

## An Artistic Tour of Holland V-Haarlem

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This is the fifth of six documents based on my PowerPoint presentations on the arts in The Hague, Dordrecht, Delft, Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam during the late medieval and early modern period, which I prepared for my class, *An Artistic Tour of Holland, 1200-1700*, and offered through the Second Half Life-Long Learning Institute in Southeastern Massachusetts.

Dutch Art of its Golden Age (late 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) is usually presented as a coherent and unique art tradition that was a product of the new bourgeois culture that dominated the United Provinces, better known in English as the Dutch Republic. One of the chief characteristics of the art of the Northern Netherlands, especially in the seventeenth century, was its focus on depicting contemporary life. This was a result of its patrons, who chiefly consisted of members of the manufacturing, commercial and administrative elite, the city regents and ordinary middle class consumers. The Dutch Republic was the most urban society in Europe and its urban elite dominated political power in its cities, its most urban provinces and in the Republic as a whole. They managed to free themselves from the personal rule of a monarch, the aristocracy and traditional religion. At the same time, the old aristocratic, religious, cultural and military values retained a strong influence and appealed even to some of those whose wealth came from trade and industry. Dutch art in its Golden Age was far from unified and can best be understood by examining it through the context of the history and traditions of its most important cities. Although Dutch cities were not very far apart, and the Republic's efficient transportation system made travel inexpensive, safe, and fast, the work of its famous artists was rooted in the patronage of their home town. Research has shown that at least sixty percent of art produced by artists in a particular town was bought by their fellow citizens.

The idea for the course and its chief source is Elizabeth de Bièvre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures, 1200-1700* (2015). Other useful sources are listed in the first document of an Artistic Tour of Holland c. 1500-1700 on The Hague.



George Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Map of Haarlem and Environment*, 1575, south on top,  
 Historic Cities website





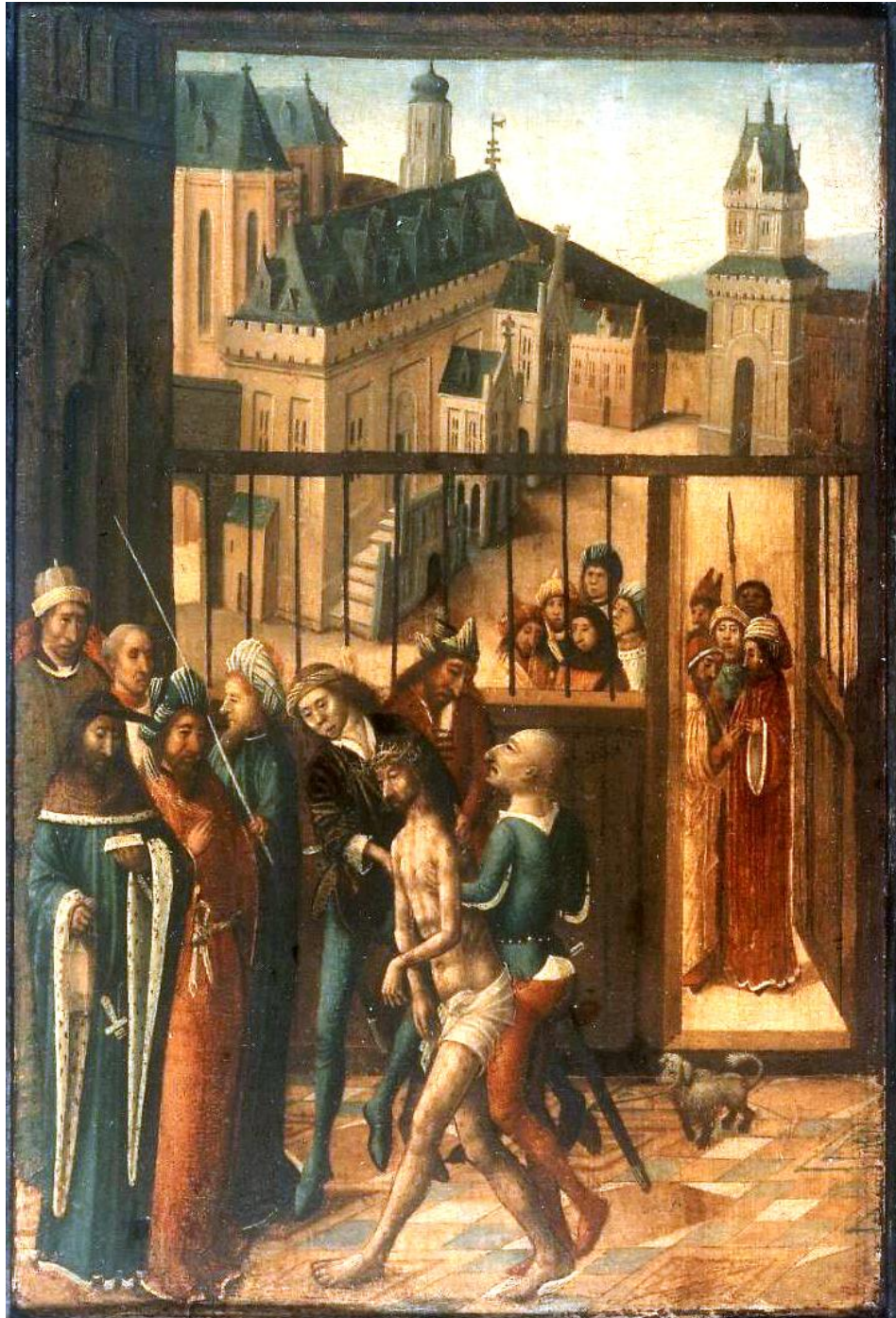
*Map of Holland in 1673.*

Haarlem is near the west coast in the middle of the map, about where the river IJ nearly bisects Holland and flows into the Zuyder Zee. The band of coastal dunes was wider where Haarlem was founded than anywhere in the northern Netherlands. Of three sand ridges parallel to the sea, the middle one was first settled and carried the major north-south road. The marshes were settled later and required to be drained. Southeast of Haarlem was a large lake, the Harlemmermeer, which drained via the Spaarne river into the IJ in the north and then into the Zuiderzee. To the east, a layer of clay sediment allowed the sand ridge to support a primeval forest, the Harlemmerwoud, which provided lumber for shipbuilding. Near the town there was also abundant land that supported cattle and sheep and the river provided access to river trade.



Contemporary map of the Provinces of The Netherlands





Master of Bellaert, *Christ before Pilate with Haarlem's Town Hall*, c. 1485,  
Museum Boymans van Beuningen, Rotterdam

The town hall was built on the central square, called the Sand, where the Count's fortress was located earlier and the St. Bavo parish church was constructed. The painting shows the building in about 1380. The current town hall is in about the same location.

In 1050 the Count of Holland built a *curia*, an administrative and defensive frontier complex that was the northern limit of the Count's territory. Beyond lived the Kennemers, Waterlanders and Frisians. It was a similar complex as the one in The Hague. In times of peace, the surrounding area provided plenty of elite recreation, such as hunting. The north-south road was known as the Heerenweg, the Lord's Road. The town received a charter in 1245, which included toll privileges that helped develop its trade and its citizens were allowed forty days on surrounding land for sowing and another forty for harvesting. The victory over the Frisians in 1288 provided enough security so that the town was able to govern itself.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the town was repeatedly threatened by the West Frisians as well as by its own factional conflicts between the Hoekse (Hooks) and the Kabeljauwse (Cods), culminating in 1492 in the murder of the sheriff and other authorities in the town hall. Haarlem was an important Holland town but by 1515 it was overtaken in size by Leiden and Delft.



*Laurens Jansz Coster Statue*, central square, Haarlem

The city was already associated with learning and technology in the fourteenth century. A 1588 history argued that the letterpress had not been invented by Gutenberg in Mainz, but by Laurens Jansz Coster (c. 1370-c. 1440), who had gotten the idea from carving letters in beech bark in the Haarlem woods. He is a local hero in Haarlem and his statue is on its main square.





Gerrit Berckheyde, *St. Bavo seen from across the Market Place, the Sand, from the Town Hall*, 1674, National Gallery, London

Haarlem's first parish church was dedicated to St. Bavo, an aristocratic Flemish soldier-saint from Ghent, who died in 654. The dedication may have been related to the importation of monks from an abbey in Ghent by Count Dirk II of Holland and his wife, Hildegard, daughter of the Count of Flanders, and the founding of a Benedictine abbey in nearby Egmond. The church dates from about 1300 and was rebuilt between 1370-1400 after a fire. It was taller and longer than any building in the region and was designed to serve seven neighboring villages as well as Haarlem. It was built of brick with banded cylindrical columns. While the villages had their own chapels, St. Bavo was the mother church. Its vicar was nominated by the Count and appointed by the bishop. In 1486 it served a total population of 14,000, while Amsterdam at the same time had about 10,000. Around 1500, the choir, transept and nave were rebuilt on a grander scale. The burgomasters also had a tower built with limestone from Belgium. The tower was to be higher than the one in Utrecht, the seat of the bishop, but it turned out to be too heavy for the foundations and had to be replaced by one of lead covered wood. The vaults were also covered with wood. As the largest church in Holland, it was made a cathedral in 1559, but as a result of the Reformation, it again became a parish church twenty years later. Most of the 32 guild chapels and their decorations were destroyed during the *Beeldenstorm*.





*St Bavo, or Grote Kerk, Haarlem*



*Sint Janskerk, Haarlem*

Around 1500, there were eight monasteries, twelve convents, one beguinage and thirteen hospitals in Haarlem. Only Utrecht had more religious foundations and charities. The first foundations started after the town received its charter in 1245 and continued until the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Carmelites and Dominicans were typically urban orders and established themselves in the center of town. Religious foundations became sought after for burial grounds for the wealthy.

In 1310 Gerrit van Tetterode established a commandery of the Knights of St. John (the original Hospitallers, who developed a crusading military order). The commandery built a two-aisled chapel of St. John. Around 1400, two side chapels were built by local noble families and in 1470 the church was rebuilt with a choir. St. Jan had impressive art endowments and was a favorite place to receive foreign visitors. Its treasures included a great deal of silver and art by famous artists such as Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Jan van Scorel, and Maarten van Heemskerck. The monastic buildings were destroyed during the siege in 1573, but the chapel was restored through a private donation. Since the commandery operated under the auspices of a Grand Prior in Germany and the Grand Master in Malta, the order was allowed to return in 1581. With the death of the last knight in 1626 the city of Haarlem took over their worldly possessions. Today it is the home of the North Holland Archives.





Walraade Nieuwhoff, after Jan Pannebakker, *Zijklooster in Haarlem*, 1800-37,  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The convent was founded in 1372 and taken over by the city in 1577. It was sold and became the residence of Amalia, Duchess of Bavaria, widow of the Count of Brederode. The Dominican cloister became a residence for the Prince of Orange on his visits to the city and for a time it served as a town hall, The Augustinian monastery became an orphanage and the building of the Cellebroeders (an order that was founded to bury the dead during the plague) was used later as the Latin School.





Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinghe ende Lof der Stad Haarlem*, 1628.

This is a lavishly illustrated history of Haarlem. No other Dutch city received as many flattering portrayals during the early modern period, perhaps because Haarlem was a major publishing and printmaking center.





Willem Outgertsz Aekersloot, after Pieter Jansz Saerendam, *The Siege of Haarlem, 1572-73*, in Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinghe ende Lof der Stad Haarlem*, 1628

During the early stages of the revolt against Spain, Haarlem was besieged by the Duke of Parma's Spanish army. It was during this period that Haarlem adopted this motto, *Vicit vim virtus*, (Virtue Conquers Violence).



Pieter de Moleyn, *The Sacking of a Village*, c. 1640-1660, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

De Moleyn (1595-1661) was the son of a Flemish textile merchant who emigrated to England where Pieter was born. He moved to Haarlem where he was a pupil of Essaies van de Velde and joined its Guild of St. Luke in 1616. Earlier painters, such as Pieter Bruegel had referred to the suffering of ordinary people from war and violence by placing them in a classical context, such as the massacres of the innocents, but de Moleyn used contemporary settings. The market for pictures that depicted war and violence increased with the expiration of the Republic's truce with Spain in 1621 and the subsequent Thirty Years War that brought widespread war to Europe from 1628 to 1648.





Philips Wouwerman, *Cavalry Battle in Front of a Burning Mill*, 1665,  
Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

Wouwerman was another Haarlem painter who specialized in battle scenes and *Boerenverdriet* (peasant lament) paintings. He sold about 700 paintings in his lifetime. Roelandt and Jacob Savery also specialized in such paintings during their time in Haarlem.



Frans Hals, *Isaac Abrahamsz Massa and Beatrix van der Laen*, c.1622,  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Frans Hals was born in Antwerp in 1582/3 and arrived as refugees in Haarlem when he was about three. He rarely left the city and died in the city in 1666. He became a member of the Guild of St. Luke in 1610. Although he was well known and highly appreciated in his lifetime, he was less well known in later years until he was popularized by a French critic in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. When a municipal museum in Haarlem was founded in 1862, it became known as the Frans Hals Museum, in which his five life-sized group portraits of the Haarlem civic guard and his regent paintings were housed together for the first time and became accessible to the public.

The scene shows a young man and woman sitting on a sandy hillock leaning nonchalantly against an old tree. De Brièvre notes that their smiles suggest erotic secrets (*Dutch Art and Urban Cultures*, p.105). Their rich clothing fits well with the classical villa pictured behind them. The style of the picture is compatible with the date of their marriage in 1622. The picture is similar to Rubens' *Self Portrait with Isabella Brandt*, 1609, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, which

Rubens painted at the time of his marriage. Massa represented the Republic in Russia and was deeply involved in the Russian trade. In later years he wrote a well-regarded history of the Muscovite wars.

Hals' picture shows the distinct Haarlem environment, such as the sand colored ground and the low growing oak typical of its dune landscape. The thistle and ivy, also typical of the area, are emblematic of marriage. The combination of an untamed dune landscape and a formal garden with a classical villa represents a juxtaposition of the 'natural' and 'courtly,' but one could also imagine that the couple were resting from a walk in the dunes and were imagining an elegant country estate or a garden of love, a tradition that goes back to Adam and Eve, where couples could enjoy each other without guilt or cares. The local vegetation suggests that their garden of love is here and now. Haarlem was a place with many country estates in the vicinity and produced many paintings of graceful young people gathered in garden environments

There was much classical art influence in Haarlem. It had the first classical buildings in the northern Netherlands and three of the most important Dutch architects of the Golden Age were from Haarlem, Jacob van Campen, Pieter Post, and Salomon de Bray. Maarten van Heemskerck, who spent most of his painting career in Haarlem, had been to Rome in the 1530s and shared his drawings with other Haarlem artists. Haarlem had a famous Latin School at which many local artists and intellectuals were educated. Although laughter was not common in classicism, many of Hal's patrons were wealthy Haarlemmers, whom he painted with big smiles, as can be seen in the Massa painting.





Maarten van Heemskerck, *Pieter Jansz Foppesz with Wife and Laughing Children*, before 1532, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel

The painting is famous for being one of the first family paintings, a genre that became popular in the Netherlands. Heemskerck (1498-1574) was from a village halfway between Alkmaar and Haarlem. A son of a farmer, he studied in Delft and in Haarlem with Jan van Scorel. He lived with the family of a wealthy curate of St. Bavo. He traveled widely in Italy and returned to paint in Haarlem. He is especially known for his altar pieces and classical subjects.



Frans Hals, *Laughing Cavalier*, 1624, Wallace Collection, London

This is probably the most famous Hals painting. The sitter is unknown but some historians believe that he was not an officer but a Haarlem textile merchant. The composition is lively and spontaneous, and despite the apparent labor involved in the gorgeous, and very expensive, silk costume, close inspection reveals long, quick brush strokes. The turning pose and low viewpoint are found in other portraits by Hals and here allows an emphasis on the embroidered sleeve and lace cuff. There are many **emblems** in the embroidery that signify the pleasures and pains of love, such as bees, arrows, flaming cornucopia of lovers' knots and tongues of fire, while an **obelisk** or **pyramid** signifies strength and **Mercury's** cap and the *caduceus* (carried by Hermes) means fortune. In general, commissioned portraits such as this rarely show adults smiling until the late 18th century. The effect of the eyes appearing to follow the viewer from every angle is a result of the subject being depicted as looking directly forward, toward the artist's point of view, combined with being a static two-dimensional representation of this from whichever angle the painting itself is viewed.





Frans Hals, *Fisher Boy*, c. 1620, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.





Judith Leyster, *The Jolly Topper*, 1629, Rijksmuseum on long-term loan to the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

Judith Leyster (1609-60) may have been a student of Hals. She was the eighth child of Jan Willemsz Leyster, a local brewer and clothmaker. While the details of her training are uncertain, she was already well enough known in 1628 to be mentioned in a book by Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der Stadt Haerlem*. She may have turned to painting because of her father's bankruptcy. She spent some time in Utrecht and may have been influenced by followers of Caravaggio in that city. Her first known signed painting is dated 1629. By 1633 she was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke in Haarlem. Some argue that she was the first female painter to be admitted to the Guild in Haarlem but the RKD argues that the first was Sara van Baalbergen in 1631. Dozens other female artists who worked in other media, such as embroidery, pottery painting, metal and wood are not listed in surviving guild records or were included as continuing the work of their dead husbands





Judith Leyster, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1630, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

It has been suggested that this was her presentation piece to the Guild. This work marks a historical shift from the rigidity of earlier women's self-portraits, in favor of a more relaxed and dynamic pose. It is very relaxed by the standards of any Dutch portrait, and comparable mainly with some by [Frans Hals](#); although it seems unlikely that in reality she wore such formal clothes when painting in oils, especially the very wide lace collar.

Within two years of her entry into the Guild, Leyster had taken on three male apprentices. Records show that Leyster sued Frans Hals for accepting a student who left her workshop for that of Hals without permission from the Guild. In 1636, Leyster married Jan Miens Molenaer, an artist who worked on similar subjects. They moved to Amsterdam where he had many clients. In 1647, they moved to Heemstede, near Haarlem, where they shared a small studio in a house

that was in today's Groenendaal Park. Leyster and Molenaer had five children, only two of whom survived to adulthood.

Most of Leyster's dated works are from between 1629 and 1635, the period of her adulthood before she married and had children. There are few known pieces by her painted after 1635: two illustrations in a book about tulips from 1643, a portrait from 1652, and a still life from 1654 that was recently discovered in a private collection. Leyster may have worked collaboratively with her husband as well.

She specialized in portrait-like genre scenes of one to three figures, who generally exude good cheer, and are shown against a plain background. Many are children and there are also men with drink. Leyster was particularly innovative in her domestic genre scenes. These are quiet scenes of women at home, often with a candle or lamplight.

Although well-known during her lifetime and esteemed by her contemporaries, Leyster and her work was largely forgotten after her death. Her rediscovery came in 1893, when it emerged that a painting admired for over a century as a work by Frans Hals had actually been painted by Leyster. A forged Hals signature was discovered on *The Jolly Companions*, which produced a number of lawsuits and subsequent scholarship recognized it as her work.





Judith Leyster, *The Proposition*, 1631, Mauritshuis, The Hague

This is probably Leyster's most notable painting. Its most distinctive feature is how different it is from other contemporary Dutch and Flemish sexual proposition paintings, many of which fall

into the Merry Company genre. The convention for this genre, a common one at the time, was for the characters to be bawdy, and clearly both interested in sex for money. The dress would be provocative, the facial expressions suggestive, and sometimes there would be a third figure, such as an older woman acting as a procuress.

In contrast, in *The Proposition* the woman is depicted not as a whore but as an ordinary housewife, engaged in a simple everyday domestic chore. She isn't dressed provocatively. She does not display her bosom. No ankles are visible. And she displays no interest in sex or even in the man at all. Contemporary Dutch literature stated that the sort of activity in which she is engaged was the proper behavior for virtuous women in idle moments. Kirstin Olsen observed that male art critics "so completely missed the point" that the woman is, in contrast to other works, not welcoming the man's proposition that they mistakenly named the painting *The Tempting Offer*. The **foot warmer**, whose glowing coals are visible beneath the hem of the woman's skirt, was a pictorial code of the time, and represented the woman's marital status. A foot warmer wholly under the skirt indicated a married woman who was unavailable, as it does here; a foot warmer projecting halfway out from under the skirt with the woman's foot visible on it indicated one who might be receptive to a male suitor; and a foot warmer that is not under the woman at all, and empty of coals, indicated a single woman. Wayne Franits, observed that an offer of money was a common beginning of a courtship, so the painting might depict a simple honest attempt at courtship. Franits suggests that the "woman's unequivocally wholesome activity of sewing provided an important precedent for later genre paintings depicting domestic virtue" (Wikipedia).





Judith Leyster, *A Game of Tric-Trac*, 1630, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA  
 Tric-Trac, backgammon, was a popular game in the northern Netherlands in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and appeared in many genre paintings. While there is often a woman present in these pieces, none of them depict her as having an active role in the game. Leyster's painting is interesting because the woman in it appears to be the opposing player. Leyster signals this to the viewer with her placement of the oil lamp, which would have been placed on one side of the board (the "inner table") between the two players.

Leyster's identification of the woman in her painting as a prostitute is not as obvious. While she holds a glass of wine (a symbol which may have codified her profession), her clothing is more modest and domestic. It is, however, the lit pipe which she hands to her opponent, which gives away her occupation. During Leyster's life time *pippen* or "to pipe/to smoke a pipe" would

have had explicit sexual connotations. A similar idea is found in Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouwden en Niewen* in the section "Whores and their sly tricks" which depicts a prostitute handing her client a brazier of hot coals instead of a pipe. However, both Leyster's painting and the emblem in Cats' book can be read through its accompanying verse "Thus I am in danger where I put my fingers; your coal as does your maidenhead - it burns or it infects" condemning both the courtesan and her male client (Wikipedia).



Judith Leyster, *Unequal Love*, 1631, Galleria Nazionale Antica, Rome





Judith Leyster, *Carousing Couple*, 1630, Louvre Museum, Paris





Judith Leyster, *The Last Drop*, c. 1639, Philadelphia Museum of Art.





Judith Leyster, *A Boy and a Girl with an Eel*, c. 1635, National Gallery, London  
 Scholars have provided various interpretations of *A Boy and a Girl with a Cat and an Eel*. Some, such as Neil McLaren, have argued that it represents the Dutch proverb "*Een aal bij de staart hebben*" (to hold an eel by the tail), meaning that you do not get to hold onto something just because you have it. The waving of the finger by the girl could also suggest her rejection to the boy's ideas. Other interpretations include allusions to other Dutch proverbs, as well as the popular pastime *katknuppelen*, the bludgeoning of cats, at seventeenth century Dutch festivals known as *kermis*





Judith Leyster, *Two Children with a Cat*, 1629, Private Collection

The depiction of children torturing or being scratched by cats was a popular in the Netherlands during the period. It alluded to the Dutch proverbs "*Hij doet katekwaad*", which translates literally to "he does the mischief of the cat." or "*'t Liep uit op katjesspel*", the literal translation of which is "it ends in the game of the cat", which suggests mischievous or arguing children (Wikipedia).





Judith Leyster, *The Young Flute Payer*, early 1630s, National museum, Stockholm





Judith Leyster, *Flowers in a Vase*, 1654, Private Collection,  
Openbaar Kunstbezit, Vlaanderen

Painting flowers was a much more common subject for women painters in the period.





Judith Leyster, *Early Brabantson Tulip*, 1643, in *Frans Halls Museum Tulip Book*

Leyster also produced book illustrations. This tulip figure dates from the tulip mania period and has been widely reproduced on note cards and has become her trademark.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *View of the Plain of Haarlem with Bleaching Grounds*, 1660-63,  
Private Collection

At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Haarlem was the center of the Republic's linen industry. The city was well situated for the bleaching of linen. It was near grasslands for buttermilk and the dunes for pure water, which were both essential to the bleaching and decalcification of linen. The city had about 4,000 looms in 1610 and 3,350 in 1643, which provided work for about 12,000 men, women and children, or about one-third of the population. Some flax came from the surrounding area but more came from Brabant. Flax thread was also imported from Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia and Northern France.





Jan Vermeer van Haarlem, *Bleaching Fields near Noordwijk*,  
Museum Boymans van Beuningen, Rotterdam



Adriaen van de Venne, *Bleaching Field*, 1625-26, British Museum, London  
Van de Venne produced an album to illustrate the bleaching of linen. The man furthest back sprinkles water, while women secure the linen with pegs. Next, the cloth was soaked with buttermilk (lactic acids) for as long as three weeks. Then, the linen was washed, steeped and aired. These steps were repeated a number of times. Most of the workers were women who were paid very low wages. In 1649 they were able to create a Guild that improved their lot somewhat.



Anonymous, *Hacklers of flax in Nuenen*, ca. 1800, Private Collection

Spinning and hackling was mostly done by women, while weaving was largely done by men.





Johannes Dircksz van Oudenroggen, *A Weaver's Cottage*, 1651, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Cornelis Gerritsz Decker, *Weaver's Workshop*, between 1635-78,  
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen.



Job Berckheyde, The Haarlem Brewery, 'De passer and the Valck, view on the Bakeneergracht, ca. 1670, in Marjolein van Dekken, *Brouwen, Branden en Bedienen*, 2009, p. 65

Note the women in the picture. Brewing was one of Haarlem's major industries. Traditionally beer was brewed by women at home but by the fifteenth century commercial breweries were established in the Northern Netherlands. Most women who were active in the industry worked alongside their husbands. The men generally did the brewing and distilling and the women were usually involved in other aspects of the business, such as the buying of ingredients, accounting and the selling of the products. Women were sufficiently active in the work so that at the death of the husband they were able to continue the business and often hired a skilled master to handle the production. Dekken argued that women's participation in the business was made possible by the dynamic growth of the industry in the seventeenth century and because brewing and distilling guilds put few obstacles in the way for women to work in the industry compared to the situation in England, Flanders and Germany. She also notes that there were many examples of husbands and wives who borrowed substantial sums in order to found and expand their capital intensive business.





Frans Hals, *The Brewer Aletta Hanemans*, 1625, Mauritshuis, The Hague

Aletta Hanemans (1606–1653), was a grain merchant's daughter from [Zwolle](#), the [Netherlands](#), who became the brewer of the *Hoeffijser* in [Haarlem](#) when her husband died. She married another brewer and when he also died she continued the business.

She is wearing a costly bridal stomacher called a *bruidsborst*, worked with gold thread and showing various flowers symbolizing marriage. She wears it over a colorful purple and red skirt that is draped over a French fardegalijn, a wheel shaped device meant to extend the skirt, causing the stomacher to protrude forward and which supported the heavy gold chain wrapped around her gown and through her *vlieger*. The *vlieger* was a full-length sleeveless robe open in front and with two holes at the side for a belt chain. Her *vlieger* is edged with black velvet and shows off her stomacher and skirt. Her sleeves are attached via shoulder wings to her dress with small silver aglets. Around her neck she is wearing a starched linen figure-eight collar, and over her hair she is wearing a diadem cap with lace edging. She is holding a pair of embroidered bridal gloves and wears a wedding ring on her right forefinger. She is also wearing gold bracelets and lace wrist collars and her ensemble shows her to be one of Hals' most wealthy sitters.



Isack van Ostade, *Workmen before an Inn*, 1645, National Gallery of Art, Washington

The picture shows porters delivering beer to village taverns. The Haarlem barrels contained about 30 gallons of beer and must have weighed about 330 pounds. Beer was taxed by the city and the porters were responsible for collecting the tax. The owners of Breweries in Haarlem were among its wealthiest citizens. They concentrated on acquisition and sales while the city controlled the capacity of barrels and the size of servings in taverns.





Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, c. 1435-40, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Landscape painting in northern Europe was derived from the painting of illuminated manuscripts. It was used by Jan van Eyck in his paintings and Roger van der Weyden further developed this tradition





Dirk (Dieric)Bouts, *The Lamentations over the dead Christ*, ca. 1460, Louvre, Paris

Dirk Bouts (1415/20-1475) was from Haarlem and active in Leuven. He was greatly influenced by van der Weyden and may have worked in his workshop. Bouts was among the first northern painters in the northern Netherlands to demonstrate the use of a single [vanishing point](#)





Gerard David, *Forest Scenes*, c. 1510-15, Mauritshuis, The Hague

Haarlem was particularly associated with the development of landscape art in the northern Netherlands. Landscape art in northern Europe was associated with book illumination and Haarlem was an important center for this in the late medieval and early renaissance period. These pictures are from the outer wings of a triptych and are one of the first pure landscape paintings in Europe. Although Bouts came from Oudewater, he came to Haarlem for his training before he settled in Bruges in about 1484.





Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *St. John in the Wilderness*, c. 1475-1500, Gemäldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Unlike David and Bouts, who sought out better markets in Bruges and Louvain, Geertgen remained in Haarlem. He lodged with the Knights of St. John, from which he took the name ‘tot Sint Jans.’ This picture was part of a series of paintings that featured St. John since the Knights in Haarlem had a finger bone of the saint as a relic.

With Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Netherlandish painting ventured into the deep waters of mysticism and fantasy which are nearer to those of the German painters. The secular spirit seems to be beginning to take the stage. We are entering into a different kind of expression, in which man's own thought, his inventions and his dreams will impregnate his life and his surroundings. A good example is his *St John in the Wilderness*. With his cheek resting on one hand, the saint



sits dreaming, thinking, meditating in the loveliest, most subtle, most tenderly green of landscapes, as the sun sets amid the flutter of wings, the piping of birds and the gentle rippling of the brook to which a stag has come down to drink. Behind St John the lamb is seen sitting, waiting for the prophecy to be accomplished and for the Lamb of God to come to him for Baptism. This links the picture with Van Eyck's *Mystic Lamb*. However, the scenes do not take place in their historical and chronological sequence, since with eternal there is no such thing as ordinary history.



Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *Lamentation over the dead Christ*, c. 1484-90, Gemäldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

This was originally part of a wing of Crucifixion triptych for Sint Jan that were sawn apart. The triptych measured 6.45 meters across and was one of the largest paintings of its day in the

northern Netherlands. It must have been very impressive in the relatively small chapel of St. John. It was painted, as was typical of the time, on oak panels.

St. John the Evangelist is given a central position behind Christ's body. He gently points at Christ while looking at Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea as if imploring their compassion. They in turn acknowledge both him and Christ. Behind them stands an unidentified priest. The four women are absorbed in their own devotion.



Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *The Legend of the Burning of the Bones of St. John*, Gemäldegalerie, 1484-90, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The painting focusses attention on the solemn role of the Knights of St. John in protecting the bone relic and the funeral procedure. The knights are shown in a highly individual manner, which was unusual at the time and demonstrates the self-consciousness of the ruling class in



Haarlem. Geertgen's panels were very different in purpose—one a devotional work and the other historical—but the landscape, which may have been inspired by Haarlem's barren dunes, unites them.



Jan Mostaert, *Portrait of an African Gentleman*, c. 1520, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam  
 This is the only known portrait of a black man in this period in Europe. Mostaert (1475-1555/6) was born into a noble family in Haarlem. His name first appeared in its records in 1498 when he married and bought a house in the city. His name was listed as a member of the painter's guild in 1500 when he was commissioned to paint the shutters for a structure containing alleged relics of St. Bavo. He became a painter at the court of Margaret of Austria, Charles V's aunt and regent in the Netherlands. He worked in Brussels and Malines between 1516 and 1526. He accompanied Margaret on her travels and painted many of her courtiers. His portrait of an African courtier, not

a Balthasar in an adoration of the Magi, is unique for the period. His rich clothing and confident pose suggest that he was associated with the Spanish Hapsburg court in some fashion. In 1527 he returned to Haarlem and set up as an independent master.



Jan Mostaert, *Landscape with an Episode from the Conquest of America*, c. 1635,  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Painted about forty years after Columbus' voyage to America, this was one of the earliest impressions of America painted in northern Europe. The indigenous people are depicted completely naked as a contrast to the violence of the Spanish conquest and the peaceful heavenly landscape, which was drawn from the painter's imagination but evokes the American southwest. Perhaps the landscape may also have had something to do with the dune landscape near Haarlem. At the entrance to the village, natives start to stone someone, a scene that recalls what was reported to have happened to Francisco de Coronado. Mostaert's paintings demonstrate the transition of court painting to that of independent artists working to please a growing urban market.

Mostaert is primarily known for his portraits and religious painting. This is his only known landscape and is a milestone in the foundation of northern European landscape painting. In 1604, Karl Mander referred to the work as a "West Indian landscape." It was owned once by Mostaert's grandson and was seized by the Germans during WW II. After the war it was placed in custody of the Frans Hals Museum. It was subsequently restored to the heirs of family who had owned and in 2006 and it was purchased by the Rijksmuseum and restored in 2013.





Maarten van Heemskerck, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1532, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem  
 Heemskerck was twenty years younger than Mostaert. He represents a new tradition of painting in Haarlem. He worked with Jan Scorel in Haarlem and spent from 1632 to 1636 in Italy, mostly in Rome. He pictured his Madonna as a real woman with her child posing for a real painter. The painting was for an altar piece for the painter's guild in St. Bavo. Only a few of the St. Bavo's altar pieces survived the Reformation.

Although Heemskerck stopped painting during the period of religious upheaval in Haarlem. More than 100 of his paintings have been preserved. This picture helps explain his artistic ideals. The open book showing a dissected body and a muscular man. This is not just a reference to St. Luke as a physician but proclaims the painter's interest in human anatomy so characteristic of the Renaissance. The poetic and scientific interests of the painter are shown by

the row of books and the astrolabe placed just behind the Madonna. His intellectual interests are further displayed by the antique statues in the courtyard in Rome and there is a live sculptor at work.



Maarten van Heemskerck, *Panorama with the Abduction of Helen Amidst the Wonders of the Ancient World*, 1535, Walter's Art Museum, Baltimore

Heemskerck painted this as homage to ancient art in Rome, where he traveled to study antiquities as well as the work of contemporary masters such as Michelangelo (1475-1564). In 1535, when Heemskerck painted this panorama to complement Cardinal Ridolfo Pio's famous collection of antiquities, scholars were still disputing which of the ancient monuments were the most marvelous. Heemskerck's interpretation of the narrative of the abduction of Helen, Queen of the Greek city-state Sparta, by Paris, a prince of Troy in Asian Minor, was an epic that stretched across the ancient world to Rome itself, and was influenced by versions of the story that set the tale among the marvels of heroic achievements of the ancient world.

This luminous panorama is one of the most famous Northern landscapes of the 1500s. Its array of ancient marvels and evidence of antiquity's greatness provided a picture-puzzle, challenging the viewer to locate and identify the sites. In Greek and Roman literature, a rainbow was evidence that the messenger goddess Iris, identified by her multicolored mantle, was on her way to deliver a message. In this story, she alerted Helen's husband Menelaus who was away from home when the abduction took place.





Philips Galle, after Maarten van Heemskerck, 1572, *The Walls of Babylon*,  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

During Heemskerck's Roman period, which coincided with the heyday of Michelangelo, he made more than one-hundred pen drawings of antique sculpture and architecture. The drawings were the foundation of more than 600 prints with which he made his reputation in Haarlem. He had learned a division of labor from the Italians--concept, design and execution, and distribution. When the printer and moral philosopher Dirck Coornhert came to live in Haarlem in 1547, Heemskerck, and Jan van Zuren, the Haarlem burgomaster, formed a printing partnership. Philips Galle, a student of Coornhert and engraver, later took over the executive side of the business in the Antwerp art market and Hieronymus Cock handled the distribution. Hadrianus Junius, a physician and rector of the Haarlem Latin School, and later the official historian of the States of Holland, who published *Batavia* in 1588, wrote historical captions and commentary for the prints. Together they formed a powerful humanist group and a successful and influential business of producing prints.

Heemskerck was a rich and powerful man and was deeply involved in the religious and civic life in Haarlem. He served as an official in the painter's guild and the rhetorician society.



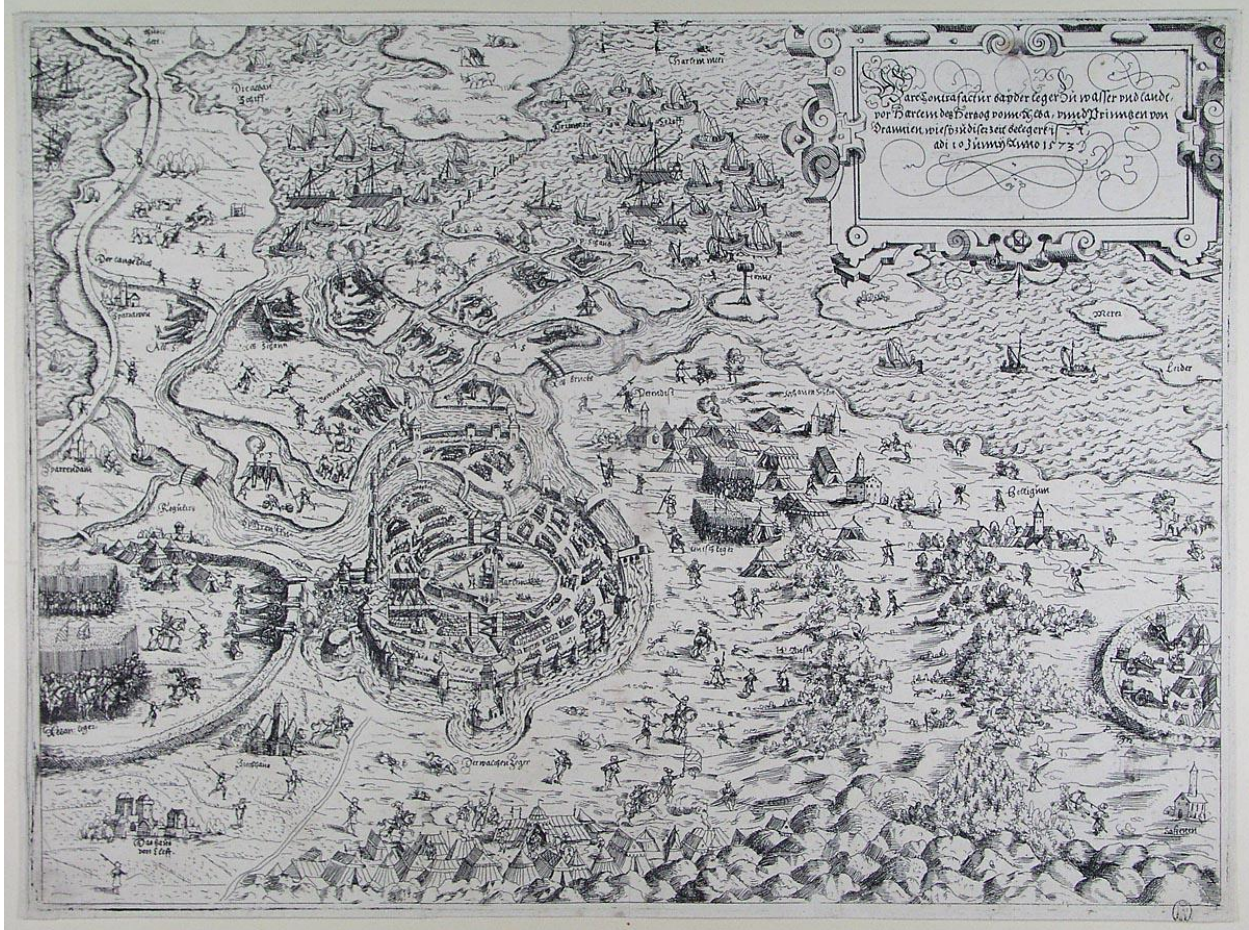
He was also involved in the project to create a diocese of Haarlem in 1559 and the attempt to establish a university in the city. He offered 150,000 gulden loan to prevent the sack of the city by the Spanish after its fall in 1573.



Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert and Maarten van Heemskerck, *Dangers of Human Ambitions*, etching, 1549, Museum Boijman van Beuningen, Rotterdam

This exceptionally large etching seems to be an allegorical response to the Biblical Tower of Babel. It opposes the lives of those who are driven by public ambition—generals, bishops, orators and the like—with those whose lives are centered on the arts, such as poets and musicians. It is only in the latter group that we see mostly nude women. They calmly converse, drink or dance with the men against a background of the Coliseum and other architectural landmarks in Rome. They represent civilization. The men who strive after worldly positions climb a to a narrow bridge, from which most tumble into a ravine, naked and robbed of their earthly distinctions.





Frans Hogenberg, *The Siege of Haarlem*, 1573, etching,  
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Haarlem joined the revolt against Spain in July of 1572. By December the Spanish had occupied the city. In spite of a large payment to prevent the looting of the city, many leaders were executed on 't Sand and numerous art treasures were carried away by the Spanish. The siege and occupation destroyed much of the material fabric of the city. A great fire in 1576 and the beeldenstorm of 1578 added to the destruction of the city. The population was halved and a third of the housing was destroyed. It is in this period that the city's coat of arms, a tree full of leaves was replaced with one that had lost all its leaves. The bare tree was often joined with the motto *Vicit vim virtus* (Virtue conquers violence).





Cornelis Cornelisz, *Massacre of the Innocents*, 1591, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

Rebuilding of the city included a significant investment in art by the city. The Dominican monastery next to the town hall was rebuilt into a *Prinsenhof* for visits from the Prince of Orange and other dignitaries. It included a public art gallery. Cornelis Cornelisz was paid 600 guldens for this large picture. Rescued Catholic art was also exhibited in the building. Nine lime trees and 1,200 holly bushes were planted in its garden. Ten-thousand oak trees were brought from near Amersfoort by the city to replant Haarlemmerhout.





Cornelis Cornelisz, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, 1593, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

This was the largest non-Christian painting done during the period. It was commissioned by the city for its town hall. The Background shows the judgement of Paris, also known as the Apple of Discord. The story that the apple thrown during the wedding feast was caught by Paris was used to gratify his sensuality when he offered it to Venus, the Goddess of love, rather than to Minerva, who represented the contemplative life, or to Juno, mistress of the active life of trade and industry. The choice of Paris caused the Trojan war that brought chaos and violence to the ancient world. The message was that one powerful person's bad deed could bring violence to many, as the King of Spain had brought to Haarlem and the Netherlands.



Cornelis Cornelisz, *A Monk and a Beguine*, 1591, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

Another painting commissioned by the city was this admonition to the clergy of the Catholic Church for their misbehavior and perhaps as a rebuke to the former bishop of Haarlem known as ‘drunken Claes.’ The corruption of the Church had brought about the Reformation but also the evil of the Inquisition.

The town government also commissioned a large painting of Adam and Eve. All four of these had the same theme of warning leaders about the consequences of bad decisions that would affect everyone.





Hendrick Goltzius, *Hercules and Cacus, Portrait Historié of Johan Colterman*, 1613,  
Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

Hercules was considered to be the most virtuous of men in antiquity for his punishment of violence and injustice. This theme is taken up in this painting of Johan Colterman, the son of

Haarlem's burgomaster. His frontal nudity was unique in the Netherlands. Moreover, it was highly unusual to have an important subject painted as a nude. The formal rules of classical nudes as persons of measured rule and control made this possible but there are no other examples of this among Dutch upper class individuals. It suggests the Haarlem motto *Vicit vim Virtu*.

Nowhere in the Netherlands was there such a wave of art production as in Haarlem during the 1580s and 1590s. Three famous artists led this with an emphasis on spectacular nudes. Hendrick Goltzius, Cornelis Cornelisz, and Karel van Mander. Goltzius came to Haarlem in 1577, spent a few years in Antwerp, and then in 1582 set up his own business in Haarlem. He produced 440 prints by 1600. Cornelis Cornelisz was born in Haarlem and spent some time in France and Antwerp before settling in Haarlem. Karel van Mander, a poet, historian, and painter, who had spent time in Italy and Prague, fled Flanders in 1583 and settled in Haarlem. The city had so many Brabant and Flemish refugees in 1585 that they created their own Chamber of Rhetoric.

These three created an Academy to draw nude live models, one of the first in northern Europe. In many of their Haarlem history paintings idyllic themes were replaced by nude figures that were violent and/or dramatic in both subject matter and style. Painting explicit nudes in Holland could be quite problematic. There was a trial in Amsterdam in 1627 of a Dutch painter for producing obscene paintings, who called himself Johannes Torrentius. His defense was that his nudes were like Adam and Eve. When he was accused of visiting brothels, he replied that "he only wanted to see if there were women with beautiful bodies . . . to persuade them to see if there were women who would show parts of their bodies in the nude in order to be drawn" so he could later use them in his paintings when appropriate. (p 140). He was also accused of belonging to secret societies and had a reputation as an epicurean. Following his confession under torture, he was sentenced to twenty years in prison. His paintings have not survived.





Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury*, 1611-13, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem  
 Colterman, the son of Haarlem's burgomaster, commissioned companion paintings of Mercury, the protector of artists, and Minerva, the personification of wisdom. Mercury is Theory, Minerva is practice, and this leads to virtue, Hercules.



Hendrick Goltzius, *Venus and Adonis*, 1614, Alta Pinakothek, Munich

The story of Venus and Adonis is taken from the tenth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Venus, the goddess of love, becomes enamored of the beautiful young huntsman, Adonis. Venus and the young Cupid try in vain to prevent Adonis from going hunting, as the goddess has had a premonition that the hunting party will have fatal consequences, and indeed the hunter is killed by a wild boar. In this painting and in other works from this period Goltzius shows a strong affinity to the style of Rubens.

Goltzius was also a print maker and a proponent of Dutch classicism rather than the more extreme Mannerism of Utrecht. He met Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert in Cleves and moved with him to Haarlem. Goltzius was also employed by the famous Haarlem printmakers Phillip Galle.





Hendrick Goltzius, *The Fall of Man*, 1616, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.



Hendrick Goltzius, *Jupiter and Antiope*, 1612, National Gallery, London

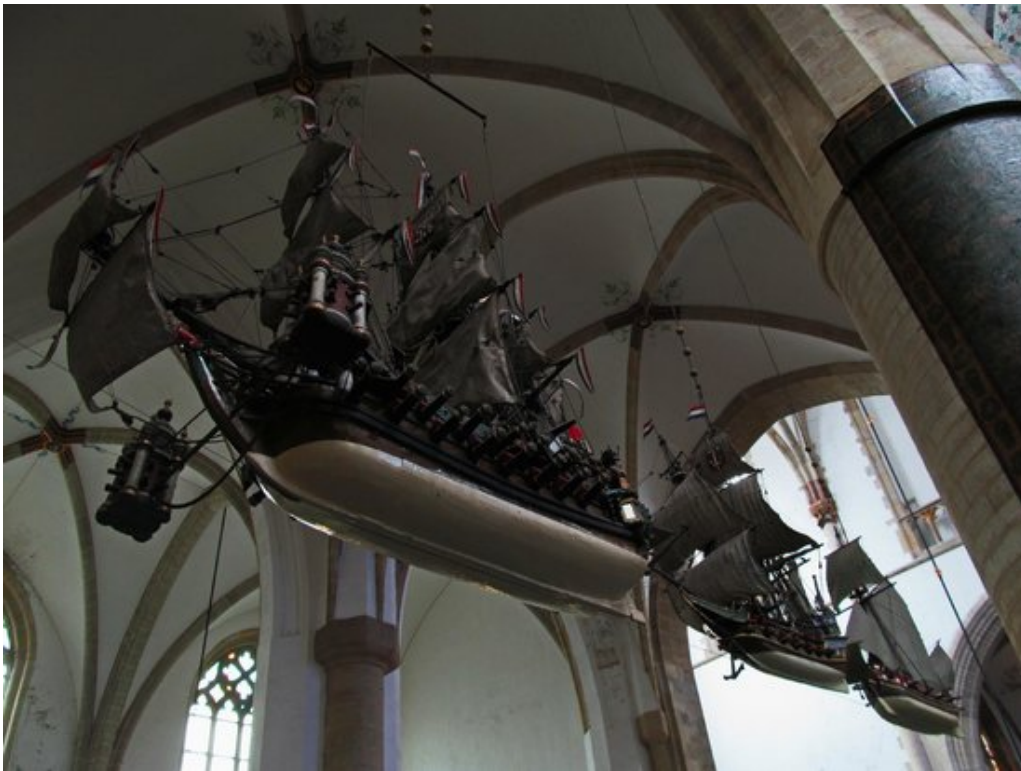
Jupiter dressed as a satyr creeps up to Princess Antiope. And rapes her. This erotic subject became popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Goltzius' version is the most lascivious of his paintings and one of the most charged and explicit images in all of 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch art. This is very far from religious paintings. Rembrandt also produced a famous late erotic etching of the subject in 1659.





Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen, *The Capture of Damietta*, c. 1625.

The story of the taking of Damietta, a city on the Egyptian coast on the Nile Delta, during the Fifth Crusade (1218-19) credits the Haarlem shipbuilders and knights with a key role in the crusader victory. Access to the city via the Nile was closed with a large, heavy harbor chain. A Haarlem ship (a *zaagschip*) was equipped with an iron saw fastened to its bow and keel, which sawed through the Damietta harbor chain and allowed the fleet to capture the city. This legendary heroic tale was commemorated in Haarlem. Models of the Damietta ships, complete with chains, were hung in St. Bavo. This painting was commissioned by the Haarlem Kloveniers (a militia) and originally hung above the mantel in their banquet room.



*Damietta ship models in St. Bavo Church, Haarlem*



Pieter de Grebber, *Wapenvermeering*, Haarlem city hall

The legend of Damietta is known as the *Wapenvermeering*. Frederick Barbarossa presents a sword to Haarlem for its coat of arms in recognition for its role in taking the Egyptian city of Damietta during the Fifth Crusade.





*Haarlem Coat of Arms*

Another legend holds that two of the bells of St. Bavo were taken from Damietta during the Fifth crusade. In fact, they date from 1562. The bells hang from a barren tree. This is a reference to the destruction of the Haarlemmerhout (Haarlem's woods) during two famous sieges in 1428 and 1572-73). The cross is known as a Jerusalem cross. *Vicit vim Virtus*—Virtue conquered Violence. The crown is the Imperial Crown of Austria.



Hendrik Cornelisz Vroom, *Battle between Dutch and Spanish Ships on the Haarlemmermeer*, c. 1629, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

When Haarlem sided with the Dutch Revolt in 1572, the Spanish besieged the city. In May of 1593 the rebels attempted to capture the Haarlemmermeer, a large lake between it and Amsterdam, which was a major supply route to Haarlem. Amsterdam at the time was still loyal to the Spanish. The naval battle was a failure and Haarlem was forced to surrender to the Spanish. It was occupied by Spanish forces until 1577. Note the insignia of the Rebels and of Amsterdam on the opposing ships.

Vroom (1562-1640) was born in Haarlem into a family of artists and began his artistic career by painting pottery. When his mother remarried, the young man rebelled against his stepfather and boarded a ship to Seville. He went on to travel to Italy and earned his keep as a majolica painter. From there he went to Paris, Danzig and Portugal, where he was shipwrecked. He returned to Haarlem in about 1590 and soon became internationally known as a marine painter. It was a time when international Dutch shipping increased dramatically and the Republic was involved in piracy and continual naval wars with Portugal and Spain.





Hendrik Cornelisz Vroom, *Day Seven of the Battle with Armada, 7 August, 1588*, c. 1600, Tyrolian State Museum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck

Vroom played an important role in the establishment of a Dutch tradition of maritime painting, seascapes, ships and naval battles. He received commissions from the Palace of Westminster to design tapestries of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in which Dutch ships had played a significant role. The paintings were destroyed in a fire of 1934. He was also commissioned by the States of Zeeland to design tapestries of its battles with Spain in the 1570s that closed the Scheldt and thus direct access to the important port of Antwerp in the southern Netherlands until 1648. He also painted for the open market and designed engravings for Haarlem printers.



Hendrik Cornelisz Vroom, *The Arrival of the Bridal Couple Prince Frederik of the Palatinate and Princess Elizabeth Stuart in Vlissingen in 1613*, c. 1623, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. Ships with Prince Maurits and Fredrik Hendrik were there to meet the English ships. The couple was to travel from Holland to their palace in Heidelberg. The Haarlem Town Council commissioned this painting and presented it to the couple when they visited Haarlem in 1623.



Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen, *The Explosion of the Spanish Flagship during the Battle of Gibraltar*, c. 1621, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The Amsterdam Town Council negotiated with Vroom to paint this daring Dutch 1607 battle with a large Spanish fleet in which a relatively small Dutch force destroyed twenty large Spanish ships and left 40,000 Spanish soldiers dead near the Spanish coast. Vroom demanded 6,000 gulden and thus the Council gave the commission to the younger Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen.





Hendrick Goltzius, *Dune landscape near Haarlem*, 1603, pen drawing,  
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Goltzius was one of the first artists who went into and on top of the dunes near Haarlem to sketch realistic scenes. In Van Mander's painting hand book, *Foundation of the Noble, Free Art of Painting*, 1604, which was heavily indebted to Vasari's famous Italian painting treatise, he added a whole chapter on landscape painting. He opened the chapter with an exhortation to young painters that they should go out into the countryside with their sketchbooks. Standing on high dunes near Haarlem they would be surrounded by wide skies. The iconic Dutch landscapes of the seventeenth century used the Haarlem formula of placing the horizon halfway through the picture and painting as much sky as land.



Ingens carulis iactatus surgit cœtus  
 D' p' prohibete miras Cathorum litorea cœdit.  
 Qualis Helantiaci terror, Ballena profundi,  
 Quam p'ento motuæ suo telluris ad ora  
 P'ellitur, et siccæ subsistit, cœpius arena;  
 Quæ cum cœritis sumas dæmas, populog' loquendum  
 M'ic' cœvris dæget heri hœc m'ic' oogh' ac' ac'  
 dæc' m'ic' loogh' en mont' ac' hœre' m'ic' loogh';  
 want' nemmermoet' ghuogh' men' hœm' g'hr' in' m'ic'  
 w'ien' hœgh' w'et' h' all' alle' lof' ee' d'ura'

Jacob Matham, *Stranded Whale at Katwijk*, c. 1598, engraving,  
 Staaliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

The engraving by Jacob Matham, who worked in Goltzius' studio, was made from a draft drawing by Hendrik Goltzius. This is a good illustration of the specialization in the print industry in Haarlem. The Dutch developed a major whaling industry in the North Sea in the seventeenth century.





Jacob Matham, *The Brewery Town House and Country House of Burgomaster Jan Claes Loo*, 1627, drawing on panel, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

The tension between town and country can be seen in this drawing. In the foreground is the patron's brewery on the Spaarne in Haarlem, which is next to his town house. His country estate with formal gardens is pictured behind it set against the dunes. The text underneath it reads: "There is his brewery, his labor and his trade . . . Here is his place for pleasure, here is his play pavilion. Is brewing not a worry and a restless tossing? How just is it then that he can amuse himself a bit. And that he can relax regularly in the countryside" (de Bièvre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures*, p. 411, fn. 93).



Jan van de Velde, *View of a Farm*, c. 1620, National Gallery, Washington, D. C.

Jan van de Velde was a cousin of the more famous *Essaiens van de Velde*. He spent his career in Haarlem as a print maker of rural and small town realistic scenes. There was a large market for relatively inexpensive prints in a society that was the most urban in Europe. He was among a group of artists in Haarlem that laid the foundation of the popular Dutch landscape tradition in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They built upon a long tradition of Flemish landscape painters culminating in the work of Brueghel in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century. This tradition was brought north by Flemish refuge artists in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, including Gillis van Conixloo, Hans Bol, and David Vinckboons. Younger landscape artists who paid their dues to the Haarlem guild were Jan van de Velde, Claes Jans Visscher, Willem Buytewech, and Hercules Segers.





Claes Jans Visscher, *Road Between Canals and a Farm*. 1615-20, drawing,  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Claes Jans Visscher (1587-1652) came from Amsterdam to draw “pleasant...places outside of Haarlem,” and published a series of them in Amsterdam in praise of Haarlem’s sylvan surroundings. He learned the art of etching and printing at his family’s firm, which became one of the largest and most successful printing and mapmaking firms in the Dutch Republic.



Hercules Segers, *Mountain Valley with Fenced Fields*, c. 1615-30, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Hercules Segers, *Panoramic Landscape*, c. 1625,  
Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam

Hercules Segers (1589/90) used experimental techniques and produced dramatic, and imaginative images that appeal to modern artists.





Salomon van Ruysdael, *A River with a Fisherman Drawing a Net*, National Gallery, London

Salomon van Ruysdael (1602-70) worked in Haarlem from the 1640s to the 1660s. He came to Haarlem during his teens and was admitted to the Haarlem Guild in 1623. Together with Pieter Molijn and Jan van Goyen they developed what has been called a tonal approach. Calm river scenes and landscapes with high elaborate skies were executed in broad brush strokes with unifying tones of grey, greens and browns and whitish highlights, the whole conveying a humid atmosphere and the effects of Haarlem's coastal climate. Some have also offered an economic argument for these techniques, since they were cheaper and quicker to produce and were used to meet the growing demand for more and cheaper landscapes for those living in crowded cities. The images allowed their owners to dream of leisurely walks and picnics in the countryside.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Dune Landscape*, 1651, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Jacob van Ruisdael (1628-1682) was born in Haarlem and joined the Haarlem Guild in 1648. His father, Isaack, was a sheriff and furniture maker from Naarden. Jacob and his brother Salomon changed their name to Ruisdael, possibly because their father had resided in Castle Ruisdael, near Blaricum. His father was later mentioned as a frame maker, art dealer, and painter. We do not know who was Jacob's teacher but he must have been familiar with the work of his uncle, Salomon. We know that he had learned Latin in his youth and there is some evidence that he may have studied medicine. He did not stay in Haarlem long but traveled to Egmond, Alkmaar and Naarden. He followed Goltzius' formula and painted sweeping landscapes with a recognizable village or town. His dune landscapes became his most popular early subject. In 1656, when he was barely 25, he settled in Amsterdam, where his art required a new character, but both he and others continued to favor subject types inspired by the long Haarlem landscape tradition, alternating dune landscapes and panoramic views of Harlem, which incorporated depictions of Haarlem's flourishing linen production. They were so popular that they acquired the generic name, *Haarlempjes*. In 1659 he obtained citizenship in Amsterdam. He was buried in the Grotekerk in Haarlem in 1682. Most of his known paintings, etchings, and drawings date from 1646 through 1653.





Jacob van Ruisdael, *View of Bentheim Castle*, 1650-52, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

In 1650 Jacob van Ruisdael set off up the Rhine to German Westphalia with his friend Nicholas Berchem, making drawings that he used later to make oil paintings, such as at least a dozen of Bentheim Castle. The castle is still there but such high mountains are not to be seen in Bentheim or along the Dutch-German border. Each of his Bentheim paintings featured different mountains. Thus this is a combination of castle realism and scenery fantasy.

This is fairly typical of his later work. His landscapes generally feature a large central motif, such as oaks, watermills, waterfalls, and castles. The great German romantic poet, Goethe, called Ruisdael a poet. His paintings became very popular in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Two Watermills with an open Sluice*, 1653, Getty Museum, Malibu, CA.

He painted a series of these mills from the eastern part of the Netherlands that he had drawn on his travels. The well-known Dutch art historian, Seymour Slive, believed that the model for these mill pictures was in Singraven, near Denekamp (the camp of the Danes in the early medieval period) in Twente not far from the current Dutch-German border. Ruisdael's student, Meindeert Hobbema, also painted these mills. It was Ruisdael who made watermills with rushing water in a wooded and hilly landscape popular in flat and urban Holland. It has also been argued that flowing water is a symbol of the transitoriness of human life and the wheel represents people who need to get on by following Christ.





Jacob van Ruisdael, *Wheat Fields*, c. 1670, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

This large painting depicts a common landscape motif of the period but the central recession of the scene into space makes it unusual and monumental. Wheat fields were first popularized by Flemish painters, such as Patinir and Bruegel, especially as a representation of summer in 16<sup>th</sup> century seasonal paintings and Teniers continued this in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Bruegel peopled his wheat fields with the common workers and Teniers added upper-class folks as owners of the fields and employers of the workers. Note that his figures are insignificant in the landscape. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch Republic there were few wheat field paintings until Ruisdael revived the genre. Perhaps this is because the specialized agriculture in the Dutch Republic imported wheat from the Baltic but this trade declined by the time Ruisdael painted his pictures. Some wheat was again being grown in areas not suitable for cattle south and east of the Zuiderzee in Ruisdael's time.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape*, c. 1665-80, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Ruisdael painted about 25 winter landscapes. The scene is dominated by ominous clouds, and is lit from the left by low, raking sunlight. The warmly dressed ice-skaters seem insignificant in this inclement weather. This is not a happy ice scene as in Hendrick Avercamp's popular paintings.





Jacob van Ruisdael, *A Village in Winter*, mid-1660s, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

Under a dark slate gray sky, a man and boy walk away from the viewer along a frozen canal with snow covered houses and a tall tree. Logs, long planks, and an ice-locked boat are on the banks. A heavily overcast sky with some dark cumulous clouds take up the majority of the painting. The clouds are dramatic but not sentimentalized. The village is not picturesque. There is no human emotion here. The world is immobilized, except for the clouds, and is frozen in the depth of winter. The man and the boy appear resigned to the cruelty of the season. The subtext here is the sadness of the reality and perhaps of death.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Waterfall with a Castle and Hut*, c. 1665, Fogg Museum, Harvard University Museums

Vertical paintings such as this did not become popular until the 1660s and 1670s. The vertical movement of the water may be a play on the painter's name, *ruisen*—great noise, and *daal*—valley. The water rushes down and covers almost the whole painting at the bottom. At the top is a dramatic castle. By the side of the mountain is an old house, a collapsing wooden fence, and tree trunks laying on top of each other. A tall spruce is on the left. Ruisdael painted a number of these vertical scenes and they have been called Scandinavian but he never visited here. Perhaps he saw works by the Haarlem painter Allaert van Everdingen who traveled to Scandinavia in 1644 and produced many works from his drawings. The rushing waters have also been interpreted as emblems of the transitoriness of life and the tower on the rocks as *vanitas*.





Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Jewish Cemetery*, c. 1668-72, The Detroit Institute of Arts

The wooded hillside is covered with tombs, ruins of a church, running brook, and, in the foreground, a broken and dead tree. In the stormy sky overhead is a rainbow. The assumption that the burial ground is Jewish is supported by Ruisdael's 1670 drawing of a Portuguese Jewish burial ground in Oudekerk, near Amsterdam. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, land for the cemetery was purchased by two Sephardic Portuguese communities. The sarcophagi from the period can still be seen at Beth Haim, the burial place of Amsterdam's Portuguese community. The prominent white tomb was bought for a physician to a Grand Duke of Tuscany and Marie de Medici who died in Tours in 1616. Other monuments have also been identified. The hill of the cemetery is on a very gentle slope rather than Ruisdael's more dramatic hill. The pictured ruin was not near the cemetery but in Egmond, near Alkmaar. There has been a great deal of commentary on the painting. We do not know what Ruisdael's attitude was toward Jews but we do know that he grew up in a Mennonite household, a sect that was sympathetic to Jews, and that he also painted a Jewish cemetery, the Kuiperberg, in Ootmarsum, Twente. There is also evidence that the Jewish cemetery in Oudekerk was something of a tourist attraction at the time for visitors to Amsterdam.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Windmill at Wijk by Duurstede*, c. 1670, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

According to the Rijksmuseum this picture is world famous. The platform windmill rises up majestically above the bishop's palace on the left and the church and town on the right. The river Lek flows in the foreground through the low lying land. Ruisdael's major topographical change is the removal of the Vrouwen Poort (Ladies Gate), which stood where the three women walk, and the walls of the town. This alteration greatly emphasizes the height of the mill. Above is a dramatic sky.

Ruisdael drew and painted a number of windmills early in his career. Surprisingly, windmills rarely appear as the main motif after the early decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They do appear regularly in the graphic arts throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Sixteenth century and earlier depictions of windmills have been seen as having religious meanings, especially wheat mills symbolizing the Eucharist, the blades could form a cross, and God's power through nature provided for the needs of man. Ruisdael's mills may have had a more contemporary meaning. They were ubiquitous in Holland and were a sign of the importance of modern industry. This particular mill was quite unusual and its location was special. It was a landmark at the



intersection of the Rhine and Lek on the way to Germany. Wijk by Duurstede had been the site of an important historic Frisian trading post in the eight century and in Charlemagne's time. There had been in bishop in the palace. The grain mill itself was unusual with its large stone structure. The actual mill had a gate and an enclosure around it, which Ruisdael removed to emphasize its height. Ruisdael, as in this picture of bleaching fields, emphasizes the productivity of the land and the countryside.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *View of Alkmaar*, c. 1675-80, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

A towering sky stretches above a panoramic plain, with the skyline of a city on the horizon. Weaving back from the foreground, a sandy road passes through a watery hollow to a darkened stand of trees surrounding cottages and a tall building in the shadows in the left middle distance. To the right there is a sunny meadow with a windmill and cottages with a fence that stretches

back to the city. The clouded sky, which is 4/5ths of the painting, produces a mottled countryside.

The picture is closely related to a group of panoramic views of the city of Haarlem. These pictures incorporate features of the vertical profile of towns in topographical prints and maps. Ruisdael adopted a high viewpoint, an emphatic horizon and a soaring cloud-filled sky, which reiterates the complex patterning of light and shade in the land below, which produces an erect stateliness. These pictures are considered the culmination of the Dutch landscape tradition. Studies have shown that they are never an exact picture of the topography of a particular place and the viewing point is rarely identifiable. This picture was always labeled as a view of Haarlem but in the 1940s research showed that Alkmaar is much more likely. The building in the left foreground is the ruin of Egmond Castle, which was destroyed by William of Orange in 1574 during the siege of Alkmaar so that the Spanish army could not use it. The church in Alkmaar is the Gothic St. Lauren's church.



Jacob van Ruisdael, *Rough Sea*, c. 1670, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Ruisdael also painted many seascapes.





Frans Post, *View of Itamaraca Island*, 1637, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Frans Post (1612-1680) was born in Haarlem. He may have been trained by the landscape painter Pieter de Molijn in Haarlem as well as by his father, who was also a painter. Between 1636 and 1644 he worked in Brazil through a commission of Frederik Hendrik to serve as a painter in Brazil for John Maurice, Prince of Nassau-Siegen. This is the earliest known painting by Post in Brazil. Originally Maurits wanted to build a new capital on this island.

We know of only six paintings that he completed in Brazil but he made many drawings that he used for many later paintings. He joined the Guild of St. Luke in Haarlem in 1646. He produced over 140 paintings. His paintings of Brazil. In term of composition, style and technique, he followed the Haarlem model of the 1620s to the 1640s for his Brazilian paintings, although from the 1650s they became much more colorful and idealized. The two men and their slaves may be exploring the island. Across the water is Schoppestad with Fort Orange. The fort is still visible today.



Frans Post, *River Landscape in Pernambuco*, 1668, Sao Paulo Museum of Art, Brazil

Note the perspective, which is remarkably similar to landscapes in the Netherlands.





Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, *The Waag and a Crane on the Spaarne*, c. 1598,  
Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

The Waag (1592) was the first public building erected in Haarlem after the Alteration, the established of the Protestant Reformed Church as the state religion. It was designed by the famous Haarlem architect Lieven de Key and the first fully classical public building in the Northern Netherlands. It was built between 1594 and 1598 and was constructed with expensive blue stone imported from Namur.



*The Waag, Haarlem.*



*Oudemanshuis, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.*

Between 1611 and 1671 the town of Haarlem constructed an old age home for men, consisting of thirty small row houses. It was expanded in later years and used until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1913 it became The Frans Hals Museum



*Frans Hals Museum*





Ox Heads, Vleeshal, Haarlem



*Vleeshal*, 1604, Haarlem

The public meat hall was the only place fresh meat could be sold in Haarlem between 1604 and the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was given a prominent place on 't Sandt. Salted meat was sold around the corner. It was designed in a Netherlands Renaissance style by Liven de Key and was built with brick rather than stone. It was used as a meat hall until 1840. Since 1950, it has been used by the Frans Hals Museum for special exhibitions as the Museum de Hallen



Pieter Saerendam, *The Town Hall of Haarlem with the Entry of Prince Maurits to Replace the Governors in 1618*, c. 1630

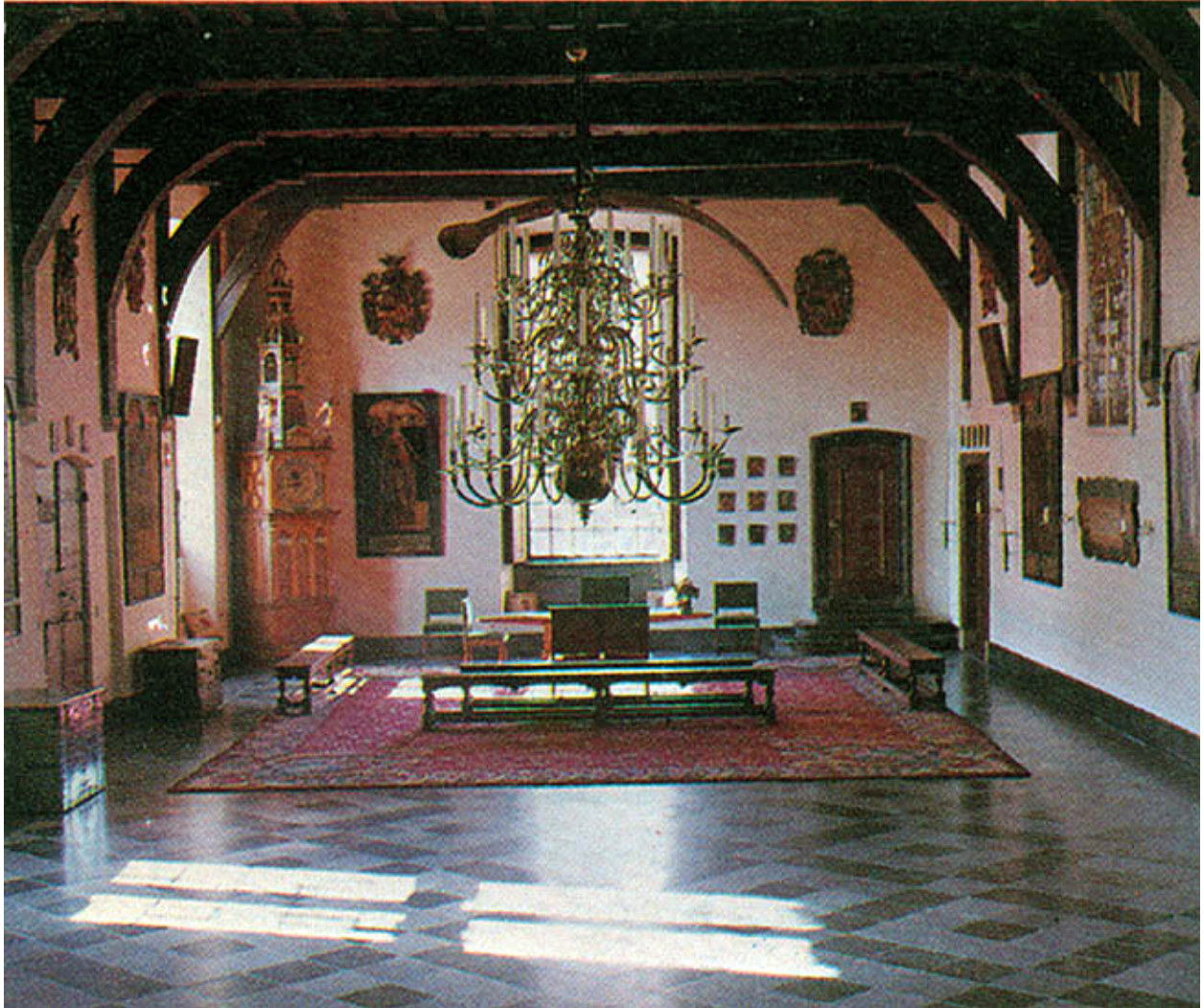
In October 1618, Prince Maurits visited major cities with a military escort in order to replace the governors and purge local authorities of all who had supported the Remonstrants and those with Republican ideas. Here cavalymen ride before the Haarlem town hall are observed by people in the square. Local authorities on the wooden scaffold in front of the town hall remove their hats out of respect while three horsemen below fire a salute. The rider on the right at the head of the procession may be Maurits. We do not know who commissioned the painting. Underneath a print of the town hall, Saerendam wrote: “The counts of Holland have since olden days/ Held court in Haarlem, to our praise and glory.” Saerendam is mostly known for his architectural works and paintings of interior of churches. His works had a major influence on the younger Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde.





Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, *Haarlem Town Hall on the Grote Markt*, 1671,  
Frans Hals Museum

The building dates from 1250 as the Count of Holland's Haarlem residence and court. It was rebuilt in the late medieval period. A large Dominican cloister was built behind it. After the Alteration the town also used the cloister building. In 1616, the town built a new council hall on top of a part of the old building that served as a jail. Lieven de Key designed a Vierschaar, from which court judgments were announced, in front of it and redesigned the front in 1633. Executions took place on the balcony. The building was restored in 1883.



*Gravenzaal, Stadhuis, Haarlem*

The front of the old town hall is now used for ceremonial occasions and weddings.





*Amsterdam Poort, Haarlem, 17<sup>th</sup> century print*

This Haarlem gate was originally built in 1355 on the west side of the walled city. It is the only gate that survives. Originally named the Spaarnwouderpoort, it was renamed the Amsterdampoort in 1632 when the trekvaart, the first in Holland, was built to Amsterdam. Passenger boats could carry thirty passengers and traveled on a regular schedule throughout the most populated areas of the Dutch Republic. Travel to Amsterdam used to be north-east along the Spaarne dike and then along the IJ but one could now travel to Amsterdam and back in one day.



*Amsterdam Poort, Haarlem*



Gerrit Berckheyde, *Construction of the New Ramparts in Haarlem*, c. 1671-72,  
Collection Frits Lug, Paris

This is a topographically correct view of the planned expansion of Haarlem by up to fifty per cent. The image shows a horse powered mud chain mill used to reclaim land where the new ramparts were to be built on. The project was never finished because of the war with France in 1672-74. This is a rare subject despite the importance of drainage in the country. The painting was probably part of a series of cityscapes commissioned by the city of Haarlem.





Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Zijlpoort in Haarlem*, c. 1670, National Museum, Stockholm

This is the western city gate. Several well-dressed people are walking along the Leidsevaart in the morning sun with a trekschuit waiting. A farmhand urges on his cattle and a small beaching field can be seen beyond the trees. The Zijl was a small stream that entered the town and was widened to become the Brouwersvaart (the brewery canal). The gate to the left with a tent-like roof was added in 1628 to supplement the earlier gate. The medieval gate and wall was to the right. The windmill to the right stands on the ramparts and was built on an earlier foundation of a mill destroyed in the siege.



Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Grote or St. Bavokerk in Haarlem*, 1666,  
National Gallery of Art, Washington

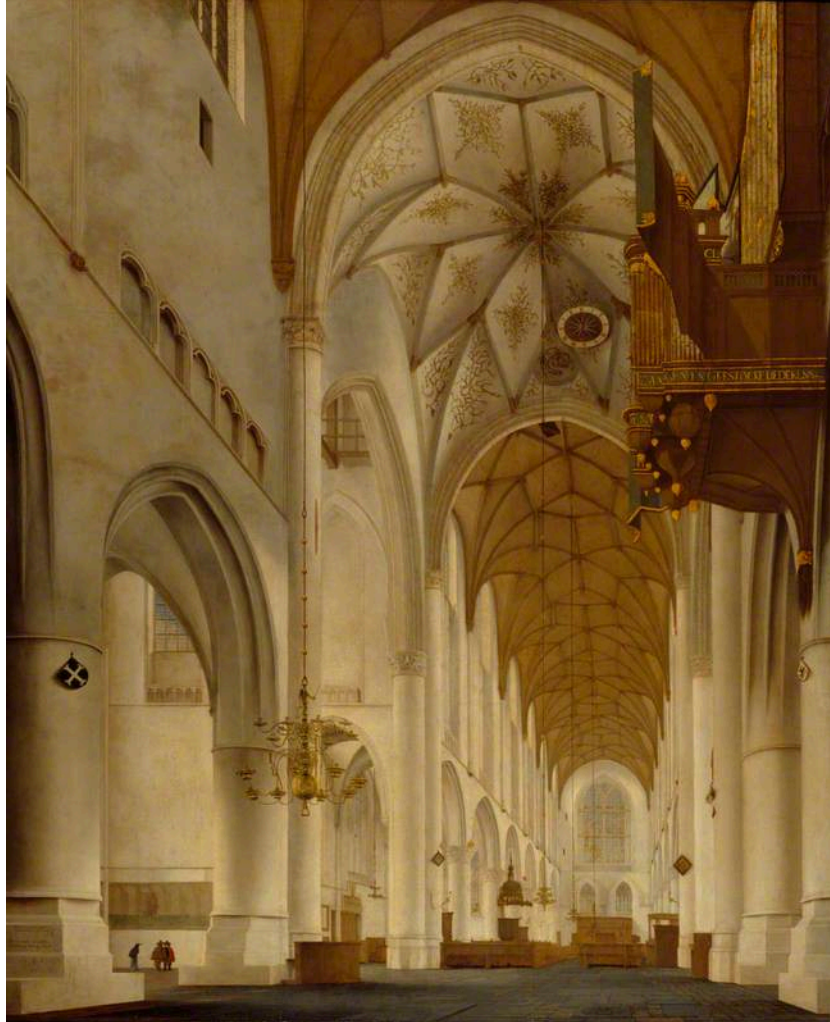
This views the enormous church from the south-side of the Oude Groenmarkt in full sunlight during a period of peace and prosperity in the Republic. Vendors sit before their church owned houses with neat baskets of vegetables underneath leafy trees. Other burgers amble peacefully along the cobblestones surrounding the cathedral. The building had evolved over a long period. It was not until the 16<sup>th</sup> century that it acquired its elegant spire, built of wood and covered with lead to lessen its weight. In no other painting by Berckheyde does a building so fill the space. The clock face show 1:40 PM matches the light and shadows visible on the church today.





Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Grote Markt in Haarlem*, c. 1690,  
George M. and Linda H. Kaufman Collection

This is a view from the town hall to the St. Bavo. The Vleeshal is to the right. Opposite were private houses with ground level shops. Berckheyde painted views this such as for thirty years. This is a late one and by 1690 Dutch cities were in a very different period from their dynamism earlier in the century. After the French invasion of 1672, princes of the Orange dynasty were again stadholders and the economy, while still prosperous, had lost its former dynamism. In 1690 William III was King of England as well as Stadholder in The Dutch Republic. French fashions were now dominant in the Republic and this picture shows genteel pursuits. Children play as two well-dressed riders show off their skills at dressage. An elegant man is reading the notices at the town hall and others parade casually. The buildings were the same but the dynamic market atmosphere of earlier paintings is missing.



Pieter Jansz Saerendam, *Interior of the Grote Kerk, St. Bavo*, 1648, Haarlem, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh

Pieter Jansz Saerendam (1597-1665) was the son of Jan Saerendam, who was a print maker and studied with Goltzius. Pieter moved to Haarlem in 1612 and was an apprentice of Frans de Grebber. In 1614 he became a member of the Guild of St. Luke. His fame rests on his architectural drawings. His first known architectural drawings were illustrations of Samuel Ampzing's historical *Description and Praise of Haarlem* of 1628.





Pieter Jansz Saerendam, *Interior of the Grote Kerk, St. Bavo*, 1629,  
 Getty Museum, Malibu, CA

Saerendam specialized in the representation of church interiors. These pictures were based on precise measurements of the building and meticulously-rendered sketches, done on site, in pencil, pen, and chalk, after which washes were applied. Painting took place in the studio, often years after the studies were made.

His emphasis on even light and geometry is brought out by comparing his works with those of the rather younger Emanuel de Witte, who included people, contrasts of light and such clutter of church furniture as remained in Calvinist churches, all usually ignored by Saerendam. His horizon was placed at the eye level of a his few figures and those of the viewer.

Saerendam wanted to record this time of change by documenting the country's buildings. Many artists before him had specialized in imaginary and fanciful architecture, but Saerendam was one of the first to focus on existing buildings. He began by making site drawings of buildings that record measurements and detail with archaeological thoroughness." This meticulous preparation helped him to create such accurate and enchanting paintings. The measurements aided him in using scientific linear perspective. He was able to use his measurements to create a realistic image with depth.



Dirck Hals, *Fête Champêtre*, 1627, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

There were two kinds of popular genre paintings that were important in Haarlem. One was *zuivere beeldekens*, elegant companies, which depicted upper or middle class social situations in either an idealized or critical situations. The others were *gezelschapjes*, pictures that dealt with lower-class conditions. The elegant companies were first developed in Antwerp in the second half of the sixteenth century and introduced to Amsterdam by David Vinckboons in around 1600 and became popular in Haarlem about ten years later. They often show elegantly dressed young couples gathered around a table, often covered with elegant Haarlem linen, enjoying garden parties. Emblematic innuendos could be added, such as the chained monkey in the painting to remind the participants that appetites should be controlled.





Willem Pietersz Buytewech, *Elegant Couples Courting*, c. 1616, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

One of the women, by crossing her arms, tries to confuse her male companion as he chooses between two rosebuds, he or her friend. The spider web on the window is an emblem for Venus' snare. The scattered roses and the foundation suggest courtship. The young man on the left will not be snared for he looks away and strokes his faithful dog. The couple on the right chose wanton love, symbolized by the gloves left on the ground.

Buytewech was born in Rotterdam but was trained in Haarlem where he joined the Guild of St. Luke in 1612 together with Hercules Segers and Essaies van de Velde, he was primarily an etcher and draughtsman but also a painter. He has been credited with bringing the merry company subject to Holland, which are especially identified with Haarlem. His pictures had a great deal in common with those of Hals during this period.





Adriaen van Ostade, *The Violinist*, 1673, Mauritshuis, The Hague

This is an example of another category of genre paintings, *gezelschapjes*. These also originated in Antwerp, where they grew out of a Bruegelian tradition. They were brought to Amsterdam by David Vinckboons and by the presence of Adriaen Brouwer in Haarlem during the 1620s. His paintings of peasants, simple folks, or down and outs carousing, drinking and fighting in and around dark taverns and barns, were admired by Rubens and found a market in the north. The subject matter of the poor living in squalid housing was very much present in Haarlem. Since the city did not expand its walls until 1671, while its population had grown dramatically, many of the poor lived in haphazard and cheap wood housing and workshops on a narrow strip of sandy and poor land north of the city. The images from Brabant and Flanders resonated with Haarlem art buyers. The assumed violence and uncivilized behavior among the poor reminded the better off how much better off and more civilized their lives were.





Jan Miense Molenaer, *Allegory of Marital Fidelity*, 1633,  
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond

Molenaer married Judith Leyster in 1636. This painting is a good example of the tension between the merry companies and the low-life peasant scenes. The painting uses well known metaphors and emblems of the period drawn from literature and graphic art for paintings. It suggests the Haarlem motto of victory of virtue of the burghers over the violence and boorishness of the peasants. On the right stand the bridal couple, shy and erect. The centrally located and dignified seated young woman keeps time with her hands as two graceful and well-dressed males make music. She represents the harmony of marriage. The monkey, chained to a book, embraces a cat. They represent the view that animal instincts have to be controlled by codified rules. A few pageboys and pagegirls represent other marital virtues, such as temperance. The nicely paved terrace on which the main group is staged is separated from areas of wild trees, shacks and fighting peasants on the left side with a clipped hedge and trellis controlled plants. A villa is behind the young couple. Molenaer's genre paintings were a precursor of those of the better known Jan Havickszoon Steen (1626-79).



Jan Havickszoon Steen, *Feast of St. Nicholas*, c. 1665-68, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Catholic feast days, such as Twelfth Night and St. Nicholas, had been purged of all papist superstitions and could by this time be freely celebrated, as Steen did on a grand scale in this painting. Good children get a bucket of treats while the naughty get a switch.

. Steen was a friend of Moolenaar and lived in Haarlem from 1660 until 1670. These were the most productive years of his career. He was a Catholic and the son of a well-to do brewer in Leiden. His family ran a tavern in the city for several generations. He was trained in Utrecht by Nicholas Kupfer. With Gabriel Metsu he was a founder of the Guild of St. Luke in Leiden in 1648. He was an assistant to the landscape painter, Jan van Goyen, and married his daughter, Margriet, with whom he had eight children. They moved to The Hague where he worked with his father in law. In 1654 his father gave him a brewery in Delft but he was not a success in the business and moved to Warmond, just north of Leiden, in 1756. He was influenced by the Isaac



van Ostade and other Haarlem genre painters. Steen painted daily life and produced about 800 paintings of which 350 have survived. The greatest influence on Steen's satirical genre scenes was the Haarlem theater. There were three rhetorician groups in Haarlem. Steen painted his groups on a shallow horizontal stage just as in the theater. They were *tableaux vivants*.



Jan Havickszoon Steen, *In Luxury, Look Out*, 1663, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna  
 This famous picture has four adults, an adolescent, four children, a baby, a pig, a monkey, and a dog. It is set in a plain room in turmoil. A young woman looks at us and smiles as she places a glass of wine in the young man's crotch. He is distracted by an older man and woman behind him, who recite from a book. A duck on the man's shoulder looks toward a youth, who plays the violin and eyes a young girl who filches a coin from a purse. Next to her a boy draws on a pipe, perhaps to blow smoke at a dozing woman who is oblivious to a dog that eats a meat pie. Even a bowl crashing on the floor does not wake her. The baby who threw the bowl turns to see wine spilling from the barrel. The pig, who took the tap off the barrel sniffs at a rose, which fell from the branch held by the young man. A pipe, hat, wine jug, pretzels and cards litter the floor. The monkey stops the clock above. This is a family that has gone wild.

A popular Dutch proverb still describes messy homes as "households of Jan Steen." The picture looks realistic and appears to describe a moment in time but the careful detail, and its size of 5 ft. across, must have taken weeks or even months to paint. It can thus not be a snapshot of

reality. Moreover, few families would have had a duck, a pig, and a monkey as pets in the house. Most middle class households would have found the clothes of the older couple too dour and those of the younger couple too ostentatious.

The young woman's neckline would be more appropriate to a barmaid or prostitute, and the playing cards, pipes and drink suggest a bar or brothel, but then why the children and household purse? The picture suggests that this is a kitchen. The key on the wall offers a solution. It points to the sleeping woman. Her respectable dress indicates that she should be in charge of the household as the key indicates, and as women were supposed to be in the period. Unfortunately, probably because of excessive drinking, the picture marks the dissolution of the household. Without supervision, the young lovers can flirt in front of the children who themselves smoke and steal. Moralists often compared a dog licking pots to badly brought up children. The pig, monkey and dog enact proverbs about folly: the pig runs off with the tap meant drinking too much. Throwing roses before a swine meant wastefulness. The monkey stopping the clock reminds viewers of "in folly, time is forgotten." A duck's quacking meant nonsensical behavior. A duck on the man's shoulder suggests the conversation is futile. On the blackboard on the right, Steen wrote "In Luxury, look out." He warns that chance can easily destroy one's fortune. The hanging basket is full of marks of poverty and disease—a crutch, a leper's rattle, and switches with which petty crimes are punished. For the Dutch "luxury" did not just mean an abundance of material things, but also included illicit sexual desire as well as drink and tobacco. Steen puts the young couple at the center of his painting that warns of the perils of luxury.

Steen's large painting was an expensive luxury that few could have afforded. The Church and the publishing industry, however, provided plenty of cheaper prints for a broader public. Steen's clues to the meaning of the painting were aimed at well to do and educated viewers and included references to other paintings of the period, which provided more respectable family groupings (Mariët Westerman, *A Worldly Art*, pp. 12-14).





Jan Havickszoon Steen, *The Merry Family*, 1668, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The boisterous family makes a lot of noise. The father sings at the top of his lungs, while the mother raises her glass. Both the mother and grandmother chime in. The children blow either into a wind instrument or smoke a pipe. The moral of the story is “as the Old Sing so Pipe the Young.”



Jan Havickszoon Steen, *Rhetoricians at a Window*, c. 1663-65, Philadelphia Museum of Art

A bald bespectacled orator in outdated clothes reads from a page. He is accompanied by an older more serious man. The man in a melancholic pose with a tankard in hand, may stand for a critic, while behind him a fool exposes human folly with a raised finger. The window is like a stage or pulpit and the painter's role is to engage the audience to tell a moral tale, like an actor, play-write or minister. Steen was a superb story teller.





Jan Havickszoon Steen, *The Drunken Couple*, c. 1655-65, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The couple are so drunk that they are unaware that they are being robbed. Their foolishness is underscored by the owl on the wall. The owl was considered a stupid animal in the 17<sup>th</sup> century because it could not see by day, not even with a candle or eyeglasses.



Jan Havickszoon Steen, *Prince's Day*, 1660-79, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

This is a celebration of William's III' birthday. The paper on the ground explains "To the health of the Nassau laddie, in one hand a rapier, and in the other a glass raised gladly." This is sure to raise spirits but no one pays any attention to Prince's portrait overlooking the scene.





Jan Havickszoon Steen, *The Sick Woman*, c.1663-66, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Faint from fever, the young woman rests her head on a pillow. Is she perhaps lovesick? Is she pregnant? To find out, a quack would put a strip of his patient's clothing in a brazier to smolder—the scent would disclose her condition. His old fashioned attire characterizes him as a comic character.



Frans Hals, *Gipsy Girl*, 1628, Louvre, Paris

Despite the popularity of high and low life scenes produced in Haarlem, they were surpassed by the number of *tronies*, studies of facial expression and unusual clothing. They were not just made for amusement. Jan van de Velde produced 18 illustrations for the Calvinist minister and writer, Samuel Ampzing, *Mirror or Stage of the Vanity and Licentiousness of Our Century . . . for*



*Educational Improvement*, 1633. Hals produced many of these. Cleavage such as this was not generally displayed at the time. Note that this is a gypsy girl.



Frans Hals, *The Merry Drinker*, c. 1628-30, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

This painting is also known as a Militiaman holding a Berkemyer. He raises his glass to toast the viewer. Who would not want to join him. The execution of the painting is just as free and easy as the sitter himself. The lively painting suggests that the man might actually be moving. Note that there is no moral condemnation of the respectable jolly fellow.



Frans Hals, *Peckelhaering*, early 1640s, Museumslandschaft of Hessen and Kassel

Mr. Peckelhaering was an actor of comic plays who played a jester on the Haarlem stage. An engraver produced his picture with the caption that his lips are always wet because he enjoys his beer. It is not clear if he was a mulatto or wore a brown face.





Frans Hals, *Catherine Hooft with Nurse*, c. 1619-20, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

Hals was a superb portrait painter who served the old and new well-off in Haarlem. At times his carefully chosen details and settings make him almost a history painter. In this picture the nurse is about to give her charge an apple but is interrupted by the unexpected viewer. It produces a lively picture out of an ordinary event. The child seems to be dressed in gold but it is expensive brocade. She overshadows the nurse in the painting. She was the daughter of Jans Pietersz Hooft, who was living in Haarlem at the time. His daughter Catherine married the extremely wealthy Cornelis Graaff in 1635, who later served as burgomaster in Amsterdam and was the city's leading political figure and the confidant of Johan de Witt. Catherine's portrait was later painted in Amsterdam but she was no longer smiling.



Frans Hals, *Stephanus Gereardts and Isabella Coymans*, c. 1652, Koninklijke Museum for Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, and private collection

This was an Amsterdam commission from Gereardts for pendant portraits with Isabella Coymans, who was his very rich Haarlem bride. This is one of the most engaging depictions of marital love found in Dutch art. The artists turned the sitters to look at each other beyond the frames. She is offering him a rose with a gentle teasing smile and he receives her gesture with a tenderly beaming expression. Both are opulently dressed with a multitude of ribbons, laces and pearls to lightened their magnificence and to testify to the pleasure in each other. Isabella's décolletage, while quite modest, is very unusual at the time for official patrician portraits.





Frans Hals, *Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Militia*, 1616, Frans Hals Museum

Group portraits were only introduced in Haarlem after the Alteration of 1577. The first was produced in 1583 and until 1641 they were only made for militia companies in the city. Nineteen have survived and Hals did five of these. After the siege of the city and the occupation, the militia members probably wished to assert their importance and dominance. The group portraits were of two types, those in which the militia members were shown in their full armor and those that pictured them at a banquet in their ceremonial regalia. Each member of the militia paid to be in the painting. Hals' group portraits introduced a lively style to the genre. The entire painting is one piece of seamless linen, 165 x 324 cm, and a full meter wider than its predecessors which were painted on oak panels. In addition to the interaction between the portrayed, an impression of space and depth is given by diagonal lines leading the viewer to the flag and the outside. After 1630, militia groups were seen outside



*St. Joris Doelen, Haarlem*

On the left is the St. Joris Doelen old building from 1592. On the right is the later Lieven de Key gate seen from the back. A reproduction of the painting is in the garden of the old St. Joris Doelen. In later years it became the Proveniersshof.





Frans Hals, *The Regents of the Old Men's House*, 1664, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem

This was the first non-military group portrait in Haarlem. He collaborated with Johannes Verspronck on this picture. This dignified picture and elegant but black clothes still shows lively individuals around a conference table.

This, and *The Regentessen* below, was painted late in his life. It shows much rougher brushwork and is done in an austere and old style at the time. Some have argued that the odd expression on the man's face with the crooked hat showed that Hals had lost his touch but others have suggested that perhaps he had a stroke. In any case, no one complained about the expensive painting and it is still in its original location, which is now the Frans Hals museum.



Frans Hals, *The Regentessen of the Old Men's House*, 1664, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.