs ende Quartier aen het Binnen-hoff van den Hage.*"

collection of buildings along the *Hofvijver* [court lake] (which would be replaced in 1656) [fig. 27]. This newest part of the residence became the primary rooms of the Stadholder's Quarters.

At the same time, Maurits laid out the *Buitenhof* garden or *prinsentuin* [prince's garden] and the accompanying *Speelhuis* [pleasure pavilion].<sup>200</sup> The garden was built between 1620 and 1622. Huygens attributed the design to Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629), although numerous members of Maurits's courtly establishment, including Simon Stevin (1548-1620), Hendrik Hondius (1573-1649), and Maurits himself, could have contributed to the planning.<sup>201</sup> Its definitive format is visible in a print by Hondius from the *Institutio Artis Perspectivae* in 1622, which included a description of the garden [fig. 28]. The rectangular format was divided in half, with two circular *berceaux* [arbors] joined in the middle and with pavilions in the eight corners; within the circles were *parterres* [flower-beds] and fountains. De Gheyn also designed a grotto set into the architectural gallery that ran along the south side of the *Buitenhof* garden for which two drawings survive [figs. 29 and 30].<sup>202</sup> Though the garden was completed by 1622, the construction of the grotto continued for years (and was finished under Frederik Hendrik and Jacques de Gheyn III).

Maurits and De Gheyn were guided in the execution of both the garden and grotto by examples of famous gardens including those at Heidelberg of the displaced

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<sup>200</sup> Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1992), pp. 86ff, and 126ff.

<sup>201</sup> Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, p. 76. Stevin's possible contribution must, if anything, have been limited to initial plans, as he died in 1620.

<sup>202</sup> J. Q. van Regteren Altena, "Grotten in de tuinen der Oranjes," *Oud Holland* 85 (1970); Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn*, vol. 1, pp. 139-142, vol. 2, pp. 46-47, cat. nos. 162-163; and Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)," pp. 87-88.

“Winter” King and Queen of Bohemia, Palatine Elector Friedrich V (1596-1632) and his wife Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), who arrived in The Hague as exiled guests of Maurits during precisely the time of the *Buitenhof* garden’s construction. Huygens, who was a neighbor and good friend of the De Gheyn family, had also visited Heidelberg in 1620. He commented in his journal on the elaborate gardens and grottos as well as their designer, Salomon de Caus (c. 1576-1626), who had earlier designed grottos for Archduke Albrecht (1559-1621) in Brussels that Huygens (and possibly De Gheyn) could have seen.<sup>203</sup> In addition to these potential descriptive sources, De Gheyn specifically borrowed from a sixteenth-century print by Cornelis Floris II (ca. 1513/14-1575). From here, the highly imaginative artist created a fantastic assemblage of sculpted figures and forms set with natural elements and activated by fountains of water. The grotto was a last gasp of exuberant northern Mannerism that simultaneously provided a stark contrast to a *Buitenhof* garden design that was otherwise highly ordered along the lines of classically inspired architectural theory.

The garden itself was a culmination of Maurits’s lifelong interests in mathematics, practical geometry, and architecture as well as the theoretical foundations that underpin them and the allegorical and cosmological significance of forms. The double circle was particularly innovative: it used the perfect geometrical form of the circle in binary to portray proportion and harmony and to signify the dual

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<sup>203</sup> Constantijn Huygens, *Journaal van de reis naar Venetië*, ed. Frans R. E. Blom (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 2003), pp. 62-69 for the *Journaal* entries about Heidelberg, 9 and 10 May 1620 (and also pp. 18 and 24); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Archduke Albrecht as an Austrian Habsburg and Prince of the Empire,” in *Albert and Isabella 1598-1621: Essays*, ed. Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Brepols, 1998), pp. 16 and 22.

cosmos of the earthly and the heavenly.<sup>204</sup> It would become a defining element in subsequent seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau gardens, for all of which Maurits's *Buitenhof* garden was the touchstone.<sup>205</sup>

The same rationality, order, geometry, and implicit symbolism were present at the garden of the *Prinsenhof* [prince's court] in Vlissingen [figs. 31, 32, and 33], which along with the residence itself was redesigned and expanded at precisely the same time and by the same individuals, including Maurits and his immediate intellectual circle of Stevin and De Gheyn.<sup>206</sup> The existing site necessitated fitting the double circle motif within a triangle but the same theoretical and cosmological underpinnings were retained.

Maurits's patronage of architectural and garden projects took place farther afield as well. Breda received great attention: as the site of Maurits's first major victory and the ancient seat of the Nassau family and Maurits's newly acquired barony, it was an obvious choice for further expansion. Filips Willem had made improvements to the palace, though limited to the interior and outfitting it as a princely residence. After Maurits's arrival in the city in 1620, he began a series of extensive changes over the succeeding years. The walls were fortified and the

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<sup>204</sup> Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)," pp. 261-293; Chapter VI, "An Iconological Interpretation of Frederik Hendrik's Gardens: The Motif of the Twin Circles."

<sup>205</sup> By contrast, the slightly earlier design for the much larger Noordeinde gardens, visible on a 1616 map of The Hague published by Hondius, is straightforwardly decorative with its French-inspired design. For the Noordeinde garden, see *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 289-292 and Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)," pp. 104-105.

<sup>206</sup> Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)," pp. 132-133, 262-263; *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 202-206; and De Vos, "Propaganda voor Staat en Huis," p. 130.

structure repaired and improved, the garden was newly laid out and an octagonal *Speelhuis* was built.<sup>207</sup>

Willemstad, where Maurits had already improved its fortifications and built a church, received a new *prinsenhuis* [prince's house], built between 1623 and 1625 and entirely funded by Maurits. At nearby Klundert, he personally funded half the costs of the *raadhuys* [town hall] and had earlier made possible the building of a church through a cash gift of 13,000 guilders in 1616. He also vastly improved the fortifications and buildings in Orange. Though he had never been there in his life, he spent the enormous sum of 800,000 guilders in the territory.<sup>208</sup> This investment, in part, served the very practical purpose of discouraging Louis XIII of France (1601-1643) from considering overtaking it. More generally, maintenance and modernizing were in keeping with Maurits's approach to his possessions, just as they were fundamental characteristics of his military reform. The enormous investment in the well-being of Orange is some proof of its importance to Maurits. Additionally, he sent no one less than Frederik Hendrik there in 1619 to institute his rule; later, Johann de Hertoghe (d. 1630), one of Maurits's closest courtly noble administrators, became both Lieutenant-Governor and, subsequently, Governor of the territory.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> De Vos, "Propaganda voor Staat en Huis," p. 130; and Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)," p. 141.

<sup>208</sup> De Vos, "Propaganda voor Staat en Huis," p. 130-136 for Willemstad, Klundert, and Orange.

<sup>209</sup> Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 373, to Naunton, 18 June 1619: "Count Henry parted yesterday upon a sudden resolution towards France by post, with a train of four-and-twenty gentlemen and others, as sent by his brother the prince of Orange to settle his nephew Don Emanuel, eldest son to the prince of Portugal, in the government of Orange, in place of one captain Crousse, who was there left governor to the late prince." For Johan de Hertoghe, see *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 334-335, cat. no. 173.

The last major building campaign undertaken during the 1620s was the most private. Among Maurits's many holdings and residences was a property at Rijswijk that served mainly as a day retreat, stable, and stud farm for his personal collection of horses.<sup>210</sup> Immediately in 1618 an enormous new stable complex was built, with a menagerie for the wide variety of domestic and exotic animals he owned, the latter often gifts of international ambassadors and Dutch overseas shipping companies. An overview of the property and layout of the stables is visible in the 1625 drawing by Willem Arentsz. van Saelen (active c. 1618-1630) shortly after its completion [fig. 34].<sup>211</sup> The side of the complex is visible in a painting by Esaias van de Velde (1587-1630) from 1625 [fig. 35]. Rijswijk passed to Frederik Hendrik and the horses and menagerie were moved, in time, to Honselaarsdijk.<sup>212</sup>

In all these building campaigns, Maurits was at the center of his core group of advisor architect-engineers in The Hague and appears responsible for general decisions. The design and administration of the various projects were turned over to local architects including Melchior van Harbach (active 1614-1621) in Breda, Van Saelen at Willemstad and Rijswijk, and Jacques de Gheyn II in Vlissingen and The Hague.<sup>213</sup> As such, there was continuity with Maurits's practical and local approach

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<sup>210</sup> Anton Chroust, "Die Bibliothek de Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," *Oud Holland* 15 (1897), p. 22, no. 380; A. A. Wiekart, "De bibliotheek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau," in *Van Maurits naar Munster: Tactiek en triomf van het Staatse leger / From Prince Maurice to the Peace of Westphalia: Tactics and Triumphs of the Dutch Army*, ed. J. P. Puype and A. A. Wiekart (Delft: Legermuseum, 1998), p. 37, no. W134: "Evertsen, Jan, *Beschrijvinghe der generatie van sin Princelicke excelentie, perden stande tegenwoordich tot Riswich, Beginde van et jair 1599 stilo nova, door Jan Evertsen*" (Von Dohna 367). Evertsen was Maurits's *Hoffsmid* [head, or court, smith].

<sup>211</sup> *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 311, cat. no. 158.

<sup>212</sup> Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelrijk allure," p. 46.

<sup>213</sup> De Vos, "Propaganda voor Staat en Huis," pp. 123-136.

to a variety of his artistic undertakings. Whether a decision to make best use of what was at hand or to delegate authority and responsibility, both were in keeping with his military life, where provisions needed to be acquired locally and where colonels and generals needed to be trusted to execute the commander's orders.

The scale of these various building projects is extensive and impressive within such a short period of time. What, however, do they indicate in terms of architecture? They are constructed with local materials and none are palatial in scale. They do not incorporate the latest trends of international architectural decoration and on the surface maintain continuity with traditional Dutch architecture. In terms of design, however, the recurrence of the circle in gardens and the octagonal plan for churches and *speelhuizen* as well as the insistence on order and rationality are all a product of the influence of classical architectural principles and their Renaissance adaptations – all of which were the subjects of interest and lifelong study by Maurits and his intimate circle of scholarly, artistic, and architectural advisors. It would be the same classical principles, in part filtered through French models, but again executed with local materials and (for the most part) domestic artists that would characterize the grander architectural projects of Frederik Hendrik as his building activity expanded ten years later. In this sense, the example of Maurits is significant for Orange-Nassau and Dutch architectural tradition: his activity provided the solid, rational foundation on which the subsequent splendor could be built.

While Maurits was busy with these widespread architectural campaigns, he seemed typically unconcerned about his own depicted image. Very few new portraits exist from the last seven years of his life and none with evidence of his instigation. A

print by Willem Jacobsz. Delff (1580-1638) was likely based on a new painting by Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt (1567-1641) of c. 1621 (no longer extant), showing Maurits aged but otherwise retaining the general appearance of his 1607 portrait [see fig. 22].<sup>214</sup> De Gheyn executed two drawings, the first a very loose pen sketch and the second a drawing preparatory for a print [figs. 36 and 37].<sup>215</sup> The second is signed and dated 1623 [*IDGheyn fecit Anno 1623*] and it corresponds exactly to the print by Andries Jacobsz. Stock (c. 1580-1648) of 1623 (and later 1627) except for the removal of Maurits's coat of arms where De Gheyn's signature is placed. The drawing is in ink wash and exhibits a high degree of finish, both of which were uncharacteristic for De Gheyn in the 1620s, and enough to question the attribution. It is, however, also a drawing of high quality, beyond the known ability as a draughtsman of Stock himself but not of De Gheyn, who gained his earliest training and artistic fame as an engraver. The drawing provides the necessary intermediate stage between the pen study – De Gheyn's authorship of which is not in doubt – and the print. De Gheyn's close relationship to Maurits, precisely at this time while they were working on the *Buitenhof* garden and grotto, offered the opportunity for the artist to study Maurits from life. It is not likely, however, that Maurits ordered the print or the drawing preparatory to it.

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<sup>214</sup> C. de Wit, "De ikonographie van Prins Maurits," *Mededelingen Gemeentemuseum den Haag* 13, no. 1/2 (1958), pp. 32-34. There is also a late full-length portrait of Maurits by Van Mierevelt ordered by the city of Kampen (where it remains), that resembles both the 1613 full-length [see fig. 23] and the aged face of the later print (*Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 411-412, cat. no. 236.).

<sup>215</sup> Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn*, vol. 2, p. 114, cat. no. 695; Felice Stampfle, *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1991), pp. 37-39, cat. no. 64.

Nor is it likely that Maurits ordered the half-length portrait of him painted by Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662) in or shortly after 1618 [fig. 38]. This portrait predates Van de Venne's connection with the court in The Hague and was almost certainly painted to provide the model for an engraving by Willem Jacobsz. Delff (1580-1638) published by Van de Venne's brother, Jan (d. 1625), in Middelburg (along with accompanying images of Willem I and Frederik Hendrik).<sup>216</sup> Maurits's face appears to be based on a version of a 1607 painting by Van Mierevelt [see fig. 22] or a print after it by Delff, and the overall format of the sober three-quarter view portrait is retained. Maurits is, however, here dressed in civilian clothing, wearing brown fabric luxuriously interwoven with gold thread, a hat adorned with his signature diamond hat band, and the Order of the Garter around his neck. Maurits is also very specifically set in front of the *Ridderzaal* [knight's hall] where the banners of his military victories were displayed. His golden suit of armor with the orange sash of his ancestral house is visible behind him. It is an impressive entrepreneurial enterprise, bringing together Maurits's personal and military effects, and it proved successful. The States General purchased numerous prints on silk and the work may have provided Van de Venne *entrée* into court circles with which he was not previously directly connected. Though he had painted the Stadholder's court and government officials in narrative paintings for years, there is no evidence that Maurits commissioned any of them and alternative patrons are more likely.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Laurens J. Bol, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne: Painter and Draughtsman* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989), pp. 66-69; *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 284-285, cat. no. 137.

<sup>217</sup> Kloek, "Prins Maurits en de beeldende Kunst," pp. 145-146.

An extant drawing attributed to Van de Venne purportedly shows Maurits's bedroom but neither the attribution nor the identification of the room are certain [fig. 39].<sup>218</sup> No plan of the *Mauritstoren* exists to confirm the orientation of the room's window, door, and fireplace, nor is there a contemporary inventory describing the furnishings; but the lavish interior with tapestries, paintings, an elaborate bed, and large fireplace is certainly a significant residence. Another possibility is that the room indeed belongs to Maurits, but at the *Prinsenhof* in Middleburg (or Vlissingen) instead of The Hague. Middleburg was the home city of the posited artist who may have had access to Maurits's residence there. It had been decorated with Delft and Brussels tapestries and Maurits's own room had a luxurious bed hung with tapestries, all purchased and fit out by the states of Zeeland (1606).<sup>219</sup>

The drawing provides a tantalizing indication of the type of luxury in which the Stadholder lived. It also provides a rare visual counterpart to the descriptions in contemporary Orange-Nassau inventories of rooms hung with tapestries and paintings, furnished with wood cabinets, upholstered chairs, Turkish carpets, and elaborate beds. The 1618, 1619, and 1632 inventories of Filips Willem and Frederik Hendrik detail environments of splendor and luxury. Maurits, as successor to one half brother, predecessor to the other, and the man responsible for consolidating Orange-Nassau patrimony, must have lived his final years in comparable splendor.

The precise decoration of Maurits's domestic and courtly spaces and his personal relationship to the visual arts, however, are more difficult to determine. His

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<sup>218</sup> *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 330-331, cat. no. 171.

<sup>219</sup> Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure," pp. 47-48.

patronage was sporadic and specific for most of his life. The expansion of his architectural activity after becoming Prince of Orange was not matched by an equivalent documented expansion in the patronage of the pictorial arts. No inventory, even upon his death, exists to indicate Maurits's exact holdings, and direct evidence of commissions is lacking.<sup>220</sup> However, the 1632 inventory of the two urban Orange-Nassau residences includes numerous works associated with Maurits (beyond the influx of paintings and tapestries after the death of Filips Willem). These works vary in subject matter, artist, and origin, and contribute to an artistic environment still developing and characterized by diversity.

Among the works arriving at the court during the last years of Maurits's life was the largest painting in the Orange-Nassau collection: *The Battle of Gibraltar* by Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen (c. 1580-1633) was presented to Maurits by the Admiralty of Amsterdam in 1622 to decorate the newly completed wing of the Stadholder's Quarters [fig. 40].<sup>221</sup> It was the only painting hanging in the dining room, which was also decorated with tapestries of Julius Caesar. Another, much smaller, sea battle by Van Wieringen hung in Noordeinde and may have been the test piece ordered by the Admiralty before the larger commission was conferred.<sup>222</sup>

Neither work was commissioned by Maurits, but they were instead presented to him

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<sup>220</sup> C. W. Fock, "Review of *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken, 1567-1795*," *Oranje-Nassau Museum, Jaarverslag* (1976), p. 42, is correct in recognizing that since Maurits had one universal heir (to which should be added, one who would inhabit the same residence) then an inventory is not necessary. She further cautions against the erroneous opinion that the absence of an inventory is evidence of no interest in purchases or commissions.

<sup>221</sup> Appendix I, no. 179.

<sup>222</sup> Appendix I, no. 491.

as gifts. The battle of Gibraltar, 25 April 1607, was the most significant naval victory since the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and an appropriate subject to be commemorated and presented as a gift from the Admiralty to the Admiral-General. Further, it was a similar painting of a naval battle that Van Mander reported Maurits had seen with “admiration and pleasure” twenty years before. Thus, in 1622, a significant addition to Maurits’s artistic environment came through gift (not direct patronage), was related to the decoration of a newly expanded residence, was descriptive and commemorative in subject, and was directly associated with Maurits’s personal interests and public role. In all these ways, it was consistent with Maurits’s artistic activity to date.

Two other large sea battles – one of “the defeat of the count of Bossu” and the other simply of “various large ships” – by Hendrick Cornelisz. Vroom (1566-1640) appear listed in the Noordeinde residence.<sup>223</sup> They may be the same two works that reappear in a 1702 Orange-Nassau inventory, again described as large, attributed to Vroom, listed in a single inventory entry, and there also given a date of 1621. Such a date would associate the works with Maurits’s period of power, the end of the Truce, and the renovation of the Stadholder’s Quarters, and would again be of subjects of interest to him at the time. Though the two paintings are listed in the same inventory entry in 1632, one is listed as larger than the other and *gecomen van Breda* [came from Breda], which would not favor an execution date of 1621. It is possible that the two works by the same artist had different locations and dates of origin: the first, depicting the defeat of the royalist Stadholder Maximilien de Henin, Comte de Bossu

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<sup>223</sup> Appendix I, no. 684 a, b; Wouter Kloek, “Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst,” in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, pp. 142-143.

(1542-1578), in 1573, would certainly not be associated with a Southern Netherlandish patron, and thus likely originated in the north; and the second, larger, unidentified painting of various ships could be the one that “came from Breda.” No painting matching this description appears in the Breda 1619 inventory, but the Brussels 1618 inventory includes a similar painting that is furthermore by far the most expensive painting listed in the residence and a likely object to have been moved north upon Maurits’s inheritance of Filips Willem’s estate.

More certainly associated with Maurits is the decoration of the so-called *Speelhuis* attached to the Stadholder’s Quarters and constructed at the same time as the 1620 expansion and the *Buitenhof* garden between 1620 and 1622.<sup>224</sup> According to the 1632 inventory, its series of rooms was hung with gilt leather, with painted decorative flowers and foliage (appropriate for rooms abutting a garden).<sup>225</sup> The room opening onto the garden was lined with paneling painted with faux marble, flowerpots, and a frieze of gilded faces and festoons. Two paintings hung in the room: a “landscape with a hunt” and a “pleasure garden.”<sup>226</sup> Both subjects were in keeping with Maurits’s interests and their hanging location, though nothing of attribution or origin is known.

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<sup>224</sup> S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976), vol. 1, pp. 200-201, inv. nos. 452-482.

<sup>225</sup> The decoration as listed in 1632 is almost certainly as it would have been designed approximately ten years earlier under Maurits. The leather walls would fall from favor under Frederik Hendrik who preferred French-inspired *en suite* fabric hangings.

<sup>226</sup> Appendix I, nos. 451 a, b. The only other painting in the “*Speelhuis*” was the “Piramus and Thisbe” from Filips Willem; see Appendix I, no. 481 and Chapter Five.

A painting of two falcons by Everard Quirijnsz. van der Maes (1577-1656) may be associated with Maurits though without any certainty; it hung near other works belonging to Maurits or inherited from Filips Willem.<sup>227</sup> Only one painting by De Gheyn appears in the 1632 inventory, a “hen, dog, and dove”; it hung in a position of some importance as a mantelpiece in Noordeinde, and may be either simply a painting of animals or some type of allegory.<sup>228</sup> In 1621, Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573-1621) died in The Hague while delivering to a member of the court a highly valued floral still life likely destined for Maurits (though it is not certain exactly who ordered the work); the painting may be identified with one in the Stadholder’s Quarters in 1632.<sup>229</sup>

There are numerous paintings (and almost all the tapestries) about which nothing of their origins can be determined. Nevertheless, many paintings seem to date from about this period (or possibly slightly earlier) and likely entered the Orange-Nassau collection during these years.<sup>230</sup> Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638), an Utrecht artist of sympathetic political ilk to Maurits whose major activity occurred during the early part of the century, has a “Venus and Cupid” recorded in 1632.<sup>231</sup> Another “Venus and Cupid” appears, by Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625), who died

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<sup>227</sup> Appendix I, no. 493. Van der Maes is also represented by a series of 30 portrait copies that could date from any point during his activity (under Maurits or Frederik Hendrik); Appendix I, nos. 704a-dd.

<sup>228</sup> Appendix I, no. 629.

<sup>229</sup> Appendix I, no. 252; Abraham Bredius, “De Bloemschilders Bosschaert,” *Oud Holland* 21 (1913), p. 138.

<sup>230</sup> Frederik Hendrik also lived at the Stadholder’s Quarters with Maurits and it may be posited that some of the paintings hanging there were his commissions or purchases (either at the time or later from a secondary source). However, Frederik Hendrik’s first known commission and purchase date only to 1627, and his known purchases of extant earlier works of art are exceptional.

<sup>231</sup> Appendix I, no. 83.

in 1625.<sup>232</sup> Thus, the same subject as De Gheyn's painting from c. 1605 that seemed exceptional at that time for the great military commander appears twice more in possible connection to Maurits, perhaps indicating a preference for such erotic subjects. A painting listed as by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Jan Brueghel (1568-1625), and today identified with a "Flora and Zephyr" in Dessau-Mosigkau, must date before 1625, the year of the latter artist's death.<sup>233</sup> Brueghel's name is mentioned with four other works, once in combination with Hendrik van Balen (1575-1632).<sup>234</sup> Two other paintings by Rubens likely date from this period, a "Mars and Venus" and a painting of "The Flight of Cloelia."<sup>235</sup> Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) is represented by a "Finding of Moses."<sup>236</sup> Three more paintings with ships by Vroom appear.<sup>237</sup> Two paintings by Hendrick van Steenwijk the Younger (c. 1580-1649), who traveled to England in 1617, more likely would date from the teens.<sup>238</sup> A perspective by Bartholomeus van Bassen (c. 1590-1652), today identified with a painting dated 1624, and a perspective by Nicolaas de Gijsselaer (1583-1654/59), possibly identified with a painting dated 1625, are both of subjects of interest to the

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<sup>232</sup> Appendix I, no. 73.

<sup>233</sup> Appendix I, no. 230. Brueghel is one of only two artists whose paintings Frederik Hendrik is known to have purchased extant examples of before 1632 (the other is Van Dyck), but this work is not one of the two for which purchase is known; see Chapter Nine.

<sup>234</sup> Appendix I, nos. 60, 65, 243a, 243b. It is not possible to know if any of these references are to his son of the same name (and, thus, could be later in date). The painting executed jointly with Van Balen (no. 65) is likely the work of Jan the Elder.

<sup>235</sup> Appendix I, nos. 218 and 620, they will be discussed in further detail below. There are six total paintings by Rubens in the 1632 inventory. One almost certainly to be associated with Louise de Coligny will be discussed in Chapter Seven and two related to Frederik Hendrik will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

<sup>236</sup> Appendix I, no. 53.

<sup>237</sup> Appendix I, , nos. 56, 80, and 632.

<sup>238</sup> Appendix I, nos. 235 a, b.

mathematically inclined Maurits and they hang in close proximity to the Lastman painting, a Vroom, and two by Roelandt Saverij (1576-1639).<sup>239</sup> Another Saverij is identified with a painting bearing the date 1617.<sup>240</sup> A “Magdalene” by Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) certainly dates before 1617.<sup>241</sup> One painting of an unidentified subject of “five naked persons” by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638), though he lived well into the 1630s, likely dates to his period of greatest production earlier.<sup>242</sup> A great number of these paintings hung *op de galderije van zijne excellentie* [in the gallery of his excellency]. Though in 1632 “gallery of his excellency” referred to Frederik Hendrik, the architectural space dated to the 1620 expansion under Maurits, who preceded Frederik Hendrik in both title “Excellency” and residence at the Stadholder’s Quarters. Lastly, numerous works by Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) dated before 1625, or likely to have been executed before then, appear in the 1632 inventory.<sup>243</sup> Though Van Honthorst would become a favored artist of Frederik Hendrik, this would happen only later, and these earlier works may have arrived under Maurits (through presentation or patronage).

In addition to the preceding works recorded in the 1632 inventory, there are select works that have been associated with Maurits, and that may have been housed at Naaldwijk, Rijswijk, or another residence. Notable among them are a few

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<sup>239</sup> Appendix I, nos. 54 and 55; nos. 53-57 hang together and likely date to Maurits’s period.

<sup>240</sup> Appendix I, no. 237.

<sup>241</sup> Appendix I, no. 85.

<sup>242</sup> Appendix I, no. 78.

<sup>243</sup> Appendix I, nos. 50, 51, 66, 101, 102, 319, 611; see Appendix I.1: Artists in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory, for all the paintings by Van Honthorst.

essentially narrative paintings relating to the life of Maurits by Esaias van de Velde, who was even referred to as *Hoffschilder van Prins Mauritz* [court painter to Maurits] in an eighteenth-century Orange-Nassau inventory in which one of his landscapes is listed.<sup>244</sup> There is, however, no contemporary source to confirm this position and few extant paintings to support it. *A Landscape with a Courtly Procession before castle Abtspoel* from 1619 represents members of the court by the rural palace of Maurits's mistress Margaretha van Mechelen (c. 1581-1662) [fig. 41]. Since the painting descended through Lodewijk of Nassau (1602-1665), son of Maurits and Margaretha, it was likely a commission by someone in the immediate circle of Maurits or by the Stadholder himself.<sup>245</sup>

Though little can be said with certainty about the origin of many of the individual works seemingly in Maurits's possession, the resulting "collection" is diverse. Artists working in various styles and genres and from cities throughout the provinces (including those who had worked or would work internationally) would come to be represented. Subject matter is correspondingly diverse, though sea battles and popular mythologies (complete with naked flesh) are conspicuous. There is no unifying aesthetic preference visible in the Orange-Nassau holdings at this date, nor is

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<sup>244</sup> Drossaers, and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 2, pp. 502-521, "Inventaris van de schilderijen op het Huis Honselaarsdijk 1755-1758," p. 511, "177 Voor de schoorsteen een Plaizant Landscap, waarin een tournoyspel of campevegt tussen verscheyde ridders om een dame, welke het te paarde zittende moet aanzien, aan de andere kant vertoonde zig den vorst nevens het hoff, konstig geschildert door Esaias van den Velde, hoffschilder van prins Maurits etc., anno 1623." See also D. F. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1945), p. 281. For a general discussion of the possibility of Esaias van de Velde working for Maurits see Kloek, "Prins Maurits en de beeldende Kunst," pp. 145-146.

<sup>245</sup> George S. Keyes, *Esaias van den Velde 1587-1630* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984), pp. 123-124, cat. no. 18, which gives a full description of the setting and provenance, and offers an interpretation of the painting as a possible political allegory. See also Edwin Buijsen, *Haagse Schilders in de Gouden Eeuw: Het Hoogsteder Lexicon van alle schilders werkzaam in Den Haag 1600-1700* (Den Haag: Kunsthandel Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1998), pp. 251-252, for a discussion of a payment to Van de Velde for a "seeckere stuck schilderije voor zijn Ex[cellentie]."

there a discernable pattern of acquisition. Certain significant known acquisitions appear as gifts and they were likely not the only paintings presented to Maurits. The aesthetic and geographical diversity of the collection may indicate that many works were presented to the Stadholder-Prince by cities, organizations, or individuals who chose from among their local artists.<sup>246</sup> Maurits received gifts throughout his life from a variety of sources and it is likely that he would have received gifts after becoming Prince of Orange, though this is in large part without evidence, except in rare instances such as the enlargement of the Stadholder's Quarters or Van Wieringen's *Battle of Gibraltar*. Paintings, admittedly, are only one of a myriad of possible objects that could have been given – with silver, gold, tapestries, or horses all just as likely and each with precedent as courtly gifts.

Maurits had never seen any of the great collections of Europe. There is no record that he ever traveled beyond the immediate vicinity of the borders of the United Provinces during his adulthood. Though he could have heard of the collections of Rudolf II (1552-1612) in Prague, the expanded courtly environment of Henri IV (1553-1610) in Paris, or the collections of James I (1566-1625) and Prince Henry (1594-1612) in London, Maurits had never been to these cities, nor to Spain or Italy. He was also a generation older than the great seventeenth-century collectors in England, France, and Spain. His first-hand exposure to a true courtly environment was limited to what he could have remembered from the Palatine court at Heidelberg as a boy.

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<sup>246</sup> This certainly happened in relation to Frederik Hendrik and Amalie in 1627; see Chapter Nine.

More locally, the Elector Palatine Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart, “Winter” King and Queen of Bohemia, have been cited as examples of princely collectors for Maurits and Frederik Hendrik in The Hague.<sup>247</sup> However, their early years of exile in The Hague were ones of relative modesty compared to previous splendor in Heidelberg (or even later years in the United Provinces).<sup>248</sup> Their most prosperous period fell between the young couple’s marriage in 1613 and the devastating defeat at the Battle of White Mountain on 8 November 1620. At Heidelberg, they had a splendid courtly life. The pair’s first love was hunting, and Elizabeth was interested in all sorts of animals. They enjoyed billiards, masques, and, particularly, plays. The gardens of the Heidelberg residence were expanded extravagantly during their time there.<sup>249</sup> Friedrich V was interested in architecture. During these years in Heidelberg, however, they were comparatively modest collectors and patrons of the pictorial arts and their single most important painting, Rubens’s *Hagar and Abraham* (location unknown, formerly collection of the Duke of Westminster), was a gift from Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632) in 1619.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> For the “Winter” King and Queen generally see *Der Winterkönig Friedrich von der Pfalz: Bayern und Europa im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, ed. Peter Wolf et al. (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH, 2003).

<sup>248</sup> Willem-Jan Hoogsteder, “De Schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen,” (Doctoraalscriptie, Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijks Universiteit te Utrecht, 1986) and Willem Jan Hoogsteder, “Die Gemäldesammlung von Friedrich V. und Elizabeth am Königshof in Rhenen/Niederlande,” in *Der Winterkönig Friedrich von der Pfalz*, pp. 188-207. Friedrich V and Elizabeth will also be discussed further in Chapters Eight and Nine.

<sup>249</sup> Annette Frese, “‘Hortus Palatinus’ – Der Garten Friedrichs V. und Salomon de Caus. Locus amoenus und Ort Fürstlicher Repräsentation,” in *Der Winterkönig Friedrich von der Pfalz*, pp. 83-93.

<sup>250</sup> Elizabeth wrote to thank Carleton for the gift, which, though Friedrich V and Elizabeth’s best picture, was the cheapest of the paintings Carleton had recently received from Rubens in a trade for his collection of antiquities; Hoogsteder, “De Schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen,” p. 41 and 197-199. The work appears in the 1633 inventory of the royal couple’s palace at Rhenen. See also Robert Hill, “Ambassadors and Art Collecting in Early Stuart Britain: The

After the defeat in 1620, Friedrich V lost not only the Bohemian kingdom but, soon after, his lands in the Palatine and his splendid palace at Heidelberg. The exiled Bohemian couple were welcomed in The Hague by Friedrich V's uncle, Maurits, who supported Friedrich V's campaigns in the German territories. The Bohemian couple set up a court in The Hague (and another palace at Rhenen) that was much more limited than their lifestyle in Heidelberg, and they were dependent on the generosity of the Orange-Nassau and especially Stuarts for its upkeep.<sup>251</sup> Friedrich V spent much of the next decade until his early death in 1632 engaged in his primary responsibility of regaining the Palatinate and either on campaign or trying to gain support for the Protestant cause. Their incomes were severely curtailed and the earliest years of their tenure in The Hague were marked by limited involvement with the visual arts, though paintings from the collection in Heidelberg did arrive in the provinces in 1622 and they too received gifts of paintings.<sup>252</sup> It was only later in the decade that paintings played a greater role in their courtly life. The arrival of Friedrich V and Elizabeth was too late to have had a serious effect on Maurits.

A more likely possible influence is Sir Dudley Carleton, who was also influential for Elizabeth Stuart in the visual arts. Carleton was King James I's ambassador to The Hague from 1616 to 1625 as well as a member of the Dutch *Raad*

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Parallel Careers of William Trumbull and Sir Dudley Carleton, 1609-1625," *Journal of the History of Collections* 15, no. 2 (2003), p. 219.

<sup>251</sup> For the Bohemian couple in exile see, Simon Groenveld, "König ohne Staat: Friedrich V. und Elizabeth als Exilierte in Den Haag 1621 – 1632 – 1661," in *Der Winterkönig Friedrich von der Pfalz*, pp. 162-187.

<sup>252</sup> A painting by Vroom of the *Arrival of Friedrich V and Elizabeth at Vlissingen* commemorated their arrival in the Netherlands in 1613 and was likely a gift of the States in 1623 on the ten-year anniversary of their wedding and the celebrated event. Hoogsteder, "De Schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen," p. 219; see also p. 46 for the possibility of numerous other works as gifts.

*van State* [Council of State], and in frequent and direct contact with Maurits. Before his arrival as ambassador he already had political experience in Spain, France, and Italy, and he had recently become active in artistic circles as a collector, patron, agent, and correspondent with artists and collectors alike.<sup>253</sup> He was involved with the collecting activities of James I, Charles (later I, 1600-1649), the Earls of Somerset (Robert Carr, c. 1587-1645), Pembroke (William Herbert, 1580-1630) and Arundel (Thomas Howard, 1585-1646), and the Duke of Buckingham (George Villiers, 1592-1628). While in Venice with Arundel in 1613, Carleton realized the importance of art collecting within courtly and political environments. He assembled a collection of paintings and antique sculpture by 1615 destined for Somerset and sent to England; it was the largest shipment of art from Italy to England in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>254</sup> Due to Somerset's fall from political favor, Carleton was left with this enormous consignment. The paintings were sold in England (the bulk to Arundel) and the sculptures sent to The Hague. There, they were on view and much admired, particularly by Dutch artists, before they were traded to Rubens in 1618.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Robert Hill, "Ambassadors and Art Collecting in Early Stuart Britain: The Parallel Careers of William Trumbull and Sir Dudley Carleton, 1609-1625," pp. 211-238; idem., "Sir Dudley Carleton and his Relations with Dutch Artists 1616-1632," in *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain, 1550-1800*, ed. Juliette Roding et al., Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, vol. 13 (2003) (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), pp. 255-274; idem., "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney, Studies in British Art, vol. 12 (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp. 240-255.

<sup>254</sup> Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," pp. 243-245.

<sup>255</sup> Peter Paul Rubens, *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents Épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 6 vols., ed. Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens (Antwerp, 1887-1909), vol. 2, p. 167; Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 23 May 1618: "I am now saying to my Antiquities *Veteres migrate coloni* ["Be gone old tenants" (from Virgil's *Eclogues*, 9:4)] having past a contract w<sup>th</sup> Rubens the famous painter of Antwerp for a sute of tapistrie and certaine number of his pictures, w<sup>ch</sup> is a goode bargaine for us both, onely I am blamed by the painters of this country who made ydoles of these heads and statuas, but all others commend the change." *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, trans. Ruth Saunders Magurn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. Reprint. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 68; 1 June 1618 to Carleton in The Hague: "I have just received the

In return for the ancient sculptures, Carleton received Brussels tapestries and Rubens's own paintings, which were not his first by the Antwerp master.<sup>256</sup> Carleton also acquired Italian paintings from Venice during this period, so that in a very short time by 1618, Carleton assembled the greatest collection of art in the country.<sup>257</sup>

Maurits and the entire court would have been familiar with Carleton's collection. The Stadholder made his first visit to Carleton in 1616, shortly after Carleton's arrival in The Hague, and numerous subsequent visits are recorded, particularly late in 1618 at which point Rubens's paintings would have arrived at the ambassador's home.<sup>258</sup> Carleton's letters, however, do not comment on Maurits's reaction, if any, to Carleton's collection, though the ambassador was highly regarded by the Stadholder.<sup>259</sup>

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marbles today." For the contents of the collection, see Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), especially pp. 82-87, 151-152.

<sup>256</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 62; to Dudley Carleton, 12 May 1618: "If you will believe me, you will take that Hunt which is on the list, which I will make as good as the one Your Excellency already has by my hand."

<sup>257</sup> J.G. van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 3 (1950-1951), p. 131: "was met één slag een collectie gevormd, zoals zich op dat moment geen tweede in Holland bevond." Carleton received numerous shipments from the painter Daniel Nijs, resident in Venice from 1616 into the 1620s, of Venetian pictures, variously intended for immediate sale, sent directly to England, coming to The Hague, and even seemingly destined for Carleton himself; see Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," pp. 249-250. Huygens, *Journal van de reis naar Venetië*, p. 151, describes his 1 July 1620 visit to Nijs's collection, the only detailed discussion of art during his more than two weeks in Venice.

<sup>258</sup> Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 9, 29 March 1616; p. 237, 21 January 1618; p. 281-282, 19 August 1618: "The prince of Orange and the count William, both coming in company to visit me now I am writing (and about them besides their own train, great numbers of people even to my very door),... I have had a visit this morning likewise of count Henry, who came to me as solitarily as his brother was well accompanied."; and p. 305, 12 October 1618: "The prince of Orange coming to me while the greffier [Aerssen] was with me (and this is the third visit I have had from him within the space of a week)..."

<sup>259</sup> Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 277, William Colwall to Carleton (then briefly in London), 8 August 1618: "That the prince of Orange, count William, and others of note, and abundance of the good commons, wished earnestly for the arrival of Dudley Carleton."

Carleton knew the art of Europe and of the artists of his resident Netherlands. Upon his appointment there, he expressly made visits throughout the country and acquainted himself with artists and their works.<sup>260</sup> He visited Antwerp and met Rubens, knew Fransz. Pieter de Grebber (1573-1649) and his son Pieter (c. 1600-1652/54), and he had known Hendrick Goltzius. He had his portrait painted by Van Mierevelt.<sup>261</sup> Carleton commissioned works by Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and Rubens. In 1621, he dealt again with Rubens, who (allowing for some appropriate flattery) said of the Ambassador: "I do not know how to say more, nor how to submit myself more completely to the pleasure of this gentleman whom I esteem much more than anyone would believe."<sup>262</sup> Carleton knew Van Honthorst and provided reference to his first recorded work after he returned from Italy, an *Aeneas* for Lord Arundel in England.<sup>263</sup> His knowledge of Van Honthorst so shortly after his return indicates that Carleton was at the forefront of artistic awareness on a local level in addition to his extensive experience with international art. He was at the center of the exchange of paintings as political and courtly gifts between Antwerp, Heidelberg, London, Italy, and The Hague. He was also a collector himself, and he was in direct contact with

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<sup>260</sup> Christopher White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collections of her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. xx-xxi; Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," p. 249.

<sup>261</sup> For a copy of the 1624 bill of Van Mierevelt for various portraits and copies ordered by Carleton see Hill, "Ambassadors and Art Collecting in Early Stuart Britain: The Parallel Careers of William Trumbull and Sir Dudley Carleton, 1609-1625," pp. 223-224, Appendix III.

<sup>262</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 76; to William Trumbull, 26 January 1621.

<sup>263</sup> The *Aeneas* (untraced) was a gift from Carleton to Arundel; see Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," p. 251. In addition to this gift and the work sent to Elizabeth in 1619, Carleton would also present gifts of art to James I and Buckingham; see Hill, "Ambassadors and Art Collecting in Early Stuart Britain: The Parallel Careers of William Trumbull and Sir Dudley Carleton, 1609-1625," pp. 220-221.

Maurits during the final ten years of the Stadholder's life. More so than any domestic artist or advisor, Carleton knew local and international art and its role within a courtly environment.

Carleton's contact with Rubens shows the great courtly artist eager to establish and maintain relationships with powerful patrons, at which he would be particularly successful, working for the courts in Madrid, Paris, London, and Brussels. Specifically related to the exchange of courtly and political gifts is an intriguing passage in a 1620 letter by Rubens:

As for that rascal you mention, I shall abide by your advice, for fear of committing some blunder for the future. I would not like to throw away my things on one who does not deserve them; on the other hand to offer little to a personage of this rank *esset contumeliae proximum* [would be the height of contempt].<sup>264</sup>

While the "rascal" has been interpreted as Maurits's secretary Jacob Junius (d. 1645), the "personage of this rank" would not be a reference to the secretary but his employer, Maurits.<sup>265</sup> Given the posited dates before 1620 of many Rubens paintings listed in the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory and the unknown circumstances of their acquisition, this possibility is particularly intriguing. There are three Rubens paintings, mentioned above, which appear in the 1632 inventory and may correspond to Maurits's final years, the charged political environment of the day, the expiration of the Truce, and the reconstruction of the Stadholder's Quarters.

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<sup>264</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 74; to Pieter van Veen, 11 March 1620.

<sup>265</sup> Magurn in *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 445.

Rubens's *Mars and Venus* hung in Noordeinde [fig. 42].<sup>266</sup> Nothing of its acquisition is known. In the 1632 inventory it hung as a mantelpiece, and thus prime decoration, in a gilt-leather room called the *nieuwe sael* [new room].<sup>267</sup> What exactly is meant by "new room" is not certain, since Noordeinde went through no major known renovations in the period preceding 1632, but it does admit the possibility that the painting was only recently installed there. *Mars and Venus* dates before 1620 and was a large and consequential painting.<sup>268</sup> The subject is traditional and widespread. Most generally, such a subject is about the power of love, able to tame the aggressive and war-like spirit; further, as war is in abeyance, peace results. As such it may carry various meanings for lovers, warriors, or (more simply) knowledgeable persons, and the relative ubiquity of the theme in early modern painting prohibits firm association with any one person or idea. The explicit theme of love, and the corresponding naked flesh, brings the work in line with numerous paintings of Venus and Cupid in the Orange-Nassau collection and the tentatively stated preference of Maurits for such images. He was also a military commander, however, and the posited date around 1620 suggests an eirenic interpretation. As such, it would also be an appropriate gift from a politically connected Southern Netherlandish painter to the leader of an opposing nation in the period leading up to the expiration of the Truce.

Another Rubens painting recorded in the 1632 inventory that may be associated with the years c. 1618-1620 is likewise specifically related to the political

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<sup>266</sup> Appendix I, no. 620. Another, unattributed, *Mars and Venus* surrounded by the implements of war hung in the Stadholder's Quarters, Appendix I, no. 254.

<sup>267</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 207. The room had only one other painting, an overdoor.

<sup>268</sup> Van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende Eeuw," p. 115.

environment of the day, *The Flight of Cloelia*.<sup>269</sup> The subject is taken from Plutarch (or Livy) and tells of a virtuous Roman noblewoman named Cloelia.<sup>270</sup> She and her maidens comprised a group of hostages voluntarily sent by the Romans to the Etruscan king Lars Porsena. They escaped by fleeing to freedom across the river Tiber only to be sent a second time to Porsena. In recognition of Cloelia's bravery, and showing great magnanimity, Porsena allowed Cloelia to go free and presented her with the gift of a horse. Cloelia was subsequently celebrated in Roman history for her actions as a great example of virtue and bravery for the cause of freedom.

There are at least four versions variously attributed to Rubens and his workshop or followers, Berlin (destroyed) [fig. 43], Dessau [fig. 44], Dresden [fig. 45] and Paris [fig. 46]. The date of execution of the four Rubens paintings varies with opinions about each version's attribution but the late 1610s have been posited for Rubens's original conception and execution. The paintings in Dessau and Paris are smaller versions of, respectively, the Berlin and Dresden works, thus minimally arguing for the precedence of the latter. The painting in Berlin has been most often associated with the 1632 inventory entry; that link is not certain, however, and provenance does not trace any of the works directly back to 1632. Later in the

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<sup>269</sup> Appendix I, no. 218.

<sup>270</sup> Plutarch and Livy, two sources of the Cloelia story, both appeared in the 1608 inventory of Maurits's library. Chroust, "Die Bibliothek des Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," pp. 14 and 20; Wiekart, *De Bibliotheek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau*, pp. 43 and 47; Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library*, pp. 321 and 415, cat. nos. 1385 and 2004, 2005 (Von Dohna 1 and 274).

seventeenth century, the Orange-Nassau owned two versions of the subject by Rubens (or his workshop) recorded in inventories of 1668, 1673, 1676, and 1713.<sup>271</sup>

There is no indication that the 1632 Orange-Nassau version was necessarily Rubens's first version of the subject and even its autograph status was in question as early as the 1632 inventory, in which it was listed as "*door Rubbens off Van Dijk gedaen*" [done by Rubens or Van Dyck]. It is also not known when or how it entered the Orange-Nassau collection.

As early as 1619, the poet Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581-1647) saw a painting of Cloelia by Rubens in The Hague and composed five brief epigrams on the subject, "*op Rubens schilderij der swemmende Maeghden*" [on Rubens's painting of the swimming Maidens].<sup>272</sup> They are the first record of a version of the subject and an early recognition of its meaning within the particular historical environment. It has been thought that Hooft saw, and was inspired by, the same version recorded in 1632 in the Stadholder's Quarters but the language of his notes accompanying the poems

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<sup>271</sup> For details on these versions see Appendix I, no. 218 and Elizabeth McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, 2 vols., Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, vol. 13 (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 246-257, cat. nos. 47, 48, and 48b. McGrath lists the relevant provenance for the four versions and none is unbroken from 1632 until the present, though the Paris version can be traced back directly to Willem III of Orange-Nassau, who moved it from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo in 1696. In the 1676 division of Amalie's estate, a "Clelia" was valued at 2600fl, going to Maria (in 1676), and then later to her sister Albertine Agnes (in 1688) and then to her sister Henrietta Catherine (about 1696). This painting has almost always been associated with the Berlin version. Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century there were two versions by Rubens or his followers in the Orange-Nassau collection. The Berlin version is the largest of the four and far larger than any other mantelpiece in the Orange-Nassau collection by Rubens or any other artist. For this reason, it has been doubted that the Berlin version was in the Stadholder's Quarters in 1632; J. G. van Gelder, "Rubens Marginalia IV," *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981), p. 545 and note 10.

<sup>272</sup> Hessel Miedema, "De Tiber en de Zwemmende Maagden: Een Afknapper," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19 (1968), 133-155. The final poem was published in 1636 under the following title: "Op de swemmende Roomsche maeghden, by den Heere Pieter Rubens, geschildert."

leaves this open to some doubt; it is also possible that the poems were based on a painting of the subject in the house of the “Ambassadors of Sweden.”<sup>273</sup>

Hooft’s fourth and fifth poems address the meaning of the Cloelia story as a virtuous *exemplum*. In the fourth version, the struggle of the maidens swimming against the Tiber’s strong current becomes the subject. More clearly in the fifth and final version, this struggle is explicitly for the cause of freedom, for which the maidens risk their lives. These last two versions include a translation of the Latin motto *In via virtuti nulla est via* [*Geen wegh is ongebaent voor vroomheid*; To virtue, no way is barred].<sup>274</sup> The struggle of the Roman maidens against the Tiber is for the cause of freedom and it is their virtue that allows success. Despite the fact that Cloelia’s name is never mentioned in the poems, it is her story that inspires Hooft and that embodies the concepts at which his final poem arrives.

With great economy in the fifth poem, Hooft captures the essence of the Cloelia story: “To virtue no way is barred, so the maidens / we learn, against the

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<sup>273</sup> Miedema, “De Tiber en de Zwemmende Maagden: Een Afknapper,” p. 138-139. The poems are handwritten in Hooft’s *rijmkladboek* [rhyme sketchbook] and preceded by the phrase: “Int huis des Ambassadeurs van Sweeden inden Haeghe voor de schouwe staen dese dichten...[then the poems]...Die ick dus overset.” The “staen” could conceivably be “staan” (to stand, to be) or intended as a compound “schouwe staen” of which the modern equivalent is “schoorsteen” (chimney). Miedema, p. 139, states that Hooft copied or transferred [*heeft overgeschreven*] the poems in the “Ambassadors’ house,” his presence in which is used as proof that Hooft visited The Hague; that the poems are most likely based on the painting in the Stadholder’s Quarters; and that the dates of the poems confirm the painting’s presence in the Orange-Nassau possession shortly after its execution. Alternatively, the poems may have been written (originally) in the house of the “Ambassadors of Sweden,” in front of a version of the painting there, as the line in the rhyme sketchbooks may indicate. It is even possible that they are one and the same painting – that a version Hooft might have seen in the “Ambassadors’” house in 1619 entered the Orange-Nassau collection sometime between then and 1632.

<sup>274</sup> The Latin appears only in the English summary of Miedema’s article and not in the article proper, Miedema, “De Tiber en de Zwemmende Maagden: Een Afknapper,” p. 155, nor does Miedema mention the origin of this phrase in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (book 14, line 113), where it is spoken by the Cumaean Sybil to Aeneas.

current, risked their lives for freedom.”<sup>275</sup> Cloelia was celebrated in Roman history for this very action as one of the greatest examples of virtue and bravery. Her exploit and example rate with those of Mucius Scaevola and Horatius Cocles. The broken bridge in the background of the Dresden picture may even be a symbolic reference to Horatius who held a bridge over the Tiber, single-handedly fighting off the Etruscans, until his companions could destroy the bridge (thus preventing the advance of the enemy) at which time Horatius jumped into the Tiber and swam to safety.<sup>276</sup>

The paintings, poems, and story of Cloelia and her maiden companions are celebrations not only of individual bravery and virtue but also patriotic dedication and the importance of freedom. It is here that the subject takes on its most topical meaning. Cloelia and the Roman maidens are ancient equivalents and symbolic personifications of the United Provinces. The Lek, Waal, and Maas rivers, which provided the general (if shifting) boundary between the Northern and Southern Netherlands, replaced the allegorical Tiber. The lands above and below (north and south) of the rivers were a symbolic reference to the divided Netherlandish territories and the crossing of them led the maiden provinces to the freedom of the Dutch north. The paintings are clear, informed, vibrant, classical allusions to the struggle for

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<sup>275</sup> Miedema, “De Tiber en de Zwemmende Maagden: Een Afknapper,” p. 153: “Geen wegh is ongebaent voor vroomheid, soo de maeghden / Ons leeren, die op stroom, haer lijf on vrijheid waeghden.”

<sup>276</sup> McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, vol. 2, p. 253, recognizes this motif and its potential meaning, stating: “For the collapsed bridge to the left is no gratuitous ruin, but alludes to the fact that Cloelia’s escape took place just after the heroic feat of Horatius (to which Cloelia’s deed was compared by many ancient writers and according to Livy by Lars Porsenna himself).” McGrath discusses the quality and characteristics of the Dresden version (pp. 252-253) as a painting with many relevant and thoughtful details, which include not only the ruined bridge but also the most complete representation of Romulus, Remus, and the she-wolf, as well as the pursuing band of soldiers. As McGrath states: “for this composition, astonishing indeed as an illustration of ancient Roman *virtus*, can nevertheless – or perhaps for this very reason – be seen as a characteristic product of Rubens’s imagination” (p. 252). All the details of the Dresden version, more so than any other, favor considering it stemming from the mind, if not the brush, of Rubens.

liberty of the United Provinces. This was why numerous versions of the subject existed in the Netherlands, and the Orange-Nassau collection specifically.

Should it, however, be a surprise that such a painting would be executed by Rubens who, as *pictor doctus*, would certainly have known the story behind the image he provided and understood its significance as an allegory of freedom, the freedom of the enemy of his nation and patrons? Rubens's artistic career, however, saw him celebrate the greatness of sovereigns, regents, courts, and nations throughout Europe and including enemies, without prejudice. Furthermore, the ancient story does not reflect negatively on the Etruscans or their leader Lars Porsena and consequently on Spain and Philip III (1578-1621) or Philip IV (1605-1665).

The story is such a prized *exemplum* because of the universal virtues, civility, and peace it embodies and promotes. Lars Porsena and the Etruscans are far from villainous in this story. Thus, it is an allegory that does not pit the virtue of one side against the villainy of the other but in elevated fashion is exemplary on all sides of the positive noble qualities of humanity, its yearning for freedom, the respect for and recognition of valor, and the peaceful and humane resolution to potentially offensive actions. Seen in this light, it is a truly great story and an ideal allegorical application to contemporary events, specifically pertinent as the Twelve Years Truce was drawing to a close.

The content of such a Cloelia painting sets it apart from the majority of paintings in the 1632 inventory or Orange-Nassau possession. There are, however, two other serial works of art from the period with very specific meanings: the *Twelve Emperors Series* of paintings and a suite of "Hero" tapestries. The *Twelve Emperors*

*Series* does not appear in the 1632 inventory but has long been associated with the Orange-Nassau and dates between 1618 and 1625 (Schloss Caputh, formerly Jagdschloss Grunewald).<sup>277</sup> It consists of twelve individual paintings of the first twelve Roman emperors, whose lives were recounted by Suetonius; each emperor is depicted bust-length, alone against a dark background; and each is executed by a different Netherlandish artist, both Northern and Southern. The figures appear life-size and on a scale that fills their individual painted surfaces. Most emperors are crowned with laurel wreaths and dressed in some type of armor with a mantle in a shade of red clasped around their shoulders. Two profiles and one frontal view join the remaining three-quarter poses, while variety is added by the incline or turn of the head and posture. Some faces have great character and many works plainly bear the stylistic mark of their maker. The attributions to (at least) three works in the series are debated, and some of the other signatures and dates may be false. The twelve paintings are as follows: *Julius Caesar*, Peter Paul Rubens, 1619 [fig. 47]; *Augustus*, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, 1622 [fig. 48]; *Tiberius*, Gerard Seghers (1591-1651), 1625 [fig. 49]; *Caligula*, Werner van den Valckert (c. 1580-after 1627), 1621 [fig. 50]; *Claudius*, Hendrik ter Brugghen (c. 1588-1629), 1622 [fig. 51]; *Nero*, Abraham Janssen (1570-1632), 1618 [fig. 52]; *Galba*, Paulus Moreelse, 1618 [fig. 53]; *Otho*, Gerrit van Honthorst(?) [fig. 54]; *Vitellius*, Hendrik Goltzius/Joachim Wtewael(?) [fig. 55]; *Vespasian*, Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt, 1625 [fig. 56]; *Titus*,

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<sup>277</sup> The *Twelve Emperor Series* has been the focus of two studies: Rudolf Oldenbourg, "Die niederländischen Imperatorenbilder im Königlichen Schlosse zu Berlin," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 38 (1917), pp. 203-12; Peter van Duinen, "Keizers in de Republiek. een serie Romeinse keizerportretten door twaalf Nederlandse schilders (c. 1615-c. 1625)" (Doctoraalscriptie kunstgeschiedenis, Faculteit der letteren, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, juni 1989).

Dirck van Baburen (c. 1594/95-1624), 1622 [fig. 57]; *Domitian*, Abraham Bloemaert(?) [fig. 58].

The execution of a series of the twelve Roman emperors is by no means unique. In the early modern period numerous powerful figures in diverse European lands commissioned such series in a variety of media, part of a courtly tradition in which prominent patrons memorialize historic royalty, with implied personal associations of greatness. To commission a series of the Twelve Emperors was to align oneself with the great rulers of the past. It was a form of propaganda, with a strong undercurrent of historical awareness and humanist learning, implying that the patron was familiar with *The Twelve Caesars* by the second-century A.D. Roman writer and historian Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus.

Today in Schloss Caputh, the paintings have been part of the Prussian art collections since the seventeenth century and, though not always displayed together, have always constituted a series. Before 1680, nothing is known about the series, including its origins.<sup>278</sup> Circumstantial evidence of their provenance and scholarly tradition supports a connection to the Orange-Nassau.<sup>279</sup> It has been referred to as noteworthy and the first commission of Frederik Hendrik, whose responsibility was

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<sup>278</sup> A series of mezzotints of the paintings was made by the artist Johann Friedrich Leonart, who died in 1680. Originally from the Southern Netherlands, he worked in Berlin where it is thought he made the prints near the end of his life. See, among others, Leonard J. Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen: A Dutch Painter in Utrecht and Rome* (Utrecht, 1965), p. 90, note 135. In 1698, the paintings were definitively recorded in the Prussian collections, see Joneath A. Spicer and Lynn Federle Orr, eds., *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht During the Golden Age* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums; Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1997), p. 216, cat. 28, and p. 418, note 9: "Inventarium" 1698, fol. 23.

<sup>279</sup> Van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," p. 134, states that the Twelve Emperors "komen zo goed als zeker uit het bezit van de Oranje's, maar helaas zijn over de aankoop geen documenten bewaard."

widely posited.<sup>280</sup> Subsequently, the assumed role of Frederik Hendrik was questioned, noting that the beginning of the series was too early for him.<sup>281</sup>

Remaining within the House of Orange-Nassau, this reasoning led to the consideration of Maurits's responsibility for the series; and this possibility is now acknowledged.<sup>282</sup>

Such a series would have been executed on commission, a commission that spanned eight years, from 1618-1625.<sup>283</sup> The fact that artists such as Van Baburen, Seghers, and possibly Van Honthorst were included, though they were in Italy when the series seems to have been conceived around 1618, is indicative of its evolving nature. The series presents a veritable catalog of famous painters and major centers of contemporary painting: Antwerp, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Delft, and Utrecht, with the last predominating. It has plausibly been remarked that the chosen artists are linked in numerous master-student relationships and provide genealogies for the

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<sup>280</sup> F. W. Hudig, *Frederik Hendrik en de Kunst van zijn Tijd* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1928), p. 10: "De eerste opdracht, die met hem [Frederik Hendrik] in verband gebracht wordt, is al merkwaardig genoeg."

<sup>281</sup> H. Braun, "Gerard und Willem van Honthorst" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1966), p. 169: "Für Frederik Hendrik von Oranien liegt der Beginn der Serie (1618) zu früh."

<sup>282</sup> Recent literature is turning in favor of Maurits's role. The small guide books for Jagdschloss Grunewald and Schloss Caputh are brief indicators of the change from Frederik Hendrik to Maurits: Börsch-Supan, *Hunting Lodge Grunewald*, third edition (1988), p. 48, probably painted for Prince Frederick Henry of Orange"; and in contrast, about the time the emperors were moved from Jagdschloss Grunewald to Schloss Caputh, the revised opinion in, *Schloss und Park Caputh* (Potsdam, 2002), "vermutlich für den Statthalter der Niederlande, Prinz Moritz von Oranien."

<sup>283</sup> If the *Vitellius* is by Goltzius, which is not universally accepted, it must date before 1617. This early date does not change the fact that the series, conceived as such, dates from the years 1618 and after; an extant painting could have been added, through purchase or prior ownership, to a series later conceived as such. This was quite reasonably cautioned by Oldenbourg, "Die niederländischen Imperatorenbilder im Königlichen Schlosse zu Berlin," p. 205. Goltzius had already executed a single emperor, now untraced, that was sold in Brussels in 1865, see Larry Nichols, "The Paintings of Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1617)," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss. Columbia University, 1990), vol. 2, p. 286, cat. no. C-81: "Portrait of a Roman Emperor." Further, the *Vitellius* looks different from the remaining eleven images, without red mantle and slightly smaller in scale.

diverse schools of painting represented and that it is possible that such relationships helped facilitate the commissions.<sup>284</sup>

Although the series was predominantly executed by artists from the Northern Netherlands, celebrated Southern Netherlanders also contributed to it. Peter Paul Rubens (or his workshop) painted *Julius Caesar*, one of the first, dated 1619.<sup>285</sup> Given Rubens's importance, it is logical that he was among the earliest approached. Further, as first Caesar in the series and one of the most famous men in all of antiquity, it was a fitting point of honor that Rubens is chosen to depict Julius Caesar. Abraham Janssen, Rubens's fellow Antwerp citizen, was also seemingly one of the first artists approached, as his contribution is one of the earliest, 1618. Janssen's *Nero* and Rubens's *Julius Caesar* are also two of the works in the series that bear a resemblance to ancient images. Rubens was the celebrated, learned antiquarian painter, with extensive Italian experience and great familiarity with ancient statuary, coins, medals, and gems. He had already executed a painted series of emperors and would do so again in the 1620s.<sup>286</sup> In 1618/1619, he would also have been in recent and direct personal contact with antique sculpture, when the extensive collection of

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<sup>284</sup> Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, p. 90.

<sup>285</sup> The signature and date on the *Julius Caesar* have been considered false. Even the authenticity of the work has been questioned in favor of a studio work or another artist. Kloek, "Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst," p.145 and pp. 460-461, note 49, offers an attribution of the *Julius Caesar* to Jacques de Gheyn II, who Kloek suggests may also have served as *auctour intellectualis* of the series. Autograph or not, Michael Jaffé, "Rubens's Roman Emperors," *The Burlington Magazine* 113, no. 819 (June 1971), p. 300, referred to the *Julius Caesar* as "magnificent," and regardless of the authenticity of the inscription, the date of 1619 is acceptable for either Rubens or his studio.

<sup>286</sup> Jaffé, "Rubens's Roman Emperors."

ancient statuary from Sir Dudley Carleton arrived on 1 June 1618.<sup>287</sup> Thus, during precisely the period of execution, newly acquired antique inspiration and possible sources were available on which, in addition to his own source material, Rubens, and perhaps Janssen too, could base their images.<sup>288</sup>

These two works constitute the only contribution by artists based south of the rivers.<sup>289</sup> Both were executed before the expiration of the Twelve Years Truce. The resumption of hostilities and the corresponding change in political climate may have been responsible for a shift in artistic focus of the series. All remaining works after 1621 are executed in the north. If a hypothetical Antwerp focus was planned and had to be abandoned due to politics, recent and celebrated artists returning from Italy and sufficient famous “Dutch” artists were available to complete the series. At least four, and possibly six, of the works (Ter Brugghen, Van Baburen, Cornelis, and Van den Valckert as well as possibly Van Honthorst and Bloemaert) date from the time directly succeeding the end of the Twelve Years Truce. Of them, Van den Valckert, a portraitist (who gives the only frontal view) is a slightly puzzling selection in the company of so many history painters. This would be a more striking exception were

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<sup>287</sup> *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 68; to Dudley Carleton, 1 June 1618: “I have just received the marbles today.” For the contents of the collection, see Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, pp. 82-87, 151-152.

<sup>288</sup> Helmut Börsch-Supan, *450 Jahre Jagdschloß Grünewald 1542-1992*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Schlösser und Gärten, 1992), vol. 2 (*Aus der Gemäldesammlung*), p. 30, recognizes, as have others, the resemblance of Janssen’s *Nero* to antique statues and states: “Dem Nero-Porträt liegt vermutlich eine antike Büste des Kaisers in den Uffizien in Florenz zugrunde.” The Carleton collection also included a bust of Nero (see Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, p. 83), which would have been a more immediate possible source for Janssen, in addition to perhaps a source drawn from Janssen or Rubens’s own experience. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, pp. 82-83, with a list of the Carleton sculptures, including “testa di” “Neron” and “Giulio Cesare.”

<sup>289</sup> The Seghers *Tiberius*, though by a Southern Netherlandish artist, likely dates from c. 1625 and thus while he was working in Utrecht in the orbit of Van Honthorst between 1624 and 1626; Van Duinen, “Keizers in de Republiek,” p. 34 and 61, note 134: D. Roggen en H. Pauwels, “Het Caravaggistisch oeuvre van Gerard Zegers,” *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis*, 16 (1955-56), p. 268.

it not for Van Mierevelt, who delivers a powerful work (if based on an image of the wrong emperor), *Vespasian* in 1625, one of the last of the series.

The choice of Utrecht artists for the *Twelve Emperors Series* is also of consequence as Utrecht was the first major center where Maurits, as Prince of Orange, consolidated his political power and which provided a basis for future support. Paulus Moreelse was placed on the Utrecht town council after Maurits disbanded the Utrecht militia and instituted a new loyal governing body. That such an artist should be favored with one of the very first in a series of commissions is a likely possibility, and he provides one of the first dated works in the series.<sup>290</sup>

Joachim Wtewael (1566-1638) was also politically loyal to Maurits and his apparent exclusion from a series with such a prominent Utrecht contribution therefore becomes admittedly more unusual, unless he is the artist responsible for the *Vitellius*.<sup>291</sup>

The individual works date from the period of Maurits's greatest power, and the crucial rise to Prince of Orange is the defining impetus for this series. The *Twelve Emperors Series* makes manifest visually at the moment of his greatest political control, 1618-1625, Maurits's power, station, and ambition. With such a series,

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<sup>290</sup> This was suggested in 1965 by Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, p. 90-91, and note 138, though the connection to political events that it posits has only been mentioned further by Gaetgens in *Masters of Light*, p. 216. Moreelse did work for the greater noble circle of the Orange-Nassau at precisely this time. Ernst-Casimir van Nassau-Dietz (1573-1632), a full cousin of Maurits, and after 1610 Lieutenant-Governor of Utrecht, and his wife Sophia Hedwig von Braunschweig-Wolffenbüttel (1592-1642) both had their portraits executed by Moreelse, in 1612 and 1611, as did her brother Duke Christian van Braunschweig and Lüneberg in Wolffenbüttel and Callenberg (1599-1626) in 1619. Moreelse also painted an allegorical portrait of *Sophia Hedwig as Charity with her Children*. For the works, see Eric Nicolai Domela Nieuwenhuis Nyegaard, "Paulus Moreelse 1571-1638," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 49-50, 108, and vol. 2, pp. 367-368, 372-374, 399-401, 416-417.

<sup>291</sup> Slatkes, *Dirck van Baburen*, p. 90, note. 136: "but the *Vitellius* attributed to Goltzius by Oldenbourg is certainly not by the Haarlem artist... Stylistically the *Vitellius* comes extremely close to the work of Wtewael around the year 1618." Braun, "Gerard und Willem van Honthorst," p. 170, considers the *Vitellius* "eine charakteristische Arbeit von Wtewael (früher fälschlich Goltzius zugeschrieben)."

Maurits is announcing to his court, nation, and all its visitors that, after 1618, he is no longer simply a member of an aristocratic house and a general, but a sovereign Prince, supreme commander of a military, head of state, and the leader of a nation (a nation in the process of establishing a worldwide empire). That he was not officially head of state is part of the desired propagandistic effect. His recent actions made it appear that he intended to be, and such a commission would serve to make this plainly visible. Maurits was, through association with past emperors, aligning himself with greatness and announcing his position as equal to contemporary rulers throughout Europe.<sup>292</sup>

The series takes on added significance within a republican political *milieu*. While the Twelve Emperors may be a pervasive type in the early modern era, it is this series' position within a republic that makes it a unique example. Although officially a republic, the provinces were now run as a monarchy with authority vested completely in one individual. The impetus, for propaganda and power, is not with the position of Stadholder, but with the position of Prince, the sovereign, individual, hereditary ruler, and not the ephemeral, subjective, appointed position of Stadholder.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> While Albrecht of Austria, Archduke of the Spanish Netherlands was making claims to the Imperial throne around 1610, a sculpted series of the Twelve Emperors was executed to decorate his grotto in Brussels to visually promote his claim through imperial imagery; Kaufmann, "Archduke Albrecht as an Austrian Habsburg and Prince of the Empire," p. 16. Later in the century, sculpted busts of the Twelve Emperors would be incorporated into the decoration of Frederik Hendrik's palaces at Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuburg; Sellers, "Garden Architecture in the Netherlands: The Gardens of Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647)," p. 258.

<sup>293</sup> Van Duinen, "Keizers in de Republiek," p. 23, recognizes that as a form of propaganda the series would be more appropriate to Maurits (than Frederik Hendrik), but misses the vital accession to the principality of Orange.

The *Twelve Emperors Series* is a serial undertaking that relates to Maurits's interest in antiquity and it serves a propagandistic purpose. If, thus, it is seen as a logical continuation of Maurits's artistic activity in terms of its function and content, it is a notable departure in terms of the artistic means employed to achieve the desired ends. Though the theme would certainly be known to Maurits, the series exhibits an approach to patronage that is informed, current, locally familiar, and internationally aware. Prior to the *Twelve Emperor Series* in 1618, the apparent patronage of Maurits is not only domestic in nature but also predominantly local: Daniel van den Queborn (1552/57-1604/07), Hans Jordaens I (c. 1555-1630), Jacques de Gheyn II, and Jan van Ravesteyn (1572-1657).<sup>294</sup> Though the majority of the painters who provided an Emperor are "Dutch," Maurits's turning to Utrecht, Haarlem, Amsterdam, and, further, Antwerp, represents a significant change from the apparent reliance on artists in Delft and The Hague. Thus, the *Twelve Emperor Series*, while traditional in subject and rather static in appearance, represents an expansion in the very conception of an artistic enterprise. The influx of material possessions from the estate of Filips Willem may have provided an example of the type of courtly display possible and an impetus for similar pursuits, but it does not account for the knowledge of how to accomplish this goal. An artistic campaign that includes the foremost history painters in the Netherlands, of both established reputation and youthful promise, requires the contribution of a sophisticated and connected individual possessing artistic knowledge that cannot reasonably be attributed to Maurits, a man who was clearly more learned than he was artistically experienced.

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<sup>294</sup> The works of numerous other painters (from throughout the Netherlands) have been associated with Maurits, but artists working in The Hague and Delft nevertheless dominate until 1618.

Even if Maurits was the patron and the series carries an intended meaning of political propaganda, these facts are not enough to explain completely its existence. However great his power or sincere his artistic or political intentions, the absence of sufficient structures of contact, artistic familiarity, and patronage, as well as the limitations of his cultural experience, do not favor resting with Maurits alone. It is therefore important also to recognize the possibility of a split between the patron and the artistic advisor or facilitator.<sup>295</sup>

Maurits was a learned man interested in history, antiquity, and politics and owned a copy of Suetonius.<sup>296</sup> His known activity with the visual arts was often with serial works directly related to contemporary political and biographical events. He knew Sir Dudley Carleton and also, likely, his collection of antiquities and Rubens paintings. Carleton should be considered as an influential, interested expert, as a source and example for not only international and domestic art but also its political uses and value within courtly environments. He knew almost all of the included artists personally, had had a collection of antique busts of the very Roman emperors that were depicted, and was in frequent contact with Maurits during the period. That

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<sup>295</sup> Constantijn Huygens usually fills this role and his name has been suggested in relation to the *Twelve Emperor Series* (in connection with Frederik Hendrik). However, Huygens's role as an artistic advisor was still years away. In 1618, he was, if promising, a twenty-two-year-old with no formal connection to the Orange-Nassau. He was too young and inexperienced at this point to seriously qualify as artistic advisor for the *Twelve Emperor Series* and was away from the Netherlands during much of the period of its execution, spending five months in England in 1618, three months in Venice in 1620 and more than a year in England from the end of 1621 to the beginning of 1623.

<sup>296</sup> Maurits owned both a Latin and French version of Suetonius' *The Twelve Caesars* in 1608: Chroust, "Die Bibliothek des Prinzen Moritz von Oranien," pp. 14-15; Wiekart, *De Bibliotheek van Prins Maurits / The Library of Maurice of Nassau*, p. 51; Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library*, pp. 336-337, 660, cat. nos. 1480 and 3580 (Von Dohna inv. nos. 15 and 23). Later seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau inventories include three more sixteenth-century editions (Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, pp. 347, 358, 399, cat. nos. 1538, 1600, 1892) and a Dutch version (Renting and Renting-Kuijpers, p. 380, cat. no. 1755) published in Delft in 1619, thus possibly entering the Orange-Nassau collection during the same period the individual paintings were executed.

Carleton could have been a helpful or necessary facilitator of the *Twelve Emperor Series*, conceived and commissioned at a time and for a patron that corresponds to his political presence in The Hague, is a tempting speculation.<sup>297</sup>

The second serial artistic campaign (mentioned above) is recorded in the 1632 inventory, a series of ten “Hero” tapestries representing the nine heroes of pagan, Old Testament, and Christian tradition with Maurits himself appended as the tenth.<sup>298</sup> In August 1632, they were kept in a storage loft at the Noordeinde residence with many other tapestries. They no longer exist; their designer, source, date of origin, nor original hanging location are known. From the wording of the inventory the depiction of Maurits was to be a focal point, intended as the mantelpiece. Such a series explicitly associates him with the greatest military figures in history. Other tapestry cycles in the 1632 inventory depicting scenes from the life of Alexander, Julius Caesar, and Hercules implicitly provide the same analogy between the heroic figure and the modern owner, Maurits (and, later, Frederik Hendrik). Such classical association with Maurits was widespread in prints, plays, and even paintings.<sup>299</sup>

Though the “Hero” tapestries celebrating Maurits in the company of great military leaders have been considered a commission by Frederik Hendrik, there is no record of Frederik Hendrik honoring his half brother in the visual arts; and Maurits’s

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<sup>297</sup> It must remain a speculation; there is no direct evidence, and Carleton spent almost two months in England during 1618. If we consider that the first work, by Moreelse, comes from the Utrecht environment of Maurits’s political power and a painter previously employed by his own Nassau relatives there, Carleton is not necessary to the origins of the series. After the ending of the Truce in 1621, he would be in a position to advise on potential artists in the north, his acquaintance with whom is proven by his early contact with Van Honthorst mentioned above.

<sup>298</sup> Appendix I, no. 719; Kloek, “Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst,” p. 143.

<sup>299</sup> Zandvliet, “Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure,” p. 44 and 63.

direct patronage or his reception of the tapestries as a gift are also possible.<sup>300</sup> By 1618, Maurits had ample funds to order such a tapestry cycle and the famous military commanders were of specific interest to him in his classical studies and as great historic exemplars. As a gift from a loyal government or organization it would certainly be lavish and blatantly honorary, but nonetheless possible. Filips Willem received a gift of a tapestry series in 1609 from the city of Breda, and the *Prinsenhof* in Vlissingen was furnished by the States of Zeeland with tapestries of the military exploits of Willem I.

In subject, the “Hero” tapestries were in keeping with the interests of a learned man devoted to antiquity and the military. As a serial decorative undertaking, they were consistent with Maurits’s artistic activity. As propaganda, with a military and political basis, for himself and his position of increasing importance within the nation, they were grand and useful. The association with greatness and power is specific and overt. Whether stemming from Maurits himself, or an honor bestowed from outside, these tapestries presented Maurits in a favorable light. The nuance of their meaning, depending on their origin – whether self-congratulatory propaganda, ingratiating celebration, or fraternal pride – remains lost. The loss is not simply of an artistic commission, its appearance, artists, and patron, but also one that affects the understanding of a courtly structure, a patron’s possible interests and intent, and the role of art and display in a political *milieu*. It was not simply a visual environment in which such a series functioned but a political one as well. While of course

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<sup>300</sup> Kloek, “Prins Maurits en de Beeldende Kunst,” p. 143, dismisses both latter possibilities in favor of Frederik Hendrik’s patronage, claiming that Maurits “certainly” would not have ordered the series himself and that as a gift it would be an “exaggerated show of honor.”

decorative, such a specific, expensive, historically oriented, and currently relevant undertaking meant and could communicate something beyond the work of art, in the service of an individual, a regime, or an idea. Works of visual art within a courtly culture, whether direct commissions or not, potentially carry meaning within social and political environments.

Maurits's entire life took place within such a political environment, the last seven years of which were different than those that came before. He had achieved great stature, position, and power; but the resumption of a war for which the United Provinces were not sufficiently prepared, the burden of running the government, the loss of key supporters, and his increasingly failing health prevented great victories and political achievements as well as truly princely personal or artistic enterprises. The last years saw no documented commissions of paintings by Maurits; and, given the exceptionally few (only two) known before 1618, this should hardly be a surprise. This is the reality that has long supported the view that the pictorial arts were not of significant personal interest to Maurits. However, for most of his life, time and circumstances did not allow grand patronage and his position did not warrant it. During his last years, his courtly environment grew, with the consolidation of the Orange-Nassau inheritance, importation of works from Brussels and Breda, major architectural expansions in the Northern Netherlands, as well as paintings (and tapestries) received, purchased, and commissioned.

The last two works of art often connected to Maurits appear in his final year. Jacques de Gheyn II, who had worked in the circle of Maurits in his early years of success and at the height of his power, drew the Stadholder-Prince on his deathbed

[fig. 59]. The prowess of the commander is replaced by the ravage of time and sickness, leaving only a frail shadow of his once vigorous self. A tiny painting by Adriaen van de Venne depicts Maurits laid out on a bed of mourning [fig. 60]. He is elaborately dressed in fur, lace, and deep orange embroidered fabric (likely silk), trimmed with gold thread, in a bed hung with matching fabric. It is a splendid, luxurious, and truly princely state of presentation, one that is completely fitting the station Maurits arrived at over many years.

Precisely as Maurits lay sick and dying for months, Breda, his first major victory at the beginning of a decade of enormous successes and the ancient seat of the Nassau family, was the object of a devastating siege. It is perhaps in some ways fitting that this symbol of both his ancestral and military position should be besieged precisely as Maurits himself lay dying, and fortunate that he did not live to see the disgrace of its fall.

Thus, having served the provinces for forty years, established their military power, repelled the Spanish and secured the borders, gained an international reputation as the greatest general in Europe, solidified his position as the foremost figure in the land, instituted the political and religious systems of his choosing, assured the legitimate preservation of the House of Orange-Nassau, consolidated Orange-Nassau patrimony, expanded the presence of the court through architectural projects, developed the beginnings of a princely artistic environment, and laid the foundations for his successor, but having struggled in his final years and with the Spanish army poised to capture the ancient Nassau crown jewel of Breda, on 23 April 1625, Maurits died.

### **Section Three: Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau**

#### **Introduction**

Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) was a successful military commander and political leader, an architectural and artistic patron who presided over a splendid court, an international traveler and skilled horseman, and a dedicated husband and father. He was also a devoted servant to the United Provinces and the House of Orange-Nassau. Like Maurits (1567-1625), he was a famous and accomplished general, eventually achieving such success that he became known as the *Stedendwinger* [winner of cities]. They were both celebrated commanders of entire national armies as well as confident political leaders; their lives spanned the eighty years of the Dutch war of independence that they jointly secured.

In his younger years, Frederik Hendrik faithfully served Maurits and the States, preparing for the future command for which he was destined. He was educated at Leiden and studied his entire life. He traveled to courts throughout northern Europe on diplomatic missions and was General of the Cavalry. Upon the death of his dominant elder half brother in 1625, Frederik Hendrik rose to prominence and achieved the military, political, and courtly positions for which he is known today. He succeeded Maurits as Commander-General of the army, Admiral-General of the navy, and Stadholder of five of the seven United Provinces, and became Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau, inheriting the entire Orange-Nassau legacy, including all titles, lands, incomes, and goods. As Stadholder-Prince, he won significant battles that secured the United Provinces and negotiated a factious political climate to his advantage. While the political and military structures that

Frederik Hendrik controlled were much as they had existed under Maurits, Frederik Hendrik's courtly life eventually became quite different from his predecessor's. Frederik Hendrik had a wife and children and arranged for international diplomatic marriages to promote the House of Orange-Nassau within European courtly politics. He greatly expanded the courtly environment by building splendid new palaces, complete with gardens, furnishings, and decoration that communicated his stature through displays of luxury and magnificence. In these activities he was supported by his young noble wife, Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675), and his educated secretary, the polymath Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), both of whom joined him in 1625.

Frederik Hendrik's life was entirely redefined in 1625; like Maurits in 1618, Frederik Hendrik's rise to the status of Prince of Orange provided the impetus for his courtly development. Though he had shown no signs of artistic interest or activity before 1625, he would eventually lavish great time and money on a courtly environment of increasing grandeur in the 1630s and 1640s. His court continued the traditions of his Orange-Nassau ancestors and built upon the foundations laid by his half brother. The earliest years of his reign in the second half of the 1620s were modest, with limited building activity and sporadic patronage of the pictorial arts. Diversity in subject matter, style, and means of acquisition defined the princely collection. It was a period of development in which Frederik Hendrik had the wealth, advice, and position that contributed to expanded artistic activity and during which he gained the exposure and the knowledge that would inform his use of the visual arts to communicate his stature as Prince.

## Chapter Seven: Frederik Hendrik – Life and Art until 1625

“Much practice is likewise used to separate the two brothers, Count Maurice and Count Henry, by gaining the younger to the Arminian faction. But as the one shews himself to be son of that father, who lost his life in the cause of religion, and a knight of your majesty’s order, who is the protector thereof, so I see no likelihood, that the other should degenerate.”<sup>301</sup>

With these words, Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632) reported to James I (1566-1625) in 1617 that Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) was a supportive Counter-Remonstrant and loyal to the House of Orange-Nassau’s tradition, policies, and allies. In truth, Frederik Hendrik personally had certain Remonstrant sympathies, not from a doctrinal standpoint, like the more rigid Maurits (1567-1625), but out of a *politique* attitude of religious and political flexibility.<sup>302</sup> During Maurits’s life, however, Frederik Hendrik was an adherent to his elder half-brother’s position in the religious dissention and its political component. Frederik Hendrik was a follower of Maurits in every important way. He was a great military general, a clever and confident politician, a long-time bachelor, a fervent student of ancient history, interested in architecture, and a staunch promoter of the House of Orange-Nassau. Later in life, he would also expand the Orange-Nassau courtly and artistic presence through grand building and patronage. Before becoming Prince of Orange in 1625, however, there were no known purchases or commissions of works of art; there was only one incidental recorded comment about paintings, and no reference to any interest in or

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<sup>301</sup> Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, *The Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt. during his embassy in Holland, from January 1615/16, to December 1620*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London, 1780), p. 131, to King James I, 19 May 1617.

<sup>302</sup> Years after the religious debate reached its heated and violent ends in 1618/1619, Frederik Hendrik would ally himself with the Remonstrant party, a choice which he subsequently reversed, driven in both instances by political considerations. By that time, Carleton had left Holland and James I and Maurits were dead; the religious division had lost the rancor and import of earlier years.

activity with the visual arts except for his purchase of the palace at Honselaarsdijk and its earliest years of rebuilding. Like Maurits, Frederik Hendrik's lifelong attention was directed toward fulfilling the goals of their common father: fighting for the freedom and security of the United Provinces and promoting the position of the House of Orange-Nassau.<sup>303</sup>

Frederik Hendrik was born on 29 January 1584, the youngest child of Willem I (1533-1584) and his fourth wife, Louise de Coligny (1555-1620), and named after his godfathers, Frederik II (1534-1588) of Denmark and Henri of Navarre (later Henri IV of France, 1553-1610).<sup>304</sup> His father was assassinated on 10 July of the same year (1584) and Frederik Hendrik was raised by his mother in Delft, Leiden, and Middleburg before settling in The Hague. Louise de Coligny was a shrewd and strong woman of French Huguenot high aristocratic stature. Both her father and first husband were killed in the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris in 1572. She remained in contact with friends and allies in France and even wanted to raise Frederik Hendrik there. This was unacceptable to the States, under whose guidance and protection Frederik Hendrik was jointly raised. In 1591, to counter the French influences of his education, the States appointed Johannes Uytenbogaert (1557-1644) as one of Frederik Hendrik's tutors in religion as well as Latin. In 1594, Frederik Hendrik was sent to study at Leiden. His instruction there was intellectual, practical,

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<sup>303</sup> M. E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, ed. Jori Zijlmans and Marika Keblusek (The Hague: Historical Museum; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), p. 161: "Before 1625 Frederik Hendrik and his brother Prince Maurits presented a united front on all matters, including those artistic."

<sup>304</sup> For biographical information on Frederik Hendrik (from which much of the following is taken), see J. J. Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje: Een Biografisch Drieluk* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1978).

and moral, including all the wide-ranging branches of learning expected of a noble, from theology to dancing. Like Maurits, Frederik Hendrik would continue to study throughout his life and the subjects of his greatest interest were ancient and modern history.<sup>305</sup> According to Godefroi, the Count d'Estrades (1607-1686), Frederik Hendrik retired two hours a day to devote to study, echoing (if to a lesser degree) a characterization encountered with Maurits.<sup>306</sup>

From 1598 to 1599, Frederik Hendrik lived with his mother at the French court of Henri IV, where he received the particular attention of the king himself, who demanded the boy's presence at all manner of courtly, political, and even military events. While in France, Frederik Hendrik was exposed to a ruler who was a successful military commander, of sound political ability, religiously tolerant, a known womanizer, and a serious architectural amateur. Maurits was a similar figure (with the exception of religious tolerance), and Frederik Hendrik would follow them both, though without the extremes necessitated by the more difficult circumstances of his older contemporaries.

The early experiences – with his French mother, with Uyttenbogaert, and living in France – were important aspects of Frederik Hendrik's upbringing; they contributed to his international outlook, French tastes, artistic exposure, and Remonstrant sympathies. Frederik Hendrik spoke better French than Dutch. This was in part due to the early influence of his mother but French was also the court

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<sup>305</sup> For the intellectual interests and character of Frederik Hendrik (in his maturity) see Marika Keblusek, "Books at the Stadholder's Court," in *Princely Display*, pp. 143-152, and Marika Keblusek, "Boeken voor het hof," in *Boeken in de hofstad: Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 161-191, especially pp. 175 and 177.

<sup>306</sup> Godefroi, the Count d'Estrades was French ambassador to The Hague during Frederik Hendrik's reign. Marika Keblusek, "Boeken voor het hof," p. 175.

language throughout Europe and of the Burgundian and Orange-Nassau traditions. Maurits, too, spoke and wrote French with members of the court and international contacts. Not only was Frederik Hendrik's maternal side French but also most of the environments of his youth and upbringing would have been predominantly in French, including the international coterie of nobles and senior military officials resident in The Hague. Though his experience at the French court is considered an early influential example of artistic exposure on which his later exploits would rely, there is no evidence (contemporary or later) to confirm such influence nor any artistic interest by the fourteen-year-old Frederik Hendrik during his stay in France. His first known commission of a painting would be nearly thirty years later, with no documented intervening activity in the pictorial arts.<sup>307</sup> As for the formation of Frederik Hendrik's Remonstrant sympathies due to his connection to Uyttendogaert, this suggestion cannot be confirmed because the religious controversy had not yet begun during his period of tutelage. Though Uyttendogaert would later become the leader of the Remonstrant religious faction, at that point (1591) he was a sound Calvinist preacher of high standing who preached for Maurits both in The Hague and on campaign; and Frederik Hendrik was a seven-year-old boy. Later in life, it appeared that Frederik Hendrik had a very casual view of religion in general and his favoring of the Remonstrant faction was a political choice that served his interests between 1625 and 1632. A more likely experience in his youth that may have influenced a future

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<sup>307</sup> Frederik Hendrik's first documented payment for a painting, two mantelpieces by Gerrit van Honthorst, came in 1627; see Chapter Nine.

posture of religious tolerance was his stay at the French court, coinciding with the Edict of Nantes (1598).<sup>308</sup>

Despite the diverse experiences of Frederik Hendrik's youth, Maurits was his greatest influence, not least in terms of the military, the field that was each man's primary role and the cause of their individual historical stature. During these years, Maurits was in the midst of his decade of remarkable military success and Frederik Hendrik was recalled from France by Maurits in April 1599 to join the summer campaign (he had already accompanied Maurits on campaign in 1597). At the age of sixteen, he was involved in the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600). Here, he would have seen an enormous Dutch force, relentlessly drilled and exhibiting the military innovations of Maurits, face an unexpected Spanish army, superior in experience and valor. He could have learned the difficulties and cost of a battle that was a great success only insofar as it avoided defeat and that was only a moral and not a territorial or strategic victory.<sup>309</sup> The conflict that this battle caused between Maurits and the regents, led by Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619), would have been obvious as well. Frederik Hendrik could have learned first-hand valuable lessons that would serve his own future as a military and political leader.

Frederik Hendrik continued to join Maurits on campaign and rise in the military structure, quickly becoming a senior officer and General of the Cavalry

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<sup>308</sup> Amy Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," in *Van Dyck 350*, ed. Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., Studies in the History of Art, vol. 46 (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1994), p. 234, also recognized that Frederik Hendrik was present in France at the time, interpreting Frederik Hendrik as a religious pragmatist in the vein of Henri IV.

<sup>309</sup> The dangers and devastation of an open field battle would also have been apparent and Frederik Hendrik would never again, in his military career of almost fifty years, be engaged in another open field battle; Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik*, p. 45.

(1603). However, the first decade of the new century saw less military engagement than the previous; overtures toward peace were frequent and the negotiations leading to the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621) began as early as 1607. Complementing his military activity, Frederik Hendrik also undertook diplomatic missions and became a member of the *Raad van State* [Council of State] (1600), taking an active interest in their discussions of political and, especially, military matters. In 1602, he traveled to Heidelberg and Dillenburg, visiting his half-sister Louisa Juliana (1576-1644, married to the Palatine Elector, Friedrich IV, 1574-1610) and his Nassau cousins. From May to July 1603, he was the symbolic head of a States-General embassy sent to James I to secure continued support of the Dutch war. Frederik Hendrik traveled to France in 1610 and 1611. He went again to England in 1612/13 for the wedding of his nephew Friedrich V (1596-1632) to Princess Elizabeth (1596-1662) and accompanied the couple through the United Provinces on their way to Heidelberg. Friedrich V had stayed at the Noordeinde residence in 1612 and the year before Frederik Hendrik hosted Filips Willem (1554-1618) and Eleonore of Bourbon-Condé (1587-1619). Despite the Truce, Frederik Hendrik still had an active military role. In 1610, he was sent by Maurits, upon authority of the States General, to lead a military expedition to Utrecht to suppress a dissident uprising that had seized control of the civic and provincial governments. Outside the provinces, the controversy of the Jülich-Cleves succession was of international concern and brought Frederik Hendrik to the eastern front. He was also in Braunschweig in 1615 and Heidelberg in 1614 and 1616.

The first extant painted portraits of Frederik Hendrik date to these years of international military and political activity, by Michel Jansz. van Mierevelt (1567-

1641) and Jan van Ravesteyn (c. 1570-1657), from, respectively, 1610 and 1612 and both of the same format.<sup>310</sup> Van Ravesteyn had executed a portrait of Frederik Hendrik earlier, known only from an engraving by Jacob Matham (1571-1631); and other engraved portraits around 1600 likely had paintings of the young Nassau as a source.<sup>311</sup> Like Van Mierevelt's 1607 portrait of Maurits, the 1610 painting of Frederik Hendrik was commissioned by the magistrates of Delft [fig. 61]. Thus, the execution of his own image at this stage in his life is much like that of Maurits: functional, local, sporadic, and with outside instigation.

With the beginning of the Truce and the settling of Willem I's estates, Frederik Hendrik's own paternal inheritance was confirmed, including incomes he had enjoyed for some years and which provided him funds beyond his military salaries. He was also given ownership of the urban residence Noordeinde in 1609.<sup>312</sup> In addition, Frederik Hendrik purchased the estate and extensive lands of Naaldwijk, Honselaarsdijk, and Waterland from the Southern Netherlandish Count Karel of Aremberg (1576-1616) in 1612.<sup>313</sup> Maurits encouraged Frederik Hendrik to purchase Honselaarsdijk, which was the same estate at Naaldwijk that the States had put at Maurits's disposal in 1589. Honselaarsdijk would become Frederik Hendrik's

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<sup>310</sup> For the iconography of Frederik Hendrik, see M. E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau* 22 (1978), pp. 91-120.

<sup>311</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," pp. 92, 93, 99, and 100.

<sup>312</sup> S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976), vol. 1, p. 179.

<sup>313</sup> For Honselaarsdijk (by which it is subsequently called), see Rebecca Joslyn Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2002), especially pp. 32-36 for its acquisition.

favorite residence; he would lavish enormous sums of time and money building, furnishing, and remodeling the complex over the remainder of his life. Construction began in 1621 and the greatest building (and all decoration) occurred from the second half of the 1620s into the 1640s. Only the earliest stages of preparation took place directly after the 1612 purchase, due both to available funds and Frederik Hendrik's frequent absence from south Holland.

During this period, as at all times before Maurits's death, Frederik Hendrik's political position was limited and always subservient to Maurits. He had no role in Maurits's coup in 1618.<sup>314</sup> Maurits's first lieutenant in military and political affairs was Willem Lodewijk (1560-1620), followed by Ernst Casimir of Nassau (1573-1632) and then Frederik Hendrik. Carleton reported this chain of command in 1620, as well as the degree of consternation it brought Frederik Hendrik.<sup>315</sup> Despite the political slight implied by Maurits's favoring of his cousins, Frederik Hendrik remained close to his half brother, even more so during the tense period of political realignment that saw threats and attacks on the House of Orange-Nassau and its servants.<sup>316</sup> For the specifically Orange-Nassau task of installing Maurits's position

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<sup>314</sup> This is often attributed to Frederik Hendrik's personal Remonstrant sympathies. Though the Remonstrant faction tried to induce Frederik Hendrik to its side and Frederik Hendrik adopted a more liberal posture than Maurits, never during Maurits's life did (nor conceivably could) Frederik Hendrik take a Remonstrant stance publicly.

<sup>315</sup> Dorchester, *The letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, pp. 457-458, 10 May 1620: regarding the chain of command, Carleton recounted that Maurits needed to leave The Hague, Willem Lodewijk was in Friesland (where he would soon die) "and for this purpose count Ernest came two days before the prince's departure hither from Utrecht. But the prince, perceiving count Henry to take unkindness thereat, took a resolution to leave none, so as count Ernest went immediately back to Utrecht, and count Henry hath accompanied the prince on his journey, who is otherwise gone with much greater court than ordinary, being to visit his seigneuries in those parts, which he hath not seen since they came to his possession by the death of his brother."

<sup>316</sup> Dorchester, *The letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton*, p. 329-330, to Secretary Naunton, 30 December 1618: "[t]his effect is wrought thereby [the attacks], that count Henry having the same

and governance in his newly acquired principality of Orange, Frederik Hendrik was chosen. He traveled, via Antwerp and Tours (where the French court was) to Orange in July and August 1619. The following year he went east to support the Palatinate in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). On his way there, he accompanied his mother to Antwerp and said goodbye to her for the last time; she was traveling to France, where she would die in November 1620.

Frederik Hendrik, only child of Louise de Coligny, became universal heir of all her possessions. This meant, for the most part, the interior furnishings of her apartments in the Noordeinde residence. In the 1632 inventory, the former rooms of Louise de Coligny at Noordeinde appear to be decorated as they had been before she died twelve years earlier, including furniture, paintings, objects, and a large collection of porcelain.<sup>317</sup> The inventory lists numerous paintings to be associated with this Princess of Orange both in these rooms and in storage; almost all are portraits and without attribution. Thirty of the portraits are of close relatives and friends of Louise de Coligny, and the sitters include: her father, Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572) and mother, Charlotte de Laval (1530-1568); her uncles Odet (1517-1571) and François (1521-1569); her grandmother Louise de Montmorency (d. 1541); her first husband Charles de Teligny (d. 1572); her dear friend Catherine Larchevêque de

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apprehension, doth now adhere to his brother, seeing their house aimed at as well in France as in this place [The Hague].”

<sup>317</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, pp. 203-207, inv. nos. 504-610. That these rooms appear unchanged is some evidence that Frederik Hendrik did not make significant changes to the residence (or at least drastically re-hang the paintings) in the years after her death in 1620 and before the 1632 inventory. As the Noordeinde residence was uninhabited and Frederik Hendrik moved to the Stadholder's Quarters which were newly rebuilt (and presumably furnished) there would be no need to move the paintings, unless inclination led him to do so.

Parthenay, the Countess of Rohan (and each of her five children); Henri IV and Louis XIII (1601-1643) of France; various de Coligny and Orange-Nassau relatives; and unnamed Frenchmen.<sup>318</sup> Beyond the thirty portraits closely associated with Louise through relationship and hanging location, there are an additional eighty portraits that are likely associated with her.<sup>319</sup> They range from a group of unnamed Frenchmen and a group of about thirty-two miniature portraits to various international royalty, nobles of high standing, persons from earlier generations, and more distant relatives. Paintings other than portraits related to the Princess of Orange are far fewer. There are five essentially decorative works in her former rooms, all without attribution.<sup>320</sup> Finally, there is one significant painting which hung as the mantelpiece of the “cabinet” in Louise de Coligny’s suite of rooms, *Artemisia* by Peter Paul Rubens [fig. 62].<sup>321</sup> The subject is particularly fitting for a noble widow: the eponymous Mausoleum for Artemisia’s deceased husband, though a wonder of the ancient world, was not a sufficient resting place for his mortal remains, so his widow consumed his ashes that she might become for him a living tomb. *Artemisia* is variously dated between 1612 and 1615/1616; it has been associated with Rubens’s visit to the northern provinces in 1612, and thought executed after this visit specifically for

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<sup>318</sup> Appendix I, nos. 489, 517, 518, 519, 520a, 520b, 520c, 520d, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 598, 604, 683, 983, 993, 994, 996, 998, 1004, 1005a, 1005b, 1005c, 1006a, and 1006b. These are the portraits most securely associated with Louise de Coligny.

<sup>319</sup> Appendix I, nos. 245a-l, 246a, 246b, 247, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 579a-ff, 597, 600, 601, 602, 603, 605, 606, 607, 608a, 608b, 609, 986, 991, 992, 995, 997a, 997b, 999, 1000, 1001a, 1001b, 1008a, 1008b, 1010, 1011, and 1012. These are the portraits likely, but less certainly, associated with Louise de Coligny.

<sup>320</sup> Appendix I, nos. 584, 588a, 588b, 599a, and 599b.

<sup>321</sup> Appendix I, no. 516.

Louise de Coligny.<sup>322</sup> The painting appears to be the first by Rubens to enter any Orange-Nassau possession. Further, it is a notable exception within her artistic holdings, thus minimally favoring outside instigation such as a gift.

In addition to the inheritance from his mother, Frederik Hendrik would have been familiar with those works acquired by or presented to Maurits as well as the inheritance from Filips Willem brought north during these years. He would also have known the collection of Carleton, with its paintings from both Rubens and Italy.<sup>323</sup> The collection of Friedrich V and Elizabeth of Bohemia arrived in 1622, the year after the exiled couple established themselves in The Hague.<sup>324</sup> Of course, Frederik Hendrik was also familiar with the courtly environments in Paris/Fontainebleau, London, and Heidelberg, including gardens, architecture, and works of art.

However, before 1625 there are no known purchases or commissions nor any documented interest in the visual arts on the part of Frederik Hendrik; the first reference to his direct contact with works of art comes from a letter of March 1624 in which he admits to having moved certain portraits in his gallery, and owning portraits of Amalie von Solms-Braunfels, Elizabeth Stuart, and a “Rhine Countess.”<sup>325</sup> At

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<sup>322</sup> Elizabeth McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, 2 vols., Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, vol. 13 (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), vol. 2, p. 77.

<sup>323</sup> See Chapter Six.

<sup>324</sup> For the works coming to Maurits during this period, see Chapter Six; for the inheritance from Filips Willem, see Chapter Five; for Carleton, see Chapter Four; and for the Bohemian couple see Chapters Six, Eight, and Nine.

<sup>325</sup> This 1624 letter is the only reference to Frederik Hendrik’s direct personal involvement with the pictorial arts before 1635. Such references after 1635 are more plentiful but still rare. For the 1624 letter’s passage about these portraits, see Tiethoff-Splithoff, “Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia,” p. 164: “although it is true that I have made a few changes in my picture gallery and that I have a portrait of the lady Van Solms... I also have a portrait of the Rhine countess as well as one of the queen, in fact the three are hanging together.” Though owning a portrait of his future bride, and apparently moving it (to a more prominent place?)

least two of these appear in the 1632 inventory and the portrait of Amalie is extant [fig. 63].<sup>326</sup> Perhaps it is fitting that Frederik Hendrik's first recorded comment about paintings refers to a portrait of his future wife and other members of the courtly establishment. However, such a comment indicates nothing about a personal interest in art; nor do straightforward bust-length portraits indicate anything about patronage (and are as easily gifts as commissions). Portraits of Frederik Hendrik himself after those of 1610 and 1612 are few. Jan van de Venne (d. 1625) issued a print by Willem Jacobsz. Delff (1580-1638) in 1618, presumably after a painting by Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662) that is no longer extant. It was the pair to Maurits's image of the same period and (as with the image of Maurits) originated outside the court.<sup>327</sup> In c. 1623/24, Van Mierevelt painted another portrait of Frederik Hendrik, known only through a print by Delff.<sup>328</sup>

Though there are no documented commissions during the years before 1625, some of the numerous works in the 1632 inventory about which nothing is known might be associated with Frederik Hendrik. There are many portraits that cannot be linked to the likely patronage or ownership of any one individual. Many of the non-portraits are listed without attribution; others are by living artists working in the late-

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within his gallery, may indicate some relationship, Frederik Hendrik denied any connection to Amalie. The implications of this letter and portrait for their relationship will be discussed in relation to the marriage in 1625, in Chapter Eight.

<sup>326</sup> Appendix I, nos. 47 and 48.

<sup>327</sup> On 18 April 1618, the States-General issued the right to produce the print for twelve years to Jan Pietersz van de Venne; on 13 April 1619, they ordered 25 examples of the print on satin (and on 16 April 1619, paid 300 Florins); Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," p. 103.

<sup>328</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," p. 104. There is, again, no indication it was a commission and even the existence of the print minimally argues against a courtly commission in favor of a more commercial enterprise. See fig. 66.

teens and early 1620s, but nothing of their origins is known. Though some of them may have been purchased or commissioned by Frederik Hendrik (or given to him as gifts), these paintings are associated here, instead, with Maurits, given the absence of known artistic activity of Frederik Hendrik during this period.<sup>329</sup>

Thus, throughout the first four decades of Frederik Hendrik's life, there is no recorded activity in the artistic sphere with which to posit a personal interest, except the purchase of his noble estate in 1612. He began building there in 1621, as Maurits was in the midst of major building campaigns at properties throughout his lands. Frederik Hendrik's activity in the visual arts, like most of his life, followed that of Maurits. His main occupations were his military position and service to the United Provinces and the House of Orange-Nassau. If the strict Germanic youth of Maurits differed from Frederik Hendrik's more cosmopolitan and French orientation, the entire maturity of both men was centered on Dutch politics and military. Both attended Leiden University and both received a similar wide-ranging education. Frederik Hendrik, like Maurits, read and studied throughout his life. The subjects of his greatest attention were similar to those of his elder half brother, ancient and modern history and the art of war. Frederik Hendrik even wrote a text on warfare, *L'Art de la guerre* [The art of war] and is said never to have gone anywhere without a Latin copy of Caesar's *Commentaries*.<sup>330</sup> No author other than the great military and

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<sup>329</sup> The works of unknown origin in the 1632 inventory are numerous; for some of the named artists working c. 1620 such as Lastman, Vroom, Saverij, Rottenhammer, Cornelis (van Haarlem), Van Uytenbroeck, Van Balen, Brueghel, and Van Honthorst, see Appendix I, nos. 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 66, 73, 78, 80, 86a, 86b, 101, 102, 110, 237, 239, 240, 241, 243a, 243b, 611, 632. The works in the 1632 inventory are routinely associated with Frederik Hendrik (in terms of patronage). Here, many of these paintings were connected to Maurits in Chapter Six (with an acknowledged absence of certainty).

<sup>330</sup> Keblusek, "Boeken voor het hof," p. 175.

political hero of a revered ancient Republic could be more deserving of Frederik Hendrik's attention or more consistent with Maurits's interests.

Biographically, a great difference between the two half brothers was the ways in which they came to power: years of struggle and the hard-fought, ever-increasing stature and power of Maurits, contrasted with Frederik Hendrik's quick and complete assumption of all Maurits's positions, wealth, and power after his death in 1625.<sup>331</sup> The distinctions of 1618 and 1625 were vital turning points in each man's life and particularly crucial in terms of princely magnificence, courtly splendor, and artistic patronage. Before 1618, though Maurits was powerful and internationally famous, the Dutch Orange-Nassau could not rise to the highest ranks of European nobility without the title Prince of Orange. Maurits's princely court of his last seven years, the life of the growing splendor and his enormous personal wealth provided the foundation upon which Frederik Hendrik would build. At Maurits's death in 1625, Frederik Hendrik was his universal heir and would be responsible for the status, fate, and honor of the House of Orange-Nassau as well as the future of the United Provinces.

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<sup>331</sup> Cautious and controlling his entire life, Maurits remained so in his final years of sickness, relinquishing only marginal powers to Frederik Hendrik before he died.

## Chapter Eight: Frederik Hendrik – Changes in 1625

“to better conserve in the future the honor and dignity of our house.”<sup>332</sup>

This was the stated purpose of Maurits’s (1567-1625) naming Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) his universal heir in 1621. Upon Maurits’s death on 23 April 1625, Frederik Hendrik entered into an entirely new phase of his life. In becoming Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, Baron of Breda, etc., his noble status increased substantially. His succession to Maurits’s positions of Commander-General of the army and Admiral-General of the navy and five of the six Stadholderates he held would soon follow. In a very short time, Frederik Hendrik gained all the power and stature it had taken Maurits a lifetime to acquire and solidify. Frederik Hendrik was no longer a modest noble or heir apparent but the rightful head of a distinguished, ancient, noble family that only a century prior were among the most prominent nobles in the circle of Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) and had had one of the most splendid aristocratic courts in Europe. Frederik Hendrik was also now the leader, commander, and single most important individual in a nation fighting for its life. The year 1625 also saw his marriage to Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675) and thus the first step to the continuance of the Orange-Nassau dynasty; his hiring of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), the influential educated polymath and artistic amateur, as secretary; and the crushing military defeat at Breda, affecting the pride of the House and the security of the nation. In 1625, it fell to Frederik Hendrik to fill the shoes of his half brother, win the war of his father, and carry forward the dynastic aspirations

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<sup>332</sup> Simon Groenveld, “De man met de loden schoenen: Een levenschets,” in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, ed. Kees Zandvliet (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), p. 33: “de eere en digniteyt van onsen huysse des te beter in toecomende tijden te doen conserveren.” The language is strikingly similar to that used by Filips Willem in naming Maurits his heir; see Chapter Five.

of a House that once boasted a Holy Roman Emperor, but with the northern provinces once again in a precarious position.<sup>333</sup>

Frederik Hendrik and the United Provinces were certainly more secure than in the earliest years of the revolt, when Willem I (1533-1584) saw the Duke of Alva (Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, 1507-1582) and his Spanish troops storm over north Holland or in 1584 when a seventeen-year-old Maurits began to take over from his assassinated father. Nevertheless, 1625, with the death of Maurits and the loss of Breda, provided a strategic and psychological low point for the Orange-Nassau family and the United Provinces. The year 1625 was also a turning point for Frederik Hendrik personally, affecting all aspects of his life, not only the military and political but also the courtly, cultural, and artistic. Frederik Hendrik now had the position, power, stature, wealth, and right for the displays of patronage and magnificence he would eventually come to exhibit. In 1625, however, when Frederik Hendrik succeeded Maurits, there was no record of interest in the visual arts on the part of the younger half brother, except the purchase of Honselaarsdijk in 1612 and its earliest stages of building.

Maurits, in his seven years as Prince of Orange, established modest beginnings of appropriate princely culture but was hindered by a tense domestic climate, a lack of immediate example, and failing health. Frederik Hendrik inherited not only titles, power, and wealth, but also the political and cultural environment of his half brother. Within a struggling economy, divided political structure, and

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<sup>333</sup> Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 485: "Maurits died, in April 1625, with the Republic's fortunes at a lower ebb than at any time since 1590."

uncertain military position, Frederik Hendrik's attention was directed to securing the nation and his position at its head. There was no immediate courtly or artistic efflorescence. Frederik Hendrik was not personally prepared, experienced, or interested enough for such a change in 1625. He did, however, have a modest foundation, was joined by interested and knowledgeable associates, possessed disposable wealth, and seemed to harbor courtly and political aspirations, and in coming years would slowly develop the acumen to use artistic splendor in a way that would be appropriate to his station and advantageous to his position. Amalie and Huygens provided an added dimension to a life heretofore characterized, like Maurits's, by military and political obligation, and contributed to the artistic environment of the court as the three of them developed, individually and collectively, over succeeding years.

Maurits had consolidated and, by passing them on to his Orange-Nassau half brother, preserved all the lands and titles of the House of Orange-Nassau. Frederik Hendrik received them and the incomes they provided, in addition to Maurits's movable possessions – including paintings, tapestries, furniture, books, maps, charts, etc. – and a total of more than seventeen million guilders, a staggering sum of money.<sup>334</sup> This was the income and capital that funded Maurits's building campaigns

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<sup>334</sup> For Maurits's income and the monetary inheritance left to Frederik Hendrik see Kees Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure," in *Maurits, Prins van Oranje*, p. 43. There is no will, but one imagines that some material provisions were made for Maurits's mistress Margaretha van Mechelen and their two living sons (as well as, perhaps, his other five children for whom he always provided). Nevertheless, it was to Frederik Hendrik that the overwhelming majority of a substantial material and noble inheritance fell. By way of comparison, the total inherited capital of seventeen million guilders was more than the initial capitalization of the Dutch East and West India Companies combined (respectively 6.5 million in 1602 and 7.1 million in 1621); Marten Jan Bok, "Society, Culture, and Collecting in Seventeenth-Century Delft," in *Vermeer and the Delft School*, ed. Walter Liedtke (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 203-204.

in the last years of his life and which Frederik Hendrik would spend lavishly over the coming decades.

One condition of Maurits's naming of Frederik Hendrik as his universal heir was his insistence that he marry and produce a legitimate male heir to continue the line of Orange-Nassau.<sup>335</sup> This requirement is evidence of Maurits's clear understanding of the position of the family, for itself and for the nation, and proof of his abiding concern for the House even into the future.<sup>336</sup> On 2 April 1625, less than a month before Maurits died, Frederik Hendrik married Amalie von Solms-Braunfels. She was a lady in waiting to Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662), Queen of Bohemia, and was still in her teens when she arrived in The Hague in 1621 with the exiled queen. Amalie's father was a leading German noble, Johann Albrecht I, Count of Solms-Braunfels (1563-1623), and a son of one of Willem I's sisters. Thus, Amalie and Frederik Hendrik were second cousins and separated by eighteen years of age. Already on 26 May 1623, Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632), showing how thoroughly familiar he was with not only the political but also the courtly atmosphere in The Hague, wrote that "[w]e buried here, the last week, the old count Solms, chiefe counsellor of the King of Bohemia and Grandmaster of the Palatinat, whose faire

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<sup>335</sup> Maurits stipulated on 13 April 1625, shortly before his death, that if Frederik Hendrik did not produce a legitimate male heir, then the entire inheritance would fall to the Frisian Nassau-(Dillenburg) branch of the family "tot conservatie van den Name ende Stamme van Nassauw." Simon Groenveld, "Nassau contra Oranje in de 17e-eeuwse Republiek," *Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum* (1997), p.15. By 13 April Frederik Hendrik and Amalie von Solms-Braunfels had already married. Before this, Maurits had even threatened to legitimize his own bastard sons and disinherit Frederik Hendrik if he did not marry; M. E. Tiethoff-Splithoff, "De Portretten van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau* 22 (1978), p. 95.

<sup>336</sup> Groenveld, "De man met de loden schoenen: Een levenschets," p. 34, questions why, if Maurits was so concerned about his House, did he never marry (and thus produce his own legitimate heir). The answer seems to be that for the vast majority of Maurits's life he was not heir to his father and the continuation of the Orange-Nassau dynasty was not his privilege and responsibility until late in his life, inextricably bound to Filips Willem's childless death and his becoming Prince of Orange in 1618.

daughter Amely is Count Henry's mistress and it is believed he will marry her, though she hath nothing but herself, but he hath enough for both."<sup>337</sup> Nearly a year later, such speculation was still current. Constantijn Huygens, on 24 March 1624, was certain the couple would marry after Easter; however, only days later, Frederik Hendrik made a coy denial of any attachments to Amalie or any particular woman.<sup>338</sup> Indeed, he appeared to be content to be a bachelor and, like his elder half brother, something of a womanizer.<sup>339</sup> During the period of presumed attachment to Amalie before they were married, Frederik Hendrik fathered an illegitimate son by another woman.<sup>340</sup> Whatever the nature of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie's relationship or the length of their courtship, Maurits's demands that Frederik Hendrik marry to produce a legitimate heir ultimately brought an end to his seemingly contented life as a bachelor and hastened the marriage.

Maurits gave the bride a wedding gift of an elaborate diamond pendant, ordered shortly before the wedding and Maurits's death and paid for by Frederik

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<sup>337</sup> M. E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, ed. Jori Zijlmans and Marika Keblusek (The Hague: Historical Museum; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), p. 164, with the quotation from Carleton, and for early accounts of their relationship.

<sup>338</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," p. 164, with the quotations from both Huygens and Frederik Hendrik. Frederik Hendrik's denial of any particular attachment comes in the same letter in which he acknowledged that he had a portrait of Amalie (as well as Elizabeth and a "Rhine Countess") and that he had recently made changes to his gallery; see Chapter Seven. For the Huygens quotation see also, J. A. Worp, ed., *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, 6 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911-1917), vol. 1, p. 155; letter 222 from Huygens to Dorothea van Dorp, 24 March 1624: "Men seijt vor seker, dat prince Heynderi[ck] naer paeschen sal trouwen met felle van Solms."

<sup>339</sup> P. J. Blok, "Brief van Frederik Hendrik (27 Maart (1624))," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historish Genootschap (Gevestigd te Utrecht)* 43 (1922), p. 22 and note 8 (p. 152), with a comment by Du Maurier: "il aimait les femmes mais non pour les marier."

<sup>340</sup> This son, Frederik (later of Zuylenstein, 1623/24-1672), would, like most Nassau males, be trained in the military and serve the House of Orange-Nassau his entire life. As an illegitimate child, he was left in a subordinate position to Willem II, born only two years later.

Hendrik in January 1626 [fig. 64].<sup>341</sup> She also received jewels from Frederik Hendrik, visible in a painting of her by Van Mierevelt, c. 1625, that formed a pendant to one of Frederik Hendrik from c. 1623/24 [figs. 65 and 66].<sup>342</sup> Though similar in format and fashion to an anonymous portrait of Amalie from c. 1624, the strands of pearls and a jeweled pendant from Frederik Hendrik replace a string of simple beads and a bow, indicating the drastic change in her position that the wedding brought [fig. 67].

A true consort and not merely a courtly accessory, Amalie would play a major role in court life, artistic activity, and even politics. During the early years immediately after her marriage to Frederik Hendrik, however, her position at court was still developing, with her primary role being to bear numerous children. As the 1620s progressed and the artistic activity of Frederik Hendrik slowly increased, Amalie was an active participant. Indeed, as the years unfolded, her personal interest in painting, sculpture, and the decorative arts would become greater than her husband's. Beyond her interests and personality, her very position as princely wife influenced the courtly atmosphere. Frederik Hendrik was now a sovereign prince with a legitimate wife and thus the foundations of a princely family and the dynastic considerations that follow.

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<sup>341</sup> Maurits, *Prins van Oranje*, cat. no. 174, p. 335. The final cost was 21,000 guilders. Though jewelry was certainly more expensive than paintings, by comparison, this would be the price of twenty major contemporary paintings. The diamond pendant is mentioned here not as a work of art but as a luxury object, and one that is indicative of the level of expenditure and splendor at the court at the time and the significant increase in wealth and display that the marriage provided for Amalie.

<sup>342</sup> The original portrait of Frederik Hendrik is lost, but known through a print by Delff. Amalie's portrait was also engraved by Delff. The original painted portrait of Amalie by Van Mierevelt had been presented to Elizabeth of Bohemia and was in Heidelberg by 1650, at which date no copies of the painted portrait were in her possession; see Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," pp. 165-166.

He would develop the necessary courtly environment to present his growing family within the nation and among international aristocrats. In the 1630s and 1640s, key political marriages of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie's two eldest children to the houses of Stuart and Brandenburg would enhance Orange-Nassau stature, solidify their Protestant political connections, and expand their presence among European ruling houses. Domestically, Frederik Hendrik insured the succession of his son, Willem II (1626-1650), to not simply his aristocratic titles, but all his military and political positions as well.<sup>343</sup> The physical spaces the Orange-Nassau family inhabited would become a grand and visible element in the communication of their dynastic and political importance. The lavish new residences of Honselaarsdijk and the Huis ter Nieuburg, near Rijswijk, would not be built until the early 1630s. The Stadholder's Quarters was, however, always their official residence and their primary residence shortly after their marriage. Their apartments were along the *Buitenhof* wing, still relatively new, having been built around 1621. Nor is there any indication that these apartments were substantially altered until the early 1630s when the building was extended on the *Hofvijver* side next to the *Mauritstoren*, adding two new private apartments for the princely couple.<sup>344</sup>

Frederik Hendrik and Amalie were not the only royal couple in The Hague and not even of the highest aristocratic stature. That honor belonged to the "Winter"

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<sup>343</sup> This activity will be discussed further in Chapter Nine in relation to a portrait of Willem II.

<sup>344</sup> Koen Ottenheym, "'Possessed by Such a Passion for Building'. Frederik Hendrik and Architecture," in *Princely Display*, pp. 109-110, and Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken*, vol. 1, p. 179. The latter posits that the 1632 inventory relates to the renovation. This is a plausible suggestion since the inventory lists two rooms labeled "De nieuwe slaepkamer van zijn excellentie" and "De nieuwe kamer van haer excellentie" (pp. 181 and 189), thus recording the newly completed interior.

King and Queen of Bohemia, Elector Palatine Friedrich V (1596-1632) and Elizabeth Stuart. The presence of this royal couple and their court, though chronically short of funds and reliant on numerous parties for domestic and military support, added grandeur and sophistication of an international level to The Hague. However, their interest in the pictorial arts, particularly Elizabeth's, did not develop until the second half of the 1620s, at the same time and along similar lines as that of Fredrik Hendrik and Amalie. An album of watercolors by Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662) dated 1626 includes many images of the two couples engaged in a variety of courtly recreation and gives some idea of how they spent their more idle moments [figs. 68 and 69].<sup>345</sup> As much as it shows of the courtly environment, it indicates little about Frederik Hendrik himself.

The last component of the change in Frederik Hendrik's life in 1625 that would contribute to the later development of his artistic environment was the arrival of Constantijn Huygens. He began his service to the Stadholder-Prince in the summer of 1625 as junior secretary but would eventually become a member of the *Nassause Domeinraad* [Council of Nassau domains] that administered Frederik Hendrik's private aristocratic holdings, acquire a country estate and title as lord of Zuylichem, and serve as a trusted advisor to Frederik Hendrik and intermediary on a wide variety of affairs including cultural, architectural, and artistic.

Huygens's father, Christian Huygens (c. 1555-1624), was a secretary to the States General, formerly secretary to Willem I, and Constantijn and his brother

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<sup>345</sup> Martin Royaltan-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1988). Nothing, however, is known of this album's origins, who instigated it, whether it was presented as a gift from one couple to the other, or if another party was involved; though Royaltan-Kisch (pp. 109 ff.) posits that it was commissioned by the Friedrich V (and presented to Frederik Hendrik).

Maurits (1595-1642) were raised in the court city of The Hague.<sup>346</sup> Constantijn and Maurits Huygens received a thorough education that would prepare them for the bureaucratic or diplomatic service to which their father thought they were destined. Constantijn was particularly gifted in every branch of education from a very young age. His youthful Latin autobiography (1629-1631) details his education, including French, Latin, grammar, rhetoric, Greek, classical literature, poetry, logic, arithmetic and ciphers as well as music, drawing, dancing, fencing, horsemanship, and gymnastics.<sup>347</sup> He then went to study law at the University of Leiden and would also learn English and Italian. Huygens had the complete education and abilities to enter the diplomatic service and comport himself successfully in any courtly environment.

In addition, he had significant international experience. While a youth, he accompanied his father on a delegation to Brussels from November 1611 to January 1612. In 1618, he traveled to London with Carleton (a friend of his father's) and stayed with the Dutch Ambassador Noël de Caron (d. 1624) from June to November. He went to Venice in 1620 as secretary to François van Aerssen (1572-1641), special emissary to the Most Serene Republic.<sup>348</sup> He returned to England on a three-month trip in 1621 and again from 5 December 1621 until 1 March 1623 as ambassadorial secretary to Van Aerssen. On each trip he was exposed to political, scholarly,

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<sup>346</sup> Maurits Huygens was named after Maurits of Orange-Nassau and Constantijn (*Constantinus* [steadfast]) was chosen as an homage to the House of Orange-Nassau and Justinus of Nassau, who served as Constantijn's godfather. Constantijn Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, trans. C. L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij B.V., 1987), pp. 17 and 144 (first note to p. 17).

<sup>347</sup> Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*.

<sup>348</sup> Constantijn Huygens, *Journaal van de reis naar Venetië*, trans. Frans R. E. Blom (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 2003). The entire trip lasted from 25 April to 7 August, 1620 and the embassy stopped in numerous cities along the way on which Huygens commented; the stay in Venice itself was from 14 June to 5 July.

literary, and artistic environments – those in which he would operate professionally or as an amateur throughout his life. Notably, it was the scholarly and literary atmospheres, and not artistic treasures, that seemed to receive his greatest attention; the libraries at Oxford and Heidelberg astounded him. This should not be a surprise for, despite being known as an interested amateur of art, Huygens was principally interested in literature, poetry, and music. His interest in the pictorial arts developed over time and was always secondary to the literary arts; and as prolific a poet as he was, his literary accomplishments were secondary to his political responsibilities.

In terms of the visual arts, Huygens had a broad familiarity.<sup>349</sup> He knew the arts in The Hague; he had been taught drawing by Hendrick Hondius (1573-1649) and was family friends of Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629) and Jacques de Gheyn III (c. 1596-1641). Though absent from the Netherlands for much of the early 1620s, as the decade progressed, he gained a familiarity with the artists of the entire Netherlands, many of whom figure prominently in his youthful autobiography – a large portion of which deals with contemporary Netherlandish artists. He must have known Carleton's collection of antiquities and paintings from both Italy and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). In Brussels as a boy, he could have seen the art at the court of the Archdukes. Huygens would have seen the collections of James I (1566-1625) and of the late Prince Henry (1594-1612) in London, as well as some of the English aristocratic collections. In his "Journal" of the trip to Venice, Huygens specifically mentioned only the collection of Daniël Nijs (active c. 1598-c. 1640), but also visited various churches as well as the Doge's palace and would have seen a

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<sup>349</sup> For Huygens and the visual arts, generally, see Inge Broekman, *De rol van de schilderkunst in het leven van Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2005).

wealth of Venetian art.<sup>350</sup> He also admired paintings and architecture in Vincenza, Verona, and Basel.

With all his international diplomatic and cultural experience as well as his education and personal qualities, Huygens entered the service of Frederik Hendrik upon the recommendations of Carleton and Van Aerssen, thus beginning the formal relationship with the House of Orange-Nassau that would last the remainder of his very long life. In his new position he had direct access to Frederik Hendrik and their close professional bond developed. Thus, Huygens was in a position to bring his significant artistic exposure and personal interest to the service of the Stadholder-Prince when his attention turned to artistic and architectural patronage.

By the middle of 1625, Frederik Hendrik was head of the Dutch military and political structures. He had trained in the military under the greatest commander of the age and inherited the political system Maurits created after his coup of 1618. The loss of Breda provided a great defeat for the nation and the House of Orange-Nassau and a place from which to begin. Frederik Hendrik also inherited the Orange-Nassau legacy and the enormous wealth amassed by Maurits. By 1625, he had the inheritance of his two elder half-brothers' and his mother's goods and possessions, including all their works of art. He had seen the recent years of Maurits's expansion of courtly, architectural, and artistic activity that provided the foundation upon which he would subsequently build a truly splendid courtly and artistic atmosphere.

Frederik Hendrik gained the advice and companionship of an interested wife and educated secretary in 1625; Amalie was still relatively young but with international

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<sup>350</sup> Huygens, *Journal van de reis naar Venetië*, pp. 139-155, with the visit to Nijs, p. 151, 1 July 1620.

courtly exposure, and Huygens was educated and widely experienced but as yet with no direct activity collecting or patronizing pictorial artists. The year 1625 was the foundation of their joint association; patron, partner, and advisor were new roles. The succeeding years would be ones of development and experience, in which artistic activity had to take a subordinate position to the pressing military and political responsibilities of the late 1620s. As the years passed, Frederik Hendrik achieved military success and the increased stature that accompanied it. He and his closest associates began to establish the courtly environment that would reach its splendor in the 1630s and 1640s, with grand decorative cycles and luxurious environments of costly fabrics and en suite furniture in newly built palaces. The works of art that filled his court in the early years, however, were as diverse and sporadic as the sources from which they came, and as such they are consistent with recent Orange-Nassau tradition under Maurits and are reflective of a man still lacking his own artistic and courtly identity.

## Chapter Nine: Frederik Hendrik – Life and Art 1625-1632

“I undersigned Alexander le Clercq, concierge of both of the courts of His Excellency my lord the prince of Orange, etc., know the preceding goods to have in my custody and promise to account for the same at all times. Acted [in] The Hague the last [day] of August 1632.”<sup>351</sup>

This is how Frederik Hendrik’s (1584-1647) concierge closed the 1632 inventory of his master’s goods. It recorded both the artistic patrimony inherited from his predecessors Filips Willem (1554-1618), Louise de Coligny (1555-1620), and Maurits (1567-1625) as well as many works of art arriving at the court of Frederik Hendrik during his first years as Stadholder and Prince of Orange.<sup>352</sup> His own contribution to the courtly environment followed two related tracks: the continuance of his predecessors’ activity and the eventual expansion thereupon. Frederik Hendrik, however, began modestly: his first recorded commissions, purchases, and received gifts of paintings all occur in 1627. After this year his artistic activity began to expand with increasing time, status, exposure, and newly completed interior spaces to decorate. The years 1625-1632 were a period of exposure and development.

Frederik Hendrik would come to have a splendid court, influenced by the courts of the French, Bohemian, and English sovereigns, continuing the traditions of his Orange-Nassau ancestors, and built on the foundations laid by his half brother.

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<sup>351</sup> S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976), vol. 1, p. 229. See also Appendix I (text after no. 1091). New acquisitions were subsequently added to the inventory between September 1632 and sometime in 1634.

<sup>352</sup> The inventory records at least about seventy-five paintings by nineteen named artists entering Orange-Nassau possession under Frederik Hendrik (though whether by purchase, commission, or gift is less certain), including religious, mythological, and historical subjects, portraits, battle paintings, descriptive works, genre scenes, and pastorals. There are also additional works known to have arrived at the court during this period that are not recorded in the inventory.

He had the services of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) and the companionship of Amalie, both of whose artistic experience developed during the 1620s along with his own. In time, he began to purchase and commission paintings as well as large amounts of fabric, furniture, and interior fittings to decorate his various residences in a grand courtly style, appropriate to his position within European aristocracy and the Dutch nation, and in an effort to communicate that position to Dutch citizens and foreign visitors alike. The earliest years of his reign were those in which such a court was founded, leading to its recognized grandeur in the 1630s and 1640s, when large-scale artistic campaigns would visually promote his stature and the splendor of his court.

Frederik Hendrik's developing activity in the artistic sphere coincided with the increased success, security, and position of the Stadholder-Prince within the military and political realms.<sup>353</sup> In 1627, Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632) presented Frederik Hendrik with the English Order of the Garter on behalf of Charles I (1600-1649), raising his status among international aristocracy and confirming the Orange-Nassau connection to England. The years 1627-1632 saw great military victories, none more so than 1629, which was a turning point in the war, solidified Frederik Hendrik's reputation as a military leader, and secured the provinces. The capture of the Spanish "silver fleet" of treasure in September 1628 robbed the enemy Spanish crown of an enormous sum of money and brought Frederik Hendrik, as Admiral-General of the navy, up to ten percent of the eleven million guilder spoil. This

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<sup>353</sup> For a summary of Frederik Hendrik's military and political activity, see Chapter Three.

income and other captures helped to fund his architectural and artistic projects.<sup>354</sup> In 1631, the Act of Survivance assured Willem II's (1626-1650) succession to his father's military and political positions, in addition to the noble titles and holdings he would inherit by right. Thus, shortly after 1630, Frederik Hendrik was at a high point – established, successful, wealthy, and in control.

For Frederik Hendrik, just as for Maurits, the acquisition of the title Prince of Orange coincided with his greatest political power, increased his stature among European aristocracy, and was of key importance in the expansion of his architectural and artistic activity. It provided the impetus and the justification for the courtly grandeur that would come to surround him, visibly manifest in his architectural campaigns, lavish interior decoration, and artistic patronage in the years 1625-1632.

Frederik Hendrik was intensely interested in architecture, both in a theoretical and practical sense, just as Maurits had been.<sup>355</sup> The increase in building undertaken by Maurits in his last seven years would be superseded in grandeur by the palaces of Frederik Hendrik. His building and remodeling campaigns increased after 1625 and again after 1630. While Maurits was still alive, Frederik Hendrik lived in the Stadholder's Quarters, which after his marriage would be the primary urban residence of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie. At Honselaarsdijk, building had begun in earnest in

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<sup>354</sup> Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren “‘From the “Sea Prince’s” Monies’: The Stadholder’s Art Collection,” in *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague*, ed. Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren (The Hague: Mauritshuis; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), pp. 34-60.

<sup>355</sup> Koen Ottenheym, “‘Possessed by such a passion for building’. Frederik Hendrik and architecture,” in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, ed. Jori Zijlmans and Marika Keblusek (The Hague: Historical Museum; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), pp. 104-125, for a summary of Frederik Hendrik’s architectural activity and interests; or D. F. Slothouwer, *De Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff’s Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V., 1945) for a more thorough treatment.

1621, with the prospect of increased military incomes to fund the building, and the central range was completed in 1625.<sup>356</sup> Between 1625 and 1631, the building was significantly expanded with two parallel wings and terminal pavilions as well as an arcade to define the resulting interior court. Then, in 1631, the central pavilion of the original 1621 range (less than a decade old) was rebuilt. Campaigns of remodeling, furnishing, decoration, and the construction of outbuildings continued throughout the 1630s and 1640s. The Huis ter Nieuburg near Rijswijk, intended to be a more private suburban retreat, was purchased in 1630 and a new building built by 1634. The Stadholder's Quarters were expanded by 1632 with a small addition on the *Hofvijver* side of the *Mauritstoren* that added two new private apartments for Frederik Hendrik and Amalie.<sup>357</sup> Each of these residences would have elaborate adjoining gardens and grottos, and during the 1620s Frederik Hendrik completed the *Buitenhof* grotto begun under Maurits by Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629). In 1632, Frederik Hendrik was also instrumental in the creation of the broad square west of the *Binnenhof* known as *Het Plein* [the square], with large plots for elegant urban residences; though he himself never built on the site, it is clear evidence of his architectural interests. Throughout his life, the Stadholder dealt personally with many details of design and construction, most notably at Honselaarsdijk. While the modest renovation at the

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<sup>356</sup> Rebecca Joslyn Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2002), pp. 31-73.

<sup>357</sup> Ottenheym, "'Possessed by such a passion for building': Frederik Hendrik and architecture," p. 110. In the 1632 inventory, both Frederik Hendrik and Amalie had rooms listed specifically as "new" and, thus, the expansion must have been completed by August of that year. There were also later renovations and expansions to the Stadholder's Quarters. The Noordeinde residence, Frederik Hendrik's personal property, was used primarily as a guest quarters after 1625 and was renovated in the late 1630s. The Buren residence was also renovated later in Frederik Hendrik's life, and the Huis ten Bosch was not completed until the year of his death (and decorated afterward).

Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague continued in the urban architectural vernacular, Frederik Hendrik's palaces outside the court city were designed with attention to classical proportions and architectural elements, largely filtered through French examples. The result was buildings that were generally classical in style and certainly international in their intention and appearance.

Thus, there was a steady increase and sincere personal investment in building activity under Frederik Hendrik, with particular growth in 1625 and again in the early 1630s. Furnishing and decorating such buildings would be a grand undertaking. The 1632 inventory and the later additions to it list a large amount of furnishings purchased in and after 1632 that must have been intended to outfit these newly built or renovated palaces.<sup>358</sup> The painted decoration of the new buildings would not occur until the 1630s, and Frederik Hendrik's greatest activity with the pictorial arts would be devoted to this necessary end. In 1625 and the years directly following, however, there was little activity with the pictorial arts. There was no appointment of a court painter nor was there ever pursuit of extant paintings to form a princely collection comparable to contemporary European courts. Indeed, in the early years of Frederik Hendrik's reign there was no discernible change in the courtly structure or the display of princely magnificence inherited from Maurits.

The greatest aspects of the continuity between the two half brothers were that they inhabited the same primary residence and that Frederik Hendrik was Maurits's

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<sup>358</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, pp. 227-237, [1632] inv. nos. 1066-1315; there are three sections added to the 1632 inventory of items acquired after 31 August 1632: the first, simply after 31 August 1632; the second, of items received from Italy in December 1632 and February 1633; and the third acquired sometime in 1634; there are also scores of items – some specifically listed as old, others almost certainly new – that were stored in an attic at Noordeinde and must also have been intended to furnish newly built spaces (pp. 211-223, [1632] inv. nos. 717-975).

universal heir. A portion of that inheritance and a major component of the decoration of the residences in The Hague were tapestries, the grandest and most expensive of all courtly arts. The 1632 inventory lists numerous tapestries both hanging and in storage, including history subjects, hunts, forests, flowers, and hangings of coats of arms.<sup>359</sup> Some of the tapestries are specifically listed as “old,” some almost certainly came from Filips Willem in Brussels and Breda, and many would have been in place in the Stadholder’s Quarters under Maurits. Subject tapestries had a specific presence in some of the most public rooms of the courtly environment, where they served both as decoration and the propagandistic function of allegorically communicating grandeur and the greatness of their owner.

A cycle of “Hercules” tapestries hung in the large audience hall of the Stadholder’s Quarters, conveying the ideals of fortitude, perseverance, and virtue symbolically embodied in the tapestries’ owner.<sup>360</sup> In the following room of Frederik Hendrik’s hung a series of “Julius Caesar” tapestries which allowed comparison of the Stadholder-resident to the great military general and political leader.<sup>361</sup> The large dining hall held a “Julius Caesar” cycle as well.<sup>362</sup> Their appearance at the court of Frederik Hendrik (and possibly Maurits) should be of no surprise given the personal regard he had for Julius Caesar. Frederik Hendrik also acquired new tapestry cycles

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<sup>359</sup> Appendix I.4: Tapestries in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory.

<sup>360</sup> Appendix I, no. 118.

<sup>361</sup> Appendix I, no. 128.

<sup>362</sup> Appendix I, no. 168.

including a set of eight “Forests” and eight tapestries of the *Nassau Genealogy*, all delivered in 1632.<sup>363</sup>

An additional continuity between the artistic activity of Maurits and Frederik Hendrik was the prevalence of local painters. Numerous paintings arriving at the court between 1625 and 1632/34 were executed by artists working in and around The Hague. Daniël Cletcher (1599/1600-1632), who served Frederik Hendrik as a military engineer (and is listed as “*ingineur*” in the inventory), painted a “Finding of Moses” as well as *The Siege of Grol, 1627* and *The Siege of ‘s-Hertogenbosch, 1629* [figs. 70 and 71].<sup>364</sup> It is not known, however, whether these two battle paintings were commissioned by or given to Frederik Hendrik. Peter Rottermond (active 1632-1643) appears in the inventory with a work executed in pen of “Venus.”<sup>365</sup> A landscape depicting Amalie on a trip to Spa was done by Pieter Moninckx (c. 1606-c. 1686).<sup>366</sup> Four floral still-life paintings to serve as fire screens painted by Claes Isaacz. van Swanenburg (1572-1652) were acquired in 1634.<sup>367</sup> Van Swanenburg

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<sup>363</sup> Appendix I, nos. 1090, 1091, and 1119. The eight *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries are recorded in two entries, likely corresponding to two shipments in 1632. The first four are grouped under objects “in desen jaere 1632 gemaect ende aengecocht” and the second four are listed before objects “ontfangen in december 1632 ende in february 1633.” The *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries will be discussed further in the Epilogue.

<sup>364</sup> Appendix I, nos. 251, 91, and 92.

<sup>365</sup> Appendix I, no. 88.

<sup>366</sup> Appendix I, no. 253; Moninckx was a second-generation artist working in The Hague who would later work at Honselaarsdijk and the Huis ter Nieuburg.

<sup>367</sup> Appendix I, nos. 1188, 1189, 1190, and 1191. They appear in the section of the inventory of items acquired sometime in 1634. Van Swanenburg was a Leiden-born decorative painter who worked in The Hague from 1608 and also painted still lifes and landscapes.

was also responsible for two mantelpieces decorating two subsidiary rooms of the Stadholder's Quarters – one a landscape, the other a scene of *commedia dell'arte*.<sup>368</sup>

In the Noordeinde residence, in a large room that housed a wide variety of paintings, there was a series of new world sites.<sup>369</sup> These “thirteen large pieces with poor black frames” were done by “Knibbergen and others” and depicted a variety of known and unidentified ports and forts in the Americas. A 1758 Honselaarsdijk inventory records twenty-one such paintings of new world (and East Indian) locales; some are listed as commissioned by Frederik Hendrik (and some were in poor condition by then).<sup>370</sup> The greater number in the eighteenth century and the date of 1638 recorded with two works in 1758 indicates that the representation of Dutch colonial locations was a continuing project. François Knibbergen (1596/97-after 1664) had been in Italy and was in Amsterdam in 1626 but joined the guild in The Hague in 1629, likely either in the hopes of or as a result of the Stadholder's patronage.

Local artists active in The Hague were thus responsible for delivering a variety of works, predominantly of a decorative or straightforwardly representational character.<sup>371</sup> This is a continuation of the local patronage under Maurits for some of

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<sup>368</sup> Appendix I, nos. 363 and 357; these works, about which nothing is known, may have entered Orange-Nassau collection prior to 1625.

<sup>369</sup> Appendix I, nos. 498a-m.

<sup>370</sup> Drossaers, and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 2, pp. 502-521, “Inventaris van de schilderijen op het Huis Honselaarsdijk 1755-1758,” inv. nos. 17-24, 28, 29, 36, 43, 165 [7 paintings], 294, 295. See also Slothouwer, *De Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, pp. 278 ff.

<sup>371</sup> They were also of secondary artistic quality – judging from the modern reputations of the artists, comments about poor condition, and as apparent in extant works.

his artistic activity such as portraits and copies after earlier works.<sup>372</sup> Together, these local, functional paintings account for about one-third of those entering the Orange-Nassau collection between 1625 and c. 1632, and most date to the latter part of that period. One painting by Cletcher is dated 1630 (and its pair is likely from the same year); four of the six paintings by Van Swanenburg are from 1634; Knibbergen arrived in The Hague in 1629; and Rottermond is recorded as active only in 1632. To this could be added two landscapes by Hercules Seghers (1589/90-c.1638) acquired sometime between September and December, 1632, shortly after which Seghers moved to The Hague (in 1633).<sup>373</sup>

Thus, many of the paintings entering the Orange-Nassau collection were acquired around 1630 and not in the first years immediately after Frederik Hendrik's accession in 1625. The same is true of paintings originating outside the immediate vicinity of the court city of The Hague and which were of greater artistic quality. There are no documented commissions or purchases by Frederik Hendrik in either 1625 or 1626.<sup>374</sup> Frederik Hendrik's first known activity in the visual arts was in Utrecht in November 1626, when he was there to be installed as Stadholder of that province. During that visit, on 11 November, Frederik Hendrik (Amalie was not with him in Utrecht) visited the homes of a number of artists; however, there are no

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<sup>372</sup> The thirty copies of "various old kings, captains and other gentlemen from France, Spain, Italy, and other lands copied by" Everard Quirijnsz van der Maes are an example of local functional artistic production for the court and may just as well have been executed under Frederik Hendrik as Maurits. Appendix I, nos. 704a-dd.

<sup>373</sup> Appendix I, nos. 1115a and 1115b, recorded in the section of the 1632 inventory of items acquired after 31 August 1632 (but before the items received from Italy in December 1632 and February 1633).

<sup>374</sup> There are works dated 1625, likely in the Stadholder's possession from that date. However, certain aspects make them exceptional and argue against Frederik Hendrik's direct patronage. They will be discussed below.

recorded comments by the Stadholder about these visits nor is it likely that he instigated them.<sup>375</sup>

Two months later, in January 1627, Frederik Hendrik paid the Utrecht artist Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) for two mantelpieces destined for Honselaarsdijk.<sup>376</sup> This payment almost certainly related to a commission (and not purchase) given that the paintings were mantelpieces for a new residence. They are Frederik Hendrik's first documented payment for a painting. Van Honthorst would become the most favored artist in the courtly environment in The Hague and his works were already in the Orange-Nassau collection and familiar to Frederik Hendrik well before his 1626 visit to Utrecht.<sup>377</sup> These two 1627 paintings of "Diana" subjects were entirely in keeping with the overall thematic decoration of the hunting palace Honselaarsdijk. As mantelpieces for a new residence, the works were primarily decorative; and, as such, they were an early example of the type of patronage that would dominate Frederik Hendrik's artistic activity in the 1630s and 1640s.

In 1627, the court also received its first known gifts under Frederik Hendrik.

The States of Utrecht presented four paintings to Amalie: a *Shepherd* and a

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<sup>375</sup> Eric Nicolai Domela Nieuwenhuis Nyegaard, "Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638)" (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 51-52. The visits were almost certainly organized by his Utrecht hosts, who may have been trying to promote their own artists or gauge the interests of the Stadholder for gifts that would be presented to him and Amalie. Paulus Moreelse, in addition to being an artist, also had a political position in Utrecht and a role in the November 1626 visit.

<sup>376</sup> J. Richard Judson and Rudolf E. O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1999), p. 114, cat. no. 108. Judson tentatively identifies these two works as "quite likely" being cat. no. 108, *Diana Resting with Her Six Nymphs*, c. 1626, whereabouts unknown and cat. no. 109, *Diana on the Hunt*, signed and dated: *G. Honthorst fe. 1627*, formerly Berlin, lost in World War II.

<sup>377</sup> Appendix I, nos. 50, 51, 66, 101, and 611 are all paintings by Van Honthorst that date (or are likely to date in the case of no. 66) from before 1625, though nothing is recorded of their entrance into the collection.

*Shepherdess* by Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638), a *Banquet of the Gods* by Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594/95-1667), and a *Garden of Eden* (“Paradise” Landscape) by Roelandt Saverij (1576-1639) [figs. 72-75].<sup>378</sup> The city of Utrecht also presented a separate gift of paintings, though it is not known what works it included.<sup>379</sup> Amalie thanked the respective presenters in May (the States) and December (the City) of 1627. The gift from the States of Utrecht has been related to Frederik Hendrik and Amalie’s wedding, Amalie’s twenty-fifth birthday, and the birth of Willem II, but the most likely cause was the installation of Frederik Hendrik as Stadholder of Utrecht in November 1626.<sup>380</sup> For this occasion, Frederik Hendrik received a gift of a small silver equestrian sculpture of Maurits by Adam van Vianen (c. 1569-1627) from the collegiate churches of Utrecht.<sup>381</sup> Also in 1627, the city of Utrecht commissioned two silver wine jugs from Christian van Vianen (c. 1600-1667) to be given to

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<sup>378</sup> Appendix I, nos. 231b, 231c, 232, and 236. All four paintings hung in Amalie’s gallery. The 1632 inventory entries themselves do not list these paintings as gifts; that information comes from the Resolutions of the Deputed States of Utrecht 6 April 1627. See Domela Nieuwenhuis Nyegaard, “Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638),” vol. 1, pp. 50-52, for a discussion of this and other gifts given by Utrecht to Frederik Hendrik and Amalie, complete with references to original documents. See also *Princely Patrons*, pp. 178-180.

<sup>379</sup> These two gifts have been variously confused in the literature. C. H. de Jonge, *Paulus Moreelse Portret- en Genreschilder te Utrecht 1571-1638* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V., 1938), pp. 5, 61, and 67, seemingly inadvertently refers to both the city and the states as the presenters of the aforementioned four paintings. J. G. van Gelder, “Rubens Marginalia IV,” *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981), p. 545 and notes 13 and 14, and Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 192, [1632] inv. nos. 231 and 236 both acknowledge the two separate gifts. Domela Nieuwenhuis Nyegaard, “Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638),” vol. 1, pp. 50-52, provides the most recent and thorough discussion of the gifts.

<sup>380</sup> Domela Nieuwenhuis Nyegaard, “Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638),” vol. 1, pp. 50-52.

<sup>381</sup> Appendix I, no. 279. The following inventory entry (Appendix I, no. 280) is another small silver sculpture by Vianen, of “Aristotle and Phyllis,” but there is no mention of it as a gift as well (and it would be an unusual choice of subject for a recently married man). See also *Princely Patrons*, p. 236, in cat. no. 32.

Frederik Hendrik.<sup>382</sup> Thus, the civic, provincial, and religious bodies of Utrecht presented to Frederik Hendrik (and his wife) gifts of works of art by many of their foremost local artists, some of whom Frederik Hendrik probably visited in November 1626. Though the paintings presented by the city of Utrecht are not known, they would almost certainly have been by local artists and may also appear in the 1632 inventory. It records many works by Utrecht artists with unknown means of entry into the Orange-Nassau holdings that could qualify as potential candidates.<sup>383</sup>

The 1627 gifts to Frederik Hendrik and Amalie are the first recorded in a lifetime of the princely couple being presented with gifts of art from a variety of sources. The inventory records other gifts: a small chest of ebony, gold, silver, and silk from “Utrecht” to Amalie; a silver box from Piet Hein (1577-1629); and complete set of fabric hangings of velvet, silver, silk, and damask for a bed given by Friedrich V (1596-1632), King of Bohemia.<sup>384</sup> The city of Amsterdam would present Amalie, on two occasions (in 1637 and 1638), with two pieces of sculpture that she admired in collections while she had been visiting that city.<sup>385</sup> Organizations too, like the Dutch East India Company, also presented the couple with gifts, including a

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<sup>382</sup> *Princely Patrons*, p. 236, in cat. no. 32. They do not appear in the 1632 inventory; indeed, no table service, functional or decorative, is listed.

<sup>383</sup> The giving of political gifts is not only about the tastes of the intended recipient but also the intention of the presenter. In the absence of such established tastes, the selected items may successfully fulfill the promotional role they were chosen to play and influence the subsequent patronage of the recipient. This seems to have been the case, as Utrecht artists would figure prominently among those works acquired during this period and shortly thereafter.

<sup>384</sup> Appendix I, no. 187; Appendix I, no. 279; and Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 228, inv. no. 1081.

<sup>385</sup> C. W. Fock, “The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century,” *Apollo* 110, no. 214 (December 1979), p. 473.

costly lacquer balustrade for Amalie and gifts of porcelain.<sup>386</sup> Indeed, Friedrich von Dohna (1621-1688), who spent time at the Orange-Nassau court in the 1640s, wrote about the great number of gifts that came to the Orange-Nassau and the degree to which Amalie enjoyed and encouraged such activity.<sup>387</sup> Marie de' Medici (1573-1642) gave her portrait by Van Honthorst to Frederik Hendrik in 1638.<sup>388</sup> Portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria (1609-1669) by Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) were received from the English monarch by Frederik Hendrik while camped with the army in June 1638 and then, as Huygens wrote in a letter to Amalie, were sent to be hung in the portrait gallery at the Huis ter Nieuburg near Rijswijk.<sup>389</sup>

The Prince and Princess of Orange received gifts of art, including paintings, throughout their lives, from shortly after they were wed and Frederik Hendrik succeeded Maurits. Maurits (and Filips Willem), too, had received gifts, setting an altogether expectable precedent completely in keeping with courtly environments and

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<sup>386</sup> For these instances and Amalie's collection of porcelain more generally, see C. W. Fock, "The Apartments of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms: Princely Splendour and the Triumph of Porcelain," in *Princely Patrons*, pp. 76-86, especially pp. 78 and 80.

<sup>387</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 239: "Presque tous les rois, les princes et les potentats étrangers, les compagnies des Indes, les villes et les riches sociétés de Hollande lui envoyaient des présents qu'elle recevait ouvertement et de bonne grâce sans bassesse ni en cachette. Ainsi elle possédait en peu de temps une prodigieuse quantité de vaisselle d'or massif pour tous les usages de la vie, des meubles pompeux de toutes sortes, des cabinets lambrissés de laque de la Chine, des vases de porcelaine d'une grandeur d'une forme et d'une abondance extra ordinaire, des coffres et des vases d'ambre, d'agate, de cristal de roche garnis de pierres précieuses sans nombre où les perles et diamants n'étaient point oubliés." Originally published in *Les mémoires du borgrave et comte Frédéric de Dohna 1621-1688*, ed. H. Borkowski (Königsberg, 1898), p. 27.

<sup>388</sup> M. E. Tiethoff-Splithoff, "Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," in *Princely Display*, p. 176.

<sup>389</sup> J. A. Worp, ed., *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, 6 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911-1917), vol. 2, p. 371; letter 1861 from Huygens to Amalie, 26 June 1638: "De heer Goringh heeft aan Z. H. de portretten van den Koning en de Koningin door Van Dijck aangeboden; zij zijn heel mooi. Ik heb ze aan Serwouters gezonden, om ze op hunne plaats in Rijswijk op te hangen."

noble favor. It was *de rigueur* in Europe to give gifts of gold and silver objects, paintings, horses, or other such valuable items to ambassadors, nobles, and princes both foreign and domestic. Given the status of the Orange-Nassau, in addition to gifts of congratulations or honor, flattery or attempts to ingratiate oneself with such lofty personages and potential patrons are also possible motivations.<sup>390</sup> Frederik Hendrik's typical characterization as an interested patron of the arts has often led to the assumption that works entering his collection were commissions or purchases; the possibility that other paintings in the Orange-Nassau collection (and the 1632 inventory) were given as gifts is almost entirely neglected.<sup>391</sup>

The Stadholder's first documented purchase of extant paintings also dates from 1627. Jacques de Gheyn II acquired for the Prince two paintings by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) from Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601-1678) in Middleburg.<sup>392</sup> The two works were a "Diana" and a "Summer Scene," the latter of which included figures by Hendrik van Balen (1575-1632). The 1632 inventory

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<sup>390</sup> There is no evidence that painters directly presented their work to the princely couple, in the hopes of remuneration, favor, or employ. However, in the 1630s, gifts of paintings were presented to Constantijn Huygens for this purpose in the case of both Rembrandt (who presented his *Blinding of Samson* [Frankfurt] as thanks for Huygens's services on his behalf as intermediary in the "Passion" cycle commission) and Jacob van Campen (who presented Huygens with the *Profile Portrait of Constantijn Huygens and his Wife* [The Hague] to curry favor). For Van Campen, see Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic," p. 119. Authors and publishers of books and designers of prints dedicated editions and gave copies of their work to the Prince (often via Huygens) in the hopes of recognition, payment, or further patronage. Marika Keblusek, "Books at the Stadholder's Court," in *Princely Display*, pp. 143-152, especially pp. 148-150.

<sup>391</sup> By contrast, Willem Jan Hoogsteder, "De Schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen" (Doctoraalscriptie, Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijks Universiteit te Utrecht, 1986), pp. 43-48, recognizes the existence of courtly gifts and considers them as such, cautioning against interpreting them too directly in relation to the recipient or to ideas such as taste or interest.

<sup>392</sup> J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983), vol. 1, p. 145 and 182, note 63, with J. Denucé, *Brieven en Documenten betreffend J. Brueghel I en II*, Antwerp, 1934, p. 150.

records five works by Brueghel and these two were almost certainly not the first to enter the Orange-Nassau collection, as paintings by him likely came from Filips Willem.<sup>393</sup>

Thus, 1627 forms the beginning of Frederik Hendrik's known artistic activity, with the first recorded purchases, commissions, and gifts.<sup>394</sup> Just as the local patronage of artists active in The Hague largely dates from after this time, so too does the acquisition of higher quality art from a wider variety of artistic schools, with Utrecht predominating. However, few of the Orange-Nassau's paintings from this period are as clearly documented as the Utrecht gifts and any means of acquisition is possible. In addition to the two paintings by Moreelse from the States of Utrecht, there are three others. The first is possibly an earlier work; the second is another "Shepherdess" and appears in the same inventory entry as the *Shepherd* and *Shepherdess* given by the States of Utrecht; and the last is a "Venus with a Hunter" listed in the same inventory entry as two paintings by Van Poelenburch and that was attributed to the latter artist in a 1673 inventory.<sup>395</sup> The "Shepherdess" and "Venus and Hunter" by "Moreelse" hung in close proximity to other works by Utrecht artists, including all of the 1627 gifts from the States of Utrecht, and it is a tempting speculation to consider them as possibly part of the gift from the city of Utrecht.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> Of the five paintings listed in the 1632 inventory under Brueghel's name, these may be Appendix I, nos. 243a and 243b, both recorded as by Brueghel but without subject. For Brueghel paintings entering the Dutch Orange-Nassau collection from Filips Willem, see Chapter Five.

<sup>394</sup> Other paintings were, however, likely acquired before this date, but 1627 forms the documented beginning of his artistic activity.

<sup>395</sup> Appendix I, no. 83, see Chapter Six; Appendix I, no. 231a; Appendix I, no. 234c.

<sup>396</sup> See Appendix I, nos. 231-236. These six entries list eleven paintings, including all four gifts from the States of Utrecht. Domela Nieuwenhuis Nyegaard, "Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638)," vol. 1, p. 52, note 166, gives a contrasting opinion (seemingly based on an erroneous reading of the inventory):

There are two further “Shepherdesses” in the 1632 inventory attributed to Jan van Bijlert (c. 1597-1671) that were, nevertheless, later attributed to Van Honthorst.<sup>397</sup> Two still lifes of fruit and flowers are listed by Balthasar van der Ast (1593/94-1657), who spent the years leading up to 1632 in Utrecht and, thus, should be counted among the concentration of Utrecht artists in the 1632 inventory.<sup>398</sup> Saverij appears four times in the inventory, including the painting in the gift from the States of Utrecht, but others of these four likely date from the 1610s.<sup>399</sup> One painting by Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) of 1625 appears in the 1632 inventory and two others were likely acquired for Honselaarsdijk shortly thereafter, all of “Theagenes and Charicleia.”<sup>400</sup> Alexander Keirincx (1600-1652) is mentioned three times in the inventory, all in combination with Van Poelenburch, and once in relation to a painting acquired in 1634 and destined as a mantelpiece for Honselaarsdijk.<sup>401</sup> Both Adam

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“Daar, naast de herder en herderin van Moreelse die door de Staten waren geschonken, in de inventarissen van de Oranjes geen andere schilderijen van Moreelse uit omstreeks 1626/1627 genoemd worden, lijkt het me niet zeer waarschijnlijk dat de Stad ook werken van Moreelse schonk.”

<sup>397</sup> Appendix I, nos. 52a and 52b. If by Van Bijlert, they are the only works by the artist in the 1632 inventory and must certainly date after 1624 when the artist returned from Italy and likely date from the late 1620s when his subject matter and style shifted from the Caravaggesque to the courtly. If by Van Honthorst, they are further evidence of his favored status at the court.

<sup>398</sup> Appendix I, nos. 217a and 217b. These works could also have entered the collection under Maurits as Van der Ast was already active in the late 1610s.

<sup>399</sup> Appendix I, nos. 57, 236, 237, and 241; no. 236, dated 1626, was part of the 1627 gift; no. 237 is identified with a painting dated c. 1617; and no. 241 has been tentatively identified with a painting attributed to Jan Brueghel the Younger. Though working for a long time in Utrecht, Saverij’s paintings deviate from the courtly classicism then gaining dominance in that city and which would become so well represented in the Orange-Nassau collection.

<sup>400</sup> Appendix I, no. 667. This painting and the two at Honselaarsdijk, dated 1625, 1626, and 1628 respectively, will be discussed below.

<sup>401</sup> Appendix I, nos. 81a, 81b, and 1246. Keirincx was from Antwerp, where he was still recorded in 1624, may have been to England in 1625, and settled in Amsterdam about 1636. He is mentioned in the section of artists from Utrecht because his name appears in the inventory only in association with Poelenburch and he likely spent time between 1625 and 1635 in that city.

and Christian van Vianen, whose works were received as gifts, could be added to the number of Utrecht artists from between 1625 and 1632. Two Utrecht artists, however, dominate the inventory: Gerrit van Honthorst and Cornelis van Poelenburch.<sup>402</sup>

Outside Utrecht or the local artists from The Hague, works by relatively few artists were acquired between 1625 and 1632/34. In addition to the two paintings by the late Brueghel the Elder purchased in 1627 and the two Seghers landscapes acquired in 1632 (both previously mentioned), there are six paintings by either Rembrandt (1606-1669) or Jan Lievens (1607-1674), two paintings by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) (both acquired under exceptional circumstances), and five by Van Dyck (with another four from the same period not listed in the inventory).<sup>403</sup>

Fourteen total paintings by Van Poelenburch (for four of which he is the second named artist) are listed in the inventory, including religious, mythological, and pastoral subjects.<sup>404</sup> Van Poelenburch had returned from Italy to Utrecht sometime before April 1627 when he negotiated with the States of Utrecht concerning his painting of the *Banquet of the Gods* that the States presented to Amalie (for which she thanked them in May 1627). This painting may have provided their first exposure to

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<sup>402</sup> Appendix I.1: Artists in the 1632 Orange Nassau Inventory. Van Poelenburch is represented in the 1632 inventory with fourteen paintings (three in combination with Keirincx and one with Saverij) and Van Honthorst with ten, though another two without his name are by him and he also executed the two mantelpieces for Honselaarsdijk and a number of other works around 1630 that are not recorded in the inventory, making his total contribution much greater.

<sup>403</sup> Some artists who worked both before and during this period (such as Pieter Lastman and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem) are also recorded in the inventory, often with only one work, though the means of acquisition it is not known. They were mentioned in Chapter Six with Maurits (as their primary artistic activity dates his years of power) but may have entered the collection under Frederik Hendrik between 1625 and 1632.

<sup>404</sup> Appendix I, nos. 59, 67, 69, 71, 74, 79, 81a, 81b, 232, 233, 234b, 241, and 1246; 81a, 81b and 1246 were in combination with Keirincx and 241 was in combination with Saverij.

the artist's work. Of the fourteen, only the gift and the 1634 purchase are documented with a date and means of acquisition. Even admitting the possibility that some of the remainder were also received as gifts, their sheer number indicates that Frederik Hendrik or Amalie almost certainly admired his work. With the exception of the known 1634 acquisition for Honselaarsdijk, they were all hung in the galleries of Frederik Hendrik (nine) and Amalie (four) at the Stadholder's Quarters, where the greatest concentrations and most diverse groups of paintings in the entire inventory appeared. Unfortunately, due to both the absence of dates on Van Poelenburch's paintings and his frequent repetition of themes, it is not possible to determine exactly which of his paintings were owned by the Orange-Nassau couple. The gift from the States of Utrecht dated 1627 is an exception.

Van Honthorst was the only artist whose works appeared in Orange-Nassau possession throughout an entire career, from shortly after his return from Italy in 1620 and before Frederik Hendrik's known period of patronage until years after the Stadholder's death.<sup>405</sup> His work for the court also followed the path of Orange-Nassau artistic activity more broadly speaking, from early and exceptional works of a variety of subjects, to paintings acquired under specific circumstances in 1627, and then to important acquisitions during the period of increased patronage around 1630.<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> For those works by Van Honthorst recorded in the 1632 inventory, see Appendix I, nos. 44, 50, 51, 66, 101, 102, 186, 223, 229, 248, 319, and 611.

<sup>406</sup> Van Honthorst would also be involved in Frederik Hendrik's patronage throughout the 1630s and 1640s, contributing to the grand decorative cycles of his newly completed palaces and executing a wide variety of courtly portraits. After Frederik Hendrik's death, he also worked in the *Oranjezaal* of the Huis ten Bosch, which is a visual encomium to his former patron.

Van Honthorst returned from Italy to Utrecht in the summer of 1620 and shortly thereafter he met Sir Dudley Carleton who introduced the artist to both Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662) in The Hague and the Caroline court in London. Carleton commissioned a painting of *Aeneas* as a gift for the Earl of Arundel (Thomas Howard, 1585-1646) in London; Arundel replied to Carleton on 21 July 1621, remarking on the quality of the painting and particularly noting its Caravaggesque appearance.<sup>407</sup> This style was practiced by Van Honthorst immediately after his return from Italy and is evident in at least one painting in the Stadholder's collection, an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, dated 1622, which hung as a mantelpiece in the "cabinet" in Frederik Hendrik's (older) suite of rooms [fig. 76].<sup>408</sup> The same room also housed a painting of "Venus and Ceres with Satyrs" by Van Honthorst of unknown date, and the "gallery" of Frederik Hendrik housed a painting of people playing backgammon, likely dating from 1622-1623.<sup>409</sup> In the same "gallery" hung both *Young Woman Tuning a Lute* and *Young Woman Playing the Guitar*, the former signed and dated 1624 and its pendant almost certainly from the same date [figs. 77 and 78].<sup>410</sup> There was also a mantelpiece in the Noordeinde residence dated 1624 of a *Concert* [fig. 79].<sup>411</sup> None of these paintings, dating during the last years of Maurits's life, have documented means of acquisition. The same is

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<sup>407</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, p. 106, cat. no. 89; Christopher White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collections of her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. xxiii.

<sup>408</sup> Appendix I, no. 101. This must have been somewhere in the *Buitenhof* wing of the Stadholder's Quarters and is to be contrasted with the new apartments built in 1632.

<sup>409</sup> Appendix I, nos. 102 and 66.

<sup>410</sup> Appendix I, nos. 50 and 51.

<sup>411</sup> Appendix I, no. 611.

true of a painting of *Granida and Daifilo*, signed and dated 1625, that appeared in a 1707 inventory of Honselaarsdijk and was likely in the possession of the Orange-Nassau since its execution.<sup>412</sup>

Whether these early paintings are attributable to the activity of Maurits or Frederik Hendrik, or received as gifts, they establish Frederik Hendrik's familiarity with Van Honthorst's work and provide some precedent for his later, significant patronage of the artist. The two mantelpieces of "Diana" subjects for Honselaarsdijk paid for in January 1627 are the next recorded works by the artist. The 1632 inventory lists two mantelpieces in the galleries of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie, respectively a *Diana Resting with Shepherdesses and Two Greyhounds* and one of two paintings of "Shepherdesses" that could date to either 1627 or c. 1629 [fig. 80-82].<sup>413</sup> Thus, there appears to be an apparent preference for Van Honthorst in the execution of paintings to serve in the primary decorative location of various rooms. In 1628, however, at precisely the moment that his works were increasingly present at the princely environment, Van Honthorst left the Netherlands (albeit temporarily) for greater opportunities in England.

Carleton, who had left his post in The Hague in 1625, returned as a special ambassador to present Frederik Hendrik with the Order of the Garter in 1627 and stayed for some time after that. At this point, Carleton could have had renewed contact with Van Honthorst, shortly before the artist traveled to England in the Spring of 1628. Carleton may have been the recipient of a letter dated 5 April 1628 from Sir

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<sup>412</sup> This painting will be discussed in detail below.

<sup>413</sup> Appendix I, nos. 44 and 223. The latter is one of two works known today [see figs. 78 and 79], dated 1627 and 1629; the former has no date but fits stylistically with either 1627 or 1629.

Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1667) stating: “I trust you will not forget to bring Mr Honthorst: for the Duke intends to employ him, as well as his majesty, who will give him cause not to complain of crossing the sea.”<sup>414</sup> Shortly thereafter, Van Honthorst was in England working for Charles I as well as the Duke of Buckingham (George Villiers 1592-1628) – before he was assassinated later that year – who already owned at least two works by Van Honthorst from the early 1620s.<sup>415</sup> For Charles I, he executed a number of portraits, including the enormous *King Charles I of England and his wife Queen Henrietta Maria as Apollo and Diana* (Hampton Court), that was not only a grand *portrait historié* that honored and elevated the King and Queen, but also has been interpreted as both a political allegory and an illustration of the protection and patronage of the Liberal Arts under Charles I.<sup>416</sup> The King was quite pleased with the result and Van Honthorst left with the reputation as a court artist of the highest caliber, in the good graces of “the greatest amateur of paintings among the princes of the world,” as Rubens had called Charles I.<sup>417</sup> In December 1628, Van Honthorst returned to the United Provinces laden with gifts from Charles I, some for services rendered to the King, others to be presented to the King’s sister in The

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<sup>414</sup> White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. xxiii-xxiv, states this letter is to Buckingham’s own personal secretary. Robert Hill, “Sir Dudley Carleton and his Relations with Dutch Artists 1616-1632,” in *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain, 1550-1800*, ed. Juliette Roding et al., Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, vol. 13 (2003) (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), pp. 263 and 274, note 36, states that Carleton was the recipient of this letter.

<sup>415</sup> White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>416</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, pp. 107-108, cat. no. 92.

<sup>417</sup> *Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 101; to Valavez, 10 January 1625. White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collections of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. xvii-xviii, recounts other contemporary assessments of Charles I’s artistic qualities and interests, including that he had “a good nose” for pictures and “was a most excellent judge and great lover of painting.”

Hague.<sup>418</sup> It was only after this visit and his experience with Charles I that Van Honthorst's greatest activity for the two royal couples in The Hague occurred.<sup>419</sup>

Charles I sent portraits of himself and Henrietta Maria dressed as shepherds, and he both ordered and paid for a pair of portraits of Friedrich V and Elizabeth as well as the large *portrait historié* of the Bohemian couple (and their family) known as the *Seledon and Astrée* of 1629 (Hanover).<sup>420</sup> They were arranged by Sir Robert Kerr (1578-1654), who was in Holland on behalf of the English King to extend his condolences to the Bohemian couple upon the death of their eldest son. These works destined for Charles I were the first that Van Honthorst executed depicting the Winter King and Queen.<sup>421</sup> Elizabeth had also so enthusiastically received Van Honthorst's portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria dressed as shepherds that she

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<sup>418</sup> Van Honthorst received significant payment, honorary English citizenship and a lifetime pension; Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, p. 108.

<sup>419</sup> White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, p. xxiv, explicitly states that "The visit [1628] also marked his first important step in establishing himself [Van Honthorst] as a European court artist." The implication is, of course, that he was not yet a court artist for either couple in The Hague. Even more explicitly, White states, p. xxix: "Honthorst was one of the few Dutch artists of the day to acquire an international reputation, and credit for his advancement in court circles must in the first instance go to Charles I."

<sup>420</sup> Hoogsteder, "De schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen," pp. 47, 100, and 104. By contrast, Judson, in Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, pp. 161-163, cat. no. 192, follows Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair: Allanheld & Schram, 1983), p. 67, and considers the painting a commission from the Winter King and Queen while Van Honthorst was still in England in 1628, despite the fact that Judson records payment to Van Honthorst from Sir Henry Vane who was reimbursed by the English King. See also White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. xxv-xxvi, who discusses the various exchanges and contacts involved in the execution and delivery of the painting, including letters by Van Honthorst himself.

<sup>421</sup> White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. xxvi-xxvii; Hoogsteder, "De schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen," pp. 45 and 100. The 1629 portraits of the Winter King and Queen are no longer extant, and the earliest dated portrait of them by Van Honthorst is from 1630.

commissioned similar works from the artist of herself and her husband to be sent to Charles I.<sup>422</sup>

Thus, though Elizabeth was interested in paintings and had known Van Honthorst since her arrival in the northern provinces in 1621, it was only after Charles I's patronage of Van Honthorst and the receipt of gifts from him that the Winter King and Queen subsequently began to patronize the Utrecht artist. Further, it was about this time that painting had a greater presence in their lives than either earlier in The Hague or in Heidelberg; their growth in patronage at the end of the 1620s acted as support for their tenuous political position and it corresponded to the Orange-Nassau's expanding artistic activity and a social and cultural climate that increasingly demanded it.<sup>423</sup>

Frederik Hendrik and Amalie were also influenced by Charles I's patronage of Van Honthorst as a portraitist. In fact, the Stuart monarch may have provided a commission that brought Van Honthorst and Frederik Hendrik into closer contact than previously. A 1631 full-length portrait of Frederik Hendrik by Van Honthorst is still in the collection of the English royal family (formerly with that of Amalie, now lost) [fig. 83].<sup>424</sup> Though these portraits were possibly ordered and sent by Frederik Hendrik, Charles I's known and numerous commissions of portraits from Van Honthorst immediately before this date favors the possibility that he requested the

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<sup>422</sup> Hoogsteder, "De schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen," p. 47.

<sup>423</sup> Hoogsteder, "De schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen," pp. 48-49 and 99.

<sup>424</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, pp. 246-247, in cat. no. 308, with reference to these two full-length portraits in an inventory of Charles I's works, 1637-1640.

works himself.<sup>425</sup> In the same year, Van Honthorst painted the more modest *Profile Portrait of Frederik Hendrik*, still today in the Orange-Nassau family [fig. 84].<sup>426</sup> Shortly thereafter, though not dated, he painted a matching profile portrait of Amalie [fig. 85].<sup>427</sup>

Van Honthorst also painted numerous other portraits and *portraits historiés* for the princely couple after the influence of the Stuart example. A portrait of *Willem II and Two of His Sisters* appears in the inventory and, though without attribution, was certainly by Van Honthorst (c. 1629, location unknown).<sup>428</sup> There was also a *Portrait of Charlotte de la Trémouille as Minerva*, signed and dated 1632 [fig. 86].<sup>429</sup> Dating from the period around 1630 but not appearing in the inventory are several works by Van Honthorst: *Amalie von Solms and Charlotte de la Trémouille as Diana and a Nymph* (1633) [fig. 87]; *Portrait of Amalie von Solms and her Sister Louise Christine von Solms as Diana and a Hunting Nymph* (location unknown); *Amalie von Solms and Her two Eldest Children Willem II and Louise Henriette* (c. 1629) [fig. 88]; and *Amalie as Diana* (1632) [fig. 89].<sup>430</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> M. E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek van het Centraal bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau* 32 (1978), p. 110: "Ook uit het jaar 1631 dateert het portret ten voeten uit van Frederik Hendrik, dat vermoedelijk in opdracht van Karel I door Honthorst gemaakt werd en dat zich thans nog in Windsor Castle bevindt." Tiethoff-Spliethoff does not discuss why the work "likely was made on commission from Charles I."

<sup>426</sup> Appendix I, no. 186.

<sup>427</sup> Not listed in the inventory; see Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, p. 246-247, cat. no. 308.

<sup>428</sup> Appendix I, no. 229.

<sup>429</sup> Appendix I, no. 248.

<sup>430</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, p. 116, cat. no. 111; pp. 235-236, cat. no. 297; p. 236, cat. no. 298; p. 247, cat. no. 310. Though not documented as such, these portraits were almost certainly commissioned by either Frederik Hendrik and Amalie themselves or some member of the courtly establishment (or international contact). The frequent representation of Amalie, her sisters and friends, and her children in works from this period and through the 1630s certainly puts her in more

The original pendant to Van Honthorst's *Portrait of Frederik Hendrik* in profile was perhaps the profile *Portrait of Amalie von Solms-Braunfels*, signed and dated 1632 by Rembrandt, that hung in her "cabinet" at the Stadholder's Quarters [fig. 90].<sup>431</sup> Rembrandt's name appears only one other time in the inventory, in relation to a "Simeon... done by Rembrandt or Jan Lievens" hanging in the "cabinet" of Frederik Hendrik that has been identified with Rembrandt's *Simeon's Hymn of Praise*, 1631 [fig. 91].<sup>432</sup> Additionally, there are four other paintings attributed to Jan Lievens: an "Abduction of Proserpina," a "Samson and Delilah," and a painting of "Melancholy" all in the gallery of Frederik Hendrik and a "Soothsayer" in a large room at the Noordeinde residence.<sup>433</sup> All four of these paintings were subsequently attributed to Rembrandt in later Orange-Nassau inventories and may (though without certainty) be identified as: Rembrandt, *Samson and Delilah*, 1628 [fig. 92]; Rembrandt, *The Abduction of Proserpina*, c. 1631 [fig. 93]; Rembrandt, *Minerva*, c. 1631-1632 [fig. 94]; and Lievens, *The Gypsy Fortune Teller*, c. 1631 [fig. 95]. Nothing is known about these six works prior to their appearance in the inventory, nor how or when any of these paintings entered the possession of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie. Huygens also records a "Turkish Prince" by Lievens in the Stadholder's collection, now identified as the *Man in Oriental Costume*, c. 1628 [fig. 96].<sup>434</sup>

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direct proximity to Van Honthorst than Frederik Hendrik, and she may reasonably be considered the most likely patron of such works.

<sup>431</sup> Appendix I, no. 219.

<sup>432</sup> Appendix I, no. 111.

<sup>433</sup> Appendix I, nos. 82, 87, 89, and 496.

<sup>434</sup> Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, pp. 88.

Rembrandt and Lievens were both known to the courtly circle in The Hague possibly as early as 1626 but certainly by late 1628. Alphonso Lopez (1582-1649), who was a representative of the French court in Amsterdam and The Hague between 1624 and 1630 as well as a collector, dealer, and jeweler, acquired Rembrandt's *Balaam and the Ass*, 1626 (Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay), which was later sold with his collection in December 1641. Jacques de Gheyn III (c. 1596-1641) (and possibly his father before him) owned Rembrandt's *Two Scholars Disputing*, 1628 (Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria), and *Old Man Asleep by a Fire*, 1629 (Turin, Galleria Sabauda), as well as a "painting of an old *tronie*, with violet velvet lined with gold cloth over the head, done life-size" attributed to Jan Lievens, which were all in the 1641 testament of Jacques de Gheyn III.<sup>435</sup> In 1632, Rembrandt would paint a *Portrait of Jacques de Gheyn III* and a matching *Portrait of Maurits Huygens* (London, Dulwich Picture Gallery, and Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle). Maurits Huygens's brother, Constantijn, wrote enthusiastically about the young pair of painters from Leiden in his youthful autobiography.<sup>436</sup> He first met Lievens late in 1628, at which point Lievens began his *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens*, which was completed in the Spring of 1629 [fig. 97]. At some point in or after that year, Huygens visited the joint studio of Rembrandt and Lievens in Leiden, where he saw Rembrandt's *Repentant Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, monogrammed and dated 1629 (Private Collection).

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<sup>435</sup> J. Richard Judson, "Rembrandt and Jacob de Gheyn II," in *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, ed. J. Bruyn et al. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), p. 209; Dagmar Hirschfelder, "Portrait or Character Head? The Term *Tronie* and its Meaning in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, ed. Ernst van de Wetering and Bernhard Schnackenburg (Kassel: Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister; Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 2001), p. 87.

<sup>436</sup> Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, pp. 84-90.

Thus, the first individuals connected with the court in The Hague to notice Rembrandt may have been Lopez, followed by De Gheyn (father and/or son) and then Huygens.<sup>437</sup> Of the six paintings by Rembrandt and/or Lievens in the 1632 inventory, (based on their current identifications) five date to 1631 or 1632 and one to 1628. Therefore, it appears that their activity for the court, and particularly Rembrandt's, begins in earnest after 1630, with the 1628 *Samson and Delilah* (and the *Man in Oriental Costume* by Lievens) likely a purchase of an extant painting.<sup>438</sup>

A more specific reference to Frederik Hendrik's awareness of Lievens is an account by Jan Orlers (1570-1646) that Lievens "made a life-size painting of a person wearing a round cap, studying near a turf fire, painted with such spirit that His Highness the Prince of Orange caused it to be purchased and presented to the ambassador of the king of England who in turn gave it to his master the King; it can still be seen at Westminster."<sup>439</sup> The agent of Charles I to whom Orlers refers was the same Sir Robert Kerr who acted on his behalf in the exchange of Van Honthorst paintings with the Bohemian couple while he was in Holland in 1629, at which date the transaction described by Orlers must have taken place. This painting would appear in a inventory of the English Royal collection taken by Abraham van der

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<sup>437</sup> These seem to be the earliest and most significant connections. Others exist, including the painter Claes Issacz. van Swanenburg, who would work for Frederik Hendrik and was the brother of Rembrandt's first teacher. For details of the connections between Rembrandt and The Hague see Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings* (New York, Viking, 1985), pp. 67-82, 91-97.

<sup>438</sup> The painting is not so large to require that it was a commissioned work; and known versions of the subject by Rembrandt and Lievens argue for the likelihood of non-commissioned, friendly studio competition in depicting the same subjects.

<sup>439</sup> C. Vogelaar et al., *Rembrandt and Lievens in Leiden* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers bv; Leiden: Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 1991), p. 139, with the English translation of the life of Jan Lievens (pp. 138-139) from Jan Jansz. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Leiden, 1641), pp. 375-377.

Doort (c. 1575/1580-1640) between 1637 and 1639, then attributed to Rembrandt, and specifically listed as “given to the kinge by my lorde Ankrom,” the name by which Kerr became known upon becoming Earl of Ancrum in 1633.<sup>440</sup> In addition to this now-lost work, two additional paintings were given by Lord Ancrum to Charles I, both recorded by Van der Doort as by Rembrandt, which are nevertheless today considered the work of Jan Lievens (or Rembrandt school): *Portrait of Rembrandt* (Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery) and *Head of an Old Woman* (Royal Collection, England).<sup>441</sup> Only the first of these three is drawn into specific connection with the Stadholder, but it provides additional evidence of his role in the exchange of paintings with England in 1629 already encountered with Van Honthorst. Lievens would soon after, in 1631/1632, follow his paintings to England to work as a painter there, whereas the works by Rembrandt already mentioned would soon enter the Orange-Nassau collection – though by exactly what means and date is unknown.<sup>442</sup>

Huygens, who was first familiar with Rembrandt’s work in 1629 and highly praised the artist c. 1631, likely had some role in the acquisition of the Rembrandt and Lievens paintings by Frederik Hendrik and Kerr. It is even possible that Kerr

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<sup>440</sup> Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York: Abaris Books, Inc., 1979), p. 179, which also lists reference to a “request [by Lievens] for a furlough from duties in the Leiden Citizens’ Guard, dated 10 April 1629, so that he could complete a picture ordered by the Stadholder.”

<sup>441</sup> White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collections of Her Majesty the Queen*, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii, with additional details about Kerr in Holland and relationships with Huygens and Lievens as well as mention of a label on the verso of the *Head of an Old Woman* stating that the work was given by Sir Robert Kerr and thus the gift must predate his ennoblement in 1633 (and likely dates to 1629 or 1630).

<sup>442</sup> At about the same time, c. 1631, the commissions for the first paintings of Rembrandt’s so-called “Passion” cycle must have been given, in addition to the *Christ on the Cross*, c. 1631, which was a prelude to the cycle itself. The “Passion” paintings, dating from 1633 until 1639, fall outside the scope of this study. They would be Rembrandt’s only (known) commissions from the Stadholder-Prince after 1632. Though in many ways exceptional, the series’ apparent delays and awkwardness led Rembrandt nowhere quickly with the court and the consequences of his stylistic approach became apparent as the court continued to favor more classically oriented artists.

presented one/some of the Rembrandt paintings in the Orange-Nassau collection to the Stadholder (on behalf of Charles I), after having been exposed to them by Huygens.

Frederik Hendrik's apparent involvement with Lievens and Rembrandt thus dates to the period of his expanding artistic activity beginning in 1629 and is again, at least in part, related to artistic exchange with Charles I. The number of Rembrandt paintings in the inventory, the majority hanging in Frederik Hendrik's apartment, indicate a definite familiarity with (and perhaps early appreciation of) the artist's work on the part of the Stadholder by 1632 and a new dimension to his patronage. However, when the Orange-Nassau decorative commissions for Honselaarsdijk, Huis ter Nieuburg and the Huis ten Bosch came about during the height of Rembrandt's maturity and fame, his name was absent. By that time, Frederik Hendrik, Huygens, and the court had shown for years their preferences rested with the luminous, classicizing, courtly art of Rembrandt's Utrecht, Antwerp, and (later) Haarlem contemporaries. The Italian path that Huygens thought Rembrandt and Lievens should follow was not incidental advice.<sup>443</sup> The result of Huygens's conviction may be seen in the fate of Rembrandt's relationship with the court, the death knell of which was already rung even amidst the praise of the autobiography. Rembrandt refused to go to Italy, and such a refusal resulted not simply in the absence of first-hand familiarity with the great art of antiquity and the Italian Renaissance but, more importantly, the stylistic consequences thereof. He did not have the direct exposure

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<sup>443</sup> Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, p. 89. Huygens specifically criticized the two artists for not travelling to Italy.

to the style appropriate to and desirable for the highest level of art and consequently never entered fully into the courtly graces.<sup>444</sup>

By contrast, the single most lauded artist in Huygens's autobiography was Peter Paul Rubens: "one of the seven wonders of the world for me is the prince, the Apelles among painters," admired for his artistic abilities as well as his learning and international experience.<sup>445</sup> His paintings exemplified the classically rooted grandeur preferred at courts throughout Europe at the time. Paintings by Rubens were already in the Orange-Nassau collection (and Bohemian as well) and could have been seen earlier in great number at the residence of Sir Dudley Carleton in The Hague. Between 1630 and 1632 another painting by Rubens entered the Orange-Nassau collection, an *Annunciation*, purchased from the widow of a member of the courtly bureaucracy in The Hague [fig. 98].<sup>446</sup> It is the only religious subject of the six paintings by Rubens in the 1632 inventory and hung within two years of purchase neither as an overdoor nor mantelpiece but in a less specific location on a wall of the Prince's gallery of the Stadholder's Quarters.<sup>447</sup> It may simply have been one of the

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<sup>444</sup> This weakness is evident as early as 1632, when Rembrandt's *Portrait of Amalie* in profile was seemingly replaced by one executed by the court favorite Van Honthorst. Rembrandt's portrait was too overtly realistic and not flattering enough, without sufficient elegance and decorum to meet the needs and the developing tastes of the court.

<sup>445</sup> Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, p. 79.

<sup>446</sup> Appendix I, no. 94. The painting was purchased from Beatrix van Sypesteyn, who was the widow of Jacob van der Does (d. 1630). S. W. A. Drossaers, "Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadhoudelijk Kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage" *Oud Holland* 45 (1930), p. 204. The wording of the inventory implies (but does not explicitly state) that Frederik Hendrik was the purchaser and, thus, this would be the only Rubens about which that may be said before 1641.

<sup>447</sup> Given its traditionally Catholic subject, it seems an odd choice for a Calvinist Stadholder to purchase. However, five of the six paintings in one of Frederik Hendrik's private rooms in the Stadholder's Quarters were of religious subjects (Appendix I, nos. 101, 102, 108, 109, 110, and 111) and many of the paintings by Van Poelenburch (certainly acquired between c. 1627 and 1632) were of

few paintings by Rubens available for purchase in the Northern Netherlands, and there are no other documented purchases by Frederik Hendrik of his paintings until after the artist's death.<sup>448</sup>

During the same brief period (c. 1629-1632), nine paintings by Anthony van Dyck entered the Orange-Nassau collections. Four history paintings and two portraits are recorded in the 1632 inventory.<sup>449</sup> An additional three portraits date from the period but do not appear in the inventory. None of the dates of execution or acquisition are recorded, nor is the means by which they entered into Orange-Nassau possession. Frederik Hendrik and Amalie would later receive gifts of Van Dyck's work – the portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria from the English King in 1638 – as well as purchase works by the Antwerp master after his death.<sup>450</sup> However, the

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religious subjects. Though notable, little more should be made of this given Frederik Hendrik's generally casual view of religion.

<sup>448</sup> Frederik Hendrik purchased a "Sylvia" in 1641 from the estate of Rubens, and a *Diana Hunting Deer* (destroyed) and *Diana and Two of her Nymphs Surprised by Satyrs while Bathing* (destroyed) both in 1645. Van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende Eeuw," *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 3 (1950-1951), pp. 142-144. These three paintings are all conventional mythologies and decorative in nature, appropriate for Frederik Hendrik's hunting palace Honselaarsdijk, where they were installed. Frederik Hendrik also commissioned a mantelpiece from Rubens in 1639, recorded in two letters from Huygens to Rubens, which was not completed before Rubens died the next year; Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. 2, pp. 468 and 513; letters 2149 and 2272, from Huygens to Rubens, 2 July 1639 and 14 November 1639. Also, Rubens's *The Crowning of Diana* (Potsdam-Sanssouci) was installed at Honselaarsdijk in 1638 but there is no record of commission and it is likely an earlier painting (purchased at some point) incorporated into the decorative scheme.

<sup>449</sup> Appendix I, nos. 11, 25, 95, 190, 191, and 673; additionally, no. 218 includes Van Dyck's name with that of Rubens and the painting (more closely associated with the latter artist) was discussed in Chapter Six.

<sup>450</sup> *A Rest on the Flight into Egypt (With Dancing Cherubs)* was purchased in 1646; Van Gelder, "Anthonie van Dyck in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten/des Musees royaux des Beaux-Arts Brussels* 8, no. 1-2 (March-June 1959), pp. 73 ff.

most significant concentration of his activity in relation to the Orange-Nassau court dates from this rather narrow period of expanded artistic activity c. 1629-1632.<sup>451</sup>

Van Dyck returned from Italy to the Southern Netherlands in the autumn of 1627, and began working for patrons in both Antwerp and Brussels. By March 1632, he traveled to England and began formally working in the service of Charles I, who had taken an interest in the artist since shortly after his return from Italy.<sup>452</sup> Van Dyck was certainly in The Hague at the end of January 1632.<sup>453</sup> Additional evidence favors a stay in The Hague from about the middle of December 1631 until perhaps February 1632 and the supposition that Van Dyck came to The Hague on the invitation of Frederik Hendrik.<sup>454</sup> A visit to The Hague is not, however, necessary for the princely couple to have in their possession the paintings recorded in the 1632 inventory.

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<sup>451</sup> For Van Dyck's works in The Hague generally, see Amy L. Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," in *Van Dyck 350*, ed. Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., Studies in the History of Art, vol. 46 (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1994), pp. 223-244; and Frans Baudouin, "Van Dyck in The Hague," in *Van Dyck 1599-1641: Conjectures and Refutations* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 53-64.

<sup>452</sup> David Howarth, "The *Entry Books* of Sir Balthazar Gerbier: Van Dyck, Charles I and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand," in *Van Dyck 1599-1641: Conjectures and Refutations*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>453</sup> Recent literature has shown that the seventeenth- and eighteenth- century sources which set forth a visit in 1628/29 are unreliable. See especially Frans Baudouin, "Van Dyck in The Hague," pp. 53 and 55. The only certain presence of Van Dyck in The Hague is on 28 January 1632, recorded in Huygens's diary: "I was being portrayed by Van Dyck when a tree fell on my house." *Princely Patrons*, p. 120. By contrast, Van Dyck is only mentioned in one superficial passage in Huygens's youthful autobiography written between 1629 and 1631; Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens, Mijn jeugd*, p. 79. If the painter had made an earlier posited visit to execute or deliver paintings for the court in The Hague, one imagines he would have figured more prominently.

<sup>454</sup> Howarth, "The *Entry Books* of Sir Balthazar Gerbier," p. 80, with a letter from Balthazar Gerbier in Brussels to Charles I in London, 19 December 1631: "[Van Dyck] qui auroit de la gloire a estre appellé comme le Prince d'Oranges l'ai invité." Horst Vey, in *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, ed. Susan J. Barnes et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 239, pointed out that the wording of this letter seems to indicate that it was the first time Van Dyck worked for the Stadholder.

A *Portrait of Marie de' Medici* by Van Dyck hung in the *nieuwe kamer* [new room] of Amalie, which was likely a version of a work executed while the French Queen-Mother was in exile in Antwerp between 9 September and 16 October, 1631.<sup>455</sup> Likewise, a *Portrait of Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia* also in Orange-Nassau possession was presumably a copy of one of Van Dyck's own portraits.<sup>456</sup> Whether requested by Frederik Hendrik or presented as gifts by the sitters, they are neither unique nor primary versions but straightforward examples of contemporary portraiture, existing in multiples, and fulfilling a diplomatic and courtly function.

Nor is it necessary for Van Dyck to have been in The Hague to deliver the four history paintings that appear in the 1632 inventory. Three are listed in the new rooms of the Stadholder's Quarters (corresponding to the expansion completed by 1632) and were installed as mantelpieces. The first hung in the *Nieuwe kamer* [new room] of Amalie (with the *Portrait of Marie de' Medici*) and, though the subject is not recorded, has subsequently been identified with a painting variously entitled "Venus at the Forge of Vulcan" or "Thetis Receives the Arms of Achilles from Hephaestus."<sup>457</sup> Later in the seventeenth century, a painting of one of these subjects by Van Dyck was recorded in the Noordeinde residence. There are two high-quality versions of this painting, in Potsdam and Vienna (as well as a separate version of the

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<sup>455</sup> Appendix I, no. 191. The background was likely completed in 1632 as the view of Antwerp depicted corresponds to a signed and dated, 1632, drawing of the same view. Van Gelder, "Anthonie van Dyck in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," pp. 62-65.

<sup>456</sup> Appendix I, no. 673. Though Van Dyck's name is not mentioned in the 1632 inventory, a later Orange-Nassau inventory records his name with what is most likely this portrait. See Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," pp. 228 and 240, note 41, where she also states that versions of both Archduchess Isabella and Marie de' Medici were taken to Charles I in England in 1632.

<sup>457</sup> Appendix I, no. 190.

same subject in vertical format in Paris); subsequent provenance favors identification of the Orange-Nassau version with the work now in Potsdam [fig. 99].<sup>458</sup> In Frederik Hendrik's new *slaepcamer* [bedroom] and *garde[r]obbe* [wardrobe], hung, respectively, *Achilles Amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes* and "a painting of various courtships" that is *Amaryllis and Mirtillo* [figs. 100 and 101].<sup>459</sup> Both of these mantelpieces are the same size and have matching provenance. They are also the only two paintings in Frederik Hendrik's new suite of rooms. The fourth history painting by Van Dyck is listed next to Rubens's *Annunciation* in Frederik Hendrik's gallery; though not quite an accurate account of the figures, the description allows its identification as *Rinaldo and Armida* [fig. 102].<sup>460</sup> Van Dyck also painted another,

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<sup>458</sup> For the details of these works, see *Van Dyck, A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, pp. 289-90, cat. no. III.56, and p. 240. The provenance for the Potsdam version includes (with a question mark) ownership by "Abbé Cesare Allesandro Scaglia, Antwerp, 1641." As such it would be nearly impossible to associate it with the 1632 reference. However, it instead seems possible that the Antwerp reference may refer to the Vienna version, which was in the possession of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Vienna in 1659 and about which nothing prior is known; this leaves the Orange-Nassau references, in 1632, 1668, and 1673 (see Appendix I, no. 190) as the Potsdam picture – and other Orange-Nassau paintings certainly went to Potsdam, thus setting at least possible precedent.

<sup>459</sup> Appendix I, nos. 11 and 25. There are also quality copies of *Amaryllis and Mirtillo* in Turin and Göteborg which have variously been considered the prime version. Provenance establishes that the Pommersfelden version is indeed the one that the Stadholder owned. The version in Göteborg is signed "Ant. Van Dyck eques fec" and therefore (at least the signature) must date after 5 July 1632 when Van Dyck was knighted "principalle Paynter in Ordinarie to their Majesties." *Van Dyck, A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, pp. 7 and 289-290, cat. no. III.60. There are no known autograph replicas of *Achilles Amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes*, though Van Dyck had executed the subject in 1617 while in the studio of Rubens, where the master referred to it as executed by "the best of my pupils." *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, p. 61; to Dudley Carleton, 28 April 1618. Achilles was also the subject of a series of tapestries designed by Rubens in which both "Achilles Amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes" and "Thetis Receiving the Armor of Achilles from Vulcan" appeared.

<sup>460</sup> Appendix I, no. 95. Rensselaer W. Lee, "Van Dyck, Tasso, and the Antique," in *Latin American Art and the Baroque Period in Europe*, Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art, vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 12-26, especially pp. 23-26, for the most thorough discussion of this painting, including its sources, deviations from Tasso, and compositional and thematic influences.

larger *Rinaldo and Armida*, similar in pastoral character and courtly taste but depicting a slightly different narrative moment, in 1629 for Charles I [fig. 103].<sup>461</sup>

Before this concentration of paintings arrived in The Hague, Frederik Hendrik had no significant prior exposure to Van Dyck's works to develop a taste for, or occasion his pursuit of, the artist's paintings.<sup>462</sup> While the three mantelpieces' integration into a newly built environment favor identifying them as commissions, there is no confirming evidence and alternatives have been suggested. Some of the four paintings may have been given as gifts from Isabella to Frederik Hendrik, as a gesture to curry favor with the Prince in the hope of establishing a truce.<sup>463</sup> Or, they may have been paintings that Van Dyck had engaged Adriaan Rottermond (c. 1597-1652), living in The Hague, to sell, and from whom the artist pursued payment in a notarized document of 12 February 1631.<sup>464</sup>

Given the uncertainty regarding their origin, and the multiple versions of three of the four history paintings, interpretations of what the various subjects may mean in

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<sup>461</sup> *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, pp. 294-295, cat. no. III.61 (of which there is a copy in Potsdam, p. 240). Charles I was not only apparently taken with representations of such subjects but we also know he took an active interest in precisely the very book, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, from which it derives, even taking a 1600 English translation with him into prison, as well as Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and a translation of Ariosto. Lee, "Van Dyck, Tasso, and the Antique," p. 12.

<sup>462</sup> Even Huygens's knowledge of Van Dyck originals would have been limited before these paintings arrived in The Hague. The absence of any specific discussion of Van Dyck in Huygens's youthful autobiography minimally argues against the arrival of either Van Dyck or his paintings prior to the interrupted completion of the text in the Spring of 1631. However, given that the text is incomplete, such a consideration is stated with caution.

<sup>463</sup> Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," p. 228. The period 1629-1632 would be an appropriate time, directly after the turning point of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629 and the truce talks of the following year. There is no evidence to support or deny this, though three of the subjects depict preludes to military action that would seem contradictory to efforts toward peace (see below).

<sup>464</sup> Baudouin, "Van Dyck in The Hague," p. 55. Such pursuit of payment may also, though less likely, refer to the collection of payment for commissioned works and not only the payment for selling extant works. Nor in either case would Frederik Hendrik certainly be the purchaser.

terms of allegory for their given location and ownership are difficult to ascertain.<sup>465</sup> They represent amorous and martial themes presented in mythological and pastoral subjects, and aspects of disguise and revelation appear; but these characteristics are widely applicable to contemporary, international, courtly artistic preferences. Popular subjects could well be infused with particular meanings, but their very popularity may simply have been the potential instigation.

Whether Venus retrieves the armor for Aeneas or Thetis for Achilles, the end result of the armed hero is the same, as is Odysseus' discovery of Achilles hiding from his military responsibility among women and Carlo and Ubaldo's retrieval of Rinaldo so that he may again take up arms and fulfill his destiny as the "Christian Achilles." These implicit and explicit calls to military duty nevertheless leave the martial characteristics absent, only following the chosen moment of transition or discovery, and beauty is preferred to violence. The *Amaryllis and Mirtillo*, the first image of the subject north of the Alps, may have been inspired by a performance of Giovanni Battista Guarini's (1538-1612) *Il Pastor Fido* [The Faithful Shepherd], which was staged in Antwerp between September 1628 and September 1629.<sup>466</sup> The two paintings most connected in terms of size, scale, and hanging position (*Achilles Amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes* and *Amaryllis and Mirtillo*) depict male protagonists disguised as women who reveal themselves as a great warrior or devoted

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<sup>465</sup> Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," pp. 231-232, considers the various meanings the paintings may have had for Frederik Hendrik in light of the contemporary political situation, but her analysis ignores the multiple versions and renditions of the subjects and, thus, does not consider what the same subjects therefore might mean in their other incarnations or locations.

<sup>466</sup> Van Gelder, "Pastor Fido-voorstellingen in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw," *Oud Holland* 92 (1978), p. 243. Just as the play, for reasons of decorum, did not stage the kissing scene itself, neither does Van Dyck depict it, but, instead, the subsequent crowning. Its stylistic and formal reliance on Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* is also evident.

lover and may therefore refer more specifically to Frederik Hendrik (in whose rooms they hung).<sup>467</sup> Otherwise, these two are distinct in subject (epic and pastoral), origin (ancient and modern), and ultimate meaning (war and love). They share some formal aspects such as the prominent use of gesture and figure groupings, but vary considerably in composition and spatial arrangement.

The four Van Dyck history paintings, coincident with the activity of Van Honthorst, fulfilled a decorative function (largely for recently constructed rooms) and helped establish an artistic environment in keeping with a classical style popular at courts throughout Europe. Van Dyck's works do not so much cater to this artistic atmosphere or the developing preferences of the princely couple, as help to define them. Thereafter, that courtly tone would be met by Northern Netherlandish artists in the 1630s and 1640s, for whom Van Dyck provided an example to follow.<sup>468</sup>

Simply stated, Van Dyck's reputation, quality, and style were appropriate for a courtly environment. This was true of both his history paintings and his portraits, the latter of which likely warranted Frederik Hendrik's posited invitation for Van Dyck to come to The Hague in the winter of 1631/1632. Of the Van Dyck paintings in Orange-Nassau possession, the only three that required direct contact with the family are the portraits of Frederik Hendrik, Amalie, and Willem II; none of them, however, appear in the Orange-Nassau inventory taken in 1632-1634 [figs. 104-

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<sup>467</sup> Frederik Hendrik was, in earlier years, a known womanizer and, more recently, a faithful husband; and he was a great military general. These were, however, roles that were never disguised and, therefore, the allegory would be more subtle than the reality (and much more subtle than that provided by tapestries of Hercules or Julius Caesar).

<sup>468</sup> Van Dyck's example would indeed be followed, most obviously in the *Il Pastor Fido* suite of paintings (c. 1635), the one extant unified series from Honselaarsdijk (all works in Berlin); see *Princely Patrons*, pp. 216-225, cat. no. 29.

106].<sup>469</sup> No dates of execution or acquisition are recorded, but the winter 1631/1632 visit of Van Dyck to The Hague is the most likely period in which he would have rendered their portraits, either on the finished paintings or in *grisaille* sketches, such as the one extant of Frederik Hendrik [fig. 107]. The *Portrait of Frederik Hendrik* and *Portrait of Amalie* are the most lively and sophisticated representations of the princely couple, despite the traditional format in keeping with Orange-Nassau portraits by Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt (1567-1641), who also painted portraits of the princely couple at this point, as did Van Honthorst.<sup>470</sup>

It is possible that Van Dyck took the (incomplete?) portraits (or *grisaille* sketches) with him after the 1631/1632 visit to complete and make copies, including the high-quality, extremely faithful versions known to have entered the collection of Charles I sometime before 8 August 1632.<sup>471</sup> Though no sketch of Amalie exists, that of Frederik Hendrik corresponds generally (and most importantly in the face) to the extent full-scale portrait, with changes in detail that enhance the grandeur and presence of the final image. The altered position of Frederik Hendrik's right arm, repositioning of the left hand on a more prominent sword, inclusion of his helmet with orange-feathered plume, and addition of the large orange sash tied around his elbow need not stem from Frederik Hendrik's actual appearance, but are artistic

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<sup>469</sup> *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, pp. 338-341, cat. nos. III.112, III.113, and III.114. Copies of all three exist, including high quality copies of the portraits of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie that belonged to Charles I and numerous copies of Willem II's portrait.

<sup>470</sup> Van Mierevelt painted portraits of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie "mogelijk in opdracht van de Staten van Holland of van het stadsbestuur van Den Haag." Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De portretten van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," p. 113. Neither signed nor dated, they are recorded in a print by Delff, are typical in format, and exist in multiple copies.

<sup>471</sup> *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, p. 340, in cat. III.114.

devices to present an image of command and allude to the noble House of Orange-Nassau.<sup>472</sup>

The orange details present in the portrait of Frederik Hendrik, and in that of Amalie as well (the bows on her black garment and the curtain behind her), are overt and celebrated in the *Portrait of Willem II*. More unique and interesting than the portraits of his parents, the *Portrait of Willem II* specifically refers to the bestowal of the Act of Survivance, 24 April 1631, which assured Willem II as heir to not only the Orange-Nassau legacy but also the political and military positions of his father. Van Dyck's portrait was used as the model for the *Oranjezaal* [Orange hall (Huis ten Bosch)] image that depicted this important event some twenty years later.<sup>473</sup>

Consequently, the portrait has been thought to date after 24 April 1631, but also before 4 July 1631, when Huygens recorded that Willem II (now five years and two months old) wore trousers instead of the dresses boys wore in their youngest years, and that Van Dyck visited The Hague during this period to execute it, despite his recorded presence in Antwerp in both May and June of 1631.<sup>474</sup> However, if the work was to represent Willem II on the day of the Act of Survivance, he must be

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<sup>472</sup> In the same way, the foreground putto of *Rinaldo and Armida* has an orange sash tied around his leg – the only putto with such an otherwise unnecessary detail, and who even looks down over his shoulder at this extended leg. Such a detail, though seemingly incidental, argues for this particular work's intentional destination at the Orange-Nassau court.

<sup>473</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," p. 176.

<sup>474</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," p. 176; Baudouin, "Van Dyck in The Hague," p. 58, (with the recorded presence of Van Dyck in Antwerp multiple times in May and again on 30 June 1631).

shown as he appeared that very day (24 April 1631); and the breeching date is irrelevant for a portrait that commemorates this earlier event.<sup>475</sup>

The *Portrait of Willem II* as heir to his father, complete with orange clothing, orange tree, and Orange coat of arms, can date from any point after 24 April 1631.<sup>476</sup> It is not simply a portrait of Willem II, and thus did not need to depict him as he may have appeared when it was executed. Nor is it even simply a portrait of Willem II on the day of the Act of Survivance. It is an image *about* Willem II, his person, position, role, and future. With a gentle but purposeful gesture of direction to an unseen party to whom he glances, clothed and surrounded in the Orange he represents, this work is an elegant and convincing representation of the future of Willem II and the House of Orange-Nassau.

Van Dyck's *Portrait of Willem II* is, however, also the type of symbolic and dynastic image of which the Orange-Nassau did not have enough. By contrast, at precisely the same time, at the Spanish court, there appeared an image of strikingly similar occasion and intent, which was one of numerous dynastic, state, and celebratory portraits. In 1632, Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660)

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<sup>475</sup> Additionally arguing against a visit to The Hague by Van Dyck between 24 April and 4 July, 1631, to paint the portrait, is that the spring and early summer of 1631 saw the preparation of the largest single military offensive the Dutch had ever undertaken against the Southern Netherlands. The campaign against Dunkirk (which never made it that far) led Frederik Hendrik at the head of thirty thousand men into the heart of Flanders, hoping for a victory potentially greater than the 1629 capture of 's- Hertogenbosch. For the campaign, see Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 513; and see also Chapter Three.

<sup>476</sup> The portrait likely dates to 1632, with Van Dyck capturing a likeness in January (in the winter when there was no major military campaign but instead overtures toward peace and a much more hospitable climate for cultural exchange) and finishing the portrait (and copies of it) sometime before Charles I acquired a portrait of the boy in the summer of 1632. For a summary of the possible dates see *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, p. 340, in cat. III.114. Though Van Dyck's payment from Charles I for three Orange-Nassau portraits on 8 August 1632 includes the term "half length," this description may simply be the casual transfer of the format of the parents' portraits to the son's as well.

painted *Baltasar Carlos and a Dwarf* [fig. 108].<sup>477</sup> It depicts the Spanish crown prince Baltasar Carlos (1629-1646) at just over two years of age, as both a child and a future king. The Prince appears as he did at the oath of allegiance ceremony in March of 1632. The painting specifically commemorates this event, but not through simple representation. Instead, the boy is shown as a general with his playmate dwarf, who is carrying a child's toys that are at the same time symbols of sovereignty. Velázquez's painting is a clever piece of hereditary propaganda, a sophisticated artistic conception, and a subtle balance of play and poise, all brilliantly depicting a toddler destined for kingship. Van Dyck's *Portrait of Willem II* is neither as grand nor as complex but serves the same function. Each work alludes to the event that ensured the hereditary transition of allegiance and service and, as such, is as a piece of dynastic propaganda. At approximately the same historical moment, two great courtly artists and outstanding portraitists captured and conveyed, with a delicate harmony, the grandeur of power and the sensitivity of youth.<sup>478</sup>

Such specific allegorical meaning is rare within art at the Orange-Nassau court. Though some of the local art from The Hague relates to contemporary events, it does so descriptively rather than symbolically. The *portraits historiés* of Van Honthorst provided rather conventional identifications, as did the tapestries. The history paintings by Van Dyck could carry a variety of meanings, all generally

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<sup>477</sup> Jonathan Brown and John Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 57 and 264, from which the following information about *Baltasar Carlos and a Dwarf* is drawn.

<sup>478</sup> Neither heir fulfilled the destiny that their respective parents and nations hoped. Baltasar Carlos died young and Willem II died in 1650 (shortly after Frederik Hendrik in 1647).

applicable within courtly settings, and may even have been tailored to their Orange-Nassau destination, but lack an identifiable relation to contemporary events.

There are, however, certain isolated instances of works entering Orange-Nassau possession that allegorically refer to the princely couple within their specific historical circumstances. These possibilities, however, all appear in 1625, the year of transition and before Frederik Hendrik and Amalie's documented artistic activity.

The final Rubens painting in the 1632 inventory, which hung as a mantelpiece in one of Amalie's rooms in the Stadholder's Quarters, depicts *Alexander Crowning Roxanne* and is variously dated between 1616-1618 and c. 1625 [fig. 109].<sup>479</sup> The great conqueror, Alexander, crowns his new wife, Roxanne, as the god of marriage, Hymnaeus, draws them together. Alexander's companion, Haephestion, bears the torch of love, as putti remove Alexander's war helmet and uncover Roxanne's head to receive the crown. It is an image of matrimonial devotion, one in which the protagonists are a military commander and his new young bride. Thus, it had great contemporary relevance for the Orange-Nassau couple in 1625, at which point it was likely received as a gift.

Beyond the 1632 inventory entry, some information about how and when the painting entered the Orange-Nassau collection is available from a nineteenth-century reference to a letter sold at auction in 1825; the lot entry reads: "An autograph Memorandum for M. le Blon, in the Handwriting of Rubens, Concerning a Picture for the Princess of Orange. The subject The Marriage of Alexander the Great with

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<sup>479</sup> Appendix I, no. 208. Elizabeth McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, 2 vols., Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, vol. 13 (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 85 and 86 (though incorrectly locating the painting in Noordeinde) discusses the various dates, 1616-1618 (Van Gelder) and c. 1625 (Jaffé).

Roxane.”<sup>480</sup> The historical material in the sale came from the heirs of Constantijn Huygens. Circumstantial evidence favors dating the (untraced) letter c. 1625 or shortly thereafter.<sup>481</sup> It does not, however, explain how a letter from Rubens to Michel le Blon (1587-1656) came into Huygens’s possession, nor does the description indicate any active role of the Orange-Nassau in the acquisition of the picture. If the painting were an Orange-Nassau commission (destined for Amalie) and to be dated c. 1625, such a hypothetical commission would be truly exceptional. The only documented commission given by Frederik Hendrik (or any Orange-Nassau) to the Antwerp master would be nearly fifteen years later and would never be delivered because of Rubens’s death.<sup>482</sup> Additional cause for doubt is presented by the fact that Rubens was the court painter to the Netherlandish regent Infanta of enemy Spain, the armies of which encircled the ancestral Nassau city of Breda at precisely this time. The general lack of documented artistic interests by Frederik Hendrik in the earliest days of his Stadholderate as well as the specific and indirect details of his known purchases of Rubens paintings in 1630/1632, 1641, and 1645 all argue against his purchase of the *Alexander Crowning Roxanne*. The 1825 description of the letter states only that the painting was “for” the Princess of Orange. It both hung in her room at the primary and official residence of the Orange-Nassau

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<sup>480</sup> Van Gelder, “Rubens Marginalia IV,” pp. 542-546, with the 1825 auction text, lot 479, on p. 542.

<sup>481</sup> Van Gelder, “Rubens Marginalia IV,” p. 545, mentions that April 1625 (when Amalie became Princess of Orange) provides the *terminus post quem* for the letter, maintaining his date of 1616-1618 for the execution of the picture (opposed to Jaffé’s dating of the painting to c. 1625), which may have been retouched and delivered in the mid- 1620s. Though the reference to “Princess of Orange” almost certainly refers to Amalie, Louise de Coligny bore the same title until her death in 1620.

<sup>482</sup> The only documented commission from the Orange-Nassau to Rubens is recorded in two 1639 letters from Huygens to the artist; see Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. 2, pp. 468 and 513; letters 2149 and 2272, from Huygens to Rubens, 2 July 1639 and 14 November 1639.

couple and was inherited through the female line.<sup>483</sup> The allusion to marriage of the subject favors an association with the couple's own wedding, but it is an association not limited to personal instigation, and the additional information provided by the Rubens letter supports consideration of the painting as a political or marital gift.

Michel le Blon was an artist who worked for the Swedish crown as a political and cultural agent, had contact with England acquiring paintings for both the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arundel, and was involved in the 1625 sale of Rubens's collection to Buckingham.<sup>484</sup> Thus, in precisely 1625, Le Blon had contact with Rubens and political connections to both England and Sweden. He was not, however, connected to the House of Orange-Nassau in any relationship of employment. The *Alexander Crowning Roxanne* is likely a gift in honor of the couple's marriage from one of Le Blon's patrons, perhaps even Buckingham (who visited the United Provinces in Autumn 1625), or from Rubens himself. Though the presence of the key piece of correspondence in Huygens's collection may seem indicative of some actual relationship, it may simply have been that he (as secretary to Frederik Hendrik) was the end recipient of the agent, painting, and letter, which he kept because he admired its artist-author.

Another Rubens painting with specific meaning for a married couple was in the collection of Friedrich V and Elizabeth: "Venus and Adonis." Almost certainly an image of Venus entreating her hunter lover to remain with her instead of going off to the death she feared for him, such a painting allows the Bohemian couple to

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<sup>483</sup> For the provenance see McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, vol. 2, p. 85.

<sup>484</sup> Marika Keblusek, "Cultural and Political Brokerage in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Balthazar Gerbier," in *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550-1800*, ed. Juliette Roding et al., *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 13 (2003) (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), pp. 73-82, especially p. 77.

replace the mythological protagonists, with Elizabeth desiring to keep her lover close and avoid the danger of his military campaigns in Germany to regain the Palatinate.<sup>485</sup>

Among the earliest paintings associated with Frederik Hendrik are three by Abraham Bloemaert depicting episodes from the *Historiae Aethiopica* by the third-century author Heliodorus of Emesa: *Theagenes and Charicleia Amidst the Murdered Pirates*, 1625 [fig. 110]; *Theagenes Receives the Palm of Honor from Charicleia*, 1626 [fig. 111]; and *Theagenes and Charicleia at the Pythian Games*, 1628 [fig. 112].<sup>486</sup> The *Aethiopica* recounts the adventures of Theagenes, a Greek descendant of Achilles, and Charicleia, an Ethiopian princess and Artemisian priestess, who fall in love. From the middle of the sixteenth century for about one hundred years, Heliodorus's tale was enormously popular. It was not, however, widely represented in paintings; it was almost exclusively employed in serial decoration, for a narrow circle of noble patrons, and sometimes related to a wedding.<sup>487</sup>

The first Bloemaert painting corresponds in date with the marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie, and it, indeed all three, have been considered commissions occasioned by the wedding, with the theme of love between the protagonists marshaled in support of such a connection. The three works have always been treated

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<sup>485</sup> Hoogsteder, "De Schilderijen van Frederik en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen," pp. 198-199. The painting is recorded only in the 1633 inventory of the Bohemian couple's residence at Rhenen, where it is listed as a mantelpiece. Its date, date of acquisition, means of acquisition, or even whether it was autograph or not, are unknown. Long after Friedrich V's death, Elizabeth commissioned Van Honthorst to paint a "Venus and Adonis," in which she was portrayed as Venus.

<sup>486</sup> Marcel G. Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints*, with biographies and documents by Marten Jan Bok, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1993), pp. 278-280 and 293, cat. nos. 424, 425, and 451.

<sup>487</sup> Wolfgang Stechow, "Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* in Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16, nos. 1-2 (January-June, 1953), pp. 144-152.

together, often considered a series, and described as commissions. There is, however, no direct evidence that any of these three works was commissioned by Frederik Hendrik or Amalie from Abraham Bloemaert, though there is little doubt that they were intended for the Orange-Nassau.<sup>488</sup>

All three of Bloemaert's *Theagenes and Charicleia* paintings can be traced to the Orange-Nassau collection. One was in the Noordeinde residence in 1632, and a 1707 inventory of the same residence again records one of the three works.<sup>489</sup> The painting recorded in 1707 was clearly *Theagenes and Charicleia Amidst the Murdered Pirates* because it still bears the mark "N 6" on the lower left of the canvas corresponding to its inventory entry; and the 1707 and 1632 references, in the same residence, likely refer to the same painting.<sup>490</sup> The other two works were at Honselaarsdijk, one recorded there in a 1707 inventory and the other known to have been moved from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo from a now-lost record.<sup>491</sup> These

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<sup>488</sup> In the Biography section of Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons*, p. 582, Marten Jan Bok writes the following: "The first known commission for the court of the stadholder dates from 1625... three paintings that Bloemaert painted in 1625, 1626 and 1628 for Frederik Hendrik's palace at Honselaarsdijk" Yet in the following section of all the documents relating to Bloemaert (also compiled by Bok), there is no record to confirm this "known commission" nor do all three go to Honselaarsdijk (see below).

<sup>489</sup> Appendix I, no. 667.

<sup>490</sup> Ben Broos, "Not Two but Three Scenes from the *Historiae Aethiopiae* by Abraham Bloemaert," *Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 5 (1987), p. 4; and *Princely Patrons*, p. 107, cat. no. 3.

<sup>491</sup> The 1626 painting of *Theagenes Receives the Palm of Honor from Charicleia*, now in the Mauritshuis, was moved to Het Loo from Honselaarsdijk. Its presence in Honselaarsdijk is confirmed by a now-lost record headed "Schildereijen, gecomen van Honselaarsdijk," in which appears reference to: "Antichambre aen de groote Zael: Een wetloop van BLOEMART"; Ben Broos, *Intimacies and Intrigues: History Painting in the Mauritshuis* (The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1993), p. 71, note 9. The 1628 painting of *Theagenes and Charicleia at the Pythian Games*, now lost (formerly Schloss Schwedt) was recorded at Honselaarsdijk between 1707 and 1719; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 525, inv. no. 86: "Schoorsteenstuk van Bloemert sijnde een fabel uit Heliodorus van Cariclea en Teagenes." Though the description and range of dates of this reference are not conclusive, the fact that the work was later sent from Honselaarsdijk to Berlin in 1746 (long after the Mauritshuis picture had been moved to Het Loo) allows identification of the lost picture as part of the Honselaarsdijk interior. The locations of

eighteenth-century inventories indicate that the three paintings were by then in different residences in distinct locations. The three paintings also span a period of four years. Nor are they the same size; the 1625 painting is roughly two-thirds the size of the later two. Combined, they form only a limited and incomplete depiction of the *Aethiopica*, and the three paintings do not share a unified subject or mood. Despite the fact that they represent scenes from a rarely depicted story, the three paintings lack the necessary cohesion to consider them a proper series.

The later two paintings are noticeably different from the work of 1625. These differences have indeed been noted, and, following this, it has been suggested that the three may not have formed a single commission and that the possible success of the 1625 work occasioned the commission of the other two.<sup>492</sup> The two later works depict two scenes from the same section of the *Aethiopica* (Books Three and Four): the events surrounding Theagenes' arrival at the Pythian games and the ceremonial processional commencement in the 1628 work and the presentation of the palm of honor to him as victor of a race in the 1626 painting. These two works, of approximately the same size, were definitely installed at Honselaarsdijk later in the century. As celebratory and heroic images of ancient (Greek) inspiration taking place in an idyllic outdoor setting and concerning adventure and love, they are in line with the overall thematic decoration that characterized Frederik Hendrik's favored palatial

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these two paintings in that palace in the early eighteenth century may not reflect their original placements. The building was still under construction in 1626 and 1628 when the paintings were executed.

<sup>492</sup> Roethlisberger, *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons*, p. 279, and Carola Vermeeren in *Princely Patrons*, p. 107 and note 4, cat. no. 3.

retreat.<sup>493</sup> Their specific appropriateness for this environment favors considering them as intentional additions (through commission), despite an absence of recorded payment.<sup>494</sup>

The 1625 painting, by contrast, is considerably smaller and is unlikely to have ever hung with the other two, or at Honselaarsdijk at all. It represents a different and unrelated scene in the story (Book One) that contrasts markedly in substance, mood, and impact with the other two positive, celebratory images as well as the planned environment of Honselaarsdijk. *Theagenes and Charicleia Amidst the Murdered Pirates* is not a painting of grand pageantry and ancient ceremony, but one of uncertainty amidst violence and danger.

Bloemaert painted a beach strewn with bodies, wounded, dead, and dying, while armed men spy on the scene from a cliff to the right and others unload the cargo of a ship in the background. A solitary old man isolated and illuminated in the middle distance offers a summary of the grim situation, as he makes an imploring gesture and gazes slightly upward. The protagonists meanwhile are in the left center, the wounded Theagenes cared for by Charicleia, whose tenderness is not only a sign of love but also a pictorial note of grace amidst a chorus of misfortune. The scene represents the aftermath of a quarrel at a banquet by pirates who had taken the couple hostage and in which Theagenes had been wounded. However calamitous, the

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<sup>493</sup> For this characterization of the environment of Honselaarsdijk and the decorations that embody it, see Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic."

<sup>494</sup> Though there is no record of payment for these two works and construction at Honselaarsdijk was not yet completed, payments were made at the same time (1627) for two mantelpieces by Van Honthorst for Honselaarsdijk. Indeed, these two Bloemaert paintings would be not only some of the earliest works reasonably associated with the active involvement of Frederik Hendrik but also among the earliest known images for Honselaarsdijk's thematic decoration.

abduction, battle, and wounding are not the end of their trials, as new danger looms precipitously close on the rocky outcropping, pointing to the unsuspecting and defenseless couple who would again be captured. The *Aethiopica* would eventually have a happy ending but in this very opening scene, it feels quite distant.

Despite the tender motif in the middle ground of the hero and heroine themselves, this would seem to be an odd choice of subject to commission in celebration of a noble wedding. Where is the celebration, the ceremony, the allegorical exemplars of virtue; where, indeed, is the marital couple? They are overshadowed by loss, death, danger, and new fears. So too, however, was it with Frederik Hendrik and Amalie shortly after they wed. Their wedding required no arrangement or negotiations, was too hasty to be planned, and lacked pomp and ceremony. Maurits lay dying. Soon after, the city of Breda would fall, wounding Frederik Hendrik's noble Orange-Nassau family and threatening the security of the nation. The comfort of his new bride, Amalie, could do only so much in this dark year and any joys of the couple were surrounded by defeat and uncertainty.

This is the contemporary situation to which Bloemaert's 1625 painting allegorically refers. It is not simply a reference to the marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie and not to be understood in conjunction with the later two works. This scene is the very first of the entire *Aethiopica*, and establishes the heroic protagonists' love, their relationship, and their misfortune. They have a series of adventures, which include very low moments, but through perseverance, ingenuity, faith, and good fortune arrive at a happy end. Bloemaert has successfully applied an existing literary model to modern reality in a way that was particularly appropriate and ingenious.

Such an interpretation would explain not only the subject matter, its date, and its relationship to Frederik Hendrik and Amalie, but also the uniqueness of the painting, among the three and among almost all the possessions of the Stadholder. How, though, does an image from Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, an image of *Theagenes and Charicleia*, come to the Orange-Nassau and under whose instigation?<sup>495</sup> The interpretation of the work as an allegorical commentary accounts only for the subject and its contemporary relevance but not for the means by which it entered Orange-Nassau possession.

The possibility that Frederik Hendrik saw (and admired) paintings of the subject at Fontainebleau has led to the interpretation of the French series as influential in Frederik Hendrik's active choice of the subject of Bloemaert's three canvases.<sup>496</sup> However, it is questionable to ascribe the impetus for Bloemaert's paintings to the presumed patron's memory of a series that he may have seen fifteen years before his own example of the subject appeared, and with no record of any commissioned paintings or active interest in the pictorial arts in the intervening period.<sup>497</sup> Nor would the possibility of Frederik Hendrik's memory account for perhaps the most

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<sup>495</sup> How (in)appropriate would such a work be as a wedding gift, if the interpretation offered here is to be accepted? Would it insult the Stadholder, making painfully visible his recent defeats and vulnerable state? Can such a work be seen as sympathetic and understanding of his cause and condition? Perhaps most importantly, who would come up with such a specific iconographic narrative instance and weight it with such likewise specific contemporary relevance?

<sup>496</sup> Broos, *Intimacies and Intrigues*, p. 65. At Fontainebleau, a series of sixteen decorative paintings of the *Aethiopica* were executed by the Flemish expatriate artist Ambroise Dubois during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Though these paintings were not yet painted during Frederik Hendrik's lengthy stay as a boy in France in 1598-1599, they would have been completed (and relatively new) when he returned to France in 1610 and 1611.

<sup>497</sup> Likewise, Amalie, twenty-three years old in 1625 and newly Princess of Orange, had no known artistic inclination at this point or in the immediately succeeding years. She would grow into her new courtly position and show an interest in art, but this was still years away. More likely, however, is that she could have been the recipient of the painting as a gift, as she would in 1627.

artistically significant aspect of such a hypothetical commission, the choice of Abraham Bloemaert. Before 1625, Frederik Hendrik had no known connection to Bloemaert – or any other artist – and apart from the three *Theagenes and Charicleia* paintings, the artist executed only one other (as far as is known) for the Orange-Nassau.<sup>498</sup>

Neither Frederik Hendrik nor Amalie were experienced enough in 1625 to see the inspiration, commission, and reception of such a painting all rest with them, and there is no documentary or circumstantial evidence to support such a supposition. It is doubtful that Constantijn Huygens was, either: his relationship with Frederik Hendrik had just begun in June 1625 and his artistic contacts were, like his patron's, in the process of developing.<sup>499</sup> By contrast, Sir Dudley Carleton (who left the United Provinces for England in 1625), though not particularly intellectual, had the knowledge and contacts to facilitate such an enterprise as intermediary between commissioner, artist, and recipient for any single individual wishing to present a work to the princely couple, including the Winter King and Queen in The Hague or someone in England. It is also possible that someone or some official body or organization in Utrecht was responsible for ordering or presenting the work, just as happened with the gifts of art from the States, City, and collegiate churches of Utrecht to Frederik Hendrik and Amalie in 1627. Perhaps even Bloemaert, a learned painter

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<sup>498</sup> The one additional painting was *The Marriage of Amaryllis and Mirtillo*, part of the *Il Pastor Fido* suite for Amalie's apartments at Honselaarsdijk (c. 1635). Bloemaert (likely) had contributed an Emperor to the series of twelve in the early 1620s but this hardly does more than make his presence known in the general Orange-Nassau artistic environment, and only then as one among a dozen. Bloemaert's home may also have been one of the artists' homes that Frederik Hendrik visited on 11 November 1626, but this would post-date the 1625 painting.

<sup>499</sup> Huygens, however, would likely have known of the story and was learned enough to appreciate the type of allegory Bloemaert's 1625 painting seems to present.

who successfully adapted to the changing artistic climate with history paintings of greater classical inspiration and courtly character and who had friends and family in the educated upper classes both domestically and internationally, was responsible for not only the execution but also the conception of the work.

However the 1625 painting by Bloemaert came to the Orange-Nassau, and regardless of whether the princely couple appreciated the commentary posited here, it seems to have been at least moderately well received.<sup>500</sup> Further works of the same story and by the same artist followed, which were more likely commissions given their thematic correspondence to the decoration of Honselaarsdijk where they hung (at least later in the century). The three paintings are by the same artist, of the same story, stylistically similar, and all near in date, yet different in mood, intention, placement, likely origin, and ultimate meaning. They are evidence of the complicated and developing character of the artistic environment surrounding Frederik Hendrik in the second half of the 1620s. With other paintings from Utrecht, they form some of the earliest works associated with the Orange-Nassau couple (arriving about the same time as the 1627 gifts). The 1625 painting, however, remains distinct from the later two works and shares its specificity and allegorical meaning with only one other work, also from Utrecht and dated 1625.

Perhaps the most captivating and often mentioned painting of Frederik Hendrik's earliest years and courtly art is an image of *Granida and Daifilo Pursued*

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<sup>500</sup> Its status as a gift and not a commission is ultimately preferred, admitting the speculation required to arrive at this tentative conclusion in the absence of evidence. The recipient could have been either Frederik Hendrik or Amalie (or them jointly), though the predominance of the female narrative role minimally favors the latter.

by *Artabanus and his Soldiers* by Gerrit van Honthorst [fig. 113].<sup>501</sup> It is elegantly signed and dated in the lower center on the shepherd's staff, *GHonthorst fesit 1625*, but not recorded until it appeared in a 1707 inventory of Honselaarsdijk.<sup>502</sup> In 1707 the painting was incorrectly identified as “Angelica and Medoro” and it subsequently remained misidentified until 1928 when it was recognized as an image of Act Five of the play *Granida* by Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581-1647).<sup>503</sup>

*Granida* was completed in 1605 and first published in 1615. It was influenced by sixteenth-century Italian pastoral, courtly, and romantic literature by such authors as Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) and Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538-1612). *Granida* would become popular, the first and most successful of the Dutch pastoral plays, which it is considered despite the fact that it largely takes place at a court with only two scenes from Acts One and Five taking place in a pastoral setting.<sup>504</sup>

In Act One the Persian princess Granida flees to Arcadia from the royal court of her father and comes across a shepherd, Daifilo. This scene was by far the most

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<sup>501</sup> For this painting, see, particularly: Jos de Meyere, “*Granida en Daifilo*” (1625) van Gerard van Honthorst. *Onderzoek en Restauratie* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1988); and the monograph/catalogue raisonné on Van Honthorst: Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656*, pp. 159-161, cat. no. 189.

<sup>502</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, vol. 1, p. 527, “Inventaris van de Schilderijen op het Huis Honselaarsdijk, 1707—1713—1719” “Sijne Majestijts antichambre aan de parterre...130 Schoorsteen van Honthorst sijnde de fabel uijt Ariosto van Angelica en Medor.” That this “Angelica and Medor” and the Granida and Daifilo under consideration are the same painting is confirmed by the presence of an inventory number “Nr. 110” on the painting, corresponding to another 1707 inventory. Jos de Meyere, “*Granida en Daifilo*” (1625) van Gerard van Honthorst, p. 22.

<sup>503</sup> Wolfgang Stechow, “Recensie van *Budde 1929*,” *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur* 2 (1928-1929), p. 185.

<sup>504</sup> Maria A. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt, Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), p. 143; Reinder P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries: A Short History of Dutch Language and Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), pp. 113-114; and Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age*, pp. 102-105, with transcriptions of the pastoral passages.

widely represented from the play, the first of which is Dirck van Baburen's 1623 *Granida and Daifilo* [fig. 114].<sup>505</sup> Daifilo kneels before Granida and offers her a shell of water to quench her thirst, which would become the iconographical motif identifying representations of the scene. Van Baburen's *Granida and Daifilo* is also a *portrait historié*. It is a specific allegory of love and devotion, with Granida and Daifilo as virtuous romantic exemplars, and this is what led numerous artists to depict the scene of the lovers' first meeting.

Van Honthorst, however, represented a later moment in the play. After having fallen in love in Arcadia, the pair went back to the court where a series of intrigues between gentleman competing for Granida's hand in marriage led to a duel. Daifilo, fighting in place of one Tisiphernes, killed a suitor named Ostrobas. Granida and Daifilo then fled to Arcadia to live together in love and simplicity. But the pleasant idyll of the lovers' mutual company depicted here is threatened by an unhappy end. Ostrobas's servant, Artabanus, leads soldiers to avenge the death of his master. The intervention of Tisiphernes would save Daifilo, and back at court the Persian king would grant permission for the young lovers to marry. In Van Honthorst's painting, though, the couple enjoys a brief moment of romantic pleasure uninterrupted by the concerns of the world. With great sensitivity, Van Honthorst has captured and conveyed this lyrical mood and this loving moment, both timeless and fleeting.

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<sup>505</sup> Leonard J. Slatkes, "Additions to Dirck van Baburen," in *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, ed. J. Bruyn, et al. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), pp. 267-268, considers the original to have been that which now exists only in fragments; a second autograph version is represented here.

This is the only known painted image of this moment in Hooft's play.<sup>506</sup>

Also, despite the fact that Van Honthorst would execute numerous generally pastoral works for twenty years, this is his only extant, identifiable, narrative pastoral scene. It is a singular work for Van Honthorst and Dutch art in general, unique, specific, and meaningful. The painting's standard assessment has long associated it with the April 1625 marriage of Amalie and Frederik Hendrik. Though the work is not recorded until 1707, its date of 1625 and presence in the Orange-Nassau collection favor some relationship to the wedding and an association between the newlywed couple and the amorous literary protagonists. It was possibly a commission or a gift, but nothing is known of its entry into the Orange-Nassau collection.<sup>507</sup>

If a commission or gift related to the wedding, why not a famous marriage from antiquity, mythology, or the Bible (as with *Alexander Crowning Roxanne* by Rubens)? If deciding upon the pastoral, which in 1625 did not yet have an established reputation of being popular at the Dutch court despite its significant appreciation later, why Hooft and not Guarini or Tasso?<sup>508</sup> Once choosing Hooft's *Granida*, of which in 1625 there were available representations, why this specific moment in the play and not the favored presentation of the shell of water from Act One?

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<sup>506</sup> There is one painting that shows a later moment in the same scene of Act Five of *Granida*, a 1647 work by Gerard van Kuijl (location unknown, sold, The Hague, 2 March 1942). Two other paintings have been associated with this part of the play, Van den Brink, De Meyere, et al., *Het Gedroomde Land: Pastorale Schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum; Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1993), p. 314. However, they lack the necessary specificity to be identified with Act Five and appear to be, instead, more generic pairs of pastoral lovers.

<sup>507</sup> De Meyere, "*Granida en Daifilo*" (1625) van Gerard van Honthorst, p. 23-24. The possible gift givers De Meyere put forth are the Winter King and Queen. Of particular note also is De Meyere's admission of the possibility that Van Honthorst himself presented the painting to the couple.

<sup>508</sup> Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, is the most comprehensive and successful discussion of the pastoral.

The two lovers have found the solace and joy of each other's company not simply in an Arcadian setting, but have escaped a court in order to do so. It is the very distinction between the artificiality, intrigue, and corruption of the court and the purity and simplicity of the noble pastoral life that is illustrated by Hooft and Van Honthorst in the protagonists' flight.

The court was, of course, the realm of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie, precisely so in 1625 when they got married and he succeeded Maurits as Prince of Orange, and instantly became the most important man in the Northern Netherlands and head of a courtly establishment. The escape from court *Granida and Daifilo* represents is therefore specifically appropriate for Frederik Hendrik and Amalie, and more so than other depictions of lovers. It is also its particular appropriateness that explains its uniqueness and exclusion from widespread representation.<sup>509</sup> In the beginning of Act Five of *Granida* and in Van Honthorst's *Granida and Daifilo*, the protagonists are no longer members of a court, but lovers who forsake their past lives to live together in ideal harmony.<sup>510</sup> This is the likely allegorical allusion for Frederik Hendrik and Amalie in the year of their marriage, and a pleasant fiction.

Any isolated solitude or undisturbed loving company that the two may have enjoyed was indeed fleeting. Like their literary counterparts, in 1625, soldiers would

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<sup>509</sup> Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, p. 104, states: "it is quite inexplicable why only one depiction of the first lovely moments from this act has survived." The answer would seem to be that it is so specifically appropriate for this courtly application, whereas the more popular scene from Act One has a wider application, and more charged (if less tender) romantic moment.

<sup>510</sup> De Meyere, "*Granida en Daifilo*" (1625) van Gerard van Honthorst, p. 21, and (following him) Judson, in Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, p. 160, discuss the character and meaning of the escape from court that Hooft presents. It is not an escape of neglect or hedonism, but an ideal and altruistic pursuit of love and beauty. De Meyere does not explicitly relate this to Frederik Hendrik, Amalie, and their newlywed status, nor, therefore, does he stress the particular appropriateness of this image for its destined recipient.

disrupt their shared idyll. While the couple were being wed and Maurits lay dying, Ambrogio Spínola (1569-1630) and his Spanish armies were engaged in one of the most determined sieges of the entire Eighty Years War, strangling the fortified, strategic, and symbolic city of Breda. Frederik Hendrik, as new head of the family, the military, and the nation, had to forgo the embrace of his bride to fight for the memory and honor of his ancestors, his noble property and prestige, and the very security of the Dutch nation.

Mounting difficulty, tension, and uncertainty preceded the fall of Breda, a period succinctly characterized by a Dutch correspondent who wrote: “Here is nothing but gloom for the present and fear for the future.”<sup>511</sup> For enemy Spain, 1625 was an very successful year and it is, after all, Velázquez’s *The Surrender of Breda* [see fig. 1], an image of Spanish military glory and political propaganda, that is arguably the most famous painting of the Eighty Years War.<sup>512</sup> The year 1625 was a pivotal and momentous year, for no one in the Netherlands more so than Frederik Hendrik, who saw the union of marriage, the rise to power, and a military defeat that was devastating, humiliating, and threatening.

*Granida and Daifilo* is an iconographically innovative painting that seems specifically tailored to its destination in a bold, singular, and meaningful way. Van Honthorst has done much more than represent a narrative passage. In a subtle and elegant allegorical image, he has exquisitely captured the character of a significant historical moment, a moment of loving tenderness and imminent danger.

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<sup>511</sup> Nicolaes van Reigersberg to Hugo de Groot in 1624, as quoted in Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 485.

<sup>512</sup> Jonathan Brown and John Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, p. 29.

Absent specific evidence, however, there is little to support such an interpretation except the very uniqueness of an image that demands meaningful consideration. Nevertheless, it is, again, the only known painting of this specific moment of Hooft's play and the only narrative pastoral known by Van Honthorst. The particular appropriateness of the work to the personal and historical circumstances for which it was by all accounts destined and the lack of any other paintings of this narrative passage set this picture apart, in dedicated specificity, within an environment that would come to favor such generally courtly and pastoral imagery.<sup>513</sup>

How, though, did such a work come about and why did Van Honthorst paint it? Though paintings by him dating prior to 1625 appeared in the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory, this work precedes his significant relationship with the court in The Hague after 1628, and thus the familiar explanation of his favored status is premature. The year 1625 is too early a date to assume the patronage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie. Other posited patrons are the King and Queen of Bohemia in exile in The Hague, who certainly knew Van Honthorst as early as 1621; but their substantial patron-client relationship also came only after 1628. In addition to the question of patron, the person(s) responsible for facilitating the commission or providing its intellectual impetus is not known. The innovation and uniqueness of *Granida and Daifilo* (as presented here) points to someone both politically connected and

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<sup>513</sup> A pastoral, after all, when drawn from a literary source, is a history painting. It has a subject and potential meaning. Of course, demanding iconologic significance beyond the represented subject and the obvious pleasures and themes it provides is not always warranted. However, when a painting diverges from an established visual and iconographic tradition, it is necessary to consider the potential significance of such a departure within the work's particular context, especially when the work is of high artistic quality and in a prominent location or collection.

artistically knowledgeable. Again, Sir Dudley Carleton's activity in the arts was functional; he was no iconographic innovator and no scholar. Constantijn Huygens, who wrote his own pastoral poetry and must certainly have known the play by his friend Hooft, had only just begun his service to Frederik Hendrik and did not yet have the range of familiarity with artists he later demonstrates in the autobiography of his youth. The possibility of either Frederik Hendrik or Amalie's thematic conception is weakened by the painting's complexity and by the fact that their active interest in the pictorial arts had not yet developed. It is, of course, also possible that Van Honthorst selected the subject and devised its particular thematic relevance. Even the idea to give it as a gift may have come from Van Honthorst himself, as a means of courting the patronage of the new Prince, the most desirable potential patron in the land, who already owned some of Van Honthorst's paintings. However, *Granida and Daifilo* is more than another in a series of paintings and more than a depiction of popular literature. It is a visual summary of the princely couple's contemporary life, at the same time subtle and evocative. *Granida and Daifilo* is considered one of Van Honthorst's great paintings and its quality even strengthens the argument that it was, from the outset, not only intended for the Stadholder but also that Van Honthorst realized its potential and was intent on impressing.

Impressed Frederik Hendrik and Amalie may have been, because Van Honthorst did become the most favored artist of the princely couple, at the head of a group of artists providing subjects and styles that were generally courtly in character. *Granida and Daifilo* fits completely within their artistic environment. It is, however, one of the earliest works to do so. It is not certain that in 1625 the princely couple

already possessed such preferences, and that as a commission or gift this painting was designed to fulfill such pre-existent interest. Their tastes, instead, developed over time from increasing familiarity with ever-greater numbers of works of art and artists. The year of the couple's marriage and Frederik Hendrik's rise to power, 1625, was the beginning of this development and Van Honthorst's painting did not so much meet the couple's tastes as it influenced them.

Van Honthorst, an artist at times progressive and assured and at other times repetitive and uninspired, here shows himself to great advantage: culturally and historically perceptive, artistically innovative, and with the capacity to subtly infuse reference and meaning into a painting at once successful, elegant, and beautiful. *Granida and Daifilo Pursued by Artabanus and his Soldiers* is a painting that is unique in subject, specific in meaning, heralds the future of Van Honthorst's classical artistic style, and also helps establish the aesthetic preferences that would define a courtly environment for more than twenty years.

Gerrit van Honthorst's *Granida and Daifilo Pursued by Artabanus and his Soldiers* and Abraham Bloemaert's *Theagenes and Charicleia Amidst the Murdered Pirates* (as well as Rubens's *Alexander Crowning Roxanne*) are the earliest works possibly associated with the new Prince and Princess of Orange. Further, the contemporary allegory provided by these meaningful works is largely absent in the direct patronage of the princely couple in their early years of artistic activity. Instead, painting under Frederik Hendrik and Amalie would largely be decoration, part of a greater environment of courtly splendor, one just begun in 1625 and still needing time to become established. Frederik Hendrik could have been familiar with the impact of

such environments from his experience at international courts, but cultivating one was new to him, and he would successfully do so, with Amalie and Huygens, in the 1630s and 1640s.

Frederik Hendrik had the international contacts, general cultural awareness, and personal wealth to become a collector of high aristocratic distinction. He was the heir of a family history of courtly patronage which, though dispersed, was renowned in the sixteenth century. He had his earlier international experiences on which to look back and the presence in The Hague of knowledgeable figures. Yet Frederik Hendrik had no scouts or agents acquiring art, no purchases on travels or commentary about art while visiting other courts and locations. He did not import foreign painters or their work for the court, yet he would import Italian and French fabrics, furnishings, architects, and gardeners.

An analysis of the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory, and particularly the newly acquired objects between 1632 and 1634, presents a picture of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie as active, even lavish, consumers of fashionable luxury goods. They took part in the cutting edge of international (French) interior architecture and decoration and, as such, they were pioneers in Holland. This interest in fashion, luxury, and the stature they provide superseded any apparent interest in pictorial art or artistic patronage at this early point in their princely lives.

The years 1625 to 1632 brought increased stability to Frederik Hendrik's military, political, and aristocratic position both at home and abroad. The same years saw the great inheritance in 1625, the beginnings of his own artistic activity in 1627, and expanded patronage in quantity and scope from 1629. After 1630, there was

always a new or recently remodeled residence in need of some type of decoration: first Honselaarsdijk, then the Huis ter Nieuburg, and later Buren, Breda, the remodeled Noordeinde residence, and lastly the Huis ten Bosch (after Frederik Hendrik's death).

Frederik Hendrik was a noble of the highest stature whose artistic activity not only reflected that status, but also was driven by it. He certainly patronized artists, commissioned works of art, and decorated his residences with works of appropriate theme and grandeur. The paintings, tapestries, sculptures, gardens, and furnishings that adorned his residences in the 1630s and 1640s served not simply visual delight, but a purpose. They were a useful, even necessary, element in conveying princely splendor.<sup>514</sup> Frederik Hendrik's artistic activity was the result of neither specific interest in the aesthetic qualities of works nor preferences for individual artists, and certainly cannot be ascribed to a love of painting.<sup>515</sup> Van Honthorst, Van Dyck, and the artists that worked in their wake provided the courtly, classical style that became

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<sup>514</sup> Olaf Mörke, "De hofcultuur van het huis Oranje-Nassau in de zeventiende eeuw," in *Cultuur en maatschappij in Nederland 1500-1850: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, ed. Peter te Boekhorst, Peter Burke, and Willem Frijhoff (Boom: Open Universiteit, 1992), p. 43: "Het hoofse leven en de hoofse praal, *Splendour* en *Magnificence* – dat had Temple ook al onderkend – waren geen doel op zich. Het waren instrumenten voor de handhaving van de positie van het Oranjehuis in het politieke leven van de Republiek en bovendien voor de versteviging van die positie ten opzichte van de Europese hoogadellijke kringen."

<sup>515</sup> Contemporary references to Frederik Hendrik's direct personal involvement with the aesthetic issues of the pictorial arts are exceptionally rare (records of payment are more frequent). There is only one before 1635: the 1624 letter in which he admitted to moving three portraits in his gallery (see Chapter 7). References after 1635 include: the 1638 letter from Huygens to Amalie in which he reported that Frederik Hendrik received two portraits from Charles I; the two 1639 letters from Huygens to Rubens in which Frederik Hendrik requested a mantelpiece (the subject of which was left to the artist's choosing); a 1636 letter from Huygens to Amalie in which he expressed Frederik Hendrik's preference for floral as opposed to grotesque decoration for a part of the Huis ter Nieuburg interior (Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. 2, p. 194; letter 1449 from Huygens to Amalie); and two (of seven) letters from Rembrandt to Huygens (Strauss and Van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents*, pp. 129 and 161 ; February 1636 and 12 January 1639). Nor are there known comments by Dutch citizens or international visitors on Frederik Hendrik's interest in the visual arts.

dominant in the Orange-Nassau environment not because of personal aesthetic preferences of Frederik Hendrik or Amalie, but because it was a visual language that spoke with a recognizable international vocabulary. It provided the desired image of power, wealth, and stature within political, social, and courtly environments, displaying sufficient magnificence necessary from someone in his position. Art was not a cultural enterprise, but a functional element of a courtly environment. The impetus was not interest but effect.

The 1630s and 1640s saw Frederik Hendrik increasingly direct his attention to courtly life, strengthening the position of the House of Orange-Nassau, and princely magnificence. The qualities for which he is known and celebrated within the artistic and cultural realms expanded considerably after about 1632. They were possible because of the political, military, and noble position he had inherited, developed, and expanded during the earliest years of his reign. Though never absolute and in spite of later decline in political and military power, his personal position was a combination of deserved and fabricated exalted status. His lifestyle would increasingly reflect that and in death he would be so remembered.

## Conclusion

The period 1618-1632 was crucial for the development of princely artistic activity at the Orange-Nassau court in The Hague. The sixteenth-century Orange-Nassau ancestors had a history of grand patronage that was lost to the family at the outbreak of the Eighty Years War (1568-1648). Maurits's (1567-1625) early life included only sporadic attention to the visual arts, given his military obligation and relatively modest means for more than half of his life. The increasing wealth and status provided by Maurits's splendid military victories allowed him greater opportunity for architectural, courtly, and artistic activity; but it was not until 1618, upon becoming legitimate Prince of Orange, that any notion of a princely courtly environment, complete with grand architectural and artistic patronage, could be seriously envisioned. Ill health and then his death in 1625 brought an end to Maurits's modest artistic development. Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), who had no known artistic interest or activity before 1625, initially continued such modest development over the course of the 1620s, while he was simultaneously securing the nation and raising his personal stature through splendid military victories, and was joined by his new bride Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675). By 1632, the period of foundation and development was over. The Orange-Nassau had reached their most secure political and aristocratic positions and Frederik Hendrik then considerably expanded his patronage.

The title Prince of Orange, and its attendant wealth and privilege, was the impetus to the expanded artistic activity of Maurits and Frederik Hendrik. Their lives changed fundamentally in 1618 and 1625; they became high aristocrats of truly

European position and sovereign status. At the same time, Maurits, and subsequently Frederik Hendrik, possessed supreme political and military control. The practical requirements and foundation of artistic activity came into being in the period directly after 1618 and were developed by these successive Stadholder-Princes. The artistic character at their court in The Hague during this period was distinct and significant.

This study has focused on the historical events that shaped these Orange-Nassau half-brothers' personal lives and affected their knowledge, patronage, and collecting of works of art, as well provided a chronological account of the development of their artistic activity, 1618-1632. The result is a greater understanding of Maurits as a cultured individual and a re-evaluation of perceived views about the beginnings of Frederik Hendrik's artistic activity and the nature of his interest in the visual arts.

This dissertation has demonstrated the continuity between the two half brothers, who successively held all the same positions, titles, and responsibilities, and who were each new to their princely status between 1618-1632. Architecture, in which they were both personally interested, would be their primary artistic activity: they expanded existing residences and began entirely new buildings that transformed the physical spaces of their courtly environments. Local artistic production was a significant component of their earliest artistic activity, with artists from The Hague and Delft contributing a wide variety of functional, decorative works; and then a wider variety of higher quality works from artists throughout the Netherlands began to fill the court. Both Maurits and Frederik Hendrik received gifts of works of art (as did Amalie) in honor or recognition of various occasions and achievements. Their

major projects were often serial in nature, such as the *Twelve Emperor Series*, “Hero” tapestries, battle pictures, the *Nassau Genealogy*, and various series of portraits – and Frederik Hendrik’s later decoration of his new palaces would be filled with serial campaigns.

This study has offered new interpretations of specific paintings appearing at the court in The Hague, by looking critically at the known information on individual works and situating them specifically in the light of the historical environment in which they appeared. The *Twelve Emperor Series*, a conventional theme in early modern aristocratic courts, is most properly understood in relation to Maurits’s rise to the title Prince of Orange in 1618, at which date the series immediately began. The importance of the series lies in the timing of its creation. Through allegorical association with imperial power, it visually communicated the sovereign position Maurits now held. Further, and uniquely, it did so in a nation that was officially a republic and that Maurits had transformed through both his public military and political successes and his personal qualities of resolve and prowess.

*Theagenes and Charicleia Amidst the Murdered Pirates* by Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) and *Granida and Daifilo Pursued by Artabanus and his Soldiers* by Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) were not simply illustrations of an ancient epic and modern pastoral, but were subtle commentaries on the life of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie at a tenuous historical moment in 1625 that saw their marriage, Frederik Hendrik’s succession of Maurits, and the loss of the city of Breda. The specificity and nuance of these works makes them exceptional, both as works of art and at the Orange-Nassau court.

They were, however, part of the Orange-Nassau's developing exposure to a wider variety of art and influenced their later patronage. That patronage was usually more straightforward in its subject matter and intention. What the *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries, *Twelve Emperors Series*, tapestries of Julius Caesar, large works by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), courtly subjects by Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), and *portraits historiés* by Van Honthorst provided was overt. These works were appropriate in subject and grandeur for a major aristocratic court, the type of court the Orange-Nassau were establishing, and they provided an image of splendor and magnificence. During the years 1618-1632 Maurits and Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau learned first-hand the possibilities of artistic activity and developed the foundations of a courtly environment that was truly princely.

### **Epilogue: The Nassau Genealogy Tapestries**

The *Nassau Genealogy*, more than any other works of art, commemorated the family, history, and lineage of the Orange-Nassau and proclaimed its place in the political and military history of the Netherlands.<sup>516</sup> They were the object of repeated attention, with both a familial and national intent. Though lost to the main line of Orange-Nassau, the original sixteenth-century tapestries provided the basis for one of the first significant artistic enterprises of Maurits (1567-1625): a set of painted copies of the original tapestries (based on cartoons) executed early in the seventeenth century. Maurits commissioned the works after a period of military success, and with them he returned to both the artistic heritage of his family and their political and aristocratic positions that served as a justification of his own power. After thirty years of growing stature, increased wealth, and consolidated authority for the Orange-Nassau, a new set of *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries was commissioned by Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) and completed in 1632. Not only in subject were they significant, but as works of art they must have been splendid, described as “costly” and “richly adorned with gold.” They were the type of works of art, in meaningful subject and lavish execution, that Frederik Hendrik’s position both allowed and warranted.

Thus, at the end of his early developmental phase of artistic activity and directly preceding his full artistic expansion of the 1630s and 1640s, Frederik

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<sup>516</sup> There are a number of specialized articles treating the *Nassau Genealogy*, the most important of which is C. W. Fock, “Nieuws over de tapijten, bekend als de Nassause Genealogie,” *Oud Holland* 84, no. 1 (1969): pp. 1-28. The tapestries are lost. Only seven watercolor designs by Van Orley survive (see Chapters Two and Four) – four in Munich (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung) and one each in Rennes (Musée de Rennes), Los Angeles (The J. Paul Getty Museum), and New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art); see Fig. 1. See also Chapter Four for Maurits’s commission of painted copies of the tapestries (c. 1600) and Chapter Nine for Frederik Hendrik’s newly woven set of tapestries (1632).

Hendrik returned to a pre-existing artistic enterprise of familial importance, courtly splendor, and political weight that would also signal the character of his later artistic activity: primarily grand, thematic, and decorative (and often serial). The *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries were an embodiment of continuity with Frederik Hendrik's recent and distant familial past and a glorious example of things to come.

This new set of *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries was an important part of the Orange-Nassau courtly splendor. They were prominently hung in the Noordeinde residence during the wedding festivities of Amalie's sister Louise Christine von Solms-Braunfels (1606-1669) and Johan Wolfert van Brederode (1599-1655) on 11 February 1638.<sup>517</sup> In such a setting and for such an audience, the tapestries fulfilled their primary purpose as lavish, decorative, artistic displays and visual symbols of Orange-Nassau legitimacy and power. The tapestries were then publicly displayed after the conclusion of a tournament held following the wedding, thus fulfilling the same propagandistic purpose for a wider audience.<sup>518</sup> Later in 1638, Frederik Hendrik ordered designs from Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) for additional tapestries, of Willem I (1533-1584), Filips Willem (1554-1618), Maurits, and himself (three shown with their wives in keeping with the sixteenth-century precedent), and these were delivered the following year from the Delft tapestry weaver Maximiliaan van der Gucht (c. 1603-1689).<sup>519</sup> The continuation of the series into the present

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<sup>517</sup> M. E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Functie van het Huis in het Noordeinde Binnen het Stadhoudelijk Bestel," *Oranje-Nassau Museum Jaarboek* (1992), p. 51.

<sup>518</sup> Jori Zijlmans, "Life at The Hague Court," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, ed. Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (The Hague: Historical Museum; Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), pp. 41-42.

<sup>519</sup> Fock, "Nieuws over de tapijten, bekend als de Nassause Genealogie," p. 18. Van Honthorst's payment is recorded on 1 August 1638 and that of Van der Gucht on 20 May 1639.

served as both obvious familial celebration and political propaganda. Including Filips Willem was also of key import because, though loyal to the enemy, he was part of the legitimate line of heads of the Orange-Nassau; Frederik Hendrik's own position was in part dependent on this pedigree, and his Catholic half-brother's legitimacy was recognized in support.<sup>520</sup> A notable absence in these 1638 commissions was an image of Willem II (1626-1650). Though just a twelve-year-old boy, he was the only legitimate son and direct heir to Frederik Hendrik, Maurits, Filips Willem, Willem I, and indeed the entire Orange-Nassau line; he had already been named as hereditary successor to not only the noble lineage but also the military and political positions of his ascendants through the 1631 Act of Survivance. His inclusion in this artistic enterprise would have visually communicated his dynastic position as heir.

By contrast, just before the latest *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries were commissioned, the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro in Madrid had received Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez's (1599-1660) portraits of the royal family, including the young Spanish crown prince, Baltasar Carlos (1629-1646).<sup>521</sup> Centered between

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<sup>520</sup> The two people who link the original set and the additions are missing: Hendrik III of Nassau, the original patron of the first *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries, and René de Chalons, the individual who linked the Orange and Nassau Houses. However, C. W. Fock, "De voorgestelde personen op de tapijtenreeks 'De Nassause Genealogie'," *Oud Holland* 89, no. 2 (1975), pp. 73-78, discusses the tapestries' eighteenth-century hanging at Breda and the existence of four additional tapestries of Hendrik III, René de Chalons, Willem I, and Filips Willem. Nothing is known of these four works, including who commissioned them, at what point, and when they were brought into connection with the other tapestries. Though Fock posits that they were added by Frederik Hendrik sometime between 1632 and 1638/39, it is not clear why Frederik Hendrik and Maurits would not have been included in this set or why two individuals (Willem I and Filips Willem) were repeated in the known four from 1638.

<sup>521</sup> Fock, "Nieuws over de tapijten, bekend als de Nassause Genealogie," p. 13, also specifically mentions Velázquez's paintings. Dating from approximately the same period as the Van Honthorst cartoons for the *Nassau Genealogy*, both projects are related to the same tradition of the equestrian royal portrait. See Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture and Horsemanship 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989) on royal equestrian imagery, and pp. 34 (and note 78 on p. 95) and 246-247 (pl. 115) on the equestrian portrait of Baltasar Carlos for the Hall of Realms.

images of his parents above the entrance to the Hall of Realms was an equestrian portrait of Baltasar Carlos, aged eight, as a military commander, in supreme control of his pony and of his future. Such an image, as much for the Spanish subjects as it was for the young prince, boldly proclaimed the royal succession, its legitimacy, and its might. Whereas Baltasar Carlos was celebrated in grand form and scale, as the future of the Spanish throne and House of Habsburg, Willem II was conspicuously absent from the *Nassau Genealogy*.

Both heirs would die prematurely, Baltasar Carlos never having the chance to fill the role for which he was destined and Willem II struggling to grasp what he was never prepared to hold. In 1650, with the death of Willem II after only a three-year reign and the conclusion of the war two years earlier, the Dutch opted for a republican government without the necessity of a Stadholder (even if only temporarily). The military and political power and position of the Orange-Nassau were gone, but the infant Willem (Hendrik) III (1650-1702) was alive, heir to his father Willem II, grandfather Frederik Hendrik, great-uncle Maurits, and great-grandfather Willem I.

Nearly a century after the assassination of Willem I, his last legitimate male descendant gained not only the inheritance of the Orange-Nassau line but also eventually regained the family's place at the head of the Dutch nation. In the 1690s, Willem III continued the *Nassau Genealogy*, now including his father Willem II, and two images of himself, one as Count of Nassau (and Prince of Orange) and the other as King of England, a title gained through his Stuart mother and wife.<sup>522</sup> Willem I's legacy, Maurits's consolidation of the family's position, and Frederik Hendrik's

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<sup>522</sup> Willem III's mother was Mary Stuart (I) (1631-1661) and his wife was Mary Stuart (II) (1667-1694); see Chapter Two.

political and courtly aspirations reached their greatest heights in Willem III, the throne of England.

The *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries were a splendid visual manifestation of the stature and magnificence of an ancient noble house, then among the greatest in all of Europe. Its continuity and prestige were a living reality for the family and for all to see. There would, however, be no more *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries, and the death of Willem III without issue brought an end to the direct male descendants of Willem I and to the hopes and ambitions of the Orange-Nassau ancestors. The tapestries remained to proclaim the history and glory of the family, but now they too are gone.

## Appendix I

### 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory

The following is a transcription, translation and analysis of the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory. The inventory has been published twice (and this Appendix is based on the 1974 publication):

- Drossaers, S. W. A. “Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadthouderlijk Kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te ‘s-Gravenhage, met aanteekeningen van C. Hofstede de Groot en Jonkvr. C. H. de Jonge.” *Oud Holland* 47 (1930): 193-236, 241-276.
- Drossaers, S. W. A. and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer. *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken*. 3 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976: vol. 1, *Inventarissen Nassau-Oranje*, 1974, pp. 179-237.

The inventory records the moveable possessions of Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau housed in the Stadholder’s Quarters and the Noordeinde residence, both in The Hague. It was begun in August 1632 with additions until sometime in 1634. The entire inventory includes 1315 entries (many entries record multiple objects). This Appendix includes all paintings, tapestries, sculptures, and select objects of note. There are 379 total paintings in the inventory and that number is broken down into groups in the sub-sections of this Appendix (Appendix I.1, I.2, and I.3; Appendix I.4 treats tapestries).

Each inventory entry here follows this format (depending on available information):

- 1632 inventory number (with a, b, etc. if more than one painting is listed under the entry) followed in parentheses ( ) by the 1930 *Oud Holland* article number
- Transcription from Drossaers/Lunsingh-Scheurleer, 1974 (in *italics*)
- Translation (in **bold**)
- Identification of the work, if known (from *Oud Holland* 1930, Drossaers/Lunsingh-Scheurleer, 1974, and various literature)
- Other Orange-Nassau inventories that refer (or may refer) to the same work
- Notes about acquisition, errors in the entry, identification, attribution, etc.

#### Abbreviations:

The following inventories are all found in Drossaers, S. W. A. and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken*. 3 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1976;

other inventories appearing less frequently are listed in full in the Appendix and can also be found in Drossaers/Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1974-1976:

- Brussels 1618 – Inventaris van het Hof van Nassau te Brussel 1618
- Breda 1619 – Inventaris van het Kasteel te Breda 1619
- AvS 1668 – Inventaris van Kostbaarheden, Meubelen, Schilderijen van Amalia van Solms, ten dele in het Huis ten Bosch, het Huis in het Noordeinde en het Kasteel te Turnhout 1654-1668
- AvS 1673 – Dispositieboek van Amalia van Solms 1673
- AvS 1676 – Boedelscheiding van Amaila van Solms 1676
- Leeuwarden 1681 – Inventaris van de inboedel van Albertine Agnes van Nassau-Oranje, weduwe van Willem Frederik van Nassau-Dietz in het Hof te Leeuwarden 1681
- Albertine Agnes 1696 – Lijst van Schilderijen door Albertine Agnes nagaleten aan Henrietta Catherina van Anhalt-Dessau 1696
- Noordeinde 1702 – Inventaris van de schilderijen van het huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1702
- Noordeinde 1707 – Inventaris van de Schilderijen van het Huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1707
- Hons. 1707 – Inventaris van de Schilderijen op het Huis Honselaarsdijk, 1707—1713—1719
- Rijswijk 1707 – Inventaris van de Schilderijen van het Huis ter Nieuwburg te Rijswijk 1707
- Het Loo 1712 – Taxatie van de Schilderijen in het Huis Het Loo met Lijst door Engeland Gereclameerde Schilderijen 1712

Additional abbreviations:

- SWAD1930 – S. W. A. Drossaers, *Oud Holland* 1930
- CHdG1930 – C. Hofstede de Groot, *Oud Holland* 1930
- CHdJ1930 – C. H. de Jongh, *Oud Holland* 1930
- D/LS – S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, 1974-1976.
- B.-S. 1967 – Helmut Börsch-Supan, “Die Gemälde aus dem Vermächtnis der Amalie von Solms und aus der Oranischen erbschaft in den brandenburgisch-preußischen Schlössern,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 30, 2/3 (1967): 143-198.
- M/CR – Monograph/Catalog Raisonné (of the given artist, followed by abbreviated bibliographic information)

General location of inventoried objects:

- inv nos. 1- 482: Stadholder’s Quarters (1-451) and Speelhuis (452-482)
- inv. nos. 483-716: Noordeinde (on display)

- inv. nos. 717-975: Noordeinde (storage, “meubelsolders”)
- inv. nos. 976-1017: Noordeinde (storage, “achtersolder neffens de meubelsolder”)
- inv. nos. 1018-1065: Noordeinde (on display)
- inv. nos. 1066-1097: furnishings acquired in 1632
- inv. nos. 1098-1315: furnishings acquired after 31 August 1632
- inv. nos. 1098-1124: likely acquired between September and December 1632
- inv. nos. 1125-1137: received from Italy in December 1632 and February 1633
- inv. nos. 1138-1315: record of furnishings acquired in 1634

*Inventaris van het Stadhoudelijk Kwartier en het Huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1632*

**Inventory of the Stadholder's Quarters and the Noordeinde Residence (Old Court) 1632**

*Inventaris van alle de meublen van zijne excellentie mijnheere den prince van Orangien, soo op 't Binnenhoff, in 't speelhuys als van 't huys in 't Noorteynde ende anders, sijnde onder de bewaringe van Alexander Le Clercq als concerge van beyde de hooven.*

**Inventory of all the furnishing of his excellency my lord the Prince of Orange, as in the Binnenhof, in the Speelhuis, as well as from the Noordeinde residence and others, [that] are under the custody of Alexander Le Clercq as concierge of both courts.**

*Inventaris van alle de meubelen van Zijne Ex<sup>cie</sup>., oversien ende aengeteeckent bij den contrerolleur 'sHerwouters in de maent augusti XVIe tweëndertich ter presentie van Alexander le Clerq als conchierge.*

**Inventory of all the furnishing of His Excellency, overseen and registered by the controller 's Herwouters in the month August XVI-thirty-two in the presence of Alexander le Clerq as concierge.**

[Stadhoudelijk Kwartier]

*De nieuwe slaepcamer van zijn excellentie.*

10

*Deselve is behangen met ses stucken fijne Brusselsche tapitseriën, bosschagie, verciert met verscheyde gevogelt ende andere gedierten.*

**The same is hung with six pieces of fine Brussels tapestries, forests, decorated with various birds and other animals.**

11 (1930 OH, 1)

*Eenen schoorsteenmantel met vergulde festoenen, daerin staende een schilderije van Ulisses die Achilles gingen soecken, gedaen door Anthony van Dijck van Antwerpen.*

**A chimneymantel with gilded festoons, in it is a painting of Ulysses going to seek Achilles, done by Anthony van Dyck of Antwerp.**

Anthony van Dyck, *Achilles Amongst the Daughters of Lycomedes*, c. 1631, oil on canvas, 123 x 137.5 cm, Kunstsammlung Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden.

Het Loo 1712, "78 Achilles onder de maegden met veel figuren door Van Dijk...f2800...3000." in "De groote galderie."

Sold 1713, purchased by J. J. van Cossiau for Franz Lothar von Schönborn, Pommersfelden; subsequently attributed to J. van Boeckhorst and A. van Dyck. M/CR – Van Dyck, 2004, p. 292, cat. no. III.58.

*De gardeobbe van Zijne Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

24

*Dezelve is behangen met seven stucken tapitserieën, verciert met de historij van Vertumus ende Pomona; het achste, dienende voor de schoorsteen, wert niet gebruyckt.*

**The same is hung with seven pieces of tapestry, decorated with the story of Vertumnus and Pomona; the eighth, serving for the chimney, is not used.**

Tapestries of Pomona appear in Brussels 1618, “765 Item les sept pièces de tapisserie de Pomone, en tout cent quatre-vingtz aulnes et demy à dix florins l’aulne, monte à...1805£.” (Seven pieces of tapestry of Pomona, in total one hundred eight ells and a half at ten florins per ell, comes to...1805£.)

CHdJ1930: Possibly by Maerten Reynbouts (from earlier cartoons by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen).

25 (1930 OH, 2)

*Eenen houten schoorsteenmantel, vergult op eenen groenen gront, daerinne is staende eene schilderije van verscheyde vrijagien, door Anthony van Dijck tot Antwerpen gemaect.*

**A wood chimneymantel, gilded on a green ground, in it is a painting of various courtships, made by Anthony van Dyck of Antwerp.**

Anthony van Dyck, *Amaryllis and Mirtillo*, c. 1631, oil on canvas, 123 x 137 cm, Kunstsammlung Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden.

Sold 1713, purchased by J. J. van Cossiau for Franz Lothar von Schönborn, Pommersfelden; subsequently attributed to J. van Boeckhorst and A. van Dyck.

This painting is surprisingly not listed in Het Loo 1712.

M/CR – Van Dyck, 2004, p. 294, cat. no. III.60.

32

*Een lanckwerpigh taeffelken, vergult op eenen rooden lacken gront, daerop een groot cabinet van letterhoudt ende ebbenhoudt engeleyt, met vergult beslach, daer de juweelen van Zijne Excie. in leggen.*

**An oblong small table, gilded on a red lacquer ground, thereupon a large cabinet of [exotic Surinamese]wood and inlaid ebony wood, with gilded mounts, where the jewels of His Excellency [are]placed in.**

*Op de galderije van zijne excellentie.*

44 (1930 OH, 3)

*Eenen houten schoorsteenmantel, vergult op eenen groenen gront, daerinne is staende een schilderije van Diana met eenige harderinnen ende twee winden, door Hondthorst van Utrecht gemaect.*

**A wood chimneymantel, gilded on a green ground, in it is a painting of Diana with some shepherdesses and two greyhounds, made by [Gerrit van] Honthorst of Utrecht.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Diana resting with Shepherdesses and Two Greyhounds*, 1627-1632, oil on canvas, 97 x 160 cm, Private Collection.

Formerly identified with Gerrit van Honthorst, *Diana and Nymphs on the Hunt*, signed and dated 1627, oil on canvas, 190 x 132 cm, lost 1945, formerly Jagdschloss Grunewald.

M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 113, cat. no. 107.

45 (1930 OH, 4)

*Een schilderije van prins Wilhelm hoochl. mem., staende in een ebben lijst.*

**A painting of prince Willem [I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584)] in memorium, placed in an ebony frame.**

46 (1930 OH, 5)

*Een schilderije van mevrouwe de prinsesse hoochl. mem. in een ebben lijst.*

**A painting of madame princess [Louise de Coligny (1555-1620)] in memorium in an ebony frame.**

47 (1930 OH, 6)

*Een schilderije van de coninginne van Bohemen met den hangende hayre.*

**A painting of the Queen of Bohemia [Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662)] with loose hair.**

48 (1930 OH, 7)

*Een schilderije van Haere Excie mevrouwe de prinsesse met den hangende hayre.*

**A painting of her excellency madame princess [Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675)] with loose hair.**

Anonymous, *Portrait of Amalie von Solms-Braunfels with loose hair*, c. 1623, oil on panel, Museum Warmii i. Mazur, Olsztyn, Poland.

49 (1930 OH, 8)

*Een schilderij daerinne eenen Cupido maeckende eenen booch, met noch twee mannekens daerbij.*

**A painting of a cupido making a bow, with another two putto nearby.**

50 (1930 OH, 9)

*Een schilderije zijnde een nimphe spelende op de luyt, met eenen ebben lijst, door Hondthorst gemaect.*

**A painting of a nymph playing a lute, with an ebony frame, made by [Gerrit van] Honthorst.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Young Woman Tuning a Lute*, signed and dated bottom right: *G. Honthorst fe. 1624*, oil on canvas, 82 x 68 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris (on loan to the Musée du Château, Fontainebleau).

Likely Hons. 1707, “214 Een vrouw spelende op de luyt van Honthorst.” in the Quaertier van de dames Nr. 8.  
*Catalogus van het Kabinet Schilderijen, van Zijne Door: Hoogheid den Heere prince Van Orange en Nassau enz. in 's Gravenhage*, 1793, no. 63, “Kabinet van Schilderijen Van het Huis te Hondsholredijk No. 63 Eene Dame die op de Luit speeld, op doek, in een dito [zwarte] lijst door Honthorst 3 vt 2 1/2 dm x 2 vt 5 1/2 dm” (Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 176, cat. no. 222).  
 Inventory dated 1815 of paintings not returned from Paris to The Netherlands, no. 25: “Honthorst, G. Une dame qui joue du luth T. 3’ 2 1/2” x 2’ 5 1/2”” (Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 176, cat. no. 222).  
 M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 176, cat. no. 222.

51 (1930 OH, 10)

*Een schilderije sijnde een nimphe speelende op een bandoor, met eenen ebben lijst daertoe, door den voors. Hondthorst gemaect.*

**A painting of a nymph playing a guitar, with an ebony frame, made by the previously named [Gerrit van] Honthorst.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Young Woman Playing the Guitar (Bandora)*, 1624, oil on canvas, 82 x 68 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris (on loan to Paris, Ministry of Finance).  
 Inventaris van Schilderijen op het Binnenhof 1754, “12 une femme jouant de la gitarre sur toile, hauteur 3 pieds 2 1/2 pouces, largeur 2 pieds 5 pouces” Dans la première chambre de ces appartements.  
 Inventaris van de schilderijen op het Huis Honselaarsdijk 1755/1758, “9 Een dame op de guitar speelende, door G. Hondthorst” In het vertrek, no. 12 ses stuks.  
*Catalogus van het Kabinet Schilderijen, van Zijne Door: Hoogheid den Heere prince Van Orange en Nassau enz. in 's Gravenhage*, 1793, no. 64, “Een dito, zijnde een weërge, op doek, in een zwarte Lijst met Vergulde binnenkant..2voet 7.5 duim x 2 voet 1 1/2 duim door Honthorst.” (Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 175, cat. no. 220).  
 Inventory of 1815 of paintings not returned to The Netherlands from Paris, no. 26. “Honthorst, G., Le pendent du no précédent. T. 2’ 7 1/2” x 2’ 1 1/2”” (Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 175, cat. no. 220).  
 M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 175, cat. no. 220.

52 a, b (1930 OH, 11, 12)

*Twee schilderijen, in elck een harderinne, door Bylart gemaect.*

**Two paintings, in each a shepherdess, made by [Jan van] Bijlaert.**

Possibly Hons 1707 “213 Een harderinne, borstbeelt, van Honthorst” and “215 een harderine, borstbeelt, dito [Honthorst]” both in the Quaertier van de dames Nr. 8. B.-S. 1967, nrs. 129-130, connects 1632 inv. nos. 52a and 52b to the 1707 Van Honthorst paintings. The association is plausible given that in 1707 they appear listed near 1632 inv. no. 50.

53 (1930 OH, 13)

*Een schilderije daer Moses gevonden wert, door Lasman gemaect.*

**A painting of the finding of Moses, made by [Pieter] Lastman.**

Likely Hons. 1707, “158 Een Moses vindinge van Laestman.” in the Cabinet aen de parterre.

Many works from the 1632 “Gallery” (including 1632 inv. nos. 53, 54, 58, 73, 78, 82) reappear in 1707 in the “Cabinet aen de parterre” (1707 inv. nos. 158, 162, 160, 155, 156, 164).

M/CR – Freise, p. 38, no. 21.

54 (1930 OH, 14)

*Een schilderije sijnde een perspectijff daer een processie innegaet, gemaect door Van Bassen.*

**A painting of a perspective therein goes a procession, made by [Bartholomeus] Van Bassen.**

Bartholomeus van Bassen and Frans Francken II, *View into a Church*, signed by both painters and dated 1624, Berlin.

Likely Hons 1707, “162 Een tempel daer een priester de ostie draegt door Frank en van Bassen.” in the Cabinet aen de parterre.

B.-S. 1967, nr. 75, transferred to Berlin 1720, no. 142.

Many works from the 1632 “Gallery” (including 1632 inv. nos. 53, 54, 58, 73, 78, 82) reappear in 1707 in the “Cabinet aen de parterre” (1707 inv. nos. 158, 162, 160, 155, 156, 164).

55 (1930 OH, 15)

*Een schilderie perspectijff door Gijsselaer gemaect.*

**A perspective painting made by [Nicolaas de] Gijsselaer.**

Likely AvS 1668, “1220, Een perspective sijnde de aendieninge van de geboorte Johannes des Doopers door den engel aen Zacharias gedaen, gemaect bij M<sup>r</sup>.

Gijsselaer.” in Noordeinde.

A 1625 painting of the same subject was given in 1890 by Dr. A. Bredius to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (CHdG1930); and may be “The appearance of the angel Gabriel to Zacharias” (D/LS).

56 (1930 OH, 16)

*Een schilderie sijnde een storm met verscheyde schepen, door Vroom van Haerlem gedaen.*

**A painting of a storm with various ships, done by [Hendrik] Vroom of Haarlem**

57 (1930 OH, 17)

*Een schilderie sijnde geberchte ende steenrots, door Savery gemaect.*

**A painting of mountains and rocks, made by [Roelandt] Savery.**

58 (1930 OH, 18)

*Een Cupido die Gegeesselt wordt.*

**A cupid being whipped.**

Possibly Simon de Vos (attributed to), *The Punishment of Cupid*, oil on panel, 54 x 80 cm, Berlin.

Possibly Hons 1707, “160 Een Spaengaert die een Venus en Cupido geeselt door jonge Frank.” in the Cabinet aen de parterre.

Many works from the 1632 “Gallery” (including 1632 inv. nos. 53, 54, 58, 73, 78, 82) reappear in 1707 in the “Cabinet aen de parterre” (1707 inv. nos. 158, 162, 160, 155, 156, 164).

Also attributed to Frans Francken II

B.-S. 1967, nr. 74, fig. 7.

59 (1930 OH, 19)

*Een schilderije van Maria ende Joseph in de stal, door Poelenburch gedaen.*

**A painting of Mary and Joseph in the stable, done by [Cornelis van ]**

**Poelenburch**

Possibly Het Loo 1712, “13 Een geboorte Christi vol beelde, kindere en engelen door Poelenburg...f700...750.”

60 (1930 OH, 20)

*Een schilderije daerinne eenen blompot ende een schael met bloemen, door Breugel gemaect.*

**A painting of a flowerpot and a shell with flowers, made by Breughel.**

This is presumably Jan Breughel the Elder (though could be Jan II, or less possibly a misidentified work by Jacques de Gheyn II).

61 (1930 OH, 21)

*Een schilderije daer Maria sit met een kindeken op den schoot, door Van Balen gedaen.*

**A painting of Mary sitting with a child on her lap, done by [Hendrik] Van Balen.**

Possibly one of many Madonna and Child paintings listed in Brussels 1618 or Breda 1619.

62 (1930 OH, 22)

*Een landschap met geberchte daer eenen visscher in compt, door Briel gedaen.*

**A landscape with mountains there a fisherman comes, done by [Paul] Bril.**

63 (1930 OH, 23)

*Een landschap daer eenige bocken in gaen weyden, door den voors. Briel gedaen.*

**A landscape of some goats grazing, done by the previously [named] [Paul] Bril.**

64 (1930 OH, 24)

*Een schilderije sijnde een winter, door Denijs Alsloot van Brussel gedaen.*

**A painting of a winter, done by Denijs [van] Alsloot of Brussels.**

Denijs van Asloot, *Winter*, signed and dated 1614, 52 x 85 1/2 in, Schloss Mosigkau, Dessau.

Likely Brussels 1618, “810 Item une aultre à bordz d’ébenne représentant un hiver...150£.” Though the 1618 description is vague and unattributed, it is the only winter not paired with a summer in either Brussels 1618 or Breda 1619 and has a reasonably high value, increasing the likelihood of its being a piece worth subsequent

transport and display. Given that this work is also by a Southern Netherlandish artist who died in 1625/26, it is likely to have been an earlier work, reasonably to be found in Brussels in 1618.

Possibly AvS 1668, “1260 Een winterken, gemaect bij...” in Noordeinde. Though the description is vague, this is likely the Van Alsloot, as plausibly suggested by both CHdG and D/LS (vol. 1, p. 267, note 1260).

Possibly AvS 1673, “803 Een schilderije zijnde affgebeeld een winter, door Denys van A[l]sloot gedaen.” in Noordeinde, Op de groote zuydtgallerije.

Possibly AvS 1676, “1519 Een winter...f50” to Henrietta Catharina van Anhalt-Dessau.

65 (1930 OH, 25)

*Een schilderije daerinne een krans met bloemen door Breugel ende in den krans een Maria door Balen gedaen.*

**A painting with a wreath of flowers by [Jan the Elder or Younger] Breugel and in the wreath a Mary done by [Hendrik van] Balen.**

66 (1930 OH, 26)

*Een schilderije met verscheyden persoonagien daervan twee staen verkeeren, door Hondthorst gemaect.*

**A painting with various people in which two are playing triktrak[backgammon], made by [Gerrit van] Honthorst.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Backgammon Game*, whereabouts unknown.

Possibly Hons. 1707, “165 Een bordeeltje met officieren van Honthorst.” in the Cabinet aen de parterre.

M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, pp. 202-203, cat. no. 264. Judson and Ekkart, 1999, pp. 202-204, associate 1632 inv. no. 66 with cat. no. 264 and Hons 1707 inv. no. 165 with cat. no. 265. However, it is quite possible these 1632 and 1707 entries refer to the same painting; many works appear in both the 1632 “Gallery” (including 1632 inv. nos. 53, 54, 58, 73, 78, 82) and the 1707 “Cabinet aen de parterre” (1707 inv. nos. 158, 162, 160, 155, 156, 164).

67 (1930 OH, 27)

*Een landschap daer Maria het kindeken in doecken leydt, verselschapt met verscheyde engelkens, door Poelenburch gedaen.*

**A landscape there Mary lays the child in cloth, in company with various angels, done by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

Possibly Het Loo 1712, “13 Een geboorte Christi vol beelde, kindere en engelen door Poelenburg...f700...750.”

68 (1930 OH, 28)

*Een schilderije van de winter met veel persoonagien op 't ijs loopende.*

**A painting of the winter with many people walking on the ice.**

69 (1930 OH, 29)

*Een landschap met verscheyden koyen ende een boerinneken daer den engel Tobias leyt, door Poelenburch gedaen.*

**A landscape with various cows and a farm girl with the angel leading Tobias, done by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch**

70 (1930 OH, 30)

*Een landschap daerinne eenen meulen ende een schuyt met boeren in 't water vaerende.*

**A landscape in it a mill and a barge with peasants traveling in the water.**

71 (1930 OH, 31)

*Een schilderije zijnde een bancquet der goden, door Poelenburch gedaen.*

**A painting of a banquet of the gods, done by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

Likely AvS 1673, "750 Een schilderijken zijnde uytgebeeldt een bruylofft van de goden in een landschap vol figuertjes, gedaen door C. Poelenburgh, daer oock een satyr sit en tapt op de voorgrondt, in een gesneden ende vergult lijstje." in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove, or AvS 1673, "751 Een schilderijken representerende een bruylofft van de goden in een landschap voll beelden, daer een Pallas ende Hercules op de voorgrondt comen, door C. Poelenburgh gedaen." in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove. The other is 1632 inv. no. 232.

Possibly AvS 1676, "1406 Banquet der Goden, door Poelenburgh...f 700" to Maria van Zimmeren. Alternatively, this may refer to 1632 inv. no. 232.

See 1632 inv. no. 232 for possible details. Both 1632 inv. nos. 71 and 232 came to Henrietta Catharina van Anhalt and a "Götterfest" by Van Poelenburch is recorded in Schloss Wörlitz, Dessau, but is unidentified (D/LS).

72 (1930 OH, 32)

*Een schilderije van Acteon ende Diana, door Van Balen gedaen.*

**A painting of Acteon and Diana, done by [Hendrik] Van Balen.**

Possibly Brussels 1618, "S11 La peinture d'Actéon avecq la moulure de bois doré (in marge stond: Elle a esté portée à Breda le 26 de juin pour mettre au cabinet)." and Breda 1619, "387 Item een stuck schilderije van Actium in een vergulde lijste, geëstimeert op...30£."

73 (1930 OH, 33)

*Een schilderije van Venus ende Cupido, door Rottenhamer gedaen.*

**A painting of Venus and Cupid, done by [Hans] Rottenhamer.**

Possibly Hons. 1707, "155 Een Venus van Rottenhammer." in the Cabinet aen de parterre.

Many works from the 1632 "Gallery" (including 1632 inv. nos. 53, 54, 58, 73, 78, 82) reappear in 1707 in the "Cabinet aen de parterre" (1707 inv. nos. 158, 162, 160, 155, 156, 164).

74 (1930 OH, 34)

*Een schilderij van Flora die d'engelkens bloemen brengen, door Poelenburch gedaen.*

**A painting of Flora brought flowers by cherubs, done by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

75 (1930 OH, 35)

*Een schilderij inhoudende een sacreficie, door Poelenburch gedaen.*

**A painting containing a sacrifice, done by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

76 (1930 OH, 36)

*Een stuxken daerinne een casteel met een heremijt off cluysenaer.*

**A small piece thereing a castel with a hermit or recluse.**

77 (1930 OH, 37)

*Een schilderij van de besnijdenis Christy.*

**A painting of the circumcision of Christ.**

Possibly AvS 1668, "1225 Een schilderij van de besnijdenisse Onses Heeren Jesu Christi, gemaect bij..." in Noordeinde.

Possibly Leeuwarden 1681, "824 Een schildercken of de besnidenesse Christi met veele beelden."

78 (1930 OH, 38)

*Een schilderij met vijff naecte personagien door Mr. Cornelis van Haerlem.*

**A painting with five naked persons by Mr. Cornelis van Haarlem**

Possibly Hons 1707, "156 Een Bersabe van mr. Cornelis van Haerlem." in the Cabinet aen de parterre.

Many works from the 1632 "Gallery" (including 1632 inv. nos. 53, 54, 58, 73, 78, 82) reappear in 1707 in the "Cabinet aen de parterre" (1707 inv. nos. 158, 162, 160, 155, 156, 164).

M/CR – Van Thiel, 1999, p. 478, List I (under 1632).

79 (1930 OH, 39)

*Een schilderij daer Ste. Maerten te paert rijdt, door Poelenburch gedaen.*

**A painting of Saint Martin riding on horseback, done by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

80 (1930 OH, 40)

*Een schilderij daerinne een kaechschuyt met een melckschuyt daer het dorp Abkouw met het casteel hem verthoont, door Vroom gedaen.*

**A painting of a Kaagbarge with a milkbarge there shown the town Abkouw with the castel, done by [Hendrick Cornelisz.] Vroom.**

81 a, b (1930 OH, 41, 42)

*Twee stuxken schilderij sijnde landtscahppen, door A. Keyrincx tot Amsterdam gedaen, ende de Beeldekens door Poelenburch.*

**Two paintings of landscapes, done by A[lexander]. Keyrinx of Amsterdam, and the figures by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch**

82 (1930 OH, 43)

*Een groot stuck schilderie daer Pluto Proserpina ontschaect, door Jan Lievensz. van Leyden gemaect.*

**A large painting there Pluto abducts Proserpina, made by Jan Lievens of Leyden.**

Rembrandt or Jan Lievens, *The Abduction of Proserpina*, c. 1631, oil on panel, 84.8 x 79.7 cm, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

Possibly Hons. 1707, “164 Pluto die Proserpina schaeckt door Rembrant.” in the Cabinet aen de parterre.

Many works from the 1632 “Gallery” (including 1632 inv. nos. 53, 54, 58, 73, 78, 82) reappear in 1707 in the “Cabinet aen de parterre” (1707 inv. nos. 158, 162, 160, 155, 156, 164).

83 (1930 OH, 44)

*Een stuck schilderie van Venus ende Cupido, sijnde een banquet, door P. Moreels van Utrecht gedaen.*

**A painting of Venus and Cupid, is a banquet, done by P[aulus]. Moreelse of Utrecht.**

84 (1930 OH, 45)

*Een lantschap met hooge geberchten ende kleyne personagiens te peerde ende te voet door Momper gedaen.*

**A landscape with high mountains and small people on horseback and on foot, done by [Joos de ] Momper.**

Possibly AvS 676, “1490 Een landschap van Momper...f15” to Albertine Agnes of Nassau-Dietz.

85 (1930 OH, 46)

*Een Magdalena door Hendrick Goltius gemaect.*

**A Magdalene made by Hendrick Goltzius.**

Hendrik Goltzius, *Magdalene*, monogrammed and dated, lower right, *HG/1614*, oil on panel, 57 x 44 cm, Dessau, Staatliches Museum, Schloss Mosigkau, inv. no. 29.

Three Magdalenes appear in Breda 1619, “394 Een schilderije van Magdalena...5£”, “562 Een schilderije van Maria Magdalena...18£”, and “788 Een Maria Magdalena met een ebben lijste...8£” None, however, have a very high valuation.

Possibly AvS 1673, “807 Een schilderije zijnde een opwaerts siende tronie met een pottje in de handt, representerende een Cleopatra.” This is probably a Magdalene (D/LS note 807).

Possibly Leeuwarden 1681, “794 Een Marie Magdalene met een doodshoofd.” D/LS note 794, traces this work through Henrietta Catharina van Anhalt to Mosigkau.

M/CR – Nichols, 1990, p. 199ff, cat. no. A-22.

86 a, b (1930 OH, 47, 48)

*Twee landschappen met kleyne personagien ende bestiael verciert, gemaect door Moses Utenbroeck.*

**Two landscapes decorated with small figures and animals, made by Moyses [Matheusz. van] Uyttenbroeck.**

87 (1930 OH, 49)

*Een stuxken schilderie daer Sampson het hayr wert affgesneden, door Jan Lievensz. tot Leyden gemaect.*

**A painting of Sampson's hair being cut off, made by Jan Lievens of Leyden**

Jan Lievens, *Sampson*, Konigsberg, lost in 1945 or Rembrandt van Rijn, *Samson and Delilah*, monogrammed and dated, left: *RHL 1628*, panel, 61.3 x 50.1 cm,

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Possibly Hons. 1707, "41 Samson en Dalila van Rembrandt."

Transferred to Berlin in 1742.

88 (1930 OH, 50)

*Een stucxken met de penne gedaen door Rottermont, sijnde een Venus haer spiegelende.*

**A work done in pen by [Peter] Rottermont, of a Venus looking at herself in a mirror.**

89 (1930 OH, 51)

*Een stuck schilderij de Melancolij, sijnde een vrouw sittende op eenen stoel aen een taeffel daerop liggende boecken, een luyt ende andere instrumenten, door Jan Lievensz.*

**A painting of Melancholy, of a woman sitting on a chair on a table there lay books, a lute and other instruments, by Jan Lievens.**

Possibly Rembrandt, *Minerva*, c. 1631/1632, oil on panel, 59 x 48 cm, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

Possibly Hons. 1707, "39 Een dame van Rembrandt."

Transferred to Berlin 1742, variously attributed to Rembrandt and Jan Lievens.

90 (1930 OH, 52)

*Een Marijbeelt, seer fray gedaen, hebbende haer kindeken op den schoot.*

**An image of Mary, very beautifully done, having her child on her lap.**

Possibly AvS 1673, "819 Een Mariebeeltje met een Christus me een lacke lijste." in Noordeinde, Op het goudtcabinet.

Possibly Leeuwarden 1681, "787 De H. jufrou Marie met het kindeken Jesu van Moreelse" or "848 Een schoon stuck van Onse Lieve Vrouw met het kindeken." The latter is more likely 1632 inv. no. 234a.

91 (1930 OH, 53)

*Een schilderije van de belegeringe van Grol door Zijn Excie., ende door Clitsert geschildert.*

**A painting of the siege of Grol by His Excellency [Frederik Hendrik], and painted by [Daniël] Cletcher.**

Daniël Cletcher, *Prince Frederik Hendrik at the Siege of Grol, 1627*, c. 1630, oil on panel, 54.5 x 98.5 cm, Geschiedkundige Vereniging Oranje-Nassau, The Hague (on loan to the Nationaal Museum Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn).

Hons 1707, “30 Een belegering van Cletscher.” in the Gebedtcamer van haer con. mayesteyt Nr. 37.

Transferred to Berlin, 1720 (B.-S.1967 nr. 67).

92 (1930 OH, 54)

*Een schilderij van de belegering van 's-Hertogenbosch, mede door den ingenieur Clitsert geschildert.*

**A painting of the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch, also painted by the engineer [Daniël] Cletcher.**

Daniël Cletcher, *The Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch, 1629*, signed and dated on the map, lower right, *DCletcher fc. 1630*, oil on panel, 55 x 100cm, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (inv. nr. PDS 26).

Hons 1707, “32 Belegering van den Bosch van Cletscher.” in the Gebedtcamer van haer con. mayesteyt Nr. 37.

Transferred to Berlin, 1720 (B.-S.1967, nr. 68).

93 (1930 OH, 55)

*Een landschapken daer een manneken sit en vist op een brugge.*

**A landscape there a man sits and fishes on a bridge.**

94 (1930 OH, 56)

*De groetenis van den engel tot Maria met verscheyde engelkens, door Rubbens gedaen ende gecocht van de Weduwe Verdoes.*

**The Annunciation of the angel to Mary with various cherubs, done by [Peter Paul] Rubens and purchased from the widow Verdoes.**

Peter Paul Rubens (and workshop), *Annunciation*, oil on panel, 186 x 150.7 cm, The National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Likely AvS 1668, “1175 Een schilderije voor de schoorsteen in de antichambre, sijnde de groetenisse van den engel aen Maria gedaen, door Rubbens gedaen.” in Huis ten Bosch.

Likely Inventaris van de Schilderijen op het Huis ten Bosch 1707, “14 Een Boetschap van den engel aan Maria van Rubbens, heel fraey.” int Cabinet.

Purchased from Beatrix van Sypesteyn, widow of Jacob van der Does (raad en griffier van Frederik Hendrik), between 1630 and August 1632 (between the death of Jacob van der Does and the 1632 inventory) in The Hague. Sold by the Rijksmuseum in 1828 (D/LS, note 94).

95 (1930 OH, 57)

*Een stuck schilderie daerinne Mars leyt en rust met sijn hoofft in de schoot van Venus, daerbij sit een Cupido met roode fluweele muyl aen de voet ende een coussebant aen sijn been, dienende om voor een schoorsteen te stellen, door Van Dijk gedaen.*

**A painting in which Mars rests with his head in the lap of Venus, near which sits a Cupid with a red velvet slipper on his foot and a garter on his leg, serving to be place before a chimney, done by [Anthony] Van Dyck.**

Anthony van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, oil on canvas, 133 x 109 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

AvS 1673, “738 Een schilderije van Mars ende Venus met een spiegel in haer handt ende een deel kinderen daerbij in een landtschap, mede door Van Dijck gedaen.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

AvS 1676, “Renaldo en Armida, door A. van Dijck...f2400” to Henriette Catherina van Anhalt.

Possibly a copy of the painting, is Het Loo 1712, “66 Renaut en Armide na Van Dijk...f300...350.”

M/CR – Van Dyck, 2004, p. 296-297, cat. no. III.62.

96 (1930 OH, 58)

*Een stuck schilderije zijnde een landtschap van hooch geberchte daerinne een harder onder eenen boom sit en speelt op een sackpijp, met een harder ende harderinne ende vier ofte vijf bocken off geyten bij hem.*

**A painting of a landscape of high mountains in it a shepherd under a tree sits and plays a bagpipes, with a shepherd and shepherdess and four or five he-goats or goats by him.**

*Opt het cabinet van Zijne Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

101 (1930 OH, 59)

*Eenen schoorste[n]mantel vergult met biesen, den gront groen gelijk mede de solderinge, daerinne een schilderje daer de herders Christus comen begroeten, door Hondthorst gedaen.*

**A chimneymantel with gilt borders, the green ground also the same as the ceiling, in it a painting of the shepherds coming to greet Christ, done by [Gerrit van] Honthorst.**

Likely Gerrit van Honthorst, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, signed and dated bottom right, *G v Honthorst. fe 1622*, oil on canvas, 164 x 190 cm, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (no. 2122).

Possibly Het Loo 1712, “46 Geboorte Christi van Honthorst...f175...200”

Inventaris van de inboedel van het huis Het Loo, Het Oude Loo en Het Huis Merwel, 1713, “871 Een Kersnacht van Hondhorst” in ‘t cabinet van schilderijen namentlijk het derde cabinet bij Zijn Majst. nieuwe bedkamer. Sold at auction of Orange-Nassau in Amsterdam, 26 July 1713, no. 47 “De Geboorte Christi bij de Herders, kloek geschildert” (Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 64 cat. no. 23) and there purchased by Jan Staets (D/LS).

M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, pp. 63-64, cat. no. 23.

102 (1930 OH, 60)

*Een schilderije van Venus en Ceres met verscheyden satyrs door Hondthorst.*

**A painting of Venus and Ceres with various satyrs by [Gerrit van] Honthorst.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Venus and Ceres with Several Satyrs*, whereabouts unknown. M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 134, cat. no. 151.

108 (1930 OH, 61)

*Een schilderij sijnde een crucifix met noch vijff ofte ses kleyne figuerkens beneden bij 't cruys, in ebben lijst.*

**A painting of a crucifix with five or six small figures beneath by the cross, in an ebony frame.**

Possibly one of three crucifix(ions) appearing in Brussels 1618, inv. nos. 823, S10, S13.

Possibly AvS 1668, “1226 Een schilderijken daer Onse Heere Jesus Christus aen 't cruys hangende aengewesen wert, gemaectt bij...” (or possibly 1632 inv. no. 109).

109 (1930 OH, 62)

*Noch een heel kleyn crucifix met een ebben lijstjen.*

**Another very small crucifix with an ebony frame.**

Possibly one of three crucifix(ions) appearing in Brussels 1618, inv. nos. 823, S10, S13.

Possibly AvS 1668, “1226 Een schilderijken daer Onse Heere Jesus Christus aen 't cruys hangende aengewesen wert, gemaectt bij...” (or possibly 1632 inv. no. 108).

110 (1930 OH, 63)

*Een geboorte Christy daer de herders comen begroeten, met verscheyden engelkens, door Van Balen gedaen, in een ebben lijst.*

**A birth of Christ with shepherds coming to greet, with various cherubs, done by [Hendrik] Van Balen, in an ebony frame.**

Possibly AvS 1673, “Een schilderitje van de geboorte Christi in een swarte ebbenhoute lijste.” in Noordeinde, Op het goudtcabinet.

111 (1930 OH, 64)

*Een schilderij daerinne Symeon, sijnde in den tempel, Christus in sijne armen heeft, door Rembrandts oft Jan Lievensz. gedaen.*

**A painting in which Simeon is in the temple, has Christ in his arms, done by Rembrandt or Jan Lievens.**

Possibly Rembrandt, *Simeon's Hymn of Praise*, signed and dated, bottom right, *RHL 1631*, oil on canvas, 60.9 x 47.9 cm, Koninklijke Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague (inv. no. 145).

Possibly Lijst van voor verkoop bestemde Goederen uit de Nalentschap van Albertine Agnes 1696, “313 Van Simeon in de tempel.”

*De groote audiëntiesael naest de garderobbe van Zijn Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

*Negen stucken tapitseriën, de historie van Hercules; deselve is met goudt ende silver verciert, daeronder het schoorsteenstuck, 'twelck niet gebruyckt en wort.*

**Nine pieces of tapestry, the story of Hercules, the same are decorated with gold and silver, thereunder the chimneypiece, which is not used.**

CHdJ1930: gives detailed history of Hercules tapestries (series with him as progenitor of Burgundians on way to Spain) and posits the possibility that this is a series of nine from the second half of the sixteenth century manufactured in Oudenaarde

119

*Een stuccken tapitserijen voor de schoorsteenmantel, sijnde een jacht van herten.*

**A piece of tapestry for the chimneypiece, is a hunt of shepherds.**

120 (1930 OH, 65)

*Een schoorsteenmantel van Italianschen marmer staende op twee colommen, daervoor staende een schilderije, gemaect door Francio Bigio Florentino, van vier naeckte persoonen met een Cupido.*

**A chimneymantel of Italian marble stands on two columns, before which stands a painting, made by Franciabigio the Florentine, of four naked people with a Cupid.**

Het Loo 1712, “95 Mars en Venus door Bisio van Fiorenze...f600.” in De groote galderie.

A painting listed in 1694 in Honselaarsdijk of four naked figures by “Bigio” was brought from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo in 1696 (HdG1930). Sold 1713, purchased by Bavelaer (D/LS).

*Op de camer daeraenvolgende van Zijn Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

128

*Seven stucken tapitseriën, d’historie van Julius Caesar.*

**Seven pieces of tapestry of the history of Julius Caesar.**

CHdJ1930: series not identified/identifiable – one of three Julius Caesar series (7, 7, and 10 pieces) in the 1632 inventory

Alternatively, there was a tapestry series of 7 pieces of Hanibal in Brussels 1618, “797 Item sept pièces de tapisserie de l’histoire d’Hanibal, en tout cent nonante-six aulnes et demy, à six livres l’aulne monte à la somme de...1170£.” (Seven pieces of tapestry of the history of Hanibal, in total one hundred ninety-six ells and a half, at six livres per ell... to the sum of...1170£.)

*De voorsael van Zijn Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

140

*Twaelff stucken tapitserijen verciert met verscheyde jachten (nota datter een stuck is dat wat kleynder persoonen van jachten is als d’andere), daeronder twee*

*schoorsteenstukken, het een met groote honden ende het ander een jacht van cleyne personagien ende gedierten.*

**Twelve pieces of tapestry decorated with various hunts (note that one piece has smaller people hunting than the others), thereunder two chimneypieces, the one with large dogs and the other a hunt of small people and animals.**

142 (1930 OH, 66)

*Eenen schoorsteenmantel van verscheyden couleur van Italiaenschen marmer, daerop staende een schilderije van de kermis van Hooboken door Langen Peer of Jochem Brenb.*

**A chimneymantel of various colors of Italian marble, in which stands a painting of the Hoboken carnival by "Langen Peer" [Pieter Aertsen] or "Jochem Brenb" [Joachim Beuckelaer].**

Two paintings from Brussels 1618 may be identified with this picture (neither have an artist listed): "801 Asscavoir une grande peinture antique à l'huile aussy large que ledit cabinet, représentant une dédicasse de villaige...400£." (...a large antique painting in oil as wide as the aforesaid cabinet representing a dedication of a village...400£.) and "819 Une peinture représentant la dédicasse d'Hoboquen, peinte à l'huile sur toile...36£." (A painting representing the dedication of Hoboken, painting in oil on canvas...36£.). It is almost certainly the first, given the prominent position and high valuation; and either Aertsen or Beuckelaer would represent an "antique" style, having worked fifty years prior to the inventory.

*De camer vandt froulijn van Portugael [Mauritia Eleonora] ende van Solms [Louise Christina]*

148

*Ses stucken tapitseriën van d'istorij [van] Perseus ende noch twee stucken andere historiën.*

**Six pieces of tapestry of the story of Perseus and another two pieces of other stories.**

Possibly Breda 1619, "511 De tapisseryën van Andromida ende Percea, inhoudende seven stucken, lanck tesamen dryehondert ende ses ellen, d'elle geëstimeert op thien Rg., compt in gelde...3060£"

165 (1930 OH, 67)

*Een schoorsteenmantel, vergult op witten gront, daerin een schilderje, de historie van Holofernes.*

**A chimneymantel, gilded on a white ground, in it a painting, the story of Holofernes.**

*Op de eetsael.*

168

*Thien stucken tapitseriën, d'istorij van Julius Caesar, daeronder een stuck uyt het Noorteynde gecomen.*

**Ten pieces of tapestry, the history of Julius Caesar, of which one piece comes from Noordeinde.**

179 (1930 OH, 68)

*Een schilderij van den slach van Gibraltar, gedaen door Verwer van Amsterdam.*

**A painting of the battle of Gibraltar, done by [Abraham de] Verwer of Amsterdam.**

Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen, *Battle of Gibraltar*, 1622, oil on canvas, 180 x 490 cm, Nederlands Historisch Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam

Given as a gift from the Admiralty of Amsterdam to Maurits in 1622 for the new wing of the Stadhoudelijk kwartier (CHdG1930).

*Op de hoffmeesterszael.*

180

*Ses stucken oude tapisserijen van cleyne weerde.*

**Six pieces of old tapestry of little value.**

*De cleyne garderobbe van mevrouw de prinsesse, staende neffens de nieuwe camer*

186 (1930 OH, 69)

*Een schilderje van Zijn Ex<sup>cie</sup>., geschildert in perfijl door Hondthorst, staende in een eebben lijst.*

**A painting of His Excellency [Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647)], painted in profile by [Gerrit van] Honthorst, placed in an ebony frame.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Profile Portrait of Frederik Hendrik*, signed and dated middle left: *GHonthorst fe 1631*, oil on canvas, 77 x 61 cm, The House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust, The Hague (inv. no. 71).

Henrietta Catharina of Anhalt-Dessau to Henriette Amalia of Nassau-Dietz, to Prince Willem IV of Orange (D/LS and Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 246, cat. no. 307).

Sometimes considered a pendant to 1632 inv. no. 219, Rembrandt, *Profile Portrait of Amalie von Solms-Braunfels*, and associated with AvS 1668, "1209 Een schilderje van sijne hoogheyt prince Frederik Hendrik Hooglofl. memorie in profijl, bij Rembrandt gedaen." in Noordeinde.

M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 246, cat. no. 307.

187

*Een kasse ofte kustodie met swart leer becleet, daerinne staet een cabinet van eebbenhoudt daerop gebordeurt met goudt ende silver ende eenige fygeurkens van zijde, aen Haere Excie. vereert bij die van Utrecht.*

**A chest or case with black leather, in which is a cabinet of ebony wood bordered with gold and silver and some small figures of silk, presented as a gift to Her Excellency by those from Utrecht.**

This is one of several items in the inventory specifically listed as a gift presented by a known individual or group.

*De nieuwe kamer van haer excellentie.*

188

*Deselve is behangen met ses stucken fijne Bruselsche tapitserijen, op de hoecken het colommen, d'istorij van Phaëton, met noch een stuck in reserve, maecken tsamen seven stucken.*

**The same is hung with six pieces of fine Brussels tapestry, in the corners the columns, the story of Phaeton, with another piece in reserve, making together seven pieces.**

One example of Phaeton tapestries known, 1538 (CHdJ1930).

190 (1930 OH, 70)

*Eenen vergulden schoorsteenmantel met uytgesneeden werck daerinne een schilderje, d'history van..., gemaect door Anthony van Dijck van Antwerpen.*

**A gilded chimneymantel with carved work in it a painting, the story of..., made by Anthony van Dyck of Antwerpen.**

Possibly Anthony van Dyck, *Thetis (or Venus) at the Forge of Vulcan*, oil on canvas, 107 x 144.5 cm, Bildergalerie Potsdam Sanssouci.

Likely AvS1668, "1232 Een schilderje van Pallas ende Vulcanus met eenige Cupidootjens, gemaect..." in Noordeinde.

Likely AvS 1673, "737 Een schilderij representerende de historie van Venus ende Vulcanus met een deel kindertjens daerbey, door Anthony van Dijck gedaen." in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

Likely AvS 1676, "1437 Thetis bij Vulcaan om de wapenen voor Achilles, door A. van Dijk... f 1800" to the Brandenburg princes.

The subject is left blank. D/LS identifies it (tentatively) with 1632 inv. no. 95, Mars and Venus (though actually *Rinaldo and Armida*), but this is unlikely. There is no reason the same work would be recorded twice and, more specifically, if the compilers of the inventory could identify the subject once (even if incorrectly), why not twice? A Van Dyck painting of either (Pallas) Athena, Venus, or Thetis at the Forge of Vulcan appear later in the Orange-Nassau inventories, and it is likely this work.

M/CR – Van Dyck, 2004, pp. 289-290, cat. no. III.56. Though the authors of the Van Dyck catalog raisonne do not associate this entry with the 1632 inventory, they do associate it with the later seventeenth-century inventories.

191 (1930 OH, 71)

*Een groote schilderje van de reyne-mère du roy de France, gedaen door den voors. van Dijk.*

**A large painting of the queen-mother of the king of France [Marie de Medicis (1573-1642)], done by the previously [named] [Anthony] Van Dyck.**

Possibly Anthony van Dyck, *Marie de Medicis*, 1631, 225 x 140 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux (8513).

Marie de Medicis was likely painted during her stay in Antwerp between 9 September and 16 October 1631 and if so, the painting had relatively recently arrived at The Hague (CHdG1930).

M/CR – Van Dyck, 2004, pp. 332-333, cat. no. III.105.

*Het cabinet van mevrouwe de prinsesse van Orange tusschen de twee galderijen.*

208 (1930 OH, 72)

*Een houten schoorsteenmantel, vergult op eenen groenen gront, daerinne een schilderije van Rubbens, sijnde een tronie van een groot personagie ofte Alexander die Venus croont.*

**A wood chimneymantel, gilded on a green ground, therein a painting by [Peter Paul] Rubens, of a tronie of a great person or Alexander crowning Venus.**

Peter Paul Rubens, *Alexander Crowning Roxanne*, c. 1625, oil on canvas, 116.3 x 105.8 cm, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Wörlitz, near Dessau.

Likely AvS 1668, “1230 Een schilderije daer Venus schijnt gecroont te werden, met verscheyde Cupidoottjens waervan één een schoen aen de rechtervoet van Venus bint, gemaect...” in Noordeinde.

Likely AvS 1673, “742 Een schilderij van P. Rubens degaen, daer een Venus gecroont wert.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

Possibly AvS 1676, “1499 Een stuck met halve beelden, door Rubens...f400” to Henriette Catherina van Anhalt. D/LS, note 1499, and McGrath, 1997, p. 85, associate this 1676 entry with 1632 inv. no. 208; and many of Henrietta Catherina’s paintings would end up at Dessau. However, the figures in this work are nearly full-length (not “halve beelden”) and this reasonably expensive 1676 reference to a Rubens painting could instead be 1632 inv. no. 516, *Artemesia* or another subsequently acquired painting by Rubens.

M/CR – McGrath, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 85-90, cat. no. 15.

214 (1930 OH, 73)

*Een contrefeytsel van de coninginne van Bohemen.*

**A portrait of the queen of Bohemia [Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662)].**

215 (1930 OH, 74)

*Een schilderije van ‘t paradijs, seer curieuselijck gedaen.*

**A painting of paradise, very curiously done.**

216 (1930 OH, 75)

*Een schilderije van de coninck van Vranckrijck te peerde sittende, Henry de Vierde.*

**A painting of the king of France seated on horseback, Henri the Fourth [Henri IV, (1553-1610)].**

217 a, b (1930 OH, 76, 77)

*Twee cleyne schilderikens met ebben lijsten, het een een mandeken met fruyten ende het ander een mandeken met bloemen, door Van der Ast gedaen.*

**Two small paintings with ebony frames, the one a basket with fruit and the other a basket with flowers, done by [Balthasar] Van der Ast.**

Possibly Albertine Agnes 1696, "14 No 60 [and] 15 No 61. 2 kleine beeste en bloemstuckjes op koper p. B. v. d. Ast...15Fl."

218 (1930 OH, 78)

*Een lanckwerpige schilderij daerinne sit den godt der wateren ende eenige figuren van vrouwpersoonen te peerde ende te voet, door Rubbens off Van Dijck gedaen, dienende om voor de schoorsteen te stellen.*

**An oblong painting in which sits the god of water and some female figures on horseback and on foot, done by Rubens or Van Dyck, serving to be placed before the chimney.**

Usually identified as Peter Paul Rubens (and studio), *The Flight of Cloelia*, c. 1617/1619, oil on canvas, 236 x 343 cm, formerly Berlin, destroyed 1945. Other versions (and copies) of the subject exist including, of note here: Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Wörlitz, near Dessau (oil on canvas, 116.5 x 157.6 cm), Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (inv. no. 1016A, oil on canvas, 180 x 267 cm), and Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. 1210, oil on canvas transferred from wood before 1795, 113.5 x 144 cm.).

Possibly AvS 1668, "1256 Een groote schilderije daer eenige vrouwen om haer vrijheyte te behouden door eenen stroom vluchten, daervan twee op een peert sitten, met een vergulde gesneden lijst, gedain bij Rubbens." in Noordeinde.

Possibly AvS 1673, "798 Een heel groot stuck schilderije zijnde de historie van de Sabijnse maeghden, door Rubbens." in Noordeinde, op de groote zuydtgallerije.

Possibly AvS 1676, "1401 Clelia met d'ander Maaghen door den Tibur vlughtende uyt het leger van Porsenna, door Rubens geschildert...f 2600" to Maria van Zimmeren.

Possibly Albertine Agnes 1696, "59 No 180 De historie van Clelia door den Tiber...15Fl." This 1696 entry directly follows Van der Ast paintings that may be 1632 inv. no. 217.

There was certainly more than one version of this subject by Rubens (and his studio or followers) in the various Orange-Nassau collections in the later seventeenth century. It is not certain which painting is referred to in each inventory entry (the descriptions of which differ), including 1632. One came to the possession of Henrietta Catherine that may be associated with the work in Dessau or the destroyed version formerly in Berlin. Another work, moved from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo in 1696 (see McGrath, 1997 p. 255 and 257 notes 3 and 4, and Inventaris van de inboedels van het Huis het Loo, het Oude Loo, en het Huis Merwel 1713, "550 Clelie Romano van Rubbens voor de schoorsteen.") was almost certainly acquired in the second half of the seventeenth century and is the version in the Louvre.

M/CR – McGrath, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 246-257, cat. nos, 47, 48, 48b.

219 (1930 OH, 79)

*Een contrefeytsel van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup> in profijl, bij Rembrants gedaen.*

**A portrait of Her Excellency [Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675)] in profile, done by Rembrandt.**

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Profile Portrait of Amalie von Solms-Braunfels*, signed and dated, bottom left: *RHL van Ryn / 1632*, oil on canvas, 69.5 x 54.5 cm, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.

Possibly AvS 1668, “1210 Een schilderije van haer hoogheyt, mede in profijl, bij Hanneman gedaen.” in Noordeinde.

Considered a possible first pendant to 1632 inv. no. 186, Van Honthorst, *Profile Portrait of Frederik Hendrik*.

220 (1930 OH, 80)

*Een contrefeytsel van den grave van Hanauw in een eebben lijstken.*

**A portrait of the count of Hanau [Philip Louis II, count of Hanau-Münzenberg (1576-1612) or Hendrik Lodewijk (1609-1632)], in an ebony frame.**

Philip Louis II (1576-1612) married Catharina Belgica (daughter of Willem I) in 1596; or possibly their son Hendrik Lodewijk, (1609-1632) who was killed at Maastricht, buried in The Hague in February 1633, and had lodgings at Noordeinde (D/LS, notes to 220 and 511).

221 (1930 OH, 81)

*Een cleyn schilderijken sijnde een landschapken daerin een devoot persoon, gestelt in een schiltpadde lijstken.*

**A small painting of a landscape therein a devout person, set in a small tortoiseshell frame.**

*Op de galderije van mevrou de prinsesse.*

223 (1930 OH, 82)

*Eene schoorsteenmantel, vergult op eenen rooden lacken gront, daerinne een stuck schilderie verciert met harderinnekens, door Honthorst gemaect.*

**A chimneymantel, gilded on a red lacquer ground, therein a painting decorated with shepherdesses, made by [Gerrit van] Honthorst.**

Possibly Gerrit van Honthorst, *Shepherdess Adorned with Flowers*, signed and dated on the shepherdess's staff, *G.v.Honthorst fe. 1627*, oil on canvas, 111.1 x 101 cm, Seattle Art Museum (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Seattle; or Gerrit van Honthorst, *Singing Shepherdesses*, signed on back of song book, *GvHonthorst fe 1629*, oil on canvas, 113 x 95 cm, Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig (inv. no. 1616). M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 170, cat. no. 208, or p. 171, cat. no. 209, (favoring the former).

229 (1930 OH, 83)

*Een schilderije van prins Willem ende de twee jonge prinseskens leydende eenen tijger, verciert met verscheyde fruyten.*

**A painting of prins Willem [Willem II (1626-1650)] and the two young princesses [Louise Henrietta (1627-1667) and either Henrietta Amalia (1628), Elisabeth (1630), or Isabella Charlotte (1632-1642)] leading a tiger, decorated with various fruit.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Willem II and two of his Sisters*, c. 1629, whereabouts unknown.

Possibly AvS 1673, “811 Een schilderije zijnde drie kinderen, ‘t prinsje ende princessjes van Orange, door Honthorst gedaen.” in Noordeinde, Op de groote noortgallerije.

Possibly Leeuwarden 1681, “800 Een schilderie van drij naeck[t]e kinderen: prince Wilhelm van Oranjen, prinsesse Louisse, prinsesse Henrietta.” or “849 Een stuck van Hondhorst, daerop geschildert prince Wilhelm, princesses Louisse, Henriette, p. Albertine, als jachtstuck”

Possibly Boedelscheiding van de Nalentenschcap van Albertine Agnes van Nassau-Dietz 1696-1698, “138 3 kinders van Oraniën”

Possibly Inventaris van de inboedel van het huis Oranienstein 1726, “400 Dreyprincen von Oranien alsz kinder in einer landschaft mit einem tieger und obst von Hondhorst, ein capital stück” in Princess Marie zimmer.

The third sitter, in addition to Willem II and Louise Henrietta is likely Henrietta Amalia who died in December of 1628 and the work was likely painted just shortly after this time, coinciding with Van Honthorst’s return from England to The Hague. M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, pp. 236-237, cat. no 299.

230 (1930 OH, 84)

*Een stuck van Rubbens ende ‘t landschap door Breugel gedaen, hangende boven de deur van het cabinet.*

**A piece by [Peter Paul] Rubens and the landscape done by [Jan I] Breugel, hanging above the door of the cabinet.**

Possibly Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Breugel the Elder, *Flora and Zephyr*, oil on panel, 136 x 109 cm, Schloss Mosigkau, Dessau-Mosigkau (inv. no. 129).

Possibly AvS 1668, “1241 Een schilderije van Pomona, de beeldekens van Ribbens ende de bloemen ende de fruyten bij...gemaect, met een effen vergulde lijst.” in Noordeinde.

Possibly AvS 1673, “791 Een schilderije zijnde een Venus ende Cupido met bloemen in een landschap, door Rubens gedaen. Alle dese drie voors. schilderijen sijn met platte vergulde lijsten.” in Noordeinde, In de deurgang van hare hoogheys alcove nae ‘t groot cabinet.

Possibly AvS 1676, “1468 Een naakt vrouwtje, door Rubens ende de bloemen van Breugel...f315” to Albertine Agnes of Nassau-Dietz.

Possibly Albertine Agnes 1696, “3 No 3 De nakende Flora, ‘t beeld door van Rubens...90Fl.”

From Albertina Agnes to Henriette Catharina van Anhalt (D/LS).

231 a, b, c (1930 OH, 85, 86, 87)

*Twee nimphen met een Coridon, staende alle drie in ebben lijsten, gemaect door Pauwels Moreels.*

**Two nymphs and a Coridon, all three placed in ebony frames, made by Paulus Moreelse.**

231b is possibly Paulus Moreelse, *Shepherdess*, dated 1626, oil on panel, 70 x 55.5 cm, Kunstsammlung Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden (in. vno. 373).

231c is Paulus Moreelse, *Shepherd*, monogrammed and dated *PM 1627*, oil on panel, 71.5 x 55.2 cm, Staatliches Museum, Kunstsammlungen Schlösser und Gärten, Schwerin (inv. no. 330).

231a and 231b likely AvS 1668, “1222 Twee schilderijen van twee herderinne, in d’eene hant hebbende haere staven ende in de ander, d’eene een tack met roosen ende de tweede eenen grooten hoorn ofte schulp.” in Noordeinde.

231c likely AvS 1668, “1221 Een schilderije van een herder met sijn herdersstock in d’eene ende een tack met roosen in de andere hant, gemaectt bij...” in Noordeinde.

231c likely AvS 1673, “756 Een schilderije zijnde een harder, gedaen door Pouwels Moreelss. van Utrecht.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove  
231a or b likely AvS 1673, “757 Een schilderije zijnde een harderinne, gedaen door Pouwels Moreelss. voorn[oem]t.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

231a, b, c likely AvS 1676, “1483 Herder en herderin, beyde door Morelis...f50” and “1484 Herderin, door Morelis...f50” both lots (three paintings) to Albertine Agnes of Nassau-Dietz.

231a, b, c likely Leeuwarden 1681, “789 Een geheel schoon borststuck van een herder” “790 Een borststuck van een harderinne” and “826 Een harderinne van Moreelse.”

231a, b, c likely Albertine Agnes 1696, “4 no. 4 Herder en 5 no. 5 Herderin...36 Fl.” and “13 no. 54 Een Herderin van Moraalse...12Fl.”

Two of these three (a shepherd and shepherdess, 231a and 231b) were gifts from the States of Utrecht to the Orange-Nassau in 1627 along with a Van Poelenburch and a Saverij (Resoluties Staten van Utrecht 32, 21 December 1626, and 33, 6 April 1627).

Two of the three descended from Albertine Agnes to Henriette Chatharina van Anhalt, were bequeathed to the Markgravin van Brandenburg-Schwedt, of which, one, a shepherd, is in Schwerin; the third painting was with Henriette Amalia van Nassau-Dietz (D/LS).

232 (1930 OH, 88)

*Een bancket der goden door Poelenberch.*

**A banquet of the gods by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

Cornelis van Poelenburch, *Banquet of the Gods on Earth*, monogrammed bottom center: *CP*, 1627, oil on panel, 39 x 69 cm, Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Schloss Georgium, Dessau (inv. no. 801).

Likely AvS 1673, “750 Een schilderijken zijnde uytgebeeldt een bruylofft van de goden in een landschap vol figuertjes, gedaen door C. Poelenburgh, daer oock een satyr sit en tapt op de voorgrondt, in een gesneden ende vergult lijstje.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove, or AvS 1673, “751 Een schilderijken representerende een bruylofft van de goden in een landschap voll beelden, daer een Pallas ende Hercules op de voorgrondt comen, door C. Poelenburgh

gedaen.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove. The other of these two 1673 references is 1632 inv. no. 71.

Possibly AvS 1676, “1406 Banquet der Goden, door Poelenburgh...f 700” to Maria van Zimmeren. Alternatively, this may refer to 1632 inv. no. 71.

1632 inv. no. 232 (or less likely 1632 inv. no. 71) is to be associated with the 1627 gift presented by the States of Utrecht in 1627 to the Orange-Nassau. The States of Utrecht purchased a “seker stuck schilderje, wesende een bancket van de goden op der Aerde” for 575 guilders from the painter on April 6, 1627. It was given along with one painting by Saverij and two by Moreelse. Amalie sent thanks on May 3, 1627. (CHdG1930 and D/LS) The gift is most likely 1632 inv. no. 232 as it hangs in the direct vicinity of the Moreelse and Saverij gifts.

Both 1632 inv. nos. 71 and 232 came to Henrietta Catharina van Anhalt and a “Götterfest” by Van Poelenburch is recorded in Schloss Wörlitz, Dessau, but is unidentified (D/LS).

M/CR – Sluijter-Seijffert, pp. 29, 92, 163 (note 27), 226, cat. no. 21.

233 (1930 OH, 89)

*Een Neptunis met Venus ende Cupido, Poelenberch.*

**A Neptune with Venus and Cupid, [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

Likely AvS 1673, “749 Een schilderijken zijnde een Neptunus in de zee met een Venus ende een Cupidotje dat met sijn booghje schiet, door C. Poelenburgh, in een verguldt lijstje dat besneden is.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

Likely AvS 1676, “1405 Neptunus, van Poelenburgh... f 180” to Maria van Zimmeren.

234 a, b, c (1930 OH, 90, 91, 92)

*Drie ovael stucken, het een een vrouw met een kindeken, het tweede een dans van kindekens, door Poelenberch, ende het derde een Venus met een jager door Moreels.*

**Three oval pieces, the first a woman with a small child, the second a dance of small children, by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch, and the third a Venus with a hunter by [Paulus] Moreelse.**

234 b by Van Poelenburch is likely AvS 1673, “752 Een schilderijken zijnde een kinderdans in een landschap, door C. Poelenburgh gedaen, in een sesthiencantige gesneden ende vergulde lijst.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

234c by Moreelse is possibly AvS 1673, “753 Een schilderijken zijnde de historie van Venus en Adoni, door C. Poelenburgh gedaen, in een sesthiencantige gesneden ende vergulde lijst.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

Though the attribution is different, this painting listed as Van Poelenburch directly follows 1632 inv. no. 234 b in the 1673 list and is described in the same “sixteen-sided cut and gilded frame”. Which of the two attributions is correct remains to be determined.

234b likely AvS 1676, “1471 Een dans van kinderen, door Poelenburgh...f200” to Albertine Agnes of Nassau-Dietz.

234c likely AvS 1676, “1449 Venus en Adonis...f100” to the Brandenburg princes.

234a possibly Leeuwarden 1681, “848 Een schoon stuck van Onse Lieve Vrouw met het kindeken.” This work, though vaguely described is listed next to Leeuwarden 1681 inv. no. 847 which is likely 1632 inv. no. 234b. (234a is less likely Leeuwarden 1681, “787 De H. jufrou Marie met het kindeken Jesu van Moreelse.”)

234b Leeuwarden 1681, “847 Een kinderdans door Poelenbourg.”

234a possibly Albertine Agnes 1696, “6 no. 7. 1L. Vrouwe met een kindtje op de arm, door Francis Peter Moreelse...40Fl.” This attribution would contradict that of the 1632 inventory but not unreasonably so.

234b possibly Albertine Agnes 1696, “22 no. 85. Kinderdans met eene vrouw hebbende druiven in de hand, en een speelman p. Cornelies Polenburg...120 Fl.”

235 a, b (1930 OH, 93, 94)

*Twee perspectiven door Steenwijck gedaen*

**Two perspectives done by [Hendrik van] Steenwijck**

Possibly AvS 1668, “1218 Een perspective met donckere verwe ende verscheyde beeldekens daerinne, gemaectt bij...” and “1219 Een perspectiff met verscheyde beeldekens, gemaectt bij...” both in Noordeinde. Though no artist is given and the description is relatively vague, they are recorded in 1668 at Noordeinde directly with identifiable works that also hung with them in their old location, see 1632 inv. nos. 231a, 231c, 236, and 237.

Possibly AvS 1673, “777 Twee schilderijens van perspectiven off insichten van kercken, heel fraey gedaen.” in Noordeinde, in ‘t groote porceleyncabinet.

Likely AvS 1676, “1415 Twee perspectiven, door Steenwijk...f 250” to Maria van Zimmeren.

From Maria van Zimmeren to Henrietta Catherina, Oranjewoud and Dessau (CHdG1930).

236 (1930 OH, 95)

*Een paradijse vol gedierten ende vogels per Savory.*

**A paradise full of animals and birds by [Roelandt] Saverij.**

Roelandt Saverij, *Paradise*, signed and dated on right in red *ROELANDT SAVEREY 1626*, oil on wood, 78 x 135 cm, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

Likely AvS 1668, “1216 Een schilderije sijnde een Paradijs, gemaectt bij Roelant Savery.” in Noordeinde.

Likely AvS 1673, “746 Een groot landschapschilderije zijnde een paradijs met Adam ende Eva, vol beesten ende voghelen, mede door Savery gedaen.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheyts alcove.

Possibly AvS 1676, “1450 Een stuck van Savrij vol werk...f330” to the Brandenburg princes. Though the description is limited, this is likely the current work that ends up in Berlin through Brandenburg inheritance.

This is most likely the painting to be identified with the “allerhande dieren van de lucht ende aerde” purchased by the States of Utrecht on 21 December 1626 for 700 guilders from Van Vollenhove and presented to Amalie von Solms-Braunfels with 1632 inv. nos. 231b, 231c, and 232 (CHdG1930).

M/CR – Müllenmeister, 1988, pp. 130, 146, 309, cat. no. 233.

237 (1930 OH, 97 [note, out of order with following entry])

*Een Orpheus van diversche beesten ende bosschagien door Savory.*

**An Orpheus with diverse animals and plants by [Rolaent] Saverij.**

Roelandt Saverij, *Orpheus Enchanting the Animals with his Music*, c. 1617, 62 x 131.5 cm, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderij, Mauritshuis, The Hague (inv. no. 157).

Likely AvS 1668, “1217 Een schilderije sijnde een Orpheus met allerley gedierte ende gevogelte, mede gemaectt bij Roelant Savery.” in Noordeinde.

Likely AvS 1673, “745 Een groote schilderije zijnde een landschap daer een Apollo in sit en speelt, vol beesten en voghelen, door Savery gedaen.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove.

Henriette Chatherina van Anhalt-Dessau to Henriette van Nassau-Dietz (D/LS).

M/CR – Müllenmeister, pp. 130, 294, cat. no. 206.

238 (1930 OH, 96 [note, out of order with preceding entry])

*Een landschap vol schoone vrucht met de historij van Ceres.*

**A landscape full of beautiful fruit with the story of Ceres.**

Likely AvS 1668, “1224 Een schilderije van de somer met een Bacchus, Ceres ende Pomona met allerley soorten van fruyten, gemaectt bij...” in Noordeinde.

Likely AvS 1673, “748 Een landschapschilderije daerin comt een Ceres met somervruchten, door Savery gedaen.” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove. The likelihood of this entry referring to the same painting as the unattributed 1632 inv. no. 238 is strengthened by the proximity of the painting to others in the inventories from 1632 (nos. 236, 237, and 241) and 1673 (nos. 746, 745, and 747).

Possibly AvS 1676, “1446 Nogh een stuck van deselffde [Breugel]...f 400” to the Brandenburg princes.

Possibly Leeuwarden 1681, “801 Een schoon landscappe van Ceres ende eenige kinderakens.” or “844 Een schilderiken met veel schone beelden als een Ceres.”

This 1632 inv. no. 238 painting of a Ceres may be one of the many above later inventory entries and by Saverij or perhaps Jan Breugel the Younger. D/LS, 1632 note 238 and 1676 note 1446, identifies both works with a *Ceres and Amphitrite* by Jan Breugel the Younger, lost formerly Schloss Königswusterhausen. See 1632 inv. no. 241 for another possible *Amphitrite* by Breugel the Younger.

239 (1930 OH, 98)

*Een landschap met d’historij van Venus, Van Balen*

**A landscape with the story of Venus, [Hendrik] Van Balen**

240 (1930 OH, 99)

*Een bancquet der goden door Van Balen.*

**A banquet of the gods by [Hendrik] Van Balen.**

Likely Albertine Agnes 1696, “11 No. 50. Festin van de goden op een kopereplaat in een vergulde lijst, door v. Balen...400Fl.”

241 (1930 OH, 100)

*Een landschap met water vol visschen, Savory, ende de beeldekens door Poelenburch.*

**A landscape with water full of fish, [Roelandt] Saverij, and the figures by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch.**

Likely AvS 1668, “1223 Een schilderije van de lente met verscheyde figuren van menschen, vogels ende visschen, gemaect bij...” in Noordeinde.

Likely AvS 1673, “747 Een schilderije sijnde een landschap met beesten, vissen ende figuertjes, door Savory gedaen” in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove. The likelihood of the 1632 and 1673 entries referring to the same work is strengthened by the proximity of the painting to others in the inventories of 1632 (nos. 236, 237, and 238) and 1673 (nos. 746, 745, and 748).]

D/LS, 1632 note 241, identifies the work tentatively with Jan Breugel the Younger *Amphitrite*, oil on panel, 46 x 83 cm, lost, formerly Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci.

242 (1930 OH, 101)

*Een landschap met harders ende harderinnen dansende.*

**A landscape with dancing shepherds and shepherdesses.**

243 a, b, c (1930 OH, 102, 103, 104)

*Drie kleyne landschapkens, twee door Breugel gedaen.*

**Three small landscapes, two done by Brueghel.**

244 (1930 OH, 105)

*Een stormken met vijff scheepkens.*

**A small storm with five small ships.**

245 a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l (1930 OH, 106-117)

*Twaelff contrefeytsels van de coninginne ende groote van Vranckrijck, verciert met geslepe steenkens.*

**Twelve portraits of the kings and great [persons] of France, decorated with cut stones.**

246 a, b (1930 OH, 118, 119)

*Twee stucxken, het eene de marquise de Verneul ende het ander de marquise Marmontye.*

**Two pieces, the one the marquise of Verneuil [(Catherine) Henriette Balzac d’Entragues (1579-1633)] and the other the the marquise Marnontye [unknown]**

The marquise of Verneuil was a mistress of Henri IV and daughter of a mistress of Charles X (CHdG1930).

247 (1930 OH, 120)

*Een contrefeytsel van de hertoginne van Bouillon.*

**A portrait of the duchess of Bouillon [(Marie) Elisabeth of Orange-Nassau (1577-1642)].**

(Marie) Elisabeth of Orange-Nassau (1577-1642) was a daughter of Willem I and the second wife of Henri de la Tour, duke of Bouillon (1555-1623).

248 (1930 OH, 121)

*Een contrefeytsel van mevrouwe Stranges op de maniere van Palas off Minerve.*

**A portrait of lady Strange [Charlotte de la Trémouille (1599-1664)] in the manner of Pallas [Athena] or Minerva.**

Possibly Gerrit van Honthorst, *Charlotte de La Trémouille, wife of James Stanley, Lord Strange, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby, as Minerva*, signed and dated 1632 upper right, inscribed as a portrait of Charlotte de la Trémouille, oil on panel, 71 x 59 cm, the House of Orange-Nassau Historical Collections Trust, The Hague.

Charlotte de la Trémouille was the daughter of Claude, duke of Trémouille and Charlotte Brabantine (daughter of Willem I), was raised by Louise de Coligny, and married in 1626 James Stanley, Lord Strange and eventually 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby (CHdG1930).

M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 311, cat. no. 461.

249 (1930 OH, 122)

*Een contrefeytsel sonder lijst, d'effigie van...*

**A portrait without frame, the image of...**

250 (1930 OH, 123)

*Het contrefeytsel van 't prinsken Willem sittende op een tapijt.*

**The portrait of little prince Willem [II of Orange-Nassau (1626-1650)] sitting on a carpet.**

Possibly AvS 1668 “1250 Sijne hoogheyt prince Frederick Hendrick hooglofl. memorie in sijn kintsheyt op een root fluweele kussen sittende, leggende op een Turckx tapijt, met bloemkens en de hant.” Though Frederik Hendrik is named as the sitter, CHdG1930 believes the 1668 description accords better with a work of c. 1630 than c. 1587, thus favoring identification with Willem II and 1632 inv. no. 250.

251 (1930 OH, 124)

*Een landschap daer Moses uyt het water gehaelt wort, door Clitsert gedaen.*

**A landscape where Moses is taken out of the water, done by [Daniël] Cletcher.**

252 (1930 OH, 125)

*Een mandeken met bloemen met twee schelpen door Bosschart.*

**A basket with flowers with two shells by [Abraham of Ambrosius] Bosschaert.**

253 (1930 OH, 126)

*Een landschap sijnde de reys van Haere Excie. naer Spae, gedaen bij den soon van Mr. Sybert Moninckx, staende in een ebben lijst.*

**A landscape of the trip of Her Excellency [Amalie von Solms-Braunfels] to Spa, done by [Pieter] the son of Mr. Sybert Moninckx, placed in an ebony frame.**

Possibly AvS 1668, “1233 Een schilderije denoterende een voyage van een groote dame met desselfs train bij een dorpen, gemaect...” in Noordeinde.

Possibly AvS 1676, “1432 Het Spaa...f30” to Maria van Zimmeren.

254 (1930 OH, 127)

*Een schilderij van Mars ende Venus daerinne alderhande crijchsgereetschap ende geweer alsmede een tafel daerop goude koppen ende porcelein, staende in een ebben lijst.*

**A painting of Mars and Venus in it all sorts of war implements and rifle as well as a table on which gold cups and porcelain, placed in an ebony frame.**

260

*Een kofferken rontomme met silver becleet, vereert door den admirael Pier Heyn*

**A box covered in silver, presented as a gift by the admiral Piet Heyn.**

This is one of several items in the inventory specifically listed as a gift presented by a known individual or group.

278 a, b (1930 OH, 128, 129)

*Twee kleyne schilderikens, [Sijn] Gen. Henrick van Nassau en zijn gemael.*

**Two small paintings, his grace Hendrik [III] of Nassau (1483-1538) and his wife.**

Hendrik III of Nassau (1483-1538) was the uncle of Willem I. He had three wives: Françoise of Savoy (d. 1511), Claudia of Chalons and Orange (1498-1521), and Mencia de Mendoza y Fonseca (1508-1544).

*In de kasse in de meuer op den bovensten bodem.*

279

*Prins Maurits hoochl. memorie te peert in silver geslagen door Adam van Vianen; daertoe sijn custodij.*

**Prins Maurits in memorium on horseback done in silver by Adam van Vianen; with it its case.**

AvS 1668, “187 Prins Maurits hooglofl. memorie te peerde van silver gemaect ende gedreven door den constrijken meester Adam van Vianen.”

AvS 1673, “266 Prince Maurits hooghloffelijcker memorie te peerdt, van silver gemaect ende gedreven door meester Adam van Vyanen.”

AvS 1676, “434 Prins Maurits te peert...37oncen.” to Maria van Zimmeren Given in 1626 to Frederik Hendrik by the five collegiate churches of Utrecht (D/LS and Nieuwenhuis Nyegaard, 2001, p. 51 and note 160). Though it was given to Frederik Hendrik, it appears in the division of the estate of Amalie.

280

*Aristoteles in silver, geslagen off gegeesselt wordende van zijn wijff, door den voors. Mr., met de kustodi van leer.*

**Aristotle in silver, being beaten or whipped by his wife, by the previously named Mr. [Adam van Vianen], with a leather case.**

AvS 1668, “188 Aristoteles die bereden werd van sijn wijf van silver gemaect ende gedreven door den constrijken meester Adam van Vianen.”

AvS 1673, “267 Aristoteles die bereden wert van sijn wijff, door denselffden meester [Adam van Vianen].”

AvS 1676, “435 Aristoteles bereden van sijn wijff...32 oncen” to Maria van Zimmeren

292

*Een goude doosken daerin d’effigie van prins Willem, prins Maurits ende prins Frederick Henrick.*

**A gold case with the image of Prince Willem, Prince Maurits and Prince Frederik Hendrik.**

*Op de garderobbe van Me Gen. Vrouwe.*

318

*De garderobbe is behangen met elff stucken soomertapijt van wit Brucx satijn, gebordeurt met bloemen ende fruytage van groove steeck, met een geschilderde houten frize boven deselve tapijten.*

**The wardrobe is hung with eleven pieces of summer tapestry of white Brussels satin, bordered with large embroidered flowers and fruit, with a painted wooden frieze above the same tapestries.**

319 (1930 OH, 130)

*Een houten schoorsteenmantel vergult op roode taneyte gront, daerin een schilderie van Hondthorst met een kinderspel.*

**A wood gilt chimneymantel on red-tan ground, in it a painting by [Gerrit van] Honthorst with a children’s game.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *Children’s Game*, whereabouts unknown.

M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, p. 207, cat. no. 272.

*Op de slaepcamer van mevrouw de prinsesse.*

336

*Een behangsel van Indiaens tapijt gebordeurt op wit satijn met carmosijnroode boorden, gebordeurt met gout ende alderhande vogelen van verscheyde coleuren, bestaende in thien stucken.*

**A hanging of Indian carpet bordered on white satin with crimson red borders, bordered with gold and all sorts of birds of various colors, there in ten pieces.**

337

*Noch een dossier voor de schoorsteenmantel van ‘tselve werck met groote frangien rontom van Oostindisch gout.*

**Also a dossal in front of the chimneymantel of the same work with large fringes around of East Indian gold.**

*De voorcamer van mevrouw de princess.*

353

*Acht stucken tapytserie van Pomona. (Nota datter een stuck van deselve camer is in 't Noorteynde onder de bewaringe van den concerge.)*

**Eight pieces of tapestry of Pomona. (Note that one piece of the same room is in the Noordeinde under the custody of the concierge.)**

Tapestries of Pomona appear in Brussels 1618, “765 Item les sept pièces de tapisserie de Pommone, en tout cent quatre-vingtz aulnes et demy à dix florins l’aulne, monte à...1805£.”

CHdJ1930: Possibly by Maerten Reynbouts (from earlier cartoons by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen).

357 (1930 OH, 130a)

*Een houten schoorsteenmantel vergult op eenen blaeuwen gront, daerin een schilderije vol Pantelonnerye door Swanenburch gedaen.*

**A wood chimneymantel gilded on a blue ground, in it a painting of the adventures of Pantalone done by [Claes van] Swanenburgh.**

This “Swanenburch” likely refers to Claes van Swanenburgh (1572-1652), resident in The Hague, and not either his brother Jacob or father Isaac Nicolai (CHdG1930).

*De vertreckcamer daeraenvolgende.*

361

*Seven tapitserijen, de historij van Alexander.*

**Seven tapestries, the history of Alexander.**

CHdJ1930 lists numerous tapestry series of Alexander from the 16<sup>th</sup> and early-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and it is not possible to identify which this was. Notably, the States General gave a series to France as a diplomatic gift in 1606.

363 (1930 OH, 131)

*Eenen schoorsteenmantel van hout, vergult op eenen groenen grondt, daerin een schilderije, sijnde een landtschap, door Swanenberch gedaen.*

**A chimneymantel of wood, gilded on a green ground, in it a painting, of a landscap, done by [Claes van] Swanenburgh.**

This “Swanenburch” likely refers to Claes van Swanenburgh (1572-1652), resident in The Hague, and not either his brother Jacob or father Isaac Nicolai (CHdG1930).

*De camer van prins Willem ende de camer van madamoiselle d’Orange [Louise Henriette]*

366

*Noch ses stucken tapitseriën van verscheyden jachten ende bosschagien.*

**Also six pieces of tapestry of various hunts and forests.**

*De camer van mademoiselle d'Orange.*

394

*Seven oude stucken tapitsserijen bosschagie ende jacht.*

**Seven old pieces of forest and hunt tapestries.**

396 (1930 OH, 132)

*Een schoorsteenmantel, vergult op colombijnen gront, daerin een schilderij sijnde een masquarade off balet.*

**A chimneymantel, gilded on a dove's neck [dark red and blue] ground, in it a painting of a masquerade or ballet.**

*De camer daer de joffrouwen logeren.*

432

*Hetselve is behangen met oude versleeten tapijten van groen, orange fluweele gesneden looffwerck, daerop met goudt- ende silverlaecken gebordeurt.*

**The same is hung with old threadbare carpets of green, orange velvet cut festoons, bordered with gold and silver cloth.**

*De voorsael beneden bij de corte garde [corps de garde (lifwacht)] daer men nae den thuyne toe gaet.*

450 (1930 OH, 133)

*Deselve is rontomme verciert met panelen, geschildert met marmarsteen niesen met blompotten, ende de fries boven met vergulde troniën ende festoenen.*

**The same is decorated around with panelling, painted with marble niches with flowerpots, and the frieze above with gilded faces and festoons.**

451 a, b (1930 OH, 134, 135)

*In de midden twee schilderijen, het een een lantschap met een jacht ende het ander een lusthoff met barseaux ende parterren.*

**In the middle two paintings, the one a landscape with a hunt and the other a pleasure garden with *berceaux* [arbors] and *parterres*.**

*Den deurganck naer 't eerthock.*

481 (1930 OH, 136)

*Noch een schilderij van waterverwe van Piramus en Tisbe.*

**Also a painting in watercolor of Pyramus and Thisbe.**

Likely Breda 1619, "794 Een schilderij van Piramus en Thisbe...36£." There is also Breda 1619 "796 Twee schilderijen gebotseert in was, wesende Piramus en

Thisbe ende Mars ende Venus...2£” but given the low value of this second appearance of the subject and its pairing with another work, the 1632 entry likely refers to the former, Breda 1619 inv. no. 794.

*‘t Huys in ‘t Noorteynde.*

*D’eerste ofte voorsaele.*

483 (1930 OH, 137)

*Daerin compt een schilderije sijnde een peert, gecomen van Breda.*

**Therein comes a painting of a horse, coming from Breda.**

Possibly Inventaris van de Inboedel van het Kastell te Breda 1597-1603, “2 Een schilderije van een peert.”

Possibly Breda 1619, 515 Een conterfeytsel van een peert met twee haeswinden...5£.”

484 a, b, c, d (1930 OH, 138-141)

*Vier stucken schilderije verthoonende de vier elementen.*

**Four paintings showing the four elements.**

Likely Brussels 1618, “815 Item quatre peintures représentant les quatre éléments, peintes à l’huile sure toile, avecq les molures de bois blancq...100£.”

485 (1930 OH, 142)

*Een schilderije daer een man in staet met een Indiaens wapen.*

**A painting with a man standing with an Indian weapon**

*Den ganck tusschen de tween salen*

488 (1930 OH, 143)

*Daer hanght een stuck schilderije sijnde een keucken, door Maerten de Vos.*

**There hangs a painting is a kitchen, by Maerten de Vos.**

Likely Breda 1619, “Een stuck schilderije voor de schouwe, wesende een keucken...120£” opte camer van mevrouw de prinsesse saliger bevonden.

Possibly AvS1668, “1265 Een schilderije sijnde een keucken, met den rijcken man ende Lazarus in’t verschiet.” in Noordeinde.

M/CR – Zweite, 1980, p. 339 (listed among the documented, but unidentified, works).

*De groote benedensael.*

489 (1930 OH, 144)

*Een schilderij voor den schoorsteen daerinnen den admiraal Chastillon ende zijn twee broeders.*

**A painting in front of the chimney in it the admiral Chatillon [Gaspard II de Coligny Chatillon (1519-1572)] and his two brothers [Odet, Cardinal, (1517-1571) and François, Count of Andelot (1521-1569)].**

Anonymous (French), *Portrait of the Brothers Gaspard, Odet and François de Châtillon-Coligny*, oil on canvas, 191 x 163 cm, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague (inv. no. 432), on loan to the Prinsenhof, Delft.

Likely Noordeinde 1702, “35 Drie portrajcten ten voeten uyt sijnde de broeders Chattillion voor de schoorsteen.” in the Quartier van gran maistre.

Likely Noordeinde 1707, “28 Drie portrajcten ten voeten uyt sijnde de broeders Chattillion voor de schoorsteen.” in the Quartier van...

Though these 1702 and 1707 entries appear to list three separate portraits, each reference (including 1632) is listed as a mantelpiece and therefore most likely refer to one painting and not the three separate portraits of the De Coligny brothers listed as 1632 inv. nos. 589, 590, 591.

490 (1930 OH, 145)

*Een schilderij van prins Philips hooch. memorie.*

**A painting of prins Filips [Filips Willem, Prince of Orange (1554-1618)] in memorium.**

491 (1930 OH, 146)

*Een schilderij van Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen daerinnen twee groote schepen met noch verscheyde andere schepen in 't verschiet.*

**A painting by Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen in it two large ships with yet various other ships in the distance.**

Before the large 1622 *Battle of Gibraltar* listed as 1632 inv. no. 179 was given to Maurits a smaller test piece was painted by Van Wieringen and possibly also given to the Prince (CHdG1930).

492 (1930 OH, 147)

*Een schilderij van de stad ende casteel van Breda door Denys Alsloot van Brussels gedaen.*

**A painting of the city and castle of Breda done by Denys [van] Alsloot from Brussels.**

Possibly Brussels 1619, “583 Een olieverw doeck van de stad van Breda...15f”

493 (1930 OH, 148)

*Een schilderij daerinnen twee witte valcken door mr. Evert.*

**A painting in it two white falcons by mr. Everard [Quirijnsz. van der Maes]**

Possibly Noordeinde 1702, “29 Twee valken.” in the Noordgallerie.

Possibly Noordeinde 1707, “25 Twee valken.” in the Noordgallerie.

494 a, b (1930 OH, 149, 150)

*Twée stucxkens, in het eene een groot schip ende 't ander een kaecht, met de penne gedaen.*

**Two pieces, in the one a large ship and in the other a Kaag[barge], done with pen.**

495 (1930 OH, 151)

*Een kleyn schilderijken daerinne een dwergje.*

**A small painting of a dwarf.**

496 (1930 OH, 152)

*Een stuck schilderije daer een waerseghster off een heyen in de handt goeder geluck seght, door Jan Lievensz. van Leyden.*

**A painting there a soothsayer tells a fortune by the hand of a braggart, by Jan Lievens van Leyden.**

Jan Lievens, *The Gypsy Fortune-Teller*, oil on canvas, 161.2 x 142.3 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (inv. no. II 300).

Possibly Hons. 1707, "141 In de schoorsteen een stuck van Rembrandt daer een oudt wijff goeder geluck zegt." in the Slaepcamer van de coning aen de parterre.

497 (1930 OH, 153)

*Een schilderije van den admirael van Hollandt Pieter Pietersz. Heyn.*

**A painting of the admiral of Holland Pieter Pietersz. Heyn [(1577-1629)].**

Possibly Rijswijk 1707, "2 Piet Heyn."

498 a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m (1930 OH, 154-166)

*Derthien groote stucken schilderije met slechte swarte lijsten, te weten de stadt Nova Batavia, Mexico, St. Maerten, Porta de St. Vera Crux, St. Salvador, Malacca, 't fort Nassau, Tarnati ende andere onbekende plaetsen door Knipbergen ende andere gedaen.*

**Thirteen large paintings with poor black frames, [of which] known the city of New Batavia, Mexico, St. Martin, Porta de St. Veracruz [Mexico], St. Salvador [Brazil], Malacca, the fort Nassau [New Providence, a Bahama island], Tarnati and other unknown places done by [François] Knibbergen and others.**

Possibly some of Hons. 1707, "189 Een Indiaens fort op Malakka." and "190 't fort Revenge geleegeen op Postovay, een van de eilanden in Banda." and "194 Een Indiaens gesigt, het fort Nofsagnia aan de Noortsij van 't voors. eiland Maquian." and "195 Acht Americaense gesigte als Mexico, plan van tselve stad en haven van St. Martin, een Indiaensch onbekent fort, casteel St. Filippo, have en fort van Aquassulca, have van Vera Cruz, Fort Nassau" [all (nos. 189, 190, 194, 195)] in *Het voorhuys*; "372 Het fort Frederick Hendrik" In de gang; "375 Seven Indiaensche fortien int portael boven aen de antichamber van haer majesteyt aen de parterre als Fort Maley, Victoria Taffasoha, Malije Hollandia, Portugeesch fort opt eiland Ambina, Fort Gelria in Palicase geleegeen, St. Salvador in de bay van Todos los Sanctos, Ternate, Bahia de tre Saon" in the "Appartement van de heer geheyme raet, de camer Nr. 25."

In 1763, some of these were still in Honselaarsdijk, two under the name of the Spanish painter In<sup>o</sup> Gomes de Traasmota (CHdG1930).

*Het cabinet van tselve quartier [van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>., de princesse, hoochl. memorie, Louise de Coligny].*

516 (1930 OH, 167)

*Een schilderije staende voor de schoorsteen, d'istorij van Artemise, door Rubbens van Antwerpen gedaen.*

**A painting stands in front of the chimney, the story of Artemisia, done by [Peter Paul] Rubens of Antwerp.**

Likely Peter Paul Rubens, *Artemisia*, c. 1615-16, oil on panel, 97 x 105 cm, Bildergalerie, Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam (inv. no. I7596).

Likely Het Loo 1712, "82 Sophonisba, wat beschaadigt, Rubens...f250...300." in De groote galderie.

Brought from Honselaarsdijk to Het Loo, 1696, D/LS I, p. 481, no. 4 and III, p. 340.

Sold, Amsterdam 26 July 1713, no. 11, purchased by Breda (D/LS).

A Sophonisba appears in AvS 1676, "1434 Sophonisba...f 15" to Maria van Zimmeren but the price seems too low for it to be the Rubens. Possibly AvS 1676, "1499 Een stuck met halve beelden, door Rubens...f400" to Henriette Catherina van Anhalt; though D/LS note 1499 identifies this with the *Alexander and Roxanne*, 1632 inv. no. 208, that painting is not of half-length figures like the Artemisia.

M/CR – McGrath, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 73-80, cat. no. 13 (with the possibility that the Potsdam picture is not the Orange-Nassau original and that that work remains untraced).

517 (1930 OH, 168)

*Een kleyn schilderijken, d'effigie van Louyse de Monmorency.*

**A small painting, the image of Louise de Montmorency [(d. 1541)].**

Louise de Montmorency (d. 1541) was the wife of Gaspard I de Coligny and grandmother of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620).

Possibly the anonymous woman attributed to Heemskerck in Berlin (D/LS; B.-S.1967, cat. no. 108.)

518 (1930 OH, 169)

*Een schilderije, d'effigie van de princess van Condé.*

**A painting, the image of the princess of Condé.**

Two possible identifications: Eleonore (1587-1619), wife of Filips Willem of Orange-Nassau (1554-1618) (HdG1930); or Eleonore de Roye, wife of Louis I of Bourbon Condé (1535-1564) (D/LS).

519 (1930 OH, 170)

*Een toevouwent schilderje daerin d'effigie van d'admiraal de Chastillon ende zijn gemael.*

**A folded(-up) painting in it the image of the admiral of Chatillon [Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572)] and his wife [Charlotte de Laval (1530-1568)]**

Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572) and his wife Charlotte de Laval (1530-1568) were the parents of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620).

520 a, b, c, d (1930 OH, 171-174)

*Vier kleyne schilderijens met platte bonnetten op het hooft van Fransche heeren, ons onbekendt.*

**Four small paintings with berets on the head of French men, unknown to us.**

521 (1930 OH, 175)

*Een schilderije, d'effigie van de Rijngravinne.*

**A painting, the image of the Rijn countess.**

Two possible identifications: Elisabeth (1592-1636), sister of Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675), married to Wolfgang Friedrich, Wild- und Rheingraf (HdG1930); or Louise Juliana (1576-1644), daughter of Willem I and wife of Frederik IV, Elector Palatine (D/LS). The second identification is preferred.

522 (1930 OH, 176)

*Een schilderij van den hertoch van Buckingham.*

**A painting of the Duke of Buckingham [George Villiers (1592-1628)].**

Numerous portraits of named individuals appear in later Orange-Nassau inventories, particularly in a large gallery devoted to portraiture at Honselaarsdijk. Many of these works likely are recorded in the 1632 inventory. However, without mention of an artist or other distinguishing characteristic, such possible portrait cross-references are not listed here.

523 (1930 OH, 177)

*Een schilderij van den marquis Spinola.*

**A painting of the marquis [Ambrogio de] Spínola [1569-1630].**

524 (1930 OH, 178)

*Een schilderje van den grave van Hollandt.*

**A painting of the count of Holland [Henry Rich (1590-1649), earl of Holland]**

525 (1930 OH, 179)

*Een schilderje van den ambassadeur van Engelandt millord Vahne.*

**A painting of the ambassador from England Lord [Sir Henry] Vane [(1589-1664)].**

526 (1930 OH, 180)

*Een schilderje van den cardinael van Richelieu.*

**A painting of the cardinal of Richelieu [Armand Jean du Plessis (1585-1642)].**

*Neffens den schoorsteen op de drie richels off plancken [in the quarters of Louise de Coligny].*

579 a – z, aa, bb, cc, dd, ee, ff (1930 OH, 181-210, 211, 212)

*In 't voors. cabinet in de casse daer twee glazen voor comen, daer sijn verscheyde kleyne schilderijens ten getaele van omtrent dertich, met noch twee contrefeytsels van coninck Henrick de Vierde ende Louys, met noch verscheyde andere cleynicheden.*

**In the pervious[ly-named] cabinet in the case there appear two glass panes, there are various small paintings in number about thirty, with also two portraits of king Henry the Fourth [Henri IV (1553-1610), King of France] and Louis [Louis XIII (1601-1643), King of France], with also various other trifels.**

Though only two are identified, all of these paintings are likely miniature portraits and are certainly small in scale.

*De garderobbe van't voors. quartier*

580 (1930 OH, 213)

*Een schilderije daerinne staet Sijne Gen. graeff Willem van Nassau H. Ge.*

**A painting therein stands His Grace count Willem [Willem Lodewijk] of Nassau [-Dietz (1560-1620)] in memorium.**

*De galderije van 'tselve quartier.*

584 (1930 OH, 214)

*Een stuck schilderije voor den schoorsteen daerin een paleys staende in perspectyff met twee bloemhoven.*

**A painting in front of the chimney in it stands a palace in perspective with two flower courts.**

588 a, b (1930 OH, 215, 216)

*Twee schilderijen boven de spiegels zijnde vrouwentronyën maeckende een manier off se de spiegels vasthielden.*

**Two paintings above the mirrors are heads of women made in a manner to hold fast to the mirrors.**

589 (1930 OH, 217)

*Een schilderije zijnde d'effigie van den admirael Chastillon.*

**A painting of the image of the admiral Chatillon [Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572)]**

590 (1930 OH, 218)

*Een schilderje, d'effigie van den cardinael de Chastillon.*

**A painting, the image of the cardinal of Chatillon [Odet de Coligny (1517-1571)].**

591 (1930 OH, 219)

*Een schilderije zijnde d'effigie van d'Andeloo.*

**A painting of the image of Andeloo [François de Coligny (1521-1569)].**

592 (1930 OH, 220)

*Een schilderije van Henrick de Borbon, coninck van Vranckrijck.*

**A painting of Henri [Henri IV (1553-1610)] of Bourbon, king of France.**

593 (1930 OH, 221)

*Een schilderije van Louys, coninck van Vranckrijck.*

**A painting of Louis [Louis XIII (1601-1643)], king of France.**

594 (1930 OH, 222)

*Een schilderije van den hertoch van Bouillon.*

**A painting of the duke of Bouillon**

This Duke was likely Henri de la Tour (1555-1623) whose second wife was Elisabeth of Orange-Nassau (1577-1642), daughter of Willem I (HdG1930).

595 (1930 OH, 223)

*Een schilderije van d'hertoginne van Swartsenburch.*

**A painting of the duchess of Schwarzburg.**

This Duchess of Schwarzburg would be either Catharina van Nassau (1543-1624), married (in 1560) to Günther von Schwarzburg (d. 1583) or Johann Günther von Schwarzburg (d. after 1597), or Juliana van Nassau (1546-1588) married (in 1575) to Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg (1537-1605); both were sisters of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584).

596 (1930 OH, 224)

*Een schilderije van de prinsesse van Orangien hoochloffelijcker memorie.*

**A painting of the princess of Orange [Louise de Coligny (1555-1620)] in *memorium*.**

597 (1930 OH, 225)

*Een schilderije van den prince van Condé.*

**A painting of the prince of Condé.**

Two identifications: Henri II (1588-1646), brother of Eleonora (1587-1619), wife of Filips Willem of Orange-Nassau (1554-1618) (HdG1930); or Louis I de Bourbon (1530-1569), first prince of Condé, nephew of Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572) and compatriot in the wars of religion (D/LS). Given that the painting hangs with others likely associated with Louise de Coligny, the second identification is preferable.

598 (1930 OH, 226)

*Een schilderije van Mons. de Chastillon.*

**A painting of Monsieur de Chatillon [Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572)].**

599 a, b (1930 OH, 227, 228)

*Twee paneelen neffens de deur daerop eenen luypert ende leeuw.*

**Two panels next to the door on which a leopard and a lion.**

600 (1930 OH, 229)

*Het contrefeytsel van Jacob, coninck van Engelandt.*

**The portrait of James [James I, Stuart (1566-1625)], king of England.**

601 (1930 OH, 230)

*Het contrefeytsel van prins Philips.*

**The portrait of prince Filips [Filips Willem of Orange-Nassau (1554-1618)].**

602 (1930 OH, 231)

*Het contrefeytsel van den graeff van Hooohenloo.*

**The portrait of the count of Hohenlöhe.**

Possible identifications: Wolfgang (1546-1610), married to Magdalena of Nassau-Dillenburg (1547-1630), or Philipp (1550-1606), married to Maria of Orange-Nassau and Buren (1556-1616) (HdG1930).

603 (1930 OH, 232)

*Het contrefeytsel van den hertoch van La Tresmouille in 't geheel.*

**The portrait of the duke la Trémouille [Claude de la Trémouille, Duke of Thouars (1566-1604)] full length.**

Claude de la Trémouille (1566-1604) was married (in 1598) to Charlotte Brabantina of Orange-Nassau (1580-1631), daughter of Willem I.

604 (1930 OH, 233)

*Het contrefeytsel van de marquise de Mirbeau.*

**The portrait of the marquise of Mirbeau [Anne de Coligny].**

Anne de Coligny was married to Jacques Chabot, Marquis de Mirbeau and count de Charny, and as a daughter of François de Coligny (1521-1569), siegneur of Andelot, and Anna van Salm, was first cousin to Louise de Coligny (1555-1620).

605 (1930 OH, 234)

*Het contrefeytsel van de paelsgravinne van den Rhijn.*

**The portrait of the countess of the Rhine [Louise Juliana (1574-1644)].**

Louise Juliana of Orange-Nassau (1574-1644) was a daughter of Willem I and Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582), and wife of the paltsgraaf Frederik IV (1574-1610).

606 (1930 OH, 235)

*Het contrefeytsel van den prins van Walles.*

**The portrait of the prince of Wales [Henry Frederik Stuart (1594-1612)].**

607 (1930 OH, 236)

*Het contrefeytsel van Henry de Valois, coninck van Vranckrijck.*

**The portrait of Henri [Henri III (1551-1589)] of Valois, king of France.**

608 a, b (1930 OH, 237, 238)

*Twee kleyne contrefeytsels van den prins van Condé, vader ende soon.*

**Two small portraits of the prins of Condé, father and son.**

Multiple possible identifications: Henri II (1588-1646) and his son Louis II (1621-1686) or Henri I (1552-1588) and Henri II (1588-1646) (HdG1930); or Louis I de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1530-1569) and Henri I de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1552-1588) (D/LS). The first option would include a portrait of a youth (usually indicated in this inventory as such) and the second would be of two unlikely to have paired portraits given their life dates; the third pair is preferable.

609 (1930 OH, 239)

*Een van de graeff van Soison.*

**One of the count of Soissons [Charles de Bourbon (1566-1612)].**

Charles de Bourbon (1566-1612), count of Soissons, was the youngest son of Louis (1530-1569), first prince of Condé.

*De groote bovensael daerop is.*

611 (1930 OH, 240)

*Een schilderij voor de schoorsteenmantel door Honthorst gemaect, sijnde een musijck.*

**A painting in front of the chimneymantel made by [Gerrit van] Honthorst, of a music.**

Gerrit van Honthorst, *The Concert*, signed and dated (on the balustrade), *GHonthorst 1624*, oil on canvas, 168 x 178 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. 1364).

Likely Inventaris van het Huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1702 “170 Een schilderij voor de schoorsteen, zijnde musicanten van Honthorst” in the Antichambre  
Likely Noordeinde 1702, “4 Een Musijcq van Honthorst.” in the Suyderquartier.  
Slaepcamer.

Likely Noordeinde 1707, “3 Een Musijcq van Honthorst.” in the Suyderquartier.  
Slaepcamer.

Catalogus van het Kabinet van Schilderijen, van Willem V op het Buitenhof te ‘s-Gravenhage, “65 In Ao 1791 van Oude Hof gekomen. Een muziceerend Gezelschap, op doek, in een ditto Lijst [zwarte lijst met vergulde binnekant]... door Denzelven [Van Honthorst].” (Judson and Ekkart, 1999, pp. 207-208, cat. no. 273).

1815 list of paintings not returned from Paris, “27 Une Société faisant de la musique, T. 4’ 5” x 6’ 5.” (Judson and Ekkart, 1999, pp. 207-208, cat. no. 273).

M/CR – Judson and Ekkart, 1999, pp. 207-208, cat. no. 273.

*De nieuwe sael daeraenvolgende.*

620 (1930 OH, 241)

*Voor de schoorsteenmantel een stuck schilderije van Mars ende Venus door Rubbens gemaect, daervoor is hangende een roode armosijne gardijne.*

**In front of the chimneymantel a painting of Mars and Venus made by [Peter Paul] Rubens, in front of it a red silk curtain.**

Peter Paul Rubens, *Mars and Venus*, formerly Köningsberg, lost in World War II. Noordeinde 1702, "14 Een stuck van Rubbens sijnde Mars en Venus." in the Presentiekamer van de coning.

Noordeinde 1707, "8 Een stuck van Rubbens sijnde Mars en Venus." in the Presentiekamer van de coning.

1720 transported to Berlin (CHdG1930).

624 (1930 OH, 242)

*Een schilderije boven de deur daerin drie lacqayen speelen met de caerte.*

**A painting above the door in it three lackies playing cards.**

*De voorcamer van 't quartier van Sijn Excie.*

629 (1930 OH, 243)

*D'selve is behangen met goudleer op groenen gront. Voor de schoorsteen daer staet een schilderije door Jacques de Geyn gemaect, daerin een haen, hont ende duyff.*

**The same is hung with gold leather on green ground. In front of the chimney there is a painting made by Jacques de Gheyn [II (1565-1629)], in it a hen, dog, and dove.**

Presumably a painting by De Gheyn II and not either his father or son of the same name.

*De slaepcamer van Zijn Excie.*

632 (1930 OH, 244)

*Voor de schoorsteenmantel staet een schilderije van Vroom daer de schepen met de galeyen vechten.*

**In front of the chimneymantel is a painting by [Hendrick Cornelisz.] Vroom where ships fight with galleons.**

Possibly Noordeinde 1702, "16 Zeebataille van Vroom" in the Antichamber.

*De gar[de]robbe van Zijn Excie.*

643 (1930 OH, 245)

*Een schilderije voor de schoorsteen, zijnde een lantschap daer een man te peerde wil gaen.*

**A painting in front of the chimney, is a landscape with a man traveling on horseback.**

Possibly Noordiende 1707, “26 Een jager met een hont.” in the Quartier van...

*Het cabinet van Zijn Excie.*

651 (1930 OH, 246)

*Voor de schoorsteen een schilderije daerin een henne met kiecken ende een valck vattende eenen haen.*

**In front of the chimney a painting of a hen with chicks and a falcon catching a rooster.**

653

*Vier personagien ofte commedianten van hout gemaect ende uytgesneden.*

**Four persons or comedians made and cut of wood.**

*De voorcamer van 't quartier van Haere Excie. daer men nae de slaepcamer gaet.*

654 (1930 OH, 247)

*Een schilderij voor den schoorsteen sijnde een perspectijff.*

**A painting in front of the chimney of a perspective.**

Possibly Noordeinde 1702, “5 Een perspectief van St. Pieters kerk te Rome.” in the Slaepcamer van de coningh.

Possibly Noordeinde 1707, “5 Een perspectief van St. Pieters kerk te Rome.” in the Slaepcamer van de coningh.

*De slaepcamer van hare excellentie.*

664 (1930 OH, 248)

*Een geschilderde fries rontomme de solder, daerop verscheyden dansende kinderkens aen festoenen.*

**A painted frieze around the ceiling, on which various dancing children and festoons.**

*De galderije van 't voors. quartier [Haere Excie. (Amalie von Solms-Braunfels)]*

667 (1930 OH, 249)

*Voor den schoorsteen een schilderije van Theagenes ende Cariclea door Bloemart gedaen.*

**In front of the chimney a painting of Theagenes and Chariclea done by [Abraham] Bloemaert.**

Abraham Bloemaert, *Theagenes and Charicleia Amidst the Murdered Pirates the*, signed and dated lower left: *A. Bloemaert. fe. 1625*, oil on canvas, 95 x 117.5 cm, Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Sanssouci, Potsdam (inv. no. GK 2531).

Noordeinde 1702, “6 Cariclea van Blommert voor de schoorsteen.” in De gallerie. Suyderquartier

Noordeinde 1707, “6 Cariclea van Blommert voor de schoorsteen.” in De gallerie. Suyderquartier.

M/CR – Roethlisberger, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 278-279, cat. no. 424.

*De voorcamer genaempt ‘t quartier van de gravinne van Solms*

670 (1930 OH, 250)

*Een schilderje voor de schoorsteen van verscheyde Italiaensche tronyën, daer een Pantelon een paer hoornen aengeset wort.*

**A painting in front of the chimney of various Italian figures, in which a Pantelon fits on a pair of horns**

671 (1930 OH, 251)

*Een schilderje van Carolus Quintus sittende te peert.*

**A painting of Carolus Qunitus [Emperor Charles V (1500-1558)] seated on horseback.**

Possibly Rijswijk 1707, “15 Keyser Carel te paert.”

This, and other adjoining paintings from the 1632 Noordeinde “voorcamer genaempt ‘t quartier van de gravinne van Solms” (nos. 671, 672, 673, 674, and 675) seem to reappear “In de onder westgallerie” in the Huis ter Nieuwburg in Rijswijk, 1707.

672 (1930 OH, 252)

*Een schilderje van den coninck van Spangien, Philips de Tweede.*

**A painting of the king of Spain, Philip the Second [Philip II (1527-1598)].**

1632 inv. no. 672 or 674 possibly Rijswijk 1707, “12 Coning van Spanjen van Soutman.”

This, and other adjoining paintings from the 1632 Noordeinde “voorcamer genaempt ‘t quartier van de gravinne van Solms” (nos. 671, 672, 673, 674, and 675) seem to reappear “In de onder westgallerie” in the Huis ter Nieuwburg in Rijswijk, 1707.

673 (1930 OH, 253)

*Een schilderje van de infant, hertoginne van Brabant.*

**A painting of the infanta, duchess of Brabant [Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633)].**

Possibly Rijswijk 1707, “14 Isabella Clara van van Dijck.”

This, and other adjoining paintings from the 1632 Noordeinde “voorcamer genaempt ‘t quartier van de gravinne van Solms” (nos. 671, 672, 673, 674, and 675) seem to reappear “In de onder westgallerie” in the Huis ter Nieuwburg in Rijswijk, 1707.

Possibly the the painting now in Jagdschloss Grunewald, cat. Grunewald 1964, no. 76, workshop of Van Dyck (D/LS).

674 (1930 OH, 254)

*Een schilderje van Philips den Derden, coning van Spangnien.*

**A painting of Philip the Third, king of Spain [Philip III (1578-1621)].**

1632 inv. no. 672 or 674 possibly Rijswijk 1707, “12 Coning van Spanjen van Soutman.”

This, and other adjoining paintings from the 1632 Noordeinde “voorcamer genaempt ‘t quartier van de gravinne van Solms” (nos. 671, 673, 673, 674, and 675) seem to reappear “In de onder westgallerie” in the Huis ter Nieuwburg in Rijswijk, 1707.

675 (1930 OH, 255)

*Een schilderije in ‘t geheel van Philips, prins van Orangien hoochl. memorie.*

**A painting in full length of Filips [Willem], prince of Orange [(1554-1618)] in memorium.**

Possibly Rijswijk 1707, “7 Prince Philip”

This, and other adjoining paintings from the 1632 Noordeinde “voorcamer genaempt ‘t quartier van de gravinne van Solms” (nos. 671, 673, 673, 674, and 675) seem to reappear “In de onder westgallerie” in the Huis ter Nieuwburg in Rijswijk, 1707.

682

*Een caerte van de stadt, casteel ende vignasse van Orange met couleuren affgeset.*

**A map of the city, castle and vineyard of Orange set with color**

*D’oude slaepcamer onder ‘t quartier van Zijn Excie.*

683 (1930 OH, 256)

*Een schilderije voor de schoorsteen daerinne vier kinderen van ‘t huys van Chastillon.*

**A painting in front of the chimney in it four children of the house of Chatillon.**

This refers either to Pierre (1515-c. 1534), Odet (1517-1571), Gaspard II (1519-1572) and François (1521-1569) or Gaspard III (1554-1568), François (1557-1591), Odet (1560-after1577), and Charles (1564-after1585), respectively, the uncles and father or the brothers of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620) (HdG1930 and D/LS).

684 a, b (1930 OH, 257, 258)

*Twee groote schilderijen op doeck, d’een van den slach van den grave van Bossu ende d’ander, noch grooter, van verscheyde groote schepen, gecomen van Breda, beyde door Mr. Vroom gedaen.*

**Two large paintings on canvas, the one of the defeat of the count of Bossu and the other, still larger, of various large ships, coming from Breda, both done by Mr. [Hendrick] Vroom.**

684b possibly Brussels 1618 “820 Une grande peinture de plusieurs navires peinct à l’huile sur toile...2000£.”

Possibly Inventaris van de Inboedel van het huis Ter Nieuwburg te Rijswijk 1702, “1 Twee groote hangende schilderijen, zijnde oorlogsschepen en galeyen op de zee, door Hendrick de Vroom anno 1621 met zwarte lijsten.

If the date of 1621 in the later inventory is accurate and refers to both paintings then neither can be the painting in Brussels 1618, inv. no. 820.

*De roode garderobbe.*

685 a, b, c, d (1930 OH, 259-262)

*Vier schilderijen van waterverwe verthoonende de twaelf maenden.*

**Four watercolor paintings representing the twelve months.**

Breda 1619, "290 elff doeckschilderije van waterverwe met lijsten, te weten de seven van de seven planeten ende vyer stucken van de twelff maenden van d'jaer, tesamen geestimeert op...22£"

686 a, b, c, d, e, f, g (1930 OH, 263-269)

*Seven schilderijen van waterverwe vertoonende de seven planeeten.*

**Seven watercolor paintings representing the seven planets.**

Breda 1619, "290 elff doeckschilderije van waterverwe met lijsten, te weten de seven van de seven planeten ende vyer stucken van de twelff maenden van d'jaer, tesamen geestimeert op...22£"

687 (1930 OH, 270)

*Een schilderije van Maurits, hertoch van Saxen.*

**A painting of Moritz, duke of Saxony [(1521-1553)].**

Moritz of Saxony (1521-1553) was the father of Anne of Saxony (1544-1577) and grandfather of Maurits of Orange-Nassau, after whom he was named.

688 (1930 OH, 271)

*Een schilderije in 't geheel, d'effigie van de gravinne van Bueren.*

**A painting in full length, the image of the countess of Buren [Anna van Egmont (1533-1558)].**

Anna van Egmont (1533-1558), Countess of Buren was the first wife of Willem I.

689 (1930 OH, 272)

*Een schilderije van de effigie van Rhené de Chalon, staende met een pardisaen.*

**A painting of the image of René de Chalons [(1519-1544), Prince of Orange], standing with a halberd.**

690 (1930 OH, 273)

*Een schilderije van een manspersoen hebbende een mantel gevoert met wit bont.*

**A painting of a man having a cloak lined with white fur.**

691 a, b (1930 OH, 274, 275)

*Twee kleyne schilderijen van onbekende heeren staende met d'order van 't gulde vlies.*

**Two small paintings of unknown gentleman shown with the order of the golden fleece.**

692 (1930 OH, 276)

*Een kleyn schilderije, onbekent, dragende eenen gouden ketting.*

**A small painting, unknown [sitter], wearing a golden chain.**

693 (1930 OH, 277)

*Noch een schilderije, onbekent, met een paer roode mouwen.*

**Another painting, unknown [sitter], with a pair of red sleeves.**

694 a, b (1930 OH, 278, 279)

*Twee schilderijen van Rhené de Chalons ende sijn gemael, staende in perfijl.*

**Two paintings of René de Chalons [(1519-1544), Prince of Orange] and his wife [Anna van Lotharingia (1522-1568)], shown in profile.**

695 (1930 OH, 280)

*Een schilderije representerende een Magdalena.*

**A painting representing a Magdalene.**

Three Magdalenes appear in Breda 1619, “394 Een schilderije van Magdalena...5£”, “562 Een schilderije van Maria Magdalena...18£”, and “788 Een Maria Magdalena met een ebben lijst...8£” This is likely one of them, appearing as it does in a section with portraits of old unidentified persons also possibly coming from Breda and Brussels.

696 (1930 OH, 281)

*Een schilderije van de dochter van den grooten Turck.*

**A painting of the daughter of the great Turk [Sultan Suliman II (1496-1566)]**

Possibly either Brussels 1618, “817 Item le pourtraict à l’huile d’une sultane...10£.” or “821 Le pourtraict d’une chambrière de Soliman peint à l’huile sure toile...36£.” Possibly AvS 1668, “1268 Een schilderije van een Moorinne.” in Noordeinde. Likely 1707, “4 Solimans dochter.” In de onder westgalerie.

697 (1930 OH, 282)

*Een schilderije in ‘t ronde van Adolph de Nassau, Roomsche keyser.*

**A round painting of Adolph of Nassau [(1250-1298)], [Holy] Roman emperor.**

*Het cantoor op de plaets bij de putt.*

704 a-z, aa, bb, cc, dd (1930 OH, 283-312)

*Dertich schilderijen van verscheyde oude coningen, cappiteynen ende andere heeren van Vranckrijck, Spangnien, Italiën ende andere landen, door meester Evert gecopieert.*

**Thirty paintings of various old kings, captains and other gentleman from France, Spain, Italy and other lands, copied by master Evert [Everard Quirijnsz. van der Maes].**

*Op de meubelsolders boven de nieuwe sael ende ‘t quartier van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>. liggen de naervolgende meubelen*

717

*Negen stucken tapitserijen met calommen op de zijden, d'istorij van Caeres, dwelcke zijn dienende tot wintertapijten op de slaepcamer van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**Nine pieces of tapestry with columns on the side, the story of Ceres, which are used as winter tapestries in the bedchamber of Her Excellency.**

718

*Thien stucken tapitseriën, d'istorij van Ulisses, dewelcke ordinarij gebruyckt zijn geweest op de nieuwe sael in 't Noorteynde.*

**Ten pieces of tapestry, the story of Ulysses, which ordinarily are used in the new room in the Noordeinde.**

Possibly Verpande Goederen Willem I 1572, "201 Historia von Ulyszes....10 stuck seinnd langk 265 elen zu 3 1/2 cron die ele...kr. 929 1/2." These tapestries were among the goods pawned by Willem I and if, or how, they might have been recovered by the Orange-Nassau is unknown (or perhaps they are another set of the same type).

719

*Thien stucken tapitserijen, d'istorij van verscheyden keysers ende crijchshelden, Josua, Julius Caesar, Godefroy Bouillon, Judas, daeronder 't stuck voor de schoorsteen daer d'effigie van prins Maurits hoochl. memorie incomp.*

**Ten pieces of tapestry, the history of various kings and military heros, Joshua, Julius Caesar, Godefroy de Bouillon, Juas [Maccabeaus], included under which is the piece for the chimney with the image of prince Maurits *in memorium*.**

720

*Acht stucken tapitseriën, lantschappen, verthoonende de vier getijden des jaers, dewelcke gebruyckt zijn gewest op d'slaepcamer van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>. in 't Noorteynde.*

**Eight pieces of tapestry, landscapes, representing the four seasons of the year, which are to be used in the bedchamber of Her Excellency in the Noordeinde.**

721

*Acht stucken tapitseriën, lantschappen, verciert met alderhande gedierte ende gevogelt, dewelcke ordinarij des winters gebruyckt worden op de garderobbe van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>., daeronder het schoorsteenmantelstuck 'twelck nu niet gebruyckt en wordt.*

**Eight pieces of tapestry, landscapes, decorated with all sorts of animals and birds, that ordinarily are used in winter in the wardrobe of Her Excellency, under them the chimneymantelpiece which now is not used and grown old.**

722

*Acht stucken tapitserijen, hoven ende landtschap, d'istorij van Pomona, die gebruyckt werden op de voorcamer van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>. op 't hoff.*

**Eight pieces of tapestry, courts and landscape, the story of Pomona, that were used in the antechamber of Her Excellency at the court [Stadholder's Quarters].**

Tapestries of Pomona appear in Brussels 1618, “765 Item les sept pièces de tapisserie de Pomone, en tout cent quatre-vingtz aulnes et demy à dix florins l’aulne, monte à...1805£.” (Seven pieces of tapestry of Pomona, in total one hundred eight ells and a half at ten florins per ell, comes to...1805£.)

723

*Acht stucken tapitseriën, bergeriën, dewelcke gebruyckt sijn geweest op de slaepcamer van Zijn Ex<sup>cie</sup>. in ‘t Noorteynde.*

**Eight pieces of tapestry, shepherdesses, which had been used in the bedchamber of His Excellency in Noordeinde.**

724

*Seven stucken tapitseriën, lantschappen met verscheyde personagen verciert, dewelck placht te dienen in ‘t Noorteynde in ‘t quartier van Zijne Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**Seven pieces of tapestry, landscapes decorated with various people, which are to serve in Noordeinde in the chambers of His Excellency.**

725

*Seven oude stucken tapitseriën, d’historij van Julius Caesar, dienende om noch te connen gebruycken.*

**Seven old pieces of tapestry, the history of Julius Caesar, that can be used.**

726

*Ses oude stucken tapitseriën, landschappen, petit Brabant.*

**Six old pieces of tapestry, landscapes, little Brabant.**

727

*Vier stucken, d’historij van Samson.*

**Four pieces [of tapestry], the story of Samson.**

728

*Een stuck tapitseriën van een blompot.*

**A piece of tapestry of a flower pot.**

729

*Ses oude stucken tapitseriën, d’historij van Hester.*

**Six old pieces of tapestry, the story of Esther.**

730

*Een stuck tapitserie, d’Ontschakinge van Helena.*

**One piece of tapestry, the abduction of Helen.**

731

*Twee oude fijne stucken tapitseriën van devotie vol persoonagien ende vol gouts gevrocht.*

**Two old fine pieces of tapestry of devotion full of people and made filled with gold.**

732

*Negen stucken tapitserie, soo groot als kleyn, van swart ende wit ende in 't midden met troniën, verciert met de wapenen van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>. hooger memorie, dienende tot rouwtapijten.*

**Nine pieces of tapestry, of various sizes, of black and white and in the middle with heads, decorated with the coats of arms of Her Excellency *in memorium* [Louise de Coligny], serving as mourning tapestries.**

733

*Twee stucken tapijten, vensterstucken, het een daer reyggers in comen ende het ander conijnen.*

**Two pieces of carpet, windowpieces, the one with deer and the other with rabbits.**

738

*Twaelf stucken tapitseriën van blaeww zijde, Turcx groffgreyn, met geele ende witte verheven bloemen verciert ende rontomme een zijde frengie van wit, geel ende blaeww, boven een fries van geknootte frengien van deselve couleur zijde.*

**Twelve pieces of tapestry of blue silk, Turkish design, decorated with yellow and white raised flowers and around a silk fringe of white, yellow and blue, above a frieze of knotted fringe of the same color silk.**

739

*Thien stucken tapitseriën van root satijn met verscheyde bloemen, de koleur nae 't leven, tusschenbeyden met banden van geel satijn met looffwerck ende bloemen verciert, boven ende beneden met eenen breeden boort van 'tselve satijn verciert met verscheyde coleuren ende looffwerck, welck mede is dienende tot de nieuwe slaepcamer van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**Ten pieces of tapestry of red satin with various flowers, the color after life, bound together with bands of yellow satin decorated with festoons and flowers, decorated above and below with a broad border of the same satin with various colors and festoons, which is also used for the new bedchamber of Her Excellency.**

781

*Een tafeltapijt van damast geborduert als voren, hiertoe acht stucken tapitseriën vol geborduert, de lijste rontomme met feuljage van wijngaertrancken, ende sijn verciert met de wapenen van mevrouwe de prinsesse hoochl. mem.*

**A table carpet of damask bordered as the previous [with fringe of gold and green silk], for this purpose eight pieces of tapestry fully bordered, the surrounding borders with foliage and grapevines, and are decorated with the coat of arms of lady the princess [Louise de Coligny] *in memorium*.**

872

*Een oudt dosseret van gout gefriseert laken, groote bloemen op rooden fluweelen grondt, daeromme een randt van violet fluweel daerop de wapenen van Chalon ende goude gevlochte koorden, daerbij een rabat van violet fluweel aen beyde sijde daer vogeltjens van gout op geborduert staen ende de wapenen van Nassauw en een sijde frenge, met noch een groot stuck om op een tabbernakel te dragen vol geborduerde goude vogelkens ende de drie wapenen van Nassauw.*

**An old dossal of gold frizzy cloth, large flowers on red velvet ground, around which a border of violet velvet on which the coat of arms of Chalon and gold braided cords, by which a border of violet velvt on both sides with birds of gold stand on borders and the Nassau coat of arms and a silk fringe, with also a large piece to decorate a tabernacle completely bordered with gold birds and the three Nassau coats of arms.**

873

*Een oudt dosseret van groen fluweel, rontomme geborduert met eenen rant van goudelaecken met een frenge van gout ende groene sijde rontomme, in 't midden de wapenen van Egmont ende Bueren.*

**An old dossal of green velvet, borderd around with a border of gold cloth with fringe of gold and green silk, in the middle the coats of arms of Egmont and Buren.**

Inventaris van het Kasteel te Buren 1619, [Addendum] Inventaris van lijwaet, tapisserijen ende behancksels, toirsereet als hyernaer volcht, dwelck Haere Fur. G. [Maria van Hohenlohe] gesonden heeft aen Sijn Exe. den prince van Oranigen [Filips Willem]. Actum den 16en September 1606 stilo novo, "2 Noch een groen fluweel toirsereet, geborduyert met gouldelaecken, mits de wapenen van Egmont ende Buren ende Lannoy."

Possibly Breda 1619, "509 Een dorset, geborduert mette wapenen van Bueren, Egmont ende IJselsteyn, van gruen fluweel ende goude banden...200£"

874

*Een stuck groove tapisseriën van negen bladen daer de wapenen van Nassauw in gevrocht staen, dienende om tegens een muer te spijckeren.*

**A piece of large tapestry of nine sheets there appear the crests of Nassau, serving to be nailed against the wall.**

876

*Een groot blasoen off wapen van Rhené de Chalon van gout ende silver gesneden ende geborduert, deurgesaeyt met hermijnen.*

**A large blazon or coat of arms of René de Chalons of gold and silver cut and bordered, set with ermine.**

920 (1930 OH, 313)

*Een schilderje van de coninginne van Bohemen in een ebben lijst, staende in een swarte casse.*

**A painting of the queen of Bohemia [Elisabeth Stuart (1596-1662)] in an ebony frame, placed in a black chest.**

944

*Veerthein stucken Chinesche off Indiaensche tapitseriën, soo groot als kleyn, van rouwe coleurde zijde versiert met verscheyden loofwerck ende gevogelt ende met gout gecyeert, daeronder vier stucken elck van een el off anderhalve lanck.*

**Fourteen pieces of Chinese or Indian tapestry, of various sizes, of mourning colored silk decorated with various festoons and birds and decorated with gold, under which four pieces each of one el or one and a half long.**

*Schilderijen staende op den achtersolder neffens de meubelsolder.*

976 (1930 OH, 314)

*Een schilderje van prins Willem hoochloffel. mem., sijnde noch tot Mr. Michiel, gedaen door Mr. De Visscher.*

**A painting of prince Willem [Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584)] in *memorium*, is also from Mr. [Jansz.] Michiel [Van Mierevelt], done by Mr. [Cornelis] De Visscher.**

Mierevelt's copy after De Visscher is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. 1579, and inscribed: *Faciem Huius ad principale Cornelii De Visscher fecit M. a Miereveld* (HdG1930 and D/LS).

977 (1930 OH, 315)

*Een schilderje van de princess Louyse, gedaen door Mr. De Visscher.*

**A painting of the princess Louise [Louise de Coligny (1555-1620)], done by Mr. [Cornelis] De Visscher**

978 (1930 OH, 316)

*Een schilderje van prins Maurits hoochloffel. mem. staende in een ebben lijst, gedaen door meester Michiel van Mierenvelt.*

**A painting of prins Maurits [Maurits of Orange-Nassau (1567-1625)] in *memorium* placed in an ebony frame, done by master Michiel [Jansz.] van Mierevelt.**

979 (1930 OH, 317)

*Een schilderje van prins Frederick Henrick door Mr. Michiel van Mierenvelt gedaen.*

**A painting of prins Frederik Hendrik [Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau (1584-1647)] done by Mr. Michiel [Jansz.] van Mierevelt.**

Possibly AvS 1673, "739 Een contrefeytsel van sijne hoogheyt hooghloffelijcker memorie prince Frederick Henrick, door Mons<sup>r</sup>. Mich.<sup>l</sup> Mirevelt gedaen." in Noordeinde, in de galderije aen haer hoogheys alcove. However AvS 1673, 740 of Amalie by Mierevelt is an apparent pendant and there is no such painting in the 1632 inventory.

980 (1930 OH, 318)

*Een schilderije van prins Philippe Guillaume hoochloffel. mem. door Mr. Michiel gedaen.*

**A painting of prince Filips Willem [Filips Willem of Orange-Nassau (1554-1618)] in memorium done by Mr. Michiel [Jansz. van Mierevelt].**

981 (1930 OH, 319)

*Een schilderije van de prinsesse sijn gemael door Mr. Michiel gedaen.*

**A painting of the princess his wife [Eleonora of Bourbon-Condé (1587-1619)] done by Mr. Michiel [Jansz. van Mierevelt].**

982 a, b, c (1930 OH, 320-322)

*Drie schilderijen, een van de gravinne van Hanauw ende de twee van haere dochters, door Mr. Ravesteyn gedaen.*

**Three paintings, one of the countess of Hanau and the two of her daughters, done by Mr. [Jan Anthonisz. van] Ravesteyn.**

Catharina Belgica of Orange-Nassau (1578-1648), daughter of Willem I and wife of Filips Lodewijk II (1576-1612) count of Hanau, and her two daughters Amalia Elisabeth (1602-1651) and Catharina Johanna (1604-1668); the portrait of Amalia Elisabeth is in the Mauritshuis, inscribed: *Anno 1617 fil de Hannau (D/LS)*.

983 (1930 OH, 323)

*Een schilderije van Hendrick de 4e, coninck van Vranckrijck, door Jan de Hooy gedean.*

**A painting of Henri IV [(1560-1610)], king of France, done by Jan de Hoey.**

Jan de Hoey (c. 1544/45-1615) was a grandson of Lucas van Leiden who worked in France (CHdG1930).

984 (1930 OH, 324)

*Een schilderije staende in een kasken, d'effigie van de princes van Condé met eenen ebben lijst door Mr. Michiel gedaen.*

**A painting placed in a chest, the image of the princes of Condé with an ebony frame done by Mr. Michiel [Jansz. van Mierevelt].**

985 a, b (1930 OH, 325, 326)

*Twee schilderijen d'een van den coninck van Bohemen ende d'ander van sijne coninginne, door Mr. Michiel gedaen.*

**Two paintings the one of the king of Bohemia [Frederik V (1596-1632)] and the other of his queen [Elisabeth Stuart (1596-1662)], done by Mr. Michiel [Jansz. van Mierevelt].**

986 (1930 OH, 327)

*Een schilderije van de reyne Margriette.*

**A painting of the queen Marguérite [de Valois (1553-1615)].**

Marguérite de Valois (1553-1615) was the daughter of King Henri II of France and wife of King Henri IV (1553-1610).

987 (1930 OH, 328)

*Een schilderje van sijne genade graeff Willem van Nassauw hoochloffel. mem., gouverneur van Vrieslandt.*

**A painting of his grace Willem [Willem Lodewijk (1560-1620)] of Nassau in memorium, governor of Friesland.**

988 a, b (1930 OH, 329, 330)

*Twee schilderijen, d'eene van Jacobus, coninck van Groot-Britaigne, ende d'ander van de coninginne.*

**Two paintings, the one of James [James I, Stuart (1566-1625)], king of Great Britain, and the other of the queen [Anne of Denmark (1574-1619)].**

989 (1930 OH, 331)

*Een schilderje van de prins van Wales.*

**A painting of the prince of Wales [Henry Frederik, Stuart (1594-1612)]**

990 (1930 OH, 332)

*Een schilderje van de prins van Wales' broeder, nu coninck van Groot-Britaigne.*

**A painting of the prince of Wales's brother, now king of Great Britain [Charles I, Stuart (1600-1649)]**

991 (1930 OH, 333)

*Een schilderje van Henrick de Grootte, coninck van Vranckrijck, in 't kleyn door Ferdinand gedaen.*

**A painting of Henri [Henri IV (1553-1610)] the Great, king of France, in miniature done by Ferdinand [Elle].**

D/LS, note 991, identified this "Ferdinand" as Ferdinand Elle.

992 (1930 OH, 334)

*Eene schilderje van de rheyne-mère, coninginne van Vranckrijck.*

**A painting of the queen-mother, queen of France [Marie de Medici (1573-1642)]**

993 (1930 OH, 335)

*Een schilderje van den heere van Tyligny.*

**A painting of the lord of Teligny [Charles (d. 1572)].**

Charles de Teligny (d. 1572) was the first husband of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620).

994 (1930 OH, 336)

*Een schilderje van Mons. de Vileroy.*

**A painting of Monsieur de Villeroy [Nicolas de Neufville, lord of Villeroy, (1542-1617)].**

995 (1930 OH, 337)

*Een schilderje van den hertoch van Montpensier.*

**A painting of the duke of Montpensier [Louis II de Bourbon (1513-1582)]**

Louis II de Bourbon (1513-1582) was the father of Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582), Willem I's third wife (HdG1930).

996 (1930 OH, 338)

*Een schilderij van madame de Loudrière, suster van den mareschal de Chastillon, door Ferdinand gedaen.*

**A painting of madame de Loudrière [Françoise (d. 1637)], sister of the marshall of Chatillon, done by Ferdinand [Elle].**

Françoise de Loudrière (d. 1627) was married to René de Talensac, seigneur of Loudrière; she was the daughter of François de Coligny, seigneur of Andelot (1521-1569) and Marguerite d'Ailly, and thus the great-niece of Gaspard I de Coligny, marshall of Chatillon, and niece of Gaspard II de Coligny (1526-1572), Admiral of France; she was a first cousin of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620) (HdG1930).

997 a, b (1930 OH, 339, 340)

*Een schilderij van den prince van Condé, connestable de France, met noch eene van zijne prinsesse.*

**A painting of the prince of Condé, constable of France, with also one of his princesses.**

No Prince of Condé before 1632 was constable of France; one was constable of Bourbon, and thus the painting is likely of this Charles II duke of Bourbon (1490-1527), not prince of Condé but son of Louis I of Bourbon Condé; married to a Susanne de Beaujeu (HdG1930 and D/LS).

998 (1930 OH, 341)

*Een stuck schilderij van madamme de Chastillon, huysvrouw van den mareschal.*

**A painting of madame of Chatillon [Louise de Montmorency (d. 1541)], wife of the marshall [Gaspard I de Coligny].**

999 (1930 OH, 342)

*Een stuck schilderij van de prinsesse van Conty.*

**A painting of the princess of Conti.**

Two possible identifications: Either Jeanne de Cosme (d. 1601) or Aloysia de Guise (d. 1631), first and second wives of François de Conti (HdG1930 and D/LS, favoring Jeanne de Cosme).

1000 (1930 OH, 343)

*Een stuck schilderij van de eerste vrouwe van den hertoch van Bouillon.*

**A painting of the first wife [Charlotte de la Marck (d. 1594)] of the duke of Bouillon [Henri de la Tour (1555-1623)].**

1001 a, b (1930 OH, 344, 345)

*Twee stucken schilderijen, het een den hertoch ende d'ander de hertoginne van Bouillon.*

**Two paintings, the one the duke and the other the duchess of Bouillon.**

Multiple possible identifications: Charlotte de la Marck (d. 1594) and her husband Henri de la Tour (1555-1623); or Henri de la Tour and his second wife Elisabeth of Orange-Nassau (1577-1642) (D/LS and HdG1930, who favors the latter). The entry could also refer to Robert van der Marck, duke of Bouillon and his wife Françoise de Bourbon (parents of Charlotte de la Marck). Though the Orange-Nassau wife may seem most likely, there are numerous portraits of Bourbons in the inventory and Charlotte and Elisabeth were both daughters of Bourbon mothers and also first cousins.

1002 (1930 OH, 346)

*Een stuck schilderij van een dochter van den prince van Liny, tegenwoordich gravinne van Nassau, door Mr. Michiel gedaen.*

**A piece of painting of a daughter [Ernestine Yslande de Ligne (1594-1668)] of the prince of Ligne [Lamoral de Ligne], presently countess of Nassau, done by Mr. Michiel [Jansz. van Mierevelt].**

Ernestine Yslande de Ligne was married to Jan VIII, count of Nassau-Siegen-Catzenelnbogen (1583-1638); a portrait of her by Ravesteyn (formerly attributed to Mierevelt) belongs to the Mauritshuis (HdG1930).

1003 (1930 OH, 347)

*Een schilderij van de huysvrouwe van den ambassadeur Charleton.*

**A painting of the wife [Anne Gerrard of Darney] of the ambassador [Sir Dudley Carleton [(1573-1632)].**

1004 (1930 OH, 348)

*Een schilderij van de hertoginne van Rohan.*

**A painting of the duchess of Rohan [Catherine Larchevêque de Parthenay]**

Catherine Larchevêque de Parthenay, divorced from Charles de Quelléneq, in 1575 and in the same year married René II, count of Rohan; she was a close friend of Louise de Coligny, who hoped Frederik Hendrik would marry the youngest Rohan daughter (D/LS, note 1004 and 1005).

1005 a, b, c (1930 OH, 349-351)

*Drie schilderijen van de dochters van de voorn. hertoginne.*

**Three paintings of the daughters of the aforementioned duchess [of Rohan, Catherine Larchevêque de Parthenay, namely Hennriette (1577-died young), Catherine (1578-1607), and Anne (1584-1646)].**

1006 a, b (1930 OH, 352, 353)

*Twee schilderijen van de soonen van de voorn. hertoginne.*

**Two paintings of the sons of the aforementioned duchess [of Rohan, Catherine Larchevêque de Parthenay, namely Henri (1579-1638) and Benjamin (1583-1642)].**

1007 (1930 OH, 354)

*Een schilderij van mevrouw Cicil.*

### **A painting of Lady Cecil**

Two identifications: Elisabeth Brook, wife of Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury (c. 1563-1612) (HdG1930); or Lady Cecil, wife of Edward Cecil (1572-1638) and court lady of Elisabeth of Bohemia (D/LS). The latter is preferable, as Edward Cecil served for years in Maurits's army and the Cecil couple accompanied the Bohemian couple throughout the Netherlands on their way from London to Heidelberg.

1008 a, b (1930 OH, 355, 356)

*Twee schilderijen, d'een van den grave van Leicester ende d'ander van zijn gemael.*

### **Two paintings the one of the Earl of Leicester [Robert Dudley (1533-1588)] and the other of his wife.**

Leicester had two wives, Amy Robsart (d. 1560) and Lettice Knollys, widow of the Earl of Essex; this entry most likely refers to the latter (HdG1930).

1009 (1930 OH, 357)

*Een schilderij van de prinses van Condé staende in een ebben lijst, door Mr. Michiel gedaen.*

### **A painting of the princess of Condé placed in an ebony frame, done by Mr. Michiel [Jansz. van Mierevelt].**

Multiple possible identifications: Eleonora of Bourbon (1587-1619), wife of Filips Willem (1554-1618) (HdG1930); or Charlotte de la Trémouille (1568-1629), wife of Henri I de Condé (1552-1588) or Charlotte de Montmorency (1594-1650) wife of Henri II of Condé, (1588-1646) (D/LS).

1010 (1930 OH, 358)

*Een schilderij van een constabel van Vranckrijck door Sotte Cleeff gedaen.*

### **A painting of a constable of France done by "Sotte Cleeff"**

"Sotte Cleeff" is either Corenlis van Cleve (1520-after 1570) or Joos van Cleve (?-1540/41).

1011 (1930 OH, 359)

*Een schilderij van de coninginne Elisabeth van Engelant.*

### **A painting of the queen Elizabeth [Elizabeth I, Tudor (1533-1603)] of England.**

1012 (1930 OH, 360)

*Een schilderij van den prins van Condé in zijn kinsheyt gedaen.*

### **A painting of the prince of Condé done in his childhood.**

Multiple possible identifications: Henri II (1588-1646) (HdG1930); or Henri I (1552-1588), who was raised by Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572) after the death of his father (D/LS).

1013 (1930 OH, 361)

*Een schilderij van een manspersoon ons onbekend.*

### **A painting of a man unknown to us.**

1014 a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i (1930 OH, 362-370)

*Negen oude groote caerten met waterverwe op doeck geschildert, sijnde Duytsche bataliën ende belegeringen.*

**Nine old large maps painted with watercolor on canvas, of German battles and sieges.**

*Volgen noch eenige meubelen in desen jaere 1632 gemaect ende aengecocht boven degene die heirvooren op desen inventaris op verscheyde plaetsen zijn bijgevoecht.*

**Following some further furnishing in this year 1632 made and purchased beyond those that were added earlier here in this inventory in different places.**

1090

*Noch een camertapitserije bestaende in acht stucken, sijnde bosschagien, ende geleverd bij Jan Raes in mangeling van eenich kerckwerck.*

**Also a room tapestry consisting of eight pieces, are forests, and delivered by Jan Raes in exchange for a church work.**

1091

*Noch vier groote costelijcke stucken tapitserën van vier graven van Nassauw met haere gravinnen te peerde sittende, beginne van Keyser Adolph den 2e, grave van Nassauw, seer rijckelijck met gout verciert.*

**Also four large costly pieces of tapestry of four counts of Nassau with their countesses on horseback, beginning with Emperor Adolph II, count of Nassau, very richly decorated with gold.**

The first four of the new set of *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries, delived 1632 (by the end of August). The remaining four, delivered sometime later (though still in 1632), are 1632 inv. no. 1119.

*Ick ondergeschreven Alexander le Clercq, concerge van beyde de hoven van Zijn Excie. mijnheere den prince van Orange etc., bekenne de voors. goederen te hebben in mijne bewaringe ende beloove deselve t' allen tijden te verantwoorden. Actum Hagae den lesten augusty 1632.*

*Ende was ondert. Alecxandre le Clerck. Accordeert met de principale J. sHerwouters, 1632.*

**I undersigned Alexander le Clercq, concierge of both of the courts of His Excellency my lord the prince of Orange, etc., know the preceding goods to have in my custody and promise to account for the same at all times. Acted [in] The Hague the last [day of] August 1632.**

**And was undersigned Alecxandre le Clerck. According to the principal J. sHerwouters, 1632.**

*Volgen noch eenige meubelen naer date van desen inventaris gemaect ende aengekocht.*

**Following also some furnishings made and purchased after the date of this inventory.**

1115 a, b (1930 OH, 371, 372)

*Twee stucken schilderïen, sijnde landschappen, deur Hercules Zegers gemaect.*

**Two paintings, of landscapes, made by Hercules Seghers.**

1119

*Vier groote costelijcke stucken tapytseriën van vier graven van Nassau met haere gemalen te peerde sittende, seer rijckelijck met gout verciert.*

**Four large costly pieces of tapestry of four counts of Nassau with their wives on horseback, very richly decorated with gold.**

The second four of the new set of *Nassau Genealogy* tapestries, delived between August and December 1632. The first four are (delivered before the end of August 1632) are 1632 inv. no. 1091.

1120

*Een houten schoorsteenbecleetsel, vergult op eenen rooden lacken groundt, op 't nieuwe cabinet van Sijne Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**A wood chimney covering, gilded on a red lacquer ground, for the new cabinet of His Excellency.**

1130

*Twee copere brandijsers met beelden ende figueren, daerop staende Mars ende Venus, uuyt Italiën gecomen.*

**Two copper fireirons with images and figures, on which are Mars and Venus, coming from Italy.**

1134

*Noch een paer copere brandijsers met figueren ende globen à l'antique, gecomen uuyt Engelandt.*

**Also a pair of coppoer fire irons with figures and globes à l'antique, coming from England.**

*Memorie van de meubilen in den jaere 1634 gemaect ende aengekocht, dye gestelt moeten werden op den inventaris van Alexander de Clerck.*

**Recollection of the furnishings made and purchased in the year 1634, that had to be placed in the inventory of Alexander le Clercq.**

1188 (1930 OH, 373)

*Een blompot met twee halve blompotten geschildert bij Swanenburch op paneelen dienende om te stellen in de schoorsteen op de nyeuwe camer van Zijn Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**A flowerpot with two half flowerpots painted by [Claes van] Swanenburgh on panel serving to be placed in the chimney of the new chamber of His Excellency.**

This “Swanenburch” likely refers to Claes van Swanenburgh (1572-1652), resident in The Hague, and not either his brother Jacob or father Isaac Nicolai (CHdG1930).

1189 (1930 OH, 374)

*Een blompott geschildert bij denselven Swanenburch op doeck, dienende om te stellen in de schoorsteen op de galderije van Zijn Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**A flowerpot painted by the same [Claes van] Swanenburgh on canvas, serving to be placed in the chimney of the gallery of His Excellency.**

This “Swanenburch” likely refers to Claes van Swanenburgh (1572-1652), resident in The Hague, and not either his brother Jacob or father Isaac Nicolai (CHdG1930).

1190 (1930 OH, 375)

*Een blompott met twee halve blompotten geschildert op doeck deur Swanenburch gedaen, dienende om te stellen in de schoorsteen op de slaepcamer van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**A flowerpot with two half flowerpots painted on canvas by [Claes van] Swanenburgh, serving to be place in the chimney of the bedchamber of Her Excellency.**

This “Swanenburch” likely refers to Claes van Swanenburgh (1572-1652), resident in The Hague, and not either his brother Jacob or father Isaac Nicolai (CHdG1930).

1191 (1930 OH, 376)

*Noch een blompot met twee havle blompotten geschildert op doeck deur Swanenburch gedaen, dienende om te stellen in de schoorsteen op de nyeuwe camer van Haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>.*

**Another flowerpot with two half flowerpots painted on canvas by [Claes van] Swanenburgh, serving to be placed in the chimney of the new chamber of Her Excellency.**

This “Swanenburch” likely refers to Claes van Swanenburgh (1572-1652), resident in The Hague, and not either his brother Jacob or father Isaac Nicolai (CHdG1930).

1246 (1930 OH, 377)

*Een schilderije sijnde de lantschap daerin commen vijff naecte beeldekens, het lantschap door Alexander Keyrincx ende de beeldekens door Poelenborch gedaen, gemaect om te dienen voor de schoorsteen op de slaepcamer van haere Ex<sup>cie</sup>. te Honsholredijk.*

**A painting of a landscape in which come five naked figures, the landscape is done by Alexander Keirincx and the figures by [Cornelis van] Poelenburch, made to serve in front of the chimney in the bechamber of Her Excellency at Honselaarsdijk.**

Possibly Hons. 1707, “69 Schoorsteenstuck van Poelenburg.” in the Cabinet [of the Queen’s chambers]. Though the description is minimal, the work referred to in 1707 is placed as a chimneypiece in the room with the 1635 *Pastor Fido* suite, nearby the

bedroom of the Queen, formerly Amalie's, for which its 1632 reference states it was originally intended.

Possibly Het Loo 1712, "84 Landschap van Kernie door Poelenburg gestoffeert...f50...60." in De groote galderie. This 1712 entry may alternatively refer to 1632 inv. nos. 81a or 81b].

This is a lone entry of a painting specifically destined for Honselaarsdijk and stored at the Noordeinde residence. In contrast, much of the fabric, hangings, and furnishings also stored there may have been likewise destined.

1247 (1930 OH, 378)

*Een contrefeytsel van René de Chalon in een binnen ende buyten ebben lijst, deur een Italiaens meester gedaen.*

**A portrait of René de Chalons in an inner and outer ebony frame, done by an Italian master.**

[1315 is the last entry of the inventory.]

## Appendix I.1

### Artists in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory

These are the names of the artists that appear in the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory. Artists names are written by first and last names but alphabetized by last name with life dates in parentheses ( ), followed by the 1632 inventory number(s) in which their names are mentioned (those numbers appearing in brackets [ ] indicate that this is the second artist's name mentioned in an individual inventory entry). Statistical tallies, a list of modern discrepancies with the 1632 attribution, and a list of anonymous works all follow.

Pieter Aertsen (1507/08-1575) – 142  
 Denys van Alsloot (before 1573-1625/26) – 64, 492  
 Balthasar van der Ast (1593/94-1657) – 217a, 217b  
 Hendrik van Balen (1575-1632) – 61, [65], 72, 110, 239, 240  
 Bartholomeus van Bassen (c. 1590-1652) – 54  
 Joachim Beuckelaer (c. 1533-1574) – [142]  
 Jan van Bijlert (c. 1597-1671) – 52a, 52b  
 Abraham Bloemaert (1566-1651) – 667  
 Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573-1621) – 252  
 Jan Brueghel (the Elder, 1568-1625) – 60, 65, [230], 243a, 243b  
 Paul Bril (1554-1626) – 62, 63  
 Daniël Cletcher (1599/1600-1632) – 91, 92, 251  
 Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638) – 78  
 Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) – 11, 25, 95, 190, 191, [218]  
 Ferdinand Elle (c. 1585-1637/40) – 991, 996  
 Franciabigio (1484-1525) – 120  
 Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629) – 629  
 Nicolaas de Gijsselaer (1583-1654/59) – 55  
 Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) – 85  
 Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) – 44, 50, 51, 66, 101, 102, 186, 223, 319, 611  
 Jan de Hoey (c. 1544/45-1615) – 983  
 Alexander Keirincx (1600-1652) – 81a, 81b, 1246 (all three in combination with Van Poelenburch)  
 François Knibbergen (c. 1597-after 1665) – 498a-m (13 paintings executed with other artists)  
 Pieter Lastman (1583-1633) – 53  
 Jan Lievens (1607-1674) – 82, 87, 89, [111], 496  
 Everard Quirijnsz. van der Maes (1577-1656) – 493, 704a-dd (30 portrait copies)  
 Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld (1567-1641) – 976, 978, 979, 980, 981, 984, 985a, 985b, 1002, 1009  
 Joos de Momper the Younger (1564-1635), presumably – 84  
 Pieter Moninckx (1606-1668) – 253  
 Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638) – 83, 231a, 231b, 231c, 234c  
 Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594/95-1667) – 59, 67, 69, 71, 74, 75, 79, [81a], [81b], 232, 233, 234b, [241], [1246]

Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn (c. 1570-1657) – 982a, 982b, 982c  
 Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (1606-1669) – 111, 219  
 Hans Rottenhammer I (1564-1625) – 73  
 Peter Rottermont (active 1632-1643) – 88  
 Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) – 94, 208, 218, 230, 516, 620  
 Roelandt Saverij (1576-1639) – 57, 236, 237, 241  
 Hercules Seghers (1589/90-c. 1638) – 1115a, 1115b  
 “Sotte Cleeff” [Cornelis van Cleve (1520-after 1570) or Joos van Cleve (c. 1540/41)]  
 – 1010  
 Hendrick van Steenwijck the Younger (c. 1580-1649) – 235a, 235b  
 Claes Isaacz. van Swanenburgh (1572-1652) – 357, 363, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191  
 Moyses Matheusz. van Uyttenbroeck (c. 1595-before 1647) – 86a, 86b  
 Cornelis de Visscher (c. 1520-1586) – [976 copy after], 977  
 Maarten de Vos (1532-1603) – 488  
 Hendrick Cornelisz. Vroom (1566-1640) – 56, 80, 632 (likely), 684a, 684b  
 Corenlis Claesz. van Wieringen (c. 1580-1633) – 179, 491

Total Artists named: 46

Total paintings by named artists: 165

(including 30 portraits of anonymous sitters and 13 battle scenes)

Named artists:

Dead before 1632: 14

Alive in 1632: 32

Italian: 1

French: 2

German: 1

Sixteenth-century Netherlandish: 5

Seventeenth-century Southern Netherlandish: 9

Seventeenth-century Northern Netherlandish: 29

(Northern and Southern Netherlandish are approximations given that artists of one origin spent their careers in the other location.)

Named artists listed with:

One painting: 18

Two paintings: 11

Three paintings: 3 (Cletcher, Keirincx, Ravesteyn)

Four paintings: 1 (Savery)

Five paintings: 5 (Brueghel, Moreelse, Lievens, Vroom)

Six paintings: 4 (Van Balen, Van Dyck, Rubens, Swanenburgh)

Ten paintings: 2 (Van Honthorst, Van Miereveld)

Thirteen paintings: 1 (Knibbergen, listed as “done by Knibbergen and others”)

Fourteen paintings: 1 (Van Poelenburch)

Thirty-one paintings: 1 (Van der Maes, portrait copies of unknown sitters)

Discrepancies between 1632 inventory and modern identification or additional modern attributions:

Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) – 241 (possibly instead of Van Poelenburch and Saverij)

Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601-1678) – 238 (possibly)

Frans Francken II (1581-1642) – 54 (with Van Bassen)

Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656) – 52a and 52b (instead of Van Bijlaert), 229, 248

Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638) – 234a (possibly)

Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594/95-1667) – 234c (possibly)

Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn (c. 1570-1657) – 1002 (instead of Van Miereveld)

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (1606-1669) – 82, 87, 89 (all instead of Lievens)

Roelandt Saverij (1576-1639) – 238 (possibly)

Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) – 673 (or studio)

Simon de Vos (1603-1676) – 58 (attributed to)

Paintings listed without artist's names (anonymous):

inv. nos. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 58, 68, 70, 76, 77, 90, 93, 96, 108, 109, 165, 214, 215, 216, 220, 221, 229, 234a, 238, 242, 243c, 244, 245a, 245b, 245c, 245d, 245e, 245f, 245g, 245h, 245i, 245j, 245k, 245l, 246a, 246b, 247, 248, 249, 250, 254, 278a, 278b, 396, 450, 451a, 451b, 481, 483, 484a, 484b, 484c, 484d, 485, 489, 490, 494a, 494b, 495, 497, 517, 518, 519, 520a, 520b, 520c, 520d, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 579a, 579b, 579c, 579d, 579e, 579f, 579g, 579h, 579i, 579j, 579k, 579l, 579m, 579n, 579o, 579p, 579q, 579r, 579s, 579t, 579u, 579v, 579w, 579x, 579y, 579z, 579aa, 579bb, 579cc, 579dd, 579ee, 579ff, 580, 584, 588a, 588b, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599a, 599b, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608a, 608b, 609, 624, 643, 651, 654, 664, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 683, 685a, 685b, 685c, 685d, 686a, 686b, 686c, 686d, 686e, 686f, 686g, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691a, 691b, 692, 693, 694a, 694b, 695, 696, 697, 920, 986, 987, 988a, 988b, 989, 990, 992, 993, 994, 995, 997a, 997b, 998, 999, 1000, 1001a, 1001b, 1003, 1004, 1005a, 1005b, 1005c, 1006a, 1006b, 1007, 1008a, 1008b, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014a, 1014b, 1014c, 1014d, 1014e, 1014f, 1014g, 1014h, 1014i, 1247 [Italian master]

Total anonymous paintings: 214

Total paintings in 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory (named artists and anonymous):  
379

## Appendix I.2

### Paintings in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory by Genre

Portraits have their own section of this appendix (Appendix I.3), listed by sitter. With other genres, sometimes two placements are possible, such as a landscape with a religious subject, or a work that could be either a landscape or a pastoral. The wording of the inventory entry was the guide in making these decisions.

Total Portraits: 199 (see Appendix I.3)

Paintings with named sitters: 115

inv. nos. 45, 46, 47, 48, 186, 191, 214, 216, 219, 220, 229, 246a, 247, 248, 250, 278a, 278b, 489, 490, 497, 517, 518, 519, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 579ee, 579ff, 580, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608a, 608b, 609, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 683, 687, 688, 689, 694a, 694b, 696, 697, 920, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982a, 982b, 982c, 983, 984, 985a, 985b, 986, 987, 988a, 988b, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997a, 997b, 998, 999, 1000, 1001a, 1001b, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005a, 1005b, 1005c, 1006a, 1006b, 1007, 1008a, 1008b, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1247

Paintings of unknown sitters: 84

inv. nos. 245a, 245b, 245c, 245d, 245e, 245f, 245g, 245h, 245i, 245j, 245k, 245l, 246b, 249, 520a, 520b, 520c, 520d, 579a, 579b, 579c, 579d, 579e, 579f, 579g, 579h, 579i, 579j, 579k, 579l, 579m, 579n, 579o, 579p, 579q, 579r, 579s, 579t, 579u, 579v, 579w, 579x, 579y, 579z, 579aa, 579bb, 579cc, 579dd, 690, 691a, 691b, 692, 693, 704a, 704b, 704c, 704d, 704e, 704f, 704g, 704h, 704i, 704j, 704k, 704l, 704m, 704n, 704o, 704p, 704q, 704r, 704s, 704t, 704u, 704v, 704w, 704x, 704y, 704z, 704aa, 704bb, 704cc, 704dd, 1013

[579a-dd: in a case, thirty small paintings with two known portraits (579ee, 579ff) are likely all miniature portraits]

Total History Paintings: 51

inv. nos. 11, 25, 44, 49, 53, 58, 59, 61, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94, 95, 101, 102, 108, 109, 110, 111, 120, 165, 190, 208, 218, 232, 233, 234c, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 254, 481, 516, 620, 667, 695

Religious: 18

inv. nos. 53, 59, 61, 76, 77, 79, 85, 87, 90, 94, 101, 108, 109, 110, 111, 165, 236, 695

Ancient History: 2

inv. nos. 218, 516

Mythology: 25

inv. nos. 11, 44, 49, 58, 71, 72, 73, 74, 82, 83, 88, 95, 102, 120, 208, 232, 233, 234c, 237, 238, 239, 240, 254, 481, 620

Literature: 2

inv. nos. 25, 667

Miscellaneous or Unidentified Subjects: 4

inv. nos. 75, 78, 89, 190

Total Pastorals: 8

inv. nos. 52a, 52b, 96, 223, 231a, 231b, 231c, 242

Total Land- Sea- and City- scapes: 50

Landscapes: 27

inv. nos. 57, 62, 63, 67, 69, 70, 81a, 81b, 84, 86a, 86b, 93, 221, 230, 241, 243a, 243b, 243c, 251, 253, 363, 451a, 451b, 643, 1115a, 1115b, 1246

Seascapes and Riverscapes: 9

inv. nos. 56, 80, 244, 491, 494a, 494b, 632, 684a, 684b

Cityscapes: 14

inv. nos. 492, 498a, 498b, 498c, 498d, 498e, 498f, 498g, 498h, 498i, 498j, 498k, 498l, 498m [498a-m views of new world cities]

Battle paintings: 12

inv. nos. 91, 92, 179, 1014a, 1014b, 1014c, 1014d, 1014e, 1014f, 1014g, 1014h, 1014i [1014a-i, maps with watercolor of sieges and battles]

Genre: 26

inv. nos. 50, 51, 54, 55, 64, 66, 68, 142, 234a, 234b, 235a, 235b, 319, 357, 396, 485, 488, 496, 584, 611, 624, 629, 651, 654, 664, 670

Still Lifes: 10

inv. nos. 60, 65, 217a, 217b, 252, 450, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191

Miscellaneous: 23

inv. nos. 215, 483, 484a, 484b, 484c, 484d [four elements], 493, 495 [unidentified], 588a, 588b, 599a, 599b, 685a, 685b, 685c, 685d [four seasons], 686a, 686b, 686c, 686d, 686e, 686f, 686g [seven planets]

### Appendix I.3 Portrait Sitters in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory

The known sitters listed in the 1632 Orange-Nassau inventory are organized in categories below; information includes: sitters name, title as appropriate (life dates), spouse and parents as appropriate – 1632 inv. no. [artist, if known]

#### Orange-Nassau (primary line)

- Adolph, Count of Nassau, Holy Roman Emperor (c. 1250-1298) – 697
- Hendrik III of Nassau (1483-1538) – 278a
- Wife of Hendrik III of Nassau (1483-1538) [either Françoise of Savoy (d. 1511), Claudia of Chalons and Orange (1498-1521), or Mencia de Mendoza y Fonseca (1508-1544)] – 278b
- René de Chalons, Prince of Orange (1519-1544) – 689, 694a, 1247 [Italian master]
- Anna of Lotharingia, Princess of Orange (1522-1568), wife of René de Chalons (1519-1544) – 694b
- Willem I, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc. (1533-1584) – 45, 976 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld after Cornelis de Visscher]
- Anne of Egmont, Countess of Buren, Princess of Orange (1533-1558), first wife of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) – 688
- Louise de Coligny, Princess of Orange (1555-1620), fourth wife of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) – 46, 596, 977 [Cornelis de Visscher]
- Filips Willem, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc. (1554-1618) – 490, 601, 675, 980 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]
- Eleonore of Bourbon-Condé (1587-1619), wife of Filips Willem of Orange-Nassau (1554-1618) – 981 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]
- Maurits, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc. (1567-1625), 978 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]
- Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc. (1584-1647) – 186 [Gerrit van Honthorst], 979 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]
- Amalie von Solms-Braunfels, Princess of Orange (1602-1675), wife of Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau (1584-1647) – 48, 219 [Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn]
- Willem II, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc. (1626-1650) – 229, 250
- Louise Henrietta of Orange-Nassau (1627-1667), wife of Freidrich Wilhelm of Hohenzollern, Elector of Brandenburg (1620-1688), daughter of Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau (1584-1647) and Amalie von Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675) – 229
- Princess of Orange-Nassau (daughter of Frederik Hendrik and Amalie), either: Henrietta Amalia of Orange-Nassau (1628, born and died), Elisabeth of Orange-Nassau (1630, born and died), or Isabella Charlotte of Orange-Nassau (1632-1642) – 229

Orange-Nassau extended family (including husbands of Orange-Nassau women)

- Willem Lodewijk, Count of Nassau (1560-1620), and husband of Anna of Orange-Nassau (1563-1588), who was daughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his second wife Anna of Saxony (1544-1577) – 580, 987
- Louise Julianna of Orange-Nassau (1576-1644), wife of Frederik IV, Elector Palatine (1574-1610), and daughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582) – 521, 605
- Elisabeth of Orange-Nassau (1577-1642), second wife of Henri de la Tour, Duke of Bouillon, Prince of Sedan (1555-1623), and daughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582) – 247, and possibly 1001b
- Charlotte de la Trémouille (1599-1646), wife of James Stanley, Lord Strange, daughter of Claude de la Trémouille, Duke of Thouars (1566-1604), and Charlotte Brabantina of Orange-Nassau (1580-1631), and granddaughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582) – 248
- Claude de la Trémouille, Duke of Thouars (1566-1604) – 603
- Duchess of Schwarzburg: Catharina van Nassau (1543-1624), married to Günther von Schwarzburg (d. 1583) or Johann Günther von Schwarzburg (d. after 1597), or Juliana van Nassau (1546-1588) married to Albrecht VII von Schwarzburg (1537-1605); both were sisters of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) – 595
- Count of Hohenlöhe: Wolfgang or, more likely, Philip (1550-1606), husband of Maria of Orange-Nassau (1556-1616), daughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his first wife Anne of Egmont (1533-1558) – 602
- Filips Lodewijk II, Count of Hanau-Münzenberg (1576-1612) or Hendrick Lodewijk (1609-1632), respectively husband and son of Catherina Belgica of Orange Nassau (1578-1648), daughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582) – 220
- Catherina Belgica of Orange-Nassau (1578-1648), wife of Filips Lodewijk of Hanau-Münzenberg (1576-1612), and daughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his first wife Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582) – 982a [Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn]
- Amalia Elizabetha of Hanau-Münzenberg (1602-1651), daughter of Filips Lodewijk of Hanau-Münzenberg (1576-1612) and Catherina Belgica of Orange-Nassau (1578-1648), granddaughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582) – 982b [Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn]
- Catherina Juliana of Hanau-Münzenberg (1604-1668), daughter of Filips Lodewijk of Hanau-Münzenberg and Catherina Belgica of Orange-Nassau (1578-1648), and granddaughter of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582) – 982c [Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn]
- Ernestine Yslande de Ligne (1594-1668), wife of Jan VIII van Nassau-Siegen (1583-1638) – 1002 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]

## De Coligny

- Louise de Montmorency (d. 1541), wife of Gaspard I de Coligny, Marshall de Châtillon – 517, 998
- Gaspard II de Coligny, seigneur de Châtillon, Admiral of France (1519-1572) – 489, 519, 589, 598
- Charlotte de Laval (1530-1568), wife of Gaspard II de Coligny (1519-1572) – 519
- Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Châtillon (1517-1571) – 489, 590
- François de Coligny, Seigneur d'Andelot (1521-1569) – 489, 591
- Anne de Coligny, possibly daughter of François de Coligny (1521-1569) and a cousin of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620) – 604
- Four brothers Coligny (2 possibilities) – 683
- Françoise (de Coligny) de Loudrière (d. 1637) wife of René de Talensac, seigneur of Loudrière, and daughter of François de Coligny (1521-1569) and Marguerite d'Ailly – 996 [Ferdinand Elle]

## French Royalty

- Henri III, King of France (1551-1589, reigned 1574-1589) – 607
- Henri IV, King of France (1553-1610, reigned 1589-1610) – 216, 579ee, 592, 983 [Jan de Hoey], 991 [Ferdinand Elle]
- Marguerite de Valois (1553-1615), first wife of Henri IV (1553-1610) – 986
- Marie de Medici (1573-1642), second wife of Henri IV (1553-1610) – 191 [Anthony van Dyck], 992
- Louis XIII, King of France (1601-1643, reigned 1610-1643) – 579ff, 593

## English Royalty

- Elizabeth I (Tudor), Queen of England (1533-1603, reigned 1558-1603) – 1011
- James I (Stuart), King of England (1566-1625, reigned 1603-1625) – 600, 988a
- Anne of Denmark, Queen of England (1574-1619), wife of James I (1566-1625) – 988b
- Henry Frederik (Stuart), Prince of Wales (1594-1612) – 606, 989
- Charles I (Stuart), King of England (1600-1649, reigned 1625-1649) – 990

## Spanish Royalty

- Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500-1558, reigned 1519-1556) – 671
- Philip II, King of Spain (1527-1598, reigned 1555-1598) – 672
- Isabella Clara Eugenia, Infanta and Archduchess (1566-1633), wife of Albrecht, Archduke of Austria (1559-1621), and daughter of Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) – 673
- Philip III, King of Spain (1578-1621, reigned 1598-1621) – 674

### Other European Royalty

- Friedrich V, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia (1596-1632, reigned 1619-1620), son of Freidrich IV, Elector Palatine (1574-1610) and Louise Juliana of Orange-Nassau (1576-1644), grandson of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) and his third wife Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582), and nephew of Maurits of Orange-Nassau (1567-1625) and Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau (1584-1647) – 985a [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]
- Elizabeth (Stuart), Electress Palatine, Queen of Bohemia (1596-1662), daughter of James I of England (1566-1625) and Anne of Denmark (1574-1619) – 47, 214, 920, 985b [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]

### French Nobility

- Catherine Henriette Balzac d'Entragues (1579-1633) – 246a
- Prince of Condé – likely Louis I de Bourbon (1530-1569) – 597, 608a
- Prince of Condé – likely Henri I de Bourbon (1552-1588) – 608b, 1012
- Princess of Condé – multiple identifications: Eleonore of Bourbon-Condé (1587-1619), wife of Filips Willem of Orange-Nassau (1554-1618); Eleonore de Roye, wife of Louis I of Bourbon Condé (1530-1569); Charlotte de Montmorency (1594-1650) wife of Henri II of Condé (1588-1646) – 518, 984 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld], 1009 [Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld]
- Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Soissons (1566-1612) – 609
- Charles de Taligny (d. 1572), first husband of Louise de Coligny (1555-1620) – 993
- Nicolas de Neufville de Vileroy (1542-1617) – 994
- Louis II de Bourbon, Duke Montpensier (1513-1582), father of Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582), who was the third wife of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) – 995
- Charles III, Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France (1490-1527) – 997a
- Françoise d'Alençon (Bourbon), wife of the Constable of France – 997b
- Jeanne de Cosme, Princess Conti (d. 1601) – 999
- Charlotte de la Marck (1574-1594), first wife of Henri de la Tour, Duke of Bouillon, Prince of Sedan (1555-1623) and niece of Charlotte de Bourbon (1546-1582), who was the third wife of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) – 1000
- Duke of Bouillon – 594, 1001a
- Duchess of Bouillon – 1001b
- Catherine Larchevêque de Parthenay, Duchess of Rohan – 1004
- Henrietta of Rohan (b. 1577) – 1005a
- Catherine of Rohan (1578-1607) – 1005b
- Anne of Rohan (1584-1642) – 1005c
- Henri II de Rohan-Gié (1579-1638) – 1006a
- Benjamin de Rohan, Duke de Soubise (1583-1642) – 1006b
- Constable of France (unknown) – 1010 [Sotte Cleeff]

## British Nobility

- George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628) – 522
- Henry Rich, Earl of Holland (1590-1649) – 524
- Henry Vane (1589-1655) – 525
- Anne (Saville) Gerrard of Darney, wife of Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester (1573-1632), – 1003
- Lady Cecil, wife of Edward Cecil (1572-1638) – 1007
- Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532-1588) – 1008a
- Countess of Leicester – 1008b

## Miscellaneous

- Don Ambrogio de Spínola (1569-1630) – 523
- Moritz I, Elector of Saxony (1521-1553), father of Anna of Saxony (1544-1577), who was the second wife of Willem I of Orange-Nassau (1533-1584) – 687
- Turkish Princess, daughter of Sultan Suliman II (1496-1566) – 696
- Pieter Pietersz. Heyn (1577-1629) – 497
- Cardinal Richelieu (Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, 1585-1642) – 526

## Paintings of unknown sitters:

inv. nos. 245a, 245b, 245c, 245d, 245e, 245f, 245g, 245h, 245i, 245j, 245k, 245l [245a-l: kings and great of France], 246b, 249, 520a, 520b, 520c, 520d [520a-d: French gentlemen], 579a, 579b, 579c, 579d, 579e, 579f, 579g, 579h, 579i, 579j, 579k, 579l, 579m, 579n, 579o, 579p, 579q, 579r, 579s, 579t, 579u, 579v, 579w, 579x, 579y, 579z, 579aa, 579bb, 579cc, 579dd [579a-dd: in a case, thirty small paintings with two known portraits (579ee, 579ff) – likely all miniature portraits], 690, 691a, 691b, 692, 693, 704a, 704b, 704c, 704d, 704e, 704f, 704g, 704h, 704i, 704j, 704k, 704l, 704m, 704n, 704o, 704p, 704q, 704r, 704s, 704t, 704u, 704v, 704w, 704x, 704y, 704z, 704aa, 704bb, 704cc, 704dd [704a-dd: various old kings, captains and other gentlemen from throughout Europe copied by Everard Quirijnsz. van der Maes], 1013

Named sitters (if not all exactly identified): 85

Paintings of named sitters: 115

Paintings of unknown sitters: 84

Total portraits: 199

Named sitters alive in 1632: 25

Named sitters dead in 1632: 45

Named sitters dead or alive in 1632 unknown: 15

Number of named sitters represented in:

5 paintings: 1 (Henri IV, King of France)

4 paintings: 3 (Filips Willem, Prince of Orange; Gaspard II de Coligny; Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia)

3 paintings: 4 (René de Chalons, Prince of Orange; Louise de Coligny, Princess of Orange; “Princess of Condé” – which could refer to more than one sitter)

2 paintings: 14

1 painting: 62

Paintings of known sitters with attributed artists: 21

inv. nos. 186, 191, 219, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982a, 982b, 982c, 983, 984, 985a, 985b, 991, 996, 1002, 1009, 1010

Number of artists with paintings of known sitters: 9

Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld – 10 paintings

Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn – 3 paintings

Ferdinand Elle – 2 paintings

Cornelis de Visscher – 1 painting (and one copy after)

“Sotte Cleef”, Anthony van Dyck, Jan de Hoey, Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn,

Gerrit van Honthorst – 1 painting each

#### Appendix I.4 Tapestries in the 1632 Orange-Nassau Inventory

The following list includes all tapestries as well as various wall hangings that have some decorative element (often of linen and damask cloth with flowers or coats of arms). Alternatively, fabric wall hangings without any decoration are not included as they are not part of the court's artistic activity as much as its growing consumption of luxury goods. "Tapijten" [carpets] for a table, floor, or chest are also not included (but those "tapijten" hanging on walls are).

inv. no. (# of pieces in cycle), brief description

10 (6)	Forests with birds and animals, "fine Brussels tapestries"
24 (8, 7 used)	Vertumnus and Pomona
118 (9)	Hercules
119 (1)	A hunt of shepherds
128 (7)	Julius Caesar
140 (12)	Various hunts
148a (6)	Perseus
148b (2)	Unknown history
168 (10)	Julius Caesar
180 (6)	not nspecified ("old" and "little value")
188 (7, 6 used)	Phaeton
318 (11)	White satin bordered with fruit and flowers, summer tapestries
336 (10)	Indian hanging of white satin with border of colorful birds
337 (1)	Dossal of white satin with border of colorful birds
353 (9, 8 used)	Pomona
361 (7)	Alexander
366 (6)	Various hunts and forests
394 (7)	Forests and hunt ("old")
432 (?)	Velvet carpets (tapijten) with gold and silver ("old" and "threadbare")
717 (9)	Ceres, in storage, used as winter tapestries for bedchamber of Amalie [at the Stadholder's Quarters]
718 (10)	Ulysses, in storage, used for the "Nieuwe Saal" of Noordeinde
719 (10)	Nine Heroes (with Maurits as tenth), in storage
720 (8)	Landscapes with seasons, in storage, for the bedchamber of Amalie in Noordeinde
721 (8)	Landscapes with animals and birds, in storage, winter tapestries for the wardrobe of Amalie
722 (8)	Courts and landscape with story of Pomona, in storage, used for the antichamber of Amalie at the Stadholder's Quarters
723 (8)	Shepherdesses, in storage, used for the bedchamber of Frederik Hendrik in Noordeinde
724 (7)	Landscapes with figures, in storage, used in chambers of Frederik Hendrik in Noordeinde
725 (7)	Julius Caesar, in storage, ("old")

- 726 (6) Landscapes, in storage, (“old”)  
 727 (4) Samson, in storage  
 728 (1) Flower pot, in storage  
 729 (6) Esther, in storage (“old”)  
 730 (1) Abduction of Helen, in storage  
 731 (2) “devotions” full of people, in storage (“old, fine pieces”)  
 732 (9) Mourning tapestries in black and white with images and coats of arms, in storage (for the funeral of Louise de Coligny)  
 733 (2) Window carpets (tapijten) of deer and rabbits, in storage  
 738 (12) Blue silk with yellow and white flowers, in storage  
 739 (10) Red satin with various flowers of natural color, in storage, for the new bedchamber of Amalie [at the Stadholder’s Quarters]  
 781 (8) Bordered with foliage and decorated with the coat of arms of Louise de Coligny, in storage  
 872 (1) Dossal of velvet and gold with coats of arms of Chalons and Nassau, in storage, (“old”)  
 873 (1) Dossal of green velvet and silk with the coats of arms of Egmont and Buren, in storage, (“old”)  
 874 (9) Tapestry with Nassau coats of arms, in storage  
 876 (1) Blazon with coat of arms of Chalons in gold and silver bordered with ermine, in storage  
 944 (14) Chinese or Indian silk tapestries, decorated with birds and festoons, in storage  
 1090 (8) Forests, delivered by Jan Raes in 1632  
 1091 (4) Four counts of Nassau with their wives on horseback [*Nassau Genealogy*] (“large, costly...very richly decorated with gold”), acquired in 1632  
 1119 (4) Four counts of Nassau with their wives, on horseback [*Nassau Genealogy*] (“large, costly, very richly decorated with gold”), acquired between August and December 1632

Total number of “tapestries”: 47

History: 18

Hunts: 4

Forests/Landscapes/Birds/Animals/Flowers: 15

Miscellaneous: 5

Wall Hanging of Coat of Arms: 5

On display: 19

In storage (in August): 32

In storage with an intended location recorded: 8

Delivered in 1632: 3

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