

cat. no. 8

**Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy**  
1588 – Amsterdam – 1650/56

*Portrait of the Wine Merchant Dirck van Dans (1584-1678)*

Dated upper right A° . 1626  
Oil on panel  
63 x 51 cm.

**Provenance:**

Probably Amsterdam, 17 September 1681, death inventory of Milca van Dans (1626-1681)  
France, private collection

Like many of his Amsterdam colleagues, the painter Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy was of Flemish descent.<sup>1</sup> His parents, the heraldic stone carver Elias Claesz Pickenoy (1565-1640) and his wife Elisabeth Vermeren, no doubt left Antwerp after the fall of the city in 1585, marrying in Amsterdam in June 1586. On this occasion they are recorded as living in the Warmoesstraat. In January 1588, Nicolaes, the first of at least six children, was baptised in the Oude Kerk. While in 1606 the family is recorded as living behind this church, in 1616 and 1621 they were living opposite the church on the corner of the Minderbroederssteeg and Oudezijds Voorburgwal (now no.

73), in the former studio of Cornelis van der Voort (1576-1624), Amsterdam's most renowned portraitist at the time, who had moved to St Anthonisbreestraat. Pickenoy probably lived and worked opposite the church until around 1635/36, and the present work will therefore have been painted there. Although there is a lack of evidence, it is generally assumed that Pickenoy – who almost exclusively practised portraiture – was trained by Van der Voort. Pickenoy's earliest work is dated 1614, and in 1619 he was first commissioned to do a group portrait. However, it was not until Van der Voort's death in 1624 that Pickenoy, filling the vacuum, saw his true breakthrough as an artist



and became Amsterdam's leading portrait painter. From April 1621 Nicolaes was married to Levina Bouwens from Amsterdam, and during the following years the marriage produced eight children. While in 1633 Nicolaes bought a house on the opposite side of the canal next to the Duifjessteeg (now no. 220) he and his family probably never lived there. In 1637 we find him in the former house and studio of Van der Voort at 2 St Anthonisbreestraat, previously rented by Hendrick van Uylenburgh (c. 1587-1661), who in the years before had employed Rembrandt (1606-1669) there as his *chef d'atelier*. Although Rembrandt was a leading competitor on the portrait market during the 1630s, a considerable number of the city's élite – Pickenoy's usual clientele – remained in favour of Pickenoy's style. During the years 1639-1645, Pickenoy received no less than three commissions for imposing civic



Fig. 1 Anthony van Dyck, *Self Portrait*, c. 1640, oil on canvas, 56 x 46 cm., London, Royal Portrait Gallery

guard portraits, testifying to his ongoing success. In 1645 he sold his house in the Breestraat, moving to the stately Singel. His presumed pupil, Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670), had by then taken over the leading position on the Amsterdam portraiture market.

#### The Lilian portrait

The present work, which recently surfaced in France and is published here for the first time, portrays a man of about 40 years old with an auburn moustache and goatee beard, who swiftly looks over his right shoulder, straight into the eye of the beholder. His face is painted with a vivid frankness which – especially in the application of unmingled pink and ochre brush strokes on the right cheek and under the eye – may remind one of Frans Hals's (c. 1582-1666) portraits of the 1620s, and

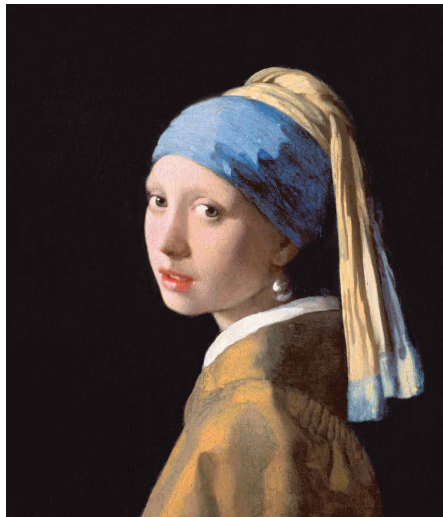


Fig. 2 Johannes Vermeer, *Girl with the Pearl Earring*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, 44.5 x 39 cm., The Hague, Mauritshuis

yet the overall execution is much tighter. Set against a dark, olive hued background, the man wears a tall, black brimmed hat, a white millstone collar and a fitted black jacket embellished with a finely embroidered floral pattern, immaculate stitching and slashed sleeves. Is it because of the implied movement, the snapshot spontaneity of looking over one's shoulder – similarly used to stunning effect by such great artists as Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) (figs. 1, 2) – that this portrait has an unusually gripping effect on the viewer? Is it the man's self assurance, his intriguing eyes, or the shiny velvet of his jacket? All the portrait's iconic qualities are paired here with the reconstruction of the sitter's identity, which simultaneously places the work firmly within the artist's oeuvre.



Fig. 3 Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy, *Portrait of a Surgeon*, inscribed and dated upper right *Aeta 36. / . 1627*, oil on panel, 60 x 46.5 cm., Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 4 Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy, *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Johan Fonteijn*, 1626, oil on canvas, 100 x 200 cm., Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum

#### Identification

The quest for the identity of the sitter begins in Paris, where the Louvre collection holds an outstanding portrait by Pickenoy which shows considerable overlap with the Lilian work, both in composition, detail, format and period of execution: the *Portrait of a Man*, labelled in the museum as the artist's 'Self Portrait' (fig. 3). This still persisting identification is an impossible one, if only because the Louvre portrait is dated 1627 and the sitter's age is inscribed as *Aeta 36*.<sup>2</sup> After all, Pickenoy was baptized in January 1588 and was therefore 39 years old in 1627. Moreover, the man in the Louvre portrait clearly appears as one of the sitters in Pickenoy's 1626 *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Johan Fonteijn*, now in the Amsterdam Museum (fig. 4).<sup>3</sup> Although this *Anatomical Lesson* was unfortunately severely damaged in a fire in 1723 and since then only depicts seven of the eleven original heads, luckily, we still recognise the sitter of the Louvre portrait as the sitter in the lower left corner. Since the identities of all the sitters of the *Anatomical Lesson* are documented – albeit unclear who is who – Pickenoy is not one of them, and this unequivocally excludes the attribution of the current Louvre description.<sup>4</sup> The sitter of the Louvre portrait had thus – the previous year and in similar vein – been portrayed by Pickenoy within a group portrait of physicians. For reasons we can only guess, this man apparently requested Pickenoy to record his individual traits in a single portrait. In later times this man's identity was lost, the connection between the Louvre portrait and the Amsterdam *Anatomical Lesson* was forgotten, and scholars erroneously labelled the Louvre work a *Self Portrait*, no doubt because of the sitter's vivid,

self aware pose, strongly akin to the pose of the sitter in the Lilian work.<sup>5</sup> Taking this into account, plus the fact that the Lilian work precedes the Louvre portrait by just one year, a similar scenario might be hypothesised for the Lilian work as well. In other words, might we – as is demonstrated for the Louvre work – also be able to find a group portrait by Pickenoy, done halfway the 1620s, in which we recognise the same gentleman found in the Lilian work?

As it turns out, such a painting indeed exists. Although mostly overlooked in literature on Pickenoy and only known through an old black and white photograph, in 1945 a group portrait was auctioned at Christie's London, where it was attributed to Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613-1670).<sup>6</sup> In 1949, the London-based art dealership Duits & Co. sold this work to a private collector in Johannesburg, this time as by Thomas de Keyser (1596-1667). In South Africa the painting was finally attributed correctly to Pickenoy by P.J. Snijders, who discovered the signature *Nicolaes Elias 1625* on the open book on the table.<sup>7</sup> The work (fig. 5) shows six male regents around a table – five behind it, one sitting on a chair in front – while a seventh man stands behind them to the left, holding a *berckemeijer* glass entwined with vine leaves. Our focus is immediately drawn to the sole figure seated in front of the table. He is unmistakably the sitter of the Lilian portrait, in the same pose, complete with hat, collar, moustache and jacket (fig. 6). But who are these regents? Credit again goes to P.J. Snijders, who correctly linked the portrait to a notarial document, dated 17 July 1626, first published by Jan Six in 1886, in the latter's quintessential article on Pickenoy.<sup>8</sup> This document introduces the three current commissioners of the 'Wijncoopers-Confrery', the brotherhood of wine merchants (established in Amsterdam in 1621); Lambert Princen, Josias Tulkens and Willem Calschuyr, who were gathered that day – 17 July 1626 – in the brotherhood's office, together with its six founding commissioners, Willem Hendricksz, Outgert Pietersz Spieghel, Reynier van Buyren, Cornelis Wilhelmus, Isaak van Gherwen and Dirck van Dans. The reason for their gathering is the handing over of 'a certain large painting [...] done by Mr. Niclaes Elias [Pickenoy]' which depicts the six founding commissioners and the brotherhood's servant, Dirck Jansz Pool. The six founding commissioners wish to donate the painting to the brotherhood's office, as an enduring memory of its faithful beginnings, although the ownership of the work remained with the sitters, or their heirs. Finally, the current commissioners declare that neither they, nor the brotherhood, but only the sitters themselves have paid all the costs of their portraits individually, as is confirmed once more by 'Mr. Niclaes



Fig. 5 Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy, *Six Founders and Servant of the 'Wijncoopers-Confrery'*, signed and dated on the book *Nicolaes Elias 1625*, oil on canvas, 154.9 x 232.4 cm. Johannesburg, private collection (1949)



Fig. 6 Fig. 5, detail

Elias, who is apparently present as well. All ten men attending the meeting signed the document.

Although Six in 1886 still feared that 'whatever happened to this painting, we'll surely never know', we can now, thanks to Snijders, safely identify the Johannesburg group portrait with the painting cited in the 1626 document. However, Snijders made no further efforts to identify the individual sitters, which is precisely what interests us most; specifically in relation to the merchant sitting in front of the table. We know the sitters' names from the document, but who is who? To begin

with the servant, Dirck Jansz Pool; he must be the only man standing and not wearing a hat, as he holds up the wine glass with vine leaves, a clear reference to the brotherhood's line of business. Yet the other men – the founding commissioners – are all seated, all wear the same black hats, black jackets and white collars. Disappointingly, too, none of the men portrayed – except for our sitter – are known through other portraits, which would help to identify them. Still, one element distinguishes our sitter from his companions: his age. He is clearly the youngest of them all. Had the man we are looking for been the man portrayed to the far left, we might have never known his identity. Had he been the second from right, it would have likewise caused an immediate problem. But luckily we can quite safely exclude the option that our man is *not* the youngest sitter, let alone the option that one of his five colleagues would be several years younger.

To proceed, we will therefore have to determine the sitters' ages. A second notarial document, dated 27 August 1627, offers paramount assistance with this. To our benefit this document (which records the testimony of six individual wine merchants on behalf of the commissioners of the 'confrery' regarding the customs of wine controlling in Amsterdam) is signed by no less than five of the six sitters of the Johannesburg group portrait. What is more, the document produces the ages of all signatories, thus conveniently excluding the identification of the four eldest of them, Willem Hendricksz (63), Outgert Pietersz Spieghel (53), Reynier van Buyren (60) and Isaak van Gherwen (47).<sup>9</sup> The only two remaining possible sitters of the Lilian work are therefore Dirck van Dans, who was 43 years old when he signed the document, and Cornelis Wilhelmus, the one sitter of the group portrait whose name is not found in the 1627 document. To find information about the latter in the Amsterdam city archives is not necessarily a simple task, since both his first and last name are fairly common. However, in the Amsterdam baptism registers we find that on 17 November 1616 a certain Cornelis Wilhelmij and his wife Trijntje Heemskerck baptised their son Machiel.<sup>10</sup> The register mentions no age, but what attracts attention is the profession of the father: wine merchant. It offers confirmation that this specific Cornelis Wilhelmij is our subject. A subsequent search for the couple in the Amsterdam marriage registers produces the following record: on 1 August 1609, Cornelius Wilhelmi and Catharina (i.e. Trijntje) van Heemskerck gather before the notary for their intended marriage.<sup>11</sup> This time the register does mention Cornelis' age, namely 32 years old. It thus follows that at the time of the 1627 document Cornelis Wilhelmus was about 50 years

old, much older than Dirck van Dans, who therefore remains the only possible sitter of the Lilian portrait.

While the argument presented above is sufficient in itself, the identification of our sitter as Dirck van Dans is solidly confirmed by a last piece of unexpected evidence. During research on the panel, an old inscription in pencil was discovered on its reverse. Although barely visible with the naked eye, examination with infrared reflectography proves revealing. Clearly legible, the text reads: 'Ætatis Suæ 42 / A° 1626' (fig. 7). Surely this inscription refers to the sitter of our portrait, in fact

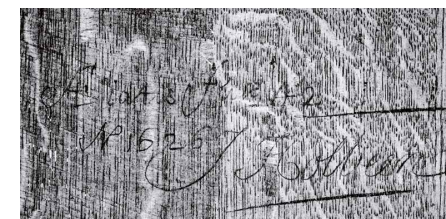


Fig. 7 Infrared reflectography of the reverse of the panel of cat. no. 8

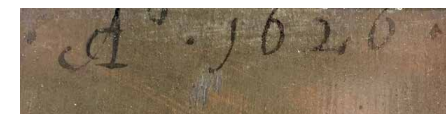


Fig. 8 Cat. no. 8, detail upper left corner, dating

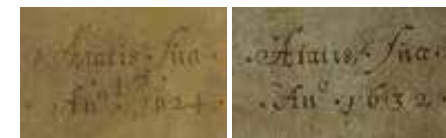


Fig. 9 Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy, *Man with a Celestial Globe*, 1624, oil on panel, 104.8 x 76.2 cm., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, detail of the inscription

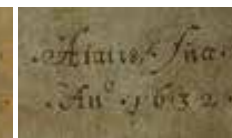


Fig. 10 Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy, *Portrait of a Man*, 1632, oil on panel, 121.9 x 85.1 cm., Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, detail of the inscription

it no doubt repeats the inscription once legible in the upper right corner of the portrait, of which nowadays only the last part 'A' 1626' remains (fig. 8). Comparing the first part 'Etatis Suae 42' with age inscriptions on period works by Pickenoy (figs. 9, 10), we see that the person who once copied the inscription on the reverse of the panel – presumably the portrait's owner at the time – made an effort not only to transcribe the content of the inscription, but also to render the shape of the letters accordingly. Whatever the cause for the transcription to the reverse,<sup>12</sup> its presence there fully supports our identification. Since Van Dans was 43 years old in the 1627 document, he would have been 42 years old in 1626, which perfectly matches the inscription on the Lilian work. Lastly, the reverse bears a pencil inscription 'J. Holbeen'. It is unclear if this name was added at the same time of the transcription. In any case, it will in all probability refer to Hans (Johannes) Holbein the Younger (1497-1543), to whom the portrait was apparently attributed at one point.<sup>13</sup>

#### Dirck van Dans, an Amsterdam wine merchant from Arnhem

Dirck van Dans is first recorded in the Amsterdam archives on 4 May 1616, when he and Susanna van Reidt announced their notice of marriage.<sup>14</sup> From the banns register we learn that Dirck was born in the city of Arnhem, that he was 31 and living at the Montelbaensburgwal (Oude Schans), and that he was accompanied by his father Willem van Dans, a descendant of the Van Dans family of Arnhem regents. This Willem, no doubt identical to the merchant of that name, and his wife Segevijn van Revebergh, had at least five children, baptised in Amsterdam between 1588 and 1598, suggesting that they arrived in the city between 1584 (when Dirck was born in Arnhem) and 1588.<sup>15</sup> Among the siblings we find Adolf van Dans, Dirck's youngest brother, a poet. The bride, Susanna van Reidt, 23 years old and living on the Breestraat, was accompanied by her mother Milca der Loo, widow of Johan van Reidt, the deceased of the Arnhem burgomasters Everhard and Joost van Reidt.<sup>16</sup> Dirck and Susanna thus had an upper class family background. In the following years they had at least five children: Jan (1617), Geertrui (1619), Geertruijt (1620), Susanna (1623), and Milca (1626), all baptised in the Reformed Church.<sup>17</sup>

While the family expanded, Dirck built up his career as a wine merchant. On 3 October 1619 he is first mentioned in a notarial document in which he and 76 other wine merchants are summoned in connection with wine taxes. Van Dans was then living 'over the Bantammerbrug' in the Binnenbantammerstraat, in a house

called *Noach*, a witty reference to the biblical Noah's drunkenness from wine (Genesis 9: 20-24).<sup>18</sup> In the same street we also find the aforementioned wine merchants Josias Tulkens and Willem Hendricksz in the aptly named houses *Bordeaux* and *Conjack*, respectively.<sup>19</sup> The other commissioners of the 'confrery' also lived at close range. On the other side of the bridge, on the Zeedijk, we find Willem Calschuyr and Cornelis Wilhelmus, and a little further, in the Warmoesstraat, Outgert Pietersz Spieghele and Isaak van Gherwen in the house *De Twee Rochens*, and Reynier van Buyren in the house *Chendt*.<sup>20</sup> As one of the 'confrery's' six founding commissioners on 30 January 1621, Van Dans fashioned a steady position for himself.<sup>21</sup> The fact that not only Van Dans, but also Van Gherwen and Van Buyren were again commissioners in 1631, indicates that these men had a firm grip on Amsterdam's wine business.<sup>22</sup> The last professional record that mentions Van Dans, again in relation to wine taxes, dates from 1639.<sup>23</sup> By then he was 55 years old. The impression one gets is that the leading wine merchants were closely allied; they worked together, had themselves portrayed together and lived near one another. This intimacy comes across from Dirck's personal records as well.

Dirck's closest ties were with Josias Tulkens (b. 1592), and it is no coincidence that he was also a descendant of an affluent Arnhem regent family.<sup>24</sup> At the baptism of Dirck's children Jan and Susanna, Josias Tulkens acted as witness,<sup>25</sup> and at the notice of marriage of Tulkens to Elisabeth van Meurs in October 1625, Dirck was not only a witness, but even mentioned as Tulkens's cousin.<sup>26</sup> When one year later Dirck and Susanna baptised their daughter Milca (named after Susanna's mother), Tulkens' wife Elisabeth acted as witness. But while the wine business flourished, Susanna died in 1631. Notably, she was taken to be buried from the house *Noach* in the St Anthonisbreestraat, which implies that sometime after 1619 the family had moved there, taking with them the name of their former house.<sup>27</sup> In 1635 the oldest son Jan was sent to university in Leiden, where he studied philosophy.<sup>28</sup> He must be the Johan van Dans who was the editor of the *Poemata*, a posthumous volume of poetry written by 'Adolphi à Dans Amstelodamensis', his uncle Adolf (also a former Leiden student<sup>29</sup>), published by Isaac Commelin in Leiden in 1636.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, Johan dedicates the volume to his 'avunculo dilectissimo' (very beloved uncle) Everhard Sluysken, burgomaster of Arnhem, who was indeed the husband of Johan's aunt Catharina van Reidt, Susanna's sister.<sup>31</sup> Clearly there were ongoing ties between these intertwined Arnhem families.<sup>32</sup> What happened to Johan remains

uncertain, but he may have sailed to the East Indies in 1637 and died on board.<sup>33</sup>

In 1636 we find Dirck ratifying an agreement with creditors on behalf of the wine dealer Reynier van Buyren the Younger, the son of his colleague Reynier van Buyren the Elder.<sup>34</sup> This same Reynier van Buyren the Younger accompanied his brother-in-law Gerard Jansz Cappit, a young Amsterdam lawyer, when the latter drew up his prenuptials with Dirck's daughter Geertruijt in 1644.<sup>35</sup> Geertruijt was accompanied by her father Dirck, her uncles Jan van Reidt and Everhard Sluysken, and the Arnhem tax collector Arnout van Dans, clearly family as well. In 1649 we hear again from Dirck, again in connection with Josias Tulkens. It concerns the acquisition of Tulkens's painting collection, consisting of 34 expensive paintings that are split in two lots, to be divided incidentally between Dirck van Dans and Geertruijt Fensels, who was accompanied by her son Johannes Klenck, professor in philosophy at Amsterdam's *Athenaeum Illustre*.<sup>36</sup> Both Van Dans and the widow paid Tulkens the rather high amount of 1500 guilders for each of their 17 paintings, almost 90 guilders per painting. In Van Dans's lot we find a *Tronie* by Raphael (1483-1520), a *Lot and his Daughters* by Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508-1575), a *Tronie* by Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638) and a *St Paul* by Jan Lievens (1607-1674). On top of that, both kept a 50% share in a *Diogenes* by Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) valued at no less than 1600 guilders, a scholarly



Fig. 11 Jacob Jordaens, *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man*, oil on canvas, 233 x 349 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

painting of an antique philosopher, probably the famous work now in Dresden (fig. 11).

The last we hear from Dirck van Dans is on 10 March 1655, when he accompanied his daughter Susanna at her notice of marriage. Bride and father were still living on the Breestraat.<sup>37</sup> Yet Van Dans continued to live for a long time. On 31 December 1678 he was buried in the Oude Kerk, aged 94. Although exceptionally old, it no doubt refers to the wine merchant as the register mentions that he was taken to his burial from the Breestraat.<sup>38</sup> So, we have gained a picture of Van Dans as a successful businessman from an elite regent family, who lived in a cultured, intellectual milieu that valued poetry and art. The Lilian portrait was made in the sitter's best years, after he had founded the 'confrery', when his youngest daughter Milca was born, and when his wife Susanna was still alive. Dirck must have been satisfied with Pickenoy's effort on the 1625 group portrait, and subsequently commissioned his individual portrait for his home. Maybe he got a good deal from Pickenoy. While executing the present work in 1626, Pickenoy must have simultaneously worked on the *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Johan Fonteijn*. One of the sitters, the man we still recognise in the Louvre portrait, may well have seen Van Dans's portrait in the studio, and asked Pickenoy to do the same for him.

Three years after Van Dans's passing, his youngest daughter Milca van Dans died, at the age of 55 years. The inventory drawn up on 17 September 1681 in her house at the Lauriergracht lists eighteen paintings.<sup>39</sup> Among them we find several of the works her father had bought from Josias Tulkens, such as Aertsen's *Lot*, the *St Paul* by Lievens (this time without attribution), and the *Tronie* by Brouwers. Moreover, we find three portraits of special interest. One is the 'Portrait of the old Ruigenbergh's face', no doubt depicting a family member of Milca's maternal grandmother, the aforementioned Segevijn van Revebergh. The others are 'The Portrait of Dirck van Dans' and the 'Portrait of Dirck van Dans's Housewife', all without attribution. Although we therefore cannot be sure, we might assume that Milca, together with other works from her father's collection, inherited his portrait, painted by Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy.

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## Notes

- For biographical references, see: J. Six, 'Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy', in: *Oud Holland* 4 (1886), pp. 81-108; S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'De schilder Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy (1588-1650/56) en zijn familie: een geslacht van wapenteenijders, goud- en zilversmeden te Amsterdam', in: C.P. Briët, N. Plomp (eds.), *Liber Amicorum Jhr. Mr. C.C. van Valkenburg*, The Hague 1985, pp. 152-160; D. Burmeister Kaaring, 'Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (1588-1650/56) og den amsterdamske portrætkunst, ca. 1620-45', in: *Statens Museum for Kunst Art Journal* 2005, pp. 60-81 (English version: 'Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy (1588-1650/56) and Portraiture in Amsterdam 1620-45', pp. 127-137); S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *De jonge Rembrandt onder tijdgenoten : Godsdienst en schilderkunst in Leiden en Amsterdam*, dissertation Nijmegen 2006, esp. p. 65.
- The work is currently on display in the museum as a self portrait. See also: J. Foucart, *Catalogue des peintures flamandes et hollandaises du musée du Louvre*, Paris 2009, p. 136 (as *Self-Portrait*).
- See A. Blankert, R. Ruurs, *Amsterdams Historisch Museum : Schilderijen daterend van voor 1800*, Amsterdam 1975-1979, pp. 103-104. Albert Blankert appears to be the first to recognise the Louvre sitter in Pickenoy's *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Fontejn*. I thank Norbert Middelkoop for focusing my attention on Blankert's remark.
- Six 1886, p. 86, citing J. Monnikhoff (1746), lists the names of all eleven sitters. This list has been wrongly interpreted by Blankert (see note 3), who assumed that in addition to the eleven names mentioned an additional number of several 'collegiemeesters' was included in the painting as well. However, the document clearly lists the names of those 'collegiemeesters', and all of them are already included in the list of eleven names. The painting will thus have consisted of eleven portraits and not, as Blankert assumed, of eleven portraits plus 'eenige collegiemeesters'. The sitter of the Louvre portrait was born c. 1591, but as several sitters were born approximately that year (e.g. Jacob van Leeuwen, Steven Jacobsz Vennekoel), identification on that basis alone is impossible.
- See, for instance, G. Luijten, in: idem., C. Depauw, *Anthony van Dyck as a Printmaker*, exh. cat. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1999-2000, pp. 92-100, who discusses Van Dyck's etched *Self-portrait* in which the artist looks over his shoulder, and erroneously adduces Pickenoy's Louvre portrait as another example of a self-portrait in that fashion (p. 98, fig. 5).
- Sale London, Christie's (L.W. Nield, Esq), 14 July 1945, Lot 63 (as Bartholomew van der Helst). According to a letter from Sotheby's London, dated 24 August 1995, addressed to the Documentation du Louvre in Paris (available there), the work was considered for auction at that point. The letter mentions the signature as being Nicolaes. Elias. / 1625. It also mentions that the work was exhibited in the National Gallery of South Africa.
- P.J. Sniijders, 'Een teruggevonden regentenstuk van Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy', in: *Oud Holland* 65 (1950), pp. 73-74. Sniijders gives the signature as 'Nicolaes Elias' and the date 1625. The RKD mount mentions 'Nic....Amstelodamensis 1625'.
- Six 1886, pp. 85-86. The 1626 document had previously incorrectly been linked to another group portrait by Pickenoy. See J.O. Kronig, 'Een teruggevonden regentenstuk van Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy', in: *Oud Holland* 27 (1909), pp. 229-230.
- J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam*, 3 vols., 1929-1974, 2 (1933), p. 631, no. 1118. The only merchant not depicted in the Johannesburg group portrait, who signed the 1627 act, is Jan Pietersz. van Delft, who was 41 years old at the time.
- SAA (Amsterdam Municipal Archives), DTB (baptism, marriage and burial registers) 5, p. 199.
- SAA, DTB 762A, p. 276.
- The reason underlying this transcription remains unclear, but a quick look at the reverse shows that the lower, left and right sides of the panel are neatly bevelled, while the bevelling at the top is missing, an indication that a few centimetres of the top were probably cut off in the past, possibly through damage or to fit another frame, thereby relinquishing the original age inscription. Reproducing the inscription on the reverse would have thus been an effort to salvage it for the future.
- The spelling 'Holbeen' for Holbein regularly occurs in Dutch seventeenth and eighteenth century inventories.
- SAA, DTB 420, p. 170.
- SAA, DTB 1, p. 374 (Jan, b. 29 September 1588); 38, p. 135 (Willum, b. 19 March 1590); 2, p. 85 (Pieter, b. 13 March 1591); 38, p. 259 (Anne, b. 06 September 1592); 3, p. 111 (Adolf, b. 16 January 1598). The name Segevyu van Revebergh appears at the baptism of Willum and Pieter. We later come across a 'Portrait of the old Ruigenbergh's face' in the inventory of Milca van Dans, Dirck van Dans's daughter, which also contains the portraits of Dirck van Dans and his wife.
- Johan de Reidt was a brother of Everhardt van Reidt (1550-1602), burgomaster of Arnhem. See: Gelders Archief ([www.geldersarchief.nl](http://www.geldersarchief.nl)), 0580 Studentenfonds Van Reidt te Arnhem, Introduction.
- SAA, DTB 39, p. 453 (Jan, b. 19 March 1617); 5, p. 287 (Geertrui, b. 20 June 1619); 40, p. 102 (Geertruijt, b. 13 October 1620); 40, p. 209 (Susanna, b. 23 April 1623); 6, p. 149 (Milca, b. 20 August 1626).
- SAA, 5075 (not arch.), 363, fol. 433-434v. See also: Van Dillen 1929-1974, 2 (1933), p. 341, no. 569.
- John Michael Montias misunderstood this document and situated these wine merchants in the cities Bordeaux and Cognac, and Dirck van Dans therefore in the city of Noach, which does not exist. See: The Montias Database (<http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php>), inv. 205, commentary.
- The Montias Database, Montias2 record 31437.
- Van Dillen 1929-1974, 2 (1933), pp. 390-393, no. 675.
- Van Dillen 1929-1974, 2 (1933), p. 763, no. 1363.
- Van Dillen 1929-1974, 3 (1974), p. 230, no. 438.
- J. Anspach, *De Veluwsche familie Tulken en hare aanverwanten : een genealogisch-historische proeve*, The Hague 1882, esp. p. 81.
- The baptism registers mention Joost Tulks, which could theoretically also refer to Josias's father, Joost Tulkens. However, Josias's name is also written elsewhere as Joost. In any case, the families were very close.
- The Montias Database, inv. 205, commentary.
- SAA, DTB 1045, pp. 370v, 38 (15 October 1631, as Susanna van Reet, and Davit van Dans 'op de Bre[e]j[s]t[er] In noach').
- Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Bataviae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV : accedunt*, The Hague 1875, p. 272: '18 Jun. 1633, Johannes a Dans, 20 jr, Amsterodamensis, P[hi]losophiae Studiosus]', under professor Johannes Polyander van Kerckhoven. I am very grateful to Dr. Piet Bakker for his help in finding this source.
- The Hague 1875, p. 156: '15 sep. 1621, Adolpho a Dans, 24 jr, Amsterodamensis, [Juridicae Studiosus]' under professor Everard Vorstius. See further: A. Pars, *Index Batavicus, of Naamrol van de Batavise en Hollandse schrijvers*, Leiden 1701, p. 273: Adolphus Dans, Poeta [...] Amstelodamensis'.
- Adolphi à Dans Amstelodamensis : Poenata [...] post excessum authoris editi Joannes à Dans*, Leiden 1636. Confusingly, another Johan van Dans, from Arnhem, studied law in Leiden at the same time as the Amsterdam Johan van Dans. See: The Hague 1875, p. 256 '17 sep. 1633, Johannes Dans, 22 jr, Arniemiensis, [Juridicae Studiosus]', under professor Anthonie Thysius. This Johannes graduated on 27 July 1637 from Leiden University and takes his oath as a lawyer in Arnhem on 12 October 1637. See: Gelders Archief (Gelderland Archive), 0124 ('Hof van Gelre en Zutphen'), 6.2.2.1 (Album advocatorum Curiae Ducatus Gelrae et Comitatus Zutphaniae, list of lawyers, 1610-1649); Dans, Johan van (Arnhem); member brotherhood of St Luke. He is no doubt the author of *Darodilace, ofte Kus Hemel van Ledee*, a volume of poetry published in Arnhem in 1637. See for this lawyer and poet: M. Potjer, 'Johan van Dans, een onbekende Arnhemse dichter uit 1638', in: *Arnhem de Genoeglijkste* 27/2 (2007), pp. 55-57. He probably died in Arnhem in 1639 (Gelderland Archive, RBS 158, fol. 59, 24 June 1639). Potjer understandably, but erroneously, assumes that the two individuals with the name Johan van Dans are the same.
- Gelders Archief (Gelderland Archive), DTB 0176, 127, 29 March 1612 (marriage of Everhard Sluysken and Catharina van Reidt, daughter of Johan van Reidt). In turn, Johan's dedication might be seen as a respectful emulation of that of his deceased uncle Adolf, as the latter had once dedicated a poem to the already mentioned Arnhem burgomaster Everhard van Reidt, the uncle of his sister-in-law, Dirck's wife Susanna. See for this poem: Pars 1701, p. 273.
- In 1619 and 1620, respectively, Everhard Sluysken and Joost van Reidt acted as witness at the baptisms of Geertrui and Geertruijt. Also present at the baptism of Geertrui (1619) was Clara van Reidt, who was probably Sluysken's wife Catharina van Reidt.
- The Montias Database, inv. 205, commentary, where it is stated that on 4 November 1637 a surgeon Barent Jacobsz testified that he had sailed to Sumatra the previous April with Jan van Dans, and that the latter had gotten sick and died. Theoretically this could refer to Dirck's brother Jan, born in 1588, or Dirck's son Jan.
- The Montias Database, Montias2 record 31437.
- The Montias Database, inv. 370, commentary.
- The Montias Database, inv. 205, Fensels was the widow of Georg Everhardt Klencz, a wealthy merchant trading with Russia.
- SAA, DTB 474, p. 197. The groom was Jan de Jonge. Since he married for the second time on 2 September 1661 (DTB 482, p. 242), we may assume Susanna had died in the meantime.
- SAA, DTB 1047, p. 259. Though exceptional, such grand old ages did occur. Famous examples are Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) and Constantijn Huygens (1598-1687), who were 91 and 90, respectively, when they passed away.
- SAA, 4538 (film 5317), ff. 81-91, Joannes. See further: The Getty Provenance Index Databases ([www.getty.edu](http://www.getty.edu)), archival inventory N-40, p. 1, item 5a-b.