

## Some notes by Ernst Brinck (1582-1649) on painters, collectors and exceptional art

Ernst Brinck (1582-1649), mayor and alderman of Harderwijk, was the proud owner of a cabinet of curiosities. He studied in Paris and Leiden, travelled extensively, and displayed an exceptionally wide range of interests. In 1613, Brinck visited Constantinople as secretary of the first Dutch ambassador to Turkey.<sup>1</sup> He left three *alba amicorum*.<sup>2</sup>

The erudite regent made notes on numerous subjects throughout the course of his life. Running into the thousands, they survive in the form of 45 parchment bindings or booklets, which the Northwest Veluwe regional archives have photographed and made accessible online. The notes have never been published in full, due not only to their sheer volume, but also the fact that Brinck's handwriting is frequently hard to decipher.<sup>3</sup> A wealth of information remains to be discovered.<sup>4</sup>

Brinck had a scholarly seventeenth-century collection of curiosities comprising both *naturalia* and *artificialia*. He was a typical humanist collector, who obtained his information from books, visiting other collections, his acute powers of observation, and his interest in what he could learn from others. All of which he excerpted, summarized and noted down continuously. The American art historian Claudia Swan has argued persuasively that all these notes were intended first and foremost as an *aide-mémoire*. In her discussion of the notebooks, she points out several topics for which Brinck grouped interesting facts into sections, one of which is devoted to paintings.<sup>5</sup>

The relevant section, which Swan does not discuss further, comprises seventeen notes relating to "uitzonderlijke" (exceptional) art. Nor does she mention a section on "treffelijke kunst" (excellent art), which consists of five notes. Both of these are published and annotated here for the first time (see appendices 1 and 2). Brinck copied most of the entries in both sections from his earlier notebooks. In doing so, he by no means included all his previous notes on art and he also added new ones. There is insufficient space in this essay to discuss all of Brinck's notes on art, artists and collectors.<sup>6</sup> A few chance finds in one of those earlier notebooks can already be found in the art-historical literature.

### Encounters with artists and collectors

Several inscriptions and drawings by painters and engravers are known from Brinck's albums. It is evident from these that Brinck was in contact with Hendrick Avercamp, with Jacob Matham in 1611, and with Jacques de Gheyn II in 1616. Brinck visited Avercamp in Kampen.<sup>7</sup> Whether Matham and De Gheyn visited him in Harderwijk or he met them at their homes is not clear. Brinck was able to report that De Gheyn had received two hundred thalers for two flower still lifes.<sup>8</sup> Hendrick Goltzius made a drawing in one of the albums and it is apparent from Brinck's notes that he visited the artist in Haarlem.<sup>9</sup> Brinck called on the physician and collector Bernardus Paludanus in Enkhuizen in 1610 and wrote a detailed account of his large collection.<sup>10</sup> He was also present when this was auctioned in the town in 1634 on 1 August and subsequent days.<sup>11</sup> Hence the frequent reference that Brinck makes

in his notes to items in Paludanus' cabinet. In 1638, Brinck visited the art collector Pieter Spiering in The Hague (see appendix, no. 12).<sup>12</sup> Closer to home, he viewed the cabinet of Steven de l'Espierre in Kampen (see appendix, no. 15) and visited a member of the Ter Borch family in Zwolle.<sup>13</sup> The pleasure garden and studio of the painter and architect Jacob van Campen in Amersfoort were not far away either and he paid them a visit in 1647 (see appendix, no. 5).<sup>14</sup> Brinck's trips to these cabinets of curiosities and studios show that he was an amateur with wide-ranging interests in keeping with the social conventions of the time.<sup>15</sup>

It goes without saying that information was exchanged at meetings like this. Its oral transmission is apparent from the opening words of Brinck's notes, such as "mij is verhaald" (I was told), "ik heb gehoord" (I heard) or variations of these. Brinck's final notebook, for instance, is inscribed "Mirabiles observationes & narrationes variae a me collectae 1648 & 49" (The marvellous things I have seen and that I have been told, and which I wrote down in 1648 and 1649).<sup>16</sup> This is the notebook in which Brinck briefly mentions Rembrandt's *Hundred guilder print*.

### **The earliest mention of Rembrandt's *Hundred guilder print***

Brinck had already noted that Rembrandt once purchased a certain print by Lucas van Leyden for 179 guilders, a fact known in the art-historical literature for almost a century now (see appendix, no. 13). In this case too, Brinck is likely to have heard the news second hand and to have noted it down because of the exceptionally large amount paid for a single print. He need not have seen an impression himself to have written the note, and he communicated the work's importance in terms of its exceptional value to connoisseurs.

In his final notebook, Brinck recorded that Rembrandt had sold a print for one hundred guilders on the subject "Let the children come to me" (Matthew 19:13-15). The print cost so much "due to its excellence" (fig. 1, below left).<sup>17</sup> The undated and unsigned *Hundred guilder print* is undoubtedly Rembrandt's most ambitious etching (fig. 2). It has been dated using watermarks to around 1648.<sup>18</sup> Brinck will thus have heard about it soon after it appeared, since his note on the subject must have been written between January and October 1649.<sup>19</sup> The work was already being referred to as the *Hundred guilder print* in the seventeenth century, various explanations for which have been offered over time. According to one account, Rembrandt himself bought an impression at auction for a hundred guilders in order to keep the price high. It is evident from Brinck's note that the artist sold at least one impression of the print for the amount in question and probably several. Having come across the isolated reference in the course of my research, I notified the American art historian Amy Golahny. Her 2021 study on the *Hundred guilder print* draws on previously known seventeenth-century sources, which show that Brinck's statement confirms Rembrandt's sale of the print for the amount in question.<sup>20</sup>

### **Ernst Brinck's cabinet**

Ernst Brinck's contacts with painters and collectors and the two aforementioned notes on Rembrandt prompt the question of what he himself collected. Visitors wishing to view his cabinet of curiosities and library were received at his home on Donkerstraat in Harderwijk. The archive documents kept in Harderwijk include encomia that scholars sent to Brinck after visits of this kind.<sup>21</sup> An example by the classicist and poet Nicolaes Heinsius (1620-1681), printed in 1664, has survived, as has Brinck's letter of July 1640 thanking him for the poem.<sup>22</sup> According to Heinsius, Brinck's collection consisted of shells, stones, coins and animals. Christian II, Prince of Anhalt-Bernburg (1599-1656), noted in his diary on 8 July 1626 that while visiting Brinck he had seen curiosities from India and Turkey, fine coins commemorating Dutch wars, and numerous silver and gold coins. There were magnificent books too.<sup>23</sup> The prince signed one of Brinck's *alba amicorum*.<sup>24</sup>



A<sup>o</sup> 1649. segt Casimir Cominch van  
Loden getrouwt sijn broeder Vla,  
disslar weduwe.

In pago Biffa, in Fisia Orientali  
omitt baptisatum magis ex orientali  
in quo servatur adhuc aqua bona, ab  
armis. 60. & ultra, ex ore adhuc bapti-  
sante infantos.

De Wormer zekent mer te sijn ouer  
de. 100. Baggers van bisuijt.  
Sierarchie verliest ontrent 4000. M. gt  
van melch, ende 30. M. an get,  
so dat die van Wormer, ysp, doot  
zander ende West Zanon want gemaakt  
aer t Landt opbrengen. 170000. gl.  
70. Vent sijn sijn landt  
den besuijt veldouer, naar. Jolle  
Zool. v. loss. End. etc.

Henric Soefboom, nappam qudam  
audicant Reuerendis doq. Repub.  
bi meris. D. N. D. D. In ch. te Wor-  
marvnsis Rcip. Confutis

En prout, sime parvulus ad mo veniz,  
geffl. embant sijn op sijnst voor  
- 100. gl. sijn excellenciam.

In Thuringia, in distione Comitatus Schwarz-  
burg, servatur idem, sicut magnitudine q.  
fidius, ex metallo sicut, doq. sicut in west-  
nra nauis, wat sicut van metall sicut  
is arlijt gehom ex ruderdy stras Ro-  
turburg, als Cominch vordende staren  
alder aonhom, so wort, dit broet dan in  
siet onje well gebraeft, tot ica sicut  
wort geelt middon in een groot hool vuyt  
siet zovult sijn met water sicut  
poch ende andere brandende materie, worden  
de daernaer vort, en wel toegesiet  
ende so later hooch tot een gonynd  
siet, van so wort siet geprent, ende  
vuyt daerdu, anders met sicut als ge-  
sicut vuyt, sicut ende op mannes  
sicut

Christians. 4. Cominch van Dene-  
marchen, liggende in sijn sicut  
is opper sicut, sicut sicut  
sicut noch sicut van in sijn vuyt  
te gey, alder sicut sicut sicut  
sicut, sicut een groot vuyt  
vuyt vuyt in sijn sicut

Sicut sicut et vuyt sicut sicut sicut  
sicut. 110. sicut sicut; of  
sicut sicut sicut.





1

Ernst Brinck, *Mirabiles observationes et narrationes varia, à me collectae 1648 et 49, 1648-1649*, fol. 17v-18r, Harderwijk, Streekarchivariaat Noordwest-Veluwe, inv. 2035.

The beginning of January 1646 saw a visit by no less a personage than the new queen of Poland. Maria Ludovica of Gonzaga-Nevers (1611-1667) had married the Polish king, Władysław IV Waza, in Paris a few weeks earlier and was travelling back to Poland via the Dutch Republic.<sup>25</sup> A courtier of hers called Stanilas Oswiecim kept a diary, in which he noted: “We arrived at Harderwijk on the Zuyderzee by way of Amersfoort. The mayor of the town possesses rare books and colonial curiosities.”<sup>26</sup> Following her return to Poland, the queen sent word to Brinck that she wished to purchase his entire collection. This detail was recorded by a later mayor of Harderwijk, Wolter van Speulde (also: Spuelde, c. 1662-1736), whose unpublished notes – likewise kept at the Northwest Veluwe regional archives – reveal that he must have seen the original copy of the queen’s request among Brinck’s papers.<sup>27</sup>

Van Speulde also wrote a biography of Brinck, which served as the basis for later biographies.<sup>28</sup> It contains a mistake, however, that has never been corrected: the author states that Brinck left for Paris in 1602 to continue his education after completing his studies in Leiden.<sup>29</sup> Yet Brinck did not enrol in Leiden’s law faculty until 11 May 1605, at which point he was 22.<sup>30</sup> Van Speulde also possessed the album amicorum to which Brinck invited a series of Leiden scholars to contribute in 1606.<sup>31</sup>

It is important to note here that there are two different places in which Van Speulde lists the “vreemdigheden” (rarities) that Brinck collected and of which the regent had a houseful. Van Speulde specifies: “all manner of rarities, such as medals, prints, glasses, sculptures, relics.” Brinck also had a large “number of fine books, with which the library was filled.”<sup>32</sup> The Knight Frans Alexander van Rappard (1793-1867), who consulted Van Speulde’s notes in the nineteenth century, must have seen a second description, which I have been unable to trace: “an excellent library and a fine collection of gold, silver and copper coins, Roman antiquities, prints by numerous and great masters; besides books written by himself, including Turkish, Arabic, etc.”<sup>33</sup> For his own part, Brinck regarded his art cabinet as one of the seven minor wonders of Gelderland.<sup>34</sup> His interests and collection were representative of his time.<sup>35</sup>

Brinck’s collection thus included “prints by numerous and great masters.” The only other thing we learn is Brinck’s list of the portraits he had of Prince Maurice and Frederick Henry.<sup>36</sup> He did not accept the Polish queen’s request and what happened to the collection after his death is not known.

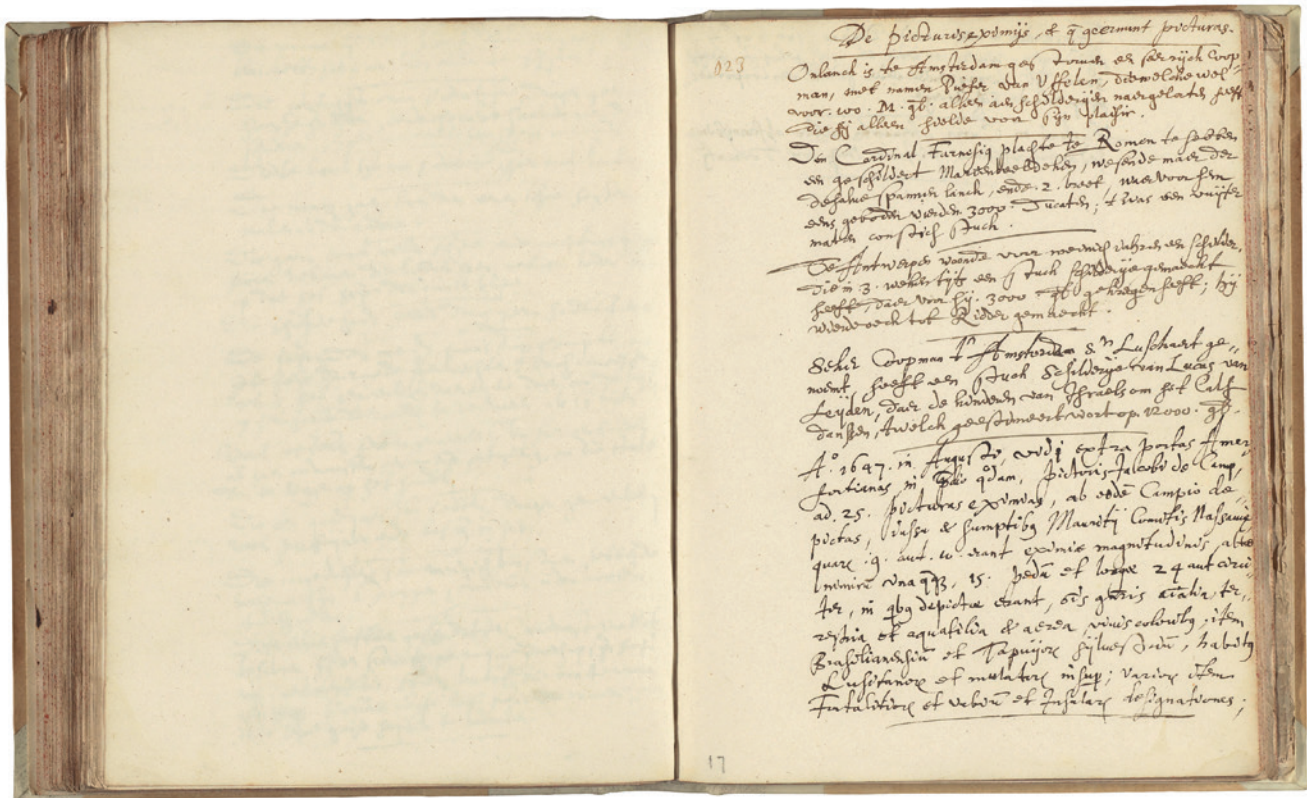
2

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ preaching (Hundred guilder print)*, c. 1648, etching and drypoint, 27 x 38.7 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. RP-P-1962-1.

### On exceptional art

Sixteen of the bindings consist almost entirely of notes from books, including Van Mander’s *Het schilder-boeck* (1604), Junius’ *De pictura veterum* (1637) and Angel’s *Lof der schilder-konst* (1641).<sup>37</sup> There is a notable absence of notes on the purchase and exchange of objects collected by Brinck himself or on visitors to his cabinet. By contrast, he does occasionally refer to his own cabinet in his notes on animals, where he records that he too possessed certain stuffed specimens or items such as horns, teeth and beaks.<sup>38</sup> These never take the form, however, of self-contained descriptions of objects from his collection.

It must have been 1645 when Brinck began to collate his scattered notes.<sup>39</sup> In five bindings titled *Historiae admirabiles et memorabiles*, he thematically arranged earlier notes under a Dutch or Latin title, as he had done with his notes on animals in *Historiae animalium*, which are grouped into separate booklets on mammals, insects, fish and birds.<sup>40</sup> For his booklet on mammals, for instance, he transcribed earlier notes while also adding new ones about the only elephant in the Low Countries at the time, which could be seen at fairs.<sup>41</sup> The five bindings range over dozens of different subjects, including echowells, riddles, famines, prostheses, sleepwalking, caves, mirrors, proverbs, gems, storms, church bells, tulip prices and tightrope walkers. Pages were left blank to allow for possible additions. There was still sufficient space in 1649 for noteworthy facts to be inserted on each topic. Van Speulde occasionally supplemented Brinck’s notes with his own observations and also drew up an index of the subjects found in the five booklets.<sup>42</sup>



3 Ernst Brinck, *Historiae admirabiles et memorabiles*, c. 1645-1649, fol. 123r, Harderwijk, Streekarchivariaat Noordwest-Veluwe, inv. 2038.

Brinck arranged a number of his notes on exceptional and excellent art under two headings: ‘Van eenige treflicke Conststucken’ (Of several excellent works of art); and ‘De picturis eximiis, et [rebus] quae concernunt picturas’ (Of exceptional paintings and [all manner of things] that concern the art of painting) (fig. 3), which Wolter van Speulde translated into Dutch as “Van fraeye schilderien en die de schilder konst raeken.”<sup>43</sup> The precise criteria that Brinck used for his transcriptions are not clear, but besides being “exceptional” and “excellent” status, size and monetary value are frequently cited.

All the notes in both sections have the character of news on exceptional, art-related matters or individuals. It might have been as a collector that Brinck noted the sums of money, but he is more likely to have done so because of the unusually high amounts. Brinck was basically interested in extremes, whether they related to agricultural yields, the size of hailstones or the value of a cargo from the East Indies. A distinction can be drawn between his own observations and facts recorded at second hand. Brinck’s account of his visit to Jacob van Campen’s studio, for instance, is of additional importance because he recorded what he saw there in person. In this way, his account provides significant new information on the function of the visual material commissioned by John Maurice of Nassau-Siegen in Brazil.<sup>44</sup> It is not clear why Brinck did not also include his note on the *Hundred guilder print* in this section, as it would have been very much at home there.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Michiel Roscam Abbing (1958) was awarded his doctorate at Amsterdam University with a thesis on Rembrandt documents, *Rembrandt toont syn konst* (1999). He compiled a list of *New Rembrandt documents* (2006) and is the author of various art-historical publications, including *De schilder & schrijver Samuel van Hoogstraten* (1993) and *Brazilië zien zonder de oceaan over te steken: De wandtapijten van Johan Maurits* (2021). In 2021, he guest-curated the exhibition “Hansken, Rembrandt’s elephant” (Rembrandt House Museum), accompanied by the publication *Rembrandt’s elephant: Following in Hansken’s footsteps* (2021).

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to Piet Bakker, Yvonne Bleyerveld, Marten Jan Bok, Machiel Bosman, Quentin Buvelot, Amy Golahny, Tiemen Goossens, Koert van der Horst, Norbert Middelkoop, Ingmar Reesing, Robert Schillemans, Frits Scholten, the late Kees Smit, and Claudia Swan. The article was translated by Ted Alkins, with funding from the Fondation Custodia.

### Appendix 1

#### **De picturis eximiis, et [rebus] quae concernunt picturas<sup>45</sup>**

(Of exceptional paintings and [all manner of things] that concern the art of painting)

[1] “Onlanck is te Amsterdam gestorven een seer rijck coopman, met namen Pieter van Uffelen, die welcke wel voor 100 M gl. alleen aen schilderijen naergelaeten heeft die hij alleen hielde voor sijn plaisir.” (“A very wealthy merchant, Pieter van Uffelen, died recently in Amsterdam. The paintings alone that he left behind are worth 100,000 guilders, and he kept them purely for his own pleasure.”)

The entry relates to Lucas van Uffelen who lived on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam and was buried in the Westerkerk on 10 May 1638. Brinck, who mistook the first name, made it not long after Van Uffelen's death.<sup>46</sup> The auction of the late merchant's paintings was held on 9 April 1639 in Amsterdam. Van Uffelen was born in the city in 1586 but had resided in Venice since 1615. He was obliged to return to Amsterdam around 1630 and brought his collection of paintings with him.<sup>47</sup>

Rembrandt attended the sale and made a sketch of Raphael's portrait of Baldassare Castiglione, which sold for 3,500 guilders. The painter also noted that “the whole cargo of Luke van Nuffeelen fetched 59,456 florins.”<sup>48</sup> By “cargo” (“cargasoen”), he meant the auctioned paintings. There is a substantial difference between the value of the collection according to Brinck (100,000 guilders) and the sale proceeds as stated by Rembrandt (just under 60,000). Perhaps the paintings brought from Italy were auctioned separately, which might also explain why Rembrandt described them as “cargo.” Brinck's entry stresses that Van Uffelen had collected the paintings purely for his own pleasure.

[2] “De Cardinal Farnesius plachte te Romen te hebben een geschildert Marienbeeldecken, wesende maer derdehalve spannen lanck, ende 2 breed, waervoor hem eens geboden wierden 3000 ducaten; t'was een uuijtermaten constich stuck.” (“Cardinal Farnesius in Rome had a painting of the Virgin Mary, just two and a half spans high and two wide, for which he was once offered 3,000 ducats; it was an extraordinarily artful work.”)

This is probably a reference to the powerful Italian cardinal and collector Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), who owned works by Titian, Michelangelo and Raphael. The artist who painted this valuable depiction of Mary, measuring approximately 61 x 50 cm, has not been identified. Brinck copied the entry from another notebook, where he had written it in German.<sup>49</sup>

[3] “Te Antwerpen woonde voor weinich iahren een schilder, die in 3 weken tijts een stuck schilderije gemaect heeft, daer voor hij 3000 gl. gekregen heeft; hij wierde oeck tot ridder gemaect.” (“A few years ago, there was painter living in Antwerp who completed a painting in the space of three weeks for which he received 3,000 guilders. He was also knighted.”)

Brinck copied this undated note concerning an unnamed Antwerp painter from the same notebook with the entry about Cardinal Farnese.<sup>50</sup> While transcribing it, he added the information that the painter had also been knighted. Two celebrated Antwerp painters had been honoured in this way by Charles I of England: Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) in 1630 and Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) in 1632. It seems likely that the entry refers to Rubens and also that Brinck was unaware of this. Rubens is known to have been paid 3,000 guilders for a *Virgin Mary with saints*, which he painted for the high altar of the Augustinian Church in Antwerp.<sup>51</sup> The essence of Brinck's statement that the Antwerp painter earned a great deal of money in a short time is consistent with another document: in the period 1624-1626, Rubens received 1,500 guilders for his *Adoration of the kings* which, according to tradition, he painted in thirteen days.<sup>52</sup>



[4] “Seker coopman t’Amsterdam sr. Luschaert genoemt, heeft een stuck schilderije van Lucas van Leijden, daer de kinderen van Israels om het Calf dansen, twelck geestimeert wort op 12000 gl.” (“A certain merchant in Amsterdam, called Losschaert, owns a painting by Lucas van Leyden showing the Israelites dancing around the Calf, which has been valued at 12,000 guilders.”)

The painting by Lucas van Leyden to which Brinck refers now belongs to the Rijksmuseum collection (fig. 4).<sup>53</sup> What was previously known about the provenance of *The dance around the Golden Calf*, painted in about 1530, was that it had belonged to the estate of Jasper Losschaert of Amsterdam when he died in 1658.<sup>54</sup> Thanks to Brinck, we can now add that Losschaert already owned the work in the 1640s and possibly earlier too. He states that the value of the painting was estimated at 12,000 guilders – considerably more than the 1,470 guilders it raised at auction in 1709.

4  
Lucas van Leyden, *Dance around the Golden Calf*, c. 1530, oil on panel, 93.5 x 66.9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3841.



[5] “Anno 1647 in augusto vidi, extra portas Amerfortianas in praedio quodam pictoris Jacobi de Camp, ad 25 picturas eximias, ab eodem Campio depictas, iussu et sumptibus Mauriti Comitis Nassauiae. Quarum 9 aut 10 erant eximiae magnitudinis, altae nimirum una quaeque 15 pedum et longae 24 aut circiter. In quibus depictae erant omnis generis animalia, terrestria et aquatilia et aerea, vivis coloribus. Item Brasilianensium et Tapuyorum sylvestrium habitus, Lusitanorum et mulatorum insuper; variorum item fortalitorum et urbium et insularum designationes.” (“In August 1647, I saw at the country home of Jacob van Campen, somewhere outside the gates of Amersfoort, around 25 paintings done by the same Van Campen on the order and at the expense of Count Maurice of Nassau. Nine or ten of these were of unusual size, one certainly fifteen feet high and 24 feet wide or thereabouts. On it were painted creatures of all kinds, land and water animals and birds, and all in true-to-life colours; also the figures of Brazilians and forest Tapuyas, and moreover of Portuguese and mulattoes; as well as the depiction of coastal fortresses, cities and islands.”)

The country residence of the painter and architect Jacob van Campen (1596-1657) was called Randenbroeck. In August 1647, Brinck saw at least 25 paintings there that had been commissioned by John Maurice of Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679). The prince had returned from Brazil three years earlier and moved into the palace in The Hague (the Mauritshuis) designed by Van Campen. The information in this entry was obtained first-hand.

In it, Brinck identifies three groups of paintings. The first group of exceptionally large works consisted of designs for tapestries depicting Brazilian flora and fauna, as well as indigenous peoples, which were executed by the Delft tapestry weaver Maximiliaan van der Gucht in 1667. The series was intended for the large upper chamber of John Maurice's palace in The Hague (what is now the Potterzaal at the Mauritshuis). Prince Cosimo de' Medici saw the tapestries there in 1668. The two other groups must be the so-called ethnographic portraits by Albert Eckhout and a series of landscapes by Frans Post. John Maurice presented the first and last of these three groups to Louis XIV in 1679. The famous tapestry cycle *Tenture des Indes* was woven in Paris after eight large paintings (Le Mobilier National in Paris and other collections). Several of the paintings in the third and final group are now in the Louvre and one is in the Mauritshuis. John Maurice presented the second group, the ethnological figures, to the king of Denmark in 1654 (National Museum, Copenhagen).

The paintings by Eckhout and Post must have been intended as models for tapestries in the Main Landing of the Mauritshuis. That Van Campen not only designed the Mauritshuis, but also a grand, Brazil-themed decorative programme for the palace is new information.<sup>55</sup>

[6] "T'Amsterdam in eene van de Doelens, sijn 6 of 7 schilderijen, waer van ieder een wel gekost heeft 3000 gl. begrijpende ieder stuck een Corporaelschap van de Schutterije." ("In Amsterdam, at one of the shooting ranges, there are six or seven paintings, each of which surely cost 3,000 guilders, each one containing a section of the civic guard.")

Brinck's note on paintings at one of Amsterdam's shooting ranges (Doelen), refers to 'korporaalschappen' – a section of the militia commanded by a corporal. In 1653, the Amsterdam diplomat and historian Gerard Schaep (1599-1655) described all the paintings at the city's three Doelen. Based on Schaep's account, Brinck's note can only refer to the six large civic guard portraits and a smaller mantel painting with the four militia commanders, which hung in the Great Hall of the Arquebusiers Company.<sup>56</sup> The large paintings were done between around 1638 and 1645 by Sandrart, Flinck, Backer, Pickenoy, Rembrandt and Van der Helst (fig. 5).

5  
Reconstruction of the Great Hall of the Arquebusiers Company (Doelenzaal) in Amsterdam, Studio 12, on the instructions of Herman Colenbrander, Delft 2014.



The amounts paid are only known in the case of Rembrandt's *Night watch*. Two affidavits from 1659 show that the sixteen militiamen paid the painter an average of 100 guilders each.<sup>57</sup> Rembrandt will thus have received a total of at least 1,600 guilders. The shield above the gate includes not sixteen but eighteen names and Captain Frans Banninck Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch, painted full-length, might both have paid considerably higher amounts. Van der Helst later painted group portraits of which it is known that the militiamen's portraits were done at their own expense, but that their officers were funded from the guild's coffers.<sup>58</sup> The amount that Rembrandt received for the *Night watch* was recorded by Filippo Baldinucci in 1686: "For this picture, which luckily for him his



contemporaries greatly admired, he was paid 4,000 scudi in Dutch money, which corresponds to about 3,500 of our Tuscan currency.”<sup>59</sup>

According to Brinck, who might have gained his information through hearsay, 3,000 guilders was paid for each civic guard portrait. This seems to be an average amount. His note might indicate that Rembrandt received more than 1,600 guilders for the *Night watch*, although, as already mentioned, this is the amount declared in affidavits by two of the people portrayed.

[7] “Harlemi in Curia conservantur adhuc obscoenissimae sed artificiosissimae picturae nequam hominis Torrentii.” (“The highly obscene yet very artful paintings of the debauched Torrentius are still kept at Haarlem town hall.”)

When the Haarlem painter and freethinker Johannes Torrentius (1588-1644) was arrested in August 1627, ten paintings were found at his house. Four of them, all nudes, were confiscated by the sheriff. The offensive paintings are assumed to have been destroyed after a trial at which Torrentius was convicted of sorcery and blasphemy in January 1628.<sup>60</sup> Brinck’s note undoubtedly refers to the confiscated paintings. It makes clear that the works in question were kept for a while at the town hall. Perhaps they were even shown to interested parties and Brinck saw them with his own eyes. He calls them “very artful”, after all. Just one painting by Torrentius has survived, an emblematic still life in the Rijksmuseum.<sup>61</sup>

Brinck writes in another notebook about the “godless painter” Torrentius, whose head supposedly grew five times bigger after he died.<sup>62</sup> Tall stories about the demonic artist evidently continued to circulate even after Torrentius’ death in Amsterdam in March 1644.

[8] “Den vermaerden schilder Rubens, schilderende te Parijs het leven van Maria de Medices, Coninginne van Franckrijck verdiende ieder dach 100 gl. ende al was het schoon hij somwijlen eenige dag leech gieng, soo hadde sijn dachgelt evenwel sijnen voortganck, ende dat duijrdt alsoo een geheel iaer, ende bedroech dese somma over de 36 M gl.” (“The celebrated painter Rubens, painting in Paris the life of Marie de’ Medici, queen of France, earned 100 guilders a day and it did not matter if he sometimes missed a day, his wage continued all the same, and that went on for a whole year, and the sum amounted to more than 36,000 guilders.”).<sup>63</sup>

On 26 February 1622, Rubens agreed a contract with Marie de’ Medici, queen of France, to create two large painting cycles in Paris for the Palais du Luxembourg. The first was to deal with the queen’s own life and the second with the victories of her husband, Henry IV, who had died in 1610.<sup>64</sup> The contract stipulated that Rubens would receive 60,000 livres, payable in 15,000-livre instalments each time he delivered a quarter of the assignment.<sup>65</sup> Only the first of the two cycles was completed, comprising the 24 large paintings now in the Louvre. This suggests that Rubens received 30,000 livres for his work.<sup>66</sup>

[9] “Anno 1643 heeft de Paus een Bulle laten uuijtgaaen, waer in hij seker ordre ende reglement stelt, dat de schilders ende plaetsnijders naer desen sullen moeten volgen, in de maniere van kleedinghen die sij den beelden geven.” (“In the year 1643, the pope issued a bull setting out rules to be followed by painters and engravers regarding the type of clothing they gave their figures.”)

The only papal bull dating from 1643, ‘In eminenti’ (issued in 1642, but not published until the following year), makes no mention of the clothing of figures depicted by painters and engravers. Urban VIII was pope from 1623 to 1644. He did, however, issue the Apostolic Constitution *Caelestis Hierusalem cives* of 1634, which stipulates that statues and pictures of candidate saints must not display haloes, aureoles or other symbols of holiness, on pain of the canonization process being halted. It is probably this to which Brinck’s entry refers.<sup>67</sup> He transcribed the note from another notebook.<sup>68</sup>

[10] “Cornelis Ketel, een vermaert schilder t’Amsterdam, out tot in de 90 iahren, konde schilderen met handen ende voeten, hij schildert met sijn handt ende met penseel, ende oeck met de handt ende sonder penseel; met de voet met het penseel, ende oeck met de voet ende sonder penseel; hij heeft sijne 2 eigene huijsen van buijten de gevels meest met de voet beschildert; die ick oeck seker

gesien hebbe, doch sijn nu afgebroken.” (“Cornelis Ketel, a famous painter in Amsterdam, who lived to his nineties, could paint with his hands and his feet; he painted by hand and with brush and also by hand without brush. By foot with brush, and also by foot without brush. He painted the outside walls of his own two houses using his feet. I saw these myself, although they have since been pulled down.”)

Karel van Mander wrote in 1604 that Cornelis Ketel, of whom he was a close friend, was born in 1548 and that he began to paint without brushes in 1599 and then using his feet rather than his hands in 1600. He was keen to inform his readers that Ketel painted the façade of his house with his feet and hands in 1602, and provided a detailed description of the subject matter.<sup>69</sup> Brinck’s note is not only based on Van Mander’s text, but also confirms it, as he saw Ketel’s two houses in person.<sup>70</sup> While transcribing his original note, which probably dated from 1611 or 1612, he added that the houses had since been demolished.<sup>71</sup> Brinck’s entry no doubt refers to the two houses under a single roof that Ketel purchased on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal in Amsterdam in 1593.<sup>72</sup> Cornelis Ketel died in August 1616 at the age of 68, so the statement that he had lived to his nineties must be a mistake.

[11] “Audio Romae, item Antverpiae esse pictorem qui laeva manu pingunt, wesende de eene sijnen arm, ende de ander sijne handt quijt.” (“I have heard that there is a painter in Rome and another in Antwerp who paints with his left hand, one namely missing his arm, the other his hand.”)

Two left-handed painters, one without a right arm and the other without a right hand: Brinck might have been referring here to Marten Rijckaert (1587-1631) and Vincent Adriaenssen (1575-1675). Rijckaert was listed in the Antwerp guild in 1607 as “Painter with one arm” (“Scilder mit eenen erm”).<sup>73</sup> He could only use his left hand.<sup>74</sup> Adriaenssen, meanwhile, was a painter of battle scenes who settled in Rome in 1625 and was called “Il Manciola” (“Lefty”) because he had lost his right hand.<sup>75</sup>

[12] “Men wil seggen, dat de constboeken van den Sweedtschen Resident Spiering in den Haghe, alleen van t’ binden gekost soudén hebben over de 6000 gl.” (“It is said that the art books of Resident Spiering, the Swedish envoy in The Hague, cost more than 6,000 guilders for the bindings alone.”)

Pieter Spiering, merchant, collector and envoy of Sweden (c. 1594/96-1652), inherited a large collection of prints and drawings on the death of his father François in 1630, to which he himself subsequently added. In 1637, he must have commissioned a bookbinder to create luxurious art volumes for him, bound in black leather with gold-printed monograms or inscriptions. At least 23 of Spiering’s art books have been identified, most of them bearing the date 1637 in gold print.<sup>76</sup>

Brinck transcribed verbatim the entry in one of his notebooks on the cost of having the collection bound.<sup>77</sup> There is a reference in the same notebook to Spiering’s purchase of an art book with the collected works of Heinrich Aldegrever for around 1,200 guilders.<sup>78</sup> This is presumably the album that Sandrart reported as containing about 60 pen drawings and which Spiering purchased for a hefty sum.<sup>79</sup> The acquisition must have occurred before the art books were bound in the same luxurious way. The album, now empty, in which Spiering kept Aldegrever’s work, is in the Rijksprentenkabinet.<sup>80</sup>

Spiering moved from Delft to the Vijversteyn estate in Rijswijk, not far from The Hague, in around 1637. Brinck, who must have paid him a visit there in 1638, noted that the collection included “more than 50 very large art books by the best masters in Europe.”<sup>81</sup> The figure he mentions might refer to the number of art books in which drawings and prints were kept, since the surviving albums also include illustrated books, the highest numbered now known being 158.<sup>82</sup> Brinck also noted that Spiering owned a large collection of paintings, including the *Four evangelists* by Hans Sebald Beham, which was (or were, if they were separate works) worth 2,400 guilders.<sup>83</sup>

Another note by Brinck, probably dating from 1643, states that a Polish sculptor who was living in The Hague at the time had sculpted busts of both Spiering and the Prince of Orange (Frederick Henry) in alabaster. Frederick Henry paid him 2,000 guilders for the work.<sup>84</sup> The Flemish sculptor François Dieussart made the marble bust of Frederick Henry, now in Schloss Wörlitz in Germany, in 1641, having returned north from Italy. He received 1,500 guilders for it.<sup>85</sup> Alabaster and marble were frequently confused and no Polish sculptor is known to have been employed by the court, so the note will have referred to Dieussart, no doubt based on second-hand information. The Rijksmuseum now owns the marble bust of Pieter Spiering that Dieussart made (fig. 6).<sup>86</sup>





[13] “Dien vermaerden schilder Rembrandt, heeft onlanx te Amsterdam gekoft een prent van Lucas van Leijden, van de grootte als een blad in 4<sup>o</sup> sijnde een Uylenspiegelken, daervoor soo heeft hij betaelt in een uijtroep 179 gl. om dat het niet te bekomen en was. Van dese Ulespiegelkens heeft de Resident Spierinck 2 die hij waerdiert op 500 gl.; idem, heeft corts een L. Vrouwen van Lucas van Leijden gekoft voor 50 gl.” (“The celebrated painter Rembrandt recently bought a print in Amsterdam by Lucas van Leyden on a quarto sheet, namely an Uylenspiegel, for which he paid 179 guilders at auction as it is hard to come by. Resident [envoy] Spiering has two such Uylenspiegels, which he values at 500 guilders; the aforementioned also recently bought a Virgin Mary by Lucas van Leyden for 50 guilders.”)

The rare print that Rembrandt is said to have bought at auction was an impression of Lucas van Leyden’s *The beggar’s family*, also known as the *Uylenspiegel*.<sup>87</sup> Brinck transcribed this entry verbatim from one of the notebooks.<sup>88</sup> The same news about Rembrandt is repeated on fol. 55v of that notebook, but now phrased differently. Both versions were first published in *Oud Holland* (1923-24), but without the additional line describing the *Uylenspiegel* in more detail.<sup>89</sup> Brinck supposedly wrote the entry in

the year 1642, but the preceding note (fol. 55v) is dated 1643, while the second version (fol. 127v) is found between notes dating from 1644, where it is supplemented by the entry on Spiering. Samuel van Hoogstraten reported seeing his teacher Rembrandt pay 80 rix-dollars for an *Uylenspiegel*. This will no doubt have been the same newsworthy event, which probably took place in 1643.<sup>90</sup>

Brinck reported (in 1644) that Pieter Spiering owned two impressions of Lucas van Leyden's *Uylenspiegel*, which were supposedly worth 500 guilders. According to Sandrart, Spiering had paid 400 guilders for one of them.<sup>91</sup> Spiering had recently spent 50 guilders on the print by Lucas van Leyden that Brinck refers to as the "L. Vrouwen," a depiction of "Our Lady."<sup>92</sup>

[14] "T'Amsterdam sijn eenige liefhebbers van cunst ende prenten die gaern voor seker prentgen van Lucas van Leijden geven souden 200 gl. bij aldien het te bekomen ware, het moste sijn Ager ende Ismael." ("There are several lovers of art and prints in Amsterdam who would gladly pay 200 guilders for a certain print by Lucas van Leyden, if it were to be offered, it should be about Hagar and Ishmael.")<sup>93</sup>

According to Joachim von Sandrart, Pieter Spiering paid as much as 500 guilders for an impression.<sup>94</sup>

[15] "Die prenten van l'Espere sijn verkoft geweest voor ontrent 16 à 18000 gl." ("L'Espierre's prints were sold for around 16,000 to 18,000 guilders.")

Steven de l'Espierre, born in Lille, was a merchant, salt maker and limekiln owner in Kampen, as well as a passionate collector. He was buried in Kampen on 9 July 1651. His print collection had been auctioned off in 1638, presumably in Amsterdam, when he found himself unable to repay his creditors.<sup>95</sup> The details come from Aernout van Buchell.<sup>96</sup> The prints were sold separately, which is how Brinck learned the approximate proceeds. A second sale was held in September 1639, with the coins, medals, curiosities and drawings now auctioned at the Hof van Holland on Kalverstraat in Amsterdam.<sup>97</sup> Two other entries record that Brinck visited Steven de l'Espierre in Kampen at some point and saw valuable objects at his home.<sup>98</sup> He also rated l'Espierre's cabinet as one of the wonders of Overijssel.<sup>99</sup>

[16] "Int' Princen Hof te Haerlem, heb ick gesien een schilderije voor een schoorsteen, van Christi doop in den Jordaen, die welcke in de belegerongh van Haerlem verkoft is geweest voor 7 st. ende naederhant is daer voor geboden geweest 3000 gl." ("At the Prinsenhof in Haarlem, I saw a painting on a chimneybreast of the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan, which was sold for seven stivers during the siege of Haarlem and for which 3,000 guilders was later offered.")

This entry refers to *The Baptism of Christ* by Jan van Scorel, painted around 1530. The panel, now in the Frans Hals Museum, was transferred from St John's Monastery in Haarlem to the Prinsenhof in 1625.<sup>100</sup> The work is mentioned in an inventory of the monastery's holdings drawn up during the siege of Haarlem, at which point it was moved temporarily to Utrecht.<sup>101</sup> Brinck's anecdote about the painting is not known from elsewhere.

[17] "Vidi ibidem et picturas, van Heemskercken, Johan Schoreel, Lange Pier, etc. Daer is een kinderdodige van Cornelis Cornelissen van Haerlem, die seer geestimeert wort, doch men en siet daerin geen bloetstorting; de deuren van dit stuck, sijn gemaect van Heemskercken, ende hebben eertijt gestaen op een altaer." ("I saw paintings there too by Van Heemskerck, Jan van Scorel, Lange Pier, etc. There is a Massacre of the Innocents there by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, which is highly esteemed, but in which there is no bloodshed to be seen. The shutters of this work were done by Van Heemskerck, and once stood on an altar.")

Did Ernst Brinck visit the Prinsenhof in Haarlem several times, both before and after 1625? An earlier note appears to date from around 1607. He saw works on that occasion by Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem and Maarten van Heemskerck.<sup>102</sup> This time he describes the paintings in more detail, but without mentioning their location. The works in question are known to have been at the Prinsenhof in the early 17th century. A 1622 inventory lists the following paintings: Van Heemskerck's *St Luke painting the Madonna* and Jan van Scorel's *Jerusalem pilgrims*, both now in the Frans Hals Museum.<sup>103</sup> No work by the Amsterdam painter Pieter Aertsen, also known as 'Lange Pier,' appears in the Prinsenhof inventories. His son Pieter, however, was nicknamed the young 'Lange Pier' and so it must be him who is referred to here. The city of Haarlem acquired his painting of *The three youths in the fiery furnace* (1575) in or after 1625 and placed





it in the Prinsenhof.<sup>104</sup> *The massacre of the Innocents* by Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, with altarpiece shutters by Maarten van Heemskerck, is now in the Frans Hals Museum (fig. 7).<sup>105</sup> Brinck tells another anecdote about the painting that concerns Prince Maurice and which also emphasizes that no blood is visible in it.<sup>106</sup>

## Appendix 2 Van eenige treflicke Conststucken<sup>107</sup>

(Of several excellent works of art)

[18] “Ao 1647 vidi Amstelodami, een seer schone grote bloempott, daer voor geboden was 600 gl. Sij was wel 5 span hooch ende 3 1/2 span breed, was seer fraij met allerhanden couleuren van perlemour versiert.” (“In Amsterdam in 1647 I saw a very fine flower vase being offered for 600 guilders. It was five spans high and three and a half spans wide, beautifully decorated with mother-of-pearl in all manner of colours.”)

The “flower vase” (“bloempot”) decorated with mother-of-pearl inlay that Brinck saw measured the equivalent of about 100 x 70 cm.<sup>108</sup> It was an example of a genre in its own right, and was undoubtedly the work of Dirck van Rijswijck (c. 1596-1679).<sup>109</sup> We know that this artist, who lived in Amsterdam, began to produce decorative marquetry, including floral still lifes and tabletops, around 1650.<sup>110</sup> The piece mentioned by Brinck will have been an early work and an unusually large one by this artist’s standards. A possible candidate is an undated flower vase with Vanitas motifs (87 x 60.5 cm) that was auctioned in London in 2002 (fig. 8).<sup>111</sup> In 1643, Brinck saw a marble table in Amsterdam decorated with an inlaid vase of flowers, for which the king of England had unsuccessfully offered 3,000 guilders.<sup>112</sup>



[19] “Die Appel van Cranevelt t’Arnhem, van hout gesneden, daervoor heeft de Graef van Arondell 4000 gl. geboden ende gepresentiert.” (“Van Cranevelt’s apple in Arnhem, carved in wood. The Earl of Arundel offered and presented 4,000 guilders for it.”)

The ‘apple’ or prayer nut owned by Joost van Cranevelt (died 1662) was described in detail in 1633.<sup>113</sup> Based on this, the object has been identified as the piece now in the Abegg-Stiftung in Switzerland (fig. 9).<sup>114</sup> The description reveals that the prayer nut, carved with scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene after a print by Lucas van Leyden, had been in the family for generations. The exceptionally high price offered by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), is evidence of the esteem in which these sixteenth-century wood carvings were held. Brinck transcribed the entry from an earlier notebook.<sup>115</sup> He also wrote that a company of horses had once been offered for the ‘apple.’<sup>116</sup>





Brinck knew what he was talking about: in yet another booklet, he mentions seven minor wonders of Gelderland, one of which is the wooden apple in Arnhem.<sup>117</sup> He also saw two prayer nuts of this kind during his visit to Pieter Spiering in 1638.<sup>118</sup>

[20] “In des keijzers Rudophi 2 Constkamer te Prag, plachte te sijn een ijseren stoel, die in Italia seer constich gemaect was, ende hadde gekost 10 duijsent rijcksaelders.” (“In Emperor Rudolf II’s Kunstkamer in Prague, there was an iron chair, made very artfully in Italy, which had cost 10,000 rix-dollars.”)

According to the biography by Van Speulde, Brinck visited the art collection of Rudolf II (1552-1612) in Prague on 2 and 3 January 1615.<sup>119</sup> He might have seen the precious iron chair on that occasion. It is likely to have been the one later owned by the Earl of Radnor, which originally belonged to the emperor’s Kunstkamer. The piece was made in Augsburg, however, by Thomas Ruker in 1574.<sup>120</sup>

[21] “Ao 1645 is in de misse te Franckfort te sien geweest een seer constige bedstede van notenbomen hout gemaect, diewelcke beleijt was met ijvoir, ebben, ende alderhanden gecouleert hout, ende soo constich gewrocht, alsoo dat 1000 Rijcksaelders daervoor geboden wierde.” (“In 1645, at the annual fair

in Frankfurt, a very artful bedstead in walnut wood could be seen, inlaid with ivory, ebony and all sorts of coloured wood, and so skilfully made that 1,000 rix-dollars were offered for it.”)

A ‘bedstede’ (bedstead) was generally built-in, but this appears to have been a free-standing or four-poster bed, as the piece of furniture was displayed to paying customers at Frankfurt’s annual fair. A fine bedstead of this kind was also shown at the fair in Utrecht the following year.<sup>121</sup>

[22] “Ao 1645 heb ick alhier te Harderwijck gesien een seer fraeij Cabinetgen van Ebben holt, binnen in waren de deuren ende t’voorste van de laden besett met grauw doncker satijn, daerop dat afgebeeldet was in maniere als schilderijen, Tragica [qu]adam historia, van Gismonda ende Tristano, alles van stroo gemaekt ende daerop geplackt, doch hier ende daer waren de tronien met het pinceel geholpen, voorts de canten int’4cant rontsom besett met seer kleine peerlen ende robijnen, ende alles seer nett, rontsom den cant ofte boord van stroo. Boven op waren dese personagien die haer beweecten door seker horloge; wierde geestimeert op 400 gl. Dit werck was van 2 Edele verarmde joffrouwen gemaect, spatio. 6. mensium; het stroo hadde meest sijn eigen couleur, doch hier ende daer was het beschildert.” (“In 1645, I saw here in Harderwijk a very fine cabinet in ebony. Inside, the doors and drawer-fronts were trimmed with dark grey satin, on which was depicted in the manner of paintings a tragic tale, of Ghismonda and Tristan, all done in straw and glued on, with the faces worked up here and there by paintbrush. The sides in the square were further covered with tiny pearls and rubies, and all very neat, all around the side or hem of straw. At the top, these figures moved by clockwork. Valued at 400 guilders. The piece was made in the space of six months by two noblewomen who had fallen on hard times. The straw mostly retained its own colour, but was painted in places.”)

This luxurious cabinet must have been an exceptional product of domestic craft. Brinck seems to have mixed up two tragic tales, since the combination of Ghismonda and Tristan does not otherwise exist. *The Decameron* tells the story of Ghismonda, who drinks a cup of poison after being presented with the heart of her beloved Guiscardo. The medieval legend of Tristan and Isolde, meanwhile, focuses on their impossible love for one another.

## NOTES

- 1 On Brinck: F.A. van Rappard, *Ernst Brinck, eerst secretaris van het Nederlandsche Gezantschap te Konstantinopel, later burgemeester van Harderwijk meereendeels naar onuitgegeven bronnen*, Utrecht 1868; E. Jorink, *Het “Boeck der Natuere.”: Nederlandse geleerden en de wonderen van Gods schepping, 1575-1715*, Leiden 2006, pp. 300-304; C. Swan, ‘Memory’s garden and other wondrous excerpts: Ernst Brinck (1582-1649), collector’, *Kritische Berichte: Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 40 (2012), no. 3, pp. 5-19; H. Hovenkamp, *Ernst Brinck (1582-1649): Een bijzondere Harderwijker*, Harderwijk 2013 (3rd ed.); C. Swan, *Rarities of these lands: Art, trade, and diplomacy in the Dutch Republic*, Princeton 2021, pp. 103-106; M. Roscam Abbing, ‘Reuzenglobes voor Richelieu: Over de ‘neerstighe aen-teeckeninghen’ van Ernst Brinck, *Caert-Thresoor* (forthcoming).
- 2 Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 133 M 86, 135 K 4 and 133 M 87.
- 3 Harderwijk, Streekarchivariaat Noordwest-Veluwe, Oud-Archief Harderwijk, Adversaria van Dr. Ernst Brinck, toegang 5299, inv. 2013-2061. All 45 of the octavo and duodecimo parchment bindings, dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, can be consulted at [www.snmv.nl](http://www.snmv.nl). Aside from Brinck’s bindings, there are loose notes (inv. 2060 and 2061) and a binding with an index prepared later (inv. 2042). Inv. 2018 is missing.
- 4 The regional archives in Harderwijk have a fully annotated and indexed transcription only of inv. 2031. This, however, has not been published thus far.
- 5 Swan 2012 (note 1), pp. 8-12. The title ‘Of esteemed pictures’ (p. 9) is Swan’s translation of ‘De picturis eximiis’, one of the sections. See in this regard the (translated) title of appendix 1.
- 6 A few examples of omissions are as follows: anecdote about Michelangelo (inv. 2031, fol. 65r); two notes from c. 1633 concerning Rubens and an anecdote about Magdalena de Passe (inv. 2032, fols. 37v and 47r respectively); on sons of Paulus Moreelse (inv. 2033, fol. 90r); on Düerer and Raphael (inv. 2036, fols. 59r-60r); visit to Michiel van Mierevelt’s studio (inv. 2036, fol. 147r); anecdotes or notes on Lucas van Leijden (inv. 2017, fol. 43v and 2024A, fol. 1r); the painter Isaac Isaacs, the draughtsman Pieter Quast, the engraver Willem Hondius (inv. 2043, fols. 63r, 142r and 178r respectively).
- 7 Inv. 2031 (note 3), fol. 43r: “Te Campen heb ick gesien bij Henrick Avercamp, den stommen schilder, een dootshoof t sine sutura; het cranium was wel bijcans soo dick als mijn kleine dwersvinger, jae wel eens of 2 mael soo dick als andere gemeine crania.” (“In Kampen, at the home of Hendrick Avercamp, the mute painter, I saw a skull without sutures; the cranium was however almost as thick as the width of my little finger, at least twice as thick as ordinary craniums.”). The note probably dates from 1629 or 1630.
- 8 Inv. 2030 (note 3), fol. 36v: “De Gheijn hefft in den Haghe vor de Heeren Staten geschildert 2 bloempotten, ende creech voor een ieder 100 daelders.” (“De Gheyn painted two flower vases in The Hague for the States’ representatives, and got 100 thalers for each.”). The note probably dates from 1618.

- 9 Inv. 2048 (note 3), fol. 100v: "Bij den Constrijcken H. Golzio, hebbe ick veel trefflicke schilderijen gesien, als oeck enige Romeinsche antiquiteiten." ("At the home of the artful H. Goltzius, I saw many fine paintings, as well as several Roman antiquities."); previously published in L.W. Nichols, 'Hendrick Goltzius: Documents and printed literature concerning his life', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42-43 (1991-1992), pp. 77-120. It will have been on this occasion, dated around 1607, that Goltzius inscribed his emblem in Brinck's *album amicorum* (note 2), 133 M 86, fol. 245r.
- 10 Inv. 2048 (note 3), fol. 107rv: "[...] wiens wonderlicke schattcamer ick oeck gesien hebben, end onder veel duijsenderleij costele dingen van alle rareijten, hebben dese naevolgende alleen geobserviert [...]" ("[...] whose marvellous cabinet of curiosities I saw, and among the many thousands of valuable things of the greatest rarity, I observed the following myself [...]").
- 11 Paludanus' inscription is dated 26-05-1610 (note 2, 133 M 86, fol. 199r); Hovenkamp 2013 (note 1), p. 9. There are notes scattered throughout inv. 2039 (note 3) on various objects that Brinck saw in Paludanus' cabinet, some accompanied by the price they fetched when the collection was auctioned. Inv. 2032, fol. 54rv includes a series of items with the prices for which they sold in 1634. For Paludanus' cabinet, see Jorink 2006 (note 1), pp. 276-287, although without reference to Brinck's account in 1634.
- 12 Brinck mentions The Hague, but the context makes it more likely that this was a visit to Spiering's house, 'Vijversteyn,' located in Rijswijk, just outside The Hague. Regarding Vijversteyn, see I. Veldman, 'Portrait of an art collector: Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon', *Simiolus*, 38 (2016), pp. 228-249, esp. p. 230.
- 13 Inv. 2060 (note 3), cover XVII (on a separate sheet): "Te Zwoll, werden bewaert als een rareteijt bij ... van der Borch, 2 Elephantstanden die stuck voor stuck 3 ellen ende een halve lanck sijn, drij vierendeel dick ende 70 pond swaer. Waren beijde seer linie recht opgaende, ende waren gekomen uuijt Angola." ("In Zwolle, kept as a curiosity at ... Van der Borch's, are two elephants' tusks, each of which is three and a half ells long, three quarters thick and 70 pounds in weight. They were both very straight and came from Angola."). And in inv. 2058, fol. 56v: "Te Zwoll, bij ... ter Borch, wert bewaert een Tandt van een wilt swijn, die welcke een # swaer weecht, is een halve elle lanck, ende twee sestiendeel end een half, dick; is gekomen uuijt Angola." ("In Zwolle ... at Ter Borch's, the tooth is kept of a wild boar, which weighs one pound, measures half an ell in length and two sixteenths and a half thick. It came from Angola."). This probably relates to Gerard ter Borch (1582/83-1662), the painter's father.
- 14 Brinck describes Van Campen's pleasure garden in inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 181v. Van Campen kept all sorts of albino animals there.
- 15 H. Roodenburg, 'Visiting Vermeer: Performing civility,' in A. Golahny et al., *In his milieu: Essays on Netherlandish art in memory of John Michael Montias*, Amsterdam 2006, pp. 385-394.
- 16 Inv. 2035 (note 3).
- 17 Inv. 2035 (note 3), fol. 17v: "Een prent, *Sinite parvulos ad me venire*, heeft Rembrandt schilder verkoft voor 100 g[u]l [den] *propter excellentiam*." ("One print, *Sinite parvulos ad me venire* [Let the children come to me] Rembrandt the painter sold for 100 guilders *propter excellentiam* [due to its excellence].").
- 18 E. Hinterding et al., *The new Hollstein Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450-1700: Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 2013, vol. 25, part 2, no. 239.
- 19 There are dated notes in fol. 15v (January 1649) and fols. 21v and 22r (October 1649).
- 20 A. Golahny, *Rembrandt's Hundred guilder print: His master etching*, London 2021, pp. 10-11.
- 21 Inv. 2061 (note 3): Godefridus Carolinus (c. 1608-1667, undated, fol. 2r); Daniel Heinsius (undated, fol. 3r); Johan Witten (1642, fol. 4r); Jacobus Zevecotius, (undated, fol. 5r); Rochus Hofferus (1640, fol. 6r); Antonius Thysius (1642, fol. 7rv); Nicolaes Heinsius (undated, fol. 8rv); Jacobus Revius (undated, fol. 9rv); A. Manuell Anglus[?] (undated, fol. 10r-11v); Otto Belcampius (undated, fol. 10r).
- 22 Jorink 2006 (note 1), p. 304.
- 23 R. Asch et al., *Digitale Edition und Kommentierung der Tagebücher des Fürsten Christian II. von Anhalt-Bernburg*, Wolfenbüttel 2013-2022: 08-07-1626: "gar feine rareteten, von Indianischen undt Türckischen sachen seindt, auch sonsten, schöne müntzen von den Niederländischen kriegern, undt sonsten von Silber, undt goldt, müntzpfennige. Jtem feine bücher, so er alldar beysammen hat."
- 24 *Album amicorum* (note 2) 133 M 87, fol. 18r. The inscription is dated 1626.
- 25 Brinck himself did not comment on the visit, but he did record all sorts of details regarding the wedding and the gifts that were exchanged; inv. 2043 (note 3), fols. 160rv and 164r.
- 26 J. Mycinsky, 'Stanilans Oswiecim, courtisan du roi de Pologne, Ladislas IV Vasa et ses voyages en Europe Occidentale,' *Revue du Nord*, 1975, pp. 147-153, quotation on p. 153, translated from Polish: "Par Amersfoort on arrive à Harderwijk, situé au bord du Zuidersee. Là, le bourgemestre possède des livres rare et des curiosités coloniales."
- 27 Hovenkamp 2013 (note 1), p. 10. Van Speulde will have inherited Brinck's papers. Brinck's only son Lodewijk, born in 1624, married Gerhardina van Echten Tou den Reeler in August 1652. She was remarried as a widow in March 1654 to Herman van Speulde, mayor of Harderwijk. Their son Wolter, who similarly went on to become mayor, gathered information for a history of Harderwijk.
- 28 Harderwijk, Streekarchivariaat Noordwest-Veluwe, Oud-Archief Harderwijk. Stadsbestuur Harderwijk, toegang 5001, inv. 1980, 1981 (Manuscripts from Wolter van Spuelde), inv. 1981, fols. 28r-30r.
- 29 Inv. 1980 (note 28), fol. 28r.
- 30 The entry has been overlooked in the literature because of a transcription error, see *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV*, The Hague 1875, p. 78, where the name is read as "Brenck". See also inv. 2048 (note 3), fol. 103r, in which Brinck gives 1605 and 1606 as the years in which he studied in Leiden.
- 31 Contributions by twelve Leiden professors between 4 May and 3 July 1606 in KB 133 M 86 (note 2).
- 32 "allerleij rareiteiten soo van medalien, prenten, glaesen, beelden, reliquien."; "getall van kostelijcke boecken daer mede de bibliotecq opgevult was.", inv. 1980 (note 28), fol. 22r.
- 33 Van Rappard 1868 (note 1), p. 86: "een uitmuntende bibliotheek, en mooie verzameling van gouden, zilveren



- en koperen munten, Romeinse antiquiteiten, prenten van vele en grote meesters; buiten zijn eigen geschreven boeken, waaronder Turksch, Arabisch, enz.”
- 34 Inv. 2055 (note 3), fol. 53r: “Pinacotheca E. Brinckij Harderwici.”
- 35 J. Kenseth (ed.), *The age of the marvelous*, Hanover/New Hampshire 1991.
- 36 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fols. 63v, 64r.
- 37 These are, respectively, inv. 2019 (note 3), fols. 87v-90r; inv. 2025, fol. 12r; inv. 2024, fol. 142r with Angel’s commentary on Rembrandt’s *Blinding of Samson* (Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut), which Brinck summarizes as follows: “fol. 47 Van Simsons bruijloft gedaen van Rembrant schilderende beddekens daer se op lagen op haer ellenboghen gelijk sulx noch gebruijcklich is in Turckyen.” (“fol. 47, on Samson’s Wedding, painted by Rembrandt, which shows beds on which they recline on their elbows, as is still the custom today in Turkey.”).
- 38 Swan 2012 (note 1) p. 14; Jorink 2006 (note 1), pp. 302-303.
- 39 The year 1645 can be deduced from several factors, including the addition “dum haec scribo, a[nn]o 1645” [as I write this, in 1645] in the section “Van het Dansen[,] Coorden dansen ende vliegen van de Torens” (“Dancing, tightrope walking and flying from towers”), inv. 2038 (note 3), fol. 127r.
- 40 Three inv. nos. (note 3): 2057 (birds); 2058 (quadrupeds and insects), 2059 (fish).
- 41 M. Roscam Abbing, *Rembrandt’s elephant: Following in Hansken’s footsteps*, Amstelveen 2021; see also [www.elephanthansken.com](http://www.elephanthansken.com).
- 42 Inv. 2042 (note 3) is an index of the five bindings (now inv. 2037-2041).
- 43 The author is grateful to the late Kees Smit for his assistance with the Latin translation. For Van Speulde’s translation, see inv. 2042 (note 3), fol. 2r.
- 44 M. Roscam Abbing, *Brazilië zien zonder de oceaan over te steken: De wandtapijten van Johan Maurits*, Amsterdam 2021.
- 45 Inv. 2038 (note 3), fol. 123r (nos. 1-5), fol. 123v (nos. 6 and 7), fol. 126r (nos. 8-11), fol. 126v (nos. 12-17).
- 46 Brinck transcribed the text from inv. 2034 (note 3), fol. 22v, where it is located among other notes from 1638.
- 47 M. Boers, *De Noord-Nederlandse kunsthandel in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw*, Hilversum 2012, pp. 79-80; A. Golahny, ‘Italian paintings in Amsterdam around 1635: Additions to the familiar’, *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5 (2013), no. 2, pp. 1-14, esp. 4-7.
- 48 “Het geheel caergesoen tot Luke van Nuffeelen heeft gegolden fl 59456.”, see W.L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt documents*, New York 1979, pp. 176-177 (doc. 1639/8).
- 49 Inv. 2036 (note 3), fol. 59v: “Der Cardinal Farnesius Romae, hat ein Marienbild gemaldt so constlich, das ihm dafür gebotten ist 3000 cechinen, es ist nur 2 spannen et [...] lang, 2 breit.” “Span” will have referred to the Italian “palmo” (24.6 cm).
- 50 Inv. 2036 (note 3), fol. 47r: “Antverpiaë is een pictor, die in 3 weken een stuck gemaect hefft, daer van hij 3000 gl. hadden, *equidem est factus*.” (“In Antwerp there is a painter, who completed a work in three weeks for which he received 3,000 guilders. This is a fact.”).
- 51 Confirmation that Rubens was paid 3,000 guilders in 1628 is provided by a 1764 transcript of the lost *Diarium Augustinianum*, see M. Rooses, *Jordaens’ leven en werken*, Amsterdam 1906, p. 40.
- 52 J. de Wit and J. De Bosschere, *De kerken van Antwerpen (schilderijen, beeldhouwwerken, geschilderde glasramen, enz., in de XVIIIe eeuw beschreven door Jacobus de Wit met aantekeningen door J. de Bosschere en Grondplanne)*, Antwerp/The Hague 1910, p. 149.
- 53 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-3841.
- 54 J.P. Filedt Kok, *De Dans om het gouden kalf van Lucas van Leyden*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 51-53.
- 55 Regarding the interpretation of this entry, see Roscam Abbing 2021 (note 44) and the literature cited there.
- 56 T. van der Molen, ‘Gerard Schaepe en zijn lijst van schutterstukken’, *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 105 (2013), pp. 108-127, 122-123.
- 57 Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 (note 48), doc. 1659/16, 1659/19.
- 58 N.E. Middelkoop, *Schutters, gildebroeders, regenten en regentessen: Het Amsterdamse corporatiestuk 1525-1850*, doctoral thesis University of Amsterdam, 2019, vol. 1, p. 86.
- 59 “Di quest’opera, della quale per ventura di lui gridò quell’età, ebbe egli 4000. scudi di quella moneta, che giungono a compire il numero di circa a 3500. de’nostri Toscani.”, in J. von Sandrart, A. Houbraken, Arnold, F. Baldinucci, *Lives of Rembrandt*, Los Angeles 2018, trans. T. Borenius and C. Ford, pp. 51-54; J. Rutgers, *Rembrandt in Italië: Receptie en verzamelgeschiedenis*, doctoral thesis Utrecht University, 2008, p. 133.
- 60 W. Cerutti, *De schilder en vrijdenker Torrentius 1588-1644*, Haarlem 2014, pp. 141-142, 155.
- 61 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-2813.
- 62 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 180r: “Men heeft bevonden, dat naer den doot van dien godtlosen schilder Torrentieus, sijn hoofd wel 5 mael groter is geweest als van te voren.”
- 63 “leech gieng” presumably means “weg ging,” literally “went away.”
- 64 B. Ducos, ‘The Medici series’, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, 14.1 (in preparation); A. Merle du Bourg, ‘The Henri IV series’, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, 14.2 (2017).
- 65 Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Inv. MA 386 (the contract).
- 66 Brinck transcribed the note from inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 108v.
- 67 With thanks to P.M. Lindeijer, Société des Bollandistes.
- 68 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 23v.
- 69 K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 278v.
- 70 Brinck wrote a summary of *Het Schilder-boeck* (inv. 2019, fol. 87v-90r) with the story about Ketel on fol. 90r.
- 71 Inv. 2036 (note 3), fol. 47r.

- 72 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Het koopcontract van het huis van mr. Cornelis Ketel', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 74 (1987), p. 51.
- 73 P. Rombauts and T. Van Lerijs, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche sint Lucasgilde*, Antwerp 1872, p. 476.
- 74 F. le Comte, *Het konst-cabinet der bouw-schilder-beeldhouw-en graveerkunde*, Dordrecht 1761, p. 49.
- 75 C. de Aldecoa, 'Vincent Adriaenssen Leckerbetien dit il Manciola ou le Manchole: Anvers 1595 – Rome 1765; un peintre connu mais oublié', *Bulletin de l'Association des Historiens de l'Art Italien* 7 (2001), pp. 1-16.
- 76 Veldman 2016 (note 12), pp. 228-249, esp. p. 241.
- 77 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 108r.
- 78 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 141v: "Een konstboeck van Aldegrave te Soest heeft gekost de Heere Resident Spierinck voor ontrent 1200 gl." ("A book of Aldegraver's art in Soest has been purchased by Resident Spiering for around 1,200 guilders."). This entry must date from 1644.
- 79 Veldman 2016 (note 12), pp. 243-244, n70.
- 80 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. PD-PI-16-04-01.
- 81 Inv. 2034 (note 3), fol. 14r-v. Brinck wrote of having seen a bishop's staff at Spiering's in The Hague, which had been bought for 10,000 rix-dollars. On fol. 14r: "Idem, hadde een fraeij cabinet van veelderhanden rarieteijten, als oeck antiquiteijten, enige casten van ijvoir werck, andere van bussboom, etc. meer als 50 seer grote boeken van Const van de beste meisters van Europa; 2 appels van hout gesneden van de groote van een tamelicken appel, in den eenen was seer constich gesneden het leven Chris[t]i in den anderen de passie Chris[t]i, ging met deurkens open, soodat men diep daerin sien konde, sijn veel honderden waerdich." ("The aforesaid had a fine cabinet with all manner of curiosities, as well as antiquities, several chests in ivory, others in boxwood, etc., more than 50 very large art books by the best masters in Europe, two wooden apples carved to the size of a real apple, in one was carved, very artfully, the Life of Christ and in the other the Passion of Christ; the little doors opened so that one could see deep inside them, [they] are worth many hundreds."). The long note on Spiering on fols. 13v-14v dates from 1638. It is also apparent from inv. 2040 (note 3), fol. 100r, that Brinck spoke at some point to Spiering's wife.
- 82 Veldman 2016 (note 12), pp. 241-242.
- 83 Inv. 2034 (note 3), fol. 13v: "De Heere Spieringh Resident van Sweden in den Haghe, hadde onder een grote menichte schilderijen de 4 Evangelisten, gemaect van Sibolt Behm, wierden geestimeert op 2400 gl." ("Resident Spiering, Swedish envoy in the Hague, owned a multitude of paintings, including the Four Evangelists by Hans Sebald Beham, valued at 2,400 guilders.").
- 84 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 108r: "In den Haghe woont tegenwoordich een Pool, sijnde een seer konstig beelthouwer in albaster; hij heeft desen Prince van Oragnien seer konstich in albaster gehouden, *pectore tenus*, ende hem is daer voor betaelt 2000 gl. Hij heeft oeck den Resident Spiering daer in gehouden, seer constich." ("There is a Pole living at present in The Hague, who is a very artful sculptor in alabaster; he has captured the Prince of Orange very artfully in alabaster, bust length, and was paid 2,000 guilders for it. He also sculpted Resident Spiering in the same material, very artfully."). Brinck later transcribed the entry – found between other notes dated 1643 – to the section "Van seer grote steenen" ("Of very large stones"), inv. 2039 (note 3), fol. 40r. In inv. 2034, fol. 37rv, Brinck describes a grand banquet held by Spiering in 1639 and attended by the Prince of Orange. Spiering hosted a similar banquet ten years later (inv. 2035, fols. 21v-22r).
- 85 P. van der Ploeg and C. Vermeeren, *Vorstelijk verzameld: De kunstcollectie van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia*, The Hague/Zwolle 1997, pp. 232-235.
- 86 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. BK-1971-115-A. The bust forms a pair with one of Spiering's wife Johanna Doré. Both pieces have traditionally been dated to the period in which Dieussart settled in The Hague for the second time (1644-1650).
- 87 *Uylenspiegel: The beggar's family* (1520), see J.P. Filedt Kok et al., *The new Hollstein Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450-1700: Lucas van Leyden*, Rotterdam/Amsterdam 1996, vol. 3, no. 159.
- 88 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 127v.
- 89 J. Six, 'Rembrandts valsche Lucas van Leyden', *Oud Holland* 40-41 (1923-1924), p. 6; Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979 (note 48), no. 1642/10 (with the incorrect reference to fol. 129v rather than 127v). The complete note on inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 55v, reads: "Onlangs heeft een schilder t'Amsterdam, genaemt Rembrant, een klein stuckgen prent gekoft van Lucas van Leijden, sijnde een Uylenspiegelken, daer voor hij betaelt heeft 179 gl.; om dat het naulix meer te bekomen is; het is manneken met een vrouwken, met een kindt, twelck met stocken een uuijl op sijn rugge heeft sitten hebbende het manneke oeck een korf op sijn rugge." ("A painter in Amsterdam by the name of Rembrandt recently bought a small print by Lucas van Leyden, to wit an Uylenspiegel, for which he paid 179 guilders, as it is barely possible to get hold of any more. It shows a man with a woman and a boy with a stick and an owl sitting on his back. The man also has a basket on his back").
- 90 S. van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderconst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 212. Van Hoogstraten was a pupil of Rembrandt's between around 1643 and 1646.
- 91 J. von Sandrart, *Der Teutschen Academie*, vol. 2, book 3, Nuremberg 1675, p. 240; Veldman 2016 (note 12), p. 242, n74.
- 92 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 127v. There are several prints that fit this description: *Virgin with Child in the niche*; *Virgin with Child and St Anne* (1516); and possibly *Virgin with Child on the crescent* (1510-1514), see Filedt Kok et al. 1996 (note 87), resp. no. 81, 79 and 80.
- 93 Brinck copied the passage verbatim from inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 56r. *The banishment of Hagar and Ishmael* (1505-1510), see Filedt Kok et al. 1996 (note 87), no. 17.
- 94 Von Sandrart 1675 (note 91), p. 240.
- 95 B. van den Boogert (ed.), *Rembrandt's treasures*, Amsterdam/Zwolle 1999, p. 143.
- 96 J.W.C. van Campen (ed.), *Notae quotidianae van Aernout van Buchell*, Utrecht (Werken, Historisch Genootschap Utrecht) 1940, p. 70: "Estienne de Lesperre, een groot liefhebber van prenten ende andere rariteiten, qualick sijn rekeninge gemaect, sullen alle sijne versamelde door de crediteuren werden tot Amsterdam als men meent vercocht." ("Steven de l'Espierre, a great admirer of prints and

- other curiosities, having mismanaged his accounts, will have all he has collected sold off by his creditors in Amsterdam as it is thought.”)
- 97 Van den Boogert 1999 (note 95), p. 143.
- 98 Inv. 2039 (note 3), fol. 44r: “Bij l'Espere te Campen heb gesien een manneken van golt, een vingers lanck, geharnast, wesende den buijck t'emael van perlemoer; of geheelen perel. Item, een Meijrminne, oeck meist van een peerle.” (“Saw at l'Espierre's in Kampen a male figurine in gold, one finger tall, wearing armour, with the breastplate in mother-of-pearl or full pearl. Ditto a mermaid, also mostly of pearl.”); And fol. 44v: “een langworpigden ronden robijn, was rontsom in golt beslagen, als een flesche.” (“an elongated round ruby was set all around in gold like a bottle.”).
- 99 Inv. 2055 (note 3), fol. 53r.
- 100 Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, inv. os 1-312. N. Köhler (ed.), *Painting in Haarlem, 1500-1850: The collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Ghent/Haarlem 2006, pp. 600-602.
- 101 T. van Bueren, *Tot lof van Haarlem: Het beleid van de stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de kunstwerken uit de geconfisqueerde geestelijke instellingen*, Amsterdam 1993, cat. B4 and p. 523 for the transfer to Utrecht.
- 102 Inv. 2048 (note 3), fol. 100v: “het Princenhoff is oeck waerdich om sien, daer is een schonen schoorsteen te sien, als oeck etlicke seer constige schilderijen van seer treflichen meisteren gemaect, als van Hemsskercken M Cornelijss etc.” (“The Prinsenhof is also worth seeing. There is a fine chimneybreast there, as well as several very artful paintings done by excellent masters, such as Van Heemskerck and Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem.”).
- 103 Frans Hals Museum, inv. os 1-134, os 1-310; Köhler et al. 2006 (note 100), pp. 497-499 and pp. 602-605 resp.; Van Bueren 1993 (note 101), cats. F6 and F10 resp.
- 104 Frans Hals Museum, inv. os 1-281, see Köhler et al. 2006 (note 100), pp. 571-573; Van Bueren 1993 (note 101), cat. B2.
- 105 Mauritshuis, inv. 22 and Frans Hals Museum, inv. os 1-49 (Massacre), inv. os 1-136 (shutters), see Köhler et al. 2006 (note 100), pp. 425-427, 502-505; Van Bueren 1993 (note 101), cat. F4.
- 106 Inv. 2032 (note 3), fol. 23v. “Prince Mauritius, logieerde te Haerlem int' Princen Hoff, ende speculerende aldaer de schilderie van den vermaerden Mr. Cornelis Harlemensus pictor celebres, van de moort der onnosele kinderen, seijde hier geschiet een groten moort, ende ick en sien nochtans niet datter bloet gestort wort, t'schijnt dat de schilder bloedige wonden vergeten hadde af te beelden.” (“Prince Maurice, while residing in Haarlem at the Prinsenhof and viewing the painting there of the Massacre of the Innocents by the celebrated master Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, said that ‘terrible killing is going on here, yet I see no blood being shed. It seems the painter forgot to depict bloody wounds.’”).
- 107 Inv. 2039 (note 3), fol. 144r (no. 18), fol. 144v (no. 19), fol. 145r (no. 20), fol. 146r (nos. 21, 22).
- 108 A ‘span’ was equal to a length of about 20 cm. Brinck saw an elephant in Amsterdam in 1647, probably at the fair in September or October, see Roscam Abbing 2021 (note 41), p. 72.
- 109 J. van der Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw: Van kunst tot kastpapier*, Rotterdam 2006, pp. 148-151.
- 110 D. Kisluk-Grosheide, ‘Dirck van Rijswijck (1596-1679), a master of mother-of-pearl’, *Oud Holland* 111 (1997), pp. 77-94, 98-151, “Catalogue of the inlaid work of Dirck van Rijswijck.”
- 111 Cat. XXXVIII, on pp. 146-147 (see note 110), sale Sotheby's London, 11-12-2002, lot 36, pp. 68-77. With thanks to Danielle Kisluk-Grosheide, curator at the Metropolitan Museum, New York.
- 112 Inv. 2043, fol. 22v: “A° 1643 is te Amsterdam te sien geweest een tafel van marmor ingelecht daer op men sien konde bloempotten en alderhande lofwerck, seer aerdich gedaen. Den Coninck van Engelland hadde daer voor geboden 3000 gl. doch sie en mochte daer niet voor uuijt.” (“In Amsterdam in 1643, a table could be seen that was inlaid with marble depicting flower vases and all manner of foliage, very artfully done. The king of England offered 3,000 guilders for it, but it was not to be had for that.”).
- 113 Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, KOG Hs 55. De “Beschrijvende van een constigen Appel, gesneden in busbomen Holt, incerto autore & tempore; welcke nú rustende is in handen van Jonckheer Joost van Craenevelt, wonende binnen ARNHEM” is an eighteenth-century copy after an unidentified original document.
- 114 Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland, inv. 7.15.67. Regarding the identification and 1633 description, see F. Scholten, ‘Joost van Cranevelt's prayer nut’, *Simiolus* 36 (2012), pp. 123-141.
- 115 Inv. 2043 (note 3), fol. 107v. This entry must have been made before 1644.
- 116 Inv. 2034 (note 3), fol. 38r: “Mijn is vertelt, hoe dat Cranevelt t'Arnhem eens voor sijnen appel van hout gesneden, soude konnen krijgen hebben een Compagnie peerden.” (“I have been told that Van Cranevelt in Arnhem was once offered a company of horses for his apple carved in wood.”). This entry probably dates from 1639.
- 117 Inv. 2055 (note 3), fol. 53r: “Den Appel t'Arnhem van hout, van daerop gesneden is het leven van Maria Magdal. van Lucas van Leijden.” (“The wooden apple in Arnhem, on which is carved the Life of the Magdalene by Lucas van Leyden.”). This entry probably dates from 1634.
- 118 See note 81.
- 119 Inv. 1981 (note 3), fol. 29r.
- 120 J.F. Hayward, ‘A chair from the ‘Kunstkamer’ of the emperor Rudolf II’, *The Burlington Magazine* 122 (1980), pp. 426-432.
- 121 Inv. 2041 (note 3), p. 79r: “Ao 1646 wierde t'Utrecht in de karmisse getoont een bedstede van holt gemaect, seer constich van allerleij ingelecht holt, gedraeyt werck, diewelcke geestimeert wierde op 10 duijsent guldens.” (“In 1646, a wooden bedstead was shown at the fair in Utrecht, inlaid very artfully with all manner of wood, and with fine turned works, the value of which was estimated at 10,000 guilders.”)



## PHOTO CREDITS

Frans Hals Museum / Margareta Svensson (7); Sotheby's Picture Library (8); Abegg-Stiftung / Christoph von Viràg (9).

## SUMMARY

This article focuses on the Harderwijk regent Ernst Brinck (1582-1649) who owned an extensive cabinet of curiosities and a library full of valuable books. His exceptionally wide range of interests is also evident from surviving notebooks of his in the Harderwijk archives. The entries they contain show that Brinck visited other collectors and viewed their cabinets. It goes without saying that interesting information was exchanged during these encounters, which Brinck noted in his booklets. It can be found scattered there among all kinds of other topics.

Around 1645, Brinck classified some of these notes under the heading 'De picturis eximiis, et [rebus] quae concernunt picturas' (Of exceptional paintings and [all manner of things] that concern the art of painting) and 'Van eenige treflicke Conststucken' (Of several excellent works of art). Twenty-two previously unpublished anecdotal statements can be found in these categories. Examples include the average cost of the civic guard portraits in the Great Hall of the Arquebusiers Company (Doelenzaal) in Amsterdam (no. 6); the wealthy collector Pieter Spiering and his art books (no. 12); the obscene paintings of Torrentius (no. 7); Rubens' earnings for the cycle of paintings on the life of Marie de' Medici, queen of France, in Paris (no. 8); the Brazilian paintings commissioned by John Maurice of Nassau and painted by Jacob van Campen, which Brinck saw at the artist's estate near Amersfoort (no. 5); and the wooden prayer nut, now in the Abegg-Stiftung, Switzerland (no. 19).

In one of the booklets, hidden among other notes, Brinck penned an entry on Rembrandt's *Hundred guilder print* that would have fitted very well in his list on exceptional art, but is absent there. Brinck wrote that Rembrandt had sold a print with the subject 'Let the children come to me' (Matthew 19: 13-15) for a hundred guilders. The note establishes that Rembrandt himself sold the print for that amount, in 1648 or 1649.