



Three Brothers, Thrice Six Years Old: Thomas de Keyser's Riddle Solved

• FRANS GRIJZENHOUT •

For almost four hundred years a quatrain written in Latin in the background of a painting attributed to Thomas de Keyser (1596-1667) has intrigued viewers of this portrait of three boys (figs. 1, 2).¹ In translation it reads:

As three brothers we number thrice
six years:
I, Henricus, was twice six,
Joannes, who follows, five, and the
third is of this year:
Simon unclothed wishes riches to
be spurned.²

For anyone who could understand Latin and knew which boys were portrayed here, this verse, with its rather teasing number game, must have been a form of mild intellectual amusement. It may have been a starting point for a conversation about this unusual painting, with the overly large naked Simon in the middle, held upright by his older, self-assured brother Hendrick on the right and the younger Jan on the left. But many questions remain for today's visitors to the Rijksmuseum, where this painting has been on display since it was purchased in 1987. Who are these brothers? From whom and why did Thomas de Keyser receive this commission and why did he place the children in this composition? Why is

< Fig. 1
THOMAS DE KEYSER,
*Portrait of Three
Roman Catholic
Brothers, probably
Hendrick (1616-1666),
Jan (1623/24-1669/70)
and Simon Versteegen
(-1629), 1628-29.*
Oil on panel,
121.5 x 88.4 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-4850.

Fig. 2
Detail with the verse
in the background
(fig. 1).

Simon naked and why does he have a gold cross on a chain around his neck?

The last question is the easiest to answer. The cross with the likeness of the crucified Christ hanging on a skilfully forged gold chain is undoubtedly a deliberate indication of the Catholicism of the family to which the brothers belonged. This religion could no longer be practised in public in Amsterdam since the Alteration of 1578, when the Catholic city government was deposed in favour of a Protestant council. It was permitted indoors, however, and we very often see these kinds of crosses pictured, especially in portraits of Catholic children in the first decades of the seventeenth century (fig. 3).³

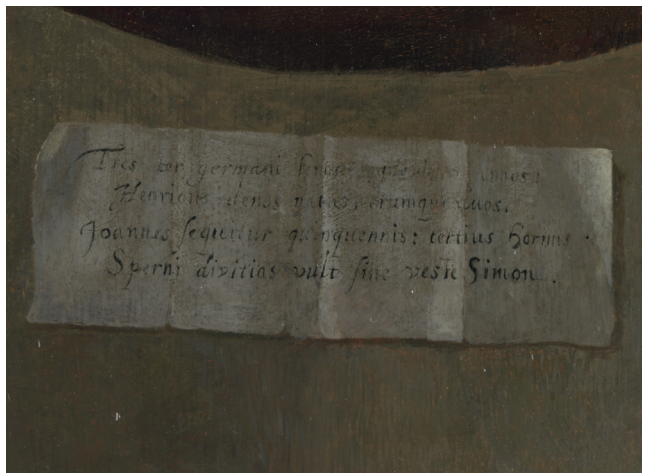


Fig. 3

WILLEM VAN DER VLIET, *Portrait of an Unknown Catholic Child*, 1638. Oil on panel, 92.3 x 76 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-2577; gift of the heirs of C. Hoogendijk, The Hague.



In 1991 the then director of paintings of the Rijksmuseum, Pieter van Thiel, devoted a superb article to the portrait of the three brothers in the magazine *Simiolus*, in which he placed the painting in the oeuvre of Thomas de Keyser between 1627 and 1633 and in the context of the Amsterdam Catholic culture in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Among other things, he was interested in why Simon was naked. The words in the background, exhorting the renunciation of the world, led Van Thiel to suggest that the Catholic

parents of this youngest child may have intended him for a monastic life.⁴

Van Thiel would obviously have liked to confirm this hypothesis by establishing the identities of the three boys, but that proved impossible at the time, despite the clues about their first names and ages given in the verse. As Van Thiel had had to conclude, there are hardly any surviving baptismal records of Catholic children in Amsterdam for the first three decades of the seventeenth century. The earliest are those from

the Catholic house church 't Boompje, at that time situated in Kalverstraat near the Mint, which contains a baptismal register dating from mid-1628 onwards. The records from all other Catholic house churches in Amsterdam, where thousands of believers received the sacraments, begin (much) later. Marriages of religious groups regarded as dissenters – Mennonites, Jews, Catholics, Lutherans, Remonstrants – were registered separately by the magistrates of Amsterdam and proclaimed from the steps of the town hall: these registers can certainly help in the research into Catholic families. To complicate matters, however, Catholics sometimes wed in the Reformed church.⁵ The deceased members of Catholic families were not allowed to be buried in or near their own churches, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were therefore hidden among the countless people who were interred in Amsterdam's Protestant churches or public cemeteries; the first names of children who died young were frequently not even noted in the burial registers. All these circumstances make searching for the precise composition of Amsterdam Catholic families in the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century an often discouraging occupation.

In the case of this particular painting, the first names of the two oldest children are of no help either: in the Protestant churches in Amsterdam alone, around 1630 almost five hundred children every year were baptized with the first name of Jan or a variation of it and around a hundred and twenty with the name of Hendrick. These were also extremely common names among Catholics, who in the seventeenth century made up almost twenty percent of the Amsterdam population. Simon was far less common, but by chance there is actually a child with that name among the earliest known Catholic baptisms

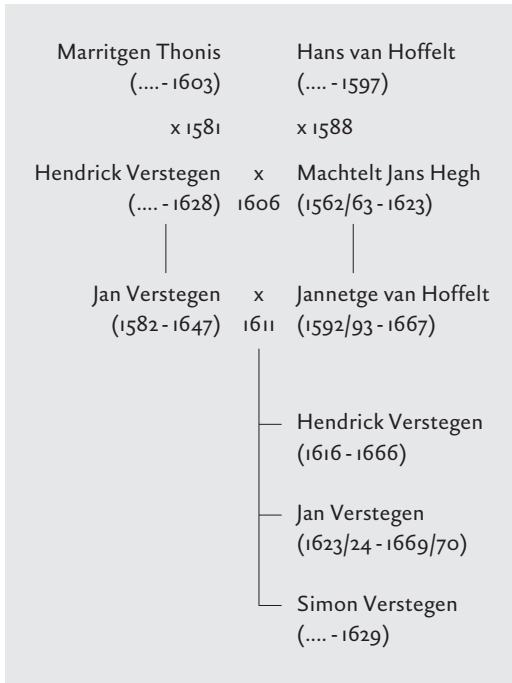
in 't Boompje: on 14 July 1628 a Simon was baptized there. He was the son of Joannes Henrici and Anna Simonis, with Simon Simonis as his godfather. This all sounds very promising, but further research soon shows that it is a dead end: it relates to the family of the Protestant goldsmith Simon Simonsz Valckenaer (-1629), whose daughter Anna (1594/95-1655) married the Catholic Jan Hendricksz Grotenhuijs (1586/87-1637), a wine merchant in Bantammerstraat, in 1627. He had a son called Hendrick from a previous marriage in 1620, and after Simon was baptized in 't Boompje in July 1628 another brother called Jan was born in 1629.⁶ All these names match those in the portrait and there is even a link between that family and the painter Thomas de Keyser, but the ages of the sons Hendrick and Jan certainly do not correspond with what the little verse in De Keyser's painting has to say about them.⁷ So the three boys portrayed by Thomas de Keyser cannot be identified as the brothers Hendrick, Simon and Jan Grotenhuijs.

However, in the course of another investigation I chanced upon a Catholic family in Amsterdam that fulfilled all the search criteria. It is the family of Jan Verstegen and Jannetje van Hoffelt, with their sons Hendrick, Jan and Simon. I shall now explain their genealogy and life history and their relationship with Thomas de Keyser.

De Kat and De Keyser

In April 1581 the Nijmegen-born iron merchant Hendrick Jansz Verstegen (-1628) gave notice of his intended marriage to Marritgen Thonis (-1603) before the magistrates of Amsterdam; a son Jan was born to this marriage (fig. 4).⁸ After the death of his first wife, Hendrick Verstegen remarried in 1606, once again before the magistrates. His second wife was Machtelt Jans Hegh (1562/63-1623), a daughter of the plumber Jan Hegh;⁹ she brought a

Fig. 4
Verstegen family
tree.



daughter Jannetje with her from her previous marriage to the grocer Hans van Hoffelt (-1597). For more than twenty years Hendrick Verstegen had lived in 'the town hall of Nijmegen' in Kalverstraat, but in 1606 he moved in with his second wife, who had inherited a house called 'de Kat' in Vijgendam in Amsterdam from her first husband – more about this later.¹⁰ On 23 August 1611 Jan Verstegen (1582-1647), at that time twenty-nine years old, and his eighteen-year-old step-sister Jannetje van Hoffelt (1592/93-1667) crossed the Dam from that house to give notice of their intended marriage to the magistrates in the old Amsterdam town hall in the presence of their respective parents.¹¹

Three sons were born to this marriage of Jan Verstegen and Jannetje van Hoffelt: Hendrick, Jan and Simon. We are best informed about Hendrick's date of birth. On 10 May 1616 Jan Verstegen and his wife had their wills drawn up, naming their then only son Hendrick as their sole heir. Because

the mother was still 'int kinderbedde' – confined after his birth – Hendrick must have been born just before that.¹² After 1616, it was to be a while before Jan Verstegen and Jannetje van Hoffelt had another child. When their second son, Jan, gave notice of his intended marriage to Adriana van den Berch on 27 October 1650 (more on this later), he stated that he was twenty-six years old, which means that he must have been born between October 1623 and October 1624.¹³ All we know about the youngest son, Simon, is that on 18 June 1629 he was taken from the Damsluis and interred in the presbytery of the Nieuwe Kerk.¹⁴ There were no other brothers or sisters.¹⁵

There is no doubt that the Verstegen family was Catholic. In fact, Jan Verstegen and his wife Jannetje van Hoffelt must have played a role in the organization of Amsterdam's Catholic community in the first decades of the seventeenth century. At least, we can conclude this from the fact that in the seventeenth century the house of

'Joan. Versteeghen' on the Dam was already known as one of the places where Augustinus van Teylingen, a Jesuit priest who had dared to return to Amsterdam early on, was able to lodge safely.¹⁶ Later, in 1656, worried Reformed clergymen informed the burgomasters of Amsterdam that the house called 'de Spinster' on the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal (nowadays Spuistraat) near Wijdsteeg was one of the sixty-two 'papist meeting places' where the Catholics held an 'ordinary gathering' which was 'very large'.¹⁷ This was probably the house called 'de Wolspinster' between Wijdsteeg and Roosmarijnsteeg that Jannetge van Hoffelt had inherited from her aunt Immetgen Jans Hegh in 1641 and the family continued to own until 1709.¹⁸

In addition to all this, there is one very specific circumstance that argues in favour of embracing the proposed

identification of the three boys in De Keyser's portrait as Hendrick, Jan and Simon Versteegen. As we have seen, the Versteegen family had lived in 'de Kat' in Vijgendam in Amsterdam since 1606. It is hard to imagine how much has changed in this area since the late nineteenth century as a result of demolition and rebuilding, but Balthasar Florisz's famous 1625 map provides an excellent image of this old part of Amsterdam (fig. 5). In the seventeenth century, the fish market was located roughly where the National Monument now stands in Dam Square. Diagonally opposite, counting from the corner of Nes, there was a row of six houses in Vijgendam; 'de Kat' was the last one (fig. 5, no. 1). Hans van Hoffelt bought this house in 1591 and after his death in 1597 it passed by way of his widow Machtelt Jans Hegh to their daughter, Jannetge van Hoffelt, who married her step-



Fig. 5

BALTHASAR FLORISZ VAN BERCKENRODE, detail from *Bird's Eye View of Amsterdam*, centre sheet, 1625. Etching, 473 x 532 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1892-A-17491D.

- 1 Versteegen Family 'in de Kat'
- 2 Versteegen Family 'waar de Kat in de gevel staat'
- 3 Loeff Fredericksz
- 4 Andries Fredericksz and Marritje Bruynen



Fig. 6
 THOMAS DE KEYSER,
*Portrait of Loeff
 Fredericksz as
 the Ensign of
 District 14*, 1626.
 Oil on panel,
 92.2 x 69.8 cm.
 The Hague,
 Mauritshuis,
 inv. no. 806.

brother Jan Verstegen in 1611.¹⁹ Until the beginning of the eighteenth century 'de Kat' remained in the possession of the Verstegen family along with a small house situated diagonally behind it in Beurssluis (fig. 5, no. 2), where 'de Kat is in the facade'.²⁰

A stone's throw from 'de Kat', at the Vismarkt, stood the house of the silversmith Loeff Fredericksz (1590-1668) (fig. 5, no. 3), an uncle of Machtelt Andries (1601-1636), who married Thomas de Keyser in 1626. In that same year De Keyser made the famous portrait of this uncle as an ensign of civic guard company 14,

which is now in the Mauritshuis (see fig. 6).²¹ However the families of Loeff Fredericksz and Thomas de Keyser were even closer to the Verstegens, in the most literal sense of the word. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the city had a row of shops built right next door to 'de Kat'. A little gate through this complex gave access to the stock exchange designed by Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621), Thomas de Keyser's father.²² In the shop next door to 'de Kat' (fig. 5, no. 4) lived the family of the cutter of coats of arms in stone and silversmith Andries Fredericksz (1566-1627),

a much older half-brother of Loeff Fredericksz, and his wife Marritje Bruynen (-1647): they were Thomas de Keyser's parents-in-law.²³ The fact that the Verstegens and Thomas de Keyser's in-laws were neighbours and knew each other well was confirmed once again many years later, in 1669, when one of the sons of Andries Fredericksz and Marritje Bruynen, the gold and silversmith Simon Andriesz Valckenaer (1609-1672) (fig. 7), at the request of Jan Verstegen Junior, affirmed that he had known both his grandfather Hendrick Verstegen as well as his father Jan Verstegen the Elder 'very well' because for a long time they had lived 'in one neighbourhood'.²⁴ When Jan Verstegen and Jannetje van Hoffelt decided that they wanted to have their three boys immortalized they probably did not hesitate for too long in choosing who they would ask to do it: Thomas de Keyser, the son-in-law of their next-door neighbours, was an obvious choice. The Verstegens were easily able to afford such a portrait: in 1631 their wealth was estimated at 30,000 guilders, more than twice as much as that of Loeff Fredericksz (14,000 guilders) and more than three times as much as their neighbour Marritje Bruynen, Thomas de Keyser's mother-in-law (9,000 guilders).²⁵

Following a Naked Christ

If, with what we now know of the births of Hendrick (early May 1616), Jan (October 1623/24) and the date of Simon Verstegen's burial (18 June 1629), we take a fresh look at the verse in the background of the painting, we can work out that if Hendrick is twelve years old, Jan five and Simon 'of this year' (*hornus*), De Keyser's portrait of the three boys must have been made in the last quarter of 1628 or the first half of 1629. As there is nothing in the tone or the content of the verse that refers to Simon's early death and this youngest child appears to be perfectly

healthy, I assume that it was painted during his lifetime.²⁶ In view of the fairly large age differences between the three brothers it may be assumed that the parents must have regarded the birth of each of them as extremely special. The birth of Simon and the approaching survival of his first year of life may have been the direct reason for commissioning this unusual painting.

More generally, it is important to note that in the years preceding the creation of this portrait the city of Amsterdam had rigidly followed a 1622 edict from the States-General that tried to exclude Jesuits and obliged other Roman Catholic clergymen to be registered with the local government. By 1629 strict enforcement of this order in Amsterdam appears to have halted and there was more room – at any rate relatively – for the development of Catholic activities.²⁷

Fig. 7
THOMAS DE KEYSER,
Portrait of a Silversmith, possibly Simon Andriesz Valckenaer, 1630.
Oil on panel,
63.7 x 53.5 cm.
Private collection.



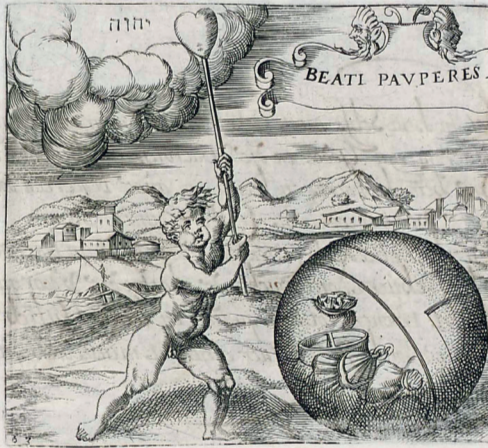
Without the words in the background, we might think that the explicit presentation of the nakedness of the baby Simon could be an echo of and evoke an association with the *ostentatio genitalium* of the sin-free Christ child incarnate. This pictorial motif occurs frequently in western art from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century

(fig. 8).²⁸ But we find no reference to this in the content and the light tone of the verse, but rather to the commandment as preached by St Jerome and later put into practice by St Francis of Assisi – *nudum Christum nudus sequere* – or the active following of Christ through the voluntary renunciation of worldly goods.²⁹ In the more

Fig. 8
DEFENDENTE
FERRARI, *Madonna
and Child*, 1526.
Oil on panel,
56 x 37 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3395;
J.W.E. vom Rath
Bequest, Amsterdam.



EMBLEMATA CHRISTIANA. 63



lxiij.

*Spiritus haud illi pauper qui desipit, aut qui
Et facit, & loquitur singula ridicule:
Quin puero magis, qui cum sapit, attamen usq;
Impuris purum cor habet a vitijs.*

f 3 Si

general sense, a rejection of wealth and the temptations of the world was not an exclusively Catholic conviction, but a widely supported view in Christian circles. We see this idea depicted in the Reformation-inspired *Emblemes ou devises chrestiens* by Georgette de Montenay, the first edition of which was published in 1567; in the decades that followed, this volume went through a variety of reissues and translations, in Dutch as well (fig. 9).³⁰

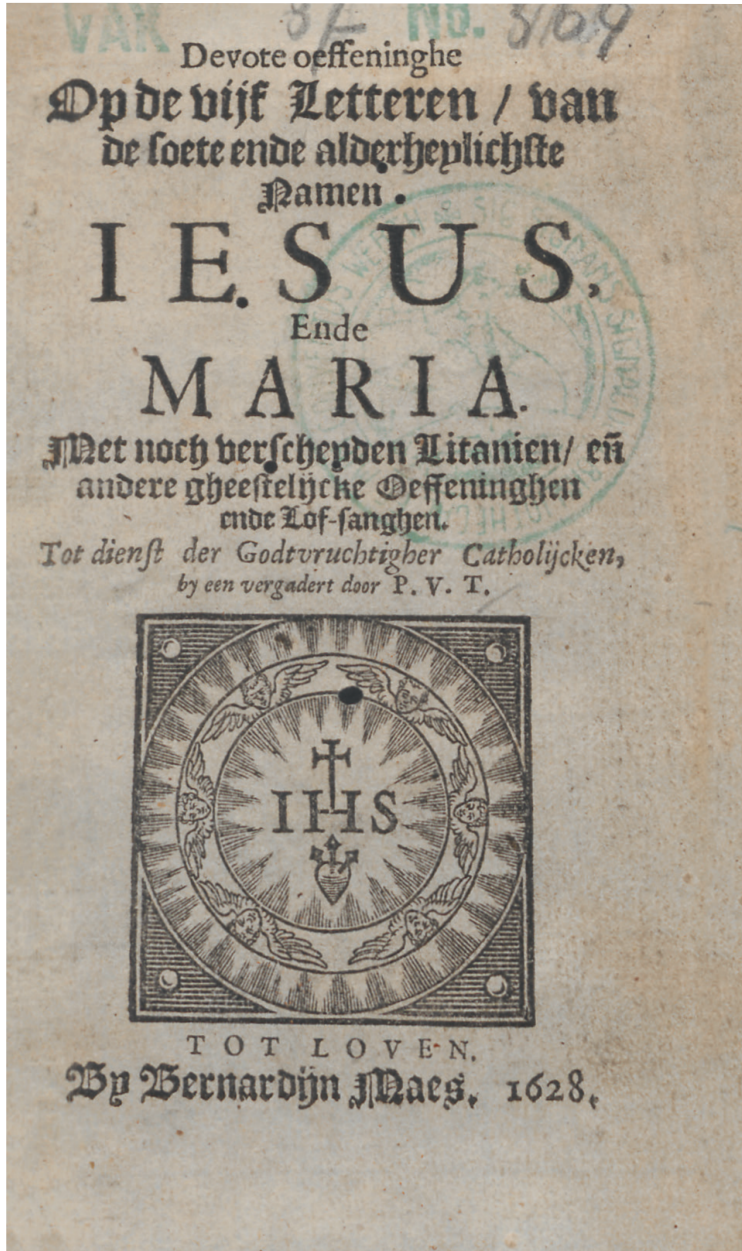
In their conversations with Thomas de Keyser about the depiction of the naked Simon, the Verstegens may have been directly inspired by the ideas of

their illustrious guest Augustinus van Teylingen, whom we encountered earlier. In his writings he showed himself to be extremely critical of anything that hinted at opulence and finery: he even called clothes 'brand marks of sins'.³¹ Van Teylingen therefore maintained that the 'disdain of the world' could not begin early enough. As he states in his *Devote oeffeninghe op de vijf letteren van de soete ende allerheyligste namen Iesus ende Maria* (fig. 10) published in 1628:

So learn to hate the world
Even when you are young and tender.³²

Fig. 9
GEORGETTE DE MONTENAY, *Cent emblemes chrestiens*, Heidelberg 1602 (3rd impression), emblem 63: 'Beati pauperes' ('Blessed are the Poor'). Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection, 08 9575. A naked, innocent child renounces the world and its riches and lifts his heart to God. Photo: Emblem Project Utrecht.

Fig. 10
 AUGUSTINUS
 VAN TEYLINGEN,
*Devote oeffeninghe
 op de vijf letteren
 van de soete ende
 allerheyligste namen
 Iesus ende Maria,*
 Louvain 1628.
 Utrecht, Utrecht
 University Library.



It is quite conceivable that the highly intellectual Van Teylingen, who was well-versed in Latin, was also responsible for the content of the verse in the painting. But that obviously only worked if the parents also knew enough Latin to relish sharing the point of it with others.

Hendrick and Jan Verstegen: Brothers in Prosperity and Adversity

If baby Simon, as Van Thiel suspected, was already destined for a monastic life, his early death in any case meant that nothing came of it. But the brothers Hendrick and Jan Verstegen did reach adulthood. They do not appear to

have followed in the footsteps of their grandfather Hendrick and their father Jan, who were both iron merchants.³³ Hendrick (1616-1666) never married and continued to live with his mother all his life, firstly in the large house on the Dam, later in a rented house on the west side of Singel – only a few doors away from ‘de Dolphijn’, the house owned by Frans Banning Cocq (140-42 Singel) – and finally on the west side of Herengracht near Hartenstraat; ‘de Kat’ and the little house diagonally behind it in Beurssluis were rented out separately.³⁴ In various wills and codicils, Jannetje van Hoffelt thanks her son Hendrick for his help in her business, which she had probably taken over after the death of her husband in 1647.³⁵ Hendrick also had ‘his own trade and business’, probably in silk and other fabrics.³⁶ He patently

failed to respond to his prematurely deceased little brother Simon’s exhortation in De Keyser’s painting to renounce the world and reject luxurious clothes. He must also have been something of an intellectual, because on several occasions his mother recorded that all the printed books in the house belonged to her son, Hendrick.

We are better informed about the life of the second son, Jan Verstegen (1623/24-1669/70), the little boy on the left in De Keyser’s portrait (fig. 11). As we have seen, in 1650, at the age of twenty-six, he married the nineteen-year-old Adriana van den Berch (1631-1668/69).³⁷ Unlike the Verstegens, the Van den Berch family was not originally Catholic. Adriana’s grandfather, the wool merchant Frans Wolfertsz van den Berch (-1646),

Fig. 11
The family tree of the Verstegen and Van den Berch families.

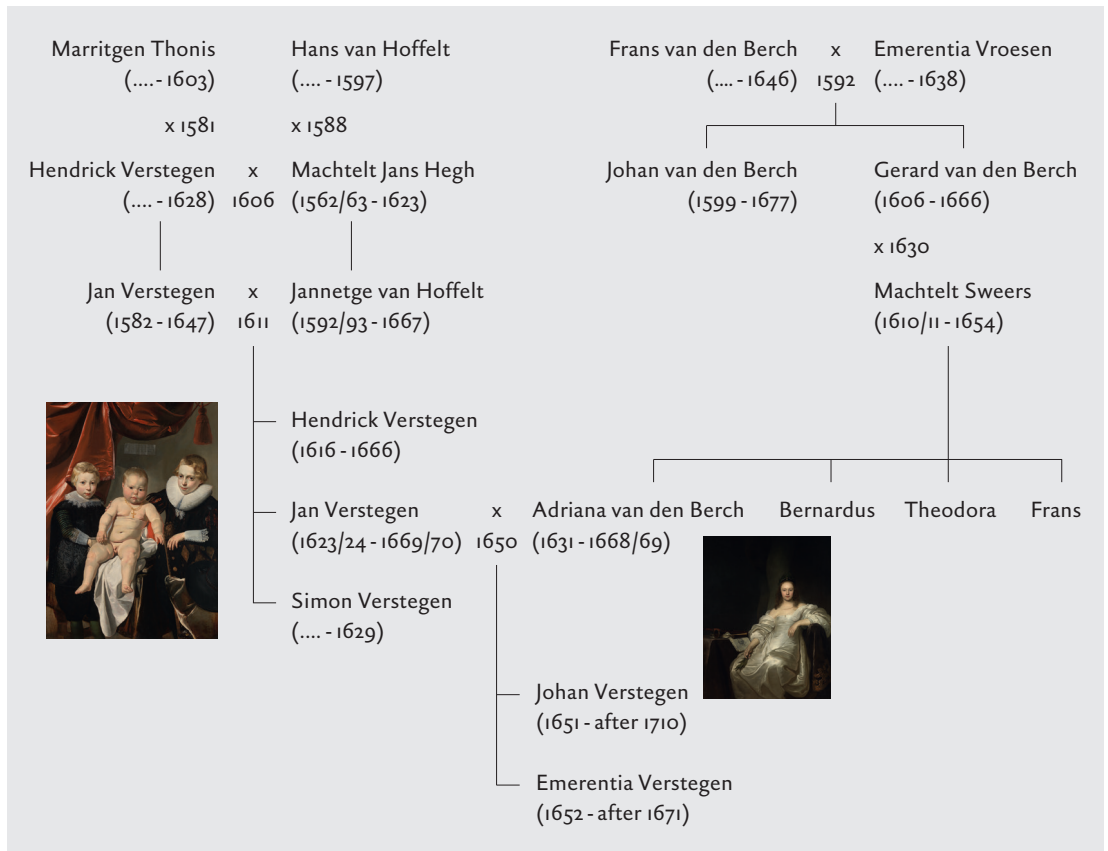


Fig. 12

JACOB BACKER,
*Portrait of a Young
 Woman, probably
 Adriana van den
 Berch (1631-1668/69),
 as the Muse Euterpe,*
 c. 1649-50.
 Oil on canvas,
 169.5 x 133.5 cm.
 Private collection.



came from a Protestant family in Delft. After his marriage to Emerentia Vroesen (-1638) of Gouda, he settled in Amsterdam and, like Thomas de Keyser, this couple seems to have become sympathetic to the Remonstrant cause.³⁸ Their eldest son, the merchant Johan van den Berch (1599-1677), even became one of the superintendents of the Remonstrant church in Keizersgracht,³⁹ and when he made a will in 1650 he bequeathed 2,000 guilders to this congregation.⁴⁰ The second son, Gerard (or Gerrit) van den Berch (1606-1666), was trained as a lawyer in Italy and France.⁴¹ We do not know if he converted to Catholicism there,

but in any event in 1630 he married the Catholic Machteltje Sweers (1610/11-1654) in front of the magistrates in Amsterdam; their first child, Adriana van den Berch, was born in 1631.⁴²

Adriana van den Berch's uncle Johan must have been very fond of his niece. In his aforementioned will of May 1650, he also stipulated that the portrait of Adriana in a gilded frame painted by Jacob Backer – apparently at his expense – was a preferential legacy to her. As Adriana van den Berch was to marry Jan Versteegen a few months later, it is likely that the portrait was created with that in mind. Of the few individual portraits of girls

and young women by Jacob Backer only one qualifies to be identified as that of Adriana van den Berch: the life-sized portrait from around 1649-50 of a young woman in the guise of Euterpe, the muse of flute music (fig. 12).⁴³ The choice of this unusual image must have been prompted by the fact that Adriana was a gifted recorder player and viola da gamba player. Various collections of music and compositions were dedicated to her when she was still young and in 1644 she had already been hailed as a reborn Euterpe.⁴⁴

We know from another source that uncle Johan covered the costs of his niece Adriana's wedding.⁴⁵ We do not know if this was the straw that broke the camel's back or whether there was a pattern of structural overspending or Johan van den Berch was just unlucky, but a year later he was in such financial difficulties that the commissioners of the Bankruptcy Chamber confiscated all his possessions. When the inventory was drawn up on 25 and 26 October 1651, his house in Nieuwe Doelenstraat contained 'a shepherd and a shepherdess with sheep' by Jacob Backer, a fellow Remonstrant. Adriana's father, Gerrit van den Berch, took over all the household effects from his insolvent brother for the sizeable sum of 13,000 guilders.⁴⁶ In spite of this, Johan van den Berch's debts were still more than 100,000 guilders and he was forced to move to Palmgracht in the Jordaan, where he died childless in 1677.⁴⁷

Between 1651 and 1656 Adriana van den Berch and her husband Jan Verstegen had a child baptized every year: five by the Franciscans in 't Boompje in Kalverstraat, one by the Dominicans in the Torentje in Singel. Jan Verstegen seems to have had a successful career as a charterer of European merchant vessels.⁴⁸ But in the course of 1657, he too ran into serious financial problems and was put into receivership by the Bankruptcy Chamber. In the spring of 1658, he was able to reach agreements with most

of his creditors about the repayment of 20 to 25 percent of his debts, which in total amounted to more than 70,000 guilders, but it was 1660 before he was completely discharged and was allowed to trade again.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Jan's mother Jannetje van Hoffelt and his brother Hendrick Verstegen tried to safeguard their own interests and those of the family. When Jan Verstegen married Adriana van den Berch he received 24,000 guilders; his parents had also paid 3,400 guilders for the jewellery he had bought for his bride and given him a superb wardrobe to the value of around 3,100 guilders. As Hendrick was not married, a provision had to be made to settle the difference in treatment and prevent Jan's inheritance from falling into the hands of his creditors. Jannetje van Hoffelt achieved this in a series of wills and codicils, the content of which repeatedly changed with the developments in the financial situation of her son, Jan.⁵⁰ Basically this meant that the two houses on the Dam and on Beurssluis plus a long list of luxury goods, including a lot of porcelain and damask, were immediately made over to Hendrick. In his turn, he stated that the oldest child of his brother, Johan Verstegen, would have a life interest in the two houses and that this *fideicommissum* – a gift of property to be held on behalf of another who cannot receive the gift directly – was not allowed to be used for settling Jan Verstegen's debts or the possible debts of his descendants.⁵¹ On the deaths of Hendrick Verstegen in August 1666 and Jannetje van Hoffelt in September 1667, their household effects – probably including the painting by De Keyser – went to Jan Verstegen and, as long as his oldest son Johan remained a minor, he acquired the guardianship and a life interest in the two houses on the Dam.⁵²

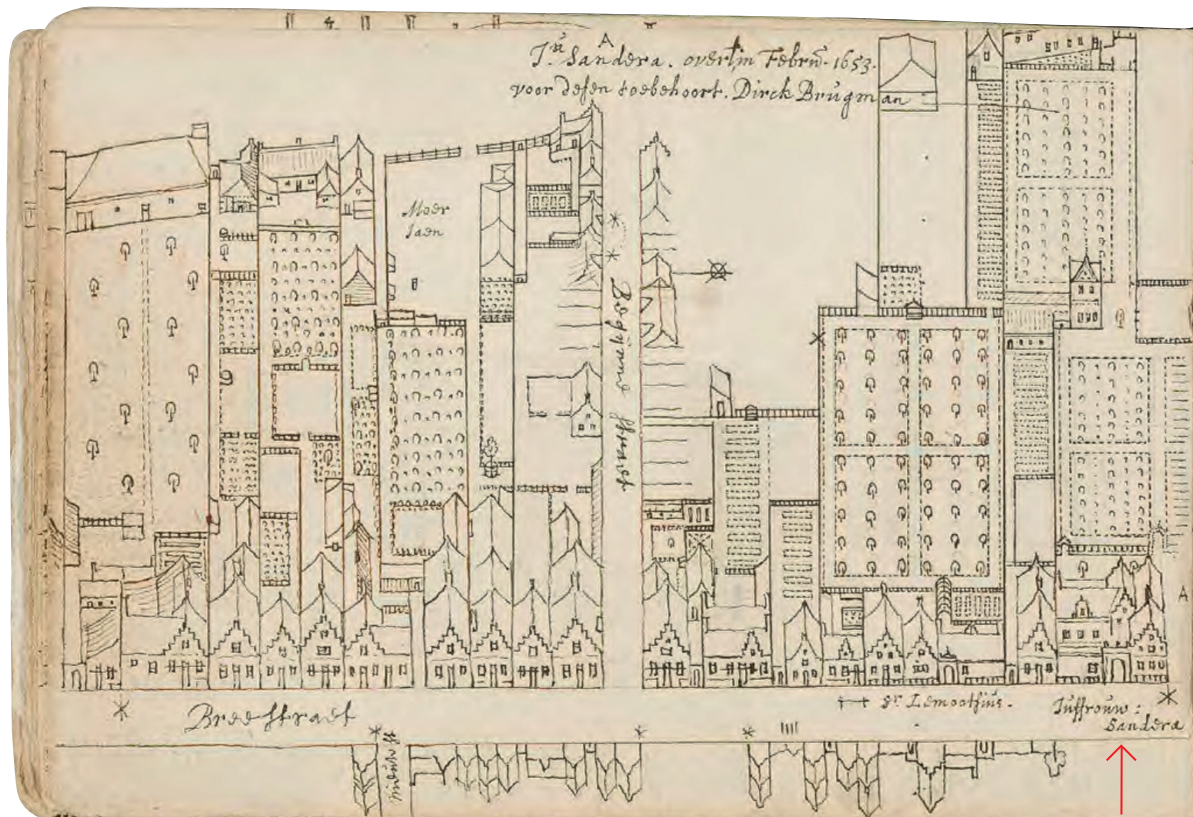
At the time of his bankruptcy, probably out of necessity, Jan Verstegen, his wife Adriana van den Berch and their children, together with Adriana's

father, moved into a large house in Breestraat in Beverwijk, which Gerard van den Berch had purchased back in 1655 (fig. 13).⁵³ Gerard van den Berch died there in December 1666, leaving a fortune of more than 120,000 guilders. In the years before his death, he had also made all kinds of provisions to ensure that his three surviving children would be treated equally, taking into account the amounts gifted or borrowed previously, and that his estate would not be swallowed up by his son-in-law Jan Verstegen's creditors or by those of his own brother Johan.⁵⁴ As his daughter Adriana had received 20,000 guilders when she married Jan Verstegen and another 4,000 for her trousseau, she was only allowed to have a life interest in 16,000 guilders of her inheritance of more than 40,000 guilders after her father's death.⁵⁵

Adriana van den Berch and her husband Jan Verstegen were not able to enjoy the fruits that had fallen to them with the death of her father, his brother and his mother for very long. On 31 May 1668, in their house in Breestraat in Beverwijk, they made a codicil to their will. Adriana was confined to bed after giving birth and was too tired and too weak to sign the deed herself; she probably died soon after that and was interred in Beverwijk in her father's grave.⁵⁶ The last sign of life that we have of Jan Verstegen dates from October 1669.⁵⁷ When his daughter Emerentia announced her intended marriage in August 1670, she no longer had any parents.⁵⁸

Provenance

Thomas de Keyser's portrait of the three Verstegen boys was painted in 1628 or 1629 for 'de Kat' in Vijgendam.

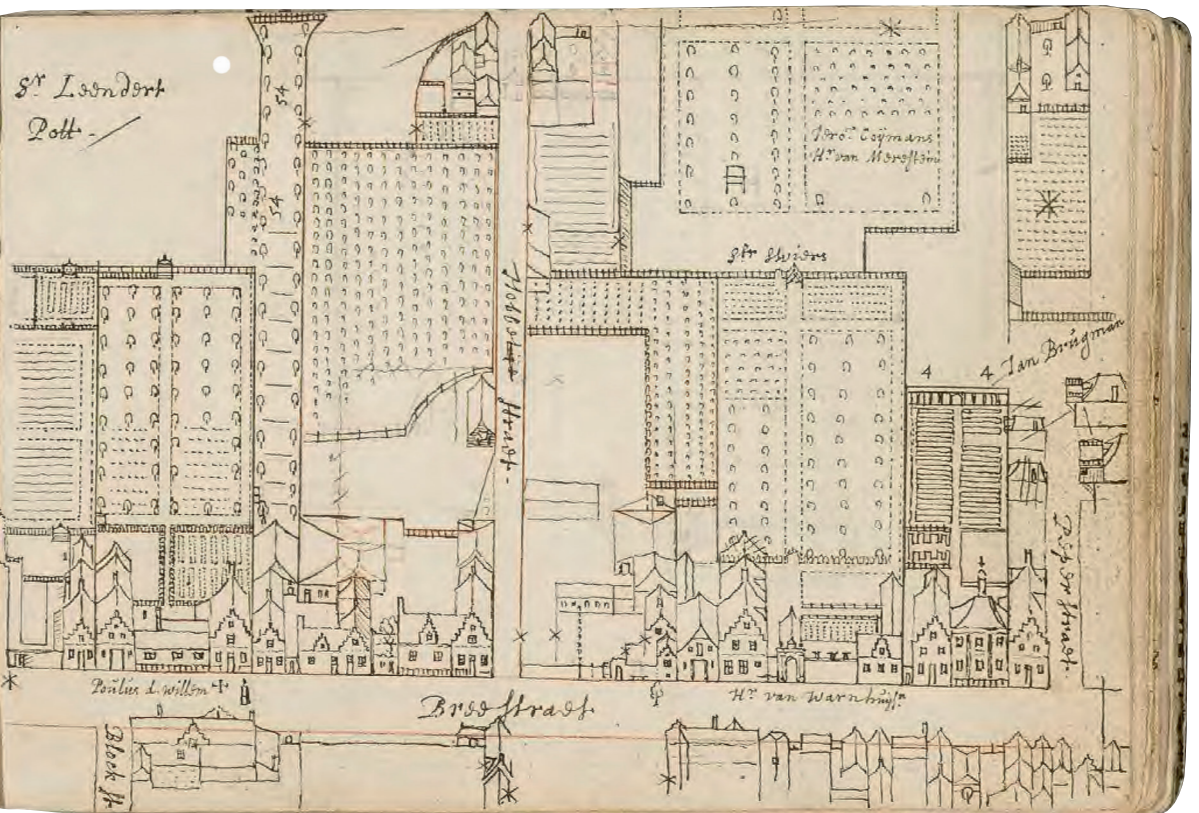


Anyone who crossed the threshold of that house in the heart of Amsterdam as it was after the Alteration of 1578, was confronted by way of this portrait with the family's Catholicism, invisible from outside, but explicitly expressed indoors, and with the message it contained of renunciation of the world and devotion to the faith, possibly influenced by a Jesuit priest.⁵⁹ Earlier than hoped, the portrait must also have kept alive the family's memory of Simon, who had died so young.

From 'de Kat' the portrait would have been moved to the rented houses that the family successively occupied on Singel and Herengracht. After Jannetge van Hoffelt's death in a house on Keizersgracht in 1667, it would have been taken to Beverwijk by her only surviving son, Jan. It probably hung together with the large portrait of Jan's wife, Adriana van den Berch,

by Jacob Backer in the house in Bree-straat. What happened to these portraits after the deaths of Jan Verstegen and Adriana van den Berch is highly uncertain. From 1702 onwards Jan Verstegen and Adriana van den Berch's eldest son, the aforementioned Johan Verstegen (1651-after 1710), the only living heir, sold off as much as he could of the surviving family possessions in Amsterdam, out of necessity, because he too had financial problems.⁶⁰ In order to make some of these transactions possible, Johan Verstegen had to request discharge from the clause in the wills that his grandmother and uncle had established precisely to prevent him from selling the houses to pay off his debts. But Johan Verstegen saw no other way out. He was living with a large family in Roermond where he had had a fairly unsuccessful career as a deputy bailiff at the neighbouring

Fig. 13
DANIEL VAN BREEN,
*Bird's Eye Map of
Beverwijk, 1648-49.*
Ink on paper,
c. 120 x 340 mm.
Amsterdam, City
Archives, Heshuysen
Family Archives,
inv. no. 523, sheets
17-18. In this drawing
Gerard van den
Berch's large house in
Breestraat, with an
orchard and stables,
is to the immediate
left of the centre fold.



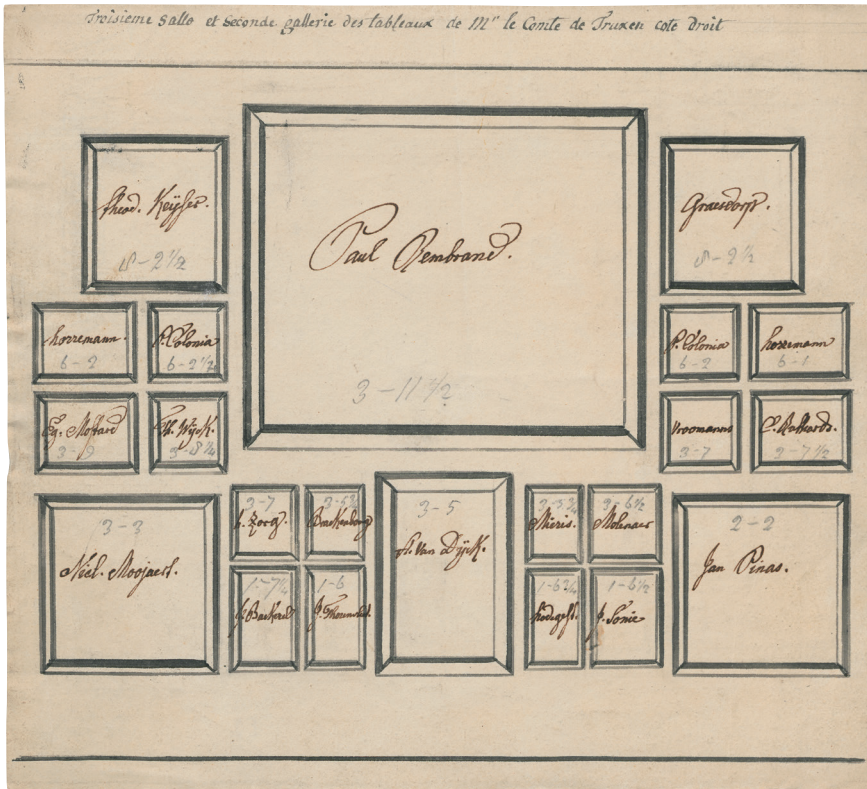


Fig. 14
Right wall of
the third room of
the collection of
Joseph Franz Anton,
Duke of Waldburg-
Zeil-Wurzach,
London, c. 1802.
Ink on paper,
530 x 245 mm.
Karlsruhe,
Generallandesarchiv
Baden-Württemberg,
Nachlass Truchsess
von Waldburg
Archives, inv. no. 14.
Upper left the
portrait of the three
boys by De Keyser.

manor of Montfort and, not denying his Catholic roots, as a commissioner of inspection for the King of Spain; three of his sons served in the army of the likewise Catholic Elector of the Palatinate. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) caused Johan Versteegen to suffer huge problems of loyalty, eventually culminating in the loss of his income.⁶¹

The portrait would probably no longer have had much meaning for Johan Versteegen's children: after all, they had never known their grandfather Jan and their great-uncle Hendrick Versteegen. Perhaps the pictorial idiom did not really appeal to early eighteenth-century taste and the family was in need of money, so it is quite conceivable that over the course of the eighteenth century the portrait became detached from the natural link with the family memory and ended up on the market.

For a long time after that the painting disappeared from view. It was probably sold in London in 1806 as part of the Truchsessian Gallery, an enormous collection of paintings originally put together in Würzburg by Joseph Franz Anton, Duke of Waldburg-Zeil-Wurzach, which had found its way to London in 1802 by way of Vienna.⁶² Perhaps the portrait of the three boys owned by one of the sons of Johan Versteegen in the service of the Elector had found its way into this collection. At some point, probably in London, the painting by De Keyser in this collection had hung alongside a large painting of children serenading their parents, at the time attributed to Rembrandt (fig. 14).⁶³ After 1806 we lose sight of the painting for a long time until it came up for auction in London in 1979 and 1987, after which it was acquired by the Rijksmuseum.

Conclusion

Without the verse in the background we would never have been able to discover the identities of the brothers Hendrick, Jan and Simon painted by Thomas de Keyser. With a bit of luck and a persistent search we have now been able to give them a surname, parents, a position in Thomas de Keyser's network, a place in the Catholic Amsterdam of the seventeenth century – in short, a life, and a lasting memory.

ABSTRACT

Since the painting was acquired by the Rijksmuseum in 1987, the identity of the three Catholic boys portrayed by Thomas de Keyser around 1630 had always been a mystery. Now this riddle has been solved. They are the brothers Hendrick (1616-1666), Jan (1623/24-1669/70) and Simon Verstegen (-1629). Their parents were important players in the organization of the clandestine Roman Catholic church in Amsterdam in the first decades of the seventeenth century. They were the immediate neighbours of Thomas de Keyser's parents-in-law in Amsterdam's Vijgendam. The naked state of Simon, who died young, was probably intended as an exhortation to the viewer to follow Christ in poverty and simplicity. The article explores the lives of the brothers Hendrick and Jan Verstegen, and Jan's wife Adriana van den Berch, who was portrayed as the muse Euterpe by Jacob Backer. De Keyser's portrait was probably in the Truchsessian Gallery in London between 1802 and 1806.

NOTES

In memoriam Peter Raedts.

- 1 Jonathan Bikker et al., *Artists Born between 1570 and 1600*, Amsterdam 2007 (*Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*, vol. 1), pp. 231-33; the painting was still unknown at the time of the publication of Ann Jensen Adams, *The Paintings of Thomas de Keyser (1596/7-1667): A Study of Portraiture in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*, 3 vols., Ann Arbor (MI) 1985.
- 2 Original: *Tres ter germani senos implevimus annos:| Henricus denos natus, eramque duos. | Joannes sequitur quinquennis: tertius hornus. | Sperti divitias vult sine veste Simon.*
- 3 The classic study about the position of Catholics in the Republic is L.J. Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en 17e eeuw*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1945-47; more recently, among others, Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands: 1520-1635*, Oxford 2011; on the variety of religious movements in seventeenth-century Amsterdam see Jo Spaans, 'Stad van vele geloven 1578-1795', in

Willem Frijhoff and Maarten Prak (eds.), *Centrum van de wereld 1578-1650*, Amsterdam 2004 (*Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2-1), pp. 384-467. On the expression of Catholic identity in the Republic: Carolina Lenarduzzi, *Katholiek in de Republiek. De belevingswereld van een religieuze minderheid 1570-1750*, Nijmegen 2019; for portraits of Catholic children see Jan Baptist Bedaux and Rudi Ekkart (eds.), *Kinderen op hun mooist. Het kinderportret in de Nederlanden 1500-1700*, exh. cat. Antwerp (Royal Museum of Fine Arts)/Haarlem (Frans Hals Museum) 2000, esp. pp. 164-65; for specific cases see Frauke Laarmann, 'Hendrick Cornelisz. van Vliet. Het gezin van Michiel van der Dussen', *Oud Holland* 113 (1999), pp. 53-74, and Frans Grijzenhout et al., 'A Delft Family Portrait (1638) by Jan Daemen Cool', *Oud Holland* 133 (2020), pp. 77-90.

- 4 P.J.J. van Thiel, 'Catholic Elements in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting, Apropos of a Children's Portrait by Thomas de Keyser', *Simiolus* 20 (1990-91), no. 1, pp. 39-62.
- 5 Jaap Geraerts, 'Caught between Canon and Secular Law: Catholic Marriage Practices

- in the Dutch Golden Age', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 111 (2020), no. 1, pp. 246-88, esp. pp. 262-63.
- 6 Amsterdam City Archives (hereafter ACA), accession no. 5001; Baptism, marriage and burial registers of Amsterdam (hereafter DTB), inv. no. 316, p. 1, 14 July 1628, and p. 7, 23 August 1629; a Clara and Anna were baptised in 1631 and 1636; ACA, accession no. 5075, Archief van de notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam (hereafter NAA), notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 578, fols. 892-98 (old), 451v-54v (new), will of Jan Hendricksz Grotenhuijs and Annetgen Simons, 27 June 1633.
- 7 E.J. Wolleswinkel, 'De schoonfamilie van de (portret)schilder Thomas de Keyser', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 118 (2001), columns 309-28, esp. columns 313 and 322. As a 'cousin' Thomas de Keyser was a witness at the drawing up of the marriage settlement of Anneken Sijmons and Jan Hendricksz Grotenhuijs: NAA, notary Palm Mathijsz, inv. no. 441, fols. 164v-65v, 18 August 1627.
- 8 DTB, inv. no. 661, p. 6, 29 April 1581; their will: ACA, NAA, notary Jacob Gijsbertsz, inv. no. 25, fols. 674-75, 7 August 1602, with mention of their only son Jan; a later will: NAA, notary Jacob Gijsbertsz, inv. no. 26, fols. 99-100, 16 August 1603.
- 9 DTB, inv. no. 666, p. 42, 3 November 1606.
- 10 J.G. van Dillen, *Amsterdam in 1585. Het kohier der capitale impositie van 1585*, Amsterdam 1941, p. 154 (Nieuwe Zijde, fol. 184), west side of Kalverstraat, second house to the north of Jan Roelensteeg; Hendrick Versteegen's first wife Marritgen Thonis was taken from this house on 16 September 1603 and buried: DTB, inv. no. 1053, p. 6.
- 11 DTB, inv. no. 666, p. 297, 23 August 1611.
- 12 NAA, notary Jan Fransz Bruijningh, inv. no. 184, fol. 15, 10 May 1616.
- 13 DTB, inv. no. 681, p. 17, 27 October 1650.
- 14 DTB, inv. no. 1054, p. 47v, 18 June 1629.
- 15 See the testimonies of Pieter Loo about the Van Hoffelt and Versteegen families in NAA, notary Pieter Padthuijsen, inv. no. 2920A, fols. 529-30, 8 November 1690, and Erfgoed Leiden, accession no. 506, Old Notarial Archives of Leiden, notary Thomas van Swieten, inv. no. 1656, deed no. 38, 14 April 1708. There are no known funerals of other children from this marriage.
- 16 H.J. Allard, *De Sint Franciscus Xaveriuskerk, of de Krijtberg te Amsterdam, 1654-1904*, Amsterdam 1904, pp. 25-30 and caption 1; on Van Teylingen see Joep van Gennip, *Controversen in context. Een comparatief onderzoek naar de Nederlandstalige controversiepublicaties van de jezuïeten in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek*, Hilversum 2014, pp. 307-401, esp. p. 323.
- 17 ACA, accession no. 376, Reformed Community, Church Council, inv. no. 9, fol. 186, no. 30, 7 December 1656.
- 18 NAA, notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 576, fols. 530-33, 31 January 1629, will of Immetgen Jans and Maritgen Jans Heggen, and *ibid.*, inv. no. 600, fols. 546-52 (old), 273v-76v (new), 17 August 1641, division of the estate of Immetgen Jans Hegh; see also note 60.
- 19 ACA, accession no. 5065, registers of magistrates' notices, inv. no. 10, fols. 200v-01, 28 April 1591; his father-in-law Jan Hegh stood surety.
- 20 See note 60.
- 21 For the most detailed information about this portrait, with references to and corrections of earlier literature, see Ben Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis, 1430-1790*, Zwolle 2004, pp. 145-48.
- 22 J.C. Breen, 'Topographische geschiedenis van den Dam te Amsterdam', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 7 (1909), pp. 99-196, esp. pp. 115, 127, 144.
- 23 Wolleswinkel 2001 (note 7), esp. columns 320-21.
- 24 NAA, notary Adriaen Lock, inv. no. 2229, fol. 810, 25 March 1669; the other attestant, the 64-year-old Teunis Claesz van der Sluijs, also lived in Vijgendam; Adams 1985 (note 1), vol. 3, p. 55, no. 26 was the first to suggest that fig. 5 could be a portrait of Simon Andriesz Valckenaer.
- 25 J.G. and J.P. Frederiks (eds.), *Kohier van den tweehonderdsten penning voor Amsterdam en onderhoorige plaatsen over 1631*, Amsterdam 1890, p. 47 (district 14, fol. 207).
- 26 On the many varieties in the portraits of living or deceased family members, see Claire van den Donk and Rudi Ekkart, *Lief en Leed. Realisme en fantasie in Nederlandse familiegroepen uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, exh. cat. Enschede (Rijksmuseum Twenthe) 2018; on the portrayal of naked little boys: Bedaux and Ekkart 2000 (note 3), pp. 38-41.
- 27 N. de Roever, 'Namen van de geestelycke personen', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem* 18 (1893), pp. 48-60; for an analysis of the edict in a broader religious-political connection see R.B. Evenhuis, *De kerk der hervorming in de gouden eeuw*, Amsterdam 1967 (*Ook dat was Amsterdam*, vol. 2), pp. 182-207.

- 28 Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, New York 1983, pp. 24-27, 141-44.
- 29 F.A. Wright (ed.), *Select Letters of Jerome*, London/Cambridge (MA) 1933, pp. 438-39, DOI: 10.4159/DLCL.jerome-letters.1933; see also the relevant remarks by John W. O'Malley SJ in Steinberg 1983 (previous note), p. 202; for a recent discussion about St Jerome's adage see Franco Mormando, "'Nudus Nudum Christum Sequi': The Franciscans and Differing Interpretations of Male Nakedness in Fifteenth-Century Italy", *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2008), pp. 171-97; see also Van Thiel 1990-91 (note 4), pp. 45-46.
- 30 On this book and the author see Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century*, Geneva 2003, esp. pp. 9-118; on the Dutch translation of the verses in it by Anna Roemers Visscher around 1615 see M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, 'Georgette de Montenay and her Dutch Admirer Anna Roemers Visscher', in Suzan van Dijk et al. (eds.), *'I Have Heard about You': Foreign Women's Writing Crossing the Dutch Border*, Hilversum 2004, pp. 100-07.
- 31 A. van Teylingen, *Het Paradijs der Wellusticheyt*, Antwerp 1630, pp. 398-400.
- 32 'Dus leert de werelt haten/ Al zijt ghy jongh en teer'. A. van Teylingen, *Devote oeffeninghe op de vijf letteren van de soete ende allerheyligste namen Iesus ende Maria*, Louvain 1628, p. 204.
- 33 See for example ACA, accession no. 5061, Archives of the Bailiff and Magistrates (hereafter Discharges), inv. no. 2163, fol. 61v, 5 December 1612, sale of a garden to 'Hendrick Verstegen, ijsercoper'; NAA, notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 595, fols. 19-20, 17 February 1633: receipt for 'Jan Verstegen, ijsercoper hier ter ... stede'.
- 34 ACA, accession no. 5044, Archives of the Treasury Extraordinary, inv. no. 281, fol. 200v.
- 35 See for example NAA, notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 587, fols. 806-07 (old), 411v-412 (new), 25 November 1651, will of Jannetje van Hoffelt; for the burial of Jan Verstegen the Elder: DTB, inv. no. 1055, p. 37v, resp. inv. no. 1046, p. 68v, 1 August 1647.
- 36 'sijn eigen negotie ende factorie'. NAA, notary Adriaen Lock, inv. no. 2217B, fols. 650-51, 15 October 1664.
- 37 DTB, inv. no. 681, p. 17, 27 October 1650; their marriage settlement October 1650; their wills: NAA, notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 587, fols. 659-61 (old), 339-40 (new), 24 July 1651; *ibid.*, fols. 665-66 (old), 342-42v (new), 1 August 1651 and *ibid.*, fols. 667 (old), 343 (new), 2 August 1651.
- 38 Frans van den Berch and Thomas de Keyser signed the 'mandate of the Remonstrants', see Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zijne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, etc.*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1760, pp. 497-98; the original document in: ACA, accession no. 612, Remonstrant congregation, inv. no. 290; Emerentia Vroesen bequeathed a legacy of 500 guilders to the Remonstrant congregation: *ibid.*, inv. no. 310, fol. 11, 8 July 1638.
- 39 *Ibid.*, inv. no. 2, fol. 17, 1 May 1633; last entry (as absent from a meeting): fol. 110, 8 October 1651.
- 40 NAA, notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 587, fols. 168-71 (old), 85-86v (new), 24 May 1650.
- 41 NAA, notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 573, fols. 424-31, 28 September 1624, will of Frans Wolfertsz van den Berch and Emmerensje Willems.
- 42 DTB, inv. no. 671, p. 263, 18 September 1630; her brother-in-law Jan Pietersz Noorman (1598/99-1657) was the owner of the house 'de Crijtberghen' in Singel in which a society of the Jesuits was established, see I.H. van Eeghen, 'De eigendom van de katholieke kerken in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Republiek', *Haarlemse bijdragen. Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem* 64 (1957), p. 236.
- 43 Peter van den Brink and Jaap van der Veen, *Jacob Backer (1608/9-1651)*, Zwolle 2008, p. 166, no. 36.
- 44 *Der gooden fluyt hemel*, Amsterdam 1644, and the second volume of *'t Uitnemend kabinet, vol pavenen, almanden [etc.]*, Amsterdam 1649, each with a lengthy dedication to Adriana van den Berch by the publisher, Paulus Matthijsz. In the first work there was also an ode to her under the motto 'Musica tollit curas' (music takes cares away), in the latter work a 'Fantasia' by Pieter Dirksz Pers was dedicated to her. In the past there has been a great deal of speculation about the identity of the Adriana van den Berch named in these dedications; see Thiemo Wind, *Jacob van Eyck en de anderen. Nederlands solorepertoire voor blokfluit in de Gouden Eeuw*, Utrecht 2006 (PhD thesis Utrecht University), pp. 433-35, with earlier literature. Wind recently independently came to the same conclusion as me regarding the identification of this portrait. His *Adriana vanden Bergh (Berch)*:

- The Euterpe of Jacob Backer and of Paulus Matthijsz*, Portland (OR) 2021, was published while this article was in production.
- 45 NAA, notary Laurens Lamberti, inv. no. 587, fols. 659-61 (old), 339-40 (new), 3 March 1651, will of Gerard van den Berch and Machteld Sweers.
- 46 ACA, accession no. 5072, Commissioners of the Bankruptcy Chamber (hereafter DBK), inv. no. 576, fols. 268-74, 25 and 26 October 1651; see among others also inv. no. 924, fols. 98-99v, 22 April 1652 (agreement) and inv. no. 1160, fols. 98 and 111, 3 January 1653 (repartition of debts); see also <https://research.frick.org/montias/details/1112>, with incorrect identification of the owner.
- 47 DTB, inv. no. 1047, p. 244, 16 December 1677.
- 48 Contracts for ship charters and other deeds from the years 1654-57 among others in NAA, notary Adriaen Lock, inv. nos. 2196-2202; in the period from 1 August 1654 to 28 February 1655 his balance sheet total in the Amsterdam Exchange Bank amounted to more than 105,000 guilders: ACA, accession no. 5077, Exchange Bank, inv. no. 61, fols. 191, 274.
- 49 See among others DBK, inv. no. 473, fol. 171, 23 January 1658 (receivership), inv. no. 586, fols. 76v-80v, 23-24 January 1658 (estate inventory) and inv. no. 1381, 26 April 1658 (agreement); Jan's mother Jannetge van Hoffelt and his brother stood surety for the repayment of the debt on several occasions, see also NAA, notary Fans Buijningh, inv. no. 1414, unpagged, 12 December 1658.
- 50 (Additions to) wills and codicils of Jannetge van Hoffelt: NAA, notary Pieter Padthuijsen, inv. no. 2887, fols. 33-39, 16 January 1658; *ibid.*, notary François Meerhout, inv. no. 2093, deed no. 122, fols. 105-05v, 18 August 1661, and inv. no. 2094, fols. 181-83 (old), 66-68 (new), 10 June 1664; *ibid.*, notary Adriaen Lock, inv. no. 2169, fols. 179-92, 15 October 1664, and inv. no. 2170, fols. 24-30, 30 May 1665; the conveyancing of the two houses on the Dam and in Beurs-sluis had already taken place by means of the above-mentioned will of 1658, but were only endorsed by the bailiffs in 1664: Discharges, inv. no. 54, fols. 39-39v, 17 October 1664; in 1658 Jannetge van Hoffelt also sold 'de Zes kruiken' – a house in Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal – and a house in Lauriergracht: Discharges, inv. no. 49, fols. 179v-80, 30 July 1658 and fols. 180-80v, 28 June 1658.
- 51 NAA, notary Pieter Padthuijsen, inv. no. 2887, fols. 293-97, 20 April 1658.
- 52 DTB, inv. no. 1047, p. 142, 8 October 1666, and *ibid.*, p. 152, 17 September 1667; NAA, notary Pieter van Buytene, inv. no. 2781A, fols. 548-50, 28 April 1667.
- 53 Haarlem, North-Holland Archives (hereafter NHA), accession no. 3607, Beverwijk Old Judicial Archives, inv. no. 1214, fols. 52-53, 12 March 1655; J. van Venetien and R.M.T. Verwer, *De Stede Beverwyck affghetekent door Daniel van Breen 1648-1649*, Beverwijk 1974, pp. 32-34; with thanks to Jan van der Linden for his help.
- 54 A long list of wills and codicils by Gerard van den Berch, himself a lawyer, and by his wife Machtelt Sweers have survived; here I only quote from the last will and codicil: NHA, accession no. 2344, Beverwijk Old Notarial Archives (hereafter ONA Beverwijk), notary Jan Cornelisz Velsen, inv. no. 246, fols. 131-34, 22 December 1660, and inv. no. 248, fols. 197-98, Friday 1 October.
- 55 NAA, notary Pieter van Buytene, inv. no. 2780, fols. 537-41, 28 February 1667, division of the estate of Gerard van den Berch among his children Adriana, Theodora and Frans van den Berch; in this document the date of Gerard van den Berch's death is given as December 1666; no burial registers from Beverwijk from this period have survived.
- 56 ONA Beverwijk, notary Jan Cornelisz Velsen, inv. no. 248, fol. 292, 31 May 1668; in NAA, notary Pieter van Buytene, inv. no. 2790, fols. 289 and 313, 27 July 1669 there is reference to the winding up of her estate; for the grave of Gerard van den Berch in the Grote Kerk van Beverwijk see Jan van der Linden, *Hun laatste rustplaats. De grafzerken in en buiten de Grote Kerk te Beverwijk*, 1995, p. 21, no. 186, 'N4/Gerret van den Berghe'.
- 57 NAA, notary Pieter van Buytene, inv. no. 2791, fols. 541-42, 14 October 1669.
- 58 DTB, 16 August 1670; in her marriage settlement (NAA, notary Gerrit van Breugel, inv. no. 3507, deed no. 29, fols. 293-95, 14 August 1670) it is noted that Emerentia's father's estate had yet to be 'geredderd' – administered.
- 59 Cf. also Carolina Lenarduzzi, 'Grensoverschrijdende katholieke claims. De grenzen tussen publieke en private ruimte voor sacrale doeleinden in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek', in Liesbeth Geevers and Violet Soen (eds.), *Sacrale ruimte in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden*, vol. 1, Louvain 2017, pp. 105-28.
- 60 ACA, Discharges, inv. no. 2174, fols. 218-18v, 28 July 1702 (1 January 1701) (het huis aan de Beurssluis); see also *ibid.*, inv. no. 2134, fol. 10, 1 January 1701; ACA, accession

- no. 5062, Archives of the magistrates: discharge registers, inv. no. 79, fols. 19-20, 30 July 1705 ('de Kat' aan de Vijgendam); ibid., inv. no. 83, fol. 17, 7 February 1709 ('de Wolspinster' aan de Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal).
- 61 The Hague, National Archives of the Netherlands, accession no. 3.01.04.01, States of Holland, inv. no. 1539, fols. 49v-50, 12 February 1705; ACA, Bailiff and aldermen, inv. no. 1314, fols. 28-29, 12 February 1705, and fols. 170v-71v, 14 June 1708, with detailed information about the difficult circumstances of Johan Verstegen and his family.
- 62 *Catalogue of the Truchsessian Picture Gallery*, London 1803, p. 70, as 'Keyser (Theodor), Three children near a table, on canvas [sic], h. 4 [ft.], w. 2 [ft.] -10 [inch]'; *Summary Catalogue of the Pictures now Exhibiting and on Sale at the Truchsessian Gallery*, London, 14 May 1804 (not in Lugt), no. 259, not sold; sale London (Skinner, Dyke & Co), 24-26 April 1806, Lugt 7072, no. 204, £ 5-5-0, name of the buyer unknown; on this collection see Gerda Franziska Kircher, *Die Truchsessen-Galerie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kunstsammelns um 1800*, Frankfurt 1979.
- 63 Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Truchsess von Waldburg-Zeil Archives, inv. no. 14. With thanks to Sara Diedrich for her help in finding this drawing.