



The 1828 Sale of Paintings from the Rijksmuseum

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Selection, choosing quality, deaccessioning and disposal are terms that sounded positive and even progressive in the Dutch museum world of the nineteen-nineties, along with concepts like collection mobility, collection strategy and the *collectie Nederland* national collection. They give the outsider the mistaken impression that the Dutch museums' collecting passion led to an unmanageable accumulation of collections – a phenomenon that could only be kept in check by the *Deltaplan*, an official government cultural preservation plan for the museums that was in force from 1990 to 1995. The introduction of these new ideas also swept away the taboo on the disposal and sale of works that had been given to museums or acquired with government funds. It seems that the Dutch government and the museums, in part thanks to 'museological guidelines' in this area, were more cavalier with these things than ever before. Museums cleared out works of art that no longer fitted in their collection profile by selling them.¹

With this in mind, it is worth looking back at the earliest example of a disposal by Dutch national museums: the sale of surplus paintings, as they were called then, from the Rijksmuseum and from the Mauritshuis, the royal picture gallery in The Hague, on 4 August 1828 in Amsterdam.²

Detail of fig. 5

The evidently rather inferior 64 paintings from The Hague fetched a paltry 1,100 guilders, whereas the 46 paintings from the Rijksmuseum realized almost 23,000 guilders. The proceeds of the sale were to be used to purchase Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp* (fig. 1), which was offered at the same sale by the Amsterdamse Chirurgen's Weduwe-fonds (Amsterdam Surgeons' Widows Fund). The sale of the Rembrandt did not take place because at that time the king was in negotiations with the owner about acquiring it: King William I bought the painting for 32,000 guilders in the same month and it was hung in the Mauritshuis.

Fig. 1

REMBRANDT
VAN RIJN, *The
Anatomy Lesson of
Dr Nicolaes Tulp*, 1632.
Canvas, 169.5 x 216.5 cm.
The Hague, Maurits-
huis.



At first sight this historic sale of publicly-owned paintings appears to chime with the modern idea of a Dutch national collection and would even meet the current criteria for disposal, since the proceeds were to be used to acquire a new work of vital importance. Nevertheless the course of events made successive directors of the Rijksmuseum extremely bitter, because the painting that was acquired went to the Mauritshuis while the Rijksmuseum had had to make the greatest sacrifice. The king himself had suggested the sale of surplus paintings from the Rijksmuseum, and Cornelis Apostool, the director of the museum at that time, took it that this sale would provide him with funds for making new purchases.³ Contrary to what has often been assumed until now, the sale of the paintings from the Rijksmuseum and the Mauritshuis had already been planned before it was known that *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp* would be coming on to the market.⁴

We will examine the nature of and the background to the sale of the Rijksmuseum paintings, which reduced the number of paintings in the museum by 10% to something over 400, because it provides a good picture of what people at the time thought the national picture collection should be. It should be pointed out that the growth of the national picture collection in the early nineteenth century had been a fairly random process. When the immediate forerunner of the Rijksmuseum opened as the Nationale Konst-Gallerij in Huis ten Bosch in 1800, it was able to show fewer than 200 paintings, most of them from the stadholders' collections or government-owned. Within five years, purchases and gifts had pushed this number up to 315, 250 of which were moved to Amsterdam in 1808 when the Koninklijk Museum was founded. In 1808 and 1809, under the rule of King Louis Bonaparte, the museum, then in the former town hall on the

Dam, experienced an unprecedented period of growth and the painting collection almost doubled in size. Thanks to seven spectacular loans from the city of Amsterdam – including the *Night Watch* – and the purchase of more than 230 paintings from the Van der Pot (63), Van Heteren (137) and Bicker (9) collections and elsewhere, the Koninklijk Museum was in a position to provide a reasonably comprehensive view of the Netherlandish painting of the Golden Age.⁵

With the brief catalogue published by Cornelis Apostool in the autumn of 1809 this collection was more or less closed, and purchases were only added to it in dribs and drabs in the decades that followed.⁶ Both the unpretentious accommodation of the museum – from



1817 to 1885 no longer in the royal palace but in six rooms of the Trippenhuis – and the sporadic opportunities that the government offered the museum to acquire new works forced Cornelis Apostool (fig. 2), who remained director until his death in 1844, to pursue only modest ambitions.

After Apostool had organized the collection in the Trippenhuis in 1817 he wrote a long and detailed letter to the Commissioner General in which he described the display. He also set out three lists specifying which artists were missing from the museum, which artists had no representative work and which paintings in the collection were not good enough to be shown. He was working on the assumption that the museum should present a complete overview of the painting of the Northern and Southern Netherlands in which every artist of significance was represented by a characteristic work. In her study of the Rijksmuseum's collecting policy in the nineteenth century, Ellinoor Bergvelt comprehensively analyzed and recorded Apostool's thoughts and those of his colleague at the Mauritshuis about purchasing. Unfortunately his ambition to improve the quality of the collection and acquire representative paintings by all the important Dutch and Flemish artists received only limited support from King William I. Consequently the purchases advocated by Apostool, such as Vermeer's *View of Delft* in 1822 and Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* in 1828, went to the Mauritshuis in The Hague and not to the Rijksmuseum.

As early as 1817 Apostool had corresponded with the minister about the possibility of selling the paintings that were not good enough to be shown in the Trippenhuis. He envisaged using the proceeds to acquire works by artists who were still not represented in the museum. The exchange of paintings between the Mauritshuis and the Rijksmuseum in 1825 was in line with

this aspiration for a more representative overview of Netherlandish art in the two museums. One painting by Rubens and one by Anthony van Dyck ended up in the Rijksmuseum and works by a number of Dutch painters, among them Backhuijsen, Pijnacker and Jacob van Ruisdael, went from Amsterdam to the Mauritshuis. Amsterdam also exchanged Paulus Potter's *Bear Hunt* for the *Massacre of the Innocents* by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem.⁷

Most of the paintings that were exchanged, some of which were among the 'surplus' paintings the Mauritshuis was to sell three years later, had been exhibited in the Trippenhuis. Five of the 46 paintings from the Rijksmuseum that were sold on 4 August 1828 (see appendix) are not to be found in any of the catalogues published between 1809 and 1827; clearly from the moment of receipt they were regarded as inferior and kept separately. This was in fact true of most of the paintings from the Mauritshuis sold in 1828. The paintings that Apostool considered unfit to hang in the Trippenhuis had already been left out of the 1816 catalogue.⁸ However, the majority of the paintings sold in 1828 can still be found in the *Aanwijzing* of 1827. An interleaved copy of this catalogue in which there are notes in pencil about which paintings were 'finest quality' and 'first quality', and which could be sold – 'this work should be sold, will be sold' – provides a good insight into Apostool's judgements.⁹ The proceeds of the sale of the paintings were noted alongside them in pen and ink (fig. 3). These notes also reveal that some of the paintings listed in the 1827 catalogue had not been exhibited for a while; they were 'in the attic, in the storeroom' and the like.

Almost all the good Rijksmuseum paintings in the sale were by seventeenth-century Dutch artists who were represented in the collection by

Fig. 2

PAUL JOSEPH
GABRIËL, *Cornelis
Apostool (1762-1844),
c. 1817. Marble, h. 57
cm. Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
BK-B-12).*

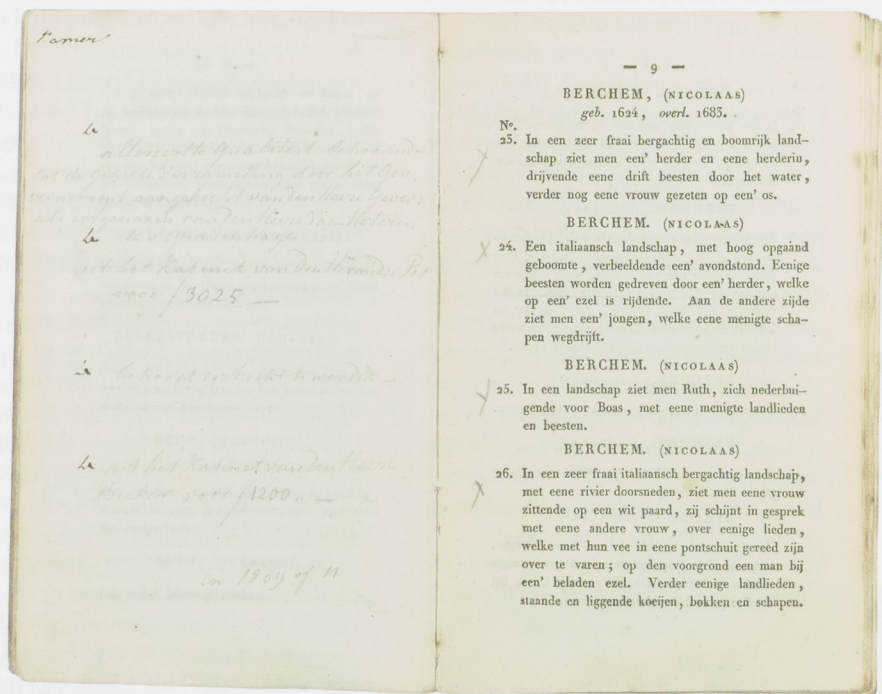
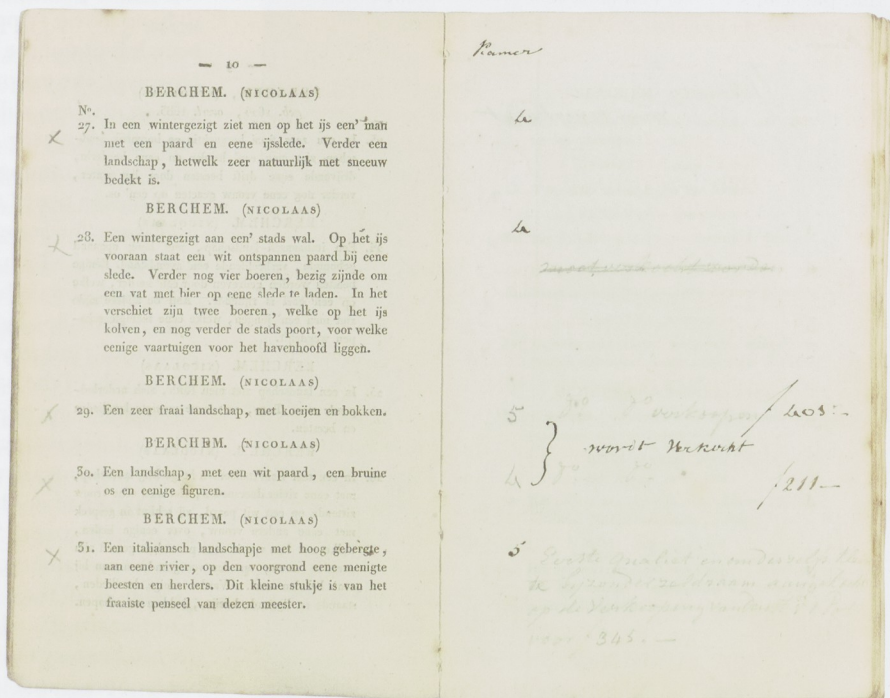


Fig. 3
Four pages from
the interleaved copy
with notes from
the *Aanwijzing
der schilderijen,
berustende op
's Rijks Museum te
Amsterdam* of 1827,
pp. 9-10 (Berchem).





a number of works¹⁰ – more than ten in the case of Nicolaas Berchem and Philips Wouwerman! For the most part these were cabinet pictures that originated from the Van Heteren Collection acquired in 1809; two works had been purchased in the 1808 Van der Pot sale. It is conceivable that paintings with a Van Heteren provenance were chosen in the first instance because this collection had been purchased *en bloc* and so there had been no process of selection.

Although the provenance of the paintings was not given in the 1828 sale catalogue, it is likely that the majority of the visitors on the viewing days knew that they had come from the Trippenhuys. Without doubt this knowledge also contributed to the high prices that a number of the works fetched. Both the auctioneer Jeronimo de Vries and Apostool were taken aback by the high sale prices and hastened to apologize to the minister for their low estimates. Apostool pointed out that only a few of the paintings in the museum by important artists ('top masters') had been sold.¹²

It is not surprising that the paintings by these 'top masters' realized the highest prices. Where it has proved

possible to identify the paintings that were sold, we can in most cases subscribe to Apostool and De Vries's view that only minor pieces by the artists who were well represented in the Trippenhuys were sold.

One exception is the large marine by Ludolf Backhuysen, *Storm off a Rocky Coast*, which is now in Brussels (fig. 4). It was purchased in 1805 for 3,500 guilders and sold in 1828 for 2,006 guilders.¹³ In 1809 the Rijksmuseum owned five works by Backhuysen, one of which, *A Rough Sea*, was exchanged with the Mauritshuis in 1825.¹⁴ Although the three works that remained after 1828 were certainly representative of Backhuysen, they lacked the monumentality and the depth of expression in the depiction of the catastrophe that characterizes the Brussels painting. This lack was not made good until 1988 when the museum purchased *Ships in Peril in a Storm*, a similar, but somewhat smaller work.¹⁵ The size may itself have been the reason for disposal: the work was after all extremely large for the relatively small Trippenhuys, something that is hinted at in the notes in the 1827 catalogue, 'This large piece ought to be sold'.¹⁶ Perhaps, too, smaller, more

Fig. 4
LUDOLF
BACKHUYSEN, *Storm
off a Mountainous
Coast*, c. 1670-80.
Canvas, 173.5 x 341 cm.
Royal Museums of
Fine Arts of Belgium,
Brussels, photo
Speltdoorn.

refined Backhuysens were preferred to this sizeable canvas with its broad brushstrokes. In his letter to the minister Jeronimo de Vries expressed his amazement at the high price paid for this 'gloomy Backhuysen of the least kind, too big and too heavy to move'.¹⁷

In general it was the cabinet pieces by the then popular seventeenth-century artists such as Berchem, Dou, Van der Heyden, Van Mieris, Van Ostade, Potter, Poelenburgh, Teniers,

Van der Velde and Wouwerman that fetched the highest prices in 1828. The museum had six and three works respectively by the sought-after *fijnschilders* or 'fine painters' Gerard Dou and Frans van Mieris. According to the notes in the 1827 *Aanwijzing*, only Dou's *Evening School* and Van Mieris's *Woman Writing a Letter*, both from the Van der Pot Collection, were of the 'finest quality'. A mediocre painting by Dou (fig. 5) from the Van Heteren

Fig. 5
GERARD DOU, *A Man Writing at a Painter's Easel*. Panel, 31.5 x 25 cm. Ivor Foundation, New York.





Fig. 6
FRANS VAN MIERIS,
The Death of Lucretia.
Panel, 38 x 27 cm.
Private collection,
New York.

Collection and two of his works that did not even appear in the museum catalogues were sold.¹⁸ The rather melodramatic *Death of Lucretia* of 1679 (fig. 6) by Van Mieris was sold in 1828.¹⁹ The works by these painters and also by Adriaen van Ostade that were disposed of are clearly of lesser quality than those that remained behind in the Trippenhuis.²⁰ Although none of the paintings by Paulus Potter, David Teniers, and Willem van der

Velde that were sold can be identified, there can be no doubt that even after the 1828 sale they were still represented in the Trippenhuis by good examples.²¹

It has been possible to identify various of the works by Nicolaes Berchem, Cornelis Poelenburgh, Jan van der Heyden and Philips Wouwerman that were sold off. All these artists were very well represented in the museum. Berchem's *Cattle Drive* from the Van Heteren Collection



Fig. 7
NICOLAES BERCHEM,
Italian Landscape with Standing Peasant Woman with a Basket of Vegetables and Milkmaids Milking. Panel, 31.6 x 25 cm. Private collection, Amsterdam (formerly Noortman Gallery, Maastricht).

received Apostool's 'finest quality' designation in the 1827 *Aanwijzing*, and the tiny *Italian Landscape* from the Van der Pot Collection was termed 'first quality'; furthermore the collection still had the famous *Three Herds*, for which Van der Pot had paid 3,025 guilders at auction, the *Ferry* and a *Winter Scene*. Of the Berchems that were sold, the *Landscape with Beasts and Figures* ended up in Montreal and an *Italian Landscape with Figures* is still in a private collection (fig. 7).²²

In 1809 there were seven small paintings by Poelenburgh in the collection, six of them from the Van Heteren Collection. Alongside them in the annotated catalogue of 1827 is the note 'some of these can be sold', and three small paintings of middling quality were indeed disposed of.²³

Of the five landscapes and townscapes by Jan van der Heyden the two smallest works, painted on copper, sold together for 825 guilders; the sale

catalogue commends their staffage as the work of Adriaen van de Velde, ('the delicate brush handling by both of these masters makes them magnificent cabinet pictures'), (figs. 8a, b).²⁴ Regret about this sale is evident in the letter from Jeronimo de Vries: 'I still feel that with the exception of the two Van der Heidens – very small yet fine paintings – there was nothing among them that was really worth getting back for the Museum.'²⁵ Unfortunately the pair was separated at the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁶

In the eighteenth century Philips Wouwerman was one of the most sought-after painters of the Golden Age, as the picture galleries in Dresden and Kassel demonstrate. The two of them, both originally eighteenth-century collections, have dozens of his paintings. In 1808 four works by the painter from the Van der Pot Collection were purchased for the Koninklijk Museum for exceptionally large sums; another six Wouwermans came in with the Van Heteren Collection, followed in 1814 by a work from the Boreel Collection.

In his notes in the 1827 catalogue Apostool did not assign quality assessments to any of the paintings, but it is clear from his catalogue texts that he thought highly of the *Deer Hunt* and the *Heron Hunt*. Three of the four Wouwermans from the Van Heteren Collection that were sold in 1828 fetched high prices – between three and four thousand guilders, similar to the sums they raised at the Van der Pot sale in 1808 (fig. 9). Work like this was still being sought in the decades that followed: in the 1830s the collector Van der Hoop paid double for his three Wouwermans, which all came from famous eighteenth-century collections.²⁷ With the arrival of this collection in the Rijksmuseum in 1885, the loss of the Wouwermans sold in 1828 was largely redeemed. By then the liking for Wouwerman's landscapes and battle scenes had greatly declined



Fig. 8a
JAN VAN DER HEYDEN
AND ADRIAEN
VAN DE VELDE,
*Landscape with
Buildings*. Copper,
20 x 23.3 cm. Private
collection, London.



Fig. 8b
JAN VAN DER HEYDEN
AND ADRIAEN
VAN DE VELDE,
*Landscape with
Buildings*. Copper,
20 x 23.3 cm.
Museum Kunst Palast,
Gemäldesammlung,
Düsseldorf.



Fig. 9
PHILIPS WOUWER-
MAN, *Plundering
of a Village with*

Burning Mill. Panel,
53.7 x 79.3 cm. Present
whereabouts unknown.

and his works were often banished to the repository. The best known and most popular of his paintings in the Rijksmuseum is now *The Grey*. It is notable that in the case of almost all the artists mentioned – with the exception of Van Poelenburgh – their presence in the Rijksmuseum, in number as well as quality, was considerably enhanced in the second half of the nineteenth century by gifts and by the loan of the Van der Hoop Collection. In that respect, therefore, the 1828 sale meant only a temporary reduction in works by these artists.

What is striking is the relatively large number of cabinet paintings on copper in the sale, as many as eight of the 46 Rijksmuseum works, all from the Van Heteren Collection.²⁸ In the sale there were works by artists from around 1600 including Jan Breughel the Elder, Rottenhammer and a rather large *Children of Israel Gathering the Manna*, by Hendrik van Balen, which had already disappeared from the catalogue by 1816 (fig. 10). In terms of quality, though, this painting is more important than Van Balen's *Bacchus and Ariadne*, which remained in the Rijksmuseum.²⁹ It is possible that in fact Van de Venne's large *Fishing for Souls* is to blame for this, as until 1858 this work was attributed to Van Balen and Jan Breughel. It was probably thought that Van Balen was sufficiently represented in the museum.

As well as the Dutch paintings, Apostool also aspired to show a representative selection of Flemish paintings. With that in mind, a Van Dyck and a Rubens went to the Rijksmuseum in the earlier exchange with the Mauritshuis in 1825.³⁰ The *Virgin and Child* – which had not been in the

museum catalogues since 1816 – and the *Study Head* that were sold in 1828 must have been of mediocre quality. However this is not true of Jordaens's *Neptune and Venus*, which was sold.

It had come from the stadholders' palace of Het Loo and can probably be identified as the *Neptune and*



Fig. 10
HENDRIK VAN
BALEN, *The Children
of Israel Gathering
the Manna*.
Copper, 50 x 71 cm.
Present whereabouts
unknown.



Fig. 11
JACOB JORDAENS,
*Neptune and
Amphitrite*, 164[...5?].
Canvas, 200 x 306 cm
(enlarged on two
sides). The Rubens
House, Antwerp,
photo Musea en
Erfgoed Antwerpen,
Lowie de Peuter/
Michel Wuyts.



Amphitrite in the Rubens House in Antwerp (fig. 11).³¹ It appears that the sale of this exceptionally large painting was designed in part to make room for two smaller works by Jordaens: *Pan Punished by the Nymphs* (which at the time was called *Marsyas Ill-treated by the Muses*) and the *Satyr*.³² The 1825 catalogue lyrically describes the latter work: 'This painting is perfectly painted in the highest tone of P.P. Rubens and on account of its robust handling and truth of expression deserving of

praise, is one of this maker's best.'³³ For all that, both works, as is evident from a note in the 1827 catalogue, were in the attic. With the sale of the *Neptune*, for the pitifully small price of 71 guilders, the Netherlands lost a monumental profane work by Jordaens that had belonged to the stadholders. In 1800 this work was in the Nationale Konst Gallery in Huis Ten Bosch. It hung in the antechamber opposite the *Annunciation* by Rubens (fig. 12), which had also been sent to The Hague

Fig. 12
PETER PAUL RUBENS,
The Annunciation,
c. 1613. Panel, 198 x 150
cm. National Gallery
of Ireland, Dublin.

from Het Loo in 1798. The painting thus returned to its original home, as the *Annunciation* had previously hung above the fireplace in the drawing room of Huis ten Bosch. In 1800, though, the painting was attributed to 'Lange Jan'—Rubens's apprentice Jan Boekhorst. In the Trippenhuis it was described as 'school of Rubens' and in 1828 it was finally sold as a Rubens (although Jeronimo de Vries regarded the painting as very doubtful) for 126 guilders. Today it hangs in the National Gallery in Dublin, where it is described as a painting of around 1614 from Rubens's workshop.³⁴ The poor condition, the large size and the attribution to the school of Rubens were probably the reasons for selling it. The illustrious provenance of the painting, which may well have been completely forgotten, evidently played no role in the decision to sell the painting. By then Rubens was reasonably well represented in the Rijksmuseum by the oil sketch of the *Descent from the Cross* from the Van Heteren Collection and the painting of *Cimon and Pero*, which had come to Amsterdam in 1825 in the exchange with the Mauritshuis and is described in that year's catalogue as 'one of the best by this renowned master'.³⁵

Although six paintings by Gerard de Lairese (fig. 13) remained in the Trippenhuis, the sale of his *Venus*, *Adonis* and *Cupid* is most regrettable, as it meant that one of the six paintings the artist had been commissioned to paint by William III between 1676 and 1680 for the stadholders' residence at Soestdijk was lost.³⁶ Despite the recommendation in the sale catalogue that it was 'fine in composition and painting', the picture only fetched 53 guilders, which tells us that the denigration of the classicist De Lairese had already begun early in the nineteenth century.³⁷

Fortunately the four Hondcoeters that had come from Soestdijk and Het Loo had not disappeared and only a

rather mediocre painting by this artist from the Van der Pot Collection was sold.³⁸ In the case of other, generally lesser-known artists, it is more difficult to establish whether the works sold at the auction were interesting pieces.³⁹

The conclusion can be relatively short. Insofar as the purchases from the 1808-10 period are concerned, the 1828 sale had only a limited adverse effect on the collection of Dutch paintings from the Golden Age that had been amassed in that period. Because Apostool and the art dealers who organized the sale were experts in this area, their selection of the seventeenth-century cabinet pictures that were to be sold was on the whole understandable and justifiable. What is surprising, given the provenance and quality of the works on offer, is that they so underestimated the sale prices.

The sale of the seventeenth-century cabinet pictures, which raised a lot of money, could be justified on the grounds that the proceeds were used to buy *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp*. However, the sale of the monumental paintings by Jordaens, Rubens and De Lairese, which cost the Netherlands several important examples of the seventeenth-century decorations in the stadholders' palaces, is greatly to be regretted. The lack of knowledge and interest in the provenance and function of the paintings concerned was in part to blame for this disposal. The scant regard for these types of paintings at that time is confirmed by the low prices they fetched. It becomes all the more clear that the expertise and feeling for quality that can certainly not be denied Apostool and De Vries was very much a product of their time. This brings us to the fundamental problem of deaccessioning and disposal: every choice and every opinion is coloured by the tastes and knowledge of the day. Unfortunately throughout museological history there have often been



Fig. 13
GERARD DE
LAIRESSE, *Mars
and Venus*, c. 1680.
Canvas, 125 x 95 cm.
Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam (inv. no.
SK-A-211).

works of art, about which there was a lack of knowledge or for which there was little regard, which have been exchanged or sold, usually for modest sums.

It is fortunate for the Rijksmuseum's collection of paintings that very few works were sold after 1828, although a number of paintings have been exchanged and many have gone out on long-term loan. Today the collection

of seventeenth-century Dutch paintings comprises more than 2,000 works. What is more works in the Rijksmuseum by almost all of the painters whose paintings were sold in 1828 have since considerably increased in number and have improved in quality. Because of this the collection is now the most magnificent and most comprehensive overview of Dutch art in the world.



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APPENDIX

The Rijksmuseum paintings
sold at the sale on 4 August 1828

ABBREVIATIONS

Cat. 1809:

[C. Apostool], *Catalogus der schilderijen, oudheden, enz. op het Koninklijk Museum te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1809 and later editions

HdG:

C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 10 vols., 1908-27

VH:

T.L.J. Verroen, 'Een verstandig ryk man', de achttiende-eeuwse verzamelaar Adriaan Leonard van Heteren,' *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 4 (1985), pp. 17-61, Appendix, p. 31-57

vdP:

Tim Zeedijk, "'Tot voordeel en Genoegen". De schilderijenverzameling van Gerrit van der Pot van Groenveld', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 55 (2007), pp 129-201, appendix, pp. 167-201

Sale:

Catalogus van eene uitgebreide en voortreffelijke verzameling zeer fraaije schilderijen, waaronder veel door de voornaamste Nederlandsche Meesters..., Amsterdam (J. de Vries, A. Brongheest, E.M. Engelberts and C.S. Roos), 4 August 1828

N.B. An old system of measurements was used in the catalogue involving inches (d), feet (p) and ells (el), but probably with modern metric values. They are not equivalent to Imperial feet and inches. For the measurements of the unidentified paintings:

d. = approx. 1 cm

p. = approx. 10 cm

el = approx. 100 cm

CAT. 1809, 7; 1827, 8;
SALE NO. 6:

LUDOLF BACKHUYSEN

Storm off a Mountainous Coast

Canvas, 173.5 x 341 cm, sold for 2,006 guilders to J. de Vries; C.J. Nieuwenhuijs, London; Hérís, Brussels, May 1833; sale Hérís Coll., Brussels, 19 June 1846, no. 2; sale Baillie Coll., Antwerp, 22 April 1862, no. 1, purchased by the Royal Museums for Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels (fig. 2).

PROVENANCE: Bauer, Leeuwarden; C.S. Roos to National Konst Gallerij, 3,500 guilders in 1803

CAT. 1809, 15; NO LONGER IN
CAT. 1816; SALE NO. 8:

HENDRIK VAN BALEN

The Children of Israel Gathering the Manna

Copper, 71 x 50 cm, sold for 115 guilders to De Boer; Chaucer Fine Arts Gallery, London, 1988 (fig. 9); present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 4)

CAT. 1809, 28; 1827, 30; SALE
NO. 11:

NICOLAES BERCHEM

'A saddled grey stands at the foot of a high mountain, there is a woman on horseback holding a falcon nearby, a boy beside her, a shepherd on the left leaning against a tree trunk, a bull and a dog, broadly and masterfully depicted.' ('Aan de voet van eenen hoogen berg staat een wit gezadeld paard, bij het zelve zit eene dame te paard, houdende een valk in de hand, nevens haar een jongeling, ter linkerzijde een herder, leunende tegen een boomstam, verder een stier en een

hond; breed en meesterlijk voorgesteld.')
Panel, 4 p. 8 d. x 6 p. 6 d., sold for 211 guilders to Van de Bergh; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown

COMMENT: version on canvas (50 x 63 cm), cited by HdG IX, p. 93, no. 148, in Galleria Colonna, Rome

CAT. 1809, 27; 1827, 29;
SALE NO. 12:

NICOLAES BERCHEM

A Landscape with Livestock and Figures

Panel, 30 x 25 cm, sold for 401 guilders to Hulswit; Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, since 1909, (exh. cat. Canada Collects, Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, 1960, no. 1)

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 9)

CAT. 1809, 29; 1827, 32;
SALE NO. 13:

NICOLAES BERCHEM

Standing Peasant Woman with a Basket of Vegetables and Milkmaids Milking in an Italian Landscape

Panel 31.6 x 25 cm, sold for 148 guilders to Chaplain; sold in 1828; Sale T. Emmerson, London 1 May 1829, no. 18 or 110; K. & V. Waterman gallery, Amsterdam, 1982; private collection, Amsterdam 1982-2000; David Koetser gallery, Zurich, 2001; Robert Noortman gallery, Maastricht, 2005 (fig. 7).

PROVENANCE: sale Nicolaes Verkolje, Amsterdam, 18 April 1746, no. 24, 8.5 guilders; sale Johannes Verkolje, Amsterdam (de Winter), 24 October 1763, no. 44, 40 guilders, Tirion; sale Gabriel François Joseph Chevalier de Verhulst, Brussels, 16 August 1779, no. 131, sold for 336 guilders to Nijman, Amsterdam; sale the Marquis de

Menars, Paris, late February 1782, no. 9; sale Amsterdam (Van der Schey etc.), 9 April 1783, no. 3; sale Jan Gildemeester, Amsterdam, 11 June 1800, no. 12, 450 guilders, Labouchère for Brian; acquired in 1803

CAT. 1809, 49 [*LANDSCAPE WITH A CROWD OF FIGURES AND SHIPS BESIDE A RIVER*] OR 50 [*LANDSCAPE WITH SOME FOREIGN TRAVELLERS ON THE BANK OF A RIVER*]; 1827, 52 OR 53; SALE. NO. 21:

JAN BRUEGHEL

(CALLED VELVET BRUEGHEL)

'A rising road with tall trees beside a wide river, in the foreground several countryfolk and two laden carts; painted in great detail.' ('Ter zijde eener wijduitgestrekte rivier is een opgaande weg met hoog geboomte, op de voorgrond verscheidene landlieden en twee beladene vrachtwagens; zeer uitvoerig gepenseeld.')
Copper, 3 p. 1 d. x 4 p. 5 d., sold for 57 guilders to Chaplain; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown

COMMENT: in the 1821 catalogue (and after 1827) probably erroneously crossed out: the *Landscape with Figures and Livestock*; probably SK-A-69: *Wooded View with Virgin and Child*

CAT. 1809, 63; NO LONGER IN CAT. 1816; SALE NO. 40:

ANTOINE COIJPEL

'The sacrifice of Iphigenia, at the moment she is about to be struck: a large composition, masterfully painted.' ('De offerande van Iphigenia, op het oogenblik dat zij zal geslagt worden; eene grootsche ordonantie, meesterlijk geschilderd.')

Canvas, 5 p. 1 d. x 7 p. 1 d., sold for 53 guilders to Burton; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 34)

CAT. 1809, 74 [OR 75]; 1827, 74?; SALE NO. 45:

GERARD DOU

A Man Writing at a Painter's Easel

Panel, 31.5 x 25 cm, sold for 510 guilders to Emmerson; see further exh. cat. *Gerard Dou*, op. cit. (note 17), p. 68, no. 3; now Ivor Foundation, New York (fig. 5).

PROVENANCE: sale Van Bicker van Zwieten, The Hague, 12 April 1741, no. 67, 400 guilders; H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (see VH 28)

CAT. 1809, 308; 1827, 327
(AS DAVID [= DOMINICUS]
VAN TOL); SALE NO. 46:

GERARD DOU

'An old woman beating yarn, she sits at a table on which there is a pot, jug and stove, with a lit clay lamp, and a lantern hangs on the wall; the light from the lamp gives a fine effect on the woman and on all the objects.' ('Een bedaagde Vrouw, bezig zijnde garen te kloppen, zij zit aan eene tafel, waarop eene pot, kan en eene stoof staat, benevens eene steenen brandende lamp, en aan den muur hangt eene lantaarn; het licht van de lamp doet eene fraaije werking; zoowel op de vrouw, als op al de voorwerpen.') Panel, 2 p. 4 d. x 2 p., sold for 51 guilders to Chaplain; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown (present in Feb. 1808)

NOT IN CAT. 1809 - 1827;
SALE NO. 47:

GERARD DOU

'On a table covered with a green cloth there is a globe and two books, a youth sits playing a flute in an armchair at the same, before him a viola, hourglass, books etc. as embellishments, painted in detail.' ('Op eene tafel, met een groen kleed bedekt, staat een globe en liggen twee boeken, aan dezelve zit een jongeling in een leunstoel, spelende op een dwarsfluit, voorts eene fiool, zandloper, boeken enz. tot bijwerk; uitvoerig gepenseeld.') Panel (oval), 3 p. 7 d. x 3 p., sold for 349 guilders to Lamme; present whereabouts unknown.

COMMENT: probably a version of the *Flute Player*, dated 1636, panel 35.5 x 29.1 cm, Privately owned in England (1975, Sir Richard Proby Coll., Elton Hall; see Martin 1913, op. cit. (note 18), no. 170)

CAT. 1809, 81; NO LONGER
IN CAT. 1816; SALE NO. 50:

ANTHONY VAN DYCK

The Virgin with the Christ Child at her Breast

Panel, 7 ft. 2 in. x 5 ft. 3 in., for 236 guilders to Chaplain; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 45)

CAT. 1809, 85; 1827, 87;
SALE NO. 49:

ANTHONY VAN DYCK

'A study head, loosely painted.' ('Een studiehooft, breed geschilderd.') Canvas, 7 p. 2 d. x 5 p. 3 d., sold for 13 guilders to Chaplain; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: gift of A.W. Swart, 1801

CAT. 1818, 95; 1827, 98;

SALE NO. 60:

AERT DE GELDER

'An old man sitting at a table in a study with his hand to his head, before him some books and papers, good and in the style of Rembrandt.' ('Een oude man zittend met de hand aan het hoofd bij een tafel in een studeervertrek, voor hem liggen eenige boeken en papieren; goed en in den stijl van Rembrandt geschilderd.')

Canvas, 4 p. x 3p. 6 d., for 70 guilders to Lely; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: purchased in 1816, sold for 81 guilders (and costs) [*A Philosopher in his Study*]

CAT. 1809, 101; NO LONGER
IN CAT. 1816; SALE NO. 63:

JAN GRIFFIER

'In a magnificent building an old man sits at a table with a lot of money on it, bags of money, a money box, caskets etc., very finely painted.' ('In een prachtig gebouw zit een oud man aan eene tafel waarop veel geld ligt, voorts zakken met geld, geldkist, vaatjes enz. zeer fijn geschilderd.')

Panel, 4 p. 8 d. x 3 p. 6 d., sold for 81 guilders to Burton; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 54)

CAT. 1809, 102; 1827, 105;
SALE NO. 62:

JAN GRIFFIER

'A panoramic winter scene with a great multitude of figures, very finely painted.' ('Een uitgestrekt Wintergezicht met een grote menigte beeldjes; zeer fijn geschilderd.')

Panel, 2 p. 8 d. x 3 p. 7 d., sold for 45 guilders to Gruijter; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 55)

NOT IN CATS. 1809-27;
SALE NO. 65:

JORIS VAN DER HAGEN

'A mountainous landscape, with tall trees, with a hunter shooting ducks, also a man on horseback, and passing and resting rustics, loosely and naturally painted.' ('Een bergachtig landschap, terzijde hoog geboomte, met een jager, schietende op eenden, voorts een man te paard, en gaande en rustende landlieden; breed en natuurlijk geschilderd.')

Canvas, 1 el. 1 p. 6 d. x 1 el. 1 d., sold for 75 guilders to Burton; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown

CAT. 1809, 114; 1827, 116;
SALE NO. 66:

JAN DAVIDSZ. DE HEEM

'We see a basket filled with and surrounded by all sorts of fruit on a stone plinth, with a gilded drinking bowl behind it, on which is a bunch of large grapes; this elaborate composition is painted in great detail.' ('Op eene stenen Plint ziet men eene mand, gevuld en omgeven met eene menigte onderscheidene soorten van vruchten, achter dezelve eene vergulde drink-schaal, waarop een tros groote druiven; deze rijke ordonantie is zeer uitvoerig geschilderd.')

Canvas, 8 p. 2 d x 6 p. 2 d., sold for 101 guilders to Brondgeest; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: see vdP 70

CAT. 1809, 127-28; 1827, 129-30;
SALE NOS. 69 AND 70:

JAN VAN DER HEYDEN AND
ADRIAEN VAN DER VELDE
*A Pair of Landscapes with Buildings
and Figures*

Both copper 20 x 23.3 cm, sold for
825 guilders to Lamberts; one now
privately owned (sale London
(Christie's), 5 October 1995, no. 181;
fig. 8a) and the other Kunstmuseum,
Dusseldorf (see for earlier provenance,
exh. cat. Dusseldorf 2005, op. cit.
(note 26); fig. 8 b).

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren;
A. L. van Heteren, purchase 1809
(VH 58-59)

CAT. 1809, 137; 1827, 140;
SALE NO. 71:

MELCHIOR DE HONDECOETER
White Hen with Chicks

Canvas, 91 x 64 cm, 60 guilders,
J. de Vries; Lady Ainsworth Coll.
(see vdP 82)

PROVENANCE: see vdP 82

CAT. 1809, 162; 1827, 169;
SALE NO. 75:

JACOB JORDAENS

'Neptune standing in his chariot,
holding a team of horses with one
hand and the trident in the other,
he is surrounded by blowing Tritons,
Naiads and sea monsters, we see
Venus rising from the water beside
him: broadly and robustly painted
and fine colours.' ('Neptunus staande
in zijne zeekoets, houdende den toom
der paarden in de eene en den drietand
in de andere hand, hij is omgeven
door blazende Tritons, Najaden en
zeegedrochten, naast hem ziet men
Venus als uit het water oprijzende;

breed en stout geschilderd en van een
schoon coloriet.')

Canvas, 2 el 2 p. 7 d. x 3 el 1 p. 1 d.
[approx. 227 x 311 cm], sold for 71
guilders to De Lelie; probably identical
to Jacob Jordaens, *Neptune and
Amphitrite*, 164 [4 or 8], canvas, 215.5 x
303 cm (enlarged on two sides), now
Antwerp, The Rubens House (inv. no.
S 3.94); from the M. van Gelder Coll.,
Ukkel (Belgium), recovered after the
Second World War; on loan from the
Kingdom of Belgium (fig. 11).

PROVENANCE: inv. Het LOO 1757-63
(‘A large painting of Neptune’ – ‘Een
groot stuk van Neptunus’) H. 8 ft.,
W 11 ft 2 in.: approx. 251 x 350 cm);
sent from Het Loo, 8 Sept. 1798 to
Huis Ten Bosch; drawing of 1800 by
Waldorp, Nationale Konst-Gallerij,
Huis Ten Bosch (‘The Birth of Venus
by Jacob Jordaens’) in the antechamber.

CAT. 1809, 172; 1827, 179;
SALE NO. 81:

GERARD DE LAIRESSE

‘Venus evading Adonis, held back by
Cupid, splendid in composition and
painting.’ (‘Adonis ontwijkende Venus,
word door Kupido teruggehouden;
fraai van ordonantie en schildering.’)
Canvas, 1 el 1 p. 7 d. x 8 p. 9 d., sold for
53 guilders to De Boer; present where-
abouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: between 1676 and 1680
made for Paleis Soestdijk; in 1799
transferred to Huis Ten Bosch

CAT. 1809, 176; 1827, 184;
SALE NO. 83:

JAN LIEVENSZ.

‘The Portrait of the Attorney General
Jan van Oldebarneveld; powerfully
painted.’ (‘Het Portret van 's lands
advocaat Joan van Oldebarneveld;
krachtig geschilderd.’) Panel, 6 p. 4 d. x

5 p. 1 d., sold for 3 guilders to De Vries; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: gift of Gerard Hultman, 1809 (cat. 1809, p. 42, no. 42 '...being 70 years of age, 1618' ('...oud zijnde 70 Jaren, Anno 1618'))

CAT. 1809, 201; 1827, 208;
SALE NO. 88:

FRANS VAN MIERIS
The Death of Lucretia

Panel, 38 x 27 cm, sold for 490 guilders to Roos; see further exh. cat. *Frans van Mieris*, op. cit. (note 19), p. 230, no. 47; now privately owned, New York (fig. 6).

PROVENANCE: see exh. cat. *Frans van Mieris*, op. cit. (note 19), p. 230, no. 47; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 85)

CAT. 1809, 215; 1827, 223;
SALE NO. 93

FREDERICK DE MOUCHERON
A View along the Tiber of a great Number of Buildings and the Dome of St Peter's in Rome

Canvas, 5 ft. x 7 ft. 4 in., sold for 26 guilders to Lamme; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown, already present in 1804

CAT. 1809, 222; 1827, 229;
SALE NO. 95:

EGLON VAN DER NEER

'Some clothed Nymphs and a naked Nymph by the statue of Priapus, which is being decorated by one of them with a garland; very detailed and delicately painted.' ('Eenige gekleede en eene naakte Nimf bij het standbeeld van Priapus, dat door eene van hen met een

bloemenkrans word versierd; zeer uitvoerig en delicaat gepenseeld.')
Copper, 1 p. 4 d. x 2 p. 1 d., sold for 45 guilders to Chaplain; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 95)

CAT. 1809, 221; NO LONGER
IN CAT. 1816; SALE NO. 96:

EGLON VAN DER NEER
Venus and Adonis

Canvas, 63,5 x 53 cm, sold for 130 guilders to Gruyter; John Smith, London; A. McLellan Bequest to the Glasgow Art Gallery, 1854.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 94)

CAT. 1809, 227; 1827, 239;
SALE NO. 97:

ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE
Three Peasants Drinking in an Interior

Panel, 42.5 x 35 cm, sold for 1,505 guilders to Engeberts; see HdG III, p. 245, no. 330 d; no. 339; most recently surfaced at a sale in The Hague 19 April 1943, no. 63 (fig. RkD; appears to be a copy); present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 103)

CAT. 1809, 236; 1827, 248;
SALE NO. 101:

CORNELIS POELENBURGH

'Adam and Eve driven from Paradise by an angel with a flaming sword; tenderly painted.' ('Adam en Eva uit het paradijs door een engel met een vlammeend zwaard verdreven; teder gepenseeld.')

Panel, 3 p. x 3 p. 6 d., sold for 32 guilders to De Vries; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 109)

CAT. 1809, 238; 1827, 250;
SALE NO. 102

CORNELIS POELENBURGH
The Penitent Magdalene

Copper, 19.2 x 25.5 cm, sold for 106 guilders with next number to Van de Bergh; since 1986, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover, see catalogue 2000, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 290-91, no. 145.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH III)

CAT. 1809, 237; 1827, 249;
NO. 103; SALE NO. 103:

CORNELIS POELENBURGH
Bacchus, Venus and Ceres

Copper, 18.5 x 25.6 cm, sold for 106 guilders with previous number to Van de Bergh; since 1986, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover, see catalogue 2000, op. cit. (note 23), pp. 288-89, no. 144.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 110)

CAT. 1809, 243; 1827, 257;
SALE NO. 105

PAULUS POTTER

'In a grassy meadow stands a red and white cow, which is being milked by a milkmaid, another lies beside it and a third rubs itself against a tree trunk beside a fence, in the foreground are some plants; everything painted in detail by this great master.' ('In eene grazige Weide staat een roodbonte

koe, welke door eene boerin gemolken wordt, naast deze ligt een andere en bij een hek wrijft zich een derde tegens eene boomstam, op den voorgrond zijn eenige planten; alles uitvoerig door dezen grooten meester geschilderd.') Panel, 2 p. 7 d. x 2 p. 9 d., sold for 900 guilders to Emmerson; see HdG IV, p. 657, no. 100: most recently at sale Paris, 25 March 1841, no. 31; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: purchased from Major J. B. de Lega, 15 January 1801

CAT. 1809, 263; NO LONGER
IN CAT. 1816; SALE NO. 113:

JOHANN ROTTENHAMMER
*The Adoration of the Shepherds
and some Women, the Heavens
open above*

Copper, 3 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 5 in., sold for 18.5 guilders to Van de Bergh; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Sale Bicker van Zwieten, 12 April 1741, no. 44, 335 guilders; H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 126)

CAT. 1809, 266; 1827, 280
(AS SCHOOL OF *PETRUS PAULUS*,
KNIGHT); SALE NO. 114:

PETER PAUL RUBENS
The Annunciation

Panel, 198 x 150 cm, sold for 126 guilders to Chaplain; purchased in 1868 from M.T. Nieuwenhuys, Paris, for £720 by the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (inv. no. 60; see catalogue 1992, op. cit. (note 34), pp. 104-06) (fig. 12).

PROVENANCE: mentioned in the 1632 inventory of the Stadholders' Quarter as purchased from the widow of Jacob van der Does; between c. 1650 and beginning of the eighteenth century hung as an overmantel painting in the

drawing room in Huis Ten Bosch; beginning of the eighteenth century to Het Loo Palace (inv. 1763); sent from Het Loo to Huis Ten Bosch, 8 September 1798; drawing Waldorp, Nationale Konst-Gallerij, Huis ten Bosch ('Message to Mary, by Lange Jan') ('Boodschap aan Maria door Lange Jan') (= Jan van Boekhorst), in the antechamber.

CAT. 1809, 281; 1827, 296;
SALE NO. 125:

PIETER VAN SLINGELANDT

'In a large, high room sits a peasant who is having his head bandaged by a surgeon, assisted by two distinguished people, a host of by-work everywhere.' ('In een groot en hoog Vertrek zit eene boer, welke door een heelmeeester aan het hoofd werd verbonden, wordende daarin door twee deftige personen geholpen, overal is een menigte bijwerk.') Panel, 4 p. 1 d. x 5 p. 2 d., sold for 202 guilders to Van de Bergh; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown, present on 7 December 1800 as H.M. Sorgh

CAT. 1809, 300; 1827, 319;
SALE NO. 129:

DAVID TENIERS

'A man and woman standing, being beggars, the man begs for alms with his hat, in the foreground a dog lies by a fishing basket; witty and broadly handled.' ('Een staande Man en Vrouw, zijnde bedelaars, de man vraagt met zijne hoed om een aalmoes, op den voorgrond ligt een hondje bij een hengelmand; geestig en breed van behandeling.') Panel, 3 p. 4 d. x 2 p. 5 d., sold for 200 guilders to Lelie; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: purchased from Major J. B. de Lega, 15 January 1801

CAT. 1809, 298; 1827, 317;
SALE NO. 131:

DAVID TENIERS

'Three smoking and drinking peasants in an interior, a jug in the foreground; well painted.' ('Drie rookende en drinkende Boeren in een binnenhuis, op den voorgrond staat eene kan; goed geschilderd.') Panel, 4 p. 2 d. x 3 p. 4 d., sold for 550 guilders to Heeris; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown, present April 1808

NOT IN CATS. 1809 TO 1827;
SALE N. 131:

DAVID TENIERS

'A panoramic, rocky and mountainous landscape, in the foreground a group of three statues, travellers and a wide horizon.' ('Een uitgestrekt rots- en bergachtig Landschap, op de voorgrond een groep van drie beelden, verdere reizigers en een uitgestrekt verschiet.') Canvas, 1 el 2 p. 7 d. x 1 el 7 p. 2 d., sold for 180 guilders to Lamme; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown

CAT. 1809, 307; 1827, 328;
SALE NO. 135:

DAVID [DOMINICUS] VAN TOL

'Through a niche we see an old woman watering a pot of flowers with a jug; extensive brushwork.' ('Door eene nis ziet men eene oude Vrouw, die uit eene kan een pot met bloemen begiet, uitvoerig van penseelbehandeling.') Panel, 3 p. 2 d. x 2 p. 2 d., sold for 641 guilders to Brongdeest; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: purchased from Major J. B. de Lega, 15 January 1801

COMMENT: probably a version of the painting by Gerard Dou in Vienna (see exh. cat. Gerard Dou 2000, op. cit. (note 17), no. 1)

CAT. 1809, 309; 1827, 330;
SALE NO. 136:

JACOB VAN ULFT

'A princess sits on a seat, surrounded by a number of women, in the colonnade of an old Roman building. She looks up at the sky where an eagle flies with an olive branch in its beak, to the side a temple and a seated warrior in the foreground.' ('Aan de colonnade van een oud Romeinsch Gebouw; zit eene vorstin op een zetel, omgeven van eenige vrouwen, zij ziet naar de lucht in dewelke een arend vliegt, een olijftak in de bek houdende, ter zijde een tempel en op de voorgrond een zittend krijgsman.')

Canvas, 1 el, 1 p. 1 d. x 7 p. 6 d., sold for 41 guilders to Gruijter; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown, present
7 December 1800

CAT. 1809, 318 ; 1827, 341;
SALE NO. 140:

WILLEM VAN DE VELDE

'A rough sea, in the foreground a fishing boat, in the middle a yacht and at the side a three-master, all in full sail, on the beach lie several pinks: the handling of the sky and the turbulence of the water are very naturally depicted and beautifully painted.' ('Een woelend water, op de voorgrond een vischschuit, in het midden een jagt en ter zijde een driemastschip, alle in volle zeilen, aan het strand liggen verscheidene pinken: de werking van de lucht en de woeling van het water zijn zeer natuurlijk voorgesteld en fraai geschilderd.')

Canvas, 3 p. 5 d. x 4 p. 1 d., sold with

the next number for 1,860 guilders to Emmerson; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: purchased 11 August
1803

CAT. 1809, 319; 1827, 342;
SALE NO. 141:

WILLEM VAN DE VELDE

'The pendant shows a calm sea, in the foreground is the beach, with three fishermen, some pinks in the sea, a yacht sails on the left and in the distance a number of large ships; handled like the previous one.' ('De wedergade verbeeld een stil Water, op den voorgrond is het strand, waarop drie visschers, eenige pinken steeken in zee, ter linkerzijde zeilt een jagt en in het verschiet een aantal groote schepen; als de voorgaande behandeld.')

Canvas, 3 p. 5 d. x 4 p. 1 d., sold with previous number for 1,860 guilders to Emmerson; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: purchased 11 August
1803

CAT. 1809, 326; MISSING
FROM CAT. 1816 ONWARDS;
SALE NO. 143:

ADRIAEN VAN DE VENNE

Woman at her Dressing Table 1631

Panel, 32 x 23 cm, sold for 3.15 guilders to Groebe; see L. J. Bol, *Adriaen van de Venne*, Doornspijk 1989, p. 74, fig. 64; sale Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 29 June 1920, no. 32; Douwes Gallery, Amsterdam; recovered art collection (Munich, no. 3186); present whereabouts unknown (with thanks to Edwin Buijsen).

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A. L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 152)

CAT. 1809, 327; 1825, 341;
NOT IN CAT. 1827; SALE NO. 144:

A. VERBRUGGE

A Basket of Assorted Fruit

Panel, 3 ft. 5 d. x 2 ft. 9 d., sold for 4 guilders to Jackson; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 153)

NOT IN CATS. 1809 TO 1827;
SALE NO. 159:

B. WOLFF

'The Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms, John at her side, after A. Carrats [= A. Carracci].'
(*'De Heilige Maagd met het kind Jezus in hare arm slapende, ter zijde Joannes, naar A. Carrats. [= A. Carracci].'*)

Canvas, 3 p. 8 d. x 4 p. 8 d., sold for 6.15 guilders to Chaplain; present whereabouts unknown.

CAT. 1809, 364; 1827, 378
(AS BY OR IN THE MANNER OF);
SALE NO. 160:

PHILIPS WOUWERMAN

'A violent skirmish of horsemen, in the foreground we can see a horseman opening fire on an officer and falling from his horse, the whole scene is full of jostling and agitation of riders and horses, in the distance a town and encampment and near the same a fight; everything broadly brushed.'
(*'Eene hevige schermutseling van Paardenvolk, op de voorgrond ziet men een Ruiter, welke op een officier los brandt en van zijn paard valt, het geheel is vol gedrang en woeling van ruiters en paarden; het verschiet is eene stad en legerplaats en bij dezelve een gevecht alles breed gepenseeld.'*)

Canvas, 5 p. 8 d. x 7 p. 5 d., sold for 299 guilders to Van de Berg; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: unknown

CAT. 1809, 353; 1827, 373;
SALE NO. 161:

PHILIPS WOUWERMAN

'A band of warriors in a burning village, in the foreground some horsemen ill-treating various people and violently carrying them away; a colonel on a brown horse observes this approvingly, the expression of the characters very well portrayed, and the whole masterfully painted.'
(*'Een bende Krijgslieden in een dorp, hetwelke in brand geschooten is, op de voorgrond zijn eenige ruiters bezig met onderscheidene personen te mishandelen, en gewelddadig weg te voeren; een oversten op een bruin paard gezeten, ziet dit alles welgevallig aan, de uitdrukking der karakters zijn zeer juist voorgesteld, en het geheel is meesterlijk geschilderd.'*)
Panel, 5 p. 6 d. x 6 p. 9 d., sold for 2,580 guilders to Brondgeest; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 168)

CAT. 1809, 354; 1827, 370;
SALE NO. 162:

PHILIPS WOUWERMAN

Plundering of a Village with a Burning Mill

Panel 53.7 x 79.3 cm; sold for 4,000 guilders, to Brondgeest; see HdG II, pp. 487-88, no. 756 and B. Schumacher, *Philips Wouwerman*, 2 vols. Doornspijk 2006, I, pp. 273-74, no. A 258; most recent sale New York (Christie's), 8 April 1988, no. 108; present whereabouts unknown (fig. 9).

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L. van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 169)

CAT. 1809, 355; 1827, 374;
SALE NO. 163:

PHILIPS WOUWERMAN
*Landscape with Horsemen and
Bathing Figures*

Panel 42.5 x 50 cm., sold for 3,150
guilders to Brondgeest; see HdG II,
p. 387, no. 467; most recent sale New
York (Sotheby's), 26 January 2006,
no. 18; present whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: H. van Heteren; A.L.
van Heteren, purchase 1809 (VH 170)

NOT IN CATS. 1809 TO 1827;
SALE NO. 167:

UNKNOWN

'The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel; by a
French artist.' ('Het offer van Kain
en Abel, door een Fransch meester.')

Sold for 15.10 guilders to Smart;
present whereabouts unknown.

* I am deeply indebted to Eva
Geudeker, whose research (see note
5) into the Van Heteren Collections
(Hendrik van Heteren (1672-1749)
and Adriaan Leonard van Heteren
(1724-1800), from which 20 of the
130 paintings purchased in 1809
were sold in 1828, prompted this
article. The information about the
provenance of the paintings that
she had already collected made the
evaluation easier. Many thanks also
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Sluijter (for Poelenburgh) and
Margret Klinge (for Teniers).

NOTES

- In addition to recent sales of repository
pieces by museums in Gouda, The Hague
and Utrecht, there is also the sale of master-
pieces, such as the proposal in 2006 by the
Frans Hals Museum to sell the *Drawing Class*
by Michael Sweerts, which was donated by
friends of the museum in 1876. In the nine-
teenth century the work was thought to be
a picture of Frans Hals's studio painted by
Job Berckheyde, but the new attribution to
Sweerts meant that it no longer fitted the
collection profile of the Haarlem museum,
which focuses on Haarlem artists. The
proceeds were earmarked for the building of
an urgently needed repository; in the end the
sale did not go ahead. A recent publication
on this problem is R.S. Wegener Sleswyk
et al., *De museum collecties: een lust en een
must*, Leeuwarden 2005.
- Catalogus van eene uitgebreide en voortref-
felijke verzameling zeer fraaije schilderijen,
waaronder veel door de voornaamste Neder-
landsche Meesters...* Amsterdam (J. de Vries,

A. Brondgeest, E.M. Engelberts, and
C.S. Roos), 4 August 1828 (taken from the
annotated copy of the sale catalogue from
the Arti et Amicitiae library, now in the
Rijksmuseum library).

- For the course of events, see Ellinoor
Bergvelt, *Pantheon der Gouden eeuw, Van
Nationale Konstgallerij tot Rijksmuseum
van schilderijen (1798-1896)*, Zwolle 1998,
pp. 116-17, 318; notes 189-98 and Gijs van der
Ham, *200 jaar Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam
2000, pp. 81-82.
- With thanks to Ellinoor Bergvelt who drew
my attention to her transcriptions of the
correspondence between the Ministry of
Education, Art and Sciences and Apostool
(RMA archives inv. 13, 15, no. 194, (31.12.1827;
Adm. OK&W, no. 33), no. 210, (1.4.1828,
Adm. OK&W, no. 27), and RMA, inv. 36, Kop,
pp. 206-07 (14.1.1828) and p. 215 (8.4.1828).
These reveal that it had been decided in
January to sell both groups of paintings in a
collective sale in Het Huis met de Hoofden

- in Amsterdam, that the planned sale of the Tulp was not known about until June and that attempts were made to prevent a public sale, see RMA archives, inv. 13, 15, no. 221, (7.6.1828, Adm. OK&W, no. 23) and inv. 36, Kop, pp. 223-24 (20.6.1828), pp. 224-25 (9.7.1828). At the end of July the minister appointed the directors of the Mauritshuis and the Rijksmuseum as Government assessors and the brokers Jeronimo de Vries and A. Brongdeest were appointed assessors for the Chirurgijns weduwenfonds (see RMA archives, inv. 13, 15, no. 225, (22.7.1828, MinBiZa, no. 118) and no. 226 (31.7.1828, Adm. OK&W, no. 26). On 8 August 1828, shortly after the sale, the directors reported to the minister that agreement had been reached on the sum of 32,000 guilders (see RMA archives, inv. 36, Kop, pp. 226-27 (8.8.1828)).
- 5 See Bergvelt 1998, op. cit. (note 3), esp. pp. 28-129 and Filedt Kok in 'Epiloog: Het verzamelen van schilderijen en kunstnijverheid uit de Gouden eeuw', in J. Kiers and F. Tissink, exh. cat. *The Glory of the Golden Age – Dutch Art of the 17th Century – Painting, Sculpture and Decorative Art*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2000, pp. 293-307, esp. pp. 300-02. On the Van der Pot Collection, Tim Zeedijk, "'Tot voordeel en Genoegen". De schilderijenverzameling van Gerrit van der Pot van Groenveld', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 55 (2007), pp. 129-201; on the Van Heteren Collection: T. L. J. Verroen, '“Een verstandig ryk man”, de achttiende-eeuwse verzamelaar Adriaan Leonard van Heteren,' *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 4 (1985), pp. 17-61 and Eva Geudecker, *Het kabinet Van Heteren Gevers, een achttiende-eeuwse schilderijenverzameling, 'waarvan het rénomme zo groot is.'* Unpublished doctoral thesis, Amsterdam, Free University 2005.
- 6 [C Apostool], *Catalogus der schilderijen, oudheden, enz. op het Koninklijk Museum te Amsterdam, Amsterdam* 1809; for the bibliography of all the Rijksmuseum painting catalogues see: Frits Kiers and Geert-Jan Koot in: Pieter J.J. van Thiel et al., *All the paintings of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam: a completely illustrated catalogue. First supplement 1976-91*, Amsterdam & The Hague 1992, pp. 22-31. More than twenty Dutch and ten French editions of Apostool's catalogue were published up to 1850. From 1827 onwards the catalogue was titled *Aanwijzing der schilderijen* and *Notice des tableaux* for the French edition; from 1846 onwards the *Aanwijzing* was limited to a list of artists' names and titles.
- 7 Bergvelt 1998, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 104-17, 402 (lists of works exchanged).
- 8 The paintings omitted altogether from the catalogues between 1809 and 1827 were nos. 46 (Dou), 65 (Van der Hagen), 131 (Teniers), 159 (B. Wolff after Carracci) and 167 (unknown) in the sale. From 1816 onwards the following items that were in the 1809 catalogue are missing: nos. 15 (Hendrik van Balen), 40 (Coijpel), 81 (Van Dyck), 101 (Griffier), 221 (Eglon van der Neer), 263 (Rottenhammer), 326 (Van de Venne), while no. 327 (Verbrugge) is mentioned for the last time in the 1825 catalogue.
- 9 'Allereerste kwaliteit', 'Eerste Kwaliteit'. 'Dit stuk behoort verkocht te worden, wordt verkocht.' *Aanwijzing* of 1827 in the RM library, which also indicates with numbers in which rooms in the Trippenhuus the catalogue numbers were hanging; there are also occasional notes about provenances and the amounts paid for the paintings from the Van der Pot and Bicker collections. Unfortunately the notes are not always accurate: in some cases paintings are confused. This also applies to the indications of the provenances in the Van der Pot and Van Heteren collections in the annotated copies of the 1809 catalogue. These notes were probably added later in the century by the compilers of the 1858 or 1880 catalogue. Because these notes were also followed in later catalogues, this inevitably caused confusion, which has been corrected in the attached appendix. For Apostool's quality assessments and wish lists see Bergvelt 1998, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 114-15.
- 10 See sale catalogue 4 August 1828, op. cit. (note 2). The accurate descriptions and the measurements given in this catalogue facilitate an unambiguous identification.
- 11 See Bergvelt 1998, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 115-16.
- 12 *Ibid.* and p. 318, note 186: 'Of the four paintings by Backhuysen One. Of the 12 by Berchem 3, of the 6 by Dou 2. Of the 7 by Van Dyck (or in his manner) 2. Of the 5 by Van der Heyden 2 very small works. Of the 3 by Jordaens 1. Of the 9 Hondecoeters 1. Of the 7 by Lairese 1. Of the 5 by Mieris 1. Of the 5 A. van Ostade 1. Of the 7 by Poelenburg 3. Of the 5 by Potter One small doubtful piece. Of the 4 by Rubbens – One very doubtful. Of the 7 by Teniers 3. Of the 6 by W. van de Velde 2 – and of the 13 by Wouwerman 4 – The remaining works by the top masters listed here are all of unquestionably better quality and the others that have been sold are works that were not worthy of hanging in the Rijks Museum.' ('Van de vier

- schilderijen van Backhuysen Een. Van de 12 van Berchem 3, van de 6 van Dou 2. Van de 7 van Van Dijk (of in zijn manier) 2. Van de 5 van Van der Heyden 2 zeer kleine stukjes. Van de 3 van Jordaens 1. Van de 9 Hondecoeters 1. Van de 7 van Laireesse 1. Van de 5 van Mieris 1. Van de 5 A. van Ostade 1. Van de 7 van Poelenburg 3. Van de 5 van Potter Een twijfelachtig Stukje. Van de 4 van Rubbens – Een zeer twijfelachtig. Van de 7 van Teniers 3. Van de 6 van W. van de Velde 2 – en van de 13 van Wouwerman 4 – De nog overgeblevene Stukken van de hier opgenoemde eerste Meesters zyn allen van ontwijffelbare betere kwaliteit en de Overige die men verkocht heeft zyn Stukken die niet waardig waren op 's Rijks Museum geplaatst te worden.)
- 13 For this painting see among others Jeroen Giltaij and Jan Kelch in exh. cat. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen & Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Lof der zeevaart – de Hollandse zeeschilders van de 17de eeuw*, Rotterdam 1996, no. 72.
- 14 The painting (cat. Mauritshuis 1895, no. 7) was unfortunately lost during the Second World War. The pendant *Turbulent Sea with Ships*, SK-A-10 dated 1692, also from the Van der Pot Collection, remained in the Rijksmuseum.
- 15 Inv. no. SK-A-4856; See *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 36 (1988), pp. 257, 261 and exh. cat. Amsterdam 2000, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 239, 319, no. 163. In 1998 a second version of this painting was acquired by the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh (inv. no. 98.13).
- 16 'Dit grote stuk behoorde verkocht te worden.'
- 17 '...zwarte Bakhuizen van de minste soort, boven verwerken groot en lomp noit geacht.' See Bergvelt 1998, op. cit. (note 2), p. 115.
- 18 The painting *Man Writing at a Painter's Easel* (fig. 3) was shown at the exhibition dedicated to the artist in 2000. See exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis & London, Dulwich Picture Gallery, Washington, National Gallery, *Gerard Dou - 1613-1675*, Zwolle 2000, pp. 68-69 and no. 3. It is puzzling that Van Heteren and the catalogues from 1809 to 1827 described this painting as 'An old man sits painting at a painter's easel in an interior' ('In een binnenvertrek zit een oud man voor een schilders-ezel te schilderen'), whereas in the painting, as is also described in the sale catalogue, there is indeed a painter's easel, but the old man is sitting writing. Is it conceivable that this is no.75 from the 1809 catalogue (*Old Man in a Study*), which also is missing from the catalogues after 1827? Regarding the two other Dous, which according to De Vries's accounts came from the Rijksmuseum, (an 'old woman beating yarn' ('garenkloppende oude vrouw') and a 'young man playing the flute' ('fluitspelende jongeman'), nos. 46 and 47), there was, to judge by the note in the catalogue 'by or as the same' ('door of als dezelfde'), evidently doubt about the attribution to Dou. The first painting was described in the museum catalogues as by David [=Dominicus] van Tol. Going by the description, the second, which fetched quite a high price (349 guilders), must have been a version of the *Young Man Playing the Flute* of 1636 by Gerard Dou in an English collection (W. Martin, *Gerard Dou, des Meisters Gemälde*, Stuttgart & Berlin 1913, no. 170). It is also likely that the painting sold as by David van Tol (*Old Woman Watering Flowers*) sale 1828, no. 135; cat. 1809, 308) for the exceptionally high price of 641 guilders is a version of a similar composition by Gerard Dou in Vienna (Martin (see above), no. 244).
- 19 The painting was shown at the recent exhibitions in The Hague and Washington devoted to the painter. See exh. cat. The Hague, Mauritshuis & Washington, National Gallery, *Frans van Mieris - 1635-1681*, Zwolle 2005, pp. 207-09, 230, and no. 47.
- 20 In 1809 Adriaan van Ostade was represented by three paintings, two of which, *Resting Travellers* and the *Painter's Studio*, were described as 'finest quality'. If the painting of *Three Peasants in an Interior* from the Van Heteren Collection that was sold for the high price of 1,505 guilders in 1828 is identical to the painting that was sold in The Hague on 19 April 1943, it is probably a copy.
- 21 In 1827 Paulus Potter was represented by five paintings, including the *Orpheus* from the Van Heteren Collection and the *Herdsmen with their Cattle* from the Van der Pot Collection, both of which were described as 'first quality', as was *The Bear Hunt* from the Van Rheenen Collection, which had come into the collection in 1825 in the exchange with the Mauritshuis. Even though the small panel, *Cattle in a Meadow*, that was sold as by Potter was described as 'a doubtful piece' ('Een twijfelachtig Stukje') by Apostool, it nevertheless sold for 900 guilders; the painting in question, which C. Hofstede de Groot listed as a Potter in *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 10 vols., 1908-1927, IV, p. 657, no. 100, has not been found to date. The genre

- pieces by David Teniers likewise belong to the traditional eighteenth-century picture gallery: in 1809 he was represented by seven works, of which only a small *Temptation of St Anthony* was termed 'first quality': three of them were sold in 1828. None of them could be identified by Margret Klinge. Willem van der Velde's *View of the IJ*, on loan from the City of Amsterdam (now in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum), described as 'finest quality', was the highlight of his works whereas the historic marines from the Van der Pot Collection were designated 'first quality'; the two marines that were sold, the pendants *Rough Water* and *Calm Water*, are modest in size, but together fetched almost 2,000 guilders.
- 22 Both are good, but not exceptional quality. The catalogues between 1809 and 1827 list ten works by him: for the most part they came from the Van der Pot (2), Van Heteren (4) and Bicker (2) collections. The sale of the larger history piece *Ruth and Boaz* (SK-A-32) from the Van Heteren Collection was considered. See the sale catalogue, nos. 27-29 for the works by Berchem that were sold.
- 23 'Hier kunnen verscheidene van verkocht worden.' For the works that were sold, see sale nos. 101-03. In the Van Heteren Collection there were two panels by the painter, approximately the same size, on the subject of the *Expulsion from Paradise*, which were described as pendants in the 1809 catalogue; one of them was sold in 1828; we do not know which painting had come from the Cornelis Wittert van Valkenburg sale, Rotterdam, 11 April 1731, no. 48 (with thanks to Taco Dibbits), see his entry in J. Bikker et al., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum – 1 – Artists born between 1570 and 1600*, Amsterdam 2007, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 316, no. 242, who suggested to me that the painting which was sold was a copy, sold in London (Christie's), 15 June 1984, no. 101). In 1986 the two little paintings on copper went to the Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover, see Ulricke Wegener, *Die holländischen und flämischen Gemälde*, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover 2000, pp. 288-91, nos. 144-45.
- 24 'De delikate penseelbehandeling van beide deze meesters maken hetzelfde tot een fraai kabinetstukje.'
- 25 'Ik blijf bij mijn gevoelens, dat behalve de beide Van der Heidens (zeer kleine maar fyne schilderytjes) er niets zoo zeer wenselyk ter terugname voor het Museum by ware.'
- 26 See for the painting in Dusseldorf, B. Baumgärtel, *Ein Fest der Malerei – Die niederländischen und flämischen Gemälde des 16.-18 Jahrhunderts – Bestandskatalog der Gemäldesammlung Museum kunst palast – Sammlung der Kunstakademie Düsseldorf*, Leipzig 2005, p. 120, no. 82.
- 27 Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, *De Hollandse meesters van een Amsterdamse bankier. De verzameling van Adriaan van der Hoop (1778-1854)*, Amsterdam & Zwolle 2004, pp. 102-03, 186-87.
- 28 There were several works painted on copper by seventeenth-century Dutch artists in the sale: a pair by Cornelis Poelenburgh (both now in Hanover), one by Eglon van der Neer and the pair of little landscapes by Jan van der Heyden.
- 29 *Bacchus and Ariadne* (inv. no. SK-A-17) by Van Balen, likewise from the Van Heteren Collection, had also disappeared from the catalogues between 1816 and 1821 and was evidently not on display in this period, but it reappeared in the 1825 catalogue as no. 13.
- 30 The portrait by Van Dyck that came from the Mauritshuis in 1825 is now called *Nicolaes van der Borgh* (SK-A-101), whereas the portrait acquired with the Van de Poll Bequest in 1880 may be of François van der Borgh.
- 31 See P.J.J. van Thiel, 'De inrichting van de Nationale Konst-Gallerij in het openingsjaar 1800', *Oud Holland* 95 (1981), pp. 170-227, esp. pp. 221-22, in which the differences in size between the painting described in 1800 and the version in the Rubens House is explored in detail. Nevertheless it seems most likely that the painting in Antwerp is the painting sold in Amsterdam in 1828. For the painting in the Rubens House see R.A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, Antwerp 1982, p. 207 and figs. 178, 217 and Paul Huvenne, *Het Rubenshuis*, Brussels 1990, pp. 66-67.
- 32 Purchased respectively from the Van Heteren Collection in 1822 and the Stinstra sale in Amsterdam for 360 guilders.
- 33 'Dit schilderij is volmaakt in de hoogste toon van P.P. Rubens geschilderd, en is wegens kloekheid van behandeling en waarheid van uitdrukking, de roem waardig, een der beste te wezen deszelfs maker.' In the annotated catalogue of 1827 the *Marsyas* is designated 'first quality'; remarkably enough the *Adoration of the Magi* described as by Jordaens in the 1809 catalogue (no. 164) had already disappeared from the 1818 catalogue.
- 34 See Van Thiel 1981, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 220-21 and also J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 3 (1950/1951), pp. 102-50, esp. pp. 108-10

- and T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'De woon-vertrekken van Amalia's Huis in het Bosch', *Oud Holland* 84 (1969), pp. 29-66, esp. pp. 33-34. For the most recent detailed publication see David Oldfield, *Later Flemish Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland – The Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Dublin (National Gallery of Ireland) 1992, pp. 104-06.
- 35 'Een der beste van dezen beroemde meester.'
- 36 Other works from this suite (which was supplied between 1676 and 1682) that were transferred from Soestdijk Palace to Huis Ten Bosch in 1799 are in the Rijksmuseum (inv. nos. SK-A-211-12, SK-A-4210, ceiling SK-A-1233) and the Mauritshuis (*Bacchus and Ariadne*, inv. 787). See Alain Roy, *Gérard de Laïresse (1640-1711)*, Paris 1992, pp. 290, 296-300, nos. P.126, 135, 136, 138, 139. Notes in pencil in the 1827 catalogue (see note 9) reveal that three of the six paintings by De Laïresse from Soestdijk Palace were being considered for sale. In the end *Venus, Adonis and Cupid* by Gerard de Laïresse was sold: originally it was probably the pendant to *Mars and Venus* (with the same measurements) that had hung above the door of Mary Stuart's bedroom.
- 37 'Fraai van ordonnantie en schildering'. Another painting from the same group, *Diana and Endymion*, was loaned to the Utrechts Kunsthistorisch Instituut between 1923 and 1971, and only returned to the Rijksmuseum in the 1980s. See exh. cat. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen & Frankfurt am Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, *Hollands Classicisme*, Rotterdam 1999, pp. 324-29, no. 65, in which Friso Lammertse makes a reasonable case that this painting (SK-A-211) and the *Venus, Adonis and Cupid* must have been above the doors of Mary Stuart's bedroom. It is interesting that in the annotated copy of the 1827 catalogue (see note 9), the comment 'can be sold' ('kunnen verkocht worden') alongside two other works from Soestdijk by De Laïresse – nos. 176 and 177 – has been crossed out in pencil; beside no. 171, titled *Mars, Venus and Cupid*, there is a note stating that it can be sold. Thanks to the accurate description in the sale catalogue of the painting that was sold there is no doubt that this is no. 172.
- 38 See Zeedijk 2007, op. cit. (note 5), p. 178, no. 82.
- 39 In the case of Aert de Gelder one is curious about the work sold in 1828 (approx. 95 x 103 cm), sale no. 60, 'An old man...painted in the style of Rembrandt'. ('Een oude man.... in den stijl van Rembrandt geschilderd.')

We do not know if this was an original; the other painting attributed to him since the 1821 purchase, a *Portrait of Peter the Great* (inv. no. SK-A-116), which remained in the Rijksmuseum, has for a long time been described as Russian School; it was not until the twentieth century that the painter was represented in the Rijksmuseum with a number of good works. It remains to be seen whether the attribution to Jan Griffier of the two paintings sold from the Van Heteren Collection is correct. Of the two paintings also originating from this collection that remained in the Rijksmuseum, one is now attributed to Pieter Gijsels (SK-A-126).