

Biographical information 1643-1669

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What follows is a continuation of the *Biographical Information* which appeared in the first three volumes of *A Corpus* (Vol. I, p. 61, Vol. II, pp. 107-108 and Vol. III, pp. 57-59) and covers the period from 1642 to Rembrandt's death. Documents by or about Rembrandt are presented chronologically, as in the previous volumes. The source publication edited by Strauss and Van der Meulen formed the starting point, but if there was any doubt about the accuracy of the transcription the version in Strauss *Doc.* was checked against the original. The translation in Strauss *Doc.* has been improved or adjusted where necessary. The same applies to the interpretation of the texts in the footnotes, which also include references and secondary literature. Because of the extent of the material, references to the latter have been kept to the absolute minimum. The picture of Rembrandt's life is not always clear during these years. Thus while his affair with Geertje Dirckx is dealt with in some detail in the sources and we are quite well informed about his financial difficulties in the mid 1650s, little is known about his life and work from 1642 to 1647. Lastly, mentions of Rembrandt's work in probate inventories or other sources are not included.

- 13 September 1646 At an auction of 'marmore statuen' (marble statues) in Amsterdam, Rembrandt makes purchases amounting to 186 guilders and ten stuivers.¹
- 29 November 1646 Frederik Hendrik's Treasurer and Paymaster General is ordered to pay Rembrandt 2400 guilders for the delivery of a 'geboorte Christi' (Birth of Christ) and a 'besnijdinge Christi' (Circumcision of Christ).²
- 24 June 1647 The burgomasters of Leiden inform the Amsterdam magistrate in a letter that Rembrandt is heir to one-fourth of his late father's estate; his father was assessed for 35 guilders in the register of the two-hundredth penny. They request that the Amsterdam register be adjusted.³
- [Before November 1647] At the request of Saskia's relatives, Rembrandt prepares an inventory of the goods that the couple jointly possessed on the day she died (14 June 1642).⁴
- 24 January 1648 Geertje Dirckx, the widow of Abraham Claesz., makes her will. Her mother is allotted merely her legitimate portion, to be paid out in the form of Geertje's clothing, but the 'juwelen t'haren lijve behorende' (jewellery belonging to her person) is explicitly excluded. With respect to all of her other possessions, she appoints Titus her sole heir. The latter must pay a bequest of 100 guilders as well as 'haer testatrices contrefeytsel' (the portrait of the testatrix) to Trijntje Beets of Hoorn.⁵
- [25 June 1649] According to a statement by Hendrickje Stoffels, Geertje Dirckx, who was going to leave Rembrandt's house, entered into an agreement with Rembrandt on this day in the presence of Hendrickje and another woman. Rembrandt had promised to pay her a once-only sum of 160 guilders and subsequently an annual amount of 60 guilders for the rest of her life or, if necessary, a higher sum 't'sijner discretie tot haer eerlijcke nootdructicheyt' (at his discretion according to her actual needs). In addition, Geertje's will of 24 January 1648 'ten voordele van des requirants soontge' (for the benefit of the requisitioner's son) would have to remain in force.⁶
- 25 September 1649 Through the commissioners of the Chamber of Marital Affairs Geertje Dirckx charges Rembrandt with breach of promise. Rembrandt does not appear and is fined the customary amount of one guilder.⁷

1 Strauss *Doc.*, 1646/5; the sculpture was on the account of Jacques Breyel of Antwerp.

2 Strauss *Doc.*, 1646/6; see for *The Birth of Christ* and (the lost) *Circumcision* Br. 574 and Bauch 1966, A 31 respectively.

3 Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/3; the assessment of 35 guilders represented the total of 7000 guilders.

4 Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/6; this document, which was drawn up privately and has not survived, is referred to in a later deposition, *ibid.* 1659/12. The valuation of the property was 40,750 guilders, *ibid.* 1662/14. As heir to his mother, Titus was entitled to half of the joint estate. Saskia's relatives were evidently concerned about Rembrandt's management of the finances.

5 Strauss *Doc.*, 1648/2; on Rembrandt's involvement with Geertje Dirckx (*c.* 1605/10-after 1656), who, probably while Saskia was still alive, was Titus's

dry nurse and with whom Rembrandt had a sexual relationship, see H.F. Wijnman, 'Een episode uit het leven van Rembrandt: de geschiedenis van Geertje Dircks', *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 60 (1968), pp. 103-118 and D. Vis, *Rembrandt en Geertje Dirckx*, Haarlem 1965. The jewellery referred to in the will was probably that which Rembrandt had given her and which originally belonged to Saskia. The obvious assumption is that Geertje's portrait had been painted by Rembrandt, but Vis, p. 63, believes this was not the case.

6 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/4; Hendrickje Stoffels (*c.* 1626-1663), daughter of Sergeant Stoffel Jeger and Mechtelt Lamberts (H. Ruessink, 'Hendrickje Stoffels, jongedochter van Bredevoort', *Jaarboek Achterhoek en Liemers* 13 (1990), pp. 28-36), ran Rembrandt's household and became his new love.

7 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/3.

- [3 October 1649] Geertje Dircx, assisted by the cobbler Octaef Octaefsz., reaches a verbal agreement with Rembrandt.
- [10 October 1649] Geertje Dircx and Octaef Octaefsz. go to Rembrandt's house to sign the previously reached agreement in the presence of notary Laurens Lamberti. However, Geertje refuses to do so.⁸
- 14(?) October 1649 Geertje Dircx and 'den eersamen wijtvermaerden schilder Rembrant van Rhijn' (the honourable and far-famed painter Rembrandt van Rijn) reach an agreement. She declares that she lodged with Rembrandt for a considerable length of time, during which she acquired the goods that she now has in her possession. This is why, in her will, she bequeathed her belongings to Rembrandt's son Titus. After leaving Rembrandt's home, she moved into a rented room. As she was having difficulty making ends meet, she turned to her former master for assistance. He is to redeem the silver and gold articles she has pawned and give her two hundred guilders 'onder de cortinge van 't gunt hij haer reets heeft verschoten' (minus the amount he has already advanced to her). In addition, he will give her an annual sum of 160 guilders toward her maintenance until her death, provided that her will of 24 January 1648 in favour of Titus is the sole legally valid will.⁹
- 14 October 1649 Octaef Octaefsz. testifies upon the request of 'den wijtvermaerden schilder Rembrant van Rhijn' (the far-famed painter Rembrandt van Rijn) that on 3 October last he and Geertje Dircx were in Rembrandt's house, at which time both parties reached an agreement.¹⁰
- 16 October 1649 Geertje Dircx again summons Rembrandt to appear before the commissioners of the Chamber of Marital Affairs. Rembrandt does not appear and is fined three guilders.¹¹
- 23 October 1649 Geertje Dircx testifies to the commissioners of Marital Affairs that Rembrandt made verbal promises of marriage and gave her a ring. She declares 'van hem beslapen te sijn tot diverse reysen' (that he slept with her on several occasions) and requests that she be allowed to marry Rembrandt or alternatively that he support her. Rembrandt denies having made promises of marriage and states that he does not have to admit 'dat hij bij haer heeft geslapen' (that he slept with her). It is decided that Rembrandt must pay her 200 guilders annually and should further act in conformance with the contract of 14 October 1649.¹²
- 17 June 1650 At the request of the painter Jacob Ritsema, 'den E. constrijcken Rembrant van Rijn, schilder' (the noble artful Rembrandt van Rijn, painter) states that about two years earlier the former had shown him an album of drawings. From it, Rembrandt selected seven or eight drawings that pleased him and gave 24 guilders for them. This had happened 'op 't behagen van sijn requirants meester off se hem daervooren afstandich waeren off niet' (if it would please the petitioner's master, whether this would be acceptable or not). Subsequently, Pieter de la Tombe visited Rembrandt on various occasions to look at art. Rembrandt showed him the sheets in question 'seggende dat wat raers was van sijn, La Tombes, broeder gedaen.' (remarking that they were curiously done by his [De La Tombe's] brother). De la Tombe wanted to buy them, but Rembrandt was not certain whether the previous owner had agreed to sell them for the above sum. As it turned out, the owner did not want to sell the drawings and Ritsema gave Rembrandt his money back. Subsequently, De la Tombe managed to acquire the drawings for the same amount and then sold them on to Rembrandt.¹³

8 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/7.

9 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/6.

10 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/7.

11 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/8.

12 Strauss *Doc.*, 1649/9; when shortly afterwards Geertje drew up a power of attorney (*ibid.* 1650/3), she was about to move to 'Rarep'. Arnold Houbraken was no doubt referring to Geertje when in his biography of Rembrandt (*HdG Urk.* no. 407) he wrote of the 'boerinnetje van Rarep of Ransdorp in Waterlant' (country girl from Rarep or Ransdorp in Waterland). According to Houbraken, who would have been relying on information supplied by his teacher Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678), who had himself been one of Rembrandt's pupils around 1645, she was

'wat klein van persoon maar welgemaakt van wezen en poezel van lichaam' (a little small in stature but well-shaped and with a plump figure). These last words suggest that Geertje was a model in Rembrandt's workshop, cf. note 5 and Wijnman, *op. cit.*⁵, p. 105. The mention of 'de minnemoer van Rembrant' (Rembrandt's nurse-maid) in a transfer of paintings (Strauss *Doc.*, 1647/1, which also includes portraits of Rembrandt and his wife) points in the same direction.

13 Strauss *Doc.*, 1650/4; the art dealer and bookseller Pieter de la Tombe (1593-1677) had had business dealings with him (*ibid.* 1656/12, nos. 34 and 109 and note 65 here) and twice had his portrait done by Rembrandt (*A Corpus II*, p. 92, note 7).

- 17 December 1650 An account book kept by Elisabeth Coymans between 1649 and 1653, containing the records of the business that she and her eldest son Jean Deutz had set up together, includes an entry that the sum of 189 guilders and 17 stuivers was received from Rembrandt.¹⁴
- 13 March 1652 Rembrandt pays the property tax ('verponding') for his house in the St Anthonisbreestraat.¹⁵
- 8 August 1652 Geertje Dircx, who is confined in the house of correction in Gouda, requests the council of the Amsterdam Reformed Church to ask her relatives in Edam to apply for her release. The church council rejects this request 'dewijl dit een politicq werck is' (because this concerns a secular matter).¹⁶
- 10 September 1652 Elisabeth Harmensdr. van Rijn rescinds the legacies of 300 guilders to her brothers Rembrandt and Willem which she had bequeathed to them in 1641.¹⁷
- [5 October 1652] Rembrandt sells to Jan Six 'sijns huysvrouwe conterfeytsel' (his [i.e. Rembrandt's] wife's portrait) as well as a 'Simeon' (Simeon) and a 'Johannis predicatie' (Preaching of St John).¹⁸ In the same year Rembrandt makes two pen drawings in Six's album *Pandora*.¹⁹
- 19 October 1652 Rembrandt's brother Adriaen is buried in the St Pieterskerk in Leiden.²⁰
- 8 and 11 January 1653 Rembrandt becomes the formal owner of his house in the St Anthonisbreestraat. At the transfer of ownership, Isaack van Beeck and Dirck Dircksz. Grijp stand surety.²¹ On the instructions of Christoffel Thijs, who was the joint owner with Jan Belten, a notary goes to Rembrandt to hand over the deed of transfer ('kwijtschelding') of the house. The painter is not at home and the legal notice is given 'aen seeckre dienstmaecht daer ten huysse' (to a certain maidservant of the house). Rembrandt is asked to pay his half of the 40th and 80th penny tax.²²
- 29 January 1653 Rembrandt borrows 4180 guilders from Cornelis Witsen, councillor and former alderman of Amsterdam. He promises to pay back the loan within a year and pledges all of his possessions as security.²³
- 1 February 1653 (fig. 1) Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Christoffel Thijs a sum of money, namely 8470 guilders and 16 stuivers, which represents the remainder of the purchase price of the house in the St Anthonisbreestraat, unpaid interest and monies lent by Thijs.²⁴
- [7 March 1653] Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Jan Six 1000 guilders because of an interest-free loan.²⁵

14 J. Bikker, 'The Deutz brothers, Italian paintings and Michiel Sweerts: new information from Elisabeth Coymans's Journal', *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 277-311, esp. 280, 286-287 and 311. Payment was made to Jean Deutz, who two months previously at an auction in the Amsterdam Herenlogement had bought paintings, sculptures and works on paper, a part of which could have been acquired by Rembrandt. Another possibility is that Deutz financed Rembrandt's purchase of marble statues at the auction in 1646 (see under 13 September 1646) – Rembrandt's purchase cost 186 guilders and 10 stuivers – and that that amount was repaid with interest.

15 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/1 and cf. *ibid.* 1653/4.

16 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/4 and cf. *ibid.* 1650/5. Geertje was released in 1655, *ibid.* 1655/2.

17 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/6 and cf. *ibid.* 1641/7.

18 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/7; this transaction with Jan Six (1618-1700) is apparent from a later document, *ibid.* 1658/18. The portrait of Saskia is in Kassel (II A 85), the *Simeon in the temple* is possibly a work by Jan Lievens (Schneider-Ekkart, p. 98, no. 26a), the *St. John the Baptist preaching* is the grisaille in Berlin (III A 106).

19 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/11, resp. Ben. 913 and 914; the first drawing has the autograph inscription 'Rembrandt aen Joanus Six. 1652', *ibid.*, p. 291.

20 Strauss *Doc.*, 1652/8.

21 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/1. Rembrandt had signed the contract to purchase the house in the Breestraat (the present Rembrandthuis) in January 1639 (*ibid.* 1639/1) and had moved into it, but the formal transfer of the property had not yet taken place. Now Rembrandt was forced to arrange this transfer. Only 6000 guilders of the purchase price of 13,000 guilders had been paid, see also the following note.

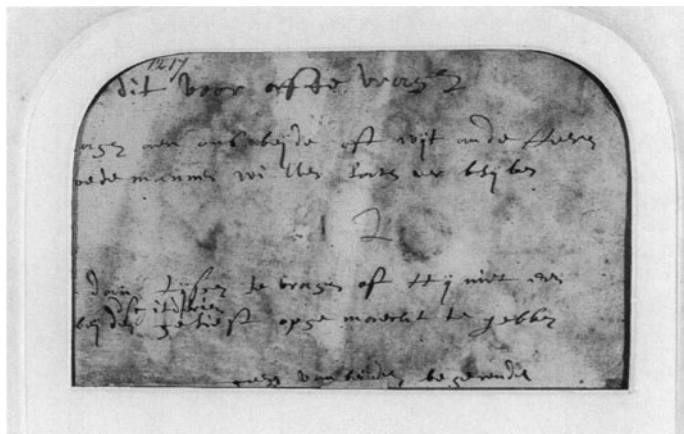
22 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/2 and cf. 1653/3 and 6. For the years 1650, 1651 and 1652 the heirs of the previous owner of the house in the Breestraat had paid part of the taxes on the rentable value. Moreover, since 1 November 1649 Rembrandt had made no further payments towards the interest he owed.

23 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/5; Cornelis Witsen (1605-1669) was paid in full five years later by the commissioners of the DBK, *ibid.* 1658/2.

24 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/6; Rembrandt had bought the house in 1639 (1639/1), but had by no means finished paying the purchase price, see under 8 and 11 January 1653 and also figs. 1a-b.

25 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/11; the bond has not survived, but the substance is apparent from a later document, *ibid.* 1657/3 and cf. 1659/15. Rembrandt had borrowed money from Six so that he could repay his debt to Christoffel Thijs.

Fig. 1. Rembrandt intended to supply paintings to Christoffel Thijs (1603-1680), evidently to pay back part of his debt (see note 24). On the verso of this drawing (Ben. 1169) there are notes in Rembrandt's handwriting from which it appears that he planned first to ask Thijs whether they should submit their case to arbitration and then whether he wanted to have the (two?) paintings finished. At the bottom of the sheet Rembrandt noted Thijs' answer: 'geen van beiden begerende' (he wants neither one).



- 14 March 1653 Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Isaack van Hertsbeeck 4000 guilders plus 200 guilders interest. He promises to repay this sum within a year. He pledges all of his possessions as security for this loan.²⁶
- 28 March 1653 Rembrandt authorises François de Coster to collect all of his outstanding debts.²⁷
- 16 September 1653 Rembrandt van Rijn, 'vermaert schilder' (famous painter), concurs with the verdict of a group of experts regarding the authenticity of a painting attributed to Paul Bril.²⁸
- 10 November 1653 Rembrandt authorises the apothecary Abraham Francen to collect debts for him.²⁹
- 23 February 1654 The merchant Diego d'Andrada has a notary address Rembrandt about the portrait he is painting of a 'seeckere jongedochter' (certain young and unmarried lady). He has already given the painter 75 guilders and will pay the remainder when the painting 'volcomentlijck sal sijn opgemaect' (is fully completed). Given that this 'schilderij ofte conterfeytsel op verre nae niet en gelijckt het wesen ofte tronie van de voorsz. jongedochter' (painting or portrait bears not even the least resemblance to the person or face of the aforesaid young lady), he demands that Rembrandt alter the portrait so that it resembles the sitter. There is some urgency since she will soon be travelling to Hamburg. If the likeness is not good, d'Andrada will not accept the portrait and will want his down payment back. Rembrandt answers that he 'alsnu sijn handen aen 't stuck schilderij niet en wil slaen nochte hetselve opmaecken' (will not touch the painting or finish it) before receiving the remainder of the payment. Only then will he be prepared to complete the painting and 'stellen aen 't oordeel van de overluyden van 't St. Lucasgilt of het de dochter gelijckt dan niet' (leave it to the headmen of the Guild of St Luke to decide whether or not it is a good likeness). He will introduce changes if their verdict is unfavourable. If d'Andrada does not agree to this, Rembrandt will complete the portrait at his convenience 'ende als hij vendue hout van sijn schilderijen 't selve alsdan mede sal vercoopen' (and sell it when he holds an auction of his paintings).³⁰
- 1 and 2 May 1654 Nicolaes Duysentdaelders has given Rembrandt a bill of exchange drawn on Otto van Cattenburgh and Rembrandt asks Otto's brother Dirck to pay him 1005 guilders plus 40

26 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/12; Isaack van Hertsbeeck (d. 1668) had lent Rembrandt money because of his debt to Christoffel Thijs. He was later repaid the full amount by the DBK, but had to return it because Titus' claim proved to be stronger, see below.

27 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/14; Heijmen Dullaert (1636-1684) signed as a co-witness; he is known as a pupil of Rembrandt, HdG *Urk.* nos. 410 and 427. The merchant François de Coster (1625-1653) died soon after this power of attorney was given. Rembrandt appointed Abraham Francen in his place, see 10 November 1653.

28 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/16 and here Ch.I, p.38; it was witnessed by Johannes (van) Glabbeeck (before 1634?-1686) and Jacobus Leveck (1634-1675), 'sijns getuygens dissipelen' (the witness' pupils).

29 Strauss *Doc.*, 1653/17; Pieter de la Tombe signed as a witness. Abraham

Francen (or: Fransz.) (1612-after 1672) is known to have been a friend of Rembrandt; he is presumably portrayed in one of his etchings (B. 273), see J. Six, 'Rembrandt's voorbereiding van de etsen van Jan Six en Abraham Francen', *Onze Kunst* 7 (1908), pp. 53-65 and K.G. Boon, 'Abraham Francen of Otto van Cattenburgh', *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 24 (1970), pp. 89-91.

30 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/4; the young woman has been provisionally identified as Beatriz Nunes Henriques, a relative of D'Andrada, who was married in 1654 in Hamburg to Manuel Teixeira de Sampayo, see J. van der Veen, 'Faces from life: *tronies* and portraits in Rembrandt's painted oeuvre', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt, a genius and his impact*, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria and Canberra, National Gallery of Australia 1997/8, pp. 69-80, esp. 77.

guilders interest, or otherwise to set this amount against the sum of about 800 guilders which he owes Dirck van Cattenburgh. The latter agrees to the second of these proposals and states that he has given Duysentdaelders a draft for 245 guilders drawn on Hercules Sanders.³¹

- 19 June 1654 Cornelis Gijsbertsz. van Goor reports from Amsterdam to Giacomo di Battista in Messina that he has shipped a painting for his friend. Rembrandt has been paid 500 guilders for the work. In addition Van Goor claims 15 guilders for expenses.³²
- 25 June 1654 The council of the Reformed Church deliberates on whether Hendrickje Stoffels 'in hoererij [heeft] verloopen met Rembrant de schilder' ([has] been living in unwedded cohabitation with Rembrandt the painter). She must appear before the council in eight days.³³
- 16 July 1654 Hendrickje Stoffels, 'woonende op de Breestraet tot Rembrant de schilder' (residing in the Breestraat with Rembrandt the painter), is summoned for the third time, but does not appear. She will be called to account for her conduct.³⁴
- 23 July 1654 Hendrickje Stoffels appears before the church council and admits to having committed 'hoererij' (unwedded cohabitation) with Rembrandt. She is admonished and denied from the Lord's Supper.³⁵
- 30 October 1654 Cornelia, the daughter of Hendrickje Stoffels and Rembrandt, is baptised in the Oude Kerk.³⁶
- 10 December 1654 Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Christoffel Thijs an annual interest of 52 guilders, 11 stuivers and 4 pennies.³⁷
- 24 November 1655 Titus draws up his will. Should he die childless, Rembrandt will be his sole heir, 'niet willende [...] dat enige van sijne naer te laten goederen sullen comen off succederen op yemand van sijne vrunden van 's moeders sijde buyten wille van zijn voorn. vader' (not wishing [...] that any of the goods he leaves should go or descend to any of his relatives on his mother's side against the will of his aforesaid father).³⁸
- [December 1655] From a bill (not preserved in the original) issued by the landlord of *De Keizerskroon* in the Kalverstraat, Rembrandt appears to have spent money in this respectable inn from 4 to 15 and 18 to 21 December. He rented a room there for five guilders a week for a period of four weeks, and another (extra?) room for an additional one or two weeks for the same amount. Various public sales were held as of 25 December.³⁹
- 25 December 1655 Lodewijck van Ludick and Abraham Francen declare that Rembrandt has bought a house in the Handboogstraat from Dirck van Cattenburgh, who acts on behalf of his brother Otto. Rembrandt pays in both cash (4000 guilders) and art (worth 3000 guilders). Van Cattenburgh will contribute 500 guilders and give the same amount again within a year, for which Rembrandt will deliver paintings and copper plates. This agreement was reached about a year earlier. Van Ludick and Francen make a valuation of the art supplied to Van

31 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/6 and 7. In 1650 the lawyer and merchant Nicolaes Duysentdaelders (c. 1620-1662) had bought a plot in the Handboogstraat and built a house on it which he sold on 23 October 1653 to Otto van Cattenburgh (1612-c.1666/70?), councillor ordinary of the Count of Brederode and treasurer and secretary of Vianen. He paid in part in the form of a bill of exchange which Duysentdaelders passed on to Rembrandt, I.H. van Eeghen, 'Handboogstraat 5', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 56 (1969), pp. 169-176. On 1 May, when the bill became due, Rembrandt asked Dirck van Cattenburgh for payment, because his brother Otto was no longer in the city. Rembrandt had business dealings with the merchant Dirck van Cattenburgh (1616-1704) from the early 1650s until his death. The painter Hercules Sanders (1606-in or after 1663) rented a house in the Handboogstraat from Otto van Cattenburgh. See also under 25 December 1655.

32 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/10 and J. Giltaij, *Ruffo en Rembrandt. Over een Siciliaanse verzamelaar in de zeventiende eeuw die drie schilderijen bij Rembrandt bestelde*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 35-42 and app. B, xi; the work in question is Rembrandt's *Aristotle contemplating a bust of Homer* (Br. 478), cf. Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/16. The friend referred to is the Italian nobleman and art collector

Antonio Ruffo (1610/1-1678), who had earlier commissioned the painting from Rembrandt, probably in 1652. Rembrandt later painted two other works for him for which Ruffo provided only a rough outline of what was required.

33 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/11; Hendrickje (see note 6) was pregnant with Rembrandt's child, *ibid.* 1654/18. When she failed to appear on 2 July, she was summoned again, *ibid.* 1654/12.

34 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/14.

35 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/15.

36 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/18.

37 Strauss *Doc.*, 1654/20 and cf. 1655/3.

38 Strauss *Doc.*, 1655/6; Abraham Francen signed as a witness. The exclusion of his mother's side of the family may indicate that the 14-year-old Titus was under his father's influence or that he wanted to support him.

39 Strauss *Doc.*, 1655/7; it is not known what was sold at this time. The landlord charged Rembrandt a total of 130 guilders and 2 stuivers, *ibid.* 1660/2.

Cattenburgh: the paintings are assessed at 2447 guilders, and etchings by Rembrandt at 264 guilders and 16 stuivers. In addition, Rembrandt has given six small paintings by (Adriaen) Brouwer and (Jan) Porcellis worth 750 guilders, and for 400 guilders he will etch a portrait of Otto van Cattenburgh ‘naer ’t leven [...], van deucht als het conterfeytsel van d’heer Jan Six’ (from life, equal in quality to the portrait of Mr Jan Six).⁴⁰

- 2 March 1656 Geertje’s brother Pieter Dircksz. informs Rembrandt that he wants to go to sea, but that his freedom of movement is restricted by an order which Rembrandt has obtained against him. Rembrandt had done so without giving a reason, but Pieter Dircksz. now knows that Rembrandt may want him to appear as a witness. If he wants anything from him, it will have to be done straight away. Rembrandt answers that he wants to keep to the official procedure and will not allow the order imposed on Pieter Dircksz. to be lifted.⁴¹
- 3 May 1656 A woman testifies at Rembrandt’s behest that in 1650 at the request of relatives of Geertje she helped to bring her to the house of correction in Gouda. There she paid out approximately 140 guilders, a sum which was reimbursed by Rembrandt.⁴²
- 6 May 1656 In Edam two women make a statement at the request of Geertje Dirckx, who resides there. Five years ago a woman asked them and two of Geertje’s relatives on behalf of Rembrandt if they would agree to Geertje’s being detained for another eleven years in the house of correction in Gouda. They did not agree to this. About eleven months ago one of the two women went to see Rembrandt and told him that she intended to have Geertje freed from the house of correction. Rembrandt warned her not to do that, wagging his finger and saying ‘bij aldien ghi heen gaet, het sal u rouwen’ (if you go there, you will be sorry). Undeterred by this threat, she obtained Geertje’s release, though with great difficulty and despite the fact that in several letters Rembrandt tried to prevent it.⁴³
- 17 May 1656 Rembrandt assigns the house in the St Anthonisbreestraat to Titus as his legitimate inheritance from his mother’s estate.⁴⁴
- 18 May 1656 Rembrandt authorises an attorney to appear in court for him.⁴⁵
- [30 May 1656] Rembrandt acknowledges that he owes Daniel Fransz. a sum of 3150 guilders.⁴⁶
- 14 July 1656 Rembrandt makes it known that ‘door verliesen geleden in de negotie alsmede schaden ende verliesen bij der zee’ (due to losses suffered in business as well as damage and losses at sea) he is faced with financial problems. Since he cannot possibly pay his creditors, he applies to the Court of Holland for *cessio bonorum*.⁴⁷
- 26 July 1656 Hendrick Torquinius is appointed trustee of Rembrandt’s estate.⁴⁸
- 25-26 July 1656 Frans Bruijningh, secretary of the DBK, draws up an inventory ‘van de schilderijen mitsgaders meubilen ende huysraet bevonden in den boedel van Rembrant van Rijn’ (of the paintings together with the furniture and household goods in the estate of Rembrandt van Rijn).⁴⁹

40 Strauss *Doc.*, 1655/8; Thomas Asselijn signed as a witness (see note 108 here). Rembrandt, who was badly in need of cash, may have planned to sell his house in the Breestraat and move into more modest accommodation. In any event, the transaction did not take place. Lodewijck van Ludick (1607-1669) and Dirck van Cattenburgh were both merchants and active in the art trade. On the etched portrait of Six of 1647, see B. 285.

41 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/2; this matter probably had to do with Geertje. Shortly before, she had dismissed her brother Pieter as her guardian (ibid. 1656/1) and may (Wijnman, *op. cit.*⁵, pp. 115-116) have begun proceedings against Rembrandt to obtain compensation for her, in her view unlawful, confinement in the house of correction at Gouda. In that case Rembrandt might have needed Pieter Dircksz. as a witness.

42 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/4; on the subsequent 6 May at Edam a statement was made at the request of Geertje, ibid. 1656/5.

43 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/5.

44 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/6; in the document it is stated incorrectly that the house is unencumbered.

45 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/7; Abraham Francen signed as a co-witness.

46 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/8; the promisory note registered with the aldermen (‘schepenkennis’) has not survived, but the amount is apparent from later documents, ibid. 1656/18 and 19. The surgeon Daniel Fransz. was a brother of the Abraham Francen mentioned here several times.

47 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/10; he lists as his principal creditors Cornelis Witsen, Isaack van Hertsbeeck, Daniel Fransz., Gerbrand Ornia (as guarantor of the loan from Jan Six of 7 March 1653), Geertje Dirckx and Gerrit Boelens. He also lists his sister-in-law Hiskia Uylenburgh, though later there is no other evidence of a debt to her, ibid. 1656/20 and I.H. van Eeghen, ‘Rembrandt en Hiskia’, *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 55 (1968), pp. 30-34. The reasons Rembrandt gave seem to refer to both the art trade and other business matters (freight?).

48 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/11.

49 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/12. The inventory does not give a complete picture of what Rembrandt must once have had. Missing from it, for example, are painter’s tools and etching materials as well as clothing and (self-)portraits. The inventory lists hardly any household effects. Yet there was enough to

- 6 September 1656 The Court of Orphans appoints Jan Verwout guardian of Titus and administrator of his property.⁵⁰
- 27 September 1656 Rembrandt owes Daniel Fransz. a 'merquelijcke somma van penningen' (a considerable sum of money) and will pay him from the proceeds of an auction of 'zijne goederen en consten' (his goods and works of art). If the proceeds are insufficient, he promises to supply him with paintings. These will then be appraised by Lodewijck van Ludick and Abraham Francen as experts.⁵¹
- 27 September 1656 Daniel Fransz. authorises his brother Abraham Francen to receive 3150 guilders from Rembrandt.⁵²
- 1 August 1657 Gerbrand Ornia gives notice to Lodewijck van Ludick that he holds a bond which Rembrandt gave in favour of Jan Six and for which Van Ludick stood surety. Ornia has learned from the officials of the DBK that he can expect nothing from Rembrandt and thus he is addressing himself to Van Ludick. The latter replies that he will discuss the matter with Ornia.⁵³
- 30 October 1657 Titus revokes his previous wills and makes his half-sister Cornelia van Rijn his heir. Rembrandt and Hendrickje will be permitted to act as her guardians, while the former is granted the usufruct of the property left by Titus.⁵⁴
- 22 November 1657 Titus draws up a new will. His half-sister Cornelia van Rijn is the heir to all the property of which Rembrandt may enjoy the usufruct. The latter is sole guardian of Cornelia and may administer the property she inherits as he sees fit. When Rembrandt dies, the income from the property left by Titus is to be used to support Cornelia and her mother Hendrickje Stoffels.⁵⁵
- 30 January 1658 Cornelis Witsen is paid 4180 guilders by the DBK from the proceeds of the sale of goods from Rembrandt's estate as repayment of his loan of 29 January 1653.⁵⁶
- 1 February 1658-
13 January 1659 Rembrandt's house in the St Anthonisbreestraat is sold as part of his estate. After the first buyer fails to provide security, the house is bought for 11,218 guilders by the shoemaker Lieven Symonsz. with Samuel Gerinx as 'borgh ende medestander' (guarantor and co-owner). Rembrandt 'sal in 't vertrecken naer hem nemen twee kaggels ende diversche afschutsels, op de solder voor sijn leerlingen aldaer gestelt' (will take with him when leaving two stoves and sundry screens installed in the attic for his pupils).⁵⁷
- 19 February 1658 The commissioners of the DBK rule that the four paintings which Rembrandt had given to Isaac Francx as security by agreement must be sold 'sonder prejuditie van 't geen de voorn. Ysaacq Vrancx daerop competeerde' (without prejudice to the claim of the aforesaid Isaac Francx).⁵⁸

be worth taking to the pawnshop in April 1658. It is clear that either quite a lot had disappeared by the time the inventory was taken (Rembrandt had previously held an auction which lasted for several weeks, see note 39), or that for whatever reason goods were not listed. It may be that Rembrandt pawned works of art or, for instance, etching plates; these had to be included in the list of assets and liabilities ('staat') (not extant) but not in the inventory of the moveable property. R.W. Scheller, 'Rembrandt en de encyclopedische kunstkamer', *O.H.* 84 (1969), pp. 81-147 provides a detailed analysis; see also R. van Gelder and J. van der Veen, 'A collector's cabinet in the Breestraat. Rembrandt as a lover of art and curiosities', in: B. van den Boogert (ed.), *Rembrandt's treasures*, Zwolle 1999, pp. 33-89, *A Corpus* vol. II, pp. 93-95 and here Chapter I. On the bankruptcy, see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669): A changing portrait of the artist', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, pp. 50-67, esp. 60-61.

50 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/14; on 4 April 1658 Verwout was succeeded in this position by Louis Crayers, *ibid.* 1658/11.

51 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/18; the loan was 3150 guilders, see under 30 May 1656 and below.

52 Strauss *Doc.*, 1656/19.

53 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/3; see under 7 March 1653 and below under [March] 1659.

54 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/5; cf. the deed of 24 November 1655 and the will immediately below.

55 Strauss *Doc.*, 1657/8.

56 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/2 and cf. 1658/7.

57 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/3 and 1658/4 and cf. 1659/4. According to Houbraken, Rembrandt rented a warehouse on the Bloemgracht where his pupils worked in spaces partitioned off by sailcloth, HdG *Urk.* no. 407, §5.

58 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/6; Isaac Francx (1610-1663) had made a loan to Rembrandt of which 116 guilders and five stuivers was still outstanding and for which the artist had given four paintings as security. Francx was not to receive the entire amount back, see *ibid.* 1659/2, on the auction 1658/15 and on his claim 1658/24. That the loan to Rembrandt amounted to 200 guilders is apparent from the probate inventory of Cornelia Francx, widow of Hendrick Dircksz. Spiegel, in which the bonds include one for 200 guilders to the account of Rembrandt whereby it is noted that 90 guilders and 15 stuivers was received from the DBK, GAA, not. H. Outgers, NA 3244, deed 98, dd. 21 November 1679. Cornelia Francx was assigned this bond from the estate of her brother Isaac Francx, who died unmarried in 1663.

- 13 March 1658 Hendrickje Stoffels petitions the DBK for the return of an oak cupboard which is still in Rembrandt's house. She is prepared to swear under oath that the cupboard belongs to her.⁵⁹
- 4 April 1658 To replace Jan Verwout the Court of Orphans appoints Louis Crayers as Titus' guardian.⁶⁰
- 1 May 1658 Two persons state that 'van seker persoon (die hij verstaet geweest te sijn de soon van Rembrandt van Rijn, schilder) op sijn hoofd geset wiert om te dragen seker groote spiegel met een swarte lijst' (a large mirror in a black frame was placed by someone [who he understood to have been the son of Rembrandt van Rijn the painter] on the plaintiff's head to be carried). The glass broke while it was being carried.⁶¹
- 20 May 1658 As the guardian of Titus, Louis Crayers requests that the funds raised by the sale of the house in the Breestraat be blocked.⁶²
- 13 September 1658 Jan Six and Hendrick Torquinius, the trustee of Rembrandt's estate, annul the penalty clauses agreed on 5 October 1652 in two contracts between Six and Rembrandt.⁶³
- 24 September 1658 The commissioners of the DBK authorise Adriaen Hendricksz. [de Wees] to attend the sale of the works on paper from Rembrandt's estate and 'tot dien eynde deselve op de bequaemste maniere te sorteren ende verdelen' (to this end to sort and arrange the said works in the most appropriate way).⁶⁴
- 17 December 1658 The commissioners of the DBK allocate to Jacob de la Tombe 32 guilders and five stuivers 'van seeckere schilderijen' (for certain paintings) which 'soo in 't geheel als voor de helfte toebehoort hebbende' (were half or entirely owned by him) and which were sold together with other paintings from Rembrandt's estate.⁶⁵
- 17 December 1658 Isaac van Hertsbeeck, who has a preferential claim, is paid 4200 guilders from the funds held by the DBK after providing sureties in the event of a possible repayment.⁶⁶
- [December 1658] The administrator of the insolvent estate of Rembrandt van Rijn, 'konstigh schilder' (artful painter), makes it known that the remaining works on paper 'met een groote curieusheyt te samen versamelt' (collected by him with great inquisitiveness) as well as 'een goede partije van teeckeningen ende schetsen van denselven Rembrandt van Rijn selven' (a sizeable lot of drawings and sketches by the same Rembrandt van Rijn himself) will be sold at *De Keizerskroon* in Amsterdam.⁶⁷
- [1658] A later agreement between Titus and Hendrickje Stoffels shows that in 1658 they established an art dealing business in which Rembrandt participated.⁶⁸
- 1659 At the request of Titus' guardian Louis Crayers, various persons make depositions which will serve to determine the amount of Titus' inheritance.⁶⁹ Rembrandt himself states that in 1647,

59 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/9; after Rembrandt's death a statement was made about the chest containing linen, clothing and silver worth 600 guilders, see HdG *Urk.* no. 314.

60 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/11 and here under 6 september 1656. It seems that Verwout had died shortly before. Louis Crayers (1623-1668) looked after Titus' interests conscientiously. A detailed list of books found in Crayers's house after his death includes 'een memoriaelboeck' (daybook) for the period 2 July 1665 to 31 December 1667 in which the first item is 'Titus van Rijn moet hebben f 4200:-- soo veel van Isaack Hartsbeeck ontfangen' (Titus van Rijn to have f 4200:-- this has been received from Isaac Hartsbeeck) (GAA, not. A. Lock, NA 2262, pp. 196-199, dd. 30 October 1668), while among his paintings there is 'een conterfeytsel van Rembrandt van Rijn en zyn vrouw [Saskia?]' (a portrait of Rembrandt van Rijn and his wife [Saskia?]) (*ibid.*, pp. 1090-1116, dd. 4 August 1677-14 January 1678, esp. 1100 and HdG *Urk.* no. 336).

61 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/13.

62 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/14.

63 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/18.

64 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/19; the auction took place on 20 December. The book-seller and art dealer Adriaen Hendricksz. de Wees (1595-1674) was well acquainted with Rembrandt, see under 19 March 1659.

65 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/26; payment was made a day later, *ibid.* 1658/27 and cf. 1658/28. Instead of Jacob de la Tombe (1604-1656) his brother Pieter (see note 13), who dealt with Jacob's estate, must be intended. The paintings sold which gave rise to the preferential claim belonged to Rembrandt and Pieter de la Tombe jointly, but it is likely that Jacob had lent his brother Pieter money for their purchase.

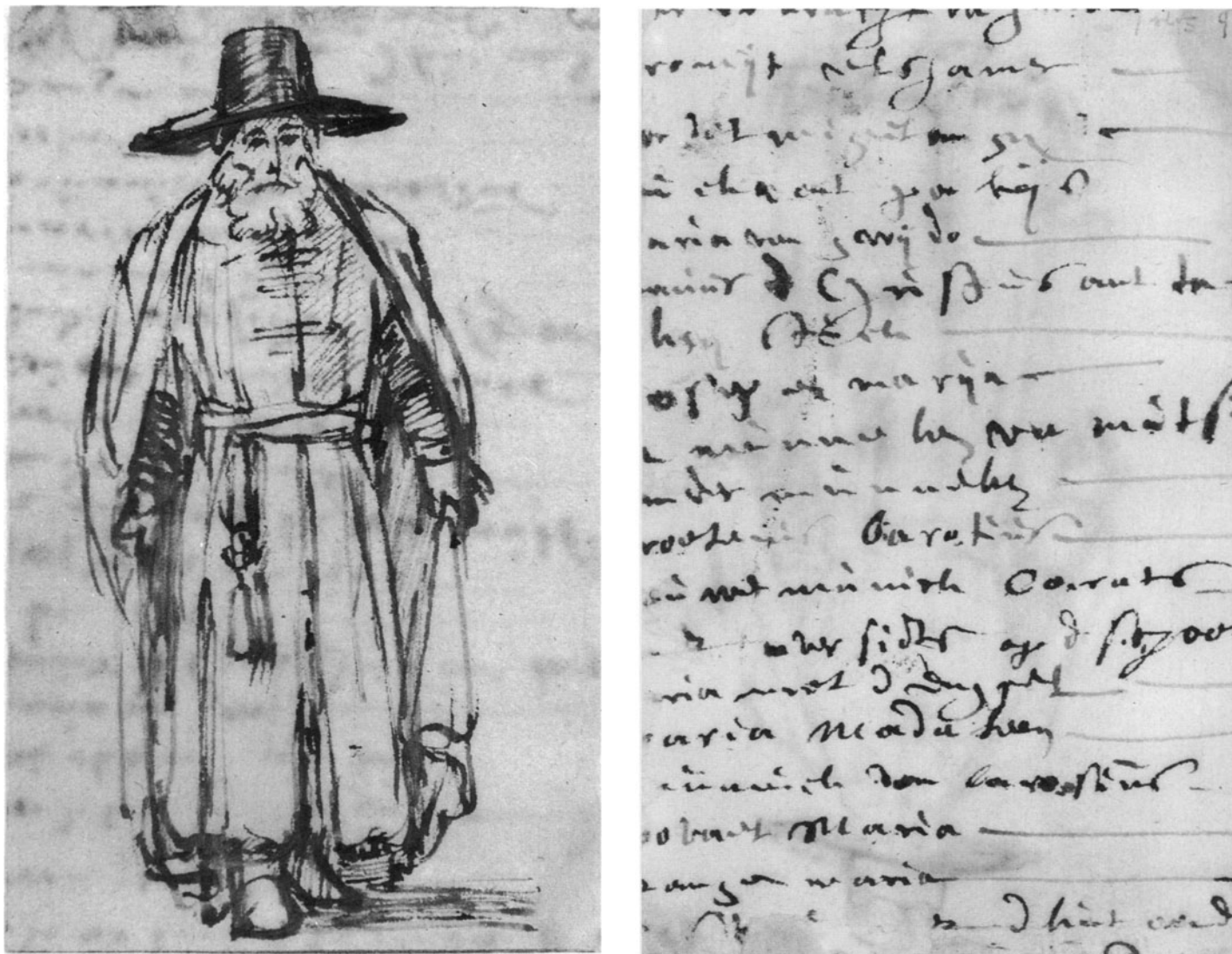
66 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/25 and see under 14 March 1653. This was opposed (successfully) by Louis Crayers on behalf of his ward, see 5 May 1660.

67 Strauss *Doc.*, 1658/29; the printed auction flyer stated that the works on paper consisted of 'de konst van verscheyden der voornaemste so Italiaensche, Fransche, Duytsche ende Nederlandsche meesters' (the art of several of the most prominent Italian, French, German and Netherlandish masters). The auction probably took place on 28 December. Rembrandt himself may well have drawn up an inventory of his collection of art on paper, see L. Münz, 'Eine unpublizierte Zeichnung Rembrandts', *Alte und Neue Kunst* 1 (1952), pp. 152-156 and here fig. 2.

68 See under 15 December 1660.

69 The documents were drawn up before a notary whose records were damaged by fire and this probably explains why some items are missing. Many documents are undated.

Fig. 2. On the back of this drawing attributed to Rembrandt (Ben. A 96a) there is a list of works, undoubtedly written by himself, which appears to be part of a draft inventory. Perhaps this draft belonged to a first, still provisional stocktaking for the purposes of the 1656 inventory (see note 67). However, partly in view of the fact that the works listed on the back of the drawing are prints and drawings rather than paintings, it is entirely possible that this list relates to the auction of Rembrandt's collection of works on paper in 1658.



at the urging of relatives of Saskia, he drew up a list of assets and liabilities and inventory of his property.⁷⁰

Philips Koninck states that a little over seven years before he bought a string of pearls from Rembrandt.⁷¹ Jan van Loo and his wife Anna Huybrechts state that they were 'seer goede kennisse' (very closely acquainted) with Rembrandt and Saskia and that the couple owned a number of pearls, a diamond ring, silverwork, a psalm-book and other valuables including many pewter, copper and iron objects.⁷² On 19 March 1659 Lodewijck van Ludick and Adriaen Hendricksz. de Wees state that the value of 'de papiere konsten, rariteyten, antiquiteyten, medalien ende seegewassen' (works on paper, curiosities, antiquities, medals and shells and coral) which Rembrandt possessed between 1640 and 1650 amounted to about 11,000 guilders, and that of the paintings to about 6400 guilders. Both men have been on very close terms with Rembrandt in the past and continue to be so. They have seen his 'konst, rariteyten, schilderijen etc.' (art, curiosities, paintings, etc.) many times.⁷³ The cloth merchant Jan Pietersz. states that Rembrandt painted his portrait and 'neffens andere personen van hunne compagnie en corporaelschap tot sestien in 't getall in een schilderije' (together with other persons in their company and regiment up to sixteen in number in a painting), for which each paid 100 guilders 'd'een wat meer en d'ander wat minder, nae de plaets die sij daer in hadden' (some a little more, some a little less according to the place they occupied).⁷⁴ The merchant Adriaen Banck states that in 1647 he bought from Rembrandt 'een stuck

70 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/12 and above under 1647.

71 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/11; the painter Philips Koninck (1619-1688) belonged to Rembrandt's circle of acquaintances.

72 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/13.

73 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/14.

74 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/16 and cf. 1659/19; the work referred to here is *The Night Watch* (III A 146).

schilderije van Susanna' (a painting of Susanna) and that he paid him 500 guilders for it.⁷⁵ Abraham Wilmerdoncx states that Rembrandt painted his and his wife's portrait around 1642 and that he paid him 500 guilders plus 60 guilders for the canvas and the frame.⁷⁶ Nicolaes van Cruijsbergen, sergeant, states that the civic guard piece at the Kloveniersdoelen, which was painted by Rembrandt and in which among others he himself 'mede is geconterfijt' (was also portrayed), cost 1600 guilders for the work of painting it.⁷⁷ Lodewijck van Ludick states – possibly in the month of October – that in about the year 1644 he bought a 'Leander en Hero door Petro Paulo Rubens' (a Leander and Hero by Peter Paul Rubens) from Rembrandt for 530 guilders; Rembrandt had had the painting in his possession for four or five years at that time.⁷⁸ Hendrick Uylenburgh states that in about 1642 he served as an expert in a dispute between Andries de Graeff and Rembrandt 'over een stuck schilderije off conterfijtsel' (over a painting or portrait) which Rembrandt had painted for De Graeff. Together with other arbitrators he ruled that De Graeff should pay Rembrandt 500 guilders.⁷⁹

- (19[?]) March 1659 Rembrandt acknowledges a debt of 1200 guilders to the merchant Lodewijck van Ludick, who has paid this amount to Gerbrand Ornia on Rembrandt's behalf. Rembrandt promises him that he will pay back this amount within three years in the form of paintings which he 'selffs sal schilderen' (will paint himself) and which will be assessed by experts. Furthermore, Rembrandt undertakes 'te sullen affschilderen en leveren een stuckje schilderije uytbeeldende de historie van Jonathan en Davidt, dat hij alreede onder handen heeft' (to complete and deliver a painting depicting the story of Jonathan and David which he is already working on).⁸⁰
- 7 October 1659 Rembrandt authorises Titus to act for him in his case before the commissioners of Minor Matters.⁸¹
- 1660 The anthology *Hollantsche Parnas* appears; it includes several poems in praise of Rembrandt's paintings and etchings.⁸²
- [29 January 1660] It is clear from a later document that on this date Lodewijck van Ludick sold Rembrandt three paintings by (Pieter) Lastman and (Jan?) Pynas.⁸³
- [5 May 1660] The aldermen issued a verdict that Isaac van Hertsbeeck must refund Titus' guardian Louis Crayers the 4200 guilders he received previously on the grounds of his claim against Rembrandt.⁸⁴
- 24 August 1660 Louis Crayers ends the blocking of the proceeds of the sale of the house in the Breestraat.⁸⁵
- 15 December 1660 Titus, assisted by his father, and Hendrickje Stoffels agree to continue their partnership dealing in paintings, works on paper, curiosities and all related items until Rembrandt's death and for six years after that. They began this enterprise just over two years ago. Since 1658 they have bought household goods, paintings and other art, curiosities and tools and also paid the house rent and other charges, with each contributing half. Both have put their possessions into the partnership. Profit and loss were to be shared equally between them. Because they need help with their business, and 'daertoe niemandt bequamer conde sijn' (no one could be

75 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/17; on *Susanna and the elders*, see Br. 516. Rembrandt also painted Banck's portrait, Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/13 and Van der Veen, op. cit.³⁰, p. 78.

76 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/18. It is clear from later documents that this was a double portrait of Abraham Wilmerdoncx (1604-1669), governor of the West India Company, and his wife Anna van Beaumont (1607-1686); the last mention of it is in 1721.

77 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/19 and note 74 here.

78 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/20. Rembrandt had bought the work in question in 1637, *ibid.* 1637/6.

79 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/21. The deposition does not make clear whether the work was a portrait of Andries de Graeff (1611-1678) or of someone else (a relative?). The document has been linked to the *Portrait of a man standing* in Kassel, see III A 129 and cf. exhib. cat. *Rembrandt. Paintings*, 1991/92, no. 29 and Van der Veen, op. cit.³⁰, p. 76 and note 34.

80 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/15; this was Jan Six's loan to Rembrandt, for which Van Ludick had stood surety. Six had transferred it to Ornia, see under 7 March 1653 and 1 August 1657.

81 Strauss *Doc.*, 1659/8.

82 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/22-26.

83 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/1. Van Ludick kept the paintings in his possession; on 28 August 1662 the transaction was cancelled.

84 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/6; the tenor of this ruling is evident from a later document, see under 22 December 1662; on the loan see under 14 March 1653 and 17 December 1658.

85 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/11; this made it possible for the buyer to deposit the purchase price with the DBK so that ownership of the house could be officially transferred to him, cf. 1660/18 and 1660/21 and here under 9 September 1665.

better qualified) than Rembrandt, they have agreed that he will lodge with them without being charged for rent, food and drink. However, Rembrandt owns no part of either the business or the household. Rembrandt acknowledges that he has borrowed 950 guilders from Titus and 800 guilders from Hendrickje for his essential living expenses and promises to repay the money from his earnings by painting.⁸⁶

- 1661 In the album amicorum of Jacobus Heyblocq there is a Rembrandt drawing of 1661 portraying *The presentation in the temple* which is accompanied by a poem in praise of the owner of the album beginning with the lines: 'Hier toont ons Rembrant hoe den ouden Simeon / Met vreucht sijn Heylant en Messias neemt in de armen' (Here Rembrant shows us how old Simeon / Joyfully takes into his arms his Saviour and Messiah).⁸⁷
- 1661 In his *Gulden Cabinet van de edele vry schilder-const* (Antwerp 1661) Cornelis de Bie praises Rembrandt's painting and etching and says: 'sijn ordonnantien, die ieders gheest verlichten, / sijn Conterfeytsels, die naer 't leven sijn ghedaen' (his compositions which delight every mind, / his Portraits, which are done from life).⁸⁸
- 30 July 1661 Invoice addressed to Ruffo for a 'Gran Alexandro' painted by Rembrandt. The bill for the actual painting of the work is 500 guilders, plus 18 guilders for the canvas for the *Alexander the Great* and for a *Homer* that has yet to be done (or finished?) and other costs for transport and import duties. The person drawing up the invoice points out that Rembrandt has reminded him that he will paint the *Homer* for the same price. A note by Rembrandt ('als ider stuck 6 palmen breedt is en 8 hoogh sullen 't goede form[ae]ten weesen en de prijs aengaende en sullen den Heer niet overschatten') (if each piece measures 6 palms wide and 8 high, they are the correct size, and with respect to the price the gentleman should not be overwhelmed) may well be the reply to a commission from Ruffo (in 1660?) for (probably two) half-length figures.⁸⁹
- 7 August 1661 Hendrickje Stoffels, residing on the Rozengracht opposite the New Maze and sickly, revokes her previous wills and in a new will makes her daughter Cornelia van Rijn her sole heir. If she should die childless, everything will go to Cornelia's half-brother Titus. She asks Rembrandt to act as guardian of his daughter. He may administer the property as he sees fit and enjoy the usufruct of it. After her death Rembrandt may continue her partnership with Titus, which was set out in the contract of 15 December 1660.⁹⁰
- 31 August 1661 Hendrickje Stoffels, 'bejaerde dochter' (unmarried woman) residing on the Rozengracht, authorises her brother-in-law Jan Carstensz. Pleckenpoel, residing in Bredevoort, to collect money on her behalf.⁹¹
- 20 October 1661 In a statement made by 'juffre.' (mistress) Hendrickje Stoffels, she is described as 'huysvrouwe van sr. Rembrant van Reyn, fijnschilder' (wife of 'signeur' Rembrandt van Rijn, master painter).⁹²
- 1662 Melchior Fokkens says in his *Beschrijvinge der wijdt vermaarde Koop-Stadt Amstelredam* (Amsterdam 1662) that 'alreeds vier schilderyen gemaakt [zijn]' (four paintings have already been made) for the town hall on the Batavians' war against the Romans, the first of which was 'geschildert door Rembrandt' (painted by Rembrandt).⁹³ John Evelyn refers in his *Sculptura or the history and art of chalcography and engraving in copper* (London 1662) to 'the incomparable Reinbrand, whose etchings and gravings are of a particular spirit.' The same year saw the publication of several

86 Strauss *Doc.*, 1660/20 and the will cited below which was made by Hendrickje on 7 August 1661; the fact that Titus was assisted by Rembrandt indicates that the agreement was concluded without the cooperation (or knowledge?) of his legal guardian.

87 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/3. Various scholars, poets and artists made contributions to the album for Jacobus Heyblocq (1623-1690), headmaster of the Latin School in Amsterdam; on the drawing, see Ben. 1057.

88 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/17.

89 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/5 and Giltaij, op. cit.³², pp. 43-56 and Appendix B, nos. xi a1-2. On the *Homer* (Br. 483) see also Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/11 and on Ruffo see under 19 June 1654.

90 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/6; the painter Christiaan Dusart (1618-1682/3) signed as a co-witness.

91 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/8; 'bejaerde dochter' means that she was of age and unmarried.

92 Strauss *Doc.*, 1661/12; Titus signed as a witness. This document indicates that, though not married to Rembrandt, Hendrickje was regarded as his partner; see also Rembrandt's codicil cited below.

93 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/15 and see also under 28 August 1662. The reference is to *The conspiracy of Julius (Claudius) Civilis* (Br. 482), which was probably hung in the town hall in 1662; it was certainly there in the summer of that year because the foreword to Fokkens' book is dated 21 July 1662. It was removed in the course of that year. Rembrandt had to make changes to the painting. It was not to return and was replaced by a work by Jurriaen Ovens. Only part of Rembrandt's large painting survives.

poems in praise of Rembrandt's etched portrait of Lieven van Coppenol and of a 'Haman by Hester en Assueer te gast &c. door Rembrandt geschildert' (Haman as the guest of Esther and Ahasverus etc. painted by Rembrandt).⁹⁴

31 July 1662

Karel van der Pluym stipulates in his will that if his wife dies childless, the children of Rembrandt's deceased brother Adriaen Harmensz. van Rijn are to receive 3000 guilders. Titus can expect the same amount.⁹⁵

28 August 1662

Lodewijck van Ludick and Rembrandt reach a settlement of their affairs. Van Ludick is to keep the three paintings (by Lastman and Pynas) which Rembrandt bought from him on 29 January 1660; in compensation Rembrandt will make a painting for him. The payment for two paintings sold to Van Ludick by Rembrandt for 600 guilders, to wit a 'karsnacht' (Nativity) and a 'besnijdenis' (Circumcision), will be set against the prints and 'plaetiens' (small copper plates), which Rembrandt had bought from Van Ludick at auction. Rembrandt is still owed 118 guilders, the difference between the value of the two paintings and that of his purchases at the auction, but he is obliged to repaint the circumciser in the above piece and fittingly improve it. Rembrandt owes Van Ludick 1200 guilders for the payment the latter had to make to Gerbrand Ornia; the 118 guilders mentioned will be deducted from this amount and the remainder, 1082 guilders, will be paid by Rembrandt as follows: Van Ludick will receive a fourth of the amount due to Rembrandt for the painting he did for the town hall and of the money he may receive 'bij verschildering ofte anders beneficeren, hoe 't mach vallen' (from repainting or otherwise benefitting, whichever is the case); in addition, Van Ludick is to receive half of everything Rembrandt earns by painting from 1 January 1663 until the debt is repaid. They affirm that they have no further claims on each other, except that Rembrandt must keep his promise 'wegens een conterfeysel aen Van Ludick in seeckere occasie toegezeyt ende aengenomen te maecken' (regarding the execution of a portrait for Van Ludick as promised on a certain occasion).⁹⁶

27 October 1662

Rembrandt sells a grave in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.⁹⁷

1 November 1662

In a letter to Rembrandt Antonio Ruffo expresses his dissatisfaction with the *Alexander the Great* delivered to him. It is expensive and according to him has been painted on four pieces of canvas sewn together: the seams are visible. He proposes that Rembrandt repaint the work. If he agrees, Ruffo will order another three paintings from him, sketches of which are to be sent to him.⁹⁸ Rembrandt replies that he is greatly astonished by Ruffo's criticism. He believes his work has been most successful and is surprised by the complaints about the price and the canvas used. If Ruffo sends the piece back at his expense, Rembrandt is prepared to paint a new version. He admits that while working on the *Alexander the Great* he realised that it would have to be enlarged, but if the painting is properly hung no sign of this is visible.⁹⁹

[7 December 1662]

Rembrandt borrows 537 guilders from Harmen Becker at five per cent interest and gives him nine paintings and two albums of prints as security.¹⁰⁰

94 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/16, resp. 1662/17, 1662/18 and 1662/19 (and see Br. 530).

95 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/4. Karel van der Pluym (1625-1672) is believed to have been a pupil of Rembrandt in about 1646 and to have lodged during his apprenticeship with his uncle Willem Jansz. van der Pluym, a first cousin of Rembrandt, who drew his portrait (probably Ben. 433, see P. Schatborn, 'Van Rembrandt tot Crozat. Vroege verzamelingen met tekeningen van Rembrandt', *NKJ* 32 (1981), pp. 1-54, esp. 9). In 1648 he became a member of the St Luke's Guild in Leiden, and in 1652 headman and in 1654/5 dean, but later withdrew. He stopped painting in 1650/1 (probably professionally), D.J. Noordam, *Geringde buffels en heren van stand. Het patriciaat van Leiden, 1574-1700*, Hilversum 1994, p. 84 and note 212.

96 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/6: see under (19?) March 1659 and 4 June 1664. The *Circumcision* may be Br. 596; on *The conspiracy of Julius (Claudius) Civilis* see note 93 here. It is not clear whether the portrait Rembrandt promised to deliver was to be of Van Ludick himself. Parts of this agreement were not carried out, because Van Ludick subsequently made over his claims on Rembrandt to Harmen Becker, see under 4 June 1664 and 24 July 1668.

97 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/9; the transfer of ownership took place on 1 November, *ibid.* 1662/10.

98 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/11, Giltaj, op. cit.³², pp. 43-66 and Appendix B, xi and here under 19 June 1654; the letter was to be delivered to Isaac Just, through whom Ruffo communicated with Rembrandt, by 'Vallebrot' or Giovanni Battista van den Broeck, the Dutch consul in Sicily. Van den Broeck probably had to wait in Amsterdam until the *Homer* was finished so that he could take it with him. See also the receipt of 16 November 1662 given by a captain who stated that he had received from Ruffo a painting packed in a chest, evidently the half-finished *Homer* being sent back to Amsterdam. The work did not arrive in Messina until 20 May 1664.

99 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/12; according to Giltaj, op. cit.³², p. 47, there is no evidence that Rembrandt made a new version.

100 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/13; the document is not extant, but its contents become apparent when the debt is paid, see under 6 October 1665. Harmen Becker (c. 1617-1678) was a wealthy merchant and an art collector who frequently made loans to artists for which he received works of art as security. For transactions he availed himself of the services of Philips Koninck. At his death Becker possessed a number of paintings by Rembrandt, H.J. Postma, 'De Amsterdamse verzamelaar Herman Becker (ca.1617-1678). Nieuwe gegevens over een geldschieter van Rembrandt', *O.H.* 102 (1988), pp. 1-21.

- 22 December 1662 By order of the Court of Holland the ruling of the Amsterdam aldermen in the case of Isaac van Hertsbeeck versus Titus' guardian Louis Crayers of 5 May 1660 is confirmed. The former must pay the costs and is fined for making an appeal too lightly.¹⁰¹
- [28 March 1663] Rembrandt is given an interest-free loan of 450 guilders by Harmen Becker.¹⁰²
- 28 March 1663 Rembrandt authorises Titus to act on his behalf.¹⁰³
- 24 July 1663 Hendrickje Stoffels is buried in the Westerkerk in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁴
- [c. 1664] In a list of 166 painters compiled by Gabriel Bucelinus no. 148 is: 'Rimprant, nostrae aetatis miraculum' (Rembrandt, the miracle of our age).¹⁰⁵
- 4 June 1664 Lodewijck van Ludick assigns all his rights arising from his agreement with Rembrandt of 28 August 1662 to Harmen Becker and declares that he has received payment for them.¹⁰⁶
- 21 July 1664 Codicil made by 'signeur' Rembrandt van Rijn, residing on the Rozengracht, in which he asserts that in the will of Hendrickje Stoffels 'zijn huysvrouw zal.' (his late wife) of 7 August 1661 he was named guardian of their daughter Cornelia, and hereby stipulates that in the event of his death Christiaen Dusart will act as guardian.¹⁰⁷
- 31 December 1664 At Rembrandt's request Abraham Francen and Thomas Asselijn make a statement. Francen says that nine or ten months ago Lodewijck van Ludick came to an agreement with Harmen Becker at the latter's house that he would take over the claim Van Ludick had against Rembrandt and would pay for this in cloth at the rate of eight guilders the ell. After Van Ludick saw the quality of the cloth, he decided this price was too high and said that he would be content with a sum of 500 guilders. A discussion arose as to the method of payment. Eventually Becker paid in cloth. Asselijn says that a few days afterwards he told Van Ludick that he had done good business. The latter replied by saying: 'wat soude ick een goede handelinge gedaen hebben, ick heb hem het laken wederom gepresenteert voor vijffhondert guldens' (what a good deal I made, I offered to give him back the cloth for five hundred guilders).¹⁰⁸
- 26 January 1665 In the case of Isaac van Hertsbeeck versus Louis Crayers the Supreme Court confirms the earlier ruling by the Court of Holland.¹⁰⁹
- 5 February 1665 Rembrandt, who is heir to half the estate of Pieter van Medenblick, authorises Titus to collect on his behalf from the Court of Orphans in Leiden what is owed him.¹¹⁰
- 20 and 21 March 1665 Hendrick van der Linden states that in his presence the bookseller and publisher Daniël van Gaasbeeck spoke to Titus on 22 December last and that it was agreed that Rembrandt would

101 Strauss *Doc.*, 1662/14 and notes 60, 66, 84 and 85 above. Van Hertsbeeck appealed to the Supreme Court in The Hague, the highest court, see under 26 January 1665.

102 Strauss *Doc.*, 1663/1, the loan is apparent from its repayment on 6 October 1665.

103 Strauss *Doc.*, 1663/2.

104 Strauss *Doc.*, 1663/4.

105 R. Schillemans, 'Gabriel Bucelinus and "The Names of the Most Distinguished European Painters"', *The Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 6 (1987), pp. 25-37. Gabriel Bucelinus (1599-1681) was acquainted with Rembrandt's former pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten, see also E. van de Wetering, 'The miracle of our age. Rembrandt through the eyes of his contemporaries', in: exhib. cat. *Rembrandt...* 1997/98, op. cit.³⁰, pp. 58-68.

106 Strauss *Doc.*, 1664/3 and see under 28 August 1662.

107 Strauss *Doc.*, 1664/4.

108 Strauss *Doc.*, 1664/6. Thomas Asselijn (c. 1620-1701) was a dyer and had something of a reputation as a poet; he was a brother of the painter Jan Asselijn (c. 1610/5-1652). The Asselijns were acquainted with Rembrandt and Francen. Around 1647 Rembrandt etched a portrait of Jan Asselijn (B. 277). In 1667 Thomas Asselijn owned 'een copie naer Rembrandt, daer Christus werd geeselt' (a copy after Rembrandt,

depicting the flagellation of Christ) (ibid. 1667/3) – this was probably the 'cöpye nae de geesselingh Cristi, nae Rembrant' (copy after the flagellation of Christ, after Rembrandt) (ibid. 1656/12, no. 302) in Rembrandt's estate – and in 1685 '2 conterfijtsels van Rembrand f 50:-:-' (2 portraits by Rembrandt f 50:-:-) (GAA, not. J. Paerslaken, NA 3474, dd. 20 January 1685).

109 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/2; see under 22 December 1662. Van Hertsbeeck was again fined for appealing too lightly. He was ordered to repay the money (ibid. 1665/7), and eventually complied (ibid. 1665/13 and 14). No part of his loan was ever repaid; the inventory of Van Hertsbeeck lists under 'de dubieuse ende desperate schulden' (doubtful and bad debts): 'Rembrand Hermans schilder volgens schepekennis en 't renteboek fo. 7 voor capl. 4000 gl. en een jaer intrest 200 gl., samen gl. 4200' (according to the certificate of indebtedness and the book of interest paid, Rembrandt, painter, owes 4000 guilders and one year's interest of 200 guilders, together 4200 guilders), GAA, not. A. van den Ende, NA 3663, fol. 92-101, dd. 18 October 1669, esp. fol. 158v and A. Bredius, 'Rembrandtiana', *O.H.* 28 (1910), pp. 1-18, esp. 5.

110 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/3; Pieter Claesz. van Medenblick had been married to an aunt of Rembrandt. Cf. 1665/4, whereby two individuals, one of them Karel van der Pluym, acted as trustees for the underage Titus.

make a portrait engraving. It was to resemble closely an existing portrait and was to be an engraving, not an etching. It was also to be much better than the portrait engraved by Pieter Holsteyn, which had been shown to Titus. He had declared plainly: 'mijn vader sal het veel beter maecken' (my father will do it much better). The work had to be ready in fourteen days. Adriaen van Gaasbeeck was also present during this conversation. He states that he heard Daniël van Gaasbeeck ask Titus if he knew of a meticulous engraver. Titus spoke highly of his father's abilities: 'Ja, mijn vader snijt seer kurieus' (Yes, my father engraves very meticulously). Van Gaasbeeck had thought that Rembrandt only made etchings, but Titus assured him that his father had very recently engraved 'een curieusen vroungen met een pappotgen' (a precisely rendered woman with a porringer). When shown the print by Holsteyn, Titus laughed and said that it came nowhere near his father's work.¹¹¹

- 3 June 1665 Titus petitions the burgomasters of Amsterdam to support his application to the States of Holland for *veniam aetatis* (legal maturity). Attached is a letter of recommendation from Abraham Francen, Willem Jansz. van der Pluym and Jacob Claesz. Vermaeten, and a certified copy from the baptismal register of the Zuiderkerk. The burgomasters provide a letter of recommendation the very same day.¹¹²
- 19 June 1665 Titus' request to be allowed to handle his own affairs despite being a minor is granted.¹¹³
- 22 August 1665 As a preferential creditor of the estate of Rembrandt, who is the heir of Pieter Gerritsz. van Medenblich, Titus acknowledges the receipt of f 882:16:11 from the Court of Orphans in Leiden.¹¹⁴
- 29 August 1665 Abraham Francen testifies at Rembrandt's request that about eighteen months ago he was asked by the latter to go to Harmen Becker to inform him that Rembrandt wanted to repay his debt to him, in which case Becker had to return the security, namely nine paintings and two albums of prints and drawings. Becker's answer was: 'Laet Rembrant eerst de Juno opmaken' (Let Rembrandt finish the Juno first). He also wanted something else from Rembrandt, but the latter did not think himself bound to do it. Becker then refused to accept the money.¹¹⁵
- 9 September 1665 Abraham Francen and Bartholomeus van Beuningen stand surety for Titus in connection with possible repayment of the funds he will receive from the sale of the house in the Breestraat.¹¹⁶
- 12 September 1665 Harmen Becker authorises someone else to act on his behalf in his case against Rembrandt.¹¹⁷
- 6 October 1665 Rembrandt repays Harmen Becker for the two bonds with interest and the latter returns to him the security consisting of nine paintings and two albums of works on paper. Apart from the claim Becker still has on Rembrandt (taken over from Lodewijck van Ludick), the two no longer have any claims on each other.¹¹⁸
- 15 October 1666 Maria de Witt responds to Johan van der Voort's request for permission to have a copy made of the portrait of their ancestor Willem Scheyffert van Merode painted by Hans Holbein the Younger and says that Rembrandt had at some time offered 1000 guilders for the original.¹¹⁹
- 18 November 1666 Rembrandt authorises his son Titus to act on his behalf in all his affairs.¹²⁰

111 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/5 and 6; the portrait in question was to be of Hendrick's father Jan Antonides van der Linden (1609-1664) and was to be included in a posthumous publication. The print was to be done after an existing portrait (probably one painted by Abraham van den Tempel). In the end Rembrandt produced an etched portrait after all (B. 264).

112 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/9 and 10. At the age of (nearly) 24, Titus was still a minor, which was a hindrance in 'sijne handelinge' (his dealings). He submitted this request with his father's agreement. Jacob Claesz. Vermaeten was married to a daughter of Willem Jansz. van der Pluym.

113 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/11 and 12.

114 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/16. Karel van der Pluym and Alexander de Koning stood surety for any possible repayment.

115 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/17; see under 7 December 1662 and 28 March 1663 and also HdG *Urk.* no. 310. The inventory of Becker includes 'een Juno

van Rembrant van Rijn' (a Juno by Rembrandt van Rijn), possibly Br.-Gerson 639.

116 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/18; the contents of this document have been preserved through a later copy, S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Borgstelling van Titus van Rijn voor de ontvangst van het geld van de verkoop van het Rembrandthuis', *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 1995, no. 1, pp. 23-28. On 5 November 1665 Titus acknowledged the receipt of f 6952:9:-. The cloth merchant Bartholomeus (or earlier: Bartholdus) van Beuningen (1623-1666) may have been a close friend of Titus.

117 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/19.

118 Strauss *Doc.*, 1665/20.

119 Strauss *Doc.*, 1666/3.

120 Strauss *Doc.*, 1666/4; at first the painter Christiaen Dusart was also authorised, but in the original instrument his name is crossed out.

- 2 September 1667 Harmen Becker informs Rembrandt that their case will be judged by three arbitrators and asks him to hand over his papers. Becker has already provided his own papers and Rembrandt promises to do likewise.¹²¹
- 29 December 1667 Cosimo de' Medici visits Rembrandt, 'pittore famoso' (famous painter).¹²²
- 10 February 1668 Titus van Rijn, 27 years old, assisted by his father Rembrandt van Rijn, residing on the Rozengracht, has the banns announced for his marriage to Magdalena van Loo, 27 years old, with the written permission of her mother Anna Huybrechts, residing on the Singel.¹²³
- 28 February 1668 Titus van Rijn and Magdalena van Loo are married in the Nieuwe Kerk.¹²⁴
- [23 July 1668] Rembrandt acknowledges a debt of 600 guilders to the painter Christiaen Dusart and gives him as security an album with 'werck van Lucas van Leyden, alsmede eenige tekeningen bij denselven Lucas van Leyden getekent' (work by Lucas van Leyden as well as some drawings made by the same Lucas van Leyden).¹²⁵
- 24 July 1668 Rembrandt accepts the ruling in his case against Harmen Becker. He must pay him 1082 guilders, of which a third is to be 'in kunst off schilderijen [...] ter ordonnantie van de voorn. Harman Becker te maecken' (in art or paintings [...] to be made on commission of the aforesaid Harmen Becker) and supplied within six months. Titus stands surety.¹²⁶
- 1 September 1668 Titus and his wife Magdalena van Loo draw up a will in Leiden, naming each other as their heir. Should Titus die first, Magdalena must raise any and all of their offspring and pay them 4,000 guilders when they reach adulthood. Should Titus die without issue and should his wife not bear a child after his death, instead of his legitimate portion, Rembrandt may retain that which he administers for Titus without his creditors being able to lay a claim on it.¹²⁷
- 5 September 1668 Edward Browne writes in a letter that Amsterdam offers a 'strange variety of excellent prints.' 'Here are divers good ones of Rembrandt and some upon Indian paper that look like washing, though scratched after his manner.'¹²⁸
- 7 September 1668 Titus is buried in the Westerkerk.¹²⁹
- 22 March 1669 Titia, daughter of Titus and Magdalena van Loo, is baptised in the Nieuwezijds Kapel. Rembrandt, Anna Huybrechts and François van Bijler serve as the witnesses.¹³⁰
- 4 October 1669 Rembrandt dies.¹³¹
- 5 October 1669 A notary calls at the home of the deceased Rembrandt on the Rozengracht and draws up an inventory of the estate consisting of household effects and clothing. The 'vordere goederen soo van schilderijen, teyckenen, rariteyten, antiquiteyten en anders' (the remaining property such as paintings, drawings, curiosities, antiques and other objects) are put in 'drie besondere camers' (three separate rooms) and are not specified.¹³²

121 Strauss *Doc.*, 1667/4; for the verdict see below under 24 July 1668.

122 Strauss *Doc.*, 1667/6 and IV 28 here.

123 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/1; the name of the intended bridegroom (i.e. Titus) is not followed by his profession, which was unusual. Magdalena van Loo (1642-1669) was one of the thirteen children of the goldsmith Jan van Loo (1589-1659) and Anna Huybrechts (1602-1669). Rembrandt had known the family for years. Jan's brother Gerrit van Loo was married to Saskia's sister Hiskia Uylenburgh. Rembrandt had painted Anna Huybrechts's portrait before 1666, *ibid.* 1666/1 and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Anna Huybrechts en Rembrandt van Rijn', *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 64 (1977), pp. 30-33.

124 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/2.

125 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/5; the debt to Christiaen Dusart is apparent from a document of 19 September 1670, when the guardian of Titus's daughter repaid this amount with interest and was given back the album and drawings, HdG *Urk.* no. 319.

126 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/6 and see under 28 August 1662.

127 Y.M. Prins, 'Het testament van Titus van Rhijn', *Genealogie* 3 (1997), no. 1, pp. 8-9; Titus, who was sick and bedridden when the will was made, died shortly thereafter, possibly in Leiden.

128 C.D. van Strien, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period. Edward Browne and John Locke as tourists in the United Provinces*, Amsterdam 1989, pp. 181-182, esp. note 22. The physician Edward Browne (1644-1708) visited the Dutch Republic in 1668.

129 Strauss *Doc.*, 1668/8.

130 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/1; Van Bijler was Titus's guardian.

131 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/4; the date of death is given in a note by a relative of Rembrandt. The funeral took place four days later in the Westerkerk, *ibid.* 1669/6.

132 Strauss *Doc.*, 1669/5.