

**POWER OF THE PORTRAIT:  
Production, Consumption and Display of Portraits of  
Amalia van Solms  
In the Dutch Republic**

by

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of  
The Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2013

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences

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Portraits of Amalia van Solms, wife of Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau and one of the most significant women in the Dutch Republic, were widely circulated and displayed during her lifetime (1602-1675). This study focuses on cases where specific audiences and sites of display can be isolated. When portraits can be viewed in their original context, they speak not only to those elements intrinsic to the image such as symbolism or fashion, but also to issues extrinsic to the image: social practices, cultural ideals, and individual identities. The meaning of a portrait depends as much on with whom it was intended to communicate as on whom it portrayed.

Building on recent scholarship which established Amalia as a significant art patron, this dissertation focuses on her use of portraiture and how she chose to present herself to a variety of audiences. Portraits circulated ideas about the House of Orange in general and Amalia in particular during the Dutch war for independence. In public, they promoted a specific notion of elite identity to publics as varied as a bankrupt employee of an Amsterdam almshouse and the King of England. In more restricted environments, they structured the more private experience of the visitor to Orange palaces and speak to the type of relationship between viewer and viewed. At Honselaarsdijk, public spaces like galleries held formal portraits, but in restricted and elite spaces, the image of the resident changed in relation to audience. At Huis ten Bosch, the idea of the portrait is expanded beyond the edges of a canvas. Though the study of the Oranjezaal has generally focused on the deceased Frederik Hendrik, by considering the site as an integrated whole Huis ten Bosch is reframed as a portrait of Amalia: a living, large scale embodiment of lineage, triumph, and memory. This dissertation proposes a broader approach to portraiture that extends beyond physiognomic likeness and views architecture and audience as fundamental elements in the representation of identity.

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## PREFACE

Though scholarship is often a solitary pursuit, this project would have been impossible without the assistance of many friends and colleagues on both sides of the ocean. I am most grateful to the household staff of HRM Beatrix of the Netherlands, including Drs. Marschaalkweerd and Drs. Eymael for arranging access to both the Koninklijk Huisarchief and Huis ten Bosch. Lisa Veenstra, Keeper of the Royal Collections, has also graciously answered my questions. Countless staff members at RKD, KB and the University of Leiden have helped this project along, including Sabine Kraft-Giepmans and Michiel Franken. Feedback received from the participants both in the AMSU-RKD summer course and the University of Amsterdam promovendi bijeenkomsten has substantially strengthened the project and stretched my own thinking. Marrigje Rikken and Tom van der Molen have been unstingingly generous in answering my questions and helping me track down resources; one could not ask for more generous colleagues.

The support I have received over the last six years at Pitt has been immense. I was fortunate to find an incredibly supportive and collaborative graduate student culture which has brought the thoughts and methodologies of my fellow students to bear on my material. The patient and supportive staff members in the Frick Fine Arts Library have solved problems, made accommodations, and provided sympathetic ears.

I benefitted immensely from the commentary of my committee, including several members who were on board for the early stages, Jonathan Scott and Kathleen Wren Christian, and those who signed on closer to the end, Josh Ellenbogen and Prof. Stephanie Dickey. Jennifer Waldron's extensive comments on my first chapter helped me frame the 'big ideas' more successfully. Drew Armstrong's keen mind and infectious enthusiasm made the project exciting again every time I became frustrated. With his encouragement, I have been pushed to both think about the built environment more dynamically and bake better biscotti. My research would have foundered without the stubborn support of Ann Sutherland Harris, who knew when to ask hard questions and when to leave me alone to thrash through ideas.

I think by talking, and so I must also thank countless friends who have been forced to learn more than they expected (or wanted) to about Dutch art. In the Netherlands, my hosts Clara Lluch, Anita van den Brandhof and Najma Douiri made many things possible; in the US, Ashley Capps, Sara Sumpter, Paul Travis, and Enzo Sica have been of sustaining help, both in terms of the project and my sanity. My long-suffering reader and critic Kat Sullivan has read more variations on this document than even my committee, while my Dutch language tutor and friend Bettie Kilkelly has kept me from making too many embarrassing language errors while abroad.

I must thank my mother and sister, Andrea and Christa, for whom there are no words of thanks great enough to express how much their insights and support have meant over the last decade. My mother receives extra thanks for proofreading at the eleventh hour.

This dissertation is for my father, first and greatest of teachers.

## 1.0 PORTRAITS IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

Portraits “perform a noble work, that more than any other is necessary for our human needs, that through them we in a true sense do not die; furthermore, as descendants we can speak intimately with our most distant ancestors...[they are] the wondrous compendium of the whole man – not only man’s outward appearance but in my opinion his mind as well.”

–Constantijn Huygens, 1630<sup>1</sup>

In 1626 the acclaimed Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel published two poems written in response to portraits of Frederik Hendrik of Orange Nassau, stadhouder of the United Provinces, and his wife, Amalia van Solms (Fig. 1.1, 1.2). In his ode to Amalia, *Op de beeldenis der doorluchtigste en hooggebore Vorstinne Amelia, Princesse van Orangie, &c*, Vondel praises her as the morning-star of the family, noting her for her beauty and her role in renewing the House of Orange, an appropriate accolade following the recent the birth of an heir.<sup>2</sup> Encomiums

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<sup>1</sup> Albertus Henricus Kan, G. Kamphuis, and Constantijn Huygens, *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens, door hemzelf beschreven* (Rotterdam: A. Donker, 1946), 80-81. Translation from Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt : his life, his paintings : a new biography* (New York: Viking, 1985), 75.

<sup>2</sup> Joost van den Vondel, *De Wercken van Vondel*, ed. Leo Simons, et al., vol. 2 (Amsterdam: De Maatschappij voor goede en goedkoope lectuur, 1929), 524-525. “Op de beeldenis der doorluchtigste en hooggebore Vorstinne Amelia, Princesse van Orangie, &c.”

such as these, in conjunction with printed and painted images, highlight the role played by portraits in cultural consciousness. Portraits of Amalia van Solms were pervasive in the Dutch Republic and could be found in many town halls and hanging in the homes of everyone from prominent politicians to bakers, in paint and print, on clay pipes and tiles. They shaped her public image, furthered her ambitious agenda of placing her children at the center of European statecraft, managed the family reputation at home and abroad and intervened in a very immediate way in Dutch history.

Using the portraits of Amalia van Solms as a case study, this dissertation focuses on the site and audience specificity of portraits. It demonstrates how portraits of Amalia reflected her changing roles within the Dutch Republic, from lady in waiting to bride, mother, widow, and matriarch, often relying on stock conventions to convey a specific aspect of her identity. Second, it examines how multiple elements of this identity were displayed simultaneously in different locations, presenting varying versions of her identity depending on the visual access granted the viewer, drawing attention to the previously neglected issue of audience. The difference between a market-driven portrait industry and commissioned works speaks to a developing hierarchy of space and access at work in the early modern period. Third, this study posits that portraits and systems of portrait exchange can be used to more clearly understand Amalia's social and political roles. Instead of a comprehensive study of Amalia as an art patron, attention is narrowed to cases of portrait production and display to consider how one early modern woman may have conceived of herself and marketed a specific image to different audiences. Fourth, this dissertation is concerned with the concept of portraiture more broadly. It poses questions about how the display of portraits in public and private spaces related to the ways in which an image functioned and what type of meaning it conveyed. The definition of 'portrait' is questioned

through a study of how the early modern viewer may have interpreted environments or allegories as references to particular people, suggesting an abstract configuration of the term ‘portrait’ for the early modern period. Regarding portraits as one element of a synthetic and cohesive interior changes the locus of meaning from intrinsic to the portrait to the relationships built between portrait, environment, and viewer.

Chapter 2 examines the range of portraits of Amalia produced during the seventeenth century, providing an overview of what images of Amalia van Solms were available in what media and at what price. She was a woman for whom both public image and private identity were structured by a series of archetypes – lady in waiting, bride, wife, mother, widow, matriarch. This chapter situates the visual material within the biographical and historical context of Amalia’s life in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. It draws from a catalog (Appendix 1) of the known extant portraits compiled by the author between 2009 and 2012. This chronological study is not a comprehensive discussion of all of the known portraits, but highlights specific cases which illustrate significant changes both in the life of Amalia herself and in the broader political sphere. The portraits are contextualized with historical and biographical information, which allows a body of visual material which seems initially unremarkable to take on new significance. The portraits will be placed in conversation with examples from broader European and Netherlandish traditions to examine how an elite woman, neither commoner nor monarch, navigated her own changing complex social position through portraiture. Rather than a body of inert objects, her portraits were directly engaged in civic life, dynastic projects, and visual culture.

The subsequent chapters will examine portraits in two separate contexts, as they circulated to a range of public audiences and as they were displayed within the palaces of the

Prince and Princess. Chapter 3 examines the first context, examining how “public” audiences consumed and displayed portraits. Beginning with the most elevated, consideration is given to the elite audience abroad: how freely did images of the Orange court circulate to foreign monarchs and at whose instigation? What types of images were sent to these foreign audiences, how were they received, and how did they participate in international relations? Focus then shifts to domestic audiences: within the United Provinces, who was purchasing portraits of Amalia van Solms and how did individuals choose to display these portraits within their homes? An examination of archival materials reveals an extensive market for portraits of Amalia, often produced outside of the circle of influence of the court. At a time when public opinion of the House of Orange was in flux, the display of painted and printed portraits of the Prince and Princess could be a potent statement of personal allegiance. Individual inventories from a wide range of social sectors demonstrate how broad the audience for portraits of the House of Orange could be, and the implications of this significance are further explored.

Chapter 4 examines the decisions that Frederik Hendrik and Amalia made about the display of portraits within their own palaces. It addresses how the publicly available image differed from the portraits commissioned for display inside the palaces of the Prince and Princess of Orange, both in terms of iconography and display. Particular attention is paid to how these portraits held specific meaning within the sites for which they were commissioned and how they were part of broader, integrated design schemes. Each one of the residences functioned differently and emphasized specific elements of the complicated role played by the House of Orange in Dutch culture and politics. As a result, the portraits displayed in each space were keyed to different functions. This chapter draws primarily on preserved inventories of the Orange palaces which record what paintings were hung in each of the palaces and provide

insight into groups of paintings as cohesive ensembles. A study of the palace of Honselaarsdijk deepens the discussion and examines how narrative scenes invoked portraits without being physiognomic likenesses, suggesting a flexible definition of the genre. As a visitor was permitted to penetrate through an architectural ensemble, experience of moving past changing portraits would shape the overall impression of the person represented.

In Chapter 5, I turn to Huis ten Bosch, Amalia's most famous artistic commission and primary residence through the long years of her widowhood. Though the painting cycle and the architectural plans have been the focus of significant scholarship, the complex as an integrated whole, including the original garden, has not been studied inclusively, nor has that integrated whole been examined within the context of portraiture. This chapter considers the issues raised in previous chapters related to audience, display, and relationship between space and portrait. It also goes farther and proposes the building itself as a stand-in for Amalia, and begs the question: what did the visitor in the seventeenth century see and experience throughout the whole complex? Though the architect, Pieter Post, is sometimes regarded as a lesser figure in the Dutch Classicist movement, at Huis ten Bosch, he is revealed to be a master of Baroque planning, staging a series of experiences for the visitor and framing specific views. These views were rooted in the buildings –and Amalia's – identity as the new mausoleum, the new site of living memory. To that end, the experience of the gardens, the living part of the cultivated landscape, critically reshapes the house from a memorial urn to one element in the *Hollandse Tuin*. At Huis ten Bosch, the identity of Amalia is tied to stewardship of the land, making her the allegorical figure standing watch inside the meticulously maintained Dutch Garden.

## 1.1 THE POSSIBILITIES OF PORTRAITURE

The first questions prompted by portraits tend to be ones of identification: who are these people, who painted them, why are they given the attributes they are given? Though of fundamental historical necessity, this approach does not always place the portrait within broader conceptual matrices of function and display, allowing the portrait to linger as a passive reflection of an isolated individual.<sup>3</sup> Since Stephen Greenblatt's influential *Renaissance Self Fashioning*, studies of portraits have taken scholarship beyond such questions and into a realm of study focused on layered identity construction, seeing the act of being portrayed as a means to negotiate a complex social role.<sup>4</sup> Scholarship has emerged in the last few decades which activates portraits as functioning agents within their cultural contexts. In *Portretten van Echt en Trouw*, Eddy de Jongh brought a methodology of relating images to contemporary emblem books to bear on marriage and family portraits, a study extended by David Smith's dissertation on the symbolism of such images, in which he was more concerned with social conventions than identification and attribution.<sup>5</sup> This turn is particularly significant, since it is clear from the way that seventeenth century writers wrote about portraits that they certainly did not view the portrait

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<sup>3</sup> Tom van der Molen's recent article on Govert Flinck's portrait in Kassel, long believed to be of Margaretha Tulp, concisely demonstrates the necessity of continuing to ask questions about the identity of sitters. Tom van der Molen, "Op d'afbeelding van Rozemond, door den beroemde schilder G. Flinck': Een nieuwe identificatie voor het vrouwenportret door Govert Flinck in Kassel," in *Face Book. Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries. Liber Amicorum Presented to Rudolf E.O.Ekkart*, ed. Charles Dumas, Volker Manuth, and Edwin Buijsen (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning : from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

<sup>5</sup>Eddy de Jongh, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw: Huwelijk en Gezin in de Nederlandse Kunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders Pers, 1986); David R. Smith, *Masks of wedlock : seventeenth-century Dutch marriage portraiture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982).

as an inert reflection of a person, but rather a means of continually communicating something vital about personal character and the relationships between individuals.

The work of R.E.O. Ekkart has been particularly significant in advancing portrait studies, as a bibliography of his works on portraiture makes evident.<sup>6</sup> The recent *album amicorum* in his honor demonstrates the breadth of topics which are impacted by a careful study of portraits, ranging from issues of attribution and identification to networks of artists and patrons and the functions of portraits within such networks, both professional and personal. This volume reflects the movement in the last decade to examine the role of the portrait in social history and visual culture as well as the relationship between the portrait and the individual on a more philosophical level.<sup>7</sup> Ann Jensen Adams attributes this, in part, to the seeming psychological immediacy of portraits: here, perhaps, is a way to understand the rise of the individual and gain insight into the early modern mindset.<sup>8</sup>

What *Face Book* as a whole reflects is what is gained from propelling the study of portraits past issues of passive viewership. One of the developing fields of study is the role of the viewer in the seventeenth century, particularly with regard to the site in which a painting was

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<sup>6</sup> The extensive scholarship of Ekkart on portraiture cannot be summed up in a footnote; for the extent of his own work and its impact on portrait studies, see the appendix in Charles Dumas, Edwin Buijsen, and Volker Manuth, eds., *Face Book. Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries. Liber Amicorum Presented to Rudolf E.O.Ekkart* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> For example, *ibid.*; R.E.O Ekkart, Quentin Buvelot, and Marieke de Winkel, *Hollanders in beeld : portretten uit de gouden eeuw*. (Den Haag: Mauritshuis, 2007); Eddy de Jongh, "Reticent informants : seventeenth-century portraits and the limits of intelligibility " in *Polyanthea: Essays on Art and Literature in Honor of William Sebastian Heckscher*, ed. Karl-Ludwig Selig (Den Haag: Van der Heijden Publishers, 1993); Katlijne van der Stighelen, Hannelore Magnus, and Bert Watteeuw, *Pokerfaced : Flemish and Dutch Baroque faces unveiled* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*.

<sup>8</sup> Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 4.

viewed. In his 2008 essay “De Praktijk van de portrettist in de Gouden Eeuw” Ekkart cautions against regarding portraits as museum pieces, since that risks losing the original significance of the portrait and its relationship with a particular audience.<sup>9</sup> The circulation of portraits to a wider audience and the flexibility of the barrier between public and private has also recently been addressed in a study of the portrait ‘factory’ of Michiel van Mierevelt carried out by Het Prinsenhof in Delft,<sup>10</sup> which has drawn attention to the critical issue of how portraits of well-known figures, such as members of the House of Orange, were produced in large numbers for sale to a broad audience. These two sources provide a useful starting point for examining distribution and display across a wide social spectrum. Studies of portraits – and especially portraits produced in the complex and politically charged context of the court – must contend with the issue of intended audience and strategies of display.

During the seventeenth century, the painting of portraits often drew disparaging comments from art theorists. Karel van Mander lamented that otherwise bright talents were sidetracked by the painting of portraits:

“In our Netherlands, there is this...unfortunate situation...that there is little work to be had that requires composition so as to give the youngsters and painters the opportunity to become excellent at histories, figures and nudes through practice. For it is mostly portraits that they get the opportunity to paint; so that most of them...usually take this side-road of art (that is: portrait painting) and set off without having time or inclination to seek out or follow the road of history and figures that leads to the highest perfection. So it is that many a clever, subtle talent must remain...barren and without fire, to the misery of art.”

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<sup>9</sup> Ekkart, Buvelot, and Winkel, *Hollanders in beeld*, 49.

<sup>10</sup> Anita Jansen, R.E.O Ekkart, and Johanneke Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)* (Zwolle and Delft: WBOOKS and Museum Het Prinsenhof, 2011). In addition to providing a compelling discussion of how portraits of public figures like Maurits circulated, it is also the first comprehensive study on the artist since Henry Havard’s monograph in 1894.

He went on to acknowledge, however, that painting the face, the “most important part of the human body” can “disclose and reveal the quality and efficacy of art.”<sup>11</sup> Other writers in the early modern period had much to say about the more positive aspects of a portrait, referencing the immediacy of the portrait: it was not just an invocation of someone who was absent, but an active physical presence. Franciscus Junius wrote that “with the full attention of our art-loving mind we have to consider [the image], as if we were confronted with the living presence of the things themselves and not with their painted portrayal.”<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, it was not only the physical presence made manifest through the portrait but the entire content of one’s character.<sup>13</sup> Constantine Huygens argued that one of the explicit functions of the portrait was to reveal character. Portraits were “the wondrous compendium of the whole man – not only man’s outward appearance but in my opinion his mind as well.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603-1604) : preceded by the lineage, circumstances and place of birth, life and works of Karel van Mander, painter and poet and likewise his death and burial, from the second edition of the Schilder-boeck (1616-1618)*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994-1999). Vol. 1, Fol. 281r.

<sup>12</sup> F. Junius, *De Schilder-konst der Oude (Middleburg 1641)*, “...door den gantschen aendacht onses Konst-lievenden ghemoeds moeten insien, als of wy met de levendighe teghenwoordigheyd der dingen selver, ende niet met haere gekontrefeyte verbeeldinghe toe doen hadden.” Translated in Eric Jan Sluifter, “The Nude, the Artist and the Model: The Case of Rembrandt,” in *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Karolien De Clippel, Katharina van Cauteren, and Katlijne Van der Stighelen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). 25. Junius was a noted Dutch thinker, scholar, and theologian who wrote both on art and on various biblical texts.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the changing concept of character, see Jacques Bos, “Between Physiognomy and Pathognomy. Theoretical Perspectives on the Representation of Characters and Emotions in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Pokerfaced : Flemish and Dutch Baroque faces unveiled*, ed. Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Hannelore Magnus, and Bert Watteuw (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Kan, Kamphuis, Huygens, *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens*, 80-81. Translation from Schwartz, *Rembrandt : his life, his paintings*, 76.

Portraits were produced in large numbers during the seventeenth century; though it is hard to quantify precisely what percentage of images were portraits, it may have been as much as half.<sup>15</sup> They also represent a significant investment on the part of the consumer; Ekkart estimates that a painted portrait of a single person would cost between 36 and 150 *gulden* depending on artist and size of the painting.<sup>16</sup> They were displayed everywhere, in public and private settings, and in a wide variety of formats. In inventories of houses, portraits consistently made up between one quarter and one third of artistic holdings throughout the century – and this estimate may even be low, since portraits were primarily kept within families and not as often for sale on the open market.<sup>17</sup> The popularity of history paintings and landscapes rose and fell, but there was always a market for portraits.

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<sup>15</sup> Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 11; John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and private spaces : works of art in seventeenth-century Dutch houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000). For discussion of subjects and ownership in Amsterdam inventories, see J. Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in *Art in History - History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art, 1991).

<sup>16</sup> Ekkart, Buvelot, and Winkel, *Hollanders in beeld*, 57. In Van Mierevelt's studio, prices were even higher, ranging from 42 to 300 *gulden* for portraits done from life, while studio copies cost about half that. Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt*, 53. The average cost of portraits falls between the average prices paid for, on the expensive side, history paintings, and the cheaper end, landscapes and still life paintings. Large history paintings could run to thousands of *gulden*, whereas Boers-Goosens notes that Eric-Jan Sluijter calculated an average price of *f*34 for landscapes by van Goyen, problematizing the claims put forth by Montias. The prices paid for paintings continue to be a point of debate. See Marion Boers-Goosens, "Prices of Northern Netherlandish Paintings in the Seventeenth Century," in *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, ed. A Golahny, Mia Mochizuki, and Lisa Vergara (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam"; Ad van der Woude, "The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic," in *Art in History/History in Art. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries (Los Angeles: Getty, 1991).

<sup>17</sup> See Loughman and Montias, *Public and private spaces*. For an example of elite portrait display, see the inventories of the House of Orange, which are critical sources for the current study: A Drossaers and T.H.

Portraiture is a site where an examination of the relationship between self and community is possible. Ann Jensen Adams expands on another function of the portrait, opening new avenues for the current study:

‘The portrait is not only a cultural product but also an active participant in a cultural process...Portraits are uniquely situated then in this process of identity formation, for they establish an imaginative relationship between the sitter and the viewer mediated by the artist... No matter how private or personal is the aspect of the individual represented by a portrait, it must also communicate through a communally understood language of visual signs and cultural codes. Portraits, of course, can express themselves through both a public language and symbols readily understood by many viewers and a private one that has meaning only to the individual and a few close family members and friends.’<sup>18</sup>

By isolating a single individual as a case study, this dissertation is able to explore the multi-faceted nature of portraiture and the public and private languages of meaning identified by Adams. These languages are inextricably related to how these portraits were architecturally bound, either in terms of specific commissions as part of an architectural ensemble or the shifting ‘communally understood language’ of sites of public display. This will be extended in the last chapter to consider the intrinsic relationship between site and image as it applies to broader architectural projects. The architectural space *becomes* the image, expanding the conception of portraiture beyond the bounds of the canvas, into the architectural plan, and even into the landscape beyond.

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Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de verblijven van Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, 3 vols. (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).

<sup>18</sup> Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 25.

## 1.2 THE LIFE OF AMALIA VAN SOLMS AS A SITE FOR CRITICAL INQUIRY

Natalie Zemon Davis has argued that in a republic there was no official role explicitly designated for women and therefore no channel through which women exerted power or influence. This is in contrast to a monarchy, where the role of queen provided a clearly defined set of expectations and possibilities. The very existence of a court culture provided an arena of influence for a small number of women.<sup>19</sup> The study of Amalia van Solms provides ground to examine these claims, as she is the exception to both rules. Neither queen nor commoner, Amalia occupied an ambiguous social position which allowed her more possibilities than either of Zemon Davis' models. As an aristocratic woman who almost single-handedly generated a court culture from the ground up within the broader political context of a republic, Amalia is an ideal case study for exploring how early modern women were represented and the extent of their own agency with regards to that representation. Amalia's life and patronage practices can be examined as both independent actions of an agent with particular strategies and desires and as part of a larger historical narrative that forges a fuller picture of the seventeenth century and the role of women within it.

Amalia came to the United Provinces as an outsider. Born in 1602 in what is now Germany, she was the middle of three daughters of the widowed Johan Albert, count of Solms and Braunfels, chamberlain to Frederik van der Palts. Though scholarship tends to note her social inferiority and poverty in relation to her future husband, she was herself descended from

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<sup>19</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, "Vrouwen en Politiek," in *Geschiedenis van de Vrouw: Van Renaissance tot de Moderne Tijd*, ed. Arlette Farge and Natalie Zemon Davis (Amsterdam: Agon, 1992), 158-159.

William the Silent and therefore a distant cousin of her future husband, Frederik Hendrik.<sup>20</sup> Her first recorded involvement with the court culture of northern Europe was in 1619, when she was known to have already been at the court of Ferdinand, Elector Palatine and his wife Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James 1 of England, as a favorite lady in waiting (Fig. 1.3, 1.4).<sup>21</sup> Amalia was in the retinue that accompanied them into political exile in the United Provinces, bringing her to the land with where she was to spend the next fifty years. The relationship between the two women was complex. Amalia was initially a subservient attendant to Elizabeth, but after her marriage to Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange, in 1625, their fortunes reversed.<sup>22</sup> On the one hand, Amalia's fortunes eclipsed those of Elizabeth of Bohemia, who was then living in exile

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<sup>20</sup>J.J. Poelhekke, "Amalia van Solms," in *Vrouwen in het landbestuur: van Adela van Hamaland tot en met Konigin Juliana. Vijftien Biographische opstellen*, ed. C.A. Tamse ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1982),114. Her relative poverty is recorded in a letter written by Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador, who commented that Amalia was already the Prince's mistress and that "it is believed he will marry her, though she hath nothing but herself, but hath enough for both." Quoted in Marieke Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation: Portrait Painting at the Court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997), 164. Regarding her ancestry, her grandmother was Elisabeth of Nassau, the sister of Willem the Silent.

<sup>21</sup> Rosalind Marshall, *The Winter Queen : the life of Elizabeth of Bohemia, 1596-1662*. (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1998). See Also: Elizabeth et al., *The correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). In 1618, Frederik and Elizabeth were invited to take the throne of the newly 'liberated' Protestant Bohemia. Their reign lasted a mere six months. Following the Battle of White Mountain, Frederick and Elizabeth found themselves stripped of all their continental land holding, and sought political asylum in the United Provinces. Their art collection remains under-researched, though it was largely reconstructed in a preliminary form in Willem-Jan Hoogsteder, "De Schilderijen van Frederick en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen" (Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Utrecht, 1986).

<sup>22</sup> Several scholars have addressed this relationship – or rivalry – and a study of the recently published letters of Elizabeth of Bohemia (see previous note) will further enrich this particular avenue of inquiry. See Jacqueline Doorn, "De Winterkoningin: Vriendin of Rivale van Amalia van Solms?," *Spiegel der Historie* 1(1966). The letters of Elizabeth also reflect an animosity that developed in the later years. Ineke Goudswaard has also argued that in comparing their portraits, Amalia is almost always mimicking something already done by Elizabeth.

and largely dependent on the generosity of her hosts. On the other hand, Elizabeth had one thing that Amalia could never attain: royal blood, and therefore, the status that came with it.

What is significant is not necessarily Amalia herself but the ways in which she negotiated her place amidst the larger structures of culture. This process of negotiation was carried out through artistic patronage, particularly her use of portraits. Patronage became a critical field of research following Francis Haskell, who first presented a study of patrons instead of painters.<sup>23</sup> A generation of scholars, beginning with Deborah Marrow, then expanded Haskell's study of patronage to include case studies of women. Marrow's work was the first monograph dedicated to Marie de' Medici as an art patron, revealing the canny ways in which the Queen Regent deployed art to both personal and political ends.<sup>24</sup> The narrative of women as active patrons of the arts has sustained continued attention producing a range of methodologies and utilizing different types of archival materials.<sup>25</sup> Women commissioned paintings and sculptures, but also homes and churches.<sup>26</sup> Their motives for artistic patronage may not have been the same as their

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<sup>23</sup> Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

<sup>24</sup> Deborah Marrow, *The art patronage of Maria de' Medici* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982).

<sup>25</sup> The scholars who have been most instrumental in shaping my own thinking include: Erin Griffey, "Devotional Jewelry in Portraits of Henrietta Maria," in *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics, Patronage*, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Jennifer L. Hallam, "All the Queen's Women: Female Double Portraits at the Stuart Court," in *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrea Pearson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Geraldine Johnson, "Imagining Images of Powerful Women: Maria de' Medici's Patronage of Art and Architecture," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs*, ed. Cynthia Miller Lawrence (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth V. Chew, "Repaired by me to my exceding cost and charges: Anne Clifford and the Uses of Architecture," in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender*, ed. Helen Hills (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); Alice T. Friedman, "Architecture, Authority, and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House," *Assemblage*, no. 18 (1992); Jennifer Germann, "The Val de Grace as a

male counterparts, but their own agendas are visible in specific discussions of where, what, and why they commissioned art and architecture.<sup>27</sup> Even in societies such as the United Provinces, where the vast majority of art was produced for sale on the open market, the workings of artistic patronage have garnered attention, and revealed that patrons both male and female were deeply invested in shaping their visual environments to personal and political ends.<sup>28</sup> These ongoing studies necessitate a reshaping of our understanding of the renaissance and early modern periods. In writing a parallel narrative of women as active agents in patronage systems, these scholars have ultimately produced a more cohesive portrait of the mechanics of art patronage and production.

An examination of Amalia van Solms as an art patron must be added to these case studies, as Amalia was both a great art patron and collector of precious objects.<sup>29</sup> Amalia's biography and considerations of her patronage have always been subsumed within discussions of either court culture or the biography of her substantially better known husband. There is still no comprehensive biography of her. Prior to 1997, Amalia had never been taken particularly seriously as a political or artistic influence, and some authors claimed that she had neither the

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portrait of Anne of Austria: Queen, Queen Regent, Queen Mother," in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

<sup>27</sup> Carolyn Valone, "Matrons and Motives: Why Women Built in Early Modern Rome," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sheryl Reiss and David Wilkins (Kirksville, MO: Truman State Univ Press, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Susan Broomhall and Jennifer Spinks, *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries*, (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011); Margriet van Eikema Hommes, *Art and allegiance in the Dutch Golden Age : the ambitions of a wealthy widow in a painted chamber by Ferdinand Bol* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> Virginia Treanor, "Amalia van Solms and the Formation of the Stadhouder's Art Collection, 1625-1675" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Maryland, 2011). Treanor's dissertation, completed in 2011, is the first serious consideration of the topic, but was unavailable to the current author.

ability for nor the interest in commissioning art.<sup>30</sup> However, concurrent exhibitions at the Mauritshuis and the Haagse Historisch Museum in 1997 turned a scholarly eye on the court culture of The Hague under Frederik Hendrik and Amalia, and the accompanying catalogs and essays entitled *Princely Patrons* and *Princely Display* remain the best study of the Princess and her sphere of influence.<sup>31</sup> These volumes, however, examine court culture as a product of both the Prince and Princess, and do not attempt to separate the patronage of Amalia from that of her husband.<sup>32</sup> Though this dissertation is not a study of her patronage as a whole, it is founded on the premise that she was actively involved in the visual culture of the court. It will specifically examine the ways in which Amalia was an innovative patron of portraiture. Even after the death of her husband, her role as matriarch, marriage-broker, and protector of the family name during an extended widowhood was of critical importance. Her deployment of art in support of these agendas of self and family promotion reveals an ambitious and dexterous manipulation of her social and political position.

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<sup>30</sup> Slothouwer claimed, in 1945, that “the princess never held herself out to be a patroness of the arts, nor indeed had she the chance of doing so, for the prince always took the lead in everything.” The exception to this, for Slothouwer, was the Oranjezaal. This view of Amalia radically oversimplifies both the relationship between Prince and Princess and Amalia’s own ambitions. D. F. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1945), 379.

<sup>31</sup>Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans, *Princely Display: The Court of Frederick Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997); Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, eds., *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> The exception to this is Willemijn Fock’s article on Amalia’s porcelain collection, rightly pointing out that her collecting practices seem to reflect her own particular interests. She was the first in Europe to have a dedicated porcelain cabinet, a practice which seems to have extended to her daughters and then disseminated through northern Europe. See Willemijn Fock, “The Apartments of Frederick Hendrik and Amalia of Solms: Princely Splendor and the Triumph of Porcelain,” in *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague*, ed. Pieter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren (The Hague: Mauritshuis and Waanders 1997).

Amalia's calculated use of portrait exchange, as discussed in Chapter 3 below, is a reflection of her unofficial involvement in issues of national and international politics. As early as 1629, it was rumored that Amalia was actively interested in civic affairs. Foreign emissaries had to meet with her in order to gain an audience with her husband<sup>33</sup> and were also aware that it was necessary to seek her favor more generally.<sup>34</sup> She is known to have traveled to the front to view the troops in the field and was quite vocal in promoting her personal favorites in hopes of advancing their careers.<sup>35</sup> She is also said to have done her best to convince her husband to seek a truce with Spain; according to Willem Frederik in 1646 she felt the family's affairs with Spain were settled, and it was unnecessary for either the House of Orange or the States General to continue the war.<sup>36</sup> She carried on an active correspondence with her husband's secretary, Constantijn Huygens, during the years her husband was in the field.<sup>37</sup> William Temple, the British ambassador, is reported to have observed that he knew of no woman with so much

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<sup>33</sup>Simon Groenveld, "Frederick Henry and his Entourage: A Brief Political Biography," in *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), 28.

<sup>34</sup>G. Groen van Prinsterer, ed. *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange Nassau* (Utrecht, 1858). See in particular letters from M. Brasset and M. de la Thuiliere to Mazarin about the temperament and position of Amalia. See note 38 below.

<sup>35</sup>Groenveld, "Frederick Henry and his Entourage," 29.

<sup>36</sup>J. Visser, *Gloria Parenti: Dagboeken van Willem Frederik, Stadhouder van Friesland, Groningen en Drenthe, 1643-1649, 1651-1654* (Den Haag, 1995), 243.

<sup>37</sup>J.A. Worp, ed. *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, 6 vols. (Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1911-1917). The contents of these volumes are also available online, indexed by correspondent, at <http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Huygens>. The Huygens Institute for Dutch History has digitized the original letters side by side with Worp's transcriptions as well as many additional letters which were not known to him, searchable by correspondent.

ingenuity and so sound a grasp of political affairs.<sup>38</sup> Conversely, many ambassadors found her to be trying: it was common knowledge that one had to tread lightly with her.<sup>39</sup> In short, she behaved like a monarch, despite the republican nature of the Dutch government. Despite all of these contemporary anecdotes, her political role is often ignored or downplayed. However, her contribution to dynastic marriage politics is uncontested.<sup>40</sup> Amalia bore nine children, five of whom lived to adulthood: Willem II (1626-1651), Louise Henriette (1627-1667), Albertine

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<sup>38</sup> D. Veegens, "De Stichting der Oranjezaal," in *Historische Studien I* (s'Gravenhage: W.P. van Stockum & Zoon, 1884), 237. He is citing (in translation) from William Temple: "dat hij geen vrouw heeft gekend, die, alles te zamen genomen, zoo veel gezond verstand en vernuft bezat als zij."

<sup>39</sup> See the many letters in which she is discussed by the French ambassadors in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*. Though it is impossible to encapsulate all of the discussions of her character and her actions from the letters of the French ambassadors, two examples provide a sense of the kinds of concerns the ambassadors discussed. M. de la Thuiliere wrote to Mazarin that « Je pense que M la Princesse sa mère sera considérée comme un personne de vertu et intelligente, mais qui n'aura qu'un très mediocre credit....Pour faire voir a madame la Princesse d'Orange qu'on la considère, il faudroit avoir icy en main de quoy la satisfaire en argent de ses prétentions de pensions, quoiqu'à dire le vray, elles soient vaines. Car de proposer des présens, je ne pense pas que cela aille, et qu'il seroit bien plus à propos de lui payer la somme qui luy est duee....et luy faire voir que c'est une pure grâce, qui ne seroit conférée à nul autre qu'a M. la Princesse d'Orange, et luy monstrier que rien n'est impossible quand il s'agit de la contenter... » (Vol 4, p. 155). M. Brasset wrote to Mazarin again in 1646 saying « cette princesse se trouveroit en tres mauvaise posture, veu qu'elle ne s'est nullement fait aymer, ses hauteurs n'ayant jamais agréé aux gens qui veulent un peu de popularité, et personne ne prenant fiancé en elle, à cause des fréquentes variétez qu'elle fait paroistre dans son humeur, et j'ose poser pour constant qu'elle ne sçauroit avoir de crédit que par celuy de Mr son fils, et qu'el destruit tous les jours cela, par l'opinion qu'elle a de se rendre plus nécessaire en le tenant bas; mais il reconoist si bien cela, et a une si forte aversion de sa conduite, qu'il honnora bien tousjours comme mere, sans néantmoins vouloir partager avec elle en facon que ce soit son autorité... » (Vol. 4, p 176)

<sup>40</sup> The loftiness of her ambition is recorded in anecdotal evidence regarding the marriage of her eldest daughter, Louise Henriette. Her daughter had carried on a correspondence with a certain minor French prince, Henri-Charles de la Tremoille, Prince of Tarente. His memoirs tell the story of his courtship of the eldest princess, which was thwarted when Amalia caught wind of the association, as the prince was not of a sufficient status to advance the House of Orange by marriage. Henri Charles de La Trémoille, *Mémoires de Henri-Charles de La Trémoille, prince de Tarente* (Liege: J.F. Bassompierre, Imprimeur de Son Altesse, & Libraire, 1767). Amalia already had her eye on the Elector Brandenburg as a more prestigious match for her daughter. She is said to have confiscated her daughter's correspondence, used parts of it to have the young Prince ejected from court, and then burnt the evidence. Louise Henriette's marriage contract permitted her to stay in the United Provinces following her marriage until the death of her father. See also Poelhekke, "Amalia van Solms."

Agnes (1634-1696), Henriette Catherine (1637-1708), and Maria of Nassau (1642-1688). In an attempt to further increase the social standing of the family, Amalia fought tirelessly to ensure that all of her children married such that the status of the House of Orange would be elevated. She was successful; Willem II married Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I of England, Louise Henriette married the Elector Brandenburg in 1647 and Albertine Agnes became the governess of Friesland after the death of her husband, the Frisian stadhouder.<sup>41</sup>

Amalia's desire to elevate the standing of her House was reflected in the choices she made about her material and artistic surroundings. The development of a court culture in The Hague reflected both continental influences and her personal love of luxury. According to her cousin, Frederik of Dohna, she had "a prodigious quantity of solid gold vessels for all uses, pompous furniture of all sorts, laquer cabinets from China, vases made from amber, agate, crystal and pearl, not forgetting the diamonds."<sup>42</sup> The construction and decoration of palaces in and around The Hague elevated the perception of their status, and daily court life allowed the members of the House of Orange to perform this new status. Court practices such as formal

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<sup>41</sup> The marriages made by her daughters were as follows: Louise Henriette married Frederick William, Elector Brandenburg; Albertine Agnes of Nassau married William Frederick, Count of Nassau-Dietz; Henriette Catherine of Nassau married John George II, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau; Maria of Nassau married Louis Henry Maurice, son of Louis Philip of Palatine-Simmern-Kaiserslautern. There had been hopes for a second English royal marriage, but this fell through due to the fluctuating relative fortunes of the Houses of Stuart and Orange. Maria of Nassau seems to have married particularly late at the age of 24 in 1666; though not directly attested to in the sources, it is likely that Amalia kept her unmarried in an attempt to marry her off to the greatest advantage. It is worth noting that while it was not uncommon for women to marry that late in the United Provinces, it was unusual for the aristocracy to marry at such an advanced age; Willem II was betrothed by the age of 15.

<sup>42</sup> H. Borkowski, *Les Memoires du Burgrave et Comte Frederic du Dohna...1621-1688* (Konigsberg: Verlag von Bernh. Teichert, 1898), 27-28. "une prodigieuse quantite de viselle d'or massif pour tous les usages de la vie, des meubles pompeux de toutes sortes, des cabinets lambrisses de laquede la chine, des vases d'ambre, d'agate, de cristal ou les perles et diamants n'etait point oublies."

dinners and audiences, all structured by the new palaces constructed during the 1630s, set the stage for Amalia and her associates to mimic other European court cultures.<sup>43</sup>

Amalia also participated in European court politics through a network of gift exchange. In the literature, this elite behavior has often been miscast as a susceptibility to bribery. At the conclusion of the Treaty of Munster, she was granted the estate of Turnhout by the King of Spain, an estate which was to provide her with substantial income for the rest of her life, independent of her standing in the United Provinces.<sup>44</sup> In 1638 she was given a pair of earrings by Cardinal Richelieu in an attempt to win her favor, soliciting her to ‘close her ears to the detractors of France.’<sup>45</sup> However, Veegens noted that at the same time, the French Ambassador D’Estrades was given a reciprocal present of an appropriate size.<sup>46</sup> The reciprocation of the gift

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<sup>43</sup> The best source for getting a glimpse into the daily practices of the court is Willem Frederik’s diary, which records the promenades, dances and daily activities of both his own life and at the court. Visser, *Gloria Parendi*. See also Marie-Ange Delen, "The Genesis of the Court at the Hague," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, ed. Maria Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997). It is particularly telling to contrast Willem Frederik’s descriptions with the preserved material of the court of Maurits, who as a military bachelor, conducted a very different sort of lifestyle.

<sup>44</sup> Willem Frederik notes that the estate at Turnhout would give her f12,000 in one year; combined with her other income, this would render her “een habyle rijck vrouw” – a notably rich woman. Visser, *Gloria Parendi*, 580. Her other sources of income, as estimated by Willem Frederik, included grants from the States General, her estate at Sevenbergen, and her dowry, all in all totaling some f106,000 for that year. Given an estimate that the average annual income for an adult urban male in the United Provinces was f250, Amalia was rich indeed. For data on income, see Jan De Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 563; Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 19.

<sup>45</sup> Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*. Letter DXLII of August 1638 from Richelieu to Amalia, vol. 3, p. 125.

<sup>46</sup> Veegens, "De Stichting der Oranjezaal."240.

establishes an ongoing relationship, complicating charges of bribery.<sup>47</sup> This episode should be regarded not only as confirmation of her perceived influence on the part of ambassadors but also as evidence of her part in an elite network of exchange, proving her aptitude at an international game of power. Amalia's conscious use of this network, a system which created and reinforced familial and political ties, and her extensive and deliberate exploitation of portrait display within her own palaces has never been systematically addressed. By circulating portraits of herself and her children, Amalia used the face of the House of Orange to shape European history.

Amalia lived at a critical moment in the development of the Dutch state. Unlike much of the rest of Europe in the early modern period, the provinces were not a monarchy or principality, but rather a fledgling republic engaged in a long, brutal war for religious, financial, and political autonomy (Fig. 1.5).<sup>48</sup> Since 1584, the seven primarily Protestant northern-most provinces of the Low Countries, which now constitute the majority of the modern Netherlands, had been engaged in a rebellion against their legal sovereign, the Catholic Spanish monarchy.<sup>49</sup> Fueled by deeply rooted religious differences and financial concerns, the growing unrest in the north led to attempts to shake off the Catholic monarch and declare an independent Protestant Republic,

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<sup>47</sup> The anthropological aspect of gift-giving and the way it creates social bonds is unpacked in Marcel Mauss, *The gift : forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies* (New York: Norton, 1967). It is further important to note that the entire secret council of Frederik Hendrik was offered large sums of money by Richelieu during the negotiations of a French-Dutch alliance in the 1630s. This is evidence of a wider pattern of exchange that should not be used to vilify Amalia in particular. Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 527.

<sup>48</sup> The authoritative history of the United Provinces in the early modern period remains Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Republic*. Older scholars including Pieter Geyl, Maarten Prak and P.J. Blok have also been helpful. General historical background in this dissertation is primarily drawn from Israel.

<sup>49</sup> The seeds of rebellion predate 1584, and tensions had been high much earlier. It was the assassination of Willem I in 1584 which crystallized the rebellion into a war.

governed by an association of elected representatives termed the States General. Following the death of Maurits in 1625, his half-brother Frederik Hendrik assumed military command and the position of stadhouder.<sup>50</sup> The stadhouder, a position unique to the Low Countries, served as the place-holder for the absent (Spanish) monarch.<sup>51</sup> Following the rebellion against the Spanish, the position remained, shifting from a role appointed by a monarch to one elected by the States

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<sup>50</sup> Both the biography and the portraits of Frederik Hendrik have been the focus of significant scholarship. For a broader, though slightly dated, history of the House of Orange, see Herbert H. Rowen, *The princes of Orange : the stadholders in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). The most central of the biographies of Frederik Hendrik are P Blok, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhof, 1926) and the monumental J.J. Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1978). There is also a newer, yet largely derivative, biography: J. G. Kikkert, *Frederik Hendrik* (Soesterberg: Aspekt, 2010). These are merely the most recent in a long line of biographies of the stadhouder, beginning with I. Commelyn, *Frederik Hendrik van Nassauw, Prins van Oranien, zijn leven en bedrijf* (Utrecht, 1652). For discussions of his image in the arts and his art patronage, see Elmer Kolfin, "Voor Einheid, Victoire, Vrede en Welvaart. Beeldvorming van Frederik Hendrik in contemporaine Nord Nederlandse Grafiek ca. 1600-1650," in *Stadhouders in Beeld. Beeldvorming van de stadhouders van Oranje Nassau in contemporaine grafiek, 1570-1700*, ed. Sabine Craft Giepmans, et al., *Jaarboek Oranje Nassau Thema Nummer 3* (Rotterdam: Bayistel van Waaldwijck van Doorn en Co's Uitgeverij, 2007).; M Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Anthonie van Dyck maakte de eerste echte statsportretten. Portretten van Frederik Hendrik, Amalia van Solms en Willem II.," *Ons Koningshuis* 16, no. 47 (1986).; M Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 32(1978).; Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation."

<sup>51</sup> The Dutch term 'stadhouder' has no adequate translation in English. Literally meaning 'place (or city) holder), it was a military position in origin, entrusted with the protection and maintenance of the land with which it was associated by the Spanish monarch. It was a quasi-elected, quasi-inherited position in the United Provinces. Each province could appoint their own stadhouder, though it was customary for multiple provinces to opt to appoint the same person as stadhouder. The position itself developed under Frederik Hendrik to be more than just a military position which also included larger elements of international statesmanship and diplomacy. The nature of this position and just how it was bestowed was a point of great contention and consternation within the seventeenth century, as the stadhouder attempted to increase his own personal sovereignty at the perceived expense of the republican nature of the rest of the government. The standard work on this complex aspect of Dutch government is Olaf Mörke, "Stadtholder" oder "Staetholder"? : die Funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert (Münster; Hamburg: Lit, 1997). For a slightly more accessible English alternative, see Olaf Mörke, "Sovereignty and Authority: The Role of the Court in the Netherlands in the first half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Princes, Patronage and Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age*, ed. Ronald G Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) or H. F. K. van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland: From Knights to Regents, 1500-1650*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

General in each province which became, in practice, largely hereditary.<sup>52</sup> The stadhouder was subject to the decisions of the States General, and not independent of or superior to them. In this regard, the stadhouder occupied a very particular – and at times awkward - social and political position in the United Provinces. Like Willem and Maurits before him, Frederik Hendrik gradually took on an image of leader and national hero. He was both a charismatic military figure and, in comparison to Maurits, a refined nobleman and diplomat, elevating life in The Hague to new levels of splendor and comfort. His military career was established by several notable victories including the siege of s’Hertogenbosch and Wezel in 1628, and for another twenty years he was to lead the increasingly professional and competent Dutch army against Spain and her allies. His social status was similarly at its zenith; in 1637, the French ambassadors elevated the official form of address, calling him ‘son altesse,’ a move that the States General resolved to follow.<sup>53</sup> Politically, he walked a fine line between an aspiring pseudo-monarch and a ‘servant of the states.’

The twenty-two years of Frederik Hendrik’s stadhoudership were also a period of social and political tension between the increasingly powerful House of Orange and its rising status on the one hand and the adamantly republican States General on the other.<sup>54</sup> Through the most

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<sup>52</sup> Each province could elect its own stadhouder; it was only under Frederik Hendrik that the stadhouderate became such a centralized a position.

<sup>53</sup> Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje*. 475. Poelhekke cites a handwritten letter from 3 January, 1637 presented to the States General in which Louis XIII announces the new title, one reserved for princes of the blood.

<sup>54</sup> Recent scholarship, instead of condemning Frederik Hendrik as a power hungry pseudo monarch, has instead acknowledged that his increasing political status was an essential element in the international reputation of the United Provinces. As the highest ranking landed prince among a nation of burgers, merchants, and craftsmen, the Prince of Orange was the only figure of status with whom other European

intense parts of the war, the Prince of Orange was permitted to maintain a secret council which could make important decisions without consulting the States General, rendering him more autonomous than many were comfortable with.<sup>55</sup> In the mid-1640s, his health began to noticeably falter, and he died after prolonged illness in March of 1647. He did not live to see the signing of the Treaty of Munster, the acknowledgement of independence for which he had spent his whole adult life at war.

During Frederik Hendrik's final illness, Amalia is known to have acted in his stead, though the extent of her involvement is unclear. Aerssen of Sommelsdijk describes the passing of the regency to Amalia:

‘He (Frederik Hendrik) had thought matters over and would advise the States General to address themselves to his wife, her Highness, for he knew her affection for this country's service; long experience had revealed to him her abilities and good judgment, which would enable her to serve the country as well as he himself had ever done.’<sup>56</sup>

Following Frederik Hendrik's death in 1647, Amalia lost her position as the *de facto* head of the family when her son, Willem II, was granted stadhoudership. Perhaps even more galling, Amalia was forced to take a back seat to her daughter-in-law Mary Stuart – a woman with whom her personal rivalry was legendary, because as a princess of the blood, the young woman would always outrank Amalia. Following the death of Willem II, however, the role of head of

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elites felt they could engage as a peer, elevating the status and reputation of the young Republic. K. Ottenheim, public lecture in Salem, Massachusetts, May 2011.

<sup>55</sup> The existence of this council was justified with the argument that in times of international crisis and war, it was essential for the head of the military to make decisions both in secrecy and with speed. Though the system of collective representation embodied in the States General may have been the most ideally republican, they acknowledged the lack of speed involved as every provincial delegate would have to consult with every local delegate before a decision could be reached.

<sup>56</sup> Groenveld, "Frederick Henry and his Entourage," 28, citing Visser, *Gloria Parendi*, 309.

household, tenuous and imperiled as it was, defaulted once more to Amalia, dowager princess. The second half of her life was dominated by her struggle with her English daughter-in-law and the States General over the education and status of her grandson, Willem III.<sup>57</sup> She died in 1675, having lived a long and productive life, most of it spent in the active service of her adopted homeland. Following a state funeral, she was buried in the crypt of the Nieuwekerk in Delft, alongside her husband and predecessors.<sup>58</sup>

Given the central role she played at a critical moment in the development of the Netherlands, the literature on her is surprisingly sparse. The first substantial biography of Amalia van Solms was written by A. Kleinschmidt in 1905 and drew heavily on German archival sources. Kleinschmidt argued that she should be counted among the great female figures of the time, on par with her more famous contemporaries Marie de' Medici and Elizabeth Stuart.<sup>59</sup> He concluded saying that he saw in her an eminent politician of masculine understanding. This prompted a rebuttal in 1909 in Titia Geest's *Amalia van Solms en de Nederlandse Politiek van 1625 tot 1648: Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Tijdvak van Frederik Hendrik*.<sup>60</sup> Geest critiqued

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<sup>57</sup> The crux of this increasingly complex argument was that Mary Stuart wished her son to have a proper English upbringing while Amalia wished for the heir of the House of Orange to have a properly Dutch upbringing. This long and bitter argument was carried out in the courts of the States General who largely sided with Amalia. The most lucid discussion of the situation remains Peter Geyl, *Orange and Stuart 1641-1672*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969).

<sup>58</sup> Petrus van Balen, "Lyk-Predicatie op de Begravenisse van HARE HOOGHEIT, Mevrouw de Princesse Douariere D'Orange," (s'Gravenhage: Jasper Doll, 1676). The prayers from her funeral were published along with Romeyn de Hooghe's illustration of the funeral procession. The time following her death is described: the body was anointed with oils and herbs and placed in a lead casket. After being closed the following day, the casket was draped in black velvet and linen. After an appropriate vigil with her daughters in attendance, the casket was taken to Delft accompanied by a lengthy procession.

<sup>59</sup> Kleinschmidt, *Amalie van Oranien* (Berlin, 1905).

<sup>60</sup> See Titia Geest, *Amalia van Solms en de Nederlandse politiek van 1625 to 1648: Bijdrage tot de kennis van het tijdvak van Frederik Hendrik* (Baarn: Hollandia-Drukkerij, 1909). Geest went on to write

Kleinschmidt for being overly pompous in the comparisons he drew between Amalia and other women, calling them untenable.<sup>61</sup> She also felt that he had misrepresented Amalia's role; Amalia was not concerned with issues of national politics, but with the enlargement and preservation of the House of Orange. This was a theme missing from Kleinschmidt's biography, Geest claimed, due to insufficient access to Dutch archival sources. Geest further claimed that Amalia was "a woman of great gifts, although she is given to a certain inclination towards debauchery and intrigue."<sup>62</sup> Despite Geest's insistence that Kleinschmidt's assertions were too pompous regarding Amalia's political involvement, she did support the argument that during the negotiations of the Treaty of Munster Amalia was more influential than her mortally ill husband. More recent biographies, such as those by J. J. Poelhekke and Simon Groenveld,<sup>63</sup> have granted more weight to her involvement in state affairs, in line with William Temple's observation that she had as much ingenuity and common sense as he'd ever seen in a woman.<sup>64</sup> Yet they remain surprisingly unsatisfactory. Amalia's own voice is almost entirely absent from her own biography.

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additional articles on Amalia's involvement in politics in the era following the death of Frederik Hendrik: Titia Geest, "Amalia van Solms en haar Politieke Bemoeiingen in de Tijd van Jan de Witt," *Tidschrift voor Geschiedenis* 51(1936).

<sup>61</sup> Geest, *Amalia van Solms en de Nederlandse politiek*, iii.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>63</sup> Poelhekke, "Amalia van Solms." Other biographies have included A. Hallema, *Amalia van Solms: Een lang leven in dienst van haar natie* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff). There have also been several historical novels, including Th. Coppens, *Frederik Hendrik en Amalia van Solms* (Baarn: Uitgeverij de Fontein, 1987) and Dieuwke Winsemius, *Amalia van Solms, meer dan schone schijn* (Kampen: Uitgevermaatschappij J.H. Kok). There is very little that addresses her life and activities in depth in English.

<sup>64</sup> Veegens, "De Stichting der Oranjezaal," 237.

Throughout the extant biographies, certain criticisms of her character and intelligence continually surface. Poelhekke, for example, draws attention to her barbaric grasp of French; her correspondence is littered with phonetic spellings and errors, and her native German was not much better.<sup>65</sup> Other sources depict her as flighty, abusive of her servants, open to manipulation and bribery by foreign ambassadors and officials, intolerably rude, overwhelmingly willful, greedy, and obsessed with luxury and status. Rebecca Tucker raises an important point that should prompt critical reconsideration of these behaviors, noting that Amalia had a keen understanding of relative social position and the etiquette necessary to maintain one's social status. "Such distinctions, which were crucial to the princess's self-fashioning and her maintenance of a privileged position in Dutch society as well as the House of Orange, were obviously transmitted through her behavior."<sup>66</sup> Amalia's intemperate behavior – like her patronage and gifting practices – was not a fundamental personality trait for which she should be upbraided, but rather a consciously performed behavior to reinforce the perception of the superiority of her social standing. As the fortunes of her family declined and her own popularity waned, Amalia strove to emulate the other aristocratic women amongst whom she wished to be counted, such as Henrietta Maria, Marie de' Medici, and Elizabeth of Bohemia. However, the courtly manners and modes of representation which were fitting for other women who were monarchs or monarchical consorts were potentially risky strategies for Amalia in the increasingly republican environment of the United Provinces.

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<sup>65</sup> Poelhekke, "Amalia van Solms," 115

<sup>66</sup> Rebecca Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic," (Doctoral Dissertation, New York: Institute of Fine Art, New York University, 2002), 192.

The study of Amalia has been hampered by the lack of relevant primary sources that quantify her role. One recent approach to this problem for other early modern women has been women's letter writing practices. Studies have addressed how elite women carried on extensive correspondences; their letters reflect a wide range of ambitions and strategies. Louise de Coligny, Amalia's mother-in-law, used letter writing as a means to reinforce her dynastic ties and remind her allies of her precarious financial position following the death of Willem the Silent, when she was left a widow in a foreign country with children to raise.<sup>67</sup> Elizabeth of Bohemia (daughter of the Winter Queen) carried on a spirited and intellectual correspondence with Descartes.<sup>68</sup> Her mother used letter writing as a means through which to build and maintain networks in an unofficial capacity.<sup>69</sup> Though Amalia also wrote quite a few letters, there has been no study of them as a whole, and many of them were lost along with her household accounts.<sup>70</sup> A recent publication detailing the contents and location of all the known archival materials regarding Amalia van Solms also notes what was known to exist of her personal papers

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<sup>67</sup> Jane Couchman, "'Give birth quickly and then send us your good husband': Informal Political Influence in the Letters of Louis de Coligny," in *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400-1700: Form and Persuasion*, ed. Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb (Bennington, VT: Ashgate).

<sup>68</sup> Lisa Shapiro, ed. *The Correspondence between Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia and Rene Descartes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth et al., *The correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*.

<sup>70</sup> Some of these letters are published in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange Nassau*. Her running correspondence with her husband's secretary, Constantijn Huygens, can be found in Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*. There have recently been discussions at the Huygens Instituut in The Hague about undertaking an edited collection of Amalia's letters. Willem Frederik of Friesland claims to have been shown the letters written between Frederik Hendrik and Amalia after the death of the stadhouder in 1647. Amalia had apparently had them bound in leather and displayed them in her rooms. Poelhekke had claimed that these were buried in Germany with Henriette Catharina of Anhalt Dessau, their third daughter. Poelhekke, "Amalia van Solms," 116.

in her own day; a tiny fraction of that material remains.<sup>71</sup> Commissions were paid for through her husband's payment books, and there seem to be no remaining recorded payments from the long years of her widowhood. This dissertation will use a series of approaches to surviving visual material to examine how portraits could fill this gap. Intentionally sent to specific foreign monarchs, Amalia's portraits as politics mimic the ways in which other early modern women sent letters.

### 1.3 CONCLUSION

The shifting status of the Netherlands in European politics and the ambiguous nature of the relationship between the House of Orange and the republican governing body reflect a time and a place of instability. Paired with the profuse visual culture in paint and print, this historical moment allows for an examination of how portraits functioned for a range of publics and a range of purposes. This study of Amalia's portraits is not just a discussion of 'self-fashioning' through portrait display but also an examination of broader cultural concerns regarding the ways images, particularly those of women, were consumed and the power of the architectural environment to shape the reception of an image. What can be learned about a subject by comparing and contrasting those images commissioned for her own use against the representation of that individual available to the world at large? This question opens ongoing avenues of inquiry – how did images circulate, how were they consumed, and to what extent did women in the early

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<sup>71</sup> J. N. Fernhout, *Eindelijk Weer Samen. Inventaris van de archieven van stadhouder Willem II en Amalia van Solme en enige verwanten*. (Den Haag: Koninklijk Huisarchief, 2012).

modern period enact agency over their own image? What emerges from a study of the portraits of Amalia van Solms is an image of a woman who capitalized on long standing tropes of female identity, those of wife, mother, and widow, to create a discourse which promotes her position within those structures. Through a lifelong strategy of placing herself and her children at the center of European statecraft and reinforcing the dynastic identity through images, she created strategies and ideas to pass along to her descendants. In her creation and manipulation of social spaces, she demonstrated a sort of agency within larger social structures.<sup>72</sup>

This dissertation will advance several arguments. First, portraits of Amalia van Solms can be used, albeit cautiously, as an arena in which to examine how she regarded and manipulated her own public identity and that of her family. Amalia van Solms was an involved patron throughout her life and her patronage of portraits was not only a dynastic statement, but also a means of navigating the rapidly shifting political situation in the Netherlands. Though they function as statements on family identity, many of her more idiosyncratic portraits also function as statements on her conception of herself as the progenitor and protector of the family. The great success of Amalia van Solms and her art patronage, as evidenced by the enduring role played by the House of Orange in Dutch history, was the way in which she wove together convention and innovation to create a myth of legitimacy. Perhaps her shortcomings as an art patron are also visible in her reputation following her death: Amalia's aspirations to higher status and her artistic patronage also ultimately negatively impacted the public perception of her. As

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<sup>72</sup> Recent discussions of domestic and court spaces have drawn from the work of du Certeau and Lefebvre. (See Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space* (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991).) Though beyond the theoretical scope of the current project, Lefebvre's discussion of the manipulation of the relationship between architectural space and social space as defined by a set of practices provides an interesting direction in which to extend the arguments of the later chapters.

her personal prestige and international status grew, her standing at home declined. If anything, the occasionally overly grandiose claims made by portraits of Amalia van Solms within her own domestic spaces verge on violating a republican social contract and declare her vanity, her narcissism, and her awareness of her own role in relation to husband and family and in relation to the emergent nation more broadly. In addition, however, the critical reception of Amalia in the centuries since her death suggests that though these portraits do reflect her male relationships, that is not their sole aim: a careful study of the portraits themselves conveys significant information about Amalia herself, her social role, her patronage practices, and how she wished to be perceived.

Second, portraits were carefully tailored to different publics and played a critical role in negotiating the relations between the House of Orange and the changing political and social affairs of the day. Architecture could play a crucial part in shaping an image in the early modern period because of the way movement through space granted or denied visual access. Who was permitted to see what type of portrait is of critical importance for its meaning. Though pastoral portraits of members of the House of Orange are frequently acknowledged as having a limited viewership, intended for family use or given to close friends, the broader implications of portrait circulation and display are still relatively new ground. The portraits sent to foreign monarchs were different from those issued in print for local sale to the public, and both of these types were distinct from the portraits hung within Amalia's own restricted domestic spaces. Though it is frequently hard to establish exactly who saw what sorts of images, an examination of the small amount of surviving data helps to establish some trends in consumption and display. This is significant both for the study of Dutch art history and for broader considerations of how portraits play an active role in building and maintaining different kinds of relationships.

Lastly, portraiture benefits from being regarded not just as an image which records something about an individual, but as a critical element in a performative environment. Portraits were seen as a way of communicating with a specific audience and the ways in which an individual was represented in the seventeenth century were related to the arena in which the portrait was intended to be displayed. The form and the function of portraits were critically interrelated. On the whole, the concept of a portrait must include allusion and allegory in addition to physiognomic resemblance. It must also include the site of display and consider the experience of the viewer moving through space. Buildings themselves, particularly domestic spaces, can function as a type of portrait, where architectural elements and the carefully managed movement of a visitor through space advance specific claims about the resident. By examining the careful integration of disparate decorative and built elements, it becomes evident that the architect of Amalia's architectural commissions worked with an eye to a unified environment, presenting powerful statements about the identity of Amalia van Solms throughout the building.

## 2.0 PORTRAITS OF AMALIA VAN SOLMS

“I do not believe it is merely idle speculation to define a person’s character on the basis of his facial appearance and expression and of his physical bearing and presence.”

-Erasmus, 1529<sup>73</sup>

While there have been several studies to date concerning the iconography and circulation of portraits of Frederik Hendrik in both paint and print,<sup>74</sup> there has been no comparable study exclusively dedicated to the portraits of Amalia van Solms.<sup>75</sup> In 1997, Marieke Spliethoff charted the developments in court portraiture up to Frederik Hendrik’s death, outlining the shift

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<sup>73</sup> Erasmus, *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamation*, cited in translation in Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 66.

<sup>74</sup> Kolfin, "Voor Einheid, Victoire, Vrede en Welvaart."; Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "De Portretten van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik."

<sup>75</sup> Since the beginning of the current study, attention to Amalia, and particularly her portraits, has become a more popular avenue for research; see the recent MA thesis at the University of Amsterdam: W. Goudswaard, "Amalia van Solms-Braunfels. De iconographie van de gemalin van stadhouder Frederik Hendrik (1603-1675)" (Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2012). Though Goudswaard provides a similar catalog of portraits, her text focuses on links to the portraiture of Elizabeth of Bohemia and does not address issues of circulation, display, and audience.

from the patronage of Michiel van Mierevelt to Gerard van Honthorst.<sup>76</sup> Her overview of the development of courtly portrait culture is of critical significance for the current study. Other discussions of portraits of Amalia have been single case studies: L.J. van der Klooster argued for the identification of Amalia as Esther in a painting now in Massachusetts,<sup>77</sup> and Marieke Spliethoff identified a painting in Dessau as a scene illustrating Amalia's trip to Spa to revive her health following a miscarriage.<sup>78</sup>

In recent years, both portraiture and court culture have become productive realms of inquiry for scholars of the early modern period, and the portraits of Amalia have begun to attract attention. By isolating portraits of Amalia as a whole instead of seeing them only as works in tandem with Frederik Hendrik, the specific characteristics and evolution of Amalia's portraits can be identified and compared with other better documented women in her dynastic and political networks. Portraits of Amalia were embedded in international portrait practices, often conforming to established conventions of portraiture and imitating other elite associates to establish and later enhance her social role. In her later life, her portraits began to target specific audiences to convey personal and dynastic ambitions. While Frederik Hendrik was bound by his

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<sup>76</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation." Spliethoff's work on Orange portraiture has been seminal in the field, including articles such as Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Anthonie van Dyck maakte de eerste echte statsportretten. Portretten van Frederik Hendrik, Amalia van Solms en Willem II."; Marieke Spliethoff, "Enige Portretten van de Kleinkinderen van Amalia van Solms en hun Samenhang," *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographische Bureau* 30(1976).

<sup>77</sup> L.J. van der Klooster, "Amalia van Solms als Esther," *Jaarboek Oranje Nassau* 1997(1998). Van der Klooster relates the association with Esther to her flight with the exiled Bohemian court and subsequent good fortune, citing multiple contemporary sources which compare Amalia to Esther. Even Amalia's self-selected personal motto, *Quid Reddam Domino*, derives from this context.

<sup>78</sup> Marieke Spliethoff, "Amalia van Solms bij de geneeskrachtige bronnen te Spa, 1630. Een Schilderij uit de voormalige stadhouderlijke verzamelingen terugggevonden," *Jaarboek Oranje Nassau* 2007(2008).

public role to a small number of iconographic possibilities,<sup>79</sup> Amalia had no such restrictions and, based on site of display, was depicted as goddesses, allegories, and Old Testament figures. These portrait types reflect the diverse aspects of Amalia's own identity, the variety of functions portraiture was able to perform, and the variety of audiences for whom the portraits were intended.

## 2.1 COST AND MATERIALS

Since no comprehensive study of the portraits of Amalia existed at the time this study began, a catalog (see Appendix 1) was compiled in order to analyze the extant visual material. This revealed some surprising statistics: Approximately 200 discrete occurrences of her image produced between 1625 and 1675 still survive, a fraction of what must have been produced during the seventeenth century.<sup>80</sup> This number does not take into account multiple copies of printed materials,<sup>81</sup> but does include contemporaneous copies of paintings. The catalog reflects

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<sup>79</sup> Kolfin, "Voor Einheid, Victoire, Vrede en Welvaart," 87.

<sup>80</sup> See Appendix 1. Sources used for this preliminary catalog included the image archives at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in Den Haag, museum catalogs, sale records, and the Getty Provenance index. As more private collections are put up for auction, portraits of Amalia will continue to emerge. The catalog does not include an exhaustive list of book illustrations from the seventeenth century, where Amalia's portrait also often appeared, especially accompanying poems at the time of Frederik Hendrik's death.

<sup>81</sup> More than 800 impressions could be made from some plates; Elmer Kolfin cites examples of contracts between publishers and engravers which stipulated that the engravers were obliged to recut the plate after 800 impressions were made. Elmer Kolfin, "Amsterdam, stad van prenten. Amsterdamse prentuitgevers in de 17de eeuw.," in *Gedrukt tot Amsterdam. Amsterdamse Prentmakers en Uitgevers in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Elmer Kolfin and Jaap van der Veen (Zwolle and Amsterdam: Waanders and Museum het Rembrandthuis, 2011), 39.

how busts, three-quarter seated views and full length portraits were copied and circulated to Amalia's peers, friends, and children throughout her life, but most commonly between 1625 and 1655, corresponding with the peak of her social and political visibility. The body of portraiture includes images given by Amalia as gifts, commissioned by her for her own use, and those apparently purchased by others of her for their own use. It should be noted that very few of these portraits have a provenance connecting them to their original owners, complicating issues of initial ownership.

In addition to painted and printed formats, portraits were also available in a wide range of small decorative objects. Commemorative portrait medals (Fig. 2.1) modeled on a prototype from the van Mierevelt workshop were struck celebrating the marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia in 1625, known from examples in the Gemeente Museum s'Gravenhage and the Rijksmuseum.<sup>82</sup> It is likely that these were also owned by Amalia's relatives, as the inventory of her daughter, Albertine Agnes, records the presence of a large gold penny with a portrait.<sup>83</sup> However, the fact that these commemorative pennies were available in different materials, including gold, silver, lead and bronze, indicates their availability to different markets at different prices.<sup>84</sup> The medallions were also sometimes either restruck or reused as late as the 1660s. Christie's recently sold a writing desk dated to that decade, the exterior of which was decorated with these early medallions of both the Prince and Princess. The desk commemorated

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<sup>82</sup> Franz-Adrian Dreier, "Ein Fischbeinmedaillon mit Bildnis der Amalia von Solms," *Berliner Museen* 18, no. 2 (1968).

<sup>83</sup>KHA A 25 IX 18: *Inventaris van de inboedel van Albertina Agnes van Nassau Oranje, Weduwe van Willem Frederik van Nassau Dietz in het Hof te Leeuwarden*, 1681. "194. een groote goude penning met het beeltenisse van Prince Frederic Henric en haer hoochheyt hoochl mem."

<sup>84</sup> Johan Willem Frederiks, *De meesters der plaquette-penningen* ([s-Gravenhage?1943). See p. 30-32.

her marriage and widowhood by combining the exterior image of her with an image on the interior telling the story of Artemisia, a widow who featured prominently in Amalia's mythos as a widow. (Fig. 2.2)<sup>85</sup> Portraits replete with symbols of marriage such as angels, clasped hands surmounted by fire, and five petaled roses can be found pressed into clay pipes produced between 1625 and 1635 (Fig. 2.3).<sup>86</sup> Courtiers might also have owned portrait fans which could be expensive luxury objects commanding significant prices.<sup>87</sup> For intimate associates, portrait miniatures were produced in multiple media, such as those in the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 2.4), where a portrait is found on one side and a skull on the other. The known portrait miniatures seem to all date from later in her life.

Portraits were also widely available in printed form, in the context of maps (Fig. 2.5),<sup>88</sup> accompanying the poetry of Joost van den Vondel, in series of portraits of the family, and in commemoration of major military victories such as the Siege of s'Hertogenbosch and the Siege of Groenlo (discussed below). They were also frequently included in decorative borders around almanac prints illustrating the important events of the previous year. Portraits were painted onto Delft tiles; during the first half of the century, large wall panels made up of as many as sixteen individual tiles were produced depicting full length portraits of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia

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<sup>85</sup> Sold, Christie's, June 24-25, 2007. The small travelling desk combines the cast medallions on the outside with a small painting of the classical widow Artemisia on the inside and a Latin poem celebrating the virtuous widow, Amalia's most lasting public image.

<sup>86</sup> D.H. Duco, *De tabakspijp als Oranjepropaganda* (Leiden: Pijpenkabinet, 1992), 11-12.

<sup>87</sup> Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and fancy : dress and meaning in Rembrandt's paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 89. In 1659, Albertine Agnes, Amalia's daughter, received a bill for four fans for the sum of f148.

<sup>88</sup> The map of the town of Turnhout features the portrait of Amalia van Solms as well as those of two other significant female patrons of the town.

(Fig 2.6). In the second half of the century, the entire family was commemorated on individual portrait tiles, derived from portraits painted by Gerard van Honthorst (Fig. 2.8). Based on the comparative quality, it seems likely that these later tiles were marketed to a significantly different audience than the larger, earlier composite images.

The wide availability of portraits is also reflected in the broad range of prices recorded for portraits of Amalia. Amalia herself is known to have paid Gonzales Coques *f*350 for a portrait, while Gerard van Honthorst received *f*2000 for the *Allegory on the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia* in the Oranjezaal at Huis ten Bosch (Fig. 2.9).<sup>89</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, many inventories from Amsterdam value portraits of her in the *f*2-5 range, with some being even cheaper at only a couple of *stuivers*.<sup>90</sup> However, prices were only recorded in seventeen of the surveyed Amsterdam inventories, which is not an adequate data set from which to draw firm conclusions (see Chapter 3).<sup>91</sup> The situation is complicated by the fact that in sixteen of seventeen documented cases, the inventories were made at the time of death or in the case of fiscal insolvency and record value at the time of the inventory, not at the time of

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<sup>89</sup> J. Richard Judson and Rudolph E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656* (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1999), 150. By contrast, the average annual household income is estimated to have been around *f*250, though the bottom 80% of the population netted around *f*360. Female servants could earn as little as 120; merchants as much as 1000. See van der Woude, "The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic."

<sup>90</sup> At *f*2-5, these were extremely modestly priced compared to paintings but represent a wide variety of prices in the realm of printed material; Ilja Veldman notes that most *sinneprenten* and *nieuwsprenten* cost only *f*1-2. Ilja M. Veldman, "Een riskant beroep. Crispijn de Passe de Jonge als producent van *nieuwsprenten*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* 52(2001). One print of Amalia (Fig. 2.9) holding a fan by Johannes van Vliet, dated 1634, is recorded to have been sold in the 1660s for 1.1.6 (pounds sterling), but noted by the buyer as being very rare, and therefore increasing the price. In F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, 30 vols. (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1949-1993). cat. 57, 187.

<sup>91</sup> See also Appendix 2 for inventories regarding the consumption of portraits as reflected in Amsterdam notarial inventories and Chapter 3 for an analysis of these audiences.

purchase.<sup>92</sup> In addition, goods sold under these circumstances may not have had the same value as they would have at the time of initial purchase. A final complication is that portraits tend to be underrepresented in these inventories because of their frequent lack of resale value compared to other genres.<sup>93</sup> It is significant that Amalia's portraits continued to be bought and sold in printed form throughout her life, even at a time when she had begun to withdraw from public affairs.

## 2.2 THE PORTRAITS: FASHION AND FUNCTION

Reflecting the changing status of the House of Orange and events in Amalia's personal and political life, the content and style of painted portraits shifted greatly over the fifty years that Amalia spent in the public eye. Though of noble stock, Amalia's family was not extremely wealthy, and there are very few known portraits of Amalia from before her marriage. One of the few surviving examples is the anonymous painting now in Museum Warmii i. Mazur, Olsztyń, *Amalia van Solms with Loose Hair* (Fig. 2.10). Amalia is presented holding a green ribbon and a jewel with one hand while holding back her hair with the other, a silvery veil over her head.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> The seventeenth case was that of Wijbrandt Claessen in 1651, who had an inventory drawn up at the death of his wife to document those things which they owned in common. See Gemeentearchief Amsterdam 565 B fol. 7r-16r, film 6546

<sup>93</sup> For a discussion of some of the problems inherent in the analysis of inventories for prices of paintings, see Boers Goosens, Marion. "Prices of Northern Netherlandish Paintings in the Seventeenth Century."

<sup>94</sup> Mark Weiss and Roy Strong, *Tudor and Stuart Portraits 1530-1660* (London, 1995). Weiss records two other variants on this theme, also from similar families: Elizabeth Wild zu Salm Dhaun, half-sister of Amalia (Braunfels Castle); Anna Johanna van Nassau Siegen, wife of Johan Wolfert van Brederode, coll Furst zu Solms-Hohensolms-Lich.

Her loose hair is sometimes interpreted as a symbol of her status as a bride. Spliethoff suggests, however, that it is more likely indicative of an intimate relationship, possibly suggesting a coy flirtation.<sup>95</sup> The intimacy implied by the iconography is supported by the site of display: it hung in the rooms of Frederik Hendrik at the Oude Hof before their marriage, and its presence there elicited rumors that the Prince was involved in an affair. His rebuttal included the information that he also had a similar portrait of the Winter Queen (Fig. 2.11) and the Rhine Countess.<sup>96</sup> The similarity of the portraits of the two women is striking, and illustrates an important theme that runs throughout Amalia's tenure in The Hague – her rivalry or friendship with Elizabeth of Bohemia.

A small portrait in the collection at Schloss Braunfels done in the style of Mierevelt by an unknown hand is likely also from the years preceding her marriage (Fig 2.12). She wears a dress with paneled sleeves and stiff bodice, covered with floral designs, and reminiscent of the Spanish styles which dominated the early part of the century.<sup>97</sup> Her lace collar is stiff and elaborate, while her hair is pulled back and adorned with a cluster of feathers and a small jewel. Her bodice is edged with a strand of large red beads, and instead of a jeweled brooch, she wears a

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<sup>95</sup> Spliethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation," 164. Her rebuttal of the veil as a symbol of the bride is based in the fact that two of the other women so depicted were already married, making this symbolism less plausible. She notes that the Prince, following his marriage, took down the comparable portrait of the Rhine Countess, confirming, in her mind, the role of the portrait as a marker of intimacy.

<sup>96</sup> Spliethoff notes that the identity of the "Rhine Countess" is still unclear. Ibid, Footnote 15.

<sup>97</sup> Bianca M. Du Mortier, "Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century," in *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Johannes Pietsch and Anna Jolly (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2012), 24-26. Du Mortier dates the waning of Spanish influence in dress to the 1630s, as it is gradually replaced by the French style. The shift in collar style from the stiff lace of Amalia's early portraits to the flatter, looser lace of the later portraits can also be related to economic shifts and a tax on the wheat used to make starch.

fabric bow at her breast. The red beads are usually interpreted as a sign of her lesser status and financial standing;<sup>98</sup> however, it is also possible that the beads are coral, itself a costly item. Amalia's later collections included an extensive collection of carved stones, jewels, and curiosities, indicating a lifelong interest in such objects. It could be possible that the red beads worn in this early portrait could be seen both as an indication of relatively lower income and as evidence of the keen collector she was to become.

Frederik Hendrik and Amalia were married in 1625 following pressure from Maurits, who at the time was old, ill, and lacking a legitimate heir of his own. Letters from 1623 and 1624 written by the British ambassador substantiate a long courtship and imminent marriage.<sup>99</sup> For Amalia, it was an excellent match which greatly elevated her status, a change reflected in her early portraits. There was never an official wedding portrait due to Frederik Hendrik's return to the field shortly after their wedding, but portraits of Amalia began to appear in several formats at that time and shortly thereafter. She is known to have sat for Michiel van Mierevelt twice in the early years of their marriage, first in 1625-26 and again in 1629.<sup>100</sup> Both of these sittings produced prototypes from which large numbers of copies and versions were made (Fig. 2.13). Jansen, Ekkart and Verhave's study of van Mierevelt portraits included 16 portraits of Amalia. They noted that it is impossible to know how many portraits have been lost, though estimates are quite high.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation," 165.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 164. Spliethoff cites letters from Dudley Carleton, who discusses the impending match.

<sup>100</sup> Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)*, 154.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 155. The authors estimate dozens of studio copies of the portrait of Amalia.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Van Mierevelt produced most of the elite portraiture in the Dutch Republic. Recent research in Delft on his career and atelier practices has provided more concrete data regarding his studio practices, portrait production, and circulation of portraits more broadly.<sup>102</sup> Van Mierevelt produced his works systematically and in bulk, both in response to commissions and for sale on the open market. Using a type of stencil technique, the workshop could produce a large number of virtually identical portraits very efficiently. Prince Maurits had previously been a patron of the artist, and it is Maurits' portrait which came to function as Van Mierevelt's calling card, being reproduced in all sizes and lengths (Fig. 2.14).<sup>103</sup> Like many of Frederik Hendrik's other early art policies, his use of van Mierevelt as an unofficial court portraitist was a practice inherited from Maurits. With very few exceptions, the earliest known portraits of Amalia van Solms all came from the hand or workshop of Michiel van Mierevelt.

A critical role in the dissemination of the image of Amalia following her marriage was played by Willem Jacobsz Delff, Van Mierevelt's son-in-law and collaborator. Delff was retained by van Mierevelt to copy the paintings before they left the studio, thus ensuring a good likeness (see figure 1.1).<sup>104</sup> His prints frequently bear the phrase 'ad vivum depictum,' a claim to authenticity that underlines Delff's close relationship to Van Mierevelt. Delff's prints were

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<sup>102</sup> Literature on van Mierevelt has until recently been extremely sparse. Ibid.; A Bredius, "Michiel van Mierevelt: Eene Nalezing," *Oud Holland* 26(1908); Henry Havard, *Michiel van Mierevelt et son gendre* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1894).

<sup>103</sup> Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)*. Chapter 6 addresses the scope and quantity of portraits of Maurits, which were extensively mass produced.

<sup>104</sup> R.E.O Ekkart, "Delff, Willem Jacobsz," *Grove Art Online*. See also F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger).

then available for sale through a variety of distributors in multiple cities, and comprise the most widely disseminated versions of Amalia's portraits. In addition, these served as the source material for the commemorative coins, pipes, and other such memorabilia mentioned above. The role played by these printed portraits in the dissemination of images of Amalia is hard to trace, due in part to the near-impossibility of tracing ownership of such transient materials. Pieter Biesboer claims that they are so ubiquitous that their presence is not even worth recording.<sup>105</sup> Such portraits were often displayed in houses, a practice supported by notations in archival materials and by evidence given in visual sources, such as in a painting by Jacob Duck with portraits of the Prince and Princess of Orange displayed in the background (Fig. 2.15). A 1672 painting by Cornelis de Man shows people displaying the portrait of Maurits some 50 years after his death (Fig. 2.16). Archival sources indicate that portraits of Amalia van Solms and Frederik Hendrik continued to be on display in people's homes as late as 1675, well past when such a display was politically relevant.

The early portraits can all be classed as variations on a state portrait, with alterations in dress possibly linked to different intended audiences as well as shifting tastes in fashion. The earliest types (Fig. 2.17) show Amalia wearing a high, ruffled lace collar, reminiscent of the millstones so familiar from other Dutch portraits. Her hair is curled and puffed over her ears, with the back held up by a pearled poinçon, jewelry given to her at the time of her marriage.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Pieter Biesboer, *Netherlandish Inventories 1: Collections of Paintings in Haarlem, 1572-1745* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2001), 128.

<sup>106</sup> René Brus, *De juwelen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau* (Haarlem: Schuyt & Co, 1996); M. H. Gans, *Juwelen en Mensen. De Geschiedenis van het bijou van 1400 tot 1900 voornamelijk naar Nederlandse bronnen* (Schiedam: Interbook International B.V., 1979). Cletscher's sketchbook, now at the Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, records for whom individual pieces were made and the weight of the

She wears a dress with a bodice covered in scrolling embroidered vines, while her shoulders are covered by lace and ropes of pearls, clasped at the breast with a distinctive jeweled brooch.<sup>107</sup> Spliethof identifies a full length, life size portrait now in a private collection in Scotland from ca. 1629 as the best and most complete example of a second portrait type (Fig. 2.18).<sup>108</sup> This portrait represents shifts in both style and status: no longer the lady-in-waiting or the bride, Amalia wears a dress which now has an open black overdress, deep décolletage, and a broad lace collar, abandoning the heavier ruff of only a few years earlier. This portrait is indicative of the shift in taste from the Spanish style to a preference for the French fashion which gained popularity largely through the example of Amalia and other elite women in the 1630s.<sup>109</sup> The third early type of Mierevelt portrait is represented by the example ordered by the *stadbestuur* of The Hague for display in the town hall in 1634, a  $\frac{3}{4}$  length portrait in which the light gown has been replaced with a rich black brocaded dress with white lace bows at the elbows, ruffled lace cuffs, and a flat lace collar held in place by a swag of pearls extending across the breast and fixed in the center with a jeweled brooch which appears in a number of other portraits as well (Fig. 2.19).<sup>110</sup>

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stones, but only for the first several pages of designs. At least one unlabeled jewel from later in the sketchbook seems to appear in portraits of Amalia.

<sup>107</sup> Though there are many identifiable pieces of Orange family jewelry which remain, even from the seventeenth century, this particular brooch, despite its distinctiveness and recurrence in portraits, does not appear either in Cletscher's sketchbook or any of the scholarship cited above on Orange jewels.

<sup>108</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation," 166.

<sup>109</sup> Johannes Pietsch and Anna Jolly, eds., *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2012). Introduction, 8; Du Mortier, "Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century," 24. The French influence is visible both in issues of dress and in the architectural and literary preferences of the court more generally. Frederik Hendrik was the godson of Henry IV, and spent some of his formative years there.

<sup>110</sup> Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt*, 154-156.

In contrast with portraits painted by van Mierevelt of other, more elite patrons, Amalia's portraits are relatively reserved. For example, a portrait of Elizabeth of Bohemia makes the difference in social status between the two women clear: instead of Amalia's strand and a half of pearls, Elizabeth wears three rows of pearls which edge the collar of the dress and hang down to frame a large jeweled brooch (Fig 2.20).<sup>111</sup> Though Amalia is dressed in costly black brocades, Elizabeth's dress is richly encrusted with silver decorations and braiding, with a large jeweled emblem on her sleeve.<sup>112</sup> By contrast, Amalia looks quite simple, despite the lace at sleeve and neck. The poses of the two women are conventional, with one hand touching a table and the other holding fans, though even the fans reflect a difference in status. Elizabeth's is made from feathers mounted on a golden rod with jeweled fob, while Amalia's seems to be of a much simpler folding variety. The version displayed in the town hall shows her as a member of the elite within the standards of state portraiture established in the tradition of Anthonis Mor such as the column and draped table, but there is nothing particular about either her surroundings or her attributes that indicates any sort of significant influence or standing.

However, comparing van Mierevelt's portrait of Amalia with his portraits of other women is also revealing. His 1640 portrait of Aegje Hasselaer (Fig 2.21) is more like the portrait of Amalia than it is like that of Elizabeth. Aegje, likely portrayed on the occasion of her marriage to Henrick Hooft, is attired in black with significant quantities of lace in both black and white, comparable to the way Amalia is dressed. Though her dress is of a simpler cut, lacking

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<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*, 157-159. Tholen, Gemeentehuis since 1997. Probably originally made for the Raadhuis in Sint-Maartensdijk, where it was hanging as of 1629.

<sup>112</sup> Black had become a significant statement on status because the color was both difficult and costly to produce. The dye required gallnut, sumac or alder bark with an iron mordant, all of which had to be imported. Du Mortier, "Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century," 33.

the slashed, puffed sleeves of the Princess, and made from a flat black fabric rather than brocade, the use of lace and the portrayal of jewels is comparable. Aegje was the daughter of a 'koopman' and 'bevelhebber' and her wealth is clearly on display in her wedding portrait. Also of note is that the dresses of the two women share the detail of small rosettes of silver fabric at the waist, a fashionable attribute also present in the later portrait by Van Dyck.

It is frequently impossible to say with much certainty for what audience many of these images were intended. While some examples were owned and displayed by Amalia herself or sent as gifts, full length versions were ordered by official governing bodies to decorate town halls. Known examples of such display include both Delft and The Hague, but there is no reason to assume that it was not also a wider practice. Van Mierevelt is known to have kept copies of paintings of famous people on hand for ready sale to interested buyers.<sup>113</sup> The manner of dress portrayed in the portrait of Amalia has much more in common with the wealthy burghers like Aegje Hasselaer than it does with Elizabeth of Bohemia, her social superior. For the average public audience in the town halls of the United Provinces, it was important for Amalia not to overstep her bounds. Prince Frederik Hendrik was, after all, the vassal of the state, not its liege. The restraint shown in her dress and jewelry in paintings intended for display in the United Provinces could reflect her relatively low social status (in comparison with the queens and consorts amongst whom she would have preferred to have been counted), but it can also be read as a careful attempt to maintain the delicate relations between the House of Orange and the largely republican populace.

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<sup>113</sup> Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt*, 109. Records indicate that at least 15 portraits of Amalia were sold by Van Mierevelt.

One instance of the impact of dress in portraits is made more apparent when this portrait of Amalia (Fig 2.19) is contrasted with the type of portrait likely sent as a gift to Charles I of England, the full length state portrait described above (Fig. 2.18). For an international audience, it was critical that Amalia and Frederik Hendrik appeared as princely as possible, particularly if the future marriage politics were to play out to the advantage of the House of Orange. Though themselves not sovereigns within the Dutch Republic, their status as Prince and Princess of Orange had to be stressed in order to make a favorable impression abroad. Scholars have even argued that rather than tension between the House of Orange and the States General over status, it was a necessary element in foreign affairs. Therefore, in the full length portrait Amalia wears a more elaborate dress with a silvery undergown embroidered in many colors. The dress is in the style initially popular at the French court, with an open dark robe over a lighter bodice and demicotte, with open slashed sleeves tied at the elbows.<sup>114</sup> Since it is a full length portrait, the richly colored and expensive carpet on which she stands is on display. It would be easy to lump these two different portraits from the same artist together as “state portraits,” but in fact they convey subtly different messages to different audiences based on the subtleties of dress. In portraits intended for the Dutch public, Amalia appears as a wealthy citizen; in the portraits sent abroad, she seems to appear on a more elevated footing.

The idea that portraits were tooled to different audiences on such a granular level is not unique to the portraits of Amalia van Solms, though her portraits have not previously been regarded in this light. Erin Griffey, in her discussion of the portraits of Henrietta Maria of

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<sup>114</sup> Pietsch and Jolly, *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century*, 8-9. Pietsch identifies this type of dress as one in which the elite were mimicking bourgeois styles, spreading from Paris to the Netherlands by 1630.

England, argues that portraits were altered based on whether they were being sent to a primarily Protestant or Catholic audience.<sup>115</sup> At a time when religious leanings were a politically charged issue, this kind of attention to detail was critical in forging international relations. Griffey successfully demonstrates that portraits of the French Catholic wife of an English Protestant king were sent to both kinds of audiences; for the Catholic recipients, explicitly religious jewelry was worn by Henrietta Maria, the likes of which is missing from portraits sent to Protestants. A precisely parallel argument for the portraits of Amalia van Solms cannot be made since the religious climate in the United Provinces was distinctly different than in England, but a similar argument can be proposed with regards to the attention to audience, a central theme in later chapters.

Audiences were not only familiar with Amalia's face from the readily available portrait prints, but also from her inclusion in a series of images which commemorated major victories, both civil and martial, achieved by the House of Orange. Her image as supportive wife and fruitful and diligent mother became a key building block in the construction of pro-Orange propaganda in the years between 1626 and 1647. Print culture became a critical element in the circulation of pictures of the Princess, both in the form of single person portraits and her inclusion in other, more narrative contexts. These prints frequently stressed the significance of the House of Orange to the Dutch war for independence.

The House of Orange had been critically engaged in the war since the assassination of Willem the Silent (Willem I of Orange) in 1584 at the hands of a Catholic zealot. While alive, Willem had attempted to retain some sort of political and religious neutrality in favor of a careful

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<sup>115</sup> Griffey, "Devotional Jewelry in Portraits of Henrietta Maria." *Passim*.

diplomacy, but following his assassination, his memory was shaped into that of a national hero and rallying figure for the other provinces. Maurits of Orange-Nassau took up his father Willem's role and led the military through the early campaigns. From 1609 until 1621, Spain had partially acknowledged the autonomy of the rebel provinces by signing the Twelve Year Truce. Free from external conflict, the United Provinces turned their attention to heated doctrinal disputes in which the House of Orange, as a token figurehead, was expected to intervene. Amalia arrived in The Hague in the retinue of the fugitive Elizabeth Stuart of Bohemia in 1620-21. It was in a climate of renewed warfare that Amalia married and bore her first children, a climate where every male child born was politically significant.

The earliest of the domestic victories for the House of Orange to be commemorated in a print was the birth of Willem II in 1626, also celebrated in verse by Joost van den Vondel (Fig 2.22). Many of the elements which were to become standard in the iconography of the young mother are already evident in this image. The Prince and Princess of Orange, formally dressed, stand on either side of an orange tree, at the base of which the infant prince is cradled in the arms of his nursemaid. From behind this infant springs the fruiting orange tree from which hangs the family coat of arms. In the distance the Hofijver and the towers of the Binnenhof are visible. Amalia herself is presented as courtly and elegant, draped in pearls and a distinctive jeweled brooch which appears in many of the early portraits. Clearly derived from the portraits painted by Van Mierevelt, the composition emphasizes her elite status through her formal attire and the fan she carries. Here she is the perfect model of elite motherhood, the vessel from which the orange tree can grow. This orange branch, an obvious reference to the family name, was to regularly reappear throughout her portraits for the rest of her life. Frederik Hendrik looks on, dashing dressed as a courtier, wearing a lace collar over a slashed doublet instead of armor.

This image is unusual in his iconography as he is more commonly shown as a military hero than in this more elegant fashion. His political role is not absent; he rests his right hand on the head of a lion, symbolizing the United Provinces.

Amalia's prominent visual presence in a print commemorating the birth of Willem II is unsurprising: in the early modern period, the successful delivery of a male heir was an event of political significance. What is more surprising is that she was also included in other prints commemorating military victories in the war against Spain. A print designed by Frans Brun and published by Franciscus Hoeius commemorating the capture of Groenlo is an early example of how the portraits of the House of Orange were used to promote politicized and militarized messages (Fig. 2.23). A nursemaid with an infant, this time Louise Henriette, is seated at the base of a fruit-bearing orange tree, with the prince and princess on either side, recycling earlier motifs from prints such as the one discussed above in addition to others by Willem Outgersz Akersloot (Fig. 2.24). The scene is once again located in front of the Hofijver, situating them in the contemporary landscape of The Hague. Frederik Hendrik is clad in courtly attire, though his status as landed nobility and stadhouder is indicated by the presence of spurs. Lions play around his feet, locating him within the discourse of the unity of the Northern Provinces. This particular print is much more faithful to van Miereveltian prototypes in terms of the portrait likenesses.

It also directly ties the military victory at Groenlo to the House of Orange. Previously known as Grol, the town in Gelderland had held a Spanish garrison of 1,500 troops.<sup>116</sup> In 1627 after a prolonged siege, Frederik Hendrik reclaimed the town, ridding the region of Spanish strongholds. In the bottom left of the print, the artist has inserted a detailed map of the

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<sup>116</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 498-499.

battlements, while in the bottom right, presented by a trumpet-wielding symbol of victory, is a scene of a march on the town with text noting the year of the victory. Amalia was certainly not present for the siege and yet the whole family is represented, linking military and domestic affairs. The Latin text in the bottom center of the print, which roughly translated, reads “The victorious prince triumphantly drives off the warlike enemy; with many offspring his wife delights (or blesses) the Batavians.”<sup>117</sup> The powers of the Prince (military) are paralleled by the powers of the Princess (generative.) The stress is on issues of lineage, since the cartouche hanging from the tree itself bears the motto of Maurits: “Tandem fit surculus arbor” – “at last the tree is sprouted.” The affairs of the House of Orange are visually and textually intertwined with the affairs of the state; when one flourishes, so does the other.

This interdependence continued to be a central theme promoted by print culture. By 1629, on the occasion of the publication of a print celebrating the recent reclamation of the towns of s’Hertogenbosch and Wezel, the family group has expanded, and the political themes are reinforced (Figure 2.25). The historic event marked a crucial victory for Frederik Hendrik and the forces of the United Provinces, having successfully regained towns long held by the Spanish and constituting the first major Spanish defeat.<sup>118</sup> The print produced to commemorate this event includes a landscape of the profile of the city on the horizon in the distance, with flames rising from the defeated garrisons. The garrisons at s’Hertogenbosch had been extensively built

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<sup>117</sup> “Belligeros PRINCEPS Victor pulso hoste triumphis Multiplici CONIUNX prole beet Batavos.” Many thanks to Patrick Bourke and Amy Cymbala for consultation on Latin.

<sup>118</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 508. Israel calls this particular military victory “epoch-making.” The impact of the victory was not just reclamation of land, but demonstration of superior strategy and of religious significance, as s’Hertogenbosch was the heart of the Counter-Reformation. With the loss of Den Bosch, Philip IV was forced to offer a truce.

up by the Spanish and represented a significant investment of ingenuity and capital. To represent them here aflame emphasizes the extent of the loss for the Spanish and the key victory for the Orange faction. In the foreground, separated from the vast expanse of the land by a balustrade, the whole Orange family is assembled. Instead of stressing the political and social role of Frederik Hendrik and his family by situating them in front of the Binnenhof, the center of government and status, the family has been relocated to this fictive patio overlooking the province of Brabant, standing in front of a field of military victory. The text beneath the center of the image, often cut off in modern reproductions, stresses that it is through the role of Frederik Hendrik himself that this victory was achieved.<sup>119</sup> He stands to the left, no longer dressed as a courtier but rather wearing the armor which he is to wear in the vast majority of his portraits, as if he had lately come from battle itself.<sup>120</sup>

Despite the emphasis placed on the crucial role of Frederik Hendrik himself in the victory at Den Bosch and Wezel in the text, the image also provides an arena for celebrating the role of Amalia. It is not Frederik Hendrik alone, but instead the House of Orange as a whole which made this victory possible. Her presence with her three children emphasizes the role played by the family in Dutch military history and her involvement in that history. Amalia has long been granted a certain agency in dictating the lives of her children, but this interest is usually traced to later in her marriage. This print suggests that even as early as 1629, dynastic policy was a

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<sup>119</sup> At the bottom of the print, the titles of the Prince and Princess as well as the names of the children are listed. Above is the phrase “De perden worden wel tot den strijde berijdt, maer de ouer-winnige compt vanden heere,” (The horses were ready for the fight, but the overthrowing came from the lord) stressing the critical role of the Prince of Orange in the victory.

<sup>120</sup> The transformation from courtier to military hero is discussed in Kolfin, "Voor Einheid, Victoire, Vrede en Welvaart."

central concern – as soon as Amalia had heirs, she was already invested in dynastic politics. Amalia and her daughters are included as critical elements in the composition.<sup>121</sup> Amalia's presence in bolstering a dynastic policy was to inform her own artistic patronage for the next forty years. Each of these prints commemorates a major military victory in the long, protracted war for independence and marks the addition of another prince or princess to the increasingly fruitful orange tree, uniting family and state policy.

The significance of the dynastic element of the House of Orange is summed up in another print, *Het Wyt Beroemd Geslacht*, preserved in both printed and painted forms (Figs 2.26, 2.27). The print presents the entire lineage of Orange-Nassau: on the right Willem the Silent is shown with his fourth wife, Louise de Coligny, his son and successor, Prince Maurits and Phillipps Willem. They are arranged in front of a tree supporting the family arms, and the men of the family display symbols of military prowess, the baton of command and the sword of state. To the left, Amalia van Solms and Frederik Hendrik are shown in the company of their two eldest children, Willem II and Louise Henriette.<sup>122</sup> Willem II is shown, rather than still in the dresses typical of small boys, in a miniature version of the elegant clothes of his father. In the distance is a view of the Binnenhof and the family of Frederik and Elisabeth of Bohemia. By invoking the international connections of the Bohemian court in exile, the House of Orange is tied to European politics. Through the visual representation of the family tree in portrait form, the

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<sup>121</sup> The significance of this inclusion became apparent during a conversation with Ineke Goudswaard, October 2012.

<sup>122</sup> A version in the British Museum (Fig. 2.27) includes a third child, Henriette Amalia, who died in childhood.

current stadhouder, along with his wife and children, are more closely linked to the recent past and the beginning of the war for independence.<sup>123</sup>

As reflected in these prints, Amalia was quickly established as a central part of court life in The Hague and Orange imagery, and her influence on art, architecture and politics was on the rise. Given her opinionated nature, she began to cultivate her own patron-client relations rather than relying on those she had inherited through her marriage. As early as 1629 (possibly earlier; see below), Amalia had become involved in political affairs; around the same time she shifted her portrait commissions to the younger Gerard van Honthorst, who was to be the chief creator of her public image for the next thirty years. Born in 1592 to a well-established Catholic family of artists in Utrecht, Van Honthorst likely attended a Latin School, learning multiple languages (including English, Italian, and French) as well as the classical material which was to lie behind many of his later works.<sup>124</sup> His artistic training was carried out under the established but old-fashioned Utrecht painter, Abraham Bloemaert, and enhanced by a trip to Italy around 1613. Once in Rome, he counted Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, and his

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<sup>123</sup> A second print was published which included a third daughter; see the version by J. Covens and C. Mortier now in Museum Wiesbaden, Sammlung Nassauischer Altertümer: inv. Friedrich Heinrich 220. The same composition is preserved in a small painted version, made a few years later. In the painted version (Fig. 2.28), the Bohemian entourage is removed, the scene is shifted to an interior, and the cast of characters is updated: a second daughter has been added to the composition. The updating of a standard composition was a standard practice; the prints commemorating the siege of Den Bosch and Wezel were also updated. The reissuing of prints with updated portraits of the family reveals both an ongoing demand for such imagery and the ongoing desire of the House of Orange to be present in the visual culture of the day.

<sup>124</sup>The central sources on Honthorst remain the catalog (Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst 1592-1656*) and Judson's earlier work on the career of Honthorst (J. Richard Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst: a Discussion of his Position in Dutch Art* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959). See also Braun's dissertation, which includes substantial transcriptions of documentary and archival material (Hermann Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Honthorst*, (Doctoral Dissertation, Gottingen: Georg-August Universiteit Gottingen, 1966).

younger brother the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani among his patrons.<sup>125</sup> His early Roman works include copies of Caravaggio and reflect the impact of starkly and artificially lit scenes, leading to his nickname: Gerardo della Notte.

Having made a significant name for himself in Rome, he returned to the Netherlands in 1620 where his fame continued to grow locally and even spread to London through the English ambassador resident in The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton. Judson and Ekkart suggest that he began painting for the court of the stadhouder as early as 1626; they date a now-lost mantelpiece of *Amalia van Solms as Diana with her Sister the Countess of Brederode as a Hunting Nymph* to that year (lost, but compare to Fig. 2.29).<sup>126</sup> The early date of the lost painting is significant because it is frequently asserted that Amalia adopted Van Honthorst as her painter of choice in order to mimic the patronage of Charles I and Elizabeth of Bohemia.<sup>127</sup> The lost *Diana* suggests that, instead, it was the success of this type of picture painted for Amalia together with good relations with the British ambassadors resident in The Hague (Duke of Buckingham, Sir Dudley Carleton, and Lord Arundel) that prompted Charles I to summon Van Honthorst to England in 1628. Amalia may have set a precedent then followed by Elizabeth instead of the other way around. The most monumental painting Van Honthorst executed in England was *Charles I of England and his wife Henrietta Maria as Apollo and Diana* (Fig. 2.30).<sup>128</sup> In the scene, the Duke

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<sup>125</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 6.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

<sup>127</sup> This theme is reinforced most recently by Ineke Goudswaard: Goudswaard, "Amalia van Solms-Braunfels. De iconographie van de gemalin van stadhouder Frederik Hendrik (1603-1675)."

<sup>128</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 107. Hampton Court, Canvas, 357 x 640 cm, originally intended for the Banqueting House, Whitehall. It has also been argued that it is not the seven liberal arts presented to the King and Queen but rather the seven United Provinces, beseeching the intercession of the

of Buckingham presents the royal couple, seated in the clouds in the guise of Apollo and Diana, with personifications of the seven liberal arts. The painting was a great success and the painter was richly rewarded: Charles paid him 3,000 guilders and presented him with a horse and a silver service for twelve, including plates, bowls, saltcellars and other decorative elements.<sup>129</sup> It was ultimately in The Hague that Van Honthorst would carry out a majority of the work of his late career, becoming the de facto official portraitist for the House of Orange and Elizabeth of Bohemia.

Gerard van Honthorst may not necessarily be one of the first names to come to mind when thinking of great painters of the Golden Age, but this was not the case at the time. In turning to Van Honthorst for her portraits, Amalia was turning to an artist of international acclaim. Trained partly in Italy, fêted in England, employed by King Christian IV of Denmark, and patronized by Italians such as Cosimo II de' Medici and the Giustiniani and Borghese families, Van Honthorst had capabilities and a reputation that van Mierevelt, little known outside of Netherlandish circles, never had.<sup>130</sup> For Amalia, investing in Van Honthorst was part of a desire to achieve an international reputation and to place the first pawns in her game of inter-dynastic marriage and the elevation of the status of court life at The Hague. She made this decision even though Van Honthorst was not primarily regarded as a portraitist at the time that

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English crown in continental affairs. P. Palme, *Triumph of Peace, a study of the Whitehall Banqueting House* (Uppsala 1956), 266.

<sup>129</sup> Joachim von Sandrart, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Kunst von 1675. Leben der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister. Herausgegeben und kommentiert von Dr. A. R. Peltzer.* (München: G. Hirth's Verlag, 1925), 173.

<sup>130</sup> Recent van Mierevelt scholars have presented significant evidence for an international reputation held by the artist, especially with British ambassadors. This, however, pales in comparison with the international reputation established by Honthorst.

he began to work for the northern courts, and very few examples of portraiture can be found in his early oeuvre. Even the allegory of Charles and Henrietta Maria is more of a history painting which happens to include portrait likenesses than an actual portrait.<sup>131</sup> The Prince and Princess of Orange were not patronizing a portraitist; they were patronizing a history painter of international renown and in doing so elevating the status of their own portraits.

In 1629, Van Honthorst was commissioned to paint a portrait of Amalia not as bride or for a town hall but as Flora, an allegory of youth and fertility (Figure 2.31). The painting has also been interpreted as Amalia in the guise of Caritas, another aspect of the loving mother.<sup>132</sup> She is shown sitting in front of trees and blooming flowers with an arcade and classicized building in the background.<sup>133</sup> Her two eldest children, Willem II and Louise Henriette, accompany her; Willem holds a basket of fruit while Louise Henriette offers him a branch with fruits. An angel, sometimes identified as the soul of a deceased child, hovers above Amalia, crowning her with a floral wreath. This particular portrait is notable because of the radical shift in Amalia's attire and because it represents the first break from traditional portrait types at court; Judson and Ekkart call it a "completely new and modern sort of likeness."<sup>134</sup> Instead of being dressed for court in formal black, Amalia here is shown for the first time in fantasy or 'historical' attire. She wears a silver dress and bodice of a historically undocumented type with jeweled

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<sup>131</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 27.

<sup>132</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation," 168. She compares the Caritas aspect of the portrait with the portrait of *Sophia Hedwig as Caritas* by Paulus Moreelse.

<sup>133</sup> This architecture cannot be securely identified as a real location, though multiple authors have proposed the Stadhouders' Quarters at Het Binnenhof.

<sup>134</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 31-32.

borders, belt and hair adornments. In this regard, the painting has more in common with Van Honthorst's *tronies* of shepherdesses than formal court portraiture.<sup>135</sup>

Though this ushered in a new mode of portraiture at court, it was not unparalleled in Dutch portraiture more broadly. The *portrait historié*, a genre in which the sitter is presented in historicizing or fantasy contexts, became popular with many demographics during the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>136</sup> The 1630s, a decade generally identified as the peak of court culture in The Hague, was also when the largest number of historiated portraits of Amalia was produced. Court culture more broadly was at its zenith: balls and theater pieces were being performed, the House of Orange was in the public favor due to major victories in the war against Spain, and the births of the new princes and princesses were hailed as national events. Throughout this time, Amalia was represented by Van Honthorst in a series of allegorical or mythological guises

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<sup>135</sup> Whether or not this particular portrait is part of a broader European trend has not yet been adequately explored. It is remarkably similar to Juan van Hamen y León's *Offering to Flora* of 1627 (Museo del Prado, Madrid). Similarly, this scene has a woman in fantasy attire and flowers in her hair, accompanied by a small boy and seated amongst classicizing elements. The woman's gesture to the waterfall of flowers at her side confirms her as Flora, the embodiment of spring and fertility. This similarity was also noted by Stephanie Dickey in her discussion of the relationship between Rembrandt's Saskia portraits and court portraiture: Stephanie S. Dickey, "Rembrandt and Saskia: Art, Commerce, and the Poetics of Portraiture." In *Rethinking Rembrandt*, edited by Alan Chong and Michael Zell. (Zwolle Waanders Publishers, 2002), 214, note 53.

<sup>136</sup> Rose Wishnevsky, "Studien zum "portrait historié" in den Niederlanden" (Rodenbusch, 1967); Alison Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia : pastoral art and its audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, N.J.: Schram, 1983). Recently, Ann Jensen Adams, addressing developments in the genre from later in the century, has elaborated on Wishnevsky's work by proposing a typology, relating *portrait historié* to narrative theatrical events. She maps a set of relations between theater, triumphal processions, and portraits that is a direct parallel, though later in the century, to the themes playing out in the palaces of the stadholder. See Ann Jensen Adams, "The Performative *Portrait Historié*." (In *Pokerfaced: Flemish and Dutch Baroque Faces Unveiled*, edited by Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Hannelore Magnus and Bert Watteuw. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.) Many further studies have addressed specific cases of both historiated and pastoral portraits and there are several dissertations currently in progress which explore these issues more fully. For a discussion of the literature, see Sarah M. Crawford-Parker, "Refashioning female identity : women's roles in seventeenth-century Dutch historiated portraits" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Kansas, 2006).

including Diana, Minerva, and Queen Esther (Figs 2.32-2.34). These portraits seem to have largely been intended for private consumption or circulation to more intimate acquaintances, and their production seems to have declined at the end of the decade. The circulation and consumption of these portraits will be discussed in greater length in later chapters.

Van Honthorst's historiated portraits of Amalia van Solms (Fig. 2.35) stand in stark contrast to Rembrandt's only portrait of the Princess (Fig 2.36). Rembrandt had been visited early in his career by Constantijn Huygens, who seems to have brought him to the attention of Frederik Hendrik. Rembrandt executed the Munich Passion Series for the Prince and Princess, who also purchased several other works from the artist.<sup>137</sup> Inventories from the seventeenth century indicated that Amalia had a portrait of herself in profile hanging in her cabinet, an unusual attribute among her portraits.<sup>138</sup> This particular portrait, now in Paris, had previously been mistaken for a portrait of the artist's wife Saskia, but was definitively identified as the missing Rembrandt Amalia in 1969 by Horst Gerson. One of the key elements in his argument is the peculiar presence of a *trompe l'oeil* oval frame which corresponds with a Van Honthorst portrait of Frederik Hendrik.<sup>139</sup> Gerson ties the profile portrait type to portraits of monarchs and

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<sup>137</sup> The Prince and Princess likely owned several other Rembrandt paintings in addition to the Munich Passion Series: *Samson and Delilah*, panel, 61.3 x 50.1 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Gemäldegalerie inv. no. 812 A (misidentified in the inventories as a piece by Lievens); and *Simeon's Hymn of Praise*, Panel, 60.6 x 47.9 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. no. 145.

<sup>138</sup> Inventory of Noordeinde, A Drossaers, C Hofstede de Groot, and C.H. de Jonge, "Inventaris van de meubelen van het stadhoudelijk kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage," *Oud Holland* 47(1930).

<sup>139</sup> Horst Gerson, "Rembrandt's portret van Amalia van Solms," *Oud Holland* 84(1969), 247.

emperors, ennobling the pair beyond their actual status. Why both portraits were not initially painted by the same artist remains unclear.<sup>140</sup>

The court at The Hague drew the attention of artists and patrons from abroad as well, as Antony van Dyck arrive from Flanders to paint the Prince and Princess between 1628 and 1631. Both the dating of his portraits and the precise patronage remains unclear. Earlier scholarship claimed that Van Dyck visited the northern provinces twice, once in 1629 and again in 1631, and it had been suggested that the portraits date from the earlier trip. Frans Baudouin, however, argued that Van Dyck's portraits of the House of Orange were painted in the winter of 1631-32 and that the painter was summoned to the court by the Prince himself. Walsh suggests that Van Dyck was sent to the northern provinces by Archduchess Isabella as a sort of undercover agent.<sup>141</sup> Trained first by van Balen and then by Rubens, Van Dyck had built a career and reputation across Europe. Though many of his best known works are portraits, he began – like Van Honthorst - as a history painter; increasing success and experience garnered esteem and resulted in portrait commissions from his wealthy patrons. The Prince and Princess of Orange patronized him both in his capacity as a portrait painter and as a history painter, holding his allegorical scenes in high regard. His painting of the kissing contest from the pastoral play *Il*

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<sup>140</sup> It is also unclear why Van Honthorst also painted a profile view of the Princess and any solutions are purely conjectural. Van Honthorst's profile view is unusual for its combination of the formal, ennobling profile with historiated clothing.

<sup>141</sup> Frans Baudouin, "Van Dyck in The Hague," in *Van Dyck 1599-1999: Conjectures and Refutations.*, ed. Hans Vlieghe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 58; Amy Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," in *Van Dyck 350*, ed. Susan J. Barnes and Arthur Wheelock, *Studies in the history of Art* (Washington and Hanover: National Gallery of Art and University Press of New England, 1994), 228. Walsh asks: "was Van Dyck's arrival at the court of Frederik Hendrik within a month of Rubens' departure coincidental or could the disappointed and frustrated Isabella have sent her court painter to placate, and indeed flatter the Dutch prince?"

*Pastor Fido* was a direct commission from the Prince of Orange himself. It is the first known representation of that scene in northern art and reflects the interest the play held for the Prince.<sup>142</sup>

Van Dyck's portrait of Amalia van Solms still exists in seven known full size versions and several smaller copies, not to mention the wide circulation in prints (Fig 2.37-2.38). Originally one of a pair of portraits with her husband, the painting depicts Amalia in roughly three-quarter length, seated on a red velvet chair in front of a red and gold velvet curtain. Her left hand rests on the chair, while her right hand holds a sprig of white, most likely a blossom from an orange tree. Her black dress is decorated at elbow and waist with orange sashes, tied into six lobed decorative bows. She is bedecked in jewels, with pearls and precious gems in bands in her hair (though not the pearled poinçon of earlier van Mierevelt portraits) and around her wrists. She also wears three strands of large pearls, two of which hang from shoulder to shoulder and one at her throat. A gold and ruby brooch is pinned to her dress, and lace circles her wrists and neck. The portrait is surprisingly small, roughly 100 x 90 cm, the significance of which becomes apparent when it is compared to the full length Michiel van Mierevelt portrait in Scotland, which measures 218 x 113 cm, more than twice as tall. The circulation and consumption of this portrait will be discussed further in Chapter 3, as the portrait was primarily owned by foreign monarchs.

Van Dyck, however, was only passing through, and Van Honthorst continued to produce the majority of the portraits of the House of Orange. In 1637, Van Honthorst provided another prototype for a portrait which was then copied and circulated, a double portrait initially hung in

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<sup>142</sup> Other paintings by Van Dyck in the collection of the Prince and Princess were probably later acquisitions; the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* which was ultimately built into the chimneypiece at Huis ten Bosch was purchased from a Flemish dealer in 1646, some 15 years after its probable completion (according to Barnes et al.) See chapter 5 below for further discussion of this piece.

the gallery at the palace Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk. Thanks to an engraving by Jan van Vianen of the interior, it is possible to reconstruct where the painting hung above the mantel (Fig. 2.39). In May of 1639, Van Honthorst was paid 6800 guilders for the decoration of this room alone, a substantial sum even by his standards.<sup>143</sup> Though the original is no longer extant, a copy of the portrait made by van Van Honthorst himself (rather than his studio) for the Prince's secretary, Constantijn Huygens does survive (Figure 2.40).<sup>144</sup> Multiple other copies of the painting were made during the seventeenth century, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.<sup>145</sup> Though it might be expected that this portrait would be the image most widely circulated to the public given its similarities with other state portraits, it seems to have been primarily within court contexts. Unlike both earlier and later portraits, this composition was never repeated in print form or made available for sale to the general public.

At first glance, the portrait seems an unremarkable example of a standard state portrait. Both prince and princess stand, life size and full length, dressed immaculately. Frederik Hendrik wears the armor of state, chased in gold, and wields a baton of power and leadership while his helmet rests on a swag of orange cloth on the wall behind him. The clear allusion to similar

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<sup>143</sup> C. V. Vosmaer, "De Ordonnantie Boeken van Prins Frederik Hendrik over de jaren 1637-1650," *Kunstkronijk* 2(1861) and Algemeen Rijksarchief, Nassause Domeinraad: Gemengd Domestiquen and Ordonnantieboeken (inv. nos. 992-997), Den Haag. See also M.C.J.C. van Hoof, E.A.T.M Schreuder, and B.J. Slot, eds., *De Archieven van de Nassause Domeinraad 1581-1811 met retroacta vanaf de dertiende eeuw*. (Den Haag: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1997).

<sup>144</sup> B. P. J. Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis: 1430-1790* (The Hague; Zwolle: Royal Picture Gallery ; Waanders Publishers, 2004), 141-144.

<sup>145</sup> Mauritshuis (IB 43413), Slot Zeist (IB 60152), private collection in Germany (IB 53205), Schloss Museen zu Berlin (IB 53202), and Schloss Mosigkau (IB70139). Only the first of these is considered to be an autograph copy; the rest are considered studio pieces, and IB 53202 may be by another artist altogether, likely Jan de Baen. It was also not uncommon for this portrait to be either cut in half as is the case in IB53205 or to be painted as a pair of portraits.

portraits of Maurits before him enhances his social standing, military successes, and illustrious ancestors.<sup>146</sup> His status is raised even further by the detail of the pendant he wears, the symbol of the Order of the Garter bestowed on him by Charles I.<sup>147</sup> Amalia is dressed in a highly fashionable black dress with delicate lace cuffs and collar and adorned in ropes of pearls. The fresh water pearls at her neck, a strand of 20, were purchased for her in 1630 by Frederik Hendrik for the sum of 30,000 guilders.<sup>148</sup> The background opens up to the distance behind her, showing a town on the horizon, and a military encampment in the middle distance. It is likely that the town on the horizon is Breda; painted in 1637, this painting may commemorate Frederik Hendrik's key victory against the Spanish in retaking the town from the Spanish. The image of the Stadhouder as the "Stedendwinger" – the liberator of cities – permeated the iconographic programs of many of his portraits and artistic commissions.

Quentin Buvelot has identified this portrait as being consistent with the portrait tradition established by Mor and Mierevelt in both tone and pose.<sup>149</sup> However, despite this superficial coherence to a tradition, on closer inspection the painting is actually both unprecedented and unusual. The portrayal of the Prince and Princess together in the same scale in a formal portrait is worthy of comment, since it is a moment of rupture with portrait traditions, both domestic and international. Even within Van Honthorst's portrait oeuvre, it is unique in presenting the two

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<sup>146</sup> The success of the portraiture of Maurits and its role in public life is unpacked in chapter 6 of Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)*.

<sup>147</sup> Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis*, 143. For more on pearls see Brus, *De juwelen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau*, 39-42.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. Per Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, the earrings may be the ones valued at 36,000g in 1676.

<sup>149</sup> Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis*, 41.

adults on one canvas without their children.<sup>150</sup> All of the other examples of state portraiture cited by Buvelot divide husband and wife onto separate canvases. For both its place within the tradition of state portraiture and its deviation from conventions of the portrayal of husband and wife, it is worthy of some sustained attention.

There are two major genres of portraits of married couples in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic. The first is two separate canvases of the same size, representing each spouse individually though the two canvases might coordinate: the spouses may interact across the space between the canvases. This sort of formal presentation of a couple, dressed in their best clothes and most impressive accessories, would be intended for more public parts of the house, formally presenting the two people as two halves of the domestic pair. Exemplary among this genre are the portraits of Cornelis de Graef and Catarina Hooft by Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy now in Berlin, large showy portraits that foreground the social status and wealth of the sitters without any specific reference to occupation or character, a sort of state portrait for the merchant class (Fig 2.41). On the other hand, there was also a growing genre of portraits of married couples, such as Rembrandt's *Portrait of the Mennonite Preacher Anslo and his wife*, where the relationship between the two, of minister and follower, husband and wife, teacher and student, is made clear within their own house (Figure 2.42). This genre of couples interacting extends across the century and clearly illustrates the important role of the family, showing all members of the family at work or at play.

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<sup>150</sup> There are later images by van Honthorst which include the children, but this prototype and its variants are the only strict double portrait he executes. Thanks to Ann Harris for pressing me to consider the significance of this point.

David Smith argues that both the double portrait and the pair portrait are Netherlandish inventions going back to precedents set as early as the fifteenth century.<sup>151</sup> However, there are no comparable double portraits in Dutch art which I have yet found that closely echo the formality and composition of the 1637 Van Honthorst portrait. There are several formal portraits of men with their wives in sparse environments, including Rembrandt's *Portrait of a Couple* (1633: previously Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston); Govert Flinck, *Dirck Graswinckel and Geertruyt van Loon* (c.1640: Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam), and Jacob Jordaens, *Govaert van Surpele and his wife* (National Gallery, London) (Figures 2.43-2.45). In all three cases, the husband stands next to his seated wife, frequently standing slightly between her and the picture plane. These portraits, on the one hand, support the idea of an affectionate, companionate marriage within the Christian values of the reformed north; on the other hand, they also emphasize the role of the husband as leader, provider, and protector by placing him in an upright, slightly protective posture while containing the woman to a more passive, seated position. This combination of postures is also reflected in the pendant portraits painted by Antony van Dyck, where Frederik Hendrik stands and Amalia van Solms is seated.

International state portraiture seemingly has more in common with the Van Honthorst double portrait in its attributes and postures than Dutch family portraiture, and Eddy de Jongh has compared the painting to older traditions embodied by Lucas Cranach, Antonis Mor, and Titian,<sup>152</sup> who, according to Ong-Corsten (among others), were largely responsible for inventing

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<sup>151</sup> Smith, *Masks of wedlock*, 1.

<sup>152</sup> de Jongh, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw*, 150.

the state portraiture.<sup>153</sup> Ong-Corsten identifies the origin of the state portrait in donor panels in altarpieces as some of the first instances of full-length, life size portraiture.<sup>154</sup> The isolation of the body of the monarch against a neutral or flat background developed through the fifteenth and sixteenth century, though Anthonis Mor is frequently credited with turning a set of loose conventions for the representation of the monarch into a consistent iconography. In Spain the state portraiture of Philip II (Fig. 2.46) set a powerful precedent; in England Elizabeth I worked to solidify her public image and maintain the myth of the ageless Virgin Queen (Fig. 2.47).<sup>155</sup> The state portrait made the monarch fully visible and autonomous, with the implication that the portrait literally stood in for the sovereign body. In Maino's painting of the reception into Bahia, in the absence of the ruler, people do obeisance to what appears to be a tapestry depicting the absent monarch (Fig 2.48).<sup>156</sup> It is typical for the sovereign and his spouse to occupy separate canvases, symbolic of their separate roles, qualities, and status.

In looking for a precedent for Van Honthorst's double portrait, we are at a disadvantage, as this portrait does not conform to European examples of royal portraiture.<sup>157</sup> The closest comparative example including both husband and wife on one canvas without their children is

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<sup>153</sup> Marie-José Ong-Corsten, *Het Nederlands Staatsieportret* (1973); Smith, *Masks of wedlock*; Joanna Woodall, *Anthonis Mor: Art and Authority* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007).

<sup>154</sup> Ong-Corsten, *Het Nederlands Staatsieportret*, 17.

<sup>155</sup> Roy Strong, *Gloriana. The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1987).

<sup>156</sup> Woodall, *Anthonis Mor: Art and Authority*, 350.

<sup>157</sup> In searching for a precedent for this double portrait, I was struck by an anonymous 16<sup>th</sup> century Flemish print of Philip II of Spain as the Duke of Brabant (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) and discussed by Joanna Woodall. He stands to the left, in front of a curtain and balustrade, with a battleground in the right distance. It looks exactly as if it was a design for the Honthorst portrait and Amalia had not yet been added. Since the Honthorst commemorates the retaking of Breda, a significant city in the province of Brabant, one is led to wonder if there is in fact some sort of connection between the images.

Antony van Dyck's half-length portrait of Charles I and Henrietta Maria,<sup>158</sup> in which the two figures exchange a laurel wreath (Fig. 2.49). More common for state portraiture, however, is the family portrait: the "Great Piece" by Van Dyck depicts Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their two eldest children in front of a backdrop of pillars, draperies and a London skyline (Fig. 2.50). Painted in 1632, it serves to establish a family lineage, displaying the king, his crown and scepter nearby. The dynasty is assured through the presence of his legitimate children. This type of portrait is found frequently in the works of Antonis Mor, Anthony van Dyck, and even Gerard Van Honthorst. The inclusion of the children shifts the focus of the portrait from the presentation of the sovereign body of the monarch to the legitimacy of a dynasty. Family portraits are therefore a very different genre of image than the state portrait, focusing on different themes and serving different purposes.

In the 1637 double portrait by Van Honthorst, Amalia stands with her husband, of an equal size and significance within the picture. It could even be argued that she is closer to the picture plane than her husband, since though his left foot seems to create a small frame to contain her body, it is her skirts which come closest to – and even overrun – the edges of the canvas. That Amalia is included in this double portrait speaks to the companionate nature of their marriage as well as to a desire to present her as an active participant in her husband's victories – a desire already evident in earlier print culture. The unusualness of the double state portrait may even be emphasized by the fact that it was later copied and circulated, sometimes as a single painting, but more often as a pair of paintings, returning it to more expected European

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<sup>158</sup> A variant of this composition by Daniel Mytens can also be found in the collection of Queen Elizabeth at Buckingham Palace.

conventions, and perhaps even downplaying the significance of Amalia. Judson and Ekkart record eleven copies of Frederik Hendrik alone and four of Amalia,<sup>159</sup> but only three copies of the painting as a whole, one of which is only half length.<sup>160</sup> All of the known copies which included both the Prince and Princess in one canvas were owned either by their daughters or by trusted advisers and courtiers, structuring the audience for this idiosyncratic portrait and its subsequent impact (see Chapter 3 below).

While this double portrait was produced for official use in the palaces of Amalia's daughters and employees, it was never reproduced in printed form, despite the existence of a consistent and long-lasting market for portrait prints of the House of Orange across different sectors of the market. As mentioned above, Van Dyck's portraits were copied and engraved for production as prints by Conrad Waumans. There were also clearly prints marketed to geographically diverse audiences; Parisian audiences could purchase prints published by Balthasar Moncornet, while in London, William Faithorne, who specialized in printed portraits, was producing portraits of Amalia during the 1640s. Within the United Provinces, different printmakers were active in different cities, though this does not of course negate the easily portable nature of prints. While Delft seems to have been primarily active only in Delft, Jan Brouwer seems only to have been active in Amsterdam. He executed copies of portraits originally engraved by Claes Jansz Visscher based on painted portraits by Gerard van Honthorst. There were also two luxury print series by Pieter Soutman, intended not for everyday sale but for

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<sup>159</sup> It is unclear if there were previously pendants of Amalia for all eleven versions of the Frederik Hendrik portrait which are now lost, or if some of these were intended to stand on their own.

<sup>160</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 231-233. See also Appendix 1 below.

an elite sector of the market, based on their size and technical refinement (Fig. 2.51).<sup>161</sup> Soutman dedicated the print series *Princes of Nassau* to Frederik Hendrik in 1640, also producing another set in 1649 dedicated to Amalia. This later set of prints would have been released into a market filled with turmoil; while some have argued that the death of the stadhouder in 1647 produced a flurry of commemorative portraits, these portraits were also entering a society torn by anti-Orange sentiment. In each case, these prints presented variations of formal state portraits as a sort of propaganda to wide, geographically and economically diverse markets.

Following the death of Frederik Hendrik in 1647, Amalia shifted from being a powerful regent in her husband's stead to a grieving widow with restricted influence. After Frederik Hendrik's death in 1647, the House of Orange had to navigate the signing of the Treaty of Muenster, the rise and fall of Willem II as stadhouder and rapidly changing popular opinion. One can only imagine the frustration with which Amalia must have watched Willem II, in two years, undermine the empire she and Frederik Hendrik had spent the previous twenty years establishing. He was, she complained, ruining the standing of the family, both politically and financially, through reckless spending and borrowing of money.<sup>162</sup> His attempts to assert his influence during times of peace jeopardized the delicate relationship between the States-General

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<sup>161</sup> The origin of these prints of the House of Orange can be traced to a letter sent to Constantijn Huygens, in which Soutman requests portraits of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia in order to engrave them. This is noted in a letter discovered by Kerry Barrett, "Mijn Heer: Letters from Pieter Soutman to Constantijn Huygens," *Oud Holland* 122, no. 2/3 (2009).

<sup>162</sup> Visser, *Gloria Parendi*, 554. Willem Frederik records: "HH beklæechde ooch dat SH het huys rouineerde en dat hij hiet voor duysent gulden kredijt had en gheen gelt kont krijgen." "Her Highness complained as well that his highness (Willem II) had ruined the house and that he had taken on more than a thousand gulden of debt and could not get any money."

and the House as a whole.<sup>163</sup> Portraits could be deftly employed to respond to such crises, as Amalia well knew. A new portrait type had to be introduced – that of the grieving widow, the vessel in which the memory of a national hero would be preserved and the tree from which the future Orange line would sprout. A virtuous, upright image of the grieving widow, perpetually invoking the memory of the lost hero was an essential counter to the uncertain political climate of the middle of the century.

A transitional portrait that represents Amalia as the most important member of the House of Orange without explicitly framing her as a widow could be found in the western apartment at Huis ten Bosch, Amalia's summer palace. The *grote cabinet* held a set of paintings made up of life size portraits of Amalia and Frederik Hendrik and their offspring by Honthorst (Figs 2.52-2.54). The largest of these hung on the east wall and depicted Amalia and Frederik Hendrik with their three youngest daughters.<sup>164</sup> Frederik Hendrik may have been painted posthumously in this scene, given its usual date of 1647. This suggestion is supported by the presence of the putti in

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<sup>163</sup> The most lucid summary of the power games played by Willem II can be found in Herbert H. Rowen, "The Revolution That Wasn't: The *Coup d'état* of 1650 in Holland," in *The Rhyme and Reason of Politics in Early Modern Europe. Collected Essays of Herbert H. Rowen.*, ed. Craig Harline (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992). The struggle between the Orangists and Republicanists in the latter part of the century has also been examined in a compelling study of printed propaganda. Though beyond the scope of the current work, it serves to convey just how volatile and delicate the political situation was at home and how this discourse took a visual form which pervaded all levels of society. Jill Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650-75* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

<sup>164</sup> See Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 233; Jonathan Bikker, Yvette Bruijnen, and Gerdina Eleonora Wuestman, *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum : Nieuw Amsterdam : Yale University Press 2007), 208-209. The canvas has been cropped by about 40 cm; it was initially the same height as the other two canvases in the cycle. This is supported by the lack of cusping along the top and bottom of the canvas, supporting this theory. Like the 1637 portrait, this canvas also served as a prototype from which studio copies of differing lengths were then produced for circulation.

the upper left corner, who descend from a golden glow in order to crown him with laurels.<sup>165</sup> To the right stand two of the young princesses, while Amalia herself stands proudly in the center, handing an orange branch to the youngest, Maria of Orange. Though Judson and Ekkart present this as a reworking and updating of the 1637 portrait by Honthorst which had hung at Rijswijk, there are significant alterations to the composition, which stress Amalia's ongoing significance for the House and the nation. In the earlier double portraits, the Prince and Princess were evenly placed on either side of the central axis and equally shared the picture plane. By contrast, this version places Amalia on the central axis of the composition, practically reducing her family members to decorative staffage. This is further emphasized by the way in which Honthorst placed the two daughters to the right and the table to the left. These two compositional elements help to create a funneling effect where attention is directed to Amalia at the center. The bottom edge of the carpet hanging off the table at left and the bottom edges of the brightly colored dresses of the Princesses form orthogonals that direct the eye straight to Amalia, thrown into even sharper relief as she is silhouetted against the sky. Though she is not explicitly dressed as a widow in the scene, the placement of it inside Huis ten Bosch links it inextricably with her role in the maintenance of dynastic memory.

The setting of the family portrait has also changed since the 1637 example, and the shift reflects the changing concerns of the House of Orange. The earlier portrait places Frederik Hendrik and Amalia in front of a long vista with a battlefield, frequently interpreted as a

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<sup>165</sup> Whether or not this portrait was posthumous is debated; see Bikker, Bruijnen, and Wuestman, *Dutch Paintings*, 209 for a summary of the debate. Spliethoff had argued that the presence of the hovering putti with a crown of laurel indicates that it was posthumous, however this motif is also used in other portraits where he was alive. In any event, he was likely ill at the time of execution and the likeness was probably copied from another portrait.

reference to the significant military victory won by the Prince at Breda. In 1637, the military endeavors of the family in the fight against Spain were of central importance to the reputation of the family, and prints of the family underscoring the victories and martial prowess of the Prince were widely circulated. By the time of the commission for the ensemble of portraits in the western cabinet at Huis ten Bosch, however, the patron was primarily concerned with the future of the family and the marriage prospects of her daughters instead of the current state of military affairs. The treaty ending the war had been signed and Amalia became even more concerned with dynastic policy. Instead of a background of battlefields, the family is placed against a balustrade which speaks to courtly status. Though the Prince is still dressed in armor, the family as a whole is shown in a context that emphasizes their social standing.

Across from this panel celebrating the central role Amalia played in her family were two matching portraits of her married children: Willem II with Mary Stuart and Louise Henriette with the Elector Brandenburg (Figs. 2.53, 2.54). The canvases were initially all the same height and are clearly set in the same space, a checkered tiled floor with balustrade lined with rich tapestry. Like the larger canvas, the tapestry also drapes from the top corners of the compositions. Putti are repeated between the three canvases as well; Willem II's helmet is carried by one as other strew flowers around Mary Stuart. The Elector Brandenburg is graced by a group of putto carrying his crown and scepter.<sup>166</sup> The group of paintings as a whole places great emphasis on

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<sup>166</sup> It is important to note that the Elector was so pleased with his portrait in this cycle that he ordered 36 copies of this portrait from the van Honthorst studio. This instance is particularly interesting because the document placing the order is preserved and indicates the way portraits circulated. The document is reproduced in Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Honthorst*, 372-375, doc. 82. It lists the prices, the names of those for whom they were intended as presents, and dates of delivery. Six replicas of the life size were ordered, seven in small formats and 23 single portraits of various sizes. All of them were delivered within a period of seven months, providing some insight into the studio practices of van Honthorst.

traditional symbols of rank, contrasting the young, as yet unmarried princesses of Orange with the prominently married offspring and their partners. The paintings as a group do not emphasize Amalia's identity as a widow as much as emphasize dynastic continuity.

Elsewhere at Huis ten Bosch, portraits more explicitly referenced the new aspect of her identity as the Dowager Princess. The most visible of these were integrated into the Oranjezaal and presented her as an ideal of elite womanhood, serving house and husband as wife, mother, and bearer of memory in the new era. The overwhelming message of the building was one that affirmed the role of the living and the significance of rebirth, renewal, and witness – all themes which depended on the ongoing presence of the family matriarch. The three portraits of her in the Oranjezaal, though prominent and triumphant, are not particularly personal in their iconography, as is befitting the more accessible space. Van Honthorst represented these three aspects of her identity in three portraits: across from the door she is shown as a triumphant bride (see Fig. 2.8 above); on the east wall, she is shown surrounded by her children (see Chapter 5 below); and in the dome, she is shown as the faithful widow (Fig. 2.55).<sup>167</sup>

The iconography of the faithful widow was a critical element throughout the house, notably in Govert Flinck's *Allegory of Hope Coming to Amalia at the Tomb of Fredrik Hendrik* from 1654 (Fig 2.56).<sup>168</sup> The entire room in which it was hung, Amalia's *grote cabinet*, was

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<sup>167</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 155. There are two variants of this composition, one in Berlin and the other still in the Dutch royal collection. In one, she holds a skull and in the other is a small portrait of Frederik Hendrik. Judson and Ekkart claimed that the Berlin version was the original, replaced in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with a later copy; other sources consider the Berlin version to be an inferior copy by Gerrit's brother Willem or the atelier.

<sup>168</sup> J. W. von Moltke, *Govaert Flinck. 1615-1660*, Painters of the Past: A Series of Catalogues Raisonné of Dutch and Flemish Painters (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co. N.V., 1965) p. 39, 92, Pl. 18, cat.nr. 118; F. Gorissen, *Govert Flinck der Kleefsche Apelles. 1616-1660* (Kleve: Städtisches Museum

paneled in deep brown wood, in contrast to the red or ash-gray satin wall coverings of the other rooms in her suite. Set between the windows were six paintings of the virtues by Verelst, most likely in allegorical form of a group of women, as a visitor in the 18<sup>th</sup> century referred to the “six whole lengths of ladies” to be found here.<sup>169</sup> Flinck’s painting, hung on the west wall, depicts Amalia in mourning with a book in her lap, frequently interpreted as Isaac Commelyn’s biography of Frederik Hendrik, published in 1652.<sup>170</sup> Behind her is a fictional cenotaph to Frederik Hendrik, deliberately designed to recall the monument to Willem the Silent in the Nieuwekerk in Delft. A statue of the deceased hero sits on his helmet and holds the baton of rule, flanked by two female figures, one with a sword and the other with the scales of justice. She is greeted by a female figure, clad in green and leaning on an anchor – a personification of hope.<sup>171</sup> Ripa specified that Hope should be crowned with or holding flowers; Flinck has linked this iconological element with dynastic identity by representing the figure of Hope holding an orange blossom. The theme is underscored by a classical altar in the background, from which

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Haus Koekkoek, 1965); Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis: 1430-1790*, 95-98. Tom van der Molen has also graciously consulted on discussions of Flinck.

<sup>169</sup> T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis ten Bosch," *Oud Holland* LXXXIV(1969), 52. Citing Ann Ward Radcliffe, *A journey made in the summer of 1794, through Holland and the western frontier of Germany : ... to which are added, observations during a tour to the lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. By Ann Radcliffe* (Dublin: Printed by William Porter, for P. Wogan, P. Byrne, H. Colbert, W. Porter, W. Jones [and 3 others in Dublin], 1795). The inventory of Amalia’s goods dated 1654-1668 reads “Ses schilderijen denoterende de liefde, geloove, voorsichtigheyt, justitie, matigheyt, ende constancie, door Verelst gedaen.” None of these six ladies remain extant.

<sup>170</sup> Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis: 1430-1790*, 95.

<sup>171</sup> Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, of Uytbeeldingen des Verstands: van Cesare Ripa van Perugien, Ridder van SS, Mauritius en Lazzaro* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz Pers, 1644), 205-206. The 1644 Dutch edition of Ripa includes eight different descriptions of Hope; Flinck’s painting clearly draws on the first two, which specify that Hope should be a young woman, clad in green, either holding flowers or crowned with them and leaning on an anchor. The flowers are the infallible proof that fruit is expected.

risers a phoenix. Amalia is a witness to the hope for the future of the House of Orange in the wake of the death of her husband symbolized by the rising phoenix in the background. Within the context of the six other virtues in the room, Amalia is shown in the company of Hope; by incorporating Hope and Amalia into the same canvas, Flinck unites the Dowager Princess with the set of Virtues as a whole. Amalia becomes a witness to cultural renewal in a manner which stresses the role of Orange.

Following the popular support experienced by the House of Orange in the wake of independence from Spain, their reputation had suffered through the actions of Willem II.<sup>172</sup> Amalia's social position became somewhat precarious. To have the House which she had fought so hard to promote diminished would be devastating. For Amalia, then, her descendants gained even more significance, particularly her infant grandson, Willem III. An upswing in popular sentiment in 1652 resulted in Zeeland, Friesland, and Groningen voting to pressure the States General to elevate the infant Willem III to the stadhouderate. This was not to easily come to pass, as the greatest demand of England in negotiations to end the first Anglo-Dutch war was that no Prince of Orange could ever again hold high office. Despite public outcry, peace with England was negotiated and a treaty was signed – but it was a treaty with a secret proviso that the State of Holland alone would pass an Act of Exclusion. The States of Holland had no desire to see the House of Orange restored to high offices, and their dominance would guarantee that such an ascent was henceforth blocked.<sup>173</sup> Flinck's allegory was painted on the heels of this very

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<sup>172</sup> The best discussion of the political climate in the early 1650s can be found in Israel, *The Dutch Republic*. The most extensive discussion of the second half of Amalia's life is found in Geyl, *Orange and Stuart 1641-1672*.

<sup>173</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 717-726.

turbulent and uncertain period for the House of Orange. Amalia chose to decorate her cabinet with a cycle of virtues, crowned with a large panel emphasizing her own role as the ‘anchor’ of the family – and the tree from which the future sprouted. This portrait sets the tone for a larger body of portraits which explicitly foreground her role as Frederik Hendrik’s widow and as the protector and progenitor of the Orange line.

After the decoration of the Oranjezaal and later the death of Gerard van Honthorst, Amalia never again retained an official portraitist in the same way, as the demand for portraits dwindled and she became less central to the visual identity of the House of Orange. However, this did not mean that portraits ceased to be produced. Very little research has been done on the late portraits on the assumption that Amalia’s activity as a patron had come to an end. However, this is not supported by the surviving visual material. The late portraits are of widely varying quality, but still include several significant commissions and some new themes, such as the inclusion of her architectural commissions in portraits. The attribution of late portraits is often tentative, frequently including Johannes Mijtens, Jan de Baen, and “school of Honthorst,” and provenance for these paintings is usually incomplete. The portraits consistently represent her in the clothes of a mourning widow, often holding a symbol of mortality, such as a skull, or an emblem of her family identity.

One unusual feature that appears in the late portraits of Amalia van Solms is the association between the widow and her territorial holdings. Two different late portraits depict her in front of palaces, and in both cases, they were palaces where she was instrumental in renovation and reconstruction. The first of the two is in Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft, and is alternately attributed to Jan de Baen and School of Honthorst (Fig 2.57). A much older and plumper Amalia, wearing a black veil, ermine, and pearls is seated in front of a column. Unlike

earlier portraits where she holds a branch with blossoms and small unripe oranges, here the branch she holds in her right hand has flowers but no fruit. Painted at a time of comparative crisis for the House, the blooming but not fruiting branch suggests hope for the future, but not the immediate future. This combination of hope and memorial is underscored by the distant view of Huis ten Bosch, easily identified by its distinctive octagonal dome.<sup>174</sup> Huis ten Bosch, itself a memorial and an embodiment of Amalia's life mission, emphasizes the House of Orange as a whole and its phoenix-like role in Dutch national politics. Like most of the portraits of Amalia as a widow, it is not currently known for what audience this portrait was intended or where it originally may have hung. A second example associates Amalia with her palace at Turnhout, a property granted to her by the King of Spain at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Munster (Fig. 2.58).<sup>175</sup> This late portrait by Gerard van Honthorst (and/or his studio) is a large painting representing Amalia van Solms in front of the palace. She has extended her right hand in such a way that it seems almost as if she is reaching out to touch the pediment of the entrance in the distance. Her status is further elevated by a group of flying putti who carry her coat of arms, surrounded with white knotwork that references her status as a widow. Both cases stress Amalia's role as a patron of a particular palace, and by extension, her status as a landowner.

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<sup>174</sup> Other versions of this portrait do not include Huis ten Bosch. See Appendix 1.

<sup>175</sup> Turnhout was granted to Amalia van Solms as a personal domain by the King of Spain at the conclusion of the Treaty of Munster in appreciation for her role in bringing the treaty to an acceptable conclusion. At her death, it was left to her youngest daughter, Maria van Oranje (Maria van Simmern). There has been relatively little scholarship examining her role at Turnhout, though significant contributions have been made. See Harry de Kok, "Amalia van Solms en Turnhout," *Jaarboek Oranje Nassau* 2008(2009); P. J. Heuvelmans, *De luisterrijke intrede van de vorstin van Oranje, Amalia van Solms, als vrouwe van Turnhout* (Turnhout: Brepols en Dierckx, c. 1860).

Another late portrait type was introduced by Caspar Netscher.<sup>176</sup> Netscher worked extensively as a portraitist for the daughters of Amalia, producing a series of portraits of them over the years. Four versions of a portrait of Amalia are believed to have been made, two of which were presumed destroyed during the Second World War (previously in collections at Schloss Berlin and Schloss Dessau); one still exists in the royal collection of the House of Orange (Fig 2.59).<sup>177</sup> All four were small paintings around 68 x 55 cm, intended to be viewed intimately. The version still in the Royal collection of the Netherlands shows Amalia in her late 60s, still wearing the veil of mourning and with a hand resting on an hourglass, while a skull sits on the table. A sculpture of a man in armor in the background refers to Frederik Hendrik, just as she is seated in front of a sculpture of her deceased husband in Govert Flinck's *Allegory*. One of the four known versions once hung in her own rooms at Noordeinde as reflected in an inventory of 1673, where it is described as "Haere hoogheys pourtrait in 't kleyn, all sittende, met haer edele handt op een sandtloper. Gedaen door C Netscher, 1671."<sup>178</sup> At the time of her death, it was valued at 300 *gulden*. The pamphlet published after her death describes her poor health in her later years, experiencing difficulty both moving and breathing due to years of rich foods and

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<sup>176</sup> Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Caspar Netscher and late seventeenth-century Dutch painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2002), 320-321. Wiesman questions the authorship of the copy previously in Dessau.

<sup>177</sup> A fourth version may be in a private collection (Tarnowski) in Sofia, Bulgaria, as it was recorded there in the 1930s. What has happened to it since then is unknown. *Ibid*, 321.

<sup>178</sup> Koninklijk Huisarchief Inv. A14 XIII Nr. 17, published in Drossaers, Hofstede de Groot, and de Jonge, "Inventaris van de meubelen van het stadhoudelijk kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage."

reduced movement.<sup>179</sup> Netscher unflatteringly records the fleshy face and bulky body of Amalia's later years, a far cry from the sparkling eyes and fairness recorded in her youth.

Despite fluctuations in influence, Amalia may have intended to commission a cycle of history paintings late in her life. A set of drawings and one oil sketch in the Rijksmuseum by Theodoor van Thulden are the only surviving record of proposed paintings incorporating narrative, allegory, and portraiture. Bernard Vermet dates these sketches to 1660, reflecting a confident Dowager Princess who would unite and preserve the House of Orange.<sup>180</sup> It is unknown who precisely commissioned them or where the paintings were intended to be seen, but based on the emphasis on prominent women and the recurrence of Amalia in the surviving drawings, Vermet theorizes that Amalia, not Willem III, was the more likely patron.<sup>181</sup> The sketches focus on the relationship between Amalia van Solms and her grandson and include a scene of Willem III taking leave of his grandmother, preserved as an oil sketch in the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 2.60). The most compelling of the surviving designs is a sketch with Amalia enthroned, labeled as Unity, surrounded by four women labeled as territories (though identifiable as Amalia's daughters and daughter in law) (Fig 2.61). Like the portraits where Amalia is depicted in front of her palaces at Turnhout and in The Hague, this sketch emphasizes the relationship of Amalia and the House of Orange more broadly to the land itself. This functions

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<sup>179</sup> van Balen, "Lyk-Predicatie op de Begravenisse van HARE HOOGHEIT, Mevrouw de Princesse Douariere D'Orange," 36. "Haar lighaam, 't welk door lijvig voedsel en kleine beweging der leden groote verstopping kreeg, moest die ook in de spieren, welke het noodig werk van de adem haling, na Gods order, bedrenen, neit weining uitstaan, waar uit den langdurigen hoeft quam;"

<sup>180</sup> Bernard Vermet, "Van Thuldens Historische allegorieen," in *Theodoor van Thulden. Een Zuidnederlandse barokschilder. (1606-1669)*, ed. Alain Roy (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1991), 87.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

both to enhance her elite status as a landowner, but also as a sort of propaganda to draw attention to the role played by the House of Orange in the defence of the United Provinces.

In the years between 1655 and her death in 1675, Amalia is not known to have commissioned much artwork, though she carried out extensive renovations on her castle in Turnhout, Belgium. The loss of the archival material related to her household makes it unlikely that specifics of her patronage will be clarified. However, she was not a woman content to fade into the background after the death of her husband. For the last twenty five years of her life, she actively worked to protect the reputation of her house and guarantee the education and social standing of her grandson, Willem III of Orange. Except for Soutman's print series, Amalia's portrait largely disappeared from print culture after 1655. However, she never entirely disappeared from the public eye: her role as the grieving widow-matriarch was perpetually reinforced by the existence of Huis ten Bosch. In the year of her death (1675), she was once again presented in print, but this time as a commemoration of her death. Echoing the prints made by Pieter Post to chronicle the funeral of her husband in 1647, a large print was made on the occasion of her death and burial in the Nieuwekerk, Delft (Fig. 2.62). It was published as part of a pamphlet which described her death and reproduced the prayers and sermons from her funeral, *Lyk-Predicatie op de Begravenisse van HARE HOOGHEIT, Mevrouw de Princesse Douariere D'Orange*.<sup>182</sup> The print illustrates scenes of Amalia on her deathbed, the coffin carried into the streets, the procession from The Hague to Delft, and then interment in the crypt in the Nieuwekerk. This was followed in 1676 by an almanac print by Romeyn de Hooghe, one

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<sup>182</sup> van Balen, "Lyk-Predicatie."

copy of which is preserved in the Rijksprentenkabinet (Fig. 2.63).<sup>183</sup> Though primarily a pantheon of princes, the print also includes a portrait of Amalia van Solms with veil and pearls hovering above them in the clouds. She holds the hand of an angelic figure crowned with stars and holding what seems to be an ouroboros. Even in death, a portrait of Amalia presides over the political situation, guarding her family's interests.

Portraits of Amalia van Solms were available in every size and medium during her lifetime, though most readily between 1626 and 1655. They served a variety of functions. They were sent abroad to foreign monarchs to bolster her status and legitimacy. They were displayed in public spaces within the United Provinces for much the same reason. Portraits were circulated to her female peers as part of a network of exchange to bolster inter-dynastic associations in a more private realm. They were available for sale at multiple price points, ensuring that anyone who wished to own an image of the Princess was able to do so. Within her own palaces, portraits functioned in a variety of ways based on the accessibility and intended audience of the space. The following three case studies will examine how her image was circulated, addressing how the portraits functioned differently for different audiences and how their meanings shifted based on the site of display.

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<sup>183</sup> Frederik Muller, *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen. Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten* (Amsterdam: F. Muller, 1863), vol. I, 391, nr. 2579; John Landwehr, *Romeyn de Hooghe, the etcher; contemporary portrayal of Europe, 1662-1707* (Leiden; Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: A.W. Sijthoff; Oceana, 1973), 104.

### 3.0 THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF AMALIA VAN SOLMS

“As for the art off Painting and the affection of the people to Pictures, I thincke none other goe beyond them...all in generall strive to adorne their houses, especially the outer or streete roome, with costly peeces [of painting], Butchers and bakers not much inferior in their shoppes, which are fairly sett Forth, yea many tymes blacksmaythes, Coblers, etts., will have some picture or other by their Forge and in their stalle.”

-Peter Mundy, 1640<sup>184</sup>

In June of 1657, Catharina d’Overdaghe, widow and mother of two, engaged the assistance of two professionals, Marten Kretser (Kresser) and Adam Camerarius,<sup>185</sup> to inventory the paintings

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<sup>184</sup> Peter Mundy, Richard Carnac Temple, and Lavinia Mary Anstey, *The travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667* (Cambridge: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1907). This comment from Mundy has more recently been regarded as a gross over-exaggeration, yet studies of inventories often support the idea that a more than average number of people owned artwork.

<sup>185</sup> Both men were professionals in the art trade: Kretser is named in Renialme’s inventory as a ‘koopman’ or seller; Anne Goldgar identifies him specifically as an art dealer. Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania : money, honor, and knowledge in the Dutch golden age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). Camerarius is listed in the inventory as a ‘kunst schilder’ and clearly had an existing relationship with Renialme during his life, as the inventory (see Appendix 3) lists a painting by Camerarius of birds valued at 24 gulden. (Inv. Lot: 180.0112; “No 39 een landschap van Adam Cammerarius” and “No. 40 een schilderij van vogels van Adam Cammerius”)

owned by her late husband and assess the value of the collection before it was to be sold.<sup>186</sup> The collection was not made up of family possessions, but rather the professional assets of the art dealership of her husband, Johannes de Renialme.<sup>187</sup> Renialme was a dealer of paintings, jewelry, and decorative arts in both Amsterdam and Delft since at least 1640, selling luxury objects locally and abroad. The inventory from the time of his death reads like a textbook in seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish art: he had for sale Flemish and German masters including Dürer, Bruegel, Rubens, and Van Dyck in addition to artists from the northern provinces such as Rembrandt, Lievens, and Gerrit Dou. In addition, he dealt in imported artists, including Ribera, Holbein, and Tintoretto. There were 583 paintings listed in his final inventory, representing an estimated 38,483 gulden, 7 *stuivers* – a princely sum.

Renialme carried a wide variety of *objets d'art*, reflecting both the interests and the breadth of his clientele. His client list had included such prominent figures as the Grand Elector Friedrich Willem, the most eminent of Amalia's sons-in-law, to whom he had attempted to sell works by Jan Lievens and Jan Porcellis. However, he must also have catered to those with more limited incomes based on the large number of more modestly priced items in this stock and works by minor or anonymous masters. This breadth is reflected in miniature in the variety of prices attached to images of members of the House of Orange that he had for sale. In addition to several portraits of the Prince, Renialme had four different portraits of female members of the House of Orange available at the time of his death: a van Dyck portrait (*een contrefejtsel van de Princesse van Orangien, door Van Dijck*) for *f* 300, another portrait valued at *f*6, a pair of

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<sup>186</sup> Amsterdam NA 1915, fols. 663-679. Montias Inventory #180, dated 1657/06/20.

<sup>187</sup> J. Michael Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), chapter 14.

images of the prince and princess (*zijnde twe stux van de Prins ende Princesse*) valued at f10,<sup>188</sup> and lastly, a portrait of “the old princess” attributed to Cornelis van Poelenburch, also valued at f5.<sup>189</sup> While very little can be said about the precise iconographic or stylistic content of these portraits, the presence of a range of images by multiple artists reflects the pervasive availability of images of the house of Orange.<sup>190</sup>

The Renialme inventory reflects in miniature broader trends in the consumption of images of Amalia van Solms both within the United Provinces and abroad throughout the seventeenth century. In this chapter, access to the image of Amalia van Solms will be examined, using examples from different income levels and social classes. This chapter primarily addresses portraits which lay outside the realm of influence of Amalia herself, focusing instead on the different uses to which portraits could be put by a wide range of audiences and in a wide range of spaces, both public and domestic. These examples reveal that beyond the direct influence of the court, portraits of Amalia functioned in different ways based on ownership and site of display. Portraits of Amalia van Solms in the company of other members of the House of Orange were

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<sup>188</sup>It is possible that the two anonymous portraits could have been portraits of Mary Stuart instead. In 1657, at the time of the inventory, it would have been customary to refer to Amalia as the ‘princesse douariere’ and to Mary Stuart as ‘princesse royale’ or in some way indicate her royal status, about which she was particular. Lacking either, it is impossible state definitively which princess was the subject of these portraits.

<sup>189</sup> Nicolette Sluijter-Seiffert suggests that the value of this painting is too low for it to be a true Poelenburch portrait, as even his cheapest works cost around f20. She proposes that the notation refers instead to a portrait in the style of Poelenburch, but not by his hand. Personal communication, October 2012. For more on the artist as a portraitist, see Nicolette Sluijter-Seiffert, "Cornelis van Poelenburch als portrettschilder," in *Face Book. Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries. Liber Amicorum Presented to Rudolf E.O.Ekkart.*, ed. Charles Dumas, Edwin Buijsen, and Volker Manuth (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2012).

<sup>190</sup> The Renialme inventory contains several other portraits of Willem II as well, including a carving of Willem II and Mary Stuart in agate with a gold rim, valued at approx. f12. (*no. 52 een Prins Wilhelm met zijn gemalinne in aget met een goude rant f 12:--:-- 8:--:--* )

hung in the more publicly visible sections of houses, indicating the significance attached to placement of portraits within the house and the role played by portraits in elevating the perceived status of the owner. It is notable that other female members of the House of Orange were seldom included in such displays. However, images of Amalia appeared almost exclusively in tandem with images of other Princes of Orange, indicating that the public use of her portrait was not related to a perception of her as an individual, but rather as one part of a public family identity. Her continued presence in the visual and archival record of the seventeenth century complicates later scholarship claiming that she was unpopular.

### 3.1 INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE

In 1647 the Elector Brandenburg, Friedrich Willem, husband of Louise Henriette of Orange Nassau and therefore the most prestigious son-in-law of Amalia van Solms, ordered 36 copies of the portrait Gerard van Honthorst painted as part of a series of portraits for the west apartments at Huis ten Bosch. The documents noting this commission record the prices, sizes, and the intended recipients of the copies.<sup>191</sup> While no comparable documentation survives regarding the portraits of Amalia van Solms, this case quite clearly demonstrates how elite portraits were produced and circulated on a European scale. The style associated with the Dutch court – the crisp, almost harsh volumes of Van Honthorst’s largest commissions – was, through

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<sup>191</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, reproduced in Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Honthorst*. Six replicas of the life size were ordered, seven in small formats and 23 single portraits of various sizes. All were delivered within a period of seven months, suggesting that they were largely produced by Van Honthorst’s workshop and not exclusively by the master himself.

orders such as that of Frederik Willem, circulated throughout Europe and subsequently promoted an alternative to Van Dyck or Rubens.

Portraits of Amalia van Solms found in the collections of foreign monarchs in the seventeenth century can be divided into two groups, those portraits commissioned by Amalia and Frederik Hendrik themselves with the intention of presenting them as diplomatic gifts and those portraits commissioned by other foreign monarchs. The differences between these two groups reveal the interests of European elites and provide an arena in which to examine the aspirations and dynastic agenda of the House of Orange beyond the borders of the United Provinces. Amalia used portraits of herself as an integral part of negotiations about international status, reflecting her desire to advance the interests of the House of Orange through international relations. Despite the potentially important role played by portraits in this type of dynastic project, research on the broad dispersal of these images in the seventeenth century remains problematic.<sup>192</sup>

In 1631 Frederik Hendrik and Amalia commissioned a pair of full length portraits to send to Charles I of England, with whom they hoped to build a stronger relationship. The portraits first appear in an undated inventory kept by Abraham Van der Doort, where he recorded that

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<sup>192</sup> Not only is the geographic dispersal of these images quite wide, but it is also quite standard for portraits of Amalia van Solms to be mislabeled as portraits of Elizabeth (Stuart) of Bohemia. Two paintings in the Louvre are a prime example of this: the earlier Louvre catalog identifies one as Amalia and one as Elizabeth; a later catalog changes, possibly incorrectly, these attributions, eliminating Amalia completely. It is worth noting that portraits of Amalia van Solms and Frederik Hendrik may have been displayed in the homes of English aristocracy; see for example Daniel Mytens' portrait of Altheia, countess of Arundel, in the National Gallery (London) where a portrait gallery in the distance may include portraits of the Oranges. Althea was an intimate of Elizabeth of Bohemia and present in the Netherlands during the early 1640s.

they were hung together in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall.<sup>193</sup> The two paintings were again mentioned in 1651, when they were sold at the auction of the Kings goods.<sup>194</sup> Though originally one of a matched set, the Amalia portrait is now lost. Van der Doort recorded that it was executed by Van Honthorst, though the style of early examples should be more closely associated with portraits previously produced by the more conservative van Mierevelt atelier. The choice of style and dress, together with the formal nature of the full length portrait, reinforce a traditional, formal state portrait – a style which was in sharp contrast to what Charles later commissioned himself.

The gallery in which the full-length portraits were hung was a significant statement about power in Europe: it held at least thirty other portraits, including the King of Spain, Henry IV of France, Charles V, James IV of Scotland, Queen Ann, and Marie de' Medici, among others. Brotton sees the decoration of Bear Gallery as something new, an update to the Elizabethan long gallery where Charles showed all of his closest allies, displaying his lineage, his legitimacy, and his personal loyalties.<sup>195</sup> Charles used the walls of his gallery to establish visual relationships with foreign monarchs. The portraits of the Prince and Princess of Orange and how they were displayed communicate something about both the way in which Charles I conceived of his

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<sup>193</sup> Oliver Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*, 37th Volume of the Walpole Society (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose and Company, Ltd for The University Press, 1960), 3: "Done by Garrtt Hunthirst, Item the Saide (veli pitur auff te) Princ of Orring his wife done at length in a guilded wodden frame. Pijntit opan de reht lijeht opan klaeht." The size is given as 7'2" x 4'11". Van der Doort was the keeper of the king's pictures from 1625 on. The current location of the painting is unknown and it is believed destroyed.

<sup>194</sup> Christopher White, *The Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 58-59.

<sup>195</sup> Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods* (London: Macmillan, 2006), 182.

relationship with them and how the Prince and Princess of Orange wished to be perceived. Decisions about the creation of the paintings lay with the stadhouder and his wife: they wished to convey their identity as sophisticated members of an elite network in the conservative portrait tradition of Mor or Holbein. Charles conferred their desired status despite their relative social inferiority based on where he chose to hang the portraits. By placing their portraits alongside other European monarchs, he demonstrated his perception of their central role on the European stage while also indicating his personal esteem for the pair.

At the same time, Antony van Dyck was painting the three-quarter length portrait of Amalia van Solms discussed above (Fig. 2.37), likely at the request of Archduchess Isabella. Van Dyck may have been sent to the court at The Hague in a more diplomatic capacity, though portrait painting was clearly another reason for the trip. In addition to the copies painted for Isabella, on August 8, 1632 Charles I paid Van Dyck for copies of the portraits of the Prince and Princess.<sup>196</sup> The portraits by Van Dyck are in stark contrast to the portraits of them already displayed in the Bear Gallery. The larger formal portrait was fitting for the political purposes intended by the House of Orange on an international stage. Yet Charles himself requested a very different kind of portrait, one that was smaller, more relaxed and intimate. Despite the wealth and refinement visible in the Van Dyck portrait, he has not shown her in the most formal of poses or imposing of surroundings. While retaining an air of formal decorum, the smaller painting differs in size, posture, and intent. Even at the level of exchange between monarchs, portraits of the same people functioned in different ways, intrinsically related to their

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<sup>196</sup> Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," 230. Walsh identifies the paintings now in the Prado as the copy made for Charles.

relationships. Amalia was partial to the looser style, as she owned a copy of Van Dyck's portrait as well.<sup>197</sup> Emily Gordenker likens the dress worn by Amalia to current French fashion plates.<sup>198</sup> In a painting intended for and commissioned by other European elite for their own use, Amalia is represented in the latest courtly fashions from the continent and by a painter with international acclaim.

The commissioning of portraits by foreign monarchs confirmed the perceived social status of the Orange couple on an international scale. By displaying portraits of the couple in the Bear Gallery, Charles I both acknowledges them as peers and intimates and makes visible a political alliance on the walls of the gallery. At the time of display, an alliance with the powerful provinces was in the best interests of the English crown. Each of these roughly contemporaneous portraits functions differently, representing different conceptions of the identity of the sitter. Though we do not know where the Van Dyck was hung in Charles' palaces, it does not seem to have been a part of the same kind of grand statement on dynastic relations. The contrast between the styles and sizes of these portraits indicates the flexible way in which we must conceive of portraiture as elements in the negotiation of individual and shared identities.

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<sup>197</sup> The version owned by Amalia seems to have gone, by descent, to her daughter Henrietta Catherine of Anhalt Dessau, then to the Duveen collection and then the Norton Simon collection; current location unknown. Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," 228-230.

<sup>198</sup> Emilie E. S. Gordenker, *Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) : and the representation of dress in seventeenth-century portraiture* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), 31.

### 3.2 EXCHANGE OF PORTRAITS BETWEEN WOMEN

The portraits discussed in this chapter thus far were all intended for formal, public viewing, creating an elite portrait of a woman who desperately – and legitimately – wanted to be counted among the ruling families of Europe, using conventions of the state portrait to build such an elite identity. Within the context of her relations with women, portraits of Amalia functioned differently and relied on different visual conventions. The varying intimacy of the relationships and sites of display allowed for a different sort of representation of the self. It is within this context, and almost exclusively this context, that historiated portraits seem to have circulated at the elite level. In the cases where provenance has been preserved, many such portraits of Amalia were owned by women. Though authors such as Judson and Ekkart have long stated that such portraits were intended for “personal use,” the nature of that use – and the gendered nature of the target audience – has never been discussed.

Elizabeth of Bohemia, by blood princess of England, by marriage Winter Queen, and political exile in The Hague, had a complex relationship with Amalia van Solms. There seems to have been significant tension between the two women despite the tendency to regard them as friendly or intimate associates;<sup>199</sup> as Elizabeth’s fortunes were failing, those of Amalia were on the rise. Portraiture of the two women often shows striking similarities; Spliethoff has discussed the relationships between the early portraits of both women with loose hair that hung in the

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<sup>199</sup> Doorn, "De Winterkoningin: Vriendin of Rivale van Amalia van Solms?"; Elizabeth et al., *The correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*. For a woman as image and status conscious as Amalia, Elizabeth’s presence in The Hague presented an annoyance; as a princess of the blood, Elizabeth would always take precedence over Amalia, even in Amalia’s own court. Tension between the women is occasionally apparent in Elizabeth’s correspondence: at one point Frederik of Bohemia, acknowledging Amalia’s foolishness, begs his wife not to upset her (25 March, 1632, Elizabeth/Akkerman, 47).

rooms of Frederik Hendrik at Noordeinde and Goudswaard has also examined cases where their portraits are closely related.<sup>200</sup> The special relationship between the two women is reflected in the kinds of portraits that Elizabeth owned, including one of the earliest known portraits of Amalia, painted by van Mierevelt around the time of the wedding in 1625.<sup>201</sup> However, it is also likely that she owned multiple portraits of Amalia in historical dress. Elizabeth also owned historiated portraits of Amalia, possibly including the example now in the Centraal Museum in Utrecht (see fig 2.34), where Amalia, seated, is draped in a red costume with a billowing veil. The other portrait owned by Elizabeth was a portrait of Amalia as Diana, holding a spear and a small hunting horn (Fig. 3.1).<sup>202</sup> Similar allegorical portraits were hung in the more private spaces within the Orange palaces (see chapter 4, below). While less is known about the specific placement of these historicizing portraits within the residence of Elizabeth of Bohemia, the mere presence of them indicates an intimacy in the relationship. They are not formal state portraits like those developed simultaneously for display in public spaces such as city halls or circulation to foreign elites like the Miereveltian type, but reflect the courtly preference for a sort of Arcadian play-acting.

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<sup>200</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation"; Goudswaard, "Amalia van Solms-Braunfels. De iconographie van de gemalin van stadhouder Frederik Hendrik (1603-1675)."

<sup>201</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation," 166. Elizabeth later sent the portrait to her son, though its return was requested so that copies could be made from it.

<sup>202</sup> The version illustrated here is not the same as that owned by Elizabeth; Elizabeth's copy (IB 70136) may now be one in a private collection. The portraits owned by the Winter Queen were sold at an auction of the collection of Lord Craven. Craven was a close companion of Elizabeth of Bohemia's following the death of Frederik until her death in 1661. Hoogsteder argues for the likelihood of Elizabeth's art collection passing to Craven at that time. He also suggests that Elizabeth also owned a life size full length pair of portraits derived from a 1637 prototype, see discussion of Constantijn Huygens below. Hoogsteder, "De Schilderijen van Frederick en Elizabeth, Koning en Koningin van Bohemen."

A similar type of exchange might be expected to exist between Amalia and her own daughters. Surprisingly, however, this does not seem to be the case. During Amalia's lifetime, the portraits known to be owned by her daughters included variants on the 1637 Honthorst portrait (see Fig. 2.40). One version, now in Schloss Mosigkau in the collection of Anhalt-Dessau, was likely owned by Henriette Catherine, who married Johan George of Anhalt-Dessau in 1659 and was herself a great patron of the arts.<sup>203</sup> It was, notably, not contemporaneous to the original commission. Based on hairstyle, it is probably a copy made in the mid-1660s<sup>204</sup> – nearly thirty years after the original painting for Rijswijk and almost twenty years following the death of Frederik Hendrik. In this version, the collar of the Prince is a simpler one; perhaps not as simple as the Buysero version (see below), but not nearly as elaborate as the version owned by Huygens. Frederik Hendrik was clearly modeled on an earlier prototype and updated; Amalia, however, was still alive and active. She has an updated hairstyle but no longer holds a fan. In the 1660s, Amalia would have been in her sixties, and other late portraits show signs of age. Yet in the copy of the double portrait in Mosigkau, she is strikingly similar to the original from 1637. This suggests that the portrait was 'copied' from an earlier example and did not require a new sitting from Amalia.

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<sup>203</sup> van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., copy after: *Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*. Oil on Canvas. 1660-1670, approx. Date established by RKD staff on basis of hairstyle and lace collar. Coll. v. Anhalt Dessau, Schloss Mosigkau: Cat 1914 no. 659. Possibly identifiable with "Ihre Hochheit speissaal. 666. Hochheits herr vater und frau mutter in lebensgrösze" listed in the inventory of Oranienstein. See KHA B1 nr 62., Published in Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de verblijven van Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*.

<sup>204</sup> The evolution of seventeenth-century hairstyles is also illustrated in Maria Meyer, *Das Kostüm auf niederländischen Bildern. Zum modewandel im 17. Jahrhundert*. (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1986).

Another variant from this prototype, a half-length double portrait likely owned by Louise Henriette, is now in Schloss Oranienburg (Fig 3.2).<sup>205</sup> Instead of a full length double portrait, this example is more comparable with the half-length Van Dyck portrait of Charles and Henrietta Maria discussed above (Fig. 2.49). The composition has been changed from the full length 1637 prototype. While Van Honthorst placed a red curtain behind Frederik Hendrik and an open vista onto a battlefield behind Amalia, this artist (probably Jan de Baen) replaced the field with a second red curtain, creating a shallower space and a more rigidly symmetrical composition. This change serves to remove the figures from the battlefield to a more courtly environment. The other striking change is Amalia's dress. Instead of the formal, Francophilic black dress with white lace in which she appears in all of the other variants of this theme, here she wears a heavy satin dress in a cream color with a long pointed bodice and a pleated skirt. Edged in ermine and studded in square emeralds, the stiff bodice bears little resemblance to dresses worn by Amalia, making it an unusual example in a collection of highly similar copies. In only two other portraits is she ever seen wearing ermine: a sculpted portrait bust copied from one originally by Francois Dieussart and *the Allegory on the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia* by Van Honthorst in the Oranjezaal at Huis ten Bosch. In this painting, she is clad in a white dress with yellow sleeves and a gold and white brocade ermine-lined cape.<sup>206</sup> While ermine was not in common use in the United Provinces, it was a customary part of the regalia of the Elector Palatine,

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<sup>205</sup> Schloss Oranienburg, just outside of Berlin, was one of Louise Henriette's favorite palaces after her marriage to the Elector Brandenburg. The town itself was renamed Oranienburg to commemorate Louise Henriette's extensive patronage in the area.

<sup>206</sup> The marriage portrait at the Oranjezaal is also the closest comparison in terms of the dress more broadly.

Amalia's son-in-law.<sup>207</sup> Since Jan de Baen was in the employ of the Brandenburg court during the 1660s and 1670s,<sup>208</sup> Amalia could be dressed as a sovereign to represent her at a foreign court where the sartorial language of ermine would be more acceptable than it would have been in the staunchly republican circles of Amsterdam.

These variants on the Van Honthorst prototype owned by Amalia's daughters functioned as significant markers of elite identity in foreign courts. As Amalia's daughters married and moved to the homes of their husbands, they took with them a specific image of their parents to display in their new environment. Like the portraits sent to Charles I as a means to forge relationships and represent the sovereign in the absence of the actual body, these double portraits conveyed specific messages about both Prince and Princess to the courtiers of their German sons-in-law.

### 3.3 ELITE CIRCLES IN THE HAGUE

The Hague was the center of court culture from its inception. The city had long been the ceremonial seat of government, focused around the buildings which still house government functions.<sup>209</sup> The population of the city was, as a result, made up of courtiers and visiting

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<sup>207</sup> See for example the Van Honthorst portrait of the Elector Brandenburg, also in the Oranjezaal, or the large allegorical portrait of him now in Schloss Oranienburg.

<sup>208</sup> Oxford Art Online:  
[http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T005657?q=jan+de+baen&search=quick&pos=1&\\_start=1#firsthit](http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T005657?q=jan+de+baen&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit)

<sup>209</sup> Peter Wander, *Haagse Huizen van Oranje: Vier Eeuwen Paleizen en Huizen van de Oranjes in en om de Residentie* (Den Haag: Drukkerij Trio; Gemeentearchief 's-Gravenhage, 1981); Thera Wijsenbeek-

dignitaries. Never as large a city as Amsterdam, it had a relatively small population during the seventeenth century but had great symbolic significance, to the House of Orange in particular.<sup>210</sup> Unfortunately, The Hague proves not to be a fruitful venue for research on inventories and collecting practices. While there are preserved inventories documenting the holdings of the House of Orange, disappointingly few inventories of other aristocrats and courtiers have survived, if they were ever drawn up in the first place. In her work on elite material culture in The Hague, for example, Thera Wijzenbeek-Olthuis found only thirty probate inventories which included paintings.<sup>211</sup> There are several reasons that the inventories in The Hague fail to give any insight into art collections in the area and into elite inventories in particular: first, there were only approximately 200 families that could be considered as noble in the entirety of the Northern Provinces, and second, inheritance laws governing elite property were such that it was possible to avoid the kind of inventories that resulted from situations common to the middle classes.<sup>212</sup> It was normal, for example, for an ancestral castle to be subject to *fidei comissum*, a clause which stated that the castle and all its contents must be passed on intact. Among the items most likely

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Olthuis, ed. *Het Lange Voorhout: Monumenten, Mensen en Macht* (Zwolle and Den Haag: Waanders Uitgevers and Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe, 1998).

<sup>210</sup> Background on the history of The Hague can be found in Charles Dumas and Jim van der Meer Mohr, *Haagse stadsgezichten, 1550-1800 : topografische schilderijen van het Haags Historisch Museum* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991).

<sup>211</sup> Personal correspondence with Veerle de Laet. See also Thera Wijzenbeek-Olthuis, "Haagse boedels uit het Haagse notariaatarchief," (2010) where she notes that there were 33 inventories from nobles in the seventeenth century. Further research of my own revealed that none of these contained portraits of Amalia van Solms. There are two inventories from The Hague which did include portraits of Amalia van Solms, located through other means, which were Elizabeth van Tongeren, HGA Not 308 fol 315-, and Geneveva Maria van Noot, HGA Not 309 fol 140-.

<sup>212</sup> Thera Wijzenbeek-Olthuis, "Noblesse Oblige: Material Culture of the Nobility in Holland " in *Private Domain, Public Inquiry: Families and life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the present*

to be passed on in this way were items such as large silver vessels, land, and family portraits.<sup>213</sup> This eliminated the occasions on which an inventory might have been produced.<sup>214</sup> It was less common for an elite family to enter into the kinds of legal situations (bankruptcy, request by creditors) that produced the richness of archival material in Amsterdam. In addition, the archives in The Hague have large gaps where large numbers of documents were not preserved.<sup>215</sup>

Though it is largely impossible to even hypothesize about how Amalia's portraits impacted minor aristocracy, a single example speaks to the types of functions they may have had. A set of seven wall panels by Dirck van Delen, painted on canvas around 1630 and intended to decorate an entire room, represents fashionably dressed people parading against a background of fictive architecture, creating the illusion that the viewer is standing at the center of a long outdoor loggia (Fig. 3.3, 3.4).<sup>216</sup> In the only interior scene, a man and a woman greet each other in a fashionable space with a grand, arched entry. In the two outdoor scenes, full length, almost life size portraits of two groups surround the viewer. Set in a courtyard, one includes portraits of figures identified as Floris II van Pallant, Count of Culemborg, Frederik V van der Palts, king of Bohemia, and Prince Maurits. The opposite scene, situated under a

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ed. Anton Schuurman and Pieter Spierenburg (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996).

<sup>213</sup> Ibid. 119.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>215</sup> I would like to thank Marten Jan Bok and the other discussants following the November 2012 Promovendi Bijeenkomst at the University of Amsterdam for confirming my own experience at the Gemeentearchief in The Hague.

<sup>216</sup> Now installed at Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn, the panels were purchased as a set by the Rijksmuseum in 1958. Previously Spink and Son, London (1958); Mr. and Mrs Everett (-1958); Colonel Sloane Stanley (1805.) The Amalia panel measures 308.5 x 349 cm, oil on canvas.

graceful, groin-vaulted arcade, includes the portraits of Hendrik Casmir van Nassau Dietz, Ernst Casmir, stadhouder of Friesland, Frederik Hendrik, and Amalia van Solms. Amalia, the only woman in the group, is also situated prominently in the front of the portrait cluster. Hers is the only identifiable female portrait in the set; scholars have previously noted the peculiar absence of both Elizabeth of Bohemia and Catharina, the wife of Floris II.<sup>217</sup> The portrait likenesses were based on prints in circulation, since prints of the Orange family were in ready supply. Amalia, like Pallant and Frederik Hendrik, is clearly derived from portrait prints executed by Delft or their prototypes in the workshop of van Mierevelt.<sup>218</sup> She is dressed and positioned in a manner conventional for formal, full length portraits. She wears a dark colored, wide-necked gown with a lace collar and cuffs over an orange underdress with large bows at the elbows of her fashionably slashed sleeves. She is also shown draped in pearls, emphasizing both her wealth and her personal preference for luxury. She is wearing her pearled poinçon (in Dutch, *haernaelde*) that resembles a branch of lily of the valley.<sup>219</sup>

The original intent of these paintings is not entirely clear. They were most likely painted for Floris II van Pallant, count of Culemborg. This attribution is partly based on Staring's observation that though Pallant was a sort of distant cousin of the House of Orange, he was

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<sup>217</sup> A Staring, "Een raadselachtige Kamerbeschildering," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 13, no. 1 (1965), 6. Though Staring notes that some scholars have suggested the woman at the center of the interior scene as Elizabeth greeting the Earl of Craven, he argues against this being a portrait.

<sup>218</sup> Staring suggests that the wife of Pallant, Catharina, was not included in this painting because there was no published portrait available to use as a model until 1636, six years after this set is generally dated. By contrast, portrait prints of the stadhouder and his family were ubiquitous.

<sup>219</sup> Brus, *De juwelen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau*, 57-58. Amalia's *haernaelde* appears in the sketchbooks of the court jeweler, Thomas Cletcher. It seems to have been originally ordered by Maurits, but it was purchased by Frederik Hendrik in January of 1626 for *f*27,000 (in cash).

nevertheless grossly socially outranked by them. And yet, his portrait is included along with theirs in this elegant company. He can be identified in part by a comparison to a portrait print made of him by Willem Jacobsz Delff and published in the early 1627.<sup>220</sup> The inclusion of such a minor aristocrat in this most elite company suggests that Pallant was a class conscious patron attempting to elevate his social status through creating an impression of himself as a worthy companion of the Orange court.

The counts of Culemborg, a small territory in the vicinity of Utrecht, were minor aristocrats who had a long relationship with the House of Orange. Schotel's biography of Floris I and II suggests that Floris I was a close associate of Willem the Silent; though not on good terms with Maurits, Floris II came to be a close associate of Frederik Hendrik.<sup>221</sup> Floris II was born in 1577, a contemporary of Frederik Hendrik, and in 1601 married Catharina, Countess van den Bergh, a niece of Willem the Silent.<sup>222</sup> He seems to have been determined to elevate the family standing by allying himself with the House of Orange. He was actively involved in European politics and maintained an extensive correspondence with the nobility of Europe.<sup>223</sup> He faithfully served as a diplomat throughout the stadhouderates of both Maurits and Frederik

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<sup>220</sup> Staring, "Een raadselachtige Kamerbeschildering," 11. See also Hollstein vol. 5, 206. Willem Jacobsz. Delff, *Portrait of Florent II, Count of Pallandt, Lord of Culmborch, statesman*. Miereveld ad vivum depictam, 1627. Berlin. The corresponding portrait of his wife was not published until 1636.

<sup>221</sup> Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 492, 527. Culemborg clashed with Maurits over issues of religious doctrine, but was frequently later to be found closely allied with Frederik Hendrik. He was even a member of the Prince's secret council during 1636 which helped to forge an alliance with the French.

<sup>222</sup> van der Aa, A. J. *Biografisch Woordenboek Der Nederlanden*. Edited by K.J.R. van Harderwijck and G.D.J. Schotel. Amsterdam: B. M. Israel, 1969.

<sup>223</sup> Among many, many others, he corresponded with: Christiaan IV, king of Denmark; the King of Bohemia, the archbishop of Cologne, Elector Brandenburg, Eleonora of Bourbon, dignitaries from France and Portugal, the Hohenzollerns, German princes and princesses, as well as politicians, learned men, and the States General. He is also believed to have been on close terms with Hugo de Groot (Grotius).

Hendrik and was a member of the *cabinetsheeren tot secrete besoigne*, a ‘secret’ council led by Frederik Hendrik in which political decisions were made without the intervention of the States General.<sup>224</sup> Anecdotes from the time also support the suggestion that he was a regular presence at court; he escorted Marie de’ Medici through the Netherlands during her visit. He was also an intimate of Amalia van Solms; van Sijpesteijn tells of how Floris II was sent by Amalia to pacify a courtier making inappropriate advances to a young woman.<sup>225</sup>

Despite his comparatively low social standing, Floris II van Pallant did quite well for himself in terms of social mobility through his marriage to a relative of Orange-Nassau and his ongoing attempts to make himself a faithful servant. However, like the Oranges themselves, he also elevated the perception of his social status through the patronage of fine arts and architecture. By reputation, Floris was one of the richest men in the Netherlands. In 1620, he purchased the house at Lange Vijverberg 11 from the van Kinschot family.<sup>226</sup> Lange Vijverberg runs along the Hofvijver, placing Floris II’s new residence directly across the water from the stadhouder’s quarters and the center of government and in close proximity to the houses of other notables like Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen. He filled this house with expensive imported goods: Eastern tapestries, paintings from Italy, Flanders and the Dutch Republic, carved nutwood

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<sup>224</sup> G.D.J Schotel, *Floris I en II van Pallant, Graven van Culemborg* (Arnhem: Is. An. Nijhoff, 1846), 220. See also Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 493, 525-527.

<sup>225</sup> H. J. J. M. van Diepen, "Geschiedenis van de Huizen Lange vijverberg 11 en 12," *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (1938). "In den avond van Zondag 18 October 1633 gaf de Prinses van Orange, Amalia van Solms, in het stadhouderlijk Kwartier op het Binnenhof eene receptie." the Count of Laval, who had apparently spent too long living in Paris, entered the room as Culemborg was sitting in conversation with Amalia. An insolence was perpetrated against her ladies in waiting, and it was to the count of Culemborg that Amalia turned for an appropriate response.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

chairs, Venetian mirrors, inlaid cabinets and buffets, and lacquerwork.<sup>227</sup> The decoration of the house was so remarkable that in 1668, Jacob van der Does wrote a poem about the ‘house of golden leather.’<sup>228</sup> In these aspiringly princely quarters, he is known to have entertained the Winter King and Queen of Bohemia, Hessian counts, the Elector Brandenburg, and ‘all the rest of the elite of The Hague.’<sup>229</sup>

Among his rich tastes may also have been these panels representing the kind of elegant company who he entertained in his house in The Hague. In one inventory from the Gelderse Archief, it is apparent that one room, a ‘visiting room’, was hung with a perspective view by van Bassen, an artist often linked in style and content with van Delen.<sup>230</sup> It is possible that these other views by a similar artist were hung in the same room, though they are not explicitly mentioned. Alternately, they may have been hung in the family castle in Culemborg, in which case their role in shaping the perception of Floris’s social standing is even stronger. In The Hague, his status was made evident by who was seen visiting his house and his presence at court functions. In Culemborg, some means was necessary to demonstrate that status far removed from The Hague. These paintings, if hung in a prominent room in the castle at Culemborg, would effectively recreate the court environment and communicate his upwardly mobile social

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<sup>227</sup> Some of his princely purchases are cited by Schotel; for the rest, see the Culemborg Archief – a source not yet explored by the current author.

<sup>228</sup> Jacob van der Does, ‘*s Gravenhage* (s’ Hage 1668), 90-91.

<sup>229</sup> Schotel, *Floris I en II van Pallant, Graven ven Culemborg*, 233.

<sup>230</sup> Staring actually attributes these wall paintings to van Bassen and not van Delen, based on other work van Bassen had executed for the court. They were reattributed to van Delen by the Rijksmuseum, an assessment with which the author of the only monograph on van Delen, Timothy Blade, agreed. Timothy Trent Blade, “The Paintings of Dirck van Delen” (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1976).

aspirations to his provincial audience. As noted above, Amalia is the only female portrait included among the male notables. This inclusion reflects the relationship Floris had with her, presenting an image of him consorting with such elegant and elevated company in order to impress other visitors.

### 3.4 EMPLOYEES OF THE COURT

In a letter from August 29, 1637, Gerard van Honthorst discussed a portrait commission with Constantijn Huygens:

“Further, I have prepared the canvas on which I will paint His Highness and my lady for your Excellency, which will be completed, but before that can be done, I am busy with painting a portrait for my lady the princess’s gallery, which must be ready by the end of October. Then I will finish yours as quickly as is possible.”<sup>231</sup>

Huygens had ordered from Van Honthorst a copy of the double portrait of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia – the same portrait discussed above in the context of Amalia’s daughters (Fig. 2.40). Versions of this portrait were displayed in the homes of officials of the court and the palaces of Amalia’s married daughters. In Huygens’ town house built to his own neo-classical design in the fashionable area of Het Plein, the double portrait hung in the front hall until the destruction of the

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<sup>231</sup> Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*. Letter 1666, 29 August 1637. “Vorder heb ick den doeck al gereedt gemaect, daer ick syn Hoochayt en Myn Vrow voor UE op schildere sal, dan sal noch wat moette verloope, eer ick het beginne kan, doordien ick besich ben met eenich konterfajtsel voor myn vrow de prinsesse er galaery, die int laest van Oktober moette gereedt syn; dan sal niet naerlette so spoedich af te maeck ast mijn mogelyck sal sijn.” Translation mine.

house in the late nineteenth century.<sup>232</sup> By placing such a large and expensive portrait of Frederik and Amalia in the most formal of the rooms of his house, Huygens visibly promoted his close relationship with the court of the stadhouder. His own social status was clearly something with which he was greatly concerned, as reflected in the well-known portrait of him painted by Thomas de Keyser of 1627 (Fig. 3.5). De Keyser emphasizes both the social prominence and intellectual prowess of the sitter. He is shown with spurs, a marker of the knighthood conferred on him by James I of England in 1618, gloves and a hat, all marks of high social class, while the young man handing him a letter wears no hat or gloves. He has been interrupted while examining architectural plans, and open books and a lute sit on his desk. His refined artistic tastes are also apparent in the portrait; a seascape in the style of Porcellis, who he viewed as the greatest of the seascape painters, hangs over the fireplace, while an ornate tapestry embellished with the Huygens family crest hangs across the back wall.<sup>233</sup>

As a socially conscious court employee, Huygens used his home in The Hague as a sort of liminal court space, an extension of the court of the stadhouder beyond the walls of his own residence. Anyone visiting Huygens is instantly aware of his elite status and proximity to his

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<sup>232</sup>Broos et al., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis: 1430-1790*, 141-144. The version owned by Huygens, now in the Mauritshuis and on loan to Gallerij Prins Willem V, is considered the best of the known examples.

<sup>233</sup>The subject of the tapestry has been identified as St Francis preaching to the Sultan, an extremely rare subject matter. On the basis of its obscurity, scholars have theorized that it must have been of personal significance to the patron, though it is not known what that significance may have been. For biographical material on Huygens as well as his interest in architecture, see Inge Broekman, *De rol van de schilderkunst in het leven van Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005); A. Nieuwenhuis - van Berkum, "Constantijn Huygens als Kunstadviseur: Schilders, aankopen en opdrachten 1625-1652," in *Huygens in Noorder Licht: Lezingen van het Groningse Huygens-Symposium*, ed. N.F. Streekstra and P.E.L. Verkuyll (Groningen: Universiteitsdrukkerij Groningen, 1987); F. R. E. Blom, H. G. Bruin, and K. A. Ottenheim, *Domus : het huis van Constantijn Huygens in Den Haag* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999).

employers. The visitor is “at court” without being granted access to the court itself; here the portraits stand in, quite literally, for the princely bodies. The domestic space of the courtier becomes an extension of the official space of the court. Huygens’ status as a privileged representative of the court is emphasized by the fact that there are no known printed versions of this portrait. All of the known copies and variants were owned by other people with close relation to the sitters, such as Amalia’s daughters. A visitor to the house of Huygens would be presented with an impressive image of the Prince and Princess that he had never seen before and was not available for sale. In the same way that these portraits presented elite identity to the German courtiers of the daughters of Amalia, a similarly controlled image was presented to the “court” held by Huygens.

These portraits also illustrate rivalries between courtiers in The Hague. Laurens Buysero, Heer van Dussen Muilkerk, owned a version of this double portrait. In 1640, Buysero was a court retainer whose fortunes were looking up. Like Huygens, he served four princes of Orange as secretary and in his case Thesaurier.<sup>234</sup> In 1641, he married Elisabeth de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn, the daughter of an Amsterdam patrician and later had a son, the noted writer Dirck Buysero. Around 1645, construction of his home, Huis aan het Boschkant, was begun on a piece of land Buysero had purchased in 1640 along a fashionable canal which would later be called Prinssegracht in honor of Amalia van Solms herself.<sup>235</sup> The house was a deliberate attempt to elevate his social status by mimicking the behavior of both Huygens and the Princess herself.

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<sup>234</sup> Jhr. H. W. M. van der Wijck, "Een Pieter Post-Zaal ter Ere van de Oranjes," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 67(1968), 84.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 87. D. Hijmans, *Het Huis aan den Boschkant op den Hoek van ket Korte Voorhout te 's-Gravenhage* (Den Haag: Drukkerij Mouton & Co., 1922).

Not only did he commission a prominent cycle of portraits celebrating the House of Orange in his main room, but the house itself was even designed by Peter Post, one of the chief architects in the service of the Orange court and the designer of Huis ten Bosch. Both Daniel Hijmans and Van der Wijck have even argued for a particularly personal connection between Amalia and Buysero, suggesting that it was more friendly than servile.<sup>236</sup> Hijmans goes so far as to suggest that Amalia's influence is visible in Buysero's commission of this cycle. Unfortunately, the house suffered the same fate as Huygens' town house, and no longer survives. While standing, it was considered to be a jewel of The Hague, with a façade of grey stone and two dignified staircases rising to a balcony supported by columns, topped with a Flemish gable.<sup>237</sup> Despite the destruction of the house, the contents and arrangement can be traced in documents from the seventeenth century on.<sup>238</sup> The owner of the house in the early nineteenth century, Johan

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<sup>236</sup> Hijmans, *Het Huis aan den Boschkant*, 84. This is particularly interesting in light of her relationship with Huygens, which grew more strained as the years passed, and particularly after the death of the Prince.

<sup>237</sup> The appearance of the house itself is well documented in prints, including several by Daniel Marot from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Jhr. F. G. L. O van Kretschmar, *Samen Uit, Samen Thuis. Een Groep Oranje Portretten in Nederland terruggekeerd* (Overdruk uit Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1968).

<sup>238</sup> The paintings are now at Slot Zeist, but can be traced continuously from the seventeenth century. The house was sold in 1678; sale records from the time record the presence of "vier princen int groot salet staende, metter goude leeren int selve salet." Another sale notice from 1766 records the presence of 26 paintings in the house, including 'verbeeldende de vijf eerste Princen van Oranje' and in 1826, Meerman's model indicates that they were still present. Later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was purchase by King William 1 to be the residence of his youngest son, Prince Frederick. It was in turn his daughter, Marie, Princess of Wied, who fortuitously removed the paintings from the house in 1909 when she sold the building to an insurance company, as the house was a casualty of bombing in 1945. The canvases were in turn purchased by Slot Zeist in 1968. The complete provenance of the house, which changed hands 10 times, can be found in *ibid*. See also Catharina L. van Groningen, *Slot Zeist. Een Vorstelyk stuk Goet* (Driebergen-Rijsenburg: De Buitenplaats, 2009).

Meerman, even built a wooden model of the front room which clearly indicates the presence of a cycle of five paintings in the largest room, which faced out onto the street.<sup>239</sup>

While Huygens was content to commission a single portrait from Van Honthorst of the Prince and Princess, Buysero seems to have been determined to try to compete, elevating his own status by mimicking the behavior of the more established Huygens as well as the court itself. He commissioned a series of five portraits of Princes of Orange from the workshop of Gerard van Honthorst (Fig. 3.6, 3.7).<sup>240</sup> Surrounded by gold embossed leather wall covering and contained within painted fictive triumphal arches, four life size canvases representing Willem I, Maurits, Willem II, and the young Willem III accompanied by Mart Stuart hung in his front room with trompe l'oeil coats of arms painted over their heads, while the double portrait of Amalia and Frederik Hendrik was given pride of place in its location over the fireplace. One of the significant elements of this portrait is that it was painted almost ten years after the Van Honthorst original. This portrait has been slightly altered from the Huygens version in *Gallerij Prins Willem V*: there is more attention paid to the end of the drapery on the left side, and the collar worn by Frederik Hendrik has been changed. Instead of the more elaborate pointed lace worn in the Huygens prototype, here Frederik Hendrik has a plain edged white collar.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Wijck, "Een Pieter Post-Zaal ter Ere van de Oranjes," 84.

<sup>240</sup> This cycle of paintings was in situ in Huis an het Boschkant until 1909 when it was moved to Villa Waldheim, purchased by the gemeente of Zeist for Slot Zeist in 1968; see note 235 above.

<sup>241</sup> As Marieke Spliethoff has noted, it is not uncommon for portraits of Frederik Hendrik to be customized for the owner/recipient. In the case of the portrait owned by Sir Ralph Winwood, British ambassador to the United Provinces, the collar was altered to a more English style in order to suit the audience. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation," 163.

Amalia's attire has not changed, but her face has. These changes reflect the later commission and installation date of the cycle in comparison with the Huygens version.

If residences of court officials function as extensions of the court space beyond the walls of the palace, this room was intended to make a statement. Buysero, in commissioning a series of paintings including an entire lineage and all of their heraldry intertwined with his own, was mimicking the decorative strategies of Huygens. In terms of size and scope, this series is impressive; however, the paintings are of inferior quality. The double portrait seems to be a copy of Huygens' version, and three of the other canvases also come from the Van Honthorst workshop rather than the hand of the master. The fifth painting in the Buysero series, of Mary Stuart and Willem III, is of markedly poorer quality in its draftsmanship and execution, leading one to surmise that Buysero may have paid for quantity rather than quality. Huygens, however, corresponded directly with the artist which suggests that the version made for him was executed by Van Honthorst himself. Buysero's commission reflects a desire to compete with Huygens even if the outcome was not as successful.

The cases of Huygens and Buysero demonstrate how the placement of portraits within architectural spaces created webs of relationships. In the same way that the stadhouder covered his walls with other European monarchs in order to represent the company he would like to keep, so too did two of his secretaries adorn the most prominent spots in their houses with portraits of their courtly employers.

### 3.5 THE PUBLIC REALM: AMSTERDAM CASE STUDIES

Ownership and display of images of Amalia van Solms was closely related to social status. At the highest social level, portraits functioned as symbols of relationships, markers of elite space, and components of a constructed elite identity. Sending portraits executed by the court painter abroad, commissioning portraits from artists visiting from foreign courts such as Van Dyck, and the use of portraits by courtiers to demonstrate their own aristocratic aspirations were common practices. Yet the pervasive availability of images of Amalia van Solms suggests that her portrait played a critical role in the varying agendas of a much broader range of social classes than has previously been discussed. The pervasive presence of her portrait in town halls and individual homes demands further consideration of how elite portraits were used to different ends beyond the reach of the court. Classes beyond the aristocracy and courtiers used similar tactics of display for a wide array of reasons, including attempts at upward social mobility and semi-public statements of their political allegiances.

The relationship between the House of Orange and the States General and republican factions of the Provinces was at times profoundly strained, rendering Amalia's visual presence a vital element in a larger discussion about the relationship between House and state. The monarchical aspirations of the Prince have been debated at length,<sup>242</sup> and Amalia's role in the

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<sup>242</sup> Particularly productive in this regard are Rebecca Tucker's observations that rather than being viewed as a negative, the social aspirations of Frederik Hendrik were perhaps beneficial, and even necessary, to the political autonomy of the United Provinces. See the conclusion to Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic." Foreign delegates and monarchs were hesitant to enter into negotiations with the States General, making the presence of a landed noble of sufficient status to the forging of any sort of international reputations or alliances.

elevation of both their perceived and actual social status served as a cornerstone of her reputation. Necessary as this sort of elite self-fashioning may have been on an international level, it provoked a certain amount of tension at home among more republican factions. Following an upswing in popular support after the Treaty of Munster in 1648 which acknowledged their freedom from Spain, support for the House of Orange quickly dwindled again. Popular opinion held that the state no longer needed the type of figureheads presented by the House of Orange.<sup>243</sup> By 1654 the influence of the family was effectively crippled.

Despite this fluctuating support, Pieter Biesboer observed in his study of Haarlem inventories that prints of the House of Orange were ‘ubiquitous’ in inventories of average households throughout this time period.<sup>244</sup> Why, in a republic torn by waves of anti-Orange sentiment, may this have been the case? Do the types of portraits owned by average citizens differ from elite portraits in a way which helps to explain this peculiarity? Collections of this level have seldom been preserved, and so for substantial information about the collecting practices of the middle and lower classes, it is beneficial to examine inventories from the period in search of mentions of portraits. In an examination of sixty inventories from Amsterdam, the vast majority of cases include instances of “portrait of a/the princess” rather than naming a specific individual. Since more ephemeral art types such as prints and lower quality, mass produced images frequently no longer exist, it is impossible to link specific objects to these inventories. While they can be an excellent source of concrete data, the inventories were seldom made by art specialists and as a result they may be inaccurate, noting only the presence of

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<sup>243</sup> For a discussion of the pamphlet wars dealing with the role and reputation of the House of Orange after 1650, see Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650-75*.

<sup>244</sup> Biesboer, *Netherlandish Inventories*, 128.

portraits with no attribution to an artist or identification of the sitter. Additional limiting factors for this study included the fact that the inventories for this section of the population were only made under specific conditions such as death or bankruptcy, placing artificial limitations on any understanding of collecting and display practices.

Despite these limitations, some case studies suggest that audiences of different social classes consumed and displayed images of Amalia van Solms throughout the period 1625-1675. Inventories from Amsterdam archives, including the Desolate Boedelskamer, Weeskamer and Notarial archives provide one source of data.<sup>245</sup> Sixty cases of portraits which can be reasonably assumed to be images of Amalia van Solms were found in Amsterdam collections between 1625 and 1675.<sup>246</sup> I made note of all records which referred to the princess of Orange, the princess, the *huisvrouw* of the prince, Amalia by name, and for records after 1647, the old princess or *princesse douariere*. This section will examine who owned images of Amalia and why, the price range, and where the portraits were displayed within the houses of different social classes.

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<sup>245</sup> An introduction to the Database can be found in Louisa Wood Ruby, "The Montias Database: Inventories of Amsterdam Art Collections," in *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, ed. A Golahny, Mia Mochizuki, and Lisa Vergara (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), while the database is available at <http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php>. The Desolate Boedelskamer is the organization which dealt with cases of bankruptcy and fiscal insolvency, both in the case of liquidation at death or at the request of creditors, but unfortunately, records are only preserved in the period 1597-1638. The Weeskamer is the authority which dealt with the liquidation of goods belonging to the deceased parents of orphaned children on the children's behalf. The best summary of the functioning of these offices can be found in Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*. I have added several additional inventories from other cities where available, though these make up very few of the cases.

<sup>246</sup> Virtually all of these records come from Amsterdam. One case was noted in Haarlem in the published inventories of archives there. The case of The Hague is somewhat more problematic; see above. I have not included in this tally the paintings we know to have been owned by Laurens Buysero and Constantijn Huygens, as they were not within the scope of the inventoried materials. The complete list of the occurrence of images of Amalia van Solms can be found in Appendix 2 at the end of this volume, sorted by date of inventory.

Based on the inventories surveyed, it was impossible to create one profile of a ‘typical’ owner. Portraits were listed in inventories of both men and women and by both Calvinist and Catholic individuals.<sup>247</sup> They were owned by people from all professions, including painters, craftsmen, preachers, bakers, merchants, art dealers, collectors, and even one regent and one doctor of law. It is apparent, then, that images of Amalia, particularly in the company of other Princes of Orange, were readily available to all income levels. However, the type and quality of portraits available in these strata differ, as do the reasons for ownership and the functions performed by the portraits.

Both printed and painted portraits seem to have been purchased by the Dutch public. In more than half of the inventories surveyed, the medium of the portraits was not specified. Only three were specifically identified as prints, though it is likely that many of the unspecified objects were prints as well based on the low value ascribed to many of the remaining cases. Five inventories specified that the portraits were ‘bordekens’ or ‘slechte *boortjes*,’ indicating poor quality or cheap images, either cheaply made initially or damaged through time. It is not possible to ascertain what exactly these images were. Little is known about the cheapest images, a problem exacerbated since value was not recorded in the majority of cases; thirty-four of sixty cases included no estimation of price. The cases which did include price ranged from a few *stuivers* to *f*5, though most fell at the lower end of that range. Fifteen inventories contain images which were specified as paintings while only three of those included estimated values ranging from 2.5 to 3 *gulden* per painting. This indicates that the paintings must have been of relatively

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<sup>247</sup> Confessionalization was interpreted by J. M. Montias based on contents of inventories; ownership of images of John Calvin supported one interpretation; the presence of other religious art supported the other. See for example the inventory of Cornelis Coenen, Gemeentearchief Amsterdam 1267, whose religion is deduced from the unexpected presence of a crucifix.

poor quality, or at least, they were not on par with the types of paintings produced by the van Mierevelt workshop.<sup>248</sup> It is worth remembering that these values were likely considered resale values or value at time of inventory and not what the owner originally paid.

The dates of the inventories provided some unexpected results. I hypothesized that fewer people would have owned or displayed portraits of the House of Orange after the Act of Seclusion in the early 1650s. This was a piece of legislation explicitly designed to limit the influence of the House of Orange and popular support in general dwindled. Surprisingly, half of the surveyed inventories postdate 1650. In itself, this may mean nothing, since people may have merely chosen not to redecorate or this may reflect those who disagreed with the popular opinion regarding the House of Orange. However, it does demonstrate that throughout the seventeenth century, images of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia were on display in the houses of a wide variety of people. Even when not at the peak of their popularity, the House of Orange still had avid supporters who continued to display portraits in all areas of their homes.

The first case study which proved interesting for examining the placement of Orange portraits in an average domestic interior is that of the Amsterdam merchant, Lucas van Peenen, whose possessions were inventoried in 1630 at the request of Nicholas de Cocque and Pieter de Bitter.<sup>249</sup> They were probably creditors of Lucas van Peenen, and the existence of the inventory suggests that he was in financial distress, possibly bankruptcy. Of south Netherlandish origin, Peenen was a married man with at least two sons. He decorated his house to demonstrate both

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<sup>248</sup> The cheapest painting seemingly available from van Mierevelt's atelier was 24 *gulden*, far beyond the range of what is recorded in most of the Amsterdam inventories. Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave, *De portretfabriek van Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641)*, 53.

<sup>249</sup> Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, NA 676, film 4979 dated 1630/04/29.

his political interests and his artistic tastes. His art collection was of small to average size for a merchant of his standing, consisting of 36 objects. His inventory allows us an insight into his domestic space, separating public and private allegiances.

In a typical early modern Dutch house, the first room entered was likely to be the *voorhuis* – a room which blurred the distinction between public and private. This room was often used both as a site of business and a room in which the family lived and worked.<sup>250</sup> As the most accessible space in the house, it was the room most likely to hold formal portraits or statements of status. In the *voorhuis* of Lucas van Peenen, there were six paintings, two maps, and a print. The paintings were a landscape by Pieter Molijn, a battle scene, an allegory with a satyr, and portraits of Prince Maurits, Prince Frederik Hendrik, and Amalia van Solms, accompanied by a print of ‘the House of Orange,’ perhaps along the lines of the Frans Brun or Akersloot print where the family group is presented against a backdrop of The Hague. This orientation of images suggests a front room which makes a clear statement of his political allegiances through the display of the House of Orange at a time when they were at the peak of their popularity. Connected to the *voorhuis* was a *sydelcamertgen*, a small side room often used as an office. In this case, this room was decorated with a landscape, a view of Amsterdam, and maps. In tandem with his *voorhuis*, this suggests a man involved in the political affairs of the region.

In the hallway, there was a print hanging which was listed in the inventory as ‘*Item [prente] van de slag van Heemskerck*. It is most likely that this is a print representing the Dutch naval assault on Gibraltar in 1607 under the admiralship of Jacob van Heemskerck, who

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<sup>250</sup> Loughman and Montias, *Public and private spaces*, 23.

died in battle and whose state funeral became a rallying point for Dutch identity.<sup>251</sup> This print, taken in conjunction with the portraits of the Orange family presents a complex statement regarding the nobility. As Israel has noted, the siege of Gibraltar resulted in the death of Heemskerck – who was then lauded as a republican (anti-Orange) hero. Van Peenen seems to be using the art on display in the public parts of his house in an ambiguous way to negotiate complex social allegiances. Was the display of Orange portraits alongside a subtly anti-Orange print a careful strategy of self-positioning, or was his interest in the siege at Gibraltar merely reflecting a significant military event? As a Southern Netherlandish merchant, perhaps it was advantageous to appear pro-Orange in order to do business in the north, or perhaps his display of Orange portraits states, however ambiguously, his loyalty to a political structure which allowed him to freely pursue his preferred trade or religious convictions.

Lucas van Peenen's personal relations were separated in space from his political loyalties. The most lavishly decorated rooms in his house were not the *voorhuis*, but rather a back room and a room labeled only '*de camer naest de gangh*,' the room next to the hall. It is this last room where the family portraits were kept, including portraits of himself and his wife, his grandmother, and a Samuel van Peenen. Lucas also seems to have had a keen interest in landscape painting, as the large mantelpiece in this room was a landscape, and there were two others here as well. In the '*achter kamertgen*,' he displayed his Bruegel landscape, along with allegories, flower paintings, three more landscapes, and a portrait of Advocaet van Peenen, a presumed relative who was both an attorney and an amateur still life painter. The inventory of

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<sup>251</sup>Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 402. Israel presents the “cult of the fallen admiral” as a means of countering the cult of the stadhouder, which in the context of this particular collection is curious. There is a print which may correspond to the print in van Peenen's inventory in the historical museum at Deventer. <http://www.historischmuseumdeventer.nl/collectie/zoeken/detail?id=4394>

van Peenen's art collection paints a clear picture of a man who separated his private and professional relationship, creating a public zone of the house which focused on politicized imagery and portraits, and a more privileged area where he displayed family portraits and his prized Bruegel landscape.

The inventory of the fabric merchant William Leijdecker presents a second interesting case study. Leijdecker used the display of prints within his house to make a clear statement about his political allegiances.<sup>252</sup> Life had not been easy for Leijdecker, as he previously appeared in archival materials protesting tax increases which had effectively crippled his business.<sup>253</sup> When he died in 1653, he was an officer of a charity almshouse in the area of St Anthonispoort in Amsterdam where he also lived.<sup>254</sup> He died bankrupt, though his official bankruptcy inventory was not filed until three years after his death. What remained of his possessions was inventoried. It is a very modest collection of about 20 works. His collection is split between two rooms, a *voorkamer* and a *kleersolder*. In the *voorkamer*, the more public of the two spaces, there were two battle scenes, two landscapes, and four portraits of members of the House of Orange. The inventory specifies that they were portrait prints of Willem I, Maurits,

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<sup>252</sup> *Inventaris ende specificatie van alle de meuble goederen so en sulcx de selve by sal. Willem Claesz. Leijdecker, knecht van de huijsarmen van de oude sijde, metter dood dese werelt ontruijmt ende in de oude sijts huijs sittenturfhuijs gestaen bij de St. Anthonispoort binnen deser stede bevonden sijn.* Amsterdam NA 2498, film 2550. Inv date: 1653/05/07

<sup>253</sup> Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven* R.G.P.78(1933), 471.

<sup>254</sup> The structure and management of Amsterdam charity organizations is most helpfully explored in the following sources: Lex Heerma Van Voss and Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen, "Charity in the Dutch Republic: an introduction," *Continuity and Change* 27, no. Special Issue 02 (2012); Henk Looijesteijn, "Funding and founding private charities: Leiden almshouses and their founders, 1450–1800," *Continuity and Change* 27, no. Special Issue 02 (2012); Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen, "Giving in early modern history: philanthropy in Amsterdam in the Golden Age," *Continuity and Change* 27, no. Special Issue 02 (2012).

Frederik Hendrik, and Amalia. It is possible that he had previously owned a larger collection of works, and these were the last remaining vestiges of his prior fortune.

The case of William Leijdecker brings to light another interesting aspect of the display of portrait prints of Amalia van Solms. Leijdecker owned three prints of princes of Orange and one princess. This particular configuration of prints is quite common: in thirteen of the sixty inventories studied, the individual owned an image of Amalia seemingly as part of a set of images including male members of the House of Orange. This seems initially like an irrelevant detail, but it is instead highly significant that Amalia is repeatedly included in collections of portraits of the most significant members of the House of Orange, even when no other female members are included. Maurits never married, and so there was no female counterpart to Amalia from that generation. Therefore, it is somewhat remarkable that Amalia was so frequently included with the Princes of Orange. Conversely, it is also significant that Amalia seems only to appear in inventories alongside portraits of her male relatives. The image conveyed to the public was one that stressed her place in a dynastic endeavor, not one of personal agency.

By 1660, the fortunes of the House of Orange had changed quite dramatically following the death of Willem II and the 1654 Act of Seclusion. It was hypothesized that after this date, the lack of popular support for the House of Orange would have impacted the display of portraits within people's houses. The 1660 inventory of Hans van Houten, however, proved to be an exception to that hypothesis. It is not currently clear who Hans van Houten was or what his profession was, since multiple people by that name seem to have lived in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century.<sup>255</sup> Van Houten had 73 paintings on display in his house, which must have

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<sup>255</sup> Montias is of the opinion that this record does not refer to Hans van Houten the painter.

been one of some size. His inventory suggests that these paintings were displayed in ten different rooms in his house spread over two floors. Unfortunately, it is not currently possible to reconstruct exactly how these spaces were laid out. Surprisingly, he had no fewer than three paintings of Amalia van Solms displayed in different rooms.<sup>256</sup>

On entering the *voorhuis*, the visitor would receive a strongly Flemish first impression of the resident, since the room was decorated with a portrait of Isabella, Infanta of Spain, and a painting purporting to be a Venus and Cupid by Van Dyck. Ultimately, van Houten's political affiliations are not clear, as he both showcases pro-Spanish portraits such as the Infanta and the Duke of Alba, while simultaneously owning numerous portraits of members of the House of Orange. Presumably behind the *voorhuis* along one side of the building were the *sijdelkamer* and a room specified as lying behind it. This was the first room to focus on the House of Orange, containing four Orange portraits and nine other paintings. Here Willem I and Frederik Hendrik were shown with their wives. The other paintings included paintings of Saints Peter and Paul and several landscapes. As in the case of Lucas van Peenen, this was a visible room, located near the front of the house, and intended to be visible. The room behind this contained portraits of Prince Maurits, Henry IV of France, Cardinal Richelieu, Gustavus of Sweden, and King Charles I of England. If the attribution of the paintings is to be believed, Van Houten has assembled portraits of the most significant figures of the early part of the century.

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<sup>256</sup> Hans van Houten, 1660/04/22. Inv. Desolate Boedelskamer 5072/365. It is unclear what the "sael achter de sweijn" refers to. In any event, a *sael* would be an important room. A *galderij* is not exactly a gallery, but in the seventeenth century often referred to an open hallway facing a courtyard. Since the inventory lacks information regarding where exactly he lived, it is impossible to develop a likely floor plan for his house to more accurately gauge how space was navigated around these portraits, though this is an avenue for future research. My thanks to Marten Jan Bok in particular for clarifying the usage of the term 'galderij.'

The second set of portraits of the Oranges was in a room referred to as “*de sael achter de sweijn*,” presumably a large room separated from the other rooms by a hallway. Here, van Houten displayed more portraits along with landscapes, an unnamed French count, and a Christological painting, among others. A third important space for the presentation of Orange portraits was the *galderij*, which may have been an open arcaded space along a courtyard at the back of the house. Displayed here, in addition to four small paintings of princes of Orange was yet another pair of paintings of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia as well as the Duke of Alba, a naked woman, and several *tronies*.

Lacking further specifics on Hans van Houten, it is hard to understand why he might have owned and displayed so many portraits of the House of Orange in his house as late as 1660. It is possible that the house was decorated earlier, when the House of Orange was more popular, or perhaps he continued to support the House of Orange. It is also not clear why he might own portraits of Spanish figures, though it is possible that he had some connections in Flanders, which would also account for his Christological and the scenes of saints. It is also not possible to comment on what the portraits may have looked like, as they could derive from any of the available prototypes. In any event, it is a striking case of an individual who continued to display his portraits of Amalia as late as 1660 when the inventory was drawn up at the time of his bankruptcy.

A slightly melancholic coda to these cases can be seen in some inventories from the last half of Amalia’s life. After 1650, there are four recorded instances where a portrait was

inventoried as hanging in either an attic or in another obscure location within the house.<sup>257</sup> In contrast, there are no recorded cases of such an image being in an attic between 1625 and 1650. Amalia remained a devoted servant of her House despite the plummeting popular opinion after 1650, spending the years following the death of Willem II advocating for a Dutch upbringing for her grandson, Willem III, in staunch opposition to her daughter-in-law, Mary Stuart. Though she perceived this as being of central importance to the health and future of both her family and the United Provinces, her image was no longer central to the popular visual culture of the day. Despite her continued presence in some houses, the general decline of the popularity of the house is visible in the relocation of paintings to attics and storage rooms.

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

As this chapter has demonstrated, portraits of Amalia van Solms were avidly consumed in printed and painted formats by audiences both domestic and international. Large scale formal portraits were sent as gifts by the House of Orange to foreign monarchs as part of an international exchange of prestige. The Princess of Orange seems to have also participated in a gendered system of exchange, where pastoral and historiated portraits containing more personal and less formal iconography were shared with female associates. This did not extend to her daughters, who did not own pastoral portraits, but rather versions of the double state portrait of

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<sup>257</sup> See the inventories of Jan Steur, Amsterdam DBK 5072/357, fol.76; Willem Claesz. Leijdecker, Amsterdam NA 2498, film 2550; Adam Albertsz. van Emstra, Gemeentearchief Amsterdam 2605, film 2546, fol. 813; And Davidt Bosch, Gemeentearchief Amsterdam 1915, fol. 906-922, film 2129.

1637 painted by Van Honthorst. These portraits served to symbolically extend the presence of the Prince and Princess of Orange to the courts of their sons-in-law. Formal portraits could also be ordered from the Van Mierevelt factory by town councils for public display. Courtiers like the Count of Culemborg used portraits in their own houses to make claims about their elite status, while the display of portraits by court functionaries like Huygens and Buysero served to create an extension to official court space into their own homes. Printed portraits can be found throughout Amsterdam inventories beginning in 1625, displayed in different parts of the houses of a wide variety of consumers in different walks of life and income brackets.

The identity of Amalia van Solms as reflected in the portraits consumed outside of her own palaces depended heavily on function: images mimicking the formal monarchical portraits were used to establish legitimacy, while small portraits in historical dress were used among more intimate and elite audiences to establish an elite, leisured identity. In prints, her identity as a critical member of the Orange dynasty is stressed in parallel with the necessity of the House of Orange to major political success. Portraits not only represented the sitter differently, but were put to different uses, whether that was to announce a sort of political loyalty, to symbolically extend the space of the court into the houses of courtiers, or to elevate the status of the owner by claiming a sort of intimacy with the sitter of the portrait.

#### 4.0 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE IDENTITIES IN ORANGE PALACES

“In Dordrecht one almost makes a fuss or goes to great lengths to put on display ancestral portraits or family trees.”

-Gerard Pietersz Schaepp, 1599-1655<sup>258</sup>

The Haarlem merchant Willem van Heythuysen commissioned two strikingly different portraits of himself from Frans Hals. The earlier and larger of the two, dating to 1625-1630, presents an image of the merchant as an elite gentleman, complete with “renaissance elbow,” an indication of his education and good breeding (Fig. 4.1).<sup>259</sup> He is dressed in the height of fashion, displaying his wealth and status through posture and attire. This is emphasized by the size of the portrait – as a full length, life size portrait, it is a distinct show piece. Twenty years later, he commissioned the second portrait (Fig. 4.2), a small and informal piece which shows him leaning back in his chair, knees crossed in a casual, even crude manner. Both his posture and dress are quite modest in the smaller portrait, and even the style of the painting itself conveys a

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<sup>258</sup> Cited and translated in Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 11.

<sup>259</sup> See Joaneath Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow" in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, edited by Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 84-128.

different air; instead of the highly controlled, tight surface of the full length portrait, the small portrait is loose and free-flowing. The paintings differ in content and style, but also in placement within the house and therefore intended audience. Surviving inventories indicate that they hung in distinctly separate parts of his house: the larger hung in the main public reception room, the *grote salet*, while the smaller portrait was in a smaller, more private room upstairs. The pose of the smaller painting would have been unthinkable in a more formal setting like the *grote salet*. As Herman Roodenburgh has argued, the patron chose to present a layered portrait: formal in public, but allowing more intimate acquaintances access to what would have seemed a startlingly casual and personal representation.<sup>260</sup>

The case of Willem van Heythuysen highlights two elements which are central to the study of Amalia's portraits as well: the architectural specificity of display and the relationships between viewer and image dictated by that site. What happens when the shifting relationships between viewer and subject evident in van Heythuysen's house are mapped onto the much more problematic context of a palace or elite residence, a space that in the early modern period had significantly fewer truly "private" spaces in the modern sense?<sup>261</sup> In the early modern palace,

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<sup>260</sup> Herman Roodenburgh, "On "Swelling" the Hips and Crossing the Legs: Distinguishing Public and Private in Paintings and Prints from the Dutch Golden Age," in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, ed. Arthur Wheelock and Adele Seeff (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 2000), 77.

<sup>261</sup> The issue of public vs. private space in early modern residences is complex, since the history of privacy is a separate issue. In the Dutch context, useful literature in thinking about the division of domestic space includes Loughman and Montias, *Public and private spaces*; Anton Schuurman and Pieter Spierenburg, eds., *Private Domain, Public Inquiry. Families and Life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the Present* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1996); Maarten Duijvendak, "Elite Families between Private and Public Life: Some Trends and Theses," in *Private Domain, Public Inquiry: Families and life-styles in the Netherlands and Europe, 1550 to the present*, ed. Anton Schuurman and Pieter Spierenburg (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996). In a broader European context, the most useful histories of divisions of space have been Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-century Roman palaces : use and the art of the*

physical and visual access was closely tied to issues of power and privilege. This chapter examines how the divide between the public and the private functioned in the palaces of the House of Orange, with a focus on the princely estate of Honselaarsdijk. Through an examination of the inventories of the palaces of the House of Orange and a consideration of how and where portraits were incorporated into decorative ensembles, this chapter will address the ways in which different aspects of that identity were put on display within an interior space rigidly controlled by the resident. While Amalia van Solms had little control over how her image was incorporated into the statements made in the interiors examined in the previous chapter, she did exercise direct control over the design and decoration of her rooms in the palaces of Honselaarsdijk, Noordeinde, and ter Nieuburch. This study of the palace spaces demonstrates how visual and physical access to Amalia and portraits shaped both the experience of the visitor and the composite image of the resident.

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*plan* (New York, N.Y.; Cambridge: Architectural History Foundation ; MIT Press, 1990); Mark Girouard, *Life in the English country house : a social and architectural history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978). Broader theoretical texts which have been useful include: Barrington Moore, *Privacy : studies in social and cultural history* (Armonk, N.Y.; New York: M.E. Sharpe ; Distributed by Pantheon Books, 1984); Joan Wallach Scott and Debra Keates, *Going public : feminism and the shifting boundaries of the private sphere* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).; Michael McKeon, *The secret history of domesticity : public, private, and the division of knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

## 4.1 PORTRAITS IN THE PALACES OF FREDERIK HENDRIK AND AMALIA VAN SOLMS

Following their marriage in 1625 and the birth of an heir in 1626, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia crafted a powerful court in The Hague and environs, modeled primarily on French examples.<sup>262</sup> Within the walls of the palaces built under their supervision, portraits of the Prince and Princess as well as those of their relatives and peers played critical roles in the shaping of identity on multiple levels: the identity of the United Provinces as a player on an international stage, the identity of the court as a site of intellectual and artistic renewal, and the identity of the Prince and Princess themselves as central figures in these processes. An examination of inventories suggests that portraits were often displayed in specific places and combinations to support the political and social aspirations of the couple. Portraits intended for more ‘private’ parts of the house reveal a very different image of the individual than those designed for the most open level of access such as the galleries, which were publicly traversed.<sup>263</sup> The contrast between ‘public’ and ‘private’ reveals Amalia’s agency in her own patronage practices and artistic agenda.

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<sup>262</sup> The French influence on their court has been extensively discussed and extends to their literary, architectural and artistic preferences, and to matters of etiquette. For further discussion, see Lunsingh Scheurleer, "De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis ten Bosch." And K. Ottenheym, "Possessed by such a passion for building. Frederik Hendrik and Architecture," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, ed. Maria Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (The Hague and Zwolle: Haagse Historische Museum and Waanders Publishers, 1997).

<sup>263</sup> The use of the galleries as public spaces is noted in Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the Palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic," 93.

This chapter addresses the use and placement of portraits primarily within three of the palaces of the stadhouderly pair: Paleis Noordeinde, the Stadhouder's Quarters at the Binnenhof, and Honselaarsdijk.<sup>264</sup> The relationship between image and space is symbiotic: the architectural environment plays a role in the reception of the portrait, but the type of portrait also shapes the way the space creates meaning. The levels of formality and originality of the iconography of portraits were dependent not only on *where* in the palace they were hung, but even on in *which* palace they were placed, participating in social practices of etiquette and status.<sup>265</sup> The placement of portraits within architectural environments is problematic and therefore has not drawn much critical attention since the inventories reflect that paintings were often moved between palaces. Portraits are generally regarded as objects where meaning is primarily intrinsic to the image, where symbolism and attributes convey meaning. This chapter argues that in some cases, the meaning of the portrait is instead extrinsic to the painting, residing in the combination of image and location. This is most clear in cases where portraits were part of a complete design scheme such as the Oranjezaal or Amalia's *Il Pastor Fido* cabinet. Following other scholars such

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<sup>264</sup> Neither Honselaarsdijk nor Ter Nieuburch still stands; Noordeinde remains the main administrative palace for the Dutch monarchy, but has been significantly altered and expanded since the expansion under Frederik Hendrik in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. For the purposes of this study, it is not possible to examine all of the palaces in depth; for extensive construction histories and the architectural agenda of Frederik Hendrik, see: Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*; Ottenheim, "Possessed by such a passion for building"; Jacobine Huisken, K. Ottenheim, and Gary Schwartz, eds., *Jacob van Campen: Het Klassieke Ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Stichting Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam, 1995); J.J. Terwen and K. Ottenheim, *Pieter Post (1608-1669): Architect* (Zutphen Walberg Pers, 1993).

<sup>265</sup> Paintings, and particularly portraits, were often moved within palaces and even between palaces; there are multiple inventories where the archivist noted that Amalia van Solms had a painting sent from one palace to another. Amalia also gave her daughters a number of paintings in the second half of the century. In this chapter, I isolate instances where the relationship between paintings and architectural spaces seems to have originated in the original design and decoration process. It is not the claim of this chapter that all portraits were intended to be site specific, merely that specific cases within palaces were clearly intended as parts of coherent schemes that lose their meaning when disassembled.

as Rebecca Tucker and Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, I maintain that it is essential to consider the spaces not as architectural containers for an independent art collection, but rather as a harmonious whole where architecture, decoration and furnishings often worked together to create specific messages about the House of Orange.<sup>266</sup> The palaces of the House of Orange were stages for the demonstration of a princely identity, visible in the thematic unity of detail.

The importance of the placement of portraits cannot be underestimated for the early modern period. A letter written by Frederik Hendrik before his marriage to Amalia indicates the extent to which the location of portraits was remarked upon by the contemporary viewer:

“Your letter dated 12 March caused me to blush considerably, for I perceive that people spread about such nonsense...although it is true that I have made a few changes in my picture gallery and that I have a portrait of the lady van Solms but all the additional allusions over which you write are not true. I also have a portrait of the Rhine countess as well as one of the queen, in fact all three are hanging together...so although I should be delighted if all were true which you write of these ladies’ favours, such as dining late with them and so forth; but alas, so bountiful a fortune is not granted to me.”<sup>267</sup>

It is not the possession of a portrait of the ‘lady van Solms’ which raised eyebrows, but rather the display of it in his private rooms. The placement of the portrait within his personal space was perceived by viewers as evidence of a sufficiently intimate relationship to elicit gossip.

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<sup>266</sup>The only criticism of the 1997 exhibition catalogs (van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, *Princely Patrons*; Keblusek and Zijlmans, *Princely Display*) which are otherwise indispensable projects, was that they did not view the art collection as an integrated whole intended to fit within architectural setting. Tucker, for example, argued that “the Mauritshuis’s show, which endeavored to reconstruct the paintings collection of the stadhouderly couple, represents a flawed understanding of how the paintings operated within the interior environment of the palaces.” Tucker, “The Art of Living Nobly,” 4.

<sup>267</sup>Tiethoff-Spliethoff, “Role Play and Representation,” 164 (with translation); Hallema, *Amalia van Solms*, 275. Marieke Spliethoff has identified this portrait as the one now in Poland, see fig. 2.10 above.

As the number of payments recorded in the Gemengd Domestiquen and the Ordonantieboeken (payment registers) of the Nassause Domeinraad<sup>268</sup> make clear, portraits were one of the mainstays of interior decoration in the palaces of the stadhouder and made up a large percentage of the overall Orange artistic patronage. Between 1637 and 1650, court payment books record consistently large payments for ‘verscheyden conterfeijtsels’ (assorted portraits) to Gerard van Honthorst, Adriaen Hanneman and Gonsalo Coques among others.<sup>269</sup> Between 1637 and 1659, Van Honthorst alone was paid *f*42,834, primarily for portraits.<sup>270</sup> These commissions include portraits of the Prince and Princess of Orange to be displayed at home and given as diplomatic gifts abroad as well as portraits of foreign monarchs for display in The Hague. While the payment books often did not record the sitters of the portraits, there are occasional specifics,

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<sup>268</sup> Algemeen Rijksarchief, Nassause Domeinraad 1.08.11, 992-994. Partially transcribed in Vosmaer, "De Ordonnantie Boeken van Prins Frederik Hendrik over de jaren 1637-1650."

<sup>269</sup> Ibid. Vosmaer published transcriptions of what he termed the ‘art historically significant’ payments from the rekeningboeken (payment books) now in the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague (ARA 1.08.11 992-994, De Ordonnantieboeken van Frederik Hendrik). My study of these texts has revealed that he made significant omissions; in some cases he seems to have overlooked individual payments to artists, while in other cases he seems to have decided certain kinds of payments were not important. For example, he does not include the extensive payments to Mattheu de Bos, who seems to have been responsible for painting and gilding interiors. While not necessarily “art historically significant,” it is most definitely architecturally significant and indicative of the extensive assets dedicated to interior decoration under the stadhouder. Given the nature of these rooms as complete art environments, the omission of these decorative elements has significantly hampered our understanding of the courtly environment. These documents were more extensively studied by Rebecca Tucker in her 2002 dissertation, in which she attempted to reconstruct the 17<sup>th</sup> century construction history of Honselaarsdijk.

<sup>270</sup> Honthorst was paid per year: 640 carolus guldens in 1637, 2200 in 1638, a total of 9668 in 1639, 4830 in 1641, 2396 in 1643, 3285 in 1644, 3570 in 1647, 6410 in 1648, 5480 in 1649, and 4355 in 1650. Some of these do indeed indicate that they were specifically for portraits, notably in August of 1638, “aan Geraert v Honthorst, schilder, de som van *f*2200 – ter zake van vier cartons of patronen van hooge loffelijke memorie de Heeren, Prinsen Willem, Phillippe Guillaume ende Maurits.” (To Gerard van Honthorst, painter, the sum of 2200*f* in the business of four cartoons or patterns of the most esteemed lords, Prince Willem, Philips Willem and Maurits.) These were likely tapestry designs. D. Veegens noted that in the three years 1648-1650 alone, Honthorst was paid *f*16,000. Veegens, "De Stichting der Oranjezaal," 299.

such as the portraits of the King and Queen of Spain commissioned from Daniel Cools in 1643 for the gallery at Rijswijk.<sup>271</sup>

Though scholars such as Ann Jensen Adams have noted this proliferation of portraiture, what has not been addressed is the ways in which many of these portraits were integral elements of broader decorative schemes. As Frederik Hendrik's letter makes clear, placement of portraits was a delicate and deliberate affair at the time. In treating portraits as discrete units unrelated to their original context, the power these portraits held and the relationships forged between viewer and viewed have not received much critical attention. In this chapter, I will address how the display of portraits at the court of the stadhouder was entirely dependent on the individual character of each palace.<sup>272</sup> Whose portrait was displayed in which palace? What relationships were represented on the palace walls? Did different places reflect different kinds of relationships? How did the display of portraits of Amalia in particular relate to the domestic spaces, and how does her visual identity relate to the shifting access to hierarchically dictated sites of display? Rebecca Tucker has argued that "evidence suggests that at Honselaarsdijk each type of room was given a specific decorative scheme to enhance the space and its functions"<sup>273</sup> and so each portrait must be considered not in the broadest sense but rather in a meticulously site

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<sup>271</sup> SH Ordoneert enz Op t billet van Daniel Cools, Rentm van Syne Domeinen tot Diest over twee contrafeytsels bij hem voor SH doen maecken tot Brussel van de Conink ende Conninginne van Hispagnien, en jegentwoordich staen in eene van de Gallerjen van het huys ter Nieuburch bij Rijswijk. 's Gravenhage 13 Nov. 1643

<sup>272</sup> There were also notable portrait holdings at other princely residences such as Buren. However, I focus my attention on Rijswijk, Honselaarsdijk and Noordeinde as the three best documented cases that provide compelling commentary on both architecture and portraiture.

<sup>273</sup> Rebecca Tucker, " 'His excellency at home' : Frederik Hendrik and the noble life at Huis Honselaarsdijk," *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* 51(2001), 93.

specific manner. By linking site and image, the portrait is activated as an agent in the construction of identity, and the placement of such an agent, in granting or denying access to the sovereign body, participates in court ritual and the construction of relationships.

## 4.2 PORTRAITS AT THE BINNENHOF AND NOORDEINDE

The 1632 inventories of the collections of furniture and paintings at Noordeinde and the Stadhouder's Quarters in the Binnenhof drawn up by Alexander le Clerck<sup>274</sup> provide a significant resource for examining the collecting practices of the princely pair in the years directly following their marriage. Noordeinde was the palace given to the family following the assassination of Willem I in 1584, and was the primary residence of Frederik Hendrik's mother, Louise de Coligny, until the time of her death.<sup>275</sup> Given the strong agenda and personality of Louise de Coligny, many of the strategies of display at Noordeinde may reflect her influence and decisions, not those of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia.<sup>276</sup> Following the death of Louise and the

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<sup>274</sup> Inventaris van het Stadhoudelijk Kwartier en het huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1632. ARA 1.08.11 Vervolg, 2de supplement nr. 96. First published: A Drossaers, C Hofstede de Groot, and C. H. De Jonge, "Inventaris van de meubelen van het Stadhoudelijk kwartier met het Speelhuis en van het Huis in het Noordeinde te 's-Gravenhage," *Oud Holland* 47, no. 1 (1930).

<sup>275</sup> The history of Noordeinde is addressed in Paul den Boer, *Het Huijs int' Noorteynde: Het Koninklijk Paleis Noordeinde Historisch Gezien*, trans. Rollin Cochrane (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1986) or, more recently, Eymert-Jan Goosens, *Noordeinde Palace: Four Centuries of the 'Court of the House of Orange'* (Zwolle and The Hague: Waanders Publishers in cooperation with the Royal Household, 2008).

<sup>276</sup> See Jane Couchman, "'Give birth quickly and then send us your good husband': Informal Political Influence in the Letters of Louis de Coligny" and Broomhall and Spinks, *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries*. The third chapter focuses on the use of letter-writing as a conscious reminder to relatives of the plight of the widow and her children. The gallery functioned in the same way: the connections displayed on the walls are the same connections that Louise attempted to keep alive through written

later appointment of Frederik Hendrik to the stadhouderate, Noordeinde was used primarily to house state visitors. It functioned as the primary urban palace of the House of Orange and must be considered both as a site of family identity and of public display – presenting the Prince, Princess and their lineage to visitors and ‘outsiders’ such as Marie de’ Medici, who stayed there during her visit. As such, it is a site which stresses the lineage of the family in visual terms and emphasizes the ties to proto-national history.

There are two galleries listed in the 1632 inventory. The first gallery held 21 portraits of relatives and connections, primarily blood relation to other minor princes, often descendants of Willem I.<sup>277</sup> It is evident that many of these paintings were ‘left over’ from the patronage practices of Louise de Coligny, as they include many members of the family of her generation.<sup>278</sup> Multiple daughters of Willem I appear here with their husbands, reflecting the presence of Louise and her step-daughters in The Hague after 1584. The major international connections, such as the presence of the King of France, are unsurprising, as Henry IV was the godfather of Frederik Hendrik and closely connected to Louise de Coligny. The range of portraits emphatically situates the House of Orange as part of an elite international network. The image of the powerful, connected elite family is precisely what the Prince would want to project to potential allies such as Marie de’ Medici – a visitor for whom the portrait of Henry IV in

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means. Broomhall’s broader work on letters written by the children of Willem the Silent expands on these strategies of exchange as a critical element in kinship networks. See Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, “In the Name of the Father: Conceptualizing *Pater Familias* in the Letters of William the Silent’s Children.” in *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 62, No. 4 (Winter 2009).

<sup>277</sup> The list of sitters includes Henry IV of France, Louise de Coligny, Louis XIII, and many of the French relatives and allies of Louise.

<sup>278</sup> See *Inventaris van het Stadhoudelijk Kwartier en het huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1632*, ARA 1.08.11 Vervolg, 2de supplement nr. 96.

particular would resonate. The fact that these portraits were still being displayed in 1632 reinforces how this particular palace functioned. They represented the family lineage for an audience of distinguished international visitors. When people like Marie de' Medici were lodged at Noordeinde, they would be surrounded by visual evidence of the social standing, family lineage, and political significance of their hosts. Since Marie de' Medici's influence as marriage broker between Orange and Stuart was critical, it was imperative to visually reinforce the social and familial ties through artistic and architectural display.

In the stadhouder's quarters at the Binnenhof, depicted from the exterior by contemporaries such as Paulus van Hillegaert (Fig. 4.3), the agendas of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia as separate and distinct art patrons began to emerge. These rooms had not previously been occupied by Louise, and a fire in 1635 led to the repair and redesign of the rooms. Therefore, Amalia's rooms in particular are worthy of attention because never before had a woman of her rank and position occupied them – she was starting from a blank slate. Therefore, the conscious decorative strategy of the couple can be separated from the ensembles inherited from older generations. In addition, Amalia's role as an art patron has frequently been overshadowed by or subsumed within that of her husband in the scholarship. However, in this case, their respective apartments provide evidence of their differing tastes. Occupying the second and third floors of the complex of buildings which also housed official government spaces, the apartments of both the Prince and the Princess contained galleries, but those galleries emphasized different themes. The Prince's gallery held a wealth of paintings: landscapes,

religious paintings, nymphs painted by Van Honthorst,<sup>279</sup> a *Moses* by Pieter Lastman,<sup>280</sup> and paintings by Cornelis van Poelenburch, Pieter Bruegel, and van Balen. Altogether, there were 54 paintings in the gallery, overseen by a mantelpiece painting of Diana with a shepherdess and two winds by Van Honthorst.<sup>281</sup> There were, however, only four portraits hanging in his gallery at this date: his parents, Willem the Silent and Louise de Coligny, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and Amalia van Solms.<sup>282</sup> In other words, the Prince only chose to display the portraits of his parents, his wife, and his esteemed visitor. His preferences were much more courtly and allegorical, a trend corroborated by inventories of his chambers at other palaces.

Amalia's rooms in the same residence reveal fundamentally different aesthetic preferences and decorative strategies. In all of the rooms of her apartment, portraits played a significantly more prominent role. Amalia's cabinet held portraits of the queen of Bohemia, the Count of Hannau and her own portrait by Rembrandt. Initially, the gallery is comparable to that of the Prince. Adorned with red and gold leather walls instead of His Excellency's green,

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<sup>279</sup>*Inventaris van het Stadhoudelijk Kwartier en het huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1632.* ARA 1.08.11 Vervolg, 2de supplement nr. 96. Item 51, een schilderije sijnde een nimphe spelende op de luyt, met eenen ebbende lijst daertoe, door den voors. Hondhorst gemaectt. (a painting of a nymph playing the lute with an ebony frame, made by the princely Honthorst.)

<sup>280</sup>ARA 1.08.11 Vervolg, 2de supplement nr. 96. "Item 53, een schilderije daer Moses gevonden wert, door Lasman gemaectt." (A painting of the finding of Moses, made by Lastman.)

<sup>281</sup>ARA 1.08.11 Vervolg, 2de supplement nr. 96. Item 44: "Eenen houten schoorsteenmantel, vergult op eenen groenen gront, daerinne is staende een schilderije van Diana met eenige harderinnen ende twee winden, door Hondhorst van Utrecht gemaectt."

<sup>282</sup>ARA 1.08.11 Vervolg, 2de supplement nr. 96.

45. een schilderije van Prins Wilhelm hoochl mem., staende in een ebben lijst

46. een schilderije van mevrouwe de prinsesse hoochl mem. In een ebben lijst

47. Een schilderije van de coninginne van Bohemen met den hangende hayre

48. een schilderije van Haere Excie Mevrouwe de prinsesse met den hangende hayre

Amalia had a matching Van Honthorst mantelpiece with shepherdesses.<sup>283</sup> There the similarity ends, however, because Amalia's gallery is dominated by portraits. There were no fewer than nineteen on display, including her son Willem II and two of her daughters, twelve paintings of the queens and eminent lords of France, the marquises of Verneuil (mistress to Henry IV) and Marmontye, the Countess of Bouillon, and Lady Strange (a descendant of Willem the Silent, married to the Earl of Derby).

The list of those portrayed is not unlike an updated version of the gallery assembled by Louise de Coligny at Noordeinde, as though Amalia is determined to take her place on an international stage. The primary concerns of Louise had been financial solvency and deliberate reinforcement of family financial obligations through an exchange of letters and display of portraits.<sup>284</sup> By the time that the chambers at the Binnenhof were decorated, the chief concern of Amalia was the healthy birth of an heir and the international standing of the family. Amalia demonstrated, in her choice of imagery, a keen understanding of the need to map her network of relatives and connections on the wall of her gallery, connections not emphasized as strongly in the chambers of her husband. This gallery presented Amalia's physical body within a network of influentially placed women, ranging from queens to mistresses. She further stressed her place within this coterie by including two portraits of Willem II, foregrounding her role as the mother of the presumed next stadhouder. From the beginning, her display of portraits reflected a keen understanding of their potential power as political tools.

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<sup>283</sup> ARA 1.08.11 Vervolg, 2de supplement nr. 96. "Item 223:Eene schoorsteenmantel, vergult op eenen rooden lacken gront, daerinne een stuck schilderje verciert met harderinnekenen, door Honthorst gemaect." (a mantelpiece, gilded on a red laquer ground which has painted on it shepherdesses made by Honthorst.)

<sup>284</sup> Couchman, "Give birth quickly," *passim*.

### 4.3 HUIS TER NIEUBURCH AT RIJSWIJK

Huis ter Nieuburch was one of the building projects undertaken by Frederik Hendrik during the 1630s (Fig 4.4). Rather than renovating an existing palace as at Noordeinde, the Binnenhof, and later Honselaarsdijk, ter Nieuburch was an original undertaking.<sup>285</sup> Bezemer Sellers regards it as one of the most modern of the stadhouder's constructions;<sup>286</sup> while Honselaarsdijk (see below) drew on late sixteenth century Italian ideals, it is at ter Nieuburch that the "Franco-Dutch" baroque version of classicism is first seen. The house was used to host important guests, such as Frederik and Elizabeth of Bohemia and Sir William Brereton.<sup>287</sup> In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, a treaty between England, France and Holland was signed here, but shortly after it fell into extreme disrepair due to neglect, resulting in its eventual demolition.

There are extensive preserved inventories for many of the other palaces built and renovated by the stadhouder, but this is not the case at ter Nieuburch. Drossaers and Lunsingh

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<sup>285</sup> In 1630, Frederik Hendrik had purchased the property from Filibert Vernatti, subsequently demolishing the existing house in order to start anew. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*; Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland* (Amsterdam and Woodbridge: Architectura + Natura Press and Garden Art Press, 2001).

<sup>286</sup> Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, 61-62.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, 95. There seems to be some dispute over the intended usage of this house; Dr. Thera Wijsenbeek has claimed that it was intended entirely for personal use while others claim it was primarily intended for visitors.

Scheurleer published one inventory from 1707, but it only listed 26 paintings.<sup>288</sup> From that list, however, in conjunction with the work of Heldring,<sup>289</sup> some idea of the interior can be reconstructed. The preserved inventory recorded the contents of “de onder westgalerie” and included portraits of Marie de’ Medici and Henry IV, the king and queen of Spain painted by Soutman,<sup>290</sup> Isabella Clara Eugenia painted by van Dyck,<sup>291</sup> Philips Willem of Orange-Nassau, Count Henry van den Bergh, René de Chalon, Charles V, the Duke of Alba and five others.

The building was a central pavilion with two galleries, one leading to the private rooms of Frederik Hendrik and one to the rooms of Amalia van Solms.<sup>292</sup> The placement of the portraits reflected the division of gender within the house; princes were hung in the gallery approaching Frederik Hendrik’s rooms while princesses hung in the other. According to Marieke Spliethoff, below each of these portraits was a small painting representing an event from the life of the subject of the portrait.<sup>293</sup> As visitors passed through the gallery, they encountered portraits and allegories celebrating rulership, until at last reaching the chambers of Frederik or Amalia, situating the Prince and Princess within a European network. This is not

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<sup>288</sup> Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, 519. This inventory was made by Robert Duval, on behalf of Frederik I of Prussia.

<sup>289</sup> H. H. Heldring, "De portretten galerijen op het huis Ter Nieuburch te Rijswijk," *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (1967).

<sup>290</sup> Soutman was apparently paid January 11, 1639 f350 for these two, intended for this palace. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, 300.

<sup>291</sup> Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die Gemälde im Jagdschloss Grunewald* (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1964); Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, 541.

<sup>292</sup> Ekkart, Buvelot, and Winkel, *Hollanders in beeld : portretten uit de gouden eeuw*, 146. Buvelot asserts that the list of names in the KHA refers to the galleries here, following the argument set forth in Heldring.

<sup>293</sup> Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role Play and Representation," 175. Spliethoff also associates the handwritten list with ter Nieuburch and not Huis ten Bosch in accordance with Buvelot.

precisely the same strategy used at Noordeinde and the Binnenhof. In those spaces, the portraits reflected blood relations and direct connections. At ter Nieuburch, and then also at Honselaarsdijk, the scope of the network has been expanded to include more prominently situated monarchs including the kings and queens of France, England, Spain, Hungary, and Sweden. In order to reach the rooms of Amalia, a visitor would encounter portraits of ever more elevated subjects, finally being confronted with a seated portrait of either Marie de' Medici or Elizabeth of England.<sup>294</sup> Only then, primed by these lofty individuals, would the visitor reach the rooms of the Prince or Princess. Instead of being represented solely by a portrait, the stadhouder and his wife were represented by the spaces they inhabited, in the company of all the monarchs among whom they wished to be counted.

#### 4.4 HONSELAARSDIJK

Honselaarsdijk was the most significant of the building projects undertaken by Frederik Hendrik because of its critical role in establishing an identity as landed aristocrats (Fig 4.5, 4.6). The site, west of The Hague, was the location of the ancient castle of Honsel, which had been the property of the counts of Aremberg, supporters of the Spanish during the war for independence.<sup>295</sup> The renovation and decoration of Honselaarsdijk was to remain a central

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<sup>294</sup> Heldring, "De portretten galerijen op het huis Ter Nieuburch te Rijswijk," 67.

<sup>295</sup> Th Morren, *Het huis Honselaarsdijk* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1908). The property had been confiscated by the States General and put at the disposal of Maurits in 1589, though it reverted to the

interest of the prince throughout the 1630s. As Tucker has argued, the construction, maintenance, and decoration of this palace was a central part of the stadhouder's image as a nobleman.<sup>296</sup> It is only fitting that a country house built to indulge his interest in architecture should become home to some of the most innovative and personal of the portraits commissioned by the court. It became a palace dominated by portraits; one room alone held 103 portraits including portraits by Antony van Dyck, Pieter Paul Rubens, Michiel van Mierevelt and Gerard Van Honthorst, depicting sitters ranging from close relatives to esteemed monarchs.<sup>297</sup> In the most public space of the formal gallery connecting the Prince's quarters, Amalia might have been presented in the company of all the other European monarchs, surrounded by allegories of how those women were welcomed to their new countries.<sup>298</sup> Though Amalia is conspicuously absent from the gallery as it was recorded in the eighteenth century, she would have been included in such an ensemble. It has previously been argued that this cycle of paintings was relocated here from Rijswijk,

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original owners in 1609 as part of the treaty establishing the Twelve Year Truce. Frederik Hendrik bought the land from the Arembergs three years later.

<sup>296</sup> Tucker, " 'His excellency at home' : Frederik Hendrik and the noble life at Huis Honselaarsdijk"; Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly."

<sup>297</sup> The room in question is room 29 in M. Verheyde, "Inventaris van de schilderijen op het huis Honselaarsdijk 1755," (Den Haag: Koninklijk Huisarchief (KHA), 1775).

<sup>298</sup> Verheyde's inventory of 1758 indicates a sequence of portraits of various queens are accompanied by allegories of scenes such as: 2de verbeeld na t Leven de Kroninge van Maria de Medicis te Reims [*shown second after life, the crowning of Maria de Medici at Reims*]; 3de verbeeld hoe de Koninklijke Moeder en voogdesse Maria de Medicis door haar getrouwe onderdanen de vrugten en inkomsten des Landts gulhartig voor hare voeten nederleggen etc...door g Hondhorst [*shown third is how the queen mother and highness Maria de Medicis through her faithful subjects gladly put down before her feet the fruits and earnings of the land.*]; [*shown sixth across from that, how the guardian of the land Clara Eugenia Infanta of Spain camt receive from her subjects the income and jewels etc the same which were laid before her feet, by P Grebber*]; 14de verbeeld, hoe voor de voeten van Elisabeth Koningin van Engeland, door Ceres en Neptunes, de schatten van land en zee gelegd werden door P Grebber fecit. [*across from that 14<sup>th</sup> is shown how the treasures of land and sea were laid before the feet of Elizabeth, Queen of England, by Ceres and Neptune, by P. de Grebber.*].

though the evidence for this is unclear. I theorize that the cycle originally included Amalia and Frederik Hendrik, who were later replaced by portraits of James and Anna as the use and ownership of the building changed at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Because of the late date of the inventory and the lack of substantive evidence, the argument about this specific set of paintings is not pursued here. This stressed her international political role in a space that would have been passed through by the largest numbers of powerful visitors coming to consult with her husband. It visually established Amalia on equal footing as fully fledged monarchs. The classicizing architecture, the references to French and Italian forerunners, and a conspicuous display of notables inscribed the nobility of the residents on the building, inserting Frederik Hendrik and Amalia into a European network of elite alliances.

#### **4.4.1 Site Specific Portrait Display at Honselaarsdijk**

As in other palaces, the galleries at Honselaarsdijk were a central site for staging elite identity; for example, the gallery connecting the private and public apartments in the wing occupied by the Prince was dominated by portraits and allegories on benevolent rule, comparable to those at ter Nieuburch. Unfortunately, the surviving inventories date from later than the time of Amalia and it is impossible to reconstruct the original décor of many of the spaces. The palace is described in part in the 1687 travel diary of Nicodemus Tessin who focused primarily on symmetry and the relationship between windows and the use of mirrors.<sup>299</sup> Unfortunately,

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<sup>299</sup> Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, 76. See also Gustaf Upmark, "Ein Besuch in Holland 1687 aus den Reiseschilderungen des swedischen Architekten Nicodemus Tessin," *Oud Holland* 18(1900).

Tessin includes no discussion of any specific paintings in the rooms of Amalia, though in other instances he shows himself to be an educated and observant viewer. Slothouwer notes that by the time of the inventory in the eighteenth century, the largest room of Amalia's suite held portraits of the Kings of Prussia.<sup>300</sup>

Though there are not extensive documents supporting the seventeenth century condition of Amalia's rooms, what does survive suggests that her rooms were designed to stage a nuanced elite identity that emphasized pastoral themes in keeping with the theme of the palace. One of the mantelpieces was a portrait of Amalia as Diana with her sister the Countess of Brederode, now lost.<sup>301</sup> Judson and Ekkart argue for this painting having been commissioned in 1626, making it the earliest Orange commission given to Van Honthorst. It was later moved to the mantel at Honselaarsdijk (compare with fig. 2.29).<sup>302</sup> Though it was not made specifically for this site, due to the appropriate nature of the subject it was incorporated into the larger thematic decorative scheme. As discussed above, these allegorized or historiated portraits seem to have circulated only among select groups, suggesting that this space at Honselaarsdijk was not universally accessible, unlike the galleries holding state portraits. This is one of the first

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<sup>300</sup> Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, 79-80. The afterlife of this palace placed it in the hands of the Prussians for some time.

<sup>301</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 19. In the 1755 inventory, it is described: "in de audientiekamer no 38: voor de schoorsteen eerstelijk vertoont de gravinne Amelia van Solms (gemalin van prins Fred. Hendr.) in de gedaente der jaghtgodinne Dian, benevens haar zuster de gravinne de Brederode in de gedaente eener jaghtnimph te rusten, vergeselt door liefdewighjes welke allerley smakelijke vrugten ter verwikking aanprezenterenm konstig geschildert na 't leven door H. Hondhorst." (In the audience chamber, no. 38: Before the fireplace honorably represented is the countess Amalia van Solms, spouse of Prince Frederik Hendrik, in the guise of the hunting goddess Diana, in the company of her sister the countess of Brederode in the guise of a nymph....) As early as 1707, it had been hung in the antechambre, if not before.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

significant ways in which Amalia is seen to control access to certain elements of her image and it suggests a keen awareness of the difference between a public and private self.

Amalia was frequently associated with Diana, both in painted sources and in court masques.<sup>303</sup> The significance of this guise is not merely an indication of the restricted nature of the space and limited audience for the portrait. The use of Diana in particular is a reference to the particular character of Honselaarsdijk as a site of landed gentry. It is not merely that Amalia is known to have been involved in hunts, but also that the invocation of Diana refers specifically to hunting as one of the rights reserved for the aristocracy in the seventeenth century in the United Provinces. By representing Amalia as Diana, she is not only elided with the goddess, but also with the concept of aristocracy itself. Rather than the explicitly personal allegory visible in her most elite rooms, the portrait of Amalia as Diana is fitting for this transitional space, neither truly public nor private. Amalia-as-Diana comments not on Amalia's personal role in the United Provinces, but more broadly on the role of the aristocracy.

Inventories of these intermediate spaces at Honselaarsdijk also note the presence of a portrait described as “An extremely princely painting showing Amalia, Countess of Solms, spouse of Prince Frederik Hendrik; surrounding her Highness eight Princes and Princesses, including Willem II, where three deceased children swoop through the air as angels, artfully painted after life in 1640 by G. Hondhorst.”<sup>304</sup> Like much of the décor of Honselaarsdijk, this

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<sup>303</sup> Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly," 184.

<sup>304</sup> KHA Inv. A17 Nr. 46 I, 10 f. .”“Een capitaal vorstelijk schilderij vertonende Amelia gravinne van Solms, gemalinne van Prins FREDERIK HENDRIK, verzelt van haar Hoogheids aght Princen en Princessen, als Willem de Tweeden...waarbij drie overlede kinderen als engelend in de Lught swevende konstig na t leven geschildert Ao 1640 door G Hondhorst” (a princely painting representing Amalia, countess of Solms, spouse of Prince Frederik Hendrik, shows her highness with the Princes and

painting no longer survives. However, it is comparable to the 1629 *Amalia as Flora* (Fig. 2.31). Marieke Spliethoff called the surviving earlier variant the first independent portrait of Amalia and sees it as a turning point in the portraiture of the court. Judson and Ekkart see it as a “breakthrough” for court portraiture, as it represents such a radical shift away from the conservative portraits of Van Mierevelt.<sup>305</sup> The portrait was already listed among Amalia’s possessions in 1632 and seems to have passed by descent to her daughter Albertine Agnes, as it is listed in the inventory of Schloss Oranienstien in 1695, twenty years after Amalia’s death.<sup>306</sup> It commemorated two living children and one deceased child in a private commission most likely intended for Amalia’s own use, though we do not know where it was hung. It represents such a departure from all previous portraits painted for the court that the difference and the innovation can be attributed to the combination of an interested patron and Van Honthorst’s particular skills and interests. In the same manner that prints such as the *Wyt Beroemt Geslacht* are updated to include the new children to publicize the ever growing Orange dynasty, here too in the private domain, the couple commissioned Van Honthorst to create the updated version later displayed in Honselaarsdijk and now lost.

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Princesses, including Willem II, where three deceased children as angels hover in the air. Artfully painted after life in 1640 by G. Honthorst.)

<sup>305</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 31-32.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*. Vol 2, 159 ff.

#### 4.4.2 Et in Batavia Ego: Pastoral Portraiture as Political Allegory

In 1635 the Prince and Princess commissioned a series of eight paintings illustrating scenes from *Il Pastor Fido*, the popular Italian pastoral play. The cycle consisted of four large narrative scenes, illustrating episodes from the play, and four narrow landscapes which elaborate on the themes of the narrative. Like other cycles commissioned by the couple, it was carried out by a team of artists. Though no documents survive relating to its commission, it was intended for Amalia's cabinet and became part of a unified interior, comparable to a preserved example in France.<sup>307</sup> It is one of the few known large decorative schemes in seventeenth century Dutch art. Fusing allegory and history, past and present, Arcadia and Batavia, the cycle of paintings provides a case study of how the pastoral mode was used both as a statement of elite leisure and as a site for rhetorical commentary on the political future of the United Provinces. It demonstrates that portraiture and architecture worked in tandem to create powerful statements about the role of the stadhouder and his wife in the emerging United Provinces. Though the cycle does not explicitly contain a portrait, it invokes Amalia through allusion and allegory, suggesting that what constituted a portrait to the early modern mind was quite flexible within the more relaxed and intimate setting of private rooms.

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<sup>307</sup>Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, *Princely Patrons*, 222. Pieter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren compare the cycle to one from the previous decade in Ancy-le-Franc, France, by Philippe Quantin. The paintings first appear in documents in 1694, when an inventory of Honselaarsdijk indicated that they were in "Her Majesty's small-dressing room" as part of a set of 18 fixed paintings. See Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, Vol. 1, 467.

#### 4.4.3 Arcadian Rhetoric in the Dutch Republic

Honselaarsdijk and court culture of the 1630s more broadly must be studied within the context of the literary tradition of the pastoral. In her study of pastoral portraiture, Alison Kettering observed that early seventeenth-century Dutch writers were keenly aware that the rest of the European literati considered Dutch language and literature to be ‘backwards.’<sup>308</sup> In response to this stereotype, there was an increased interest in purifying the language and producing a more polished literary tradition, an endeavor supported by the court of the stadhouder. In order to prove their erudition to the rest of the continent, authors and poets turned to the classical ideals of the Arcadian pastoral. Arcadia, a mythic land of the Golden Age where no one had to work and everything was blissful, came from the classical author Hesiod, where people

“lived as if they were gods, their hearts free from all sorrow,...without hard work or pain...The fruitful grainland yielded its harvest to them of its own accord; this was great and abundant, while they at their pleasure quietly looked after their own works in the midst of good things (prosperous in flocks, on friendly terms with the blessed immortals.”<sup>309</sup>

By the time of Virgil’s *Eclogues*, the source which most extensively influenced the Renaissance and early modern authors writing on the Golden Age, Arcadia had taken on a new aspect: the

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<sup>308</sup> Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, 21.

<sup>309</sup> Hesiod, *The works and days. Theogony. The shield of Herakles*, trans. Richard Lattimore (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 31-33.

Golden Age can be regained with the coming of a redeemer, a theme which was to gain considerable popularity and relevance in the Dutch Republic.<sup>310</sup>

Though in origin a classical Italian style, the early modern pastoral literary mode was enormously popular across Europe in the early decades of the seventeenth century; the works of Italian pastoralists such as Jacopo Sannazaro and Battista Guarini were widely circulated, and both France and England had developed strong literary traditions in response. In England, Sir Philip Sidney published *Arcadia* in the late sixteenth century while Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astree* was particularly popular at the French court. The first pastoral play written in the Netherlands, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft's *Granida*, was written in 1605 and was followed by two decades of poems and plays by such luminaries of Dutch literature as Jacob Cats, Daniel Heinsius and Constantijn Huygens.<sup>311</sup> As pastoral literature gained in popularity in the United Provinces, Dutch writers set out to make it their own,<sup>312</sup> fusing *Arcadia* with the indigenous myth of the Batavians, the fierce Germanic tribe described by Tacitus in the first century. The Batavians rebelled against their Roman overlords in order to gain their freedom, making them a perfect allegorical parallel for the struggling Provinces. The Batavian myth was promoted by the writer and political philosopher Hugo Grotius in 1610 in *De Antiquitate Republicae Batavae*, a history of the provinces. In *De Antiquitate*, he argued that the Batavians were people of great spiritual strength, which dictated their form of government. The virtuous cannot be slaves because slavery constricts free will. The Batavians and their descendants had always been

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<sup>310</sup>Virgil, *The Eclogues*, trans. Guy Lee (London: Penguin, 1988), 55-59. In later contexts, this took on an explicitly christological tone; in the United Provinces, it more likely evoked the House of Orange.

<sup>311</sup> Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, 20.

<sup>312</sup>*Ibid.* 21.

courageous, loyal, moral, and free – more so than any other nation.<sup>313</sup> The myth of the Batavians was used to celebrate the life and politics of the United Provinces.

The use of this rhetoric in the arts is best known in explicitly political and civic contexts such as Otto van Veen's Batavian cycle bought by the States General in 1613 and the decorations of the Amsterdam Town Hall forty years later.<sup>314</sup> In literary circles, the elision of the political and the pastoral also thrived: in addition to *Granida*, Peter Cornelisz. Hooft also wrote a pastoral play called *Baeto* and a history of the United Provinces.<sup>315</sup> Theodore Rodenburgh's translation of *Il Pastor Fido* was published under the title "*Anna Rodenburgh's Trouwen Batavier*."<sup>316</sup> Instead of being set in Arcadia, it was set outside of the town of Leiden during the famous siege of 1573-1574 and had significant political overtones; the female protagonist is even named "Orania." The first Dutch Arcadian novel, *Batavische Arcadia* by Johan van Heemskerck, was published in 1637, adding political elements to a genre predominantly occupied with amorous pursuits. Rodenburgh and van Heemskerck represent the culmination of a series of literary attempts to fuse pastoral rhetoric and what Kettering calls "didactic and nationalistic discourse

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<sup>313</sup> E.O.G Haitsma Muller, "Grotius, Hooft and the Writing of History in the Dutch Republic," in *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. A.C. Duke and C.A. Tames (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1985), 59. See also I. Schoffer, "The Batavian Myth during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland*, ed. P.A.M. Geurts and A.E.M. Janssen (s'Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1981).

<sup>314</sup> Marianne van der Zwaag, Renske Cohen Tervaert, and Yvette Rosenberg, *Opstand als opdracht. The Batavian commissions : Flinck, Ovens, Lievens, Jordaens, De Groot, Bol, Rembrandt* (Amsterdam: Stichting Koninklijk Paleis, 2011).

<sup>315</sup> Haitsma Muller, "Grotius, Hooft and the Writing of History in the Dutch Republic," 65.

<sup>316</sup> Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, *Princely Patrons*, 222. This was more of a loose adaptation than a literal translation.

on Dutch history and politics.”<sup>317</sup> By 1640 in the Netherlands, pastoral literature came to be a central element in Orangist proto-nationalist propaganda.

#### 4.4.4 *Il Pastor Fido* in Text and Image

*Il Pastor Fido*, written by the Italian playwright Battista Guarini in 1590, demonstrates the extent of the popularity enjoyed by Arcadian literature and its subsequent appropriation by the Dutch elite. The play proved to be extremely popular: it was available within a year in an English edition, was widely translated throughout Europe, and has been called the most widely read secular work of the seventeenth century.<sup>318</sup> The complex plot weaves together three plotlines, each of which illustrates a different type of love: ideal, virtuous love, carnal love, or naïve, natural love. Arcadia is in a state of decay following a curse from Diana because of an unfaithful maiden, and every year a young woman must be sacrificed. The curse can be broken only when two descendants of the gods marry for love. Amaryllis and Silvio, the only two appropriate candidates for such a match, have become betrothed, though not by choice. It ultimately comes to light that Mirtillo, a young shepherd in love with Amaryllis, is actually Silvio’s older brother and therefore the true betrothed of Amaryllis. Through their marriage, Arcadia is saved by ideal love and civilization is restored to a Golden Age.

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<sup>317</sup> Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, 25.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid. 28. The story was so popular in contemporary literary and artistic circles that there is an extensive body of paintings and tapestries which illustrate scenes from it. See also J. G. van Gelder, "Pastor Fido-voorstellingen in de Nederlandse Kunst van de zeventiende eeuw," *Oud Holland* 92, no. 4 (1978).

By the time that the Honselaarsdijk series was commissioned in 1635, the play was already well known in courtly circles. In addition to Frederik Hendrik's early education at the French court<sup>319</sup> where pastoral literature was very much in fashion, his secretary and artistic advisor Constantijn Huygens was deeply interested in Arcadian literature, owning Sir Philip Sidney's *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, six different editions of *Il Pastor Fido*, and Montemayor's pastoral romance *Diana*. He had even begun his own translation of *Il Pastor Fido* in 1623.<sup>320</sup> Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia were also great patrons of the pastoral as well as formative influences on the artistic and political aspirations of the young court. Despite the popularity of the play, it was not commonly illustrated in artistic media in the United Provinces before 1635. However, the themes of the play were appropriate to decorate Honselaarsdijk, a residence where the relationship between the house, the land, and the sovereignty of the stadhouder was pre-eminent.<sup>321</sup> It was an ideal vehicle for the ambitious

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<sup>319</sup> The catalog of the Orange Nassau library as published by A.D. Renting and J.T.C. Renting-Kuypers does not include any copies of *Il Pastor Fido*, though it does include such titles as Louis Moreau du Bail's *Les Amours d'Amisidore et Chrysolite* (Paris, 1623), a 1639 edition of *Le Berger Extravagant*, and Jean Baptiste Alais de Beaulieu's *Les Aventures de Polydre et Theoxene* (1624). The catalog was compiled in 1686 by the Court Librarian, Antony Smets who, in his memoirs, noted that there was a great deal of loss due to poor storage conditions, damage, and theft during the late 1630s, and therefore this catalog cannot be considered complete. Anthonie Smets et al., *The seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau library : the catalogue compiled by Anthonie Smets in 1686, the 1749 auction catalogue, and other contemporary sources* (Utrecht: HES, 1993).

<sup>320</sup> Joaneath Spicer and Lynne Federle Orr, *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 36. There were many translations of the play into Dutch, including one by Hendrick Bloemaert, one of the artists involved in the cycle at Honselaarsdijk. His edition was dedicated to William Vincent Baron van Wittenhorst, one of the chief patrons of Italianate art in Utrecht.

<sup>321</sup> *Il Pastor Fido* also contains an entire subplot which revolved around hunting. Silvio, the initial betrothed of Amaryllis, cares not for love, but only for hunting. While hunting, he is followed by Dorinda, a nymph who loves him, disguised in a wolf's skin. Unknowingly, he shoots her, and upon discovering his mistake, he falls in love with her.

Amalia van Solms to visually insert herself into the political landscape of her day, creating political allegories about the House of Orange.

The *Il Pastor Fido* series at Honselaarsdijk was not the first time this theme had appeared in the artistic patronage of the stadhouder. In 1631 they had purchased (and probably even commissioned) Anthony Van Dyck's *Amaryllis Crowning Mirtillo* to be hung in Frederik Hendrik's dressing room (Fig 4.7). J. G van Gelder identified this painting as the first image of the subject to appear in the Netherlands.<sup>322</sup> In this scene in the play, Amaryllis is holding a kissing competition among her maidens, which she will judge. In order to gain a glimpse of the maiden he adores, Mirtillo dresses himself as a woman and infiltrates and then wins the competition. He is crowned with flowers by Amaryllis. He returns the flowers to her, and she recrowns him with a second crown, prefiguring their eventual marriage. The character of Mirtillo would have appealed to Frederik Hendrik as the founder of a new dynasty. While Mirtillo would ultimately become the father of the new Golden Age in Arcadia, so too was Frederik Hendrik father to the new Orange dynasty in the United Provinces. At the same time that the Prince and Princess were busy designing Honselaarsdijk and its decorations, the States General granted hereditary rights to Frederik Hendrik's son, Willem II, confirming the role of the House in national politics.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Van Gelder, "Pastor Fido-voorstellingen," 244.

<sup>323</sup> Walsh, "Van Dyck at the Court of Frederik Hendrik," 232. The other paintings in the dressing room of the stadhouder are similarly related to themes of dynasty and lineage and are repeated in other palaces as well; at Noordeinde, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia were shown in the guises of Aeneas and Dido. See Boer, *Het Huijs int' Noorteynde: Het Koninklijk Paleis Noordeinde Historisch Gezien*.

Van Dyck's version of *The Crowning of Mirtillo* is indebted to Titian and Rubens and emphasizes the figures of Amaryllis and Mirtillo. Just to the right of the center, Mirtillo returns the floral crown to Amaryllis. Our attention is directed to this action by the huntress to the left who points directly to the crowning as well as the nymph reaching out of the bushes at the right touching Amaryllis on the shoulder. Poelenburch's painting of four years later, the first large canvas in the cycle at Honselaarsdijk, is in sharp contrast to Van Dyck's version in almost every way, from the handling of paint to the moment of the narrative depicted (Fig 4.8). Poelenburch creates a mid-ground with frolicking pastoral figures making music and a distant view of the towering ruins, identifiable as the tombs of the Horatii and the Curatii, thereby placing more emphasis on the classical landscape. Furthermore, Poelenburch does not focus attention on the actions of the male figure as Van Dyck does, but gives increased prominence to the actions taken by Amaryllis herself. While Van Dyck has chosen to illustrate the moment at which Mirtillo crowns Amaryllis, Poelenburch illustrated the next scene in the story. Already wearing a crown of flowers, Amaryllis is seated on a high rocky outcropping and reaches out to place a second crown on Mirtillo who is bowing before her. Van Dyck's version, hanging in Frederik Hendrik's chambers, stresses the male action, while in the corresponding room of Amalia, an illustration of the same story stresses the actions of the female protagonist.

#### **4.4.5 The Woman in Orange**

In her discussion of the role of Amalia van Solms in Orange 'kunstpolitiek,' Barbara

Gahtgens asserts that the *Il Pastor Fido* cycle clearly refers to Holland, but notes the lack of any portraits in this sequence of paintings.<sup>324</sup> However, this claim has been disputed by Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, who identified a centrally-placed woman wearing a deep orange dress over a white shift as a portrait of Amalia herself (Fig. 4.9).<sup>325</sup> Poelenburch departed from the model presented by Van Dyck by adding this figure to his composition. She stands precisely in the middle of the canvas and separates the action from the pastoral background landscape. She is a central compositional element, attention drawn to her by her position directly behind the only figure who directly engages with the viewer. Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren present several pieces of evidence to support their claim that it may be a portrait: she is the only figure in the scene who wears a demure white shift, she wears a heavy string of pearls like that associated with Amalia, and there is a facial resemblance between the two.<sup>326</sup> A comparison with a 1632 portrait of Amalia by Gerard van Honthorst (see Fig. 2.35) reveals similar hairstyles, round cheeks and chins, and similarities in the way the fabric at her shoulder billows out behind her.

There are several reservations one might have with accepting this identification, including the superficial issue of hair color and the more problematic lack of documentation. There is no documentary evidence that survives from the commissioning of the cycle that indicates whether or not it was intended as a portrait, and Poelenburch is not primarily known as a portraitist. In virtually all portraits dated before 1635, Amalia is represented with blond or

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<sup>324</sup> Barbara Gahtgens, "Amalia van Solms und die Oranische Kunstpolitik," in *Onder den Orange Boom: niederlandische kunst und kultur im 17. und 18 jahrhundert an deutschen Furstenhof*, ed. Markus Schacht, Jorg Meiner, and Horst Lademacher (Munchen: Hirmer, 1999), 278.

<sup>325</sup> Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, *Princely Patrons*, 216-225.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*

light brown hair. The earliest known portraits, probably painted by Michiel van Mierevelt and workshop on her arrival in The Hague in 1621 and those from around the time of her marriage in 1625 have a lighter hair color. Representations of her in the album by Adriaen van de Venne now at the British Museum invariably represent her as blond.<sup>327</sup> This is repeated by Van Dyck in his 1631 portrait of Amalia, probably the version now in the Prado (see Fig. 2.37) and Rembrandt's portrait dating from 1632, now in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris (see Fig. 2.36). Indeed, it is perhaps the Rembrandt portrait which most resembles the Poelenburch, with its slightly fleshy, round face. Given the date of the cycle and a comparison with other early portraits of Amalia van Solms, the hair color hardly presents a problem for identification.

It is possible that Cornelis van Poelenburch had at some point painted a portrait of Amalia van Solms. Primarily a painter of landscapes with mythological subjects, he also painted around thirty portraits, including the children of the Winter King and Queen, indicating that he was active as a portraitist in court circles on a limited basis.<sup>328</sup> When the collection of the art dealer Johannes Renialme was inventoried at his death in 1657, one of the paintings listed is “*no. 37 de oude prinsesse van Poelenburch.*”<sup>329</sup> While there is no way of knowing for sure whether this was a portrait of Amalia specifically, at the date of the inventory, Amalia was the older of the two Orange princesses residing in The Hague; Mary Stuart, her daughter in law, was almost always referred to by her proper title “Princess Royal.”

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<sup>327</sup> Martin Royalton-Kitsch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: British Museums Publications in association with Meulenhoff/Landshoff, 1988).

<sup>328</sup> Nicolette C. Sluijter-Seijffert, *Cornelis van Poelenburch (ca. 1593-1667)* (Doctoral Dissertation, Leiden, 1984). 108-109, 243-247; Sluijter-Seijffert, "Cornelis van Poelenburch als portretschilder."

<sup>329</sup> Inventory 180 in Montias Database, Amsterdam NA 1915, fols. 663-679, 1657/06/20.

The resemblance of the figure to a specific historical figure supports the argument for these canvases as part of a conscious effort to align the United Provinces with a new Golden Age of Man. The relationship between Amalia herself and pastoral literature goes beyond the cycle of paintings. Beginning in the 1620s, there was a trend among upper class women to dress as if they were shepherdesses, especially when they went out into the countryside.<sup>330</sup> Crispijn de Passe's publication, *Les Vrais Pourtraits de Quelques Unes des Plus Grades Dames de la Chretiente, Desguisees en Bergeres*, published in Amsterdam in 1640, included allegorized portraits of women of both the aristocracy and the upper-class dressed as shepherdesses (Fig. 4.10). These are recognizable references to real individuals though specific names are not given. Amalia is invoked under the pseudonym "Orania P.O", but is identifiable due to the branch of oranges she holds in one hand. This particular work strengthens the specific association between Frederik Hendrik and Amalia's marriage and that of Amaryllis and Mirtillo; the accompanying poem, with Amalia as the speaker, refers to Frederik Hendrik as "her shepherd."<sup>331</sup> Amalia's daughter is shown by de Passe under the name of 'Batavina P.O.', linking the House of Orange with both the Batavian Myth and the pastoral literary genre. This fashioning of the House of Orange as the savior of the United Provinces is reflected in contemporary poetry; Joost van den Vondel specifically used language from Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, referencing the rebirth of Arcadia through a Redeemer in his poem "Oranje May-lied," written on the occasion of the birth

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<sup>330</sup>M Louttit, "The Romantic Dress of Saskia van Uylenborch: Its Pastoral and Theatrical Associations," *The Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 842 (1973), 318.

<sup>331</sup> Spicer and Orr, *Masters of Light*, 36.

of William II Prince of Orange in 1626.<sup>332</sup> While Christian theologians interpreted this as a reference to the coming of Christ, Vondel used the same language to champion the ascendance of the House of Orange.<sup>333</sup>

The panel in Amalia's cabinet was not the only time Poelenburch had painted this particular scene. Another smaller version, now in Kunsthalle Bremen (Fig. 4.11), serves as a useful point of comparison. There are striking compositional similarities between the two paintings: the composition rises from lounging nude nymphs to a pyramidal form of seated women with Amaryllis at the apex. The fact that the version at Honselaarsdijk rises to the right and the smaller to the left is immaterial; the compositions are virtual mirror images of one another. Also repeated is a group of three dancing women making music in the middle distance, a staffage motif that appears throughout the works of Poelenburch. Lastly, the dark haired central nymph who directly engages the viewer is also present, though the details of dress and face differ. She remains a focal point, an entrance to the painting for the viewer. However, there are significant differences between the versions as well. In the smaller panel, Poelenburch has not included the elements that make Amalia's commission particular to her and consistent with the themes of Honselaarsdijk as a whole. Gone are the tombs of Roman heroes who died for family, the hunting equipment and the tricolored fabric on the ground, sometimes read as a reference to the Dutch flag. Most importantly, gone is the woman in orange. The Bremen version is a charming, yet generic, retelling of this scene in the narrative. The Honselaarsdijk

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<sup>332</sup> The full text of the Oranje May Lied can be found in M. J. Lennep, *De Werken van Vondel* (Amsterdam: M. H. Binger & Zonen, 1856), 562.

<sup>333</sup> Maria Schenkenveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1991), 1.

version is expanded in order to showcase the relationship between the narrative and its particular site of display.

At Honselaarsdijk, more than any other of the palaces of the stadhouder and his wife, there were many allegorical portraits. As this chapter has demonstrated, they were an integral part of the conception of the entire decorative scheme. It is in the cycle at Honselaarsdijk that Amalia's aspirations as a politically motivated art patron aware of the specifics of sites of display fully played out. It is the site of display which activates the woman in orange as an allusion to a portrait without being a portrait in the strictest sense of the word. This is consistent with the broader, integrated decorative scheme of Honselaarsdijk. Rebecca Tucker has identified two places in the palace where the decoration invokes the portraits of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia without specifically presenting a literal portrait of them. This technique begins in the forecourt of the palace, where statues of Mars and Venus were placed. When joined in harmony, Tucker argues, the two gods produce a peaceful union and are good for the nation.<sup>334</sup> A peaceful marriage that brings bounty to the country is exactly the kind of message that the Prince and Princess wished to present to their visitors. In fact, in a recent article about a portrait by Gerard van Honthorst of the three eldest children of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia, Marieke Spliethoff argues that by representing Willem II as Cupid, van Honthorst has implied that it is love that has revived the Republic.<sup>335</sup> By referring both to the classical figure of Cupid and as the literal fruit

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<sup>334</sup> Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly," 150-152.

<sup>335</sup> Marieke Spliethoff, "Amor Omnia Vincit: De Drie Oudste Kinderen Van Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik En Amalia Van Solms Op Een Groepsportret Door Gerard Van Honthorst, 1629." In *Face Book. Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries. Liber Amicorum Presented to Rudolf E.O.Ekkart.*, edited by Charles Dumas, Edwin Buijsen and Volker Manuth. (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2012.)

of a loving marriage, Willem tames the leopard and ushers in a fruitful age.<sup>336</sup> The scene combines portraiture, classical references, and the suggestion of political renewal.

This sort of allusion is repeated in the *salle* where visitors were received and balls and feasts would be held. The room was crowned with a continuous frieze along the tops of the walls, executed by Pieter de Grebber and Paulus Bor and sadly now lost. What is known of the original decoration comes from a drawing by de Grebber preserved at the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 4.12). The short walls, those closest to the apartments of the Prince and Princess, are respectively decorated with processions, men on one wall and women on the other. The gendered nature of these sections of the décor was first noted by Tucker, who posits that one figure in each frieze explicitly “stood in” for the Prince and Princess.<sup>337</sup> Given this strategy of allusion and allegory, the woman in orange in Amalia’s cabinet can be read as a third site of ‘invoked portraiture.’ In the same way that Crispijn de Passe’s Orania can be read as both portrait and symbol, the woman in orange is both Amalia and a nymph.

Framing the portrait as this kind of flexible image is consistent with art theory of the seventeenth century. The concept of the portrait is somewhat elusive, particularly as it is reflected in the terminology used to discuss likenesses of individuals. As Ann Jensen Adams notes, though the term *portret* was used in Dutch starting around 1640, there were a variety of

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<sup>336</sup> Spliethoff suggests that the inclusion of the leopard may be related to the a particular historical event: a VOC ship brought a leopard back from the Indies, which was then taken to Honselaarsdijk. *Ibid.*, 172. However, this could also be read in an explicitly political light, since in a print by Willem Buytewech of 1615 (discussed below), the leopard stands in as an emblem of Spain. In this regard, it is not only a wild animal that is tamed by love, but also the enemy of the state subdued by the healthy offspring of the House of Orange.

<sup>337</sup> Tucker, “The Art of Living Nobly,” 183.

terms which could be applied to a painting of a person.<sup>338</sup> These could include “*tronien naar het leven*” or *afbeelding*, but perhaps most common was *conterfeytsel*, the term I found most frequently in inventories when looking for portraits of Amalia van Solms. Adams goes on to suggest

“that the lack of a unique term for the portrait, along with the popularity of the nonportrait head, provides insight into two issues: first, the relationship of the portrait to the market; and second...the more exaggerated facial expression of nonportrait heads may help us to understand the imaginative psychological and social function of portraits themselves.”<sup>339</sup>

A discussion of the site of display exposes precisely this type of “imaginative social function”: namely, that images such as the woman in orange at Honselaarsdijk could function as an invocation of a portrait without being physiognomically specific. The woman in orange, a tronie-esque sort of figure, is a “nonportrait head” who performs as Amalia without being a portrait.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 6. She discusses the difference between how these terms were used in the seventeenth century and how scholars have since decided to use them. The term *tronie* in particular is problematic in that it is used to apply to a non-portrait figure available for sale on the open market; multiple authors (van der Veen, Blankert) suggest that tronies were sale on the market while portraits were not. The category of the tronie is particularly complicated, both in the seventeenth century and beyond. For a discussion of the differences between tronies and portraits and some of the complexities in terminology, see Jaap Van der Veen, "Faces from Life: *Tronies* and Portraits in Rembrandt's Painted Oeuvre," in *Rembrandt: A Genius and his Impact*, ed. Albert Blankert (Melbourne and Zwolle: National Gallery of Vaictoria, Melbourne and Waanders Publishers, 1997); Dagmar Hirschfelder, "Portrait or Character Head? The Term *Tronie* and its Meaning in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*, ed. E Van de Wetering and Bernhard Schnackenburg (Kassel and Amsterdam: Staatliche Museen Kassel and Museum het Rembrandthuis, 2001); Dagmar Hirschfelder, *Tronie und Porträt in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008).

<sup>339</sup> Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, 9.

<sup>340</sup> Following Hirschfelder, the full length nature of the woman in orange does not preclude her function as a tronie-esque figure ; Hirschfelder notes several cases where tronies are full or three quarter length. Hirschfelder, "Portrait or Character Head?" 86. I am not proposing that we term this figure a tronie, but

Within her own rooms at Honselaarsdijk, Amalia chose to have her marriage to Frederik Hendrik invoked by the reference to the crowning of Mirtillo as the act which would ultimately save the United Provinces. The political allegory of this cycle is an early example of the ways in which Amalia van Solms used paintings, particularly portraits, and architecture to represent herself and her House after the death of her husband. Despite the lack of documentary evidence of Amalia as the active patron behind this cycle, the placement in her rooms, the inclusion of the woman in orange, and the emphasis on the female protagonist in this first canvas support the idea that this could have been a commission from Amalia herself. Though it is hard to document her precise role, there are indications that in matters of domestic management, she frequently spoke in her husband's absence. Constantijn Huygens wrote on June 12, 1642, for example, that Frederik Hendrik had ordered the estate manager Catshuysen to prepare the park according to the wishes of Amalia.<sup>341</sup> Her own decisions about her own most private spaces cannot be neglected. Despite the lack of specific documentation, it is reasonable to assume her involvement in the decoration of her rooms. Amalia received intimates and read pastoral plays within the *Il Pastor Fido* rooms, thus becoming an integral, living part of the decorative scheme. It is a mode of self-presentation which would not have been consistent with the formal image chosen for the public spaces of the palace and reflects the particular tastes, pretensions, and aspirations of the occupant as well as the uses of different types of domestic space.

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suggesting that the complexity of the terminology reveals the inadequacy of our grasp of how images of people functioned socially.

<sup>341</sup> Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*. Letter 3021 to Amalia, dated June 12, 1642.

Amalia's involvement in the commission of the *Il Pastor Fido* series is further supported by her patronage practices in later palaces. The technique of placing an innovative 'portrait' in her cabinet was repeated at Huis ten Bosch. There, her *grote cabinet* also situated a politically charged portrait within a broader, unified scheme. Govert Flinck's *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik*, discussed above, functioned in the same way as Poelenburch's woman in Orange, tying Amalia's personal identity to broader narratives of social and political resonance. The decorations in Amalia's cabinet at Honselaarsdijk respond to the optimism of the political situation while the star of the House was at its zenith; her cabinet at Huis ten Bosch similarly reflects her wishes for the standing of her house. In both cases, the invocation of her personal role in the life and health of the United Provinces is a critical element of the iconography.

#### 4.5 CONCLUSION

Portraits played a part in a system of etiquette that structured and stratified space, restricting the audiences for the portraits. As a visitor to Honselaarsdijk was granted increased access to subsequent architectural spaces, visual and physical access to Amalia changed. In the most accessible parts of the building, the gallery, Amalia would have been presented in her most formal guise, comparable with the painting she sent to Charles I (compare with Fig. 2.18).

In the more private parts of her own rooms, Amalia was elided with Diana, goddess of hunting – but also within this context a symbolic representation of aristocratic privilege. In the more accessible rooms, this is a fitting level of relaxed formality, still maintaining the emphasis

on her elite status. Similarly in these transitional spaces there was also a focus on her role within the aristocratic framing of the United Provinces through the presence of portraits of Amalia as a mother surrounded by her children, both living and deceased. Though dressed in historiated garb, these portraits emphasize her public role as progenitor of the House of Orange, an expected role and one which granted her great status as long as the House of Orange was to remain the symbolic defenders of unity and freedom from Spanish tyranny.

Lastly, within her cabinet, a space reserved for the most elite and limited audiences, Amalia is not presented in a portrait – but her likeness is invoked through Poelenburch's woman in orange, an allegorized embodiment of the hope for and the witness to a cultural rebirth. Rather than an active participant in a narrative, she was instead a witness. The intimacy of the space and the flexibility of the portrait are co-dependent, intended only for a limited audience where Amalia was free to stage a different type of identity. As Amalia stood in her own cabinet in front of Poelenburch's painting and in the company of other women like Marie de' Medici, Mary Stuart or Elizabeth of Bohemia, how could this elite audience miss the allusion to her critical political role in the narrative of the new Batavian Golden Age? The two examples of Amalia's cabinets at Honselaarsdijk and Huis ten Bosch speak to issues of functionality, viewership, and identity. Within the 'private' spaces of her cabinets, she commissioned politically charged portraits that comment on current affairs for intimate display. The nesting of these portraits within architectural space reflects a broader understanding of the relationship between public and private in the early modern palace. Portraits acted as signposts, structuring and stratifying space with attention to the intended audience.

## 5.0 THE DUTCH GARDEN: NAVIGATING TRIUMPH AT HUIS TEN BOSCH

“We decorate our property as much to distinguish family and country as for any personal display (and who would deny this to be the responsibility of a good citizen.)”

-Leon Battista Alberti, 1485<sup>342</sup>

On the first page of Pieter Post’s 1655 publication, *De Sael van Orange, Ghebouwt bij haere Hoocht. AMALIE Princesse Douariere van Orange*, the architect presented the reader with a birds-eye view of the house and gardens of the Oranjezaal, now called Huis ten Bosch (Fig. 5.1).<sup>343</sup> Framed within a classicizing “window,” Post illustrated his most famous commission from an impossible viewpoint in order to establish the expectations of the reader or visitor to this seventeenth century *buitenplaats*. Post established an ideal view of his project that depends on the relationship of the house to the land on which it is built. Post’s design is characterized by a large number of peculiar features, each of which, if regarded individually, seems insignificant. The idiosyncrasies of the plan, sometimes read as mistakes or poor design on the part of the

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<sup>342</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), 292 (book 9,I).

<sup>343</sup> Pieter Post, *De Sael van Oranje, ghebouwt bij haere Hoocht. Amlie Princesse Douariere van Oranje etc.* (Amsterdam, 1655).

architect, are instead revealed to be conscious decisions that structure the experience of the visitor, strategically granting and denying both physical and visual access to parts of the house and garden, and by extension, to Amalia herself.

Though the Oranjezaal (Fig. 5.2) is the symbolic heart and central room of the palace, a close reading of the plans reveals that the garden is a second symbolic center. This created parallel sites of memory: one which focuses on death and commemoration inside and one which focuses on rebirth and the cultivated land in the garden outdoors. In an architectural tradition where the house invokes the resident, Amalia, like Huis ten Bosch itself, becomes a point of access to the symbolic site of family national identity. Post constructed framed vistas for the visitor that linked interior and exterior space, using architectural and decorative elements such as fireplaces, doors, windows, and garden architecture in order to shape the experience of the viewer and the portrait of Amalia presented. Her almost single-minded obsession with dynastic identity and preservation is made manifest in the juxtaposition of portraits, decorative objects, and vistas. In the same way that the *Il Pastor Fido* cycle at Honselaarsdijk invoked narratives of individual, dynasty and nation as part of a larger built environment, Huis ten Bosch used space and image to tie together Amalia, the House of Orange, and the Dutch Republic, recasting the palace and its grounds as the *Hollandse tuin*.

Built and decorated between 1645 and 1652, Huis ten Bosch (Fig. 5.3) was a small, cruciform villa initially intended as a summer retreat, where five-room apartments flank a central, monumental hall called the Oranjezaal.<sup>344</sup> In 1640, Amalia had already expressed her

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<sup>344</sup>In the seventeenth century, the term Oranjesael was applied to the whole complex, though it quickly came to be called by its modern name of Huis ten Bosch. The original name seems to have originated

wish for a small summer palace, but it was not until May 17, 1645 that a petition was presented to the Kamer van Rekening van de Grafelijkheid van Holland. By this time, it was already clear that Frederik Hendrik, eighteen years Amalia's senior, was in declining health. She was granted 37.8 acres of land in the eastern end of the Haagsche Bos, a short trip from the administrative center of The Hague.<sup>345</sup> Construction began in September of 1645. Until her death in 1675, Amalia spent summers at Huis ten Bosch and winters at Noordeinde.<sup>346</sup> At her death, Huis ten Bosch was willed to her daughters.<sup>347</sup> The building was later altered by the addition of two wings by architect Daniel Marot, and though it was later used as the nation's first national art

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from Constantijn Huygens, who kept a list of possible names, most of which were French. The list is preserved in KHA.

<sup>345</sup> (ARA 3.01.27 Grafelijk Rekenkamer 1645, appointment book 15, fol 21. Copy in Nassaus Domeinarchief: ARA 1.08 12 nr 1422-2.) text: "Die van de Reeckeninge der Graefflyckheit van Hollant, rijpelyck gelet hebbende opt versoek van wege Haere Hoocheyt Mevrouw Princesse van Orangien aan haer gedaen, ten eynde zij tot haere recreatie, executie ende oefeninge, tot dispositie soude mogen hebben een partye van 't achtereynde van het Haechsche Bosch, om 't selve te veranderen soo in plaantangie als betimmeringe, soo zy 't selve t'haerder vermaeck dienstich soude vinden; - alvooren daarop verstaen hebbende de consideration van Zijne Hoocheyt Mijnheere den Prince van Orangien, ende van de gelegetheyte van de aengewezen plaetse door gecommiteerden van de Camere van reeckeningen corm. Genomen zijnde inspectie oculair – hebben ten opzichte van 't gunt voirs. Ende sonderlinge dat dit wreck soude mogen dienen tot voedinge van de geode lust ende dispositie van Haere Hoocheyt, voor zoveel in hen is, geconsenteert, gelijk zij consenteren mits dezzen, dat haere hoocheyt zal mogen aenvaerden ende t' haren schoonsten ende welgevallen uytroyen, verdelven, verplatneen, betimmeren, ende als haer eygen gebruycken de partye van seeckere elstackeren, weye, valley ende wildernisse, gelgeen opt oosteynde van 't voorsz. Bosch, aen de noortwestzijde van de Bezuydenhoutsche wech, tusschen de limieten ende affteykeningen begrepen in de caerte bij Mr Pieter Floris van der Salm, door laste van die van de roeden; rustende deselve caerte ter Camere ven de Reeckeninge.

<sup>346</sup> The use of Noordeinde had been granted to her for her lifetime in the will of Frederik Hendrik; she also regularly visited her castle in Turnhout.

<sup>347</sup> It was standard practice for property to move father to son or mother to daughter. There were subsequent disagreements about the disposition of Amalia's goods, both movable and immovable. The afterlife of the house and its contents are not a major concern of the current work; this topic can be pursued further in H. Borsch-Supan, "Die Gemalde aus dem Vermachtnis de Amalia van Solms," *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte* 30(1967) and Maarten Loonstra, *Het Huis int Bosch: The Royal Palace Huis ten Bosch in a Historical View* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 1985).

museum,<sup>348</sup> it remains the private residence of the Orange family and the current monarch, HRM Beatrix van Oranje-Nassau and has been designated a World Heritage site.

## 5.1 LITERATURE

The palace became a topic of conversation as soon as it was built. Though the house was widely known through the publication of Pieter Post's plans and elevations in 1655, it is unclear how truly accessible the space was during Amalia's lifetime. Post's designs were reissued in the eighteenth century by the Leiden-based international publishing powerhouse Pieter van der Aa, thus continuing the dissemination of the image of the House of Orange to a wider public.<sup>349</sup> In addition to the visual material, descriptions by diplomatic visitors to Amalia and other travelers'

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<sup>348</sup> The role of the national museum is briefly examined in N. C. F van Sas, "Dutch Nationality in the Shadow of the Golden Age: National Culture and the Nation's Past, 1780-1914," in *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective*, ed. Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Evelyn Koolhaas and Sandra de Vries, "Back to a Glorious Past: Seventeenth Century Art as a Model for the Nineteenth Century," in *The Golden Age of Dutch Painting in Historical Perspective*, ed. Frans Grijzenhout and Henk van Veen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>349</sup> For more on the publishing tradition under van der Aa in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, see P. G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733), Leidse drukker en boekverkoper* (Hilversom: Verloren, 1999). It is significant that while Post's publications were available only in Dutch, Van der Aa, who was known for his keen international marketing, added French translations to increase the market for the volumes. In addition, French functioned as the court language in The Hague at least since the time of Amalia; by reissuing the text with French commentary, he effectively elevates the status of the book as well as increasing its circulation. It is curious to note that in the later editions, the names of the engravers have been removed, though they are still faintly visible.

accounts provide contemporary written sources.<sup>350</sup> The house was discussed as early as 1651 in Jean Parival's *Delices de Holland*, a description that was later supplemented in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by multiple travel guides and descriptions.<sup>351</sup> Despite eyewitness accounts, it is not entirely clear how accessible the house generally was; it seems that it was necessary to either be specifically invited or even to have to pay for admission.<sup>352</sup> To date, literature on Huis ten Bosch has focused on one of three aspects: the paintings in the still-extant Oranjezaal, the architectural origins of the building plan, or the gardens.

The most extensive scholarship has focused on the painting cycle commissioned for the central hall, where thirty canvases cover the walls and the paintings continue onto the wood

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<sup>350</sup> Upmark, "Ein Besuch in Holland." The house was something of a destination for architects, and its influence can be seen, as argued by Ottenheim, in several German, Swiss, and Scandinavian plans. See also: Leonhard Sturm, *Architectonische Reise-Anmerkungen*, (Augsburg, 1719). It is also notable that both the de Bovios and Cosimo III de' Medici visited the house as well. (G.J. Hoogewerff, ed. *Twee Reizen van Cosimo de Medici, prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669)*, vol. 41, Werken Uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht. Derde Serie (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1919).) The impact of the house on visitors in subsequent centuries is analyzed in Elmer Kolfin, "Overtuigen door Overweldingen: Buitenlandse Reizigers over de Beschildering in de Oranjezaal van Huis ten Bosch, 1650-1750," in *Propaganda en Spektakel: vroegmodern intochten en festiviteiten in de Nederlanden*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans and Werner Thomas (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2010). Further commentary on the impact can be found in Badeloch Noldus, *Trade in good taste : relations in architecture and culture between the Dutch republic and the Baltic world in the seventeenth century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

<sup>351</sup> Jan Zoet, *D'Uitsteekenste Digt-Kunstige Werken* (Amsterdam: Jan Klaasz ten Hoorn, 1675). Zoet includes a description, a diagram, and a long poem about the Oranjezaal; *Beschryving der Schilderijen in de Oranje-zaal van het Koninklijk Paleis genaamd het Huis in het Bosch in de nabijheid van s'Gravenhage, den held Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje en Nassau, Door Zijne Gemalin Mevrouw de Prinses Amalia van Solms-Braunfels, ter gedachtenis opgerigt.* (S'Gravenhage and Amsterdam: Gebroeders van Cleef, 1821); J. van Dijk, *Beschryving der Schilderijen in de Oranjezaal van het vorstelyke Huys t Bosch* (Den Haag: Wed. O. Thol en Zoon, 1767) later published with facing French text as *Beschryving der Schilderijen in de Oranje-zaal van het Koninklijk Paleis genaamd het Huis in het Bosch in de nabijheid van s'Gravenhage, den held Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje en Nassau, Door Zijne Gemalin Mevrouw de Prinses Amalia van Solms-Braunfels, ter gedachtenis opgerigt.*

<sup>352</sup> Kolfin, "Overtuigen door Overweldingen," 70.

vaulting of the ceiling. This has been the most fruitful area of discussion because it is the part of the house that has been best preserved. Initially, Amalia probably intended the central hall to function as a portrait gallery, mimicking the layout at other Orange palaces.<sup>353</sup> Following the death of the Prince in 1647, the decorative plans were changed, and the resulting cycle celebrates three major themes: the birth, life, and death of Frederik Hendrik, the international status and marriage politics of the House of Orange, and the central role of Amalia as head of household and preserver of the family's honor and memory.<sup>354</sup> Paintings are divided between three levels, though each wall is also united by a theme. The bottom level, which begins above a waist-high illusionistic painted stone balustrade, contains a long triumphal procession of family members and the presentation of exotic goods and spices, and culminates in the colossal apotheosis of Frederik Hendrik (Fig. 5.4, 5.5). The second level focuses on scenes from the life of Frederik Hendrik, including his birth, education, and marriage. The third level, painted directly onto the wooden vaulting of the dome, is made up of allegorical scenes which draw from the themes in the scenes below them. The cycle is framed within illusionistic, painted architecture decorated with coats of arms and topped with a cupola, ringed with a Latin inscription,<sup>355</sup> from which a

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<sup>353</sup>The claim that it was intended to function as a portrait gallery is found in Veegens and supported by Huisken, Ottenheym, and Schwartz. Michiel Franken has drawn attention to how many of the paintings in the Oranjezaal contain portraits (13 of 30). Michiel Franken, "Portretten in de Oranjezaal," *Bulletin van het RKD* Spec. uitg. 2007, *Portret in Beeld: Collegiale bijdragen voor Karen Schaffers Bodenhausen*(2007). In this regard the Oranjezaal is both a narrative and celebratory cycle and a family gallery.

<sup>354</sup> The last of these three themes has only recently drawn comment. As a result of increasingly insightful scholarship on the life and capacities of Amalia van Solms, her role both symbolically and on a practical level have begun to be reassessed in the work of Treanor and Kolfin.

<sup>355</sup> The Latin is: "FR. HENRICO PRINC./ ARAUS. IPSUM SESE / UNICUM ET AMORIS/ AETERNI MON. AMALIA/ DE SOLMS VIDUA / INCONSOLABILIS MARITO/ INCOMPARABILI." Amalia

portrait of Amalia in mourning keeps careful watch, literally taking the place of a keystone (Fig. 5.6).

Though frequently compared to the Medici cycle by Rubens, this room differs in several key aspects, the most significant of which is its collaborative nature at both the planning and execution stages.<sup>356</sup> The artists, drawn from both the southern and northern provinces, were overseen by Jacob van Campen, in close consultation with Amalia and Pieter Post. Van Campen sent instructions to the artists<sup>357</sup> indicating subject matter and major compositional elements (Fig. 5.7)<sup>358</sup> and seems to have been both somewhat slow and unpopular with the artists themselves,

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had requested an appropriate motto from Huygens in a letter of September 3, 1649. J. Vooy's, "Huygens Opschrift in de Oranjezaal," *Oud Holland* 73(1958). The wooden vaulting also includes the entwined initials of the Prince and Princess (HAVO) and putti with laurel wreaths.

<sup>356</sup> Peter-Raupp, in one of the definitive iconographic studies, draws this comparison; Brenninkmeyer de Rooij finds this comparison unfortunate, arguing that if it is always viewed as a derivation of the Medici cycle it seems quite mediocre. An independent viewing, free from the baggage of a comparison to Rubens, reveals the cycle to be significantly more nuanced. Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer de Rooij, "Notities Betreffende de decoratie van de Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch," *Oud Holland* XCVI, no. 3 (1982), 154; 167.

<sup>357</sup> The artists involved in the project, the 'best in the land', were: Cesar van Everdingen, Theodoor van Thulden, Salomon de Bray, Jacob van Campen, Jan Lievens, Christiaan van Couwenbergh, Pieter Soutman, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, Pieter de Grebber, Gonzales Coques, Gerard van Honthorst, and Jacob Jordaens. There were also several sculptors involved, including Rombout Verhulst, who sculpted a relief frieze of the closing of the doors of the temple of Janus. There is some disagreement over the attribution of canvases between van Gelder, Peter-Raupp and Brenninkmeyer de Rooij.

<sup>358</sup> Very few of van Campen's sketches survive. One of the surviving pieces is the 'memorie voor de Heer Jordaens', KHA Archief Frederik Hendrik 2497c. In it, van Campen has sketched the rough perspective of the archway, as well as indicating the following: "De tijt met een jong kint op de schouder stappende over omgeworpen gebouwen vertonende dat zij alles ouder en weer nieu voort brengt. Beneden op de gront de doot de nijt worgende. De beelden groot 6 Rinlantse voeten...Het stuck is hoogh 12 voet breed 6.5 Rynlanse maet en verdeelt als hiker onder geteykent staat...de poort blijft wijt 6 aen yder syde 3 diujm – is hoogh 11 voet 9 duym en blijft booven de boogh 3 diujm...de oryont is uyt de beneede kant vant stuc 3 voet hoogh." Transcribed in Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, 200; see Fig. 5.7)

providing unclear or overly rigid mandates about content of images.<sup>359</sup> The decorative scheme developed over a period of several years, beginning after the Prince died in March of 1647. By December 4, 1647, it was fleshed out enough for the canvases to be ordered and a contract was signed on that date.<sup>360</sup> However, alterations continued to be made over the next four years; Jacob Jordaens was questioning the instructions given to him by Van Campen as late as April 23, 1651.<sup>361</sup>

In older scholarship, credit for the design of the decorative cycle in the Oranjezaal itself was primarily given to Jacob van Campen and Constantijn Huygens,<sup>362</sup> though in recent years, it

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<sup>359</sup> Jordaens, for example, complained to Huygens about van Campen, disagreeing about both content and form. See below; also Huisken, Ottenheim, and Schwartz, *Jacob van Campen*, 139. Huygens went so far as to call van Campen, his close friend and associate, a 'hard man to govern.'

<sup>360</sup> The canvases, each made to specific measurements, were ordered from Francois Oliviers, and the contract is preserved in the Koninklijk Huisarchief. They were delivered in May of 1648. See also Jan van Gelder, "De Schilders van de Oranjezaal," *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* (1948/49), 121. Technical analyses of the paintings can be found in Margriet van Eikema Hommes, "'As though it had been done by just one Master': Unity and Diversity in the Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch," in *Aemulatio. Imitation, emulation and invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800. Essays in honor of Eric Jan Sluijter*, ed. Anton W.A. Boschloo, et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011); Margriet van Eikema Hommes, "The Contours in the Paintings of the Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch," in *The Learned Eye: Regarding Art, Theory and the Artists Reputation. Essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, ed. Marieke van den Doel, et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005); Margriet van Eikema Hommes, *Changing pictures : discoloration in 15th-17th-century oil paintings* (London: Archetype, 2004). The custom base color has two effects, first, it guaranteed that all of the canvasses would begin with the same tone to guarantee a unity of color and lighting, and second, it creates a warm and intimate feel in the room that is not readily apparent in modern photographs, and was largely lost until recent cleanings.

<sup>361</sup> Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, *Princely Patrons*, 156. Jordaens was writing to Huygens in response to the sketch sent to him by Van Campen for the colossal Triumph of Frederik Hendrik. He disagreed with both van Campen's formal suggestions and his overall sense of the desired tone of the piece. Citing Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens.*, vol. V, no. 5132, 356-358. Recent restorations have revealed that the specifics of the cycle continued to be worked out over many years, supporting suggestions made by van Gelder in 1948. Michiel Franken is of the opinion that in the bottom row of painted triumphal arches it is possible to see a gradual progression from simpler to more elaborate backgrounds indicating ongoing changes to the designs, carried out as they were executed. (personal communication, January 2012).

<sup>362</sup> Huisken, Ottenheim, and Schwartz, *Jacob van Campen*, 130-141.

has become apparent that Amalia was constantly involved.<sup>363</sup> From the beginning, the project seems to have been her idea: Willem Frederik records her desire to find the best painters in the land to complete her project.<sup>364</sup> Surviving letters suggest that Pieter Post reported directly to Amalia – not to Jacob van Campen. Artists may also have reported directly to Amalia: *modelli* were sent to and approved by the Princess (though likely in consultation with Van Campen).<sup>365</sup> In one case, Jacob Jordaens, the artist responsible for the monumental *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik* on the east wall, visited her to show her a preparatory sketch. Inge Broekman has drawn attention to the possibility that Amalia herself drew sketches for some scenes. Willem

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<sup>363</sup> The extent of the role played by Huygens has recently been challenged. Inge Broekman has argued that Huygens was likely less influential than has traditionally been assumed. Her reasons are as follows: first, few of the artists commissioned in this cycle were those collected by or promoted by Huygens, and second, that Huygens had never been slow to claim credit for his actions in other arenas. He did state in a letter to his son that he was responsible for several parts, including the Latin inscription which runs around the base of the cupola and the name of the room as a whole. He also consulted with specialists regarding the coats of arms to be painted along the ribs of the vault. Had he designed the whole scheme, Broekman argues, he would have said so. See Inge Broekman, "Constantijn Huygens, De Kunst En Het Hof." (Doctoral Dissertation : Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2010). Huygens boasts of his involvement here to his sons in 1655: "Parmy ces occupations qui estoient du cabinet, ceste Princesse eut agreable de m'en avancer de plus publiques, dans la part qu'ell desiroit que je prise a la conduite de son bastiment au Bois, et nommement des ornemens de ceste glorieuse Salle d'Orange, d'où par mon advis la maison eut le nom. Il n'est pas à propos de dire ce que j'y ay contribue par mes conférence et correspondances, entretiens avec tant de peintres, architectes et généalogistes, qui y ont travaille. des pieces que j'en at de reste, et quelques inscriptions de ma facon, qui font parler les choses muettes, en verifient quelque chose a la posterite." See Theod. Jorissen, ed. *Memoires de Constantijn Huygens* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1873), 135; and Veegens, "De Stichting der Oranjezaal," 265.

<sup>364</sup> Willem Frederik also tries to take credit for the design scheme in some places; he records arguing in favor of the inclusion of a scene of the Battle of Nieuwpoort, though Amalia was hesitant. Whoever ultimately made the decision to include the scene in the room aside, the fact remains that substantive design conversation happened within the confines of the court between Amalia and Willem Frederik and were only later conveyed to Huygens and van Campen. See Visser, *Gloria Parendi*, 540.

<sup>365</sup> Albert Blankert, *Dutch Classicism in seventeenth century painting* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1999), 91: "Indeed, a letter to Amalia van Solms reveals that several painters found his schedules and sketches too vague. De Braij most probably produced a design sketch to be shown to Amalia and only started work on the large canvas after receiving her approval." It is unclear whether artists reported to her out of protocol and how much of this is due to her active agency in the project.

Frederik commented on seeing Amalia paint ‘ordonneren’ – orders or commissions – perhaps suggesting that she was involved more directly than previously assumed in the design process.<sup>366</sup>

There are several sources that analyze the iconography and narrative structure of the Oranjezaal. J. G van Gelder’s “De Schilders Van De Oranjezaal” (1948) remains a critical source for documentation on the canvases.<sup>367</sup> Van Gelder, noting that the paintings had been removed from the walls during the twentieth century, reconstructed the correct order of the scenes, thus restoring a narrative unity and correcting inaccuracies in earlier interpretations. He used early travel guides to restore the correct order and draw attention to the triumphal procession surrounding the room. In *Ikono-graphie des Oranjezaals*, Hanna Peter-Raupp expanded on this through an iconographic interpretation of the canvases as a triumphant celebration of Frederik Hendrik. In her approach, each wall has a theme with the most earthly representation of that theme at the ground level and the most allegorical or abstract that the top.<sup>368</sup>

Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer de Rooij responded to Peter-Raupp’s iconographic interpretation, arguing that it is also critical to look at the strata as units instead of the individual walls, carrying narratives from one wall to another.<sup>369</sup> She expanded on (and in some cases provided an

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<sup>366</sup> Inge Broekman, "Constantijn Huygens, de kunst en het hof," 155. “Ten slotte moet aandacht worden besteed aan de praktische en theoretische ideeën van Amalia. Willem Frederik zag haar, he kwam hiervoor ter sprake, schilderijen ‘ordonneren’. Dit is een belangrijk citaat omdat het aangeeft dat Amalia zelf schetsen voor schilderijen liet maken. Het is zonder twijfel dat ze steeds zelf vinger aan de pols hield.”

<sup>367</sup> Gelder, "De Schilders van de Oranjezaal." Though the painted decoration of the room is critical, a full account of its iconography is too lengthy to include here; the reader is referred to these four sources and the forthcoming publications of Kolfin.

<sup>368</sup> Hanna Peter Raupp, *Die Ikono-graphie des Oranjezaal* (Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1980).

<sup>369</sup> Brenninkmeyer de Rooij, "Notities Betreffende de decoratie van de Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch." 156-157. She is critical of the approach of Peter-Raupp calling it artificial because the divisions between

alternate interpretation to) Peter-Raupp, enriching the textual and symbolic content of the canvases. The second major contribution made by Brenninkmeyer- de Rooij is her interpretation of the cycle as an embodiment of the *ars rhetorica*, the rhetoric associated with funeral oration and already seen in the other major monument to the Orange family, the tomb of Willem the Silent in Delft (Fig. 5.8).<sup>370</sup> Funerary poetry should include an *exordium*, *luctus*, *consolatio*, *amplificatio*, and *ornatus*: an introduction, mourning, consolation, magnification, and ornamentation. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij argues that the Oranjezaal translates these rules, established for poetry, into painted form. Both Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij and Peter-Raupp provide iconographic precedent for the cycle, drawing on an extensive body of literary and visual material. Elmer Kolfin has argued that if there was such a complex plan behind the scheme, the iconographic unity of the cycle was largely lost on contemporary viewers, who recorded the topics of major paintings and the overwhelming majesty of the building, but revealed no detailed grasp of the cycle as a whole.<sup>371</sup> In the last ten years, the Oranjezaal has once again become a site of great interest to the art historical community since the canvases have been extensively cleaned and restored, revealing new insights into the unity of the scheme, as well as some significant iconographic details.<sup>372</sup>

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the levels seem to blur; figures who should appear in the heavenly or allegorical realms cross down into the earthly strata, thus muddying the distinctions. Many of her iconographic interpretations revise those of Peter-Raupp.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid. 157-159

<sup>371</sup> Kolfin, "Overtuigen door Overweldingen," passim.

<sup>372</sup> One such detail is a trompe l'oeil bracket which braces an equally fictitious crack in the "stone" beneath the canvas of *The Apotheosis of Frederik Hendrik*, referring to the role he played in repairing the country. Preliminary studies on the technical results of the cleaning are available in the works of Margriet van Eikema Hommes, see above; Annelies van Loon et al., "The Relationship between preservation and

The architectural elements of the house form a second, more problematic area of study. The house and grounds were designed by Pieter Post, previously a student and collaborator of Jacob van Campen. Post was not new to the employ of the Princess, as he had been declared court architect to Frederik Hendrik during renovations to Honselaarsdijk in 1645.<sup>373</sup> Maarten Loonstra argues that Post was selected for the project instead of the more flamboyant Van Campen in order to keep the design simple and elegant.<sup>374</sup> The first design sketch for Huis ten Bosch, dated April 10, 1645, was H-shaped, with two apartments connected by a gallery (Fig. 5.9). Ottenheim relates this early design to plans then available in the works of Serlio and Androuet du Cerceau, indicating Post's knowledge of continental trends.<sup>375</sup> This plan was

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technique in paintings in the Oranjezaal" (paper presented at the The object in context: crossing conservation boundaries, Munich, 2006). The full results of this cleaning and study are still forthcoming; a full publication of the restored canvases and an analysis of Amalia as a patron are expected in 2013. It is hoped that the life size replica to be on view in the summer of 2013 will greatly enhance the study of the room.

<sup>373</sup> While there is a monograph on Post in Dutch, the scholarship is not extensive, and he is extremely poorly represented in English language sources. See most importantly: Terwen and Ottenheim, *Pieter Post (1608-1669): Architect.*; Ottenheim, "Possessed by such a passion for building."; T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Drie Brieven van de architect Pieter Post over zijn werk voor Constantijn Huygens en Frederik Hendrik," in *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm*, ed. A. Th. van Deursen (Deventer: 1987). His career is examined, though critically, in W. Kuyper, *Dutch classicist architecture : a survey of Dutch architecture, gardens, and Anglo-Dutch architectural relations from 1625 to 1700* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1980). The later works of Ottenheim present a significantly more complex and erudite portrait of the architect; the fact that they are primarily not in English is to be lamented for the sake of Post's reputation.

<sup>374</sup> Loonstra, *Het Huis int Bosch*, 16.

<sup>375</sup> Terwen and Ottenheim, *Pieter Post*, 56. Frederik Hendrik, when consulted, was not in favor of the plan; he wanted the central hall to function as a *salle* had traditionally functioned, serving a multiplicity of uses. This sentiment is recorded in letter to Amalia from Constantijn Huygens on behalf of Frederik Hendrik, dated 20 July 1645. Huygens writes: "en me hasant d'obéir aux commandemens de V.A. par la prompte despesche de ce messenger, porteur des dessins de so bastiment - S.A. a recognu avec patience les changemens du dessain de V.A. au bois, et ne les a pas voulu gouster d'abord, comme aprres quelques information qu'elle a souffert qu'on luy en fist, projectant mesme de restreindre le bastiment, en sorte que la salle est este salle et entree et toutes choses, retraicte des lacquais et des honestes gens. Mais enfin la

rejected by Amalia, though it is not entirely clear why; a second was proposed on July 2, 1645.<sup>376</sup> The new plan was a fusion of local and international styles, incorporating a French-style apartment with classicizing surface details inspired by the work of Scamozzi (Fig. 5.10). The resulting cruciform plan was more inventive and though it used classicizing elements, it did not clearly draw on any particular precedent.<sup>377</sup> Ottenheim identifies the Villa Badoer as one sort of model, if the corner pavilions were removed (Fig. 5.11). Building commenced in stages over the following years though most of the construction was completed by the end of 1647. Post continued to be involved in revisions, both structurally and decoratively. In addition to reporting directly to Amalia regarding the progress of construction, Post seems to have been involved with many of the painters. Albert Blankert notes that "Post too often visited the painters 'pour mieux pousser.'" <sup>378</sup> The design of the building was constantly evolving: a fireplace had to be specially designed to accommodate a very large canvas by Van Dyck;<sup>379</sup> the cupola was expanded after it

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justice s'est trouvee du coste de V.A. qui, je m'asseure, trouvera tout contentement dans la jointe." Veegens, "De Stichting der Oranjezaal," 256.

<sup>376</sup> Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, 186. See also ARA topographical atlas VTH, no. 3323; copy by Pieter Florisz van der Sallem after original by P. Post. The plan called for two apartments, each arranged in a more or less comparable manner to those at Honselaarsdijk, separated by a long, rectangular hall. In this regard, it recalls the plan of ter Nieuburch.

<sup>377</sup> Vincenzo Scamozzi and Koen A. Ottenheim, *Villas and country estates, The idea of a universal architecture...*, (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 2003), 27-30; Ottenheim, "Possessed by such a passion for building," 123.

<sup>378</sup> Blankert, *Dutch Classicism in seventeenth century painting*, 26

<sup>379</sup> J. G. van Gelder, *Anthonie van Dyck in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw*, Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten (Brussels: Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, 1959); Lunsingh Scheurleer, "De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis ten Bosch," 50.

was initially constructed in order to allow more light; and the canvases on either side of the fireplace in the Oranjezaal also suggest that they were actually widened from the initial plan.<sup>380</sup>

Post extensively documented his designs for the house and published them in 1655. However, the house was extensively altered by Daniel Marot between 1733 and 1737, resulting in the conversion of the cruciform building into a more monumental and lateral design (Fig. 5.12). He added long, slightly curved wings to the north side of the house connecting it to new pavilions, deepened the front hallway, and added steps to the south façade. The extent of the alterations and restricted access due to its status as a royal residence have made a study of the architecture largely theoretical. Despite this, the architectural origins of Post's plan have been studied by Slothouwer in his significant *Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, and more recently by Ottenheim, who has written extensively about the floor plan and its sources in Italian architectural texts then circulating in Europe.<sup>381</sup> The analysis of the technical refinement of the plan is extended in a monograph on the artist, where the proportions of the building are analyzed, revealing the sophistication of Post's understanding of proportions.<sup>382</sup>

Post's designs reflect the rise of the Dutch classicist movement in architecture of the seventeenth century, which made extensive use of Italian texts circulating in Northern Europe at

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<sup>380</sup> Discussion with Michiel Franken, RKD, January 2012.

<sup>381</sup> Terwen and Ottenheim, *Pieter Post*; Ottenheim, "Possessed by such a passion for building"; Krista de Jonge and Konrad Ottenheim, eds., *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries, 1500-1700* (Brepols, 2007).

<sup>382</sup> Terwen and Ottenheim, *Pieter Post*, 229. The mathematical system underlying the building is surprisingly complex, and Terwen and Ottenheim analyze the ratios that dictate the mathematical unity and include a diagram of both the floor plan and elevation which reflects how the building is built around overlaid circles and squares. Even the window placement on the east and west facades is dictated by the geometric unity of design. This supports my argument below that no decision made by Post was incidental.

the time, primarily Scamozzi, Serlio, and Palladio.<sup>383</sup> The local tradition of architectural theory was somewhat limited; the primary local authors were Hans Vredeman de Vries and Simon Stevin.<sup>384</sup> Vredeman de Vries primarily published commentaries which focused on the five orders of architecture and perspective, though he also wrote on garden design.<sup>385</sup> Simon Stevin was writing *Huysbou*, a text on how to build domestic spaces; however, it was unfinished at the time of his death. The extent of its influence is therefore impossible to trace, and the text itself is incomplete. The more accessible of his texts were primarily regarding military strategies and town planning.<sup>386</sup> The first half of the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic gradually saw the shift of architectural texts from pattern books and examples of the orders to more theoretical

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<sup>383</sup> Guido Beltramini and Centro internazionale di studi di architettura "Andrea Palladio" di Vicenza, *Palladio and Northern Europe : books, travellers, architects* (Geneva: Skira, 1999). Specifically K. Ottenheym, "Classicism in the Northern Netherlands," in *Palladio and Northern Europe: Books, Travelers, Architects*, ed. Guido Beltramini (Geneva: Skira, 1999); Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, eds., *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). An excellent introductory overview of the circulation of texts in Europe more generally can be found in Frédérique Lemerle and Yves Pauwels, *Baroque architecture 1600-1750* (Paris: Flammarion, 2008).

<sup>384</sup> Salomon de Bray was also involved in this domestication of architectural theory, though he is beyond the scope of the current study. Salomon de Bray, *Architectura Moderna ofte Bouwinge van onsen tyt. Bestaende in verscheide soorten van gebouwen zoo gemene als bysondere, als kercken, Toornen, Raedhuysen, Poorten, Huysen, Graven, en dergelycke gestichten, staende soo binnen dese stat Amsteldam*. (Amsterdam: Cornelis Danckerts van Seevenhove, 1631).

<sup>385</sup> Jan Vredeman de Vries, *Architectura Oder Bauung der Antiquen alss dem Vitruvius, woellches sien finff collen ordern, daer aufs mann alle Landts gebreuch vonn Bauuen...* (Antwerp: Geerhardt de Jode, 1581); Jan Vredeman de Vries, *L'Architecture contenant la Toscane, Dorique, Ionique, Corinthiaque, et Composee fait par Henri Hondius Avec quelques belles ordonnances d'Architecture mises en perspective* (Amsterdam: Jan Janson, 1638).

<sup>386</sup> Charles van den Heuvel and Simon Stevin, *'De Huysbou' : a reconstruction of an unfinished treatise on architecture, town planning and civil engineering by Simon Stevin* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2005).

and complex texts, published and circulated by a growing body of specialist publishers.<sup>387</sup> Architects turned to French and Italian texts, which were reprinted in abundance in the Provinces in multiple languages.<sup>388</sup> By the time of Pieter Post, Dutch architects were well-supplied with classicizing sources, allowing local architects to adopt and adapt their design and decorative strategies. These textual sources were critical in the practice of Pieter Post.

The third element in the complex, the garden, is more problematic. It is clear from both archival and visual sources that Post designed the garden, and that it was specifically intended to supplement the building.<sup>389</sup> He was assisted by several other figures, including a land surveyor, Pieter Florisz van der Sallem, and Borchgaert Frederic, the head gardener.<sup>390</sup> The division of labor is unclear, but the unity of design and themes suggests one designer overseeing a team, a

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<sup>387</sup> Andrew Hopkins and Arnold Witte, "From Deluxe Architectural Book to Builder's Manual: the Dutch Editions of Scamozzi's *L'Idée de l'Architecture Universelle*," *Quaerendo* 26, no. 4 (1996); See Jan van der Wals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw - van kunst tot kastpapier* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2006) for a discussion of the expanding and increasingly specialized nature of print sellers in the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam.

<sup>388</sup> Scamozzi was extensively translated into Dutch; see for example: Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'Idée de l'Architecture Universelle. Grontregulen der Bow-Const ofte De Uytmentheyt vnde Vijf Orders der Architectura* (Amsterdam: Dancker Danckerts, 1661); Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Bouwkonstige Wercken begrepen in 8 boeken* (Amsterdam: Dancker Danckerts, 1661); Vincenzo Scamozzi, *De Gront-regulen der Bouw-Konst, ofte de uytmentheyt van de vijf Ordens der ARCHITECTURA*, ed. Joachim Schuyem (Amsterdam: Iohannis Gronsveldt, 1662). Serlio's works were also available: Sebastiano Serlio, *Den eersten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij, tracterende van Geometrye* (Antwerp: Coecke van Aelst, Peeter, 1553). All of Serlio was published in Northern Europe, first by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in the sixteenth century and again by Cornelis Claesz in the seventeenth century. The breadth of the availability of Serlian translations and re-publications across the European continent is catalogued in Magali Vène, *Bibliographia Serliana. Catalogue des éditions imprimées des livres du traité d'architecture de Sebastiano Serlio (1537-1681)* (Paris: Picard, 2007).

<sup>389</sup> Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland.*, Ch 3. This claim is generally undisputed, but scholars have been slow to unpack the implications and extent of his involvement.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid. 117; Walter A. Liedtke, *Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2007), 353.

comparable strategy to that used indoors.<sup>391</sup> Significant work needed to be done to level the site before the groundbreaking could occur and multiple letters from both Post and van der Sallem to Amalia during this period chronicle the building progress.<sup>392</sup> In 1646, Post reported on the creation of drainage canals and the laying of the foundation.<sup>393</sup> However, the garden was likely already changed by 1687, a mere twelve years after Amalia's death.<sup>394</sup> It was also extensively altered at the time of Marot's expansion. The renovation of the garden had two major impacts; it shifted the main axis from a north-south orientation to an east-west one while also adding water features, notably absent from Post's plans.<sup>395</sup> The original nature of the garden as an enclosed and coherent space was lost.

The transient nature of gardens is a central problem faced by garden historians. Nonetheless, the garden has been discussed most compellingly by Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, who

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<sup>391</sup> Though I will argue that the garden forms an integral part of the overall message of the complex, it is important to bear in mind that the timeline for layout and construction of the garden in relation to the building is completely unknown. The shape of the house was clearly set by 1647, and so the painted and planted schemes must have been developed to suit the site instead of all three being designed as a whole.

<sup>392</sup> Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, 189.

<sup>393</sup> 12 Aug. 1646, Archiv Dessau, copy in KHA inv A 14 (Prins FREDERIK HENDRIK) XIII 23 "Saeder het laetste schrijven sijn aen de Westzijde gesteldt alle de kap ge bindten en waaren op gisteren de timmerluyden besigh met het leggen van de lijst aen de oostzijde, aen de kap die midden over de saal sal comen sijn beneden op de grondt beisgh. De platingmuer (beschoeing) aen de graft is gelundeert ende meerendeel soo hoogh als de grondt van de tuyn. Gisteren waren ook besigh om de heijnmuur aen de westzij aan het suyt eyndt vorder te maken...Het fondement van de hoofden van de brugh over de graft is gelegd sodat ick staet maak dat in de toecomende week het waater weder in de graeft sal gelaaten werden. Het ophoogen van de laen wert op twee plaetsen bijde handt genoomen van de aennemers. Van derde deel hebbe nigh niet vernoomen. Soo sij niet coomen sullen het anderen moeten bestande om voor deringh van het werck."

<sup>394</sup> Loonstra, *Het Huis int Bosch*, 59.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid. 60-61. An unexecuted plan by Marot, preserved in Den Haag, gives a clear sense of the radical changes made in the eighteenth century. The lack of fountains in the garden is commented on by the de Bovio brothers, who visited in the late seventeenth century.

analyzes the relationship of house to garden. Noting the formal similarity between the domes of the *groen cabinetten* in the garden and the shape of the house itself, she argues for the garden at Huis ten Bosch as representing a “symbolic landscape” over which the House of Orange ruled.<sup>396</sup> Her broader argument was about how gardens of the stadhouder used humanist theories about mathematics and proportion to create rigidly controlled symbolic spaces.

## 5.2 AGENDA OF THE CURRENT WORK

One problem with the scholarship laid out above is that there has been little attempt to unify these three fields of inquiry as critically interrelated parts of a cohesive whole. This derives partly from the ways in which the complex has been altered, partly from the challenges of access, and partly from disciplinary boundaries. However, there are compelling reasons that the three benefit from being studied together. In both architectural and garden theory of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the garden and the building were seen as fundamentally related parts of a whole, and the Italian theorists frequently discuss the selection of an appropriate site for a country house and its benefits. In Scamozzi’s *L’idea dell’architettura universal*, he says,

“the house on the country estate both delights and offers more possibilities, room for room, than the town house. Maybe also because it offers a landscape of hills, mountains and valleys...Our souls are much more satisfied by these fundamental and eternal things than by those of the

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<sup>396</sup> Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, 112-119.

city which represent the skills and knowledge of men, and are therefore of far less noble origins...”<sup>397</sup>

The country house is ennobling and healthier, partly because of the views it provides. Scamozzi continues to describe the layout of houses from antiquity, identifying which facades also provided views of the garden. Despite not illustrating garden designs, it is clear from the text that in general, the cultivated landscape played an integral role in the site. He continued to give very precise instructions for the layout of “distinguished and magnificent houses:”

“The owner’s house, as the most important building, should be set in the centre of a spacious yard with its front facing south and the main courtyard in front of it, divided into squares of lawn by avenues crossing it...At the back lies the garden divided into squares, with beautiful plants, lawns, fragrant flowers, and tree-shaded lanes along the walls where people can stroll...”<sup>398</sup>

Even a cursory examination of Post’s plan for Huis ten Bosch indicates his familiarity with the ideal country house promoted by Scamozzi.

Alberti also felt that architects should be as concerned with land as they were with the house.<sup>399</sup> In Chapter XVII of Book V of *De re aedificatoria*, Alberti discusses the proper arrangement of space and land for a gentleman’s country house, specifying that:

I do not think it necessary for the Gentleman’s House to stand in the most fruitful part of his whole estate, but rather in the most honourable, where he can uncontrolled enjoy all the pleasures and conveniences of art, sun and fine prospects, go down easily at any time into his estate, receive

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<sup>397</sup> Scamozzi et al., *The idea of a universal architecture. III, Villas and country estates*, 127. Scamozzi was first published in Venice in 1615. A Dutch translation of this section was not available until the 1650s, but it was available in Italian as early as 1620. See pp. 19-21.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>399</sup> Jennifer Nevile, "Dance and the Garden: Moving and Static Choreography in Renaissance Europe." *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (1999), 811. The author compares Alberti’s attitudes on architecture and garden design to his attitudes about dance, stressing the relation between gardens and movement.

Strangers handsomely and spaciouly, be seen by passengers for a good way round, and have a view...Let him have the delights of gardens, and the diversions of fishing and hunting close under his eye."<sup>400</sup>

The same rules of harmony applied to the organization of space, whether interior or exterior. One of the garden theorists of the early seventeenth century, Jacques Boyceau, "wrote about the relation of the proportions of buildings and the gardens around them. He also talked about how the parterres near the house should look from these windows."<sup>401</sup> Following Boyceau's influence, the garden was a unit where all the parts were essential elements of a harmonious whole<sup>402</sup> - a philosophy which, according to Vanessa Bezemer Sellers, suffused all the gardens of the stadhouder.<sup>403</sup> This is also compatible with Rebecca Tucker's argument in favor of an integrated reading of Honselaarsdijk that unifies the land and palace. Views of the statues in the garden there provided a critical starting point for staging the identity of the Prince of Orange as landed elite, entrenched in classical ideals.

Pieter Post was well acquainted with the texts cited above, and the garden must be examined as a fundamental part of the experience of the seventeenth-century visitor; the garden established expectations about the house and its residents. Moving through a garden could embody specific rhetorical strategies which spoke to the identity of the owner. As scholars such

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<sup>400</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, Cosimo Bartoli, and Giacomo Leoni, *The ten books of architecture : the 1755 Leoni edition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 104.

<sup>401</sup> Chandra Mukerji, "Reading and Writing with Nature: Social Claims and the French Formal Garden," *Theory and Society* 19, no. 6 (1990), 660.

<sup>402</sup> Franklin Hamilton Hazlehurst, *Jacques Boyceau and the French Formal Garden* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1966), 33.

<sup>403</sup> Boyceau's ideas would have been quite in vogue at the court of the stadhouder, as she demonstrates in an examination of other gardens. Huygens is known to have received a copy of a French gardening book, most likely Boyceau's *Traité du Jardinage* in the early 1640s. Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, 73.

as Chandra Mukerji have argued for other sites such as Versailles, a walk through a carefully designed garden could constitute an intentional rhetorical strategy on the part of the resident.<sup>404</sup> In the case of Louis XIV, it would seem that he even wrote out directions for the order in which visitors should pass through the garden in order to have certain experiences. In the gardens at Huis ten Bosch, the visitor had multiple views of the land and house, all of which stressed the dynastic identity of the resident.

That the design of garden and house came from the same hand is clear from Pieter Florisz van der Sallem's plan in 1645, which indicates Post's role as *teyckenaer*.<sup>405</sup> The 1645 plan, which records the earlier (but ultimately rejected) H-shaped *corps de logis*, placed the house in the middle of a much more extensive design; it is merely one element in a harmoniously laid out, mathematically precise grid. This is further borne out by the revised plans published by Post himself in 1655; he included a plan of the complex that reflects an intimate knowledge of – and underlying logic to – the gardens (Fig. 5.13). Along with the bird's eye view and plan of the garden, he also included an illustration of the *groen cabinetten*, lattice-work pavilions with walls made from living greenery, an otherwise architecturally unremarkable feature. That Post chose to illustrate them, and that he chose to include so much information about land and garden, speaks to his attitudes about gardens and the theoretical background from which he drew.

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<sup>404</sup> Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial ambitions and the gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Mukerji argues that the garden design of Versailles derives at least in part from military strategies and designs. Advancements in fortifications due to changing warfare reshaped the garden under Louis XIV in a way which, she argues, would have been readily apparent to the nobility, who liked to believe themselves heirs to a martial order.

<sup>405</sup> Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*. Footnote 58, 287. ARA Map department, VTH 3323. Van der Sallem has noted on the map “gecotypeert den 17 Meij 1645 maer de teijckeninge gedaen bij **Monsr Post teyckenaer** voor haer hoocheydt...”

Trained in a tradition which demonstrably placed great value on the textual precedent of theorists like Scamozzi, Alberti, and Boyceau, Pieter Post must be taken seriously as both an architect and a landscape architect, and Huis ten Bosch should be regarded in its entirety as formally and symbolically integrated elements. Through a consideration of the experience of a mobile viewer, the meaning of the house and garden gradually unfold.

### 5.3 VISUAL RECORDS OF POST'S DESIGN

Despite the extensive changes made to both the land and the house, there is a wealth of surviving documentation of the state of the palace and the grounds between its inception and Amalia's death in 1675. Among the materials are Post's published designs from 1655, which include plans, elevations, and sections of the buildings but also the layout of the garden and its significant elements.<sup>406</sup> A study of the plans reveals how Post intended visitors to move through the gardens and the building. It is these issues of visual and physical access, movement, and engaged viewership that allow us to hypothesize about the experience of the Baroque visitor.

By itself, the plan of the garden is inadequate to discuss the actual state of the garden; the print does not *de facto* reflect what was actually carried out. However, Post's plans are

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<sup>406</sup> Post's 1655 publication seems to have been available both as a volume and as individual sheets, based on variation between editions and as corroborated by K. Ottenheym in a discussion in May, 2011. In the bound edition, however, Post does include a complete list of contents, which includes: a title page with a view in perspective of the whole work; general ground plan; plan of the bottom floor; plan of the second floor; plan of the third floor; Elevation of the front side; elevation of the west side; elevation of the back side; section; mantelpiece in the *sael* of the bottom floor; mantelpieces of the voorkamer, bedtkamer, and Cabinet of the east apartment on the second floor; mantelpieces of the voorkamer, bedtkamer, and cabinet of the west apartment on the second floor; the mantelpieces of the voorkamers, bedtkamers, and cabinets of the third floor; Gate and Bridge; Kitchens; Green cabinet.

corroborated by six paintings by Jan van der Heyden (Figs. 5.16, 5.17).<sup>407</sup> Van der Heyden records centrally placed lattice-work and statues corresponding with the plan published by Post. Even the placement of low, squarely trimmed hedges, probably boxwood, suggests that Van der Heyden had seen a garden which was very close to the version laid out in the prints. Van der Heyden is known to have been meticulously observant, recording even details of masonry and grout in other paintings, a trait which was frequently commented upon.<sup>408</sup> The paintings support Post's plans in a large enough number of details that both bodies of visual material can be read as reliable representations of how the major elements of the garden were laid out and how they were navigated.

When the building, decorative scheme, and garden are regarded as an integrated whole, they come alive as a truly Baroque ensemble where the designers created a series of carefully staged viewing experiences in order to convey specific messages about the resident. In this case, Amalia van Solms is presented as the central figure standing guard at the temple of memory, enshrining not just the memory of her deceased husband, but broader ideas about dynasty and a *living* memory. Through a reading of Post's plans and an imaginative reconstruction of the

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<sup>407</sup> Van der Heyden's paintings include two in the Metropolitan Museum (inv. 64.65.3, 39.1 x 54.9 cm; inv. 64.65.2, 39.2 x 55.2 cm), one each in the National Gallery in London (21.6 x 28.6), Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg (22.1 x 29.5), Canon Hall Museum, Barnsley, South Yorkshire, and formerly of the Buchenau Collection, Niendorf, near Lubeck (dated 1668: 16.6 x 21.4). They are discussed in: Peter C. Sutton, *Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712)* (Greenwich, Conn.; Amsterdam; New Haven: Bruce Museum; Rijksmuseum; In Association with Yale University Press, 2006), 158-163; Liedtke, *Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 335-340; and Dumas, Charles, and Jim van der Meer Mohr. *Haagse Stadsgezichten, 1550-1800*, 323-329. There are numerous other late seventeenth century views of Huis ten Bosch, including several printed views and watercolors by Jan van der Call. Most of the printed views show the house in the distance in the middle of the woods, and do not illustrate the garden; Jan van der Call's watercolors date to after the death of Amalia.

<sup>408</sup>The meticulous nature of Van der Heyden's paintings was commented on as early as Houbraken. Liedtke, *Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 333.

experience of a mobile viewer in the seventeenth century, this chapter will provide a rereading of the complex as a whole which focuses on the critical role of Amalia as steward of the Dutch Republic. The palace complex is elided with the politically charged emblem of the Dutch garden, where the House of Orange is the lion at the gate, protecting against outsiders.

#### 5.4 NAVIGATING THE HOUSE

We can now return to the birds-eye view that Post used to introduce the house to the reader (Fig. 5.1). The carefully framed view reveals a parcel of land divided in half: a forecourt with carefully laid out beds and regularly planted trees, the kitchen and service buildings, and cow and horse stables.<sup>409</sup> In the distance is the second half of the garden, visible from a privileged aerial position, the viewer can see the *giardini segreti* close to the house and the four *parterre de broderie* directly behind, framed between two small green cabinets or pavilions. It is also clear from the aerial view that the southern, formal garden is walled, separated from the working northern garden by a substantial barrier.<sup>410</sup> This wall runs up to the sides of the house itself. Situated at the mid-point of the complex, the house negotiates the access between the two halves. In the far distance is the flat Dutch landscape, divided into polders, with church spires on the horizon. The birds-eye view stresses the subdivision of the land: the vertical axis of the

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<sup>409</sup> These are specifically identified in a subsequent layout. The cows were housed in the stable to the west; horses were stabled to the east. At least some of the gardens in this half were working kitchen gardens providing food.

<sup>410</sup> The walled nature of the garden is substantiated by a watercolor by J. van Call dating to 1690, which clearly illustrates a tall wall enclosing the formal rear garden. See Loonstra *Het Huis int Bosch*, 20-21.

central allée is bisected by the strong horizontal created by the line of the wall and north façade of the house. This axiality is further enhanced in an examination of the plan of the layout of the whole garden, seen from above. Post has included three dotted lines indicating the major axes, the north-south running through the complex and two shorter east-west axes.

From the plan, it is possible to infer the route taken by the seventeenth-century visitor. The whole palace and garden was encircled by a canal, which largely served practical purposes of drainage, but also symbolically separated the domain of Amalia from the everyday world. Were we an esteemed visitor arriving by carriage such as Cosimo III de' Medici, who visited in 1668, we could approach the house from the north, along the main allée, lined in citrus and alder,<sup>411</sup> which provided a line of sight towards the house. This strategy is consistent with techniques used at other palaces such as Honselaarsdijk where Frederik Hendrik had gone out of his way to create a long, axial approach.<sup>412</sup> However, it is more likely that a visitor would arrive from the direction of the Bezuidenhoutsweg, the main road to the south and the main approach from the center of The Hague.<sup>413</sup> The plan indicates that there were two bridges to the south which cross the canal with roads running parallel to the east and west sides of the gardens. The

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<sup>411</sup> Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, 117. Sellers describes an avenue planted in lime trees with alders and oak behind. The de Bovio brothers, who visited after the death of Amalia, comment on the rarity and costliness of the citrus trees.

<sup>412</sup> See van der Sallem's plan of Honselaarsdijk (ARA). The length of the axial approach at Honselaarsdijk cut awkwardly through other plots of land, which indicates how significant the Prince felt it was.

<sup>413</sup> A modern visitor approaching by car still arrives across the modern version of Post's bridge from this direction. If approaching the north canal by foot or bicycle, the visitor approaches through the Haagse Bos, but cannot access any of the land inside the drainage canals laid out by Post. That this should be considered a main entrance is supported by the fact that each bridge had a gate with a pediment holding the arms of Amalia, illustrated by Post in his 1655 prints. He does not indicate that there is a gate at the north end, though he does term it a *voor poort*.

visitor would not immediately be able to see the garden; rather he would pass along the walled southern garden and a row of carefully planted trees, leading instead to the functional end of the complex where he would alight and approach the house.

Approaching the house from the north forecourt ringed with working gardens, the visitor would encounter the walls of the garden, on top of which it was possible to walk.<sup>414</sup> From the forecourt, the field of vision would be dominated by the north façade, where he ascended a flight of stairs to the entrance (Fig. 5.19). From the approach, Post controlled what was visible; as a visitor ascended to the elevated “viewing platform” of the *piano nobile*, the gardens beyond gradually came into view.<sup>415</sup> The visitor was entering the symbolic domain of Amalia herself, being granted glimpses of the riches (both planted and painted) beyond the wall. Passing beyond the barrier created by the garden walls and the house indicates a shift from a functional to a symbolic realm. As it is depicted in Post’s elevations, on reaching the top of the stairs, the visitor was faced with an arched doorway beneath a pediment bearing Amalia’s arms. By itself meaningless, within the context of this particular house, the door could be seen as a reference to triumphal architecture.

The built language of triumph is fundamental to Huis ten Bosch and derives from Post’s familiarity with both Italian architectural texts and the festival culture of early modern Europe. Both Serlio and Scamozzi document triumphal arches, both as historic objects and as building blocks for other designs. Serlio in particular illustrates a series of triumphal arches from

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<sup>414</sup> Chandra Mukerji discusses a similar sort of garden layout at Versailles, where Louis was apparently deeply invested in the visibility of his working gardens and insisted on walls big enough to walk on to showcase his fruiting trees. Mukerji, *Territorial ambitions and the gardens of Versailles*, 64-65.

<sup>415</sup> Not much of the gardens would have been visible from the tops of the steps, but a keen visitor, glancing sharply off to the left, might glimpse the corners of the formal gardens behind the house.

antiquity in his third book, including among others the Arch of Septimius Severus (Fig. 5.20). The strict classical expression and wide architraves of triumphal arches where texts or images were placed resonated with the needs of the patron at Huis ten Bosch. In the same section, Serlio also included a very curious design with no clear precedent or use (Fig. 5.21). Of it, he said “The prudent architect can use the following figure for many things, and can also use it in response to any accidents which may overtake him. It may also be used to embellish a painting on an altar in the same way as they now do in Italy.”<sup>416</sup> He goes on to observe that if the architect removed the base, it could be used as a triumphal arch.<sup>417</sup> Serlio suggests that it could be used to decorate, to frame a window, or to enclose a tabernacle, all in the same breath as commemorating a triumph. It is this type of form – and flexibility of architectural language – which permeates the design of Huis ten Bosch and unifies the disparate spaces.

The forms documented by Italian theorists became an important part of civic ritual and identity in the early modern Low Countries. A triumphal entry, known as a *blijde inkomst*, was a tacit acknowledgement of the arrival of a legitimate ruler.<sup>418</sup> As Davidson has argued, the *blijde*

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<sup>416</sup> Serlio, *Den eersten boeck van Architecturen Sebastiani Serlij, tracterende van Geometrye*. “Dese navolghende figure mach de verstandige Architect ghebruycken tot diversche dinghen en machte veranderen nade accidenten die hem overcommen. Sy mocht oock dienen om een schilterie te verciere op eenen outaer/ ghelijken nu in veel plaetsen van italiën ofeert. Vier een arca triumphale te daer met verciere sinder de vlueghelen ter sihne ende oock met de selve/ ende somtijts voor cieraet van een venster og van een niche oft tabernacle oft dergelijcke dinghen.” English translation mine.

<sup>417</sup> Sebastiano Serlio, Vaughan Hart, and Peter Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on architecture. Books I-V of 'Tutte L'Opere d'Architettura et Prospetiva' by Sebastiano Serlio* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1996), 302.

<sup>418</sup> There are very few sources addressing triumphal entries in the Netherlands in the early modern period, due in part to the transience of the artworks themselves. Central to these, however is Derk Persant Snoep, “Prael en Propaganda: Triumphalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw” (Doctoral Dissertation, Universiteit Utrecht, 1975). Other studies which begin to expand on this now-dated yet seminal work include J.R. Mulryne et al., eds., *Europa Triumphans*, 2 vols. (London and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004). Most recently, see also Joop W. Koopmans and Werner Thomas, eds., *Propaganda en*

*inkomst* was powerful because it embodied relationships between ruler and ruled.<sup>419</sup> The situation was complicated by the fact that during their long rebellion against Spain, the United Provinces would refer back to a particular *blijde inkomst* from 1356, from which an early form of constitution seems to have been established. During the entry of Joanna, Duchess of Brabant, and her husband Wenceslas of Luxembourg into Leuven, the pair signed certain privileges, stating in Article 58 that if sovereigns did not fulfill their duties, their subjects were no longer bound to obey them.<sup>420</sup> It was this article that lay at the heart of debates about the legitimacy of the rebellion of William of Orange against the Spanish, and therefore at the heart of the status of the House of Orange. The triumphal entry represented a highly charged piece of political rhetoric in the northern provinces.

Despite the fraught relationship between the cities and the House of Orange throughout the seventeenth century, the triumphal entry remained part of civic ceremony. Foreign monarchs were often greeted with appropriate pomp; the visits of Marie de' Medici in 1638 and Henrietta Maria of England in 1642 were both marked with triumphal processions that included the erection of arches and the performance of outdoor theater pieces. Amalia van Solms herself was received into her own new territories in Zevenbergen on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1649, and in

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*Spektakel. Vroegmoderne intochten en festiviteiten in de Nederlanden* (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2010). For a more specific case, see Heuvelmans, *De luisterrijke intrede van de vorstin van Oranje, Amalia van Solms, als vrouwe van Turnhout*.

<sup>419</sup> Peter Davidson, Jane Stevenson, and Adriaan van der Weel, "Festivals in the Netherlands: General Introduction," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewring (London and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, 466-470.

Amsterdam in August of 1659.<sup>421</sup> As in the southern provinces, temporary stages, floats, triumphal arches, and tableaux vivants were central parts of the decorative schema of such festivals. The best visual evidence of this is preserved in prints, such as that of Salomon Savery from 1638 (Fig. 5.22).<sup>422</sup> The print illustrates a temporary triumphal arch past which the coach of the visiting Marie de' Medici might pass, an architectural structure of columns flanking an open space, surmounted by an open space for either a painting or a tableau vivant and a pediment, holding the coat of arms of the host city of Amsterdam.<sup>423</sup>

Triumphal arches were also a part of the material culture of funeral processions, which were in their own way, a sort of triumphal entry. Frederik Hendrik's funeral procession to the family crypt in Delft was particularly well-documented, as Peter Post produced a commemorative book dedicated to Amalia van Solms.<sup>424</sup> An invaluable source of information about social rank and civic ritual, the pamphlet also included an illustration of the triumphal arch erected for the occasion, entitled "EER POORT OPGERECHT (Fig. 5.23)."<sup>425</sup> The gate is

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<sup>421</sup> John Landwehr, *Splendid ceremonies; state entries and royal funerals in the Low Countries, 1515-1791: A bibliography* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1971).

<sup>422</sup> Savery after Jan Martsen, *Entry of Marie de Medici into Amsterdam: Procession on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal*, 1638, engraving, 29.6 x 38.8 cm from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medici Hospes*, Amsterdam, 1638, plate 4. This is one in a series of prints included in *Medici Hospes*. Amalia van Solms is known to have been present and in the carriage escorting Marie de' Medici in 1638. Goudswaard includes a series of prints of this procession in her inventory of Amalia portraits; I chose not to include them based on the fact that Amalia, if present, is virtually invisible.

<sup>423</sup> Snoep suggests that Southern Netherlandish triumphal processions passed through triumphal arches while northern Netherlandish ones merely passed in front of them or drew up in front of them to watch the tableaux vivantes. Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda*, 10.

<sup>424</sup> Pieter Post and Pieter Nolpe, *Begraeffnisse van Syne Hoogheyt Frederick Hendrick by der gratien gods Prince van Orange, Grave van Nassau* (Amsterdam: Nickolaes van Ravesteyn, 1649).

<sup>425</sup> The full title reads "EER POORT OPGERECHT: Aende zuyder Brugge van s'Gravenhage Door ordre vande Heeren Regeerders Aldaer. Uytbeeldende de droeffheyt der ingesetenen end den Loff en Eere van

reminiscent of the kind of triumphal arch erected in Amsterdam for Marie de' Medici, though here the draping and female figures seem to allude to the tomb monument of the family patriarch, Willem the Silent, in Delft, to which Frederik Hendrik was being taken (see Fig. 5.8). The gate itself is surmounted with the crest of the host city, flanked by statues of female allegories, perhaps representing victory and justice. It is not known who designed the temporary architecture for these structures, however given Pieter Post's role as the court architect, it is likely that he would have been involved in such a task.<sup>426</sup>

In a survey of Dutch architecture, Wouter Kuyper once described the floor plan of Huis ten Bosch as "clumsily related rooms...arbitrarily attached to the hall" and even went on to call Post "a prolific but not an inspiring architect."<sup>427</sup> Perhaps one of the things which prompted these criticisms was a perusal of the floor plan for the elevated main floor of Huis ten Bosch, where partially as a result of the peculiar shape of the central room, Post made some unusual decisions. Post designed a path of movement where the visitor passed through an archway into a series of spaces which were also structured by a built language of triumph. In order to accommodate specific views, architectural features, and paths of movement, Post abandoned some traditional elements and adopted others.

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Syn Hoocht Ho: Loff. Mem." Translated: "Gate of Honor erected: on the South Bridge of s'Gravenhage, by the order of the Regents of that city, demonstrating the grief and the love and honor for his Highness of most esteemed memory." (translation mine)

<sup>426</sup> Terwen and Ottenheym, *Pieter Post*, 27. Terwen and Ottenheym, Post's definitive biographers, claim that any temporary decorations would have been a project for him as the chief architect but that the decorations and arches made for the funeral of Frederik Hendrik are the only known example of such works.

<sup>427</sup> Kuyper, *Dutch classicist architecture*, 86. An examination of the proportions at the Maastricht town hall would seem to justify Kuyper's somewhat harsh estimation of Post as an architect, but in designing country houses, he is much more sophisticated.

The *voorhuis* (vestibule or foyer) in which a visitor first found himself contained four life size marble busts of the princes of Orange – Willem the Silent, Maurits, Frederik Hendrik, and Willem II.<sup>428</sup> The lineage of the House was the first impression of the interior paralleling the emphasis placed on lineage on the title page of Post’s book, where the cartouches on the decorative frame foreground the relationship between Amalia, the patron of the house, and Louise Henriette, the patron of the book. The *voorhuis* connected to four spaces: the Oranjezaal, the two main floor apartments, and the ground floor of the house. Post visually and conceptually linked the *voorhuis* of the main floor to the ground floor through illustrating the matching tile pattern found in the two spaces (Fig. 5.24). The ground floor, usually dismissed as “service space,” still includes two large apartments with loggias connecting them to the gardens.<sup>429</sup> The central space, under the Oranjezaal, seems to have been the chief thoroughfare between the *voorhuis* and the garden for visitors.<sup>430</sup> Even though it is a relatively unadorned space, it retained

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<sup>428</sup>There seems to be disagreement about whether these sculptures were busts in the *voorhuis* or full length figures which lined the staircase outdoors. The former view is presented in Charles Avery, "Francois Dieussart (c. 1600-61), Portrait Sculptor to the Courts of Northern Europe," in *Studies in European Sculpture* (London: Christie's, 1981). It is theorized that these figures faced each other diagonally across the room. The latter interpretation comes from Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, 118.

<sup>429</sup> Loonstra claims that this space is largely unaltered since the seventeenth century and that the floor tiles, made of Euland stone, Namen stone, and an assortment of marbles, are likely original. It is significant that this space seems to contain the sole surviving fireplace designed by Post. Loonstra, *Het Huis int Bosch*, 44. Despite its relatively intact nature, it has drawn relatively little scholarly commentary, despite the critical role it must have played in navigating the space in the seventeenth century, both for visitors and servants, whose movement within the space was restricted. The apartments themselves may have functioned as a summer space, paralleling later developments in the palaces built by her daughters, who had tiled ground floor dining rooms for the hottest of summer days. A largely surviving parallel example is the summer room on the ground floor of Oranienbaum outside of Dessau, Germany, built by Henriette Catherine.

<sup>430</sup> There were also small doors into the garden by the north corners of the building, but access from these is unclear.

elements of the triumphal language with which the visitor is initially presented: Post specifies in the plan of the ground floor that the doors out to the garden are *bogen*: arches.<sup>431</sup> The visitor processed through a triumphal arch into an even more sequestered symbolic landscape.

#### 5.4.1 Amalia's Apartment

Remaining on the *piano nobile*, from the *voorhuis* the visitor might proceed directly to the Oranjezaal at the center of the building, or perhaps might turn to their left to enter Amalia's apartment. Amalia was a woman with a keen understanding of how social practices and architectural space were interrelated, as evidenced by an account of the visit of Cosimo III de' Medici in 1668. His secretary recorded:

“and to the door of the anticamera, which was not far from that house came the Princess, accompanied by her daughter the widow, the governess of Friesland [Albertine Agnes], and her daughter, and by another woman of position/status. [Cosimo] saluted the three princesses and took the old one by the hand. They entered into the bedroom, where they sat, although the mother wanted everyone to follow protocol, that the daughter and the granddaughter remain standing.”<sup>432</sup>

Among other things, this indicates the extent to which Amalia van Solms understood and exploited the levels of courtesy which must be observed within the Italian expectations of her visitor. This is etiquette consistent with Italian or French patterns, reflecting her desire to mimic

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<sup>431</sup> See element O in the ground floor plan from Post, 1655.

<sup>432</sup> Hoogewerff, *Twee Reizen van Cosimo de' Medici, prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669)*. “et alla porta dell anticamera, che non lungi da quella casa di ritrovava, venne la Principessa, accompagnata dalla vedova sue figliola, governatrice di Frisia, da una piccolo figliola di questa e da altra dame di condizione. Saluto l'A.S. le tre principesse e pigliando per mano la vecchia entrarono nella camera da letto, dove si posero a sedere, quantunque la madre volesse a tutti I patti, che la figliola e la nipote stessero in piedi...” My thanks to Rachel Miller and Amy Cymbala for consultations on Italian translation.

other European elites and the necessity of knowing the expectations of her visitor. By coming to the door instead of waiting for him to approach her, she acknowledged his outstanding social rank and the honor due him in the context of movement through space.

Nestled around the cruciform central hall on the east side of the building, the five rooms of the apartment progressed from the most public space on the north side to the southern end overlooking the gardens, where the rooms were smaller in size and restricted in access.<sup>433</sup> Amalia's apartment at Huis ten Bosch created a hierarchy of public and private spaces similar to her rooms at Honselaarsdijk that functioned as a series of stages on which she could play out different aspects of her role in dynastic and national memory. Though many of these rooms were extensively altered and the art collection was largely dispersed after Amalia's death, a wealth of information is preserved regarding the furniture and art housed there.<sup>434</sup> The only sustained attention to the decoration has been Lunsingh Scheurleer's seminal article which extensively reconstructed the living spaces from preserved inventories.<sup>435</sup>

The *voorkamer* was the most accessible space in Amalia's apartment and was used as a receiving room: records indicate that Amalia had a dais with a red baldachin installed.<sup>436</sup> The

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<sup>433</sup> The designation of front and rear facades is derived from Post's own terminology as reflected by the published plans. Who could access the smaller rooms in the building remains unclear; Amalia's cabinets were separated from the rest of the house by the balustrade in the *bedkamer*.

<sup>434</sup> Marot's alterations were primarily two wings added to the front of the house, enveloping the forecourt and substantially expanding the space. This project also deepened the *voorhuis* from its original condition. The living spaces of the original palace have been largely redecorated in the intervening centuries. It is hard to determine if the physical fabric of the building in these sections has been altered.

<sup>435</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, "De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis ten Bosch." Lunsingh Scheurleer's most important source for this reconstruction is a 1654 inventory of Huis ten Bosch, KHA Inv. Frederik Hendrik 14 afd. XIII no. 16. It is also published in Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*.

<sup>436</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, "De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis ten Bosch," 33.

room was decorated to emphasize Amalia's role as a widow and grandmother and to support her role as the dutiful wife, mother, grandmother, and widow of the House of Orange. Inventories reveal, for example, that there were three paintings in this room, two portraits and a larger canvas about the mantelpiece. Unfortunately it is not clear where exactly within the room the two portraits were hung. Both were painted by Van Honthorst – one a portrait of Amalia's daughters Albertine Agnes and Henriette Catherine, and the other of her grandson Willem III with his aunt, Maria, Amalia's youngest daughter.<sup>437</sup> Through the display of these portraits, Amalia establishes herself as matriarch and caretaker – these portraits are the issue of her line who at the time of construction were unmarried, three daughters and her grandson. In contrast to the Oranjezaal which tells a narrative encompassing past, present, and future of the Orange dynasty, this space was dedicated to the display of the living future of the dynasty. Though it seems crass to regard the portraits as merchandise on display, given Amalia's machinations in arranging the marriages of her two eldest children, it is hard not to imagine her receiving visitors in this space and showing off her as-yet-unmarried descendants. Rather than being a site of mourning as has frequently been stressed, the prominent display of the continuation of the House of Orange emphasized Amalia's investment in the legacy of her husband and can be seen as a response to her anxiety in increasingly unstable political conditions.

The painting over the mantelpiece, an *Annunciation* by Pieter Paul Rubens (Fig. 5.25), had already been in the collection of the stadhouder for some time; van Gelder identifies it with one purchased from the widow of Jacob van der Does which had previously hung in Frederik

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<sup>437</sup> Ibid. 33. Albertine Agnes married in 1652, Henriette Catherine in 1659, and Maria van Oranje (Simmern) in 1666, all post-dating the construction and decoration of this space.

Hendrik's gallery at the Binnenhof.<sup>438</sup> Post unified the subject of the painting with the design of the surrounding stucco, incorporating cherub heads in order to relate to the content of the painting itself.<sup>439</sup> By displaying a painting by Rubens in her *voorkamer*, Amalia prominently displayed her elite status, wealth, and taste. The subject matter alludes to the coming of a new age, a strategy employed in pastoral terms at Honselaarsdijk but here recast through a Christian lens. Lunsingh-Scheurleer compared the mantelpiece itself to a Baroque altarpiece reimagined through Post's more controlled, classicizing style.<sup>440</sup>

Pieter Post was a man peculiarly captivated with mantelpieces (ten of the twenty-two plates in the 1655 publication on the Oranjezaal include mantels in precise detail), but Terwen and Ottenheim attribute this to a desire to "liven up" the otherwise austere classical style.<sup>441</sup> The fireplace is a central element in Dutch houses for both practical and symbolic reasons, but even this does not adequately address the profusion of mantelpiece designs he published and the attention he lavished on them. In 1664-5, he followed his earlier publication on the Oranjezaal with a volume consisting exclusively of fireplace designs, dedicated to Willem III, the grandson

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<sup>438</sup> J. G. van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* (1950-1951). Its previous display elsewhere parallels other paintings, where images owned by the Prince and Princess are later incorporated into ensembles. Another similar case is the Rubens *Diana* at Honselaarsdijk discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>439</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, "De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis ten Bosch," 34.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>441</sup> Terwen and Ottenheim, *Pieter Post*, 242 ; Post, *De Sael van Orange*. Post records the stucco-work of classicizing swags and floral emblems, columns and pilasters, the size in *Rhijnlandschte voeten*, and even in one case, which painting was intended to hang in the empty space. 'Dese forme is men genootsaakt geweest uyt te vinden ten aensien vast een groot stuk van A. van Dijck hier toe gedestineert.' From the print, 'Schoorsteen inde bedt kamer, vande tweede verdieping van DE SAEL VAN ORANGE aende Oost zyde.' (rough trans: This form was intended to permanently house a large piece by A. van Dyck.)

of Amalia and Frederik Hendrik.<sup>442</sup> The meticulous nature in which they are documented on the page is unusual; Post records the profile of each mantelpiece, its plan, and its precise measurements (Fig. 5.26). In this regard, Post's printed works mimic the way that Serlio illustrated triumphal arches, including the footprint, profile and elevations. Given the language of triumph used elsewhere in the building and the formal similarities, Post may have been drawing on diverse sources, including triumphal arches, in his designs for Huis ten Bosch. The example cited above from Serlio, which could function as doorframe, altarpiece, or triumphal arch provides a compelling parallel between Serlio and Post.

Scamozzi, one of Post's chief influences, provides very little precedent for Post in his fireplace design, illustrating only one simple framed fireplace.<sup>443</sup> Serlio provides more comparative material, illustrating at least six, one of which Terwen and Ottenheim identify as a significant source.<sup>444</sup> Serlio's design presents a fireplace flanked by columns under a pediment, itself surmounted by a space for a painting or inscription – itself formally comparable to the triumphal theatrical arches erected in Amsterdam. However, Serlio does not contextualize his designs: they are not linked to specific interiors. In the same manner that the floor plan of Huis

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<sup>442</sup> Pieter Post, Jan Matthijs, and Pieter Nolpe, *Den doorluchtigen hooghgeboren vorst en heere Wilhem Henrick, van Gods genade Prince van Orange, werden dese afbeeldingen, van weinige schoorsteenwercken, meest ten bevele vande doorl. hooghgeborene Zijne Hooch.ts Heeren grootvader, vader en vrouw grootmoeder* (Gedruckt tot Amsterdam by Frederick de Wit inde Kalverstraet by den Dam inde Witte Pascaert, 1665).

<sup>443</sup> Scamozzi, *L'Idée della Architettura Universale. Grontregulen der Bow-Const ofte De Uytneementheyt vnde Viyf Orders der Architectura*. Folio 115. Whether or not there was a larger decorative mantelpiece intended to accompany the simple frame is unclear.

<sup>444</sup> Terwen and Ottenheim, *Pieter Post*, 38. See Serlio, Hart, and Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on architecture. Books I-V of 'Tutte L'Opere D'Architettura et Prospetiva' by Sebastiano Serlio*. Vol. 2, 234-235.

ten Bosch is an original design made from classical elements, so too is the fireplace a more original site of invention, using classicizing elements in new configurations. The significance of fireplace design and placement is a critical element in the controlled experience of the visitor to Huis ten Bosch. On a macro level, the fireplaces, though all unique, share a reference to the built language of triumph, uniting the disparate spaces. Mantelpieces served to emphasize specific images, and their unusual placement within rooms emphasizes the peculiar choices made by the architect in the layout of the rooms.

Perhaps Cosimo de' Medici, on his visit to Amalia, had entered the *voorkamer* with its gilded leather and red hangings, and stopped to look out of the window to the north, looking back towards the garden through which he had already passed. Turning 180 degrees, he stood facing the painting by Rubens over the fireplace which established the Princess as a patron of taste and wealth. He may then have passed to look out the window to the east, gaining a new appreciation for the interesting plantings of fruits and herbs in the walled gardens closest to the house, best seen from his now-elevated position above ground level. Having been teased with glimpses of the garden as he approached, he has now breached the wall separating the functional and symbolic realms of the complex and can see into the section of the garden closest to the house. But the Princess is waiting for him in the next room.

As Cosimo, standing in front of the window, turned to enter the *bedtkamer*, the view with which he is presented through the open door would have defied his expectations, because he was not presented with a series of doors *en enfilade*. The *enfilade*, or alignment of doors, was a technique prescribed by Scamozzi himself:

“Lastly, ordinary or connecting doors serve to connect rooms and should be sufficient in number to satisfy requirements and *built in line within each apartment* so that there is a through view of all the rooms to create a

nobler and grander effect....doors should not be positioned too close to corners for this weakens the fabric of the building....”<sup>445</sup>

It was a central feature of many early modern palace spaces across Europe,<sup>446</sup> and allowed a visitor to gauge his relative standing by looking through a series of spaces and was thus a critical element in practices which reinforced etiquette and social status.<sup>447</sup> It was also a common practice in the palaces built for the stadhouder. Willemijn Fock has argued that the stadhouder not only brought the enfilade to the Netherlands, and with it the etiquette of hierarchical spaces, but even that such an arrangement of space virtually took over in palace planning.<sup>448</sup> In 1632, Frederik Hendrik expanded the traditional administrative quarters of the stadhouder at the Binnenhof, and while the layout is uncertain, Ottenheym’s reconstruction aligns the doors, creating enfilades (Fig. 5.27). The hand of Post is also present in renovations to the main urban seat at Noordeinde, modernized between 1639 and 1647, where he relies on the enfilade (Fig. 5.28). It is even a technique which would have been compatible with the unusually arranged

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<sup>445</sup> Scamozzi et al., *The idea of a universal architecture*, 204. Italics mine.

<sup>446</sup> Waddy, *Seventeenth-century Roman palaces*. The enfilade plays a central role in many of the palaces examined by Waddy, where it supports the relation between status and architecture, particularly stressing ceremonial areas of the house.

<sup>447</sup> Kimberley Skelton, "Redefining Hospitality: The Leisured World of the 1650s English Country House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 4 (2009). At precisely the moment that the enfilade disappears at Huis ten Bosch, it becomes a central element in English architecture, a development Skelton ties directly to changing attitudes about hospitality and responsibility.

<sup>448</sup> C. Willemijn Fock, "Het décor van huiselijk vermaak ten tijde de republiek," in *Vermaak Van De Elite in De Vroegmoderne Tijd*, ed. Jan de Jongste, Juliette Roding, and Bouckje Thijs (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 43.

rooms at Huis ten Bosch: the bottom floor as published by Post uses the enfilade in the rooms on the ground floor.<sup>449</sup>

It was a pervasive design element that embodied issues of class and status. That it is absent in the plan of Huis ten Bosch is so striking that another explanation must be sought. Given its demonstrated utility in other designs by the architect, the lack of the *enfilade* must have been a conscious decision. Rather than a merely practical decision, it suggests that Post had a particular intent in shifting the path of the visitor in the audience chamber. Doors, like windows, could reveal a series of framed views to the mobile viewer. As a visitor such as Cosimo turned to enter the *bedtkamer* what would face him would not be the enfilade penetrating through the space, but rather, a direct view of the fireplace in the following room, surmounted by a colossal painting by Van Dyck, *The Holy Family with a Round Dance of Angels and with Partridges* (Fig. 5.29).<sup>450</sup>

The placement of the fireplace in the *bedtkamer* is also peculiar. It is not precisely centered across from the door, but very slightly off-center. It also does not precisely align with the fireplace in the cabinet beyond, the chimney of which it shares. Due to its abnormally large size (noted in the published fireplace design itself), the framing elements were reduced to almost

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<sup>449</sup> In a design published in 1648 by Post's contemporary and Amsterdam-based competitor, Philips Vingboons, the architect illustrates his design for a hypothetical cruciform villa. Though the internal layout differs in some ways from Post's design, he does demonstrate a reliance on the enfilade for structuring what is specified as an elite *buitenplaats*. Philips Vingboons, *Afbeeldings der Voornaemste Gebouwen uyt alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft* (Amsterdam: Ioan Blaeu, 1648).

<sup>450</sup> Susan J. Barnes and Anthony Van Dyck, *Van Dyck : a complete catalogue of the paintings* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2004), 251. The painting, measuring 215 cm by 285.5 cm and now probably in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, was purchased on behalf of Frederik Hendrik by Jan Caspeel in Antwerp in 1646. Originally painted around 1630, the original patron is unknown. Barnes presents the painting as a dense Christian ensemble wherein all of the fruits refer back to specific religious symbols.

nothing, quite atypical for Post's mantelpieces. Yet the framing which he retained was a series of floral swags, a graceful complement to the vegetation of the scene it framed. Together with the mantelpiece in the *voorkamer*, this draws attention to the fact that each mantelpiece was designed with an awareness of the image intended to hang there – a unity of decoration, design, and symbolism. The placement and decorative enhancement can only be explained by imagining the experience of the visitor standing in front of the east window in the *voorkamer*. He would be presented with two views: one of the fruitful land outside the palace, and one of a painting which both speaks to Amalia's wealth and taste as an art patron and invokes narratives of Christological fruitfulness through both the birth of Christ and the still life of fruits piled at Mary's feet.<sup>451</sup> Was the visitor intended to elide the two landscapes, painted and planted, that he was faced with from this vantage point?<sup>452</sup>

The other rooms in Amalia's apartment, her large and small cabinets<sup>453</sup> and garderobe, were separated from the rest of the apartment by the lacquer balustrade.<sup>454</sup> The cabinet, already

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<sup>451</sup> Walsh summarizes some of the key symbolism, relating the apples to Mary's role as the new Eve; the pomegranate as a reference to chastity; grapes, gourds, figs and apples as references to the Eucharist, Salvation, and Resurrection; other plants such as the roses extend the references to purity. Ibid.

<sup>452</sup> Both Lunsingh-Scheurleer and Loonstra call the painting a *Flight into Egypt*, which would make this elision significantly more powerful; after all, the barren landscape burst into fruit as the Christ child passed by. The implication may then have been that so too the symbolic landscape of the enclosed garden flourished as the Prince of Orange passed. I am however not entirely convinced by the identification of it as a Flight into Egypt, however, since there is little in the composition to suggest a specific location for the scene; a Holy Family in a landscape is not necessarily always a flight into Egypt. The inventory does not specify it as such, but only "Voor de schoorsteen in de slaepkamer een schilderije van Maria ende Joseph met het kindeken Jesus ende daerbij een dans van engeltgensm door Van Dijck gedaen." Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, 281; Loonstra, *Het Huis int Bosch*, 37.

<sup>453</sup> Amalia's cabinet housed her extensive porcelain collection, of which sadly not a single piece today is known to survive. Amalia had a particular affinity for porcelain, and in 1639, the Amsterdam branch of the VOC had other branches set aside the best imports for Amalia. The institution of the porcelain cabinet seems to have been an innovation of Amalia which later spread, via her daughters, to German

discussed in comparison with the *Il Pastor Fido* rooms at Honselaarsdijk, was decorated with a cycle of allegorical paintings, as discussed in Chapter 4. Amalia's cabinet was a highly symbolically charged site, continuing themes of rebirth and lineage, crucial to the perseverance of the Orange dynasty. The Christological narrative, begun in the *voorkamer*, was used in the cabinet as the mantelpiece painting,<sup>455</sup> but it was also paired with allegorical imagery. It is within the context of the fruitful land (and fruitful dynasty) that *Hope Comes to Amalia* by Govert Flinck can be placed (See Fig. 2.56). Not only does the embodiment of Hope arrive to greet Amalia, but the altar in the background with the rising phoenix speaks directly to the ongoing vitality of the Orange line. If any doubts remained about the bright future of the House of Orange, they are swept away through the unmistakable gesture of the white and gold-clad figure at the left. Though the sky is filled with clouds and darkness, he points to the sunbeams breaking through. It is the role of the widow to look towards the light and the future. Flinck's portrait combined Amalia's anxiety and mourning with her unshakeable hope for the future of the

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palaces. See Treanor 2012 and Fock, "The Apartments of Frederick Hendrik and Amalia of Solms: Princely Splendor and the Triumph of Porcelain."

<sup>454</sup> Amalia's balustrade is an object of some curiosity. Amalia had previously had a balustrade at the Binnenhof, but the only other Netherlandish example of this practice comes from French precedent via her mother in law, Louise de Coligny. The Huis ten Bosch balustrade is significant because it seems to have been given to her by the VOC in 1641, and was made in Japan on commission. It cost 2,3412.14 guilders, an exceptional sum. This was well before the construction of the house, and it had to be cut down. See Lunsingh Scheurleer, "De woonvertrekken van Amalia's Huis ten Bosch," 48; Loonstra, *Het Huis int Bosch*, 39; Fock, "Apartments of Frederik Hendrik," 78. According to Virginia Treanor, the balustrade was dismantled. Some of the elements were reused in furniture. Lecture: Salem, Massachusetts, May 2011. Additional work on the afterlife of this piece of furniture has been carried out by Anthony Wells-Cole and presented in lectures in Amsterdam 2012.

<sup>455</sup> The mantelpiece was a Madonna and Child by Willeboirts Bosschaert inside of a crown of flowers painted by Daniel Seghers, probably now in the Mauritshuis. On the east wall hung yet another *Annunciation*, also by Willeboirts Bosschaert.

dynasty. Her role as a living site of memory parallels the building's larger message of the fruitful lineage framed in a built language of triumph.

### 5.4.2 The Oranjezaal

In describing the layout of the country house of a gentleman, Alberti specifies that after passing through a forecourt and a vestibule, one should enter into a significant space. He says,

“Let the first room that offers itself be a Chapel dedicated to God, with its altar, where strangers and guests may offer their devotions, beginning their friendship by Religion; and where the Father of the family may put up his prayers for the peace of his house and the welfare of his relations. Here let him embrace those who visit him...”<sup>456</sup>

Alberti makes clear that the first impression of a visitor should come from the movement into a grand space dominated by both the language of lineage and a sort of worship. The rooms of Amalia have already demonstrated a conflation of allegorical and Christological decorative elements and themes which also overlap in the central site of memory, the Oranjezaal.

The entrance to the Oranjezaal from the *voorhuis* staged another critical framed view for the visitor. Across from the entrance, and partially visible from outside the door was a large allegory celebrating the marriage of Amalia and Frederik Hendrik (Fig. 5.30). It is a painting placed, as it were, over a tripartite triumphal arch formed by the windows.<sup>457</sup> It is worth

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<sup>456</sup> Alberti, Bartoli, and Leoni, *The ten books of architecture*, 105. Alberti goes on to specify that windows in this room should face south (and why) as the window in the Oranjezaal do, connecting the interior and exterior.

<sup>457</sup> Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, 115. Sellers draws attention to this as a triumphal arch, and stresses its significance, along with the parterres, in uniting interior and exterior. Post's elevation of the south façade, illustrated above, does not indicate these as arched windows, though the modern windows are clearly rounded. See Fig. 5.31.

recalling the imagery of arches used in *blijde inkomsten* in the Netherlands, where the arch was crowned with a tableau vivant or painting. At Huis ten Bosch, the wedding of Amalia and Frederik formed the tableau. This would have been visible to a visitor even before they entered the room and before the colossal painting of the *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik* would have been visible.<sup>458</sup> A visitor's first impression of the building began with the arched door and pediment at the entrance, continued with a statement on dynastic lineage and culminated in a direct line of sight to the allegorized triumph of Amalia.

Amalia and Frederik Hendrik, clasping right hands, stand in the center with two palm trees behind them. Judson describes this as “how the old poets say a marriage should be.” He identifies the poet and classical anthologist Giovanni Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (1556) as the most likely source. Valeriano describes palm trees as a symbol of marriage, and additional references are made to their marriage by the presence of quince, a symbol of mutual love held by the maidens, and the goddess Hymen holding burning torches. Neither the bride nor bridegroom is clad in contemporary dress. Frederik Hendrik is atypically clothed in ancient Roman attire, evoking the symbolism of divinely granted imperial power.<sup>459</sup> Amalia is also dressed in ‘historiated’ dress – instead of the formal black gown in which she is usually depicted in Van

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<sup>458</sup> The 21<sup>st</sup> century viewer no longer has this experience; in the afterlife of the palace, the fireplace on west wall was replaced with a door, which is the direction from which I entered the Oranjezaal. The addition of the door has shifted the initial visual impression of the room from the marriage to the apotheosis – from Amalia to Frederik Hendrik.

<sup>459</sup> The association with imperial iconography is furthered by presenting the prince in profile, reminiscent more of a coin or triumphal bust than other portraits of Frederik Hendrik. As far as I am aware, the only other profile portrait of Frederik Hendrik is also another Honthorst portrait, possibly painted to accompany Rembrandt's portrait of Amalia.

Honthorst portraits, she is dressed in white, with a pale yellow overdress trimmed in ermine, emphasizing her status and wealth.<sup>460</sup>

The painting is filled with political commentary on the fruitfulness of the wedding and its implications for the United Provinces. Given visual prominence by its placement across from the entrance, it again foregrounds the triumph of the House of Orange as a power at sea and on land also embodied in the arrangement of the gardens. To the left are Neptune, brandishing his trident, and a group of putti carrying the fruits of the sea, making reference to Imperium Maris, or the Dutch mastery of the seas.<sup>461</sup> To the right lies a cornucopia filled with the fruits of the earth, and the foreground is filled with a snaking group of frolicking putti holding hands. As early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these seven children were seen as representing the United Provinces, united under Frederik Hendrik and Amalia.<sup>462</sup> This continues the thread of political subtext begun in the *Il Pastor Fido* sequence in Amalia's chambers at Honselaarsdijk, an explicit connection between her marriage and the unity and health of the Dutch Republic.

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<sup>460</sup> The only other portraits which show Amalia in ermine, a sartorial emblem of monarchy, are another portrait in the Oranjezaal and a double portrait, possibly made by Jan de Baen, for Louise Henriette now in Oranienburg.

<sup>461</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*. It is worth noting that one of the Prince's sources of income was from the capture of ships at sea, so the dominance of the seas was of both military and financial. See Peter Van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, "'From the 'Sea Prince's' Monies': the Stadholder's Art Collection," in *Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague*, ed. Peter Van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren (The Hague and Zwolle: The Mauritshuis Museum and Waanders 1997).

<sup>462</sup> van Dijk, *Beschrijving der Schilderyen*, 20.

Van Honthorst used lighting and posture to direct attention to the role of Amalia herself, all the while taking advantage of the placement of the canvas within the architectural setting.<sup>463</sup> She is emphasized through her dress, the lighting and her posture. While the Prince is shown in profile, Amalia “cheats” front in a ¾ view. Honthorst allows her to face the center of the hall, putting the youth of his subject on display. She is also emphasized by the light which seems to fall more directly on her. Honthorst prioritizes Amalia, and it is this idealized golden bride who receives the visitor to the hall and connects the visitor to the “symbolic landscape” beyond the windows. The Oranjezaal is about the identity not just of the deceased Prince (the usual focus of scholarship) but of the living, a theme which becomes all the more apparent when the painting cycle is studied from the perspective of a mobile viewer who experienced both the house and the gardens.

Prior to the death of the Prince, Amalia had intended the room to function as a portrait gallery, one of the central elements of every other Orange palace.<sup>464</sup> Elsewhere, the galleries served to include the Prince and Princess within a European network of power, demonstrating their status and influence. The narrative cycle at the Oranjezaal could also be considered as a type of portrait gallery, where the focus is on the life and deeds of Frederik Hendrik within the context of his lineage. Themes of descent and family networks are established through both the allegorized triumphal procession and the presence of portraits of both the ancestors and

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<sup>463</sup>Both portraits of Amalia in the Oranjezaal are on the side of the building where her apartments lay, building connections between the locations of portraits and their role in a larger architectural whole.

<sup>464</sup> See note 345 above.

descendants of Frederik Hendrik.<sup>465</sup> The theme of lineage is further made visible through the inclusion of the coats of arms of the ancestors of the Prince and Princess, painted along the ‘ribs’ at each corner of the crossing of the room.<sup>466</sup> Though subsumed within a narrative, the portraits represent the living legacy of the Prince – a legacy for which Amalia was critical. Early commentary on the cycle insists that the role of Amalia was not a central element of the iconography, rather it was representative of her character: pride, love and support for her husband and desire for peace. Amalia’s own ongoing political motivations in the decorative scheme are downplayed or even dismissed.<sup>467</sup> This is a curious assertion, given that Amalia is central to the theme of lineage played out in the complex as a whole.

If our imaginary visitor had been lured into the room by glimpses of the marriage portrait above the windows, he would have then been surrounded with what was essentially a continuous frieze representing a triumphal procession ending in the colossal *Apotheosis of Frederik Hendrik* by Jacob Jordaens on the east wall. Frederik Hendrik is seated in a golden chariot drawn by four

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<sup>465</sup> The entire family tree of Frederik Hendrik is evident in the Oranjezaal : his parents are portrayed in Cesar van Everdingen’s *Allegory on the Birth of Frederik Hendrik*, all of his children are included in various canvases, his daughter-in-law Mary Stuart is included, and his son-in-law the Elector Brandenburg is shown being presented to Frederik Hendrik by Louise Henriette in a canvas by Gerard van Honthorst.

<sup>466</sup> Huygens was involved in researching the coats of arms of their ancestors in order to come up with enough to cover the ribs. See Theod. Jorissen, ed. *Memoires de Constantijn Huygens* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1873), 135; and Veegens, "De Stichting der Oranjezaal," 265. Illustrations of the arms of the Prince and Princess, presumably preparatory drawings for this project, survive in watercolored versions in the Hoge Raad van Adel, The Hague. (For reproduction, see Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij, *Notities*. Fig. 16. Huygens had been put in charge of coming up with 32 ancestors for both the Prince and Princess (totaling 64) and was concerned that Amalia might have to settle for 16 repeated. See the letter from Huygens to Amalia of 3 September, 1649. (Worp letter # 4974).

<sup>467</sup> Geest, *Amalia van Solms en de Nederlandse politiek*, 83. For Geest, the focus of the scheme was Amalia’s performance of her wifely duties, her pride in and love for her husband, and desire to preserve her name, but not any sort of complex personal or political agenda.

white horses; a female figure presents laurel crowns to both the Prince and Willem II, on horseback in the right foreground. The procession has clearly come through the grand triumphal arch just visible in the background. Fame and Triumph hover in the air keeping Death, a motif which echoes the wall opposite, at bay. A banner with a motto is held aloft by putti. Despite the Prince's significant role as a military hero, the motto, "Ultimus ante omnes de parta pace triumphus," stresses a peaceful triumph, in keeping with the themes of house and garden more broadly.<sup>468</sup> As Jordaens explains in his explanatory missive to Amalia, the emphasis on peace underscores the last, noble act of the great Prince.<sup>469</sup>

Imagine, however, that as our imaginary viewer stood here, attempting to decipher the dense symbolism (after all, it was necessary for Jordaens to send an explanation of the painting to Amalia),<sup>470</sup> he was then confronted by yet another carefully staged tableau vivant, one intended to make a dynamic statement on triumph and lineage. Just to the left of the *Apotheosis*, along the short wall perpendicular to the main canvas, was a second portrait of Amalia, enthroned and slightly larger than life size (Fig 5.32).<sup>471</sup> Her chair is elevated on carpet covered stairs. Though carpets and tapestries were long a decorative element in elite life, Amalia's chambers seem to be the earliest recorded instance of carpets being used as floor coverings in the

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<sup>468</sup> Translation from d'Hulst, R, Nora de Poorter, and Marc Vandenven. *Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678)*. (Antwerp: Koninklijke Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1993), 252.

<sup>469</sup> Veegens, *De Stichting der Oranjezaal*, 309.

<sup>470</sup> Jordaen's commentary is reproduced in its entirety in Veegens, *De Stichting der Oranjezaal*, 308-310.

<sup>471</sup> Judson and Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 149. Van Honthorst was paid *f* 600 for this canvas. Described in the early sources as "Haer Hoogt met 3 jonge prinsesse het destijn wijst haer aen verandering van alles."

Netherlands.<sup>472</sup> She is surrounded by all four of her daughters holding crowns of flowers and laurels, making the living legacy of the Prince visible. If the Prince's triumph was military, that of the Princess was dynastic. The crowns of flowers could even refer back to the embodiment of Hope in Amalia's cabinet, referencing the fruit expected from a flowering branch. Behind the women are two other figures, a winged angel pointing towards the *Apotheosis of Frederik Hendrik*, suggesting victory, and a shadowy form, perhaps representing death, grief, and mourning. The pointing gesture of the winged figure is echoed precisely in the arms of the youngest daughter, building a relationship between the female line of the family and male line in the larger adjacent canvas. Amalia wears a golden orange dress with sleeves lined with ermine, emphasizing royal qualities and family identity through her clothing. Her clothes do not resemble the other more formal portraits such as the 1637 van Honthorst double portrait or any of the portraits by Michiel van Mierevelt known to be displayed in town halls or the palaces of foreign monarchs. In other such "public" portraits, her manner of dress is always exquisite and expensive, but always related to actual contemporary sartorial practices. From her dress in the Oranjezaal, it is apparent that this portrait operates within a different realm – that of the symbolic, not of the strictly representational. The whole group is contained within an illusionistically painted triumphal arch, continuing the classicizing language of both the previous paintings and the architecture itself.

Albert Blankert has observed that the painting is an "odd contrast" with the Jordaens painting which it faces, not the least because the figures are proportionally much larger than

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<sup>472</sup> Fock, "The Apartments of Frederick Hendrik and Amalia of Solms: Princely Splendor and the Triumph of Porcelain," 77. Fock notes that Amalia's bedchambers, closets, and garderobes at the Binnenhof indicate the earliest placement of carpets on the floor. The next Dutch example dates to 1676.

those in the Jordaeus.<sup>473</sup> Were Amalia to stand up within her triumphal arch, she would be far too large both for her own canvas and in relation to the figures in the foreground of the abutting painting. She would dwarf the women standing in the foreground of the *Apotheosis*. Honthorst has emphasized the role of his patron, and by extension, of the room, by slightly inflating Amalia in scale to compete with the visual strength of the painting of her husband directly to her left. She faces her husband from the head of the triumphal procession, forming a sort of double portrait. For the imaginary viewer, however, is the confirmation of the building as a series of framed vistas. As our centrally located viewer stood at the center of the room to examine Jordaeus' *Apotheosis*, perhaps the patron herself may have chosen to enter the room. As clearly indicated by the plan, van Honthorst's portrait concealed a door through which Amalia could enter the Oranjezaal.<sup>474</sup> She would appear through a painting which represented a triumphal arch, replacing her portrait with her real body, arriving in a most dramatic manner on 'the stage of her own devising.'<sup>475</sup> The mere fact that Amalia could participate in this sort of staged theatrical event celebrating her husband speaks to the performativity inherent in the environment which was created at Huis ten Bosch.

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<sup>473</sup> Albert Blankert, "Classicism in Dutch History Painting," in *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth Century Painting*, ed. Albert Blankert (Rotterdam: NAI, 1999), 27.

<sup>474</sup> I do not know of any sources from the seventeenth century which record accounts of the actual use of this door. It is peculiar that it would be possible to visit Amalia without, of necessity, passing through this room and into her apartment, but the nature of the door behind the painting seems to preclude it as a main entrance point. One effect of the Oranjezaal not being part of the progression of rooms taken by a visitor is that it is more accessible – it could be shown off to casual visitors without granting them any sort of privileged access to the apartment of Amalia.

<sup>475</sup> de Jonge and Ottenheim, *Unity and Discontinuity*, 202.

Two of the three portraits of Amalia in the Oranjezaal are critical elements in staged experiences that shape a visitor's experience of the space. The third portrait once again makes Amalia the center of attention; the portrait at the apex of the dome makes Amalia both the literal and figurative keystone of the Oranjezaal. Initially, this portrait was painted directly onto the vault of the dome itself, presenting a fashionably attired Princess. She was dressed in a wide necked black gown of the sort seen in comparable Honthorst state portraits. At the time when the iconography of the room was altered to its current state, this painting clearly had to be covered over to be in keeping with the whole scheme and to create an image more appropriate to a mourning widow. For many years, the painting which hung there was a later copy of Amalia holding a skull.<sup>476</sup> The continuous reworking of this central site indicates that from the beginning of the building process, Amalia herself was always the center and keystone of this building. Even when it was intended to function as a portrait gallery, her portrait was the one which was literally held above the others. Once the rest of the iconography shifted, her image had to be altered, transforming the central statement on the identity of the patron from courtly elite to mourning widow.

Though the language of triumph was most obvious in the Oranjezaal, it extended throughout the plan, décor, and gardens of Huis ten Bosch more generally. The Oranjezaal depicts a continuous painted allegorical triumphal procession that weaves through fictive

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<sup>476</sup> Goudswaard, "Amalia van Solms-Braunfels. De iconographie van de gemalin van stadhouder Frederik Hendrik (1603-1675)," 150, citing Kolfin's as yet unpublished manuscript. There is a version in Berlin as well which some scholars argue had originally been hung here, but it has been noted that while the panel is the correct size and shape, it lacks the correct structure to hang it from the ceiling. Elmer Kolfin has recently argued that the Berlin panel was the original of a copy still in Huis ten Bosch, as recent X-rays reveal that the portrait miniature of Frederik Hendrik which Amalia holds conceals an earlier composition, where Amalia held a skull

triumphal arches of the sort seen both in the Italian textual sources known to Post such as Scamozzi and Serlio, but also of the sort seen in both *blijde inkomsten* and funeral processions known to Post. The decorative scheme also created staged tableaux in each of the cardinal directions that stand out from the procession itself, as would be seen in such triumphal procession in the United Provinces. To the east is Jordaens *Apotheosis*, complete with triumphal arch and procession celebrating Frederik Hendrik's triumph over death through fame. To the south is the three lobed window and surmounting architrave with the triumphant marriage of the Prince and Princess of Orange. To the west was initially a fireplace above which was hung Cesar van Everdingen's *Allegory on the birth of Frederik Hendrik* which made clear the Prince's future as a triumphant military hero by cradling him in the shield of Minerva.<sup>477</sup> In this context, the fireplace contributed to the message of triumphant peace.<sup>478</sup> The shape of the narrow canvas above the fireplace particularly calls to mind the shape of the arch depicted on Post's prints of the funeral procession. Finally, to the north, Theodoor van Thulden's *The Dutch Maid offering Frederik Hendrik Supreme Command* hung above the door. This canvas can be seen as echoing the themes of the wall opposite; here the underlying theme is the triumphant unification of nation and Prince, a theme clearly parallel to that of the marriage it faces. Beneath the canvas, painted

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<sup>477</sup> Paul Huys Janssen, *Caesar Van Everdingen, 1616/17-1678: Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*. (Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco Publishers, 2002), 95, cat. 37. The infant Prince of Orange is shown in the company of Mars and Minerva, referencing his future as a military hero. He is also accompanied by his (deceased) father and a cloaked woman, about whose identity there is significant debate; Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij argues against identifying her as Louise de Coligny while Huys Janssen is inclined to accept the identification. All of the historic figures in the scene are sheltered by a fabric baldachin held aloft by putti. Van Everdingen also executed three other elements of the Oranjezaal cycle: *Four Muses and Pegasus on Mt. Parnassus*, *Allegory of Marriage with Venus, Juno, Jupiter and Ganymede*, and the dome paintings of putti with an hourglass and the monogram of the Prince.

<sup>478</sup> This wall also had a relief carving of putti closing the doors of the Temple of Janus, also contributing to themes of peace and triumph.

directly onto the doors is a scene by Christian van Couwenburgh, which is generally identified as Minerva and Hercules opening the door to Victory – an allegorized, nude female figure entering the Oranjezaal.<sup>479</sup> Though the language of triumph in both life and death encircles the room, it is these strong intersecting cardinal axes which frame specific views emphasizing birth, marriage, military prowess, and ultimately, triumph over death and a sort of immortality.

## 5.5 NAVIGATING THE GARDEN

That the Oranjezaal is united thematically through a triumphal procession is well established. However, when the experience of a mobile viewer is considered, it becomes apparent that architecture played an important role in creating staged views. The progress of a visitor to the house mimicked a sort of triumphal procession, uniting disparate spaces, interior and exterior, through the use of windows, doors, and frames. The language of triumph does not end with the layout of the house, but extends outdoors, into the walled garden beyond. The visitor was gradually permitted to see the house, the art collection, and the garden through meticulously framed views. From a central position in the Oranjezaal, the visitor is presented with a view out into the gardens: gardens which from that position are not accessible. The

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<sup>479</sup> This particular scene was a point of disagreement between Peter-Raupp and Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij saw the identification of the woman as a combination of Victory and Freedom (proposed by Peter-Raupp) as an oversimplification that ignores the presence of the palm leaf in her hand as well as her three crowns. The image should more accurately be viewed as a combination of motifs, perhaps referring to “Overwinning” (conquest) and referencing a motif from Camerarius. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij, *Notities Betreffende de Decoratie van de Oranjezaal*, 37.

formal garden to the rear of the house is an enclosed, symbolic landscape, one intended to be viewed, not necessarily to be walked in. Vanessa Bezemer Sellers has commented on how the placement of *parterres de broderie* behind the house blurred the distinction between interior and exterior, extending the dominion of Amalia into the garden.<sup>480</sup> The monogram of the Prince and Princess, situated at the center of each quadrant of the parterres, extends this relationship, mimicking its use on the ceiling of the Oranjezaal.

Bezemer Sellers has written compellingly about the garden as the symbolic domain of the House of Orange, the *Hortus Batavus*, but the nuances of layout and how it was to be experienced by contemporary visitors at Huis ten Bosch specifically have received inadequate attention. Post designed a series of significant elements of garden architecture and layout that helped to establish how it should be seen and experienced. The garden was united by and internally consistent iconography that corresponded to that of the house. Included among the elements which shape this interpretation are *groen cabinetten*, strong intersecting axes, integrated statuary, and specifically shaped topiary to promote the Orange domain as one of victory, peace, and order.

The *groen cabinetten* were small octagonal pavilions built of lattice work that supported live greenery (Fig. 5.33). Illustrated by Post in print and playing a dominant role in many of Jan van der Heyden's paintings, they were a central element in the experience of the garden. They were formally tied to the Oranjezaal through the comparably shaped domed roofs and a distinctive octagonal shape, but they also functioned similarly, providing elevated viewing

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<sup>480</sup> Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*, 117. Bezemer Sellers theorizes that these parterres were based on designs by André Mollet, who had previously designed the parterres for Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuburch.

platforms from which to survey the gardens. Though they did have entrances at ground level, they also had a second tier with both interior and exterior. They were approached from a flight of twenty steps coming from the central axis of the garden. The two pavilions face each other, creating a strong east-west axis which bisects the garden.

The densely planted areas around each pavilion, together with the rear wall and the house itself create a smaller, framed square within the larger rectangle of the symbolic landscape of the garden. This smaller square of four parterres is subdivided by the broad path connecting the two pavilions. A similar broad path creates an axis from the house to the southernmost canal from the house. With these intersecting axes, Post emphasized the four positions from which the garden was intended to be most visible: first, the Oranjezaal itself, elevated and isolated, where the elite visitor to the house could look down onto – but not access – the symbolic realm below.<sup>481</sup> Secondly, there were the green pavilions, where visitors in the garden could view the entirety of the landscape, but primarily look across the central axis. Lastly, there is a slight irregularity in the border at the southern end of the north-south axis, a small area which juts slightly further south inside the garden walls. Here Post created one last viewing platform, where those visitors to the garden at ground level could turn and look up at the House that dominated the landscape from that direction.

In the same way that there were four tableaux within the Oranjezaal, Post created positions from which the garden was intended to be experienced. These stages related to issues

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<sup>481</sup> Modern photographs indicate that at some point since the seventeenth century, the windows in the Oranjezaal were converted into doors and stairs were added from the *piano nobile* on the south façade to ease access to the garden. Post's own southern elevation and Jan van der Heyden's views do not indicate the presence of these steps in the seventeenth century and they must therefore be viewed as modern additions.

of access: there were entrances to the southern end of the garden for visitors arriving by foot. If van der Heyden's paintings are to be believed, the gardens were a destination and could be visited. From the garden, the every-day visitor would not just see the landscape, but become a part of it. Only the elite viewer permitted to access the house itself would see the landscape from above, as Amalia would see it. In this regard the landscape took on different aspects based on the social status of the visitor in a manner which reflects the ethos behind the hierarchical arrangement of space inside.

Any point where two strong axes intersect becomes a center of attention, and yet at the intersection at the center of the garden Post did not place a fountain as might be expected.<sup>482</sup> According to all the sources (travel accounts, inventories, Post's plan, and Van der Heyden), at the crossing of these two major axes were four sculptures. Though the four sculptures are not identified, they were probably the four seasons,<sup>483</sup> a nod to the cyclical nature of life, death, and rebirth. This allegorical commentary on life parallels the Christological imagery from Amalia's apartment and the emphasis that the painted cycle in the Oranjezaal places on lineage and descent. As the *groen cabinetten* represent a miniaturized, living commentary on the message of

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<sup>482</sup> When Giulio and Guido de Bovio visited in 1677, they even commented on the lack of 'ornamental waters' and profuse statuary. They describe the garden: "Il palazzo riguarda in un gran giardino per la parte di dietro, che è distinto in più compartimenti quadrati di fiori; nel mezzo vi sono 4 statue di pietra, e dalle bande per due scale si va ad altrettanti padiglioni di verdura. *Nel resto non visono nè acque, nè statue*; ci mostrarono alcuni agrumi, che benchè piccioli, sono di molto pregio in queste parti. Il giardino è cinto de mura, et all'intorno ha un largo fosso d'acqua. L'ingresso della villa è delizioso per gli alberi be disposti; e di qua e di là del detto palazzo vi sono due case uniformi, che servono per la commodità dei giardinieri e per li custodi di questo luogo delizioso. (italics mine.) see G. Brom, "En Italiaanse reisbeschrijving der nederlanden (1677-1678)," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het historisch genootschap* 36(1919), 119.

<sup>483</sup> This identification is based on the fact that one seems to be holding a cornucopia and another an urn. This interpretation as the Four Seasons is generally accepted in scholarship on Van der Heyden, but its significance has not been explored. See Sellers, *Courtly Gardens in Holland*; Liedtke, *Dutch paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*; Sutton, *Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712)*.

the house, so too could the statuary. Through the reference to the cycle of the year and building literally growing buildings, the garden is recast as a living, symbolic landscape.

A reading of the garden as a symbolic landscape that embodies the beneficent stewardship of the House of Orange is consistent with images of gardens more broadly in the Netherlands at the time. Gardens occupied an important role within the context of the Dutch war for independence. The *Hollandse tuin* became a powerful symbol used to represent the imperiled United Provinces and even ran through the works of Hugo Grotius.<sup>484</sup> In visual sources, the emblem usually consisted of a wattle fence surrounding a woman – the Dutch maid – and defended by a lion. It originated in the medieval *hortus conclusus*, the enclosed garden that symbolized Mary's purity, and was later appropriated for use in personal devices of a variety of northern European nobles as well as in civic emblems.<sup>485</sup> Simon Schama notes a particular medallion as the first use of the Dutch garden as a symbol for the nation in 1573, where a maid, wearing the *vrijheidshoed* and brandishing a sword was seated within a closed garden. It was to become a powerful emblem of not just the province of Holland, but indeed the whole Republic, united against outsiders. Though it may have been a new symbol for the nation, it was dressed up in the trappings of antiquity, tying the nation, the garden, and the ancient Batavians together into one emblem.<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>484</sup> P. J. van Winter, "De Hollandse Tuin," *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* 8(1957).

<sup>485</sup> Ibid, 35. Van Winter notes that it is most commonly used to represent one city or province, but also came to represent the Republic as a whole. See as an example of the broader inclusivity of the emblem in Adriaen van de Venne's print on the Pacification of Gent, 1625, where 17 women, representing the provinces, are seated within a garden protected by a lion.

<sup>486</sup> Simon Schama, *The embarrassment of riches : an interpretation of dutch culture in the golden age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 71-72.

Perhaps the most compelling version of this symbol is one engraved by Willem Buytewech in 1615 as the title page to *Merckt de Wysheyd vermaert vant Hollantsche huyschouwen en siet des luipters aert die niet is ter vertrouwen* (Fig. 5.34). In this print, the Dutch maid is reimagined, not as a farmer or peasant, but as an enthroned and well-dressed woman, labeled Vitoria and seated in a triumphal arch emblazoned with the crests of the United Provinces. She is attended by the Batavian *heerschapp*, and is seated within the Dutch garden. Two gardeners, Might and Reason, are tending the garden, while an orange tree grows at the center, in front of a pyramid labeled “privilege.”<sup>487</sup> Outside the garden to her left is the advancing Spanish army, heralded by a woman leading a leopard, which is presented as an emblem of the Spanish in the text. The message is clear: might and reason tend the nation where the Orange tree flourishes and the lion stands guard. The viewer stands outside the garden, looking down the central axis towards the classicizing emblem of victory, a woman framed in a triumphal arch overseeing the well-tended garden.

To return to Post’s garden, the symbolic realm is marked by statuary referencing rebirth while pyramidal trellises support greenery. As indicated by Post’s birds-eye view, pairs of pyramidal trellises flanked the central axes dividing the parterres, framing the views from each terminus.<sup>488</sup> In any other context, these might be regarded as mere decorative trellises; the form is illustrated in Jan van de Groen’s *Den Nederlantsen Hovenier* as one of the types of trellises to

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<sup>487</sup> The two longer branches are sometimes regarded as Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, while the truncated one to the right indicates the life of Willem the Silent cut short.

<sup>488</sup> On this point, the birds eye print and Jan van der Heyden’s prints seem to disagree. Van der Heyden records the shape and existence of the trellises, but their precise placement (and the number of them) differs.

be found in a garden (Fig. 5.35).<sup>489</sup> However, a pyramid or obelisk inside a garden carried a specific meaning within the context of the war against Spain. Within the context of both print culture and iconological literature, the pyramid was a specifically selected form. In the Buytewech print it represents the privileges of the people, which are “rooted in the privileges of the land and are not dependent on the ruler.”<sup>490</sup> In Buytewech’s garden, the pyramid is sheltered by the orange tree, implicating the House of Orange in protecting such privileges. In other contexts the obelisk takes on more explicitly aristocratic tones. In Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, the obelisk form was part of the emblem for “Gloria de Principi” (Fig. 5.36), the “Glory of Princes”<sup>491</sup> and obelisks played an important role in triumphal processions.<sup>492</sup> Another print by

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<sup>489</sup> Jan van der Groen, *Den nederlandsen hovenier : zijnde het I. deel van het Vermakelijck land-leven, beschrijvende alderhande princelijke en heerlijcke luthoven en hofsteden; en hoeman de selve, met veelderley uytnemende boomen, bloemen en kruyden, kan beplanted, bezaeyen, en verciereren* (Amsterdam: Gysbert de Groot, 1699), 82.

<sup>490</sup> Catherine Levesque, *Journey through landscape in seventeenth-century Holland : the Haarlem print series and Dutch identity* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 79. Levesque translates part of the pamphlet accompanying the print as “I was in olden times a free state, thereafter very unfree / and now I am returned to my first state: because my name received a principle / when my forefathers came here to free this land, that belonged to no one than the former who were the first to come and possess it (after the Law of Nature) on such a free place they built this (my) house, the Batavian magistrates, named now at this time the “Hollandtsche Republic”/ once more I establish my chair or seat (called freedom).” Though intended to refer to the 12 Year Truce, the passage proves to be a compelling commentary on the recently concluded peace treaty and the building of a house in a garden which explicitly celebrates such a victory.

<sup>491</sup> Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa ...: diuisa in tre libri, ne i quali si esprimono varie imagini di virtù, vitij, passioni humane, affetti, atti, discipline, humori, elementi, corpi celesti* (Venice: appresso Nicolò Pezzana, 1669), 248. The Dutch edition of 1644 does not include an illustration of this particular emblem, but it was included in French versions of the same year. The lack of an illustration in the Dutch version does not preclude its relevance in this situation. Mason Tung, *Two concordances to Ripa's Iconologia* (New York: AMS Press, 1993).

<sup>492</sup> Strong, Roy C. *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 30-31. Obelisks formed not only an important element in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili but also the triumphal entries of multiple French kings including Henry IV.

Simon Frisius from 1609, entitled *Piramida Pacifica*, casts the obelisk in a landscape as a pyramid of peace (Fig. 5.37). This particular print ties together themes of peace, prosperity, and Orange lineage. The tree to the right is intended as an orange tree, as a banderole with the motto of Maurits, *Tandem Fit Surculus Arbor*, wraps around the trunk. This suggests that in the Dutch context, the glory of princes is to be derived from protecting the privileges of the land.

If a visitor to Huis ten Bosch were to stand just inside the walls at the south end of the long axis of the garden, he would look along the axis, seeing the house in the distance framed by green pyramids and sculpture representing the passage of time. He may also have seen a tableau vivant that would bear striking resemblance to Buytewech's print. Post is quite explicit in his plans: there is a stairway that connects Amalia's personal spaces to the loggia which leads to the loggia giving access to the south garden. Post specifies that the stairs are for "heijmelycke gebruycke" – secret or confidential use.<sup>493</sup> Since framed views were given such significance in Post's built rhetoric, it is significant that in the same way that Amalia could appear from her apartment directly in the Oranjezaal through a painted arch, Amalia could also appear in the garden, in the center of a three-arched triumphal arch, framed along a vista including all the elements listed above.

The garden and the house are formally related not just in the shapes of their domes, but also in their underlying geometric logic and their complementary symbolism. In the Oranjezaal, Post stresses the axes which intersect in the center of the Oranjezaal. These axes were so important that he drew them onto the plan; their architectural significance is fundamentally related to the decorative scheme of Van Campen. The room is structured to be circumnavigated,

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<sup>493</sup> Post, *De Sael van Oranje*, plan of ground floor.

but ultimately has four chief points from which to view the room and from which a viewer would have the best view of the opposing wall. Correspondingly, each wall has a significant element stressing a narrative of triumph – but ultimately resulting in death and apotheosis of Frederik Hendrik. The garden presents a matching structure: two strong axes which intersect, where the end points of each axis create a stage from which to view the elements of the rebirth of the Dutch Garden. While the first interior intersection stresses the life and death of the hero, the external intersection, built around living elements like the *groen cabinetten*, stresses the life and rebirth of the land alongside the House.

Post was designing a building at a time where the palace was elided with the identity of the resident.<sup>494</sup> In Vincenzo Scamozzi's writings on domestic architecture in *L'idea dell'architettura universal (1615)*, he writes "The front façades and courtyards should be splendid and graceful...Just as we judge a man by his face, these external signs inform us that this is the house of a nobleman."<sup>495</sup> To Scamozzi, status and identity were inscribed on the façade, and all the elements of a building were parts of a coherent whole, standing in as a worthy embodiment of the resident.<sup>496</sup> Amalia was embodied by Huis ten Bosch. The building and its

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<sup>494</sup> This has been compellingly argued by a number of scholars. Most critical in developing my own thinking was Monika Schmitter, "Odoni's Façade: The House as Portrait in Renaissance Venice," *JSAH: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 66, no. 3 (2007).

<sup>495</sup> Scamozzi et al., *The idea of a universal architecture*, 105.

<sup>496</sup> Scamozzi elaborates on the relationship between parts of a building and the whole, as well as its relation to the owner: "A building is nothing more than the construction of a man-made body which is perfect in form and has no essential part missing... Whether a building is stately or graceful, or a combination of both, it should be pleasing in appearance have ornaments that match its parts as well as the whole, and be built from durable materials, so that the skills of the craftsman, the status of the owner, and the ingenuity of the architect are all evident to those who appreciate fine buildings. In this way, a building will serve its purpose and be worthy of its owner." Scamozzi et al., *The idea of a universal architecture*, 40.

décor depended on an elision of Amalia and Artemisia, who is best known as the widow of Mausolus.<sup>497</sup> Following her husband's death, she cremated his body and drank the ashes mixed with wine, a scene which is represented in the *voorkamer* of the west apartment where Van Honthorst's painting of Artemisia hung above the fireplace (Fig. 5.38).<sup>498</sup> The west apartment was initially intended for Frederik Hendrik, but was ultimately likely used by Amalia's children or most elite guests, making it a potent site for staging the identity of the patron. Van Honthorst's *Artemisia* is clearly not a portrait, and yet within this setting, it inescapably evoked one aspect of Amalia's identity, precisely as the Poelenburch scene did at Honselaarsdijk. The associations between the widows are not merely in two dimensions, as the role of the architect and the house itself is a critical building block. Though Mausolus was to be enduringly commemorated through the building of the mausoleum, the body of the widow became the true site of living memory. This is a powerful connection that is fundamental to the Oranjezaal. In the introduction to his published plans, addressed to Amalia's daughter Louise, Post himself

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<sup>497</sup>Barbara Gaehtgens, "L'Artémise de Gérard van Honthorst ou les deux corps de la reine," *Revue de l'Art* 109(1995), 15. According to Gaehtgens, the story of Artemisia was best known in the Netherlands through Valerius Maximus, whose *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, containing the tale, was translated into Dutch in 1614.

<sup>498</sup>John Rupert Martin, "Artemisia," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 27, no. 2 (1968); van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, *Princely Patrons*, 150-153; Gaehtgens, "L'Artémise de Gérard van Honthorst ou les deux corps de la reine." The stadhouder and his wife also owned a painting of Artemisia by Rubens, which had been purchased by Louise de Coligny. The tradition of noble widows associating themselves with Artemisia had precedent in figures such as Catherine de' Medici and even Elizabeth of Bohemia. Gaehtgens argues that, given the early date of the Van Honthorst *Artemisia* (ca. 1630-35), it may have been commissioned by Elizabeth and then given to Amalia at the death of the Prince and at that time incorporated into Huis ten Bosch.

writes that his project has been to present Amalia as a new Artemisia.<sup>499</sup> The fabric of the house is implicit in creating a living memory as is the widow herself; house and resident are one.

As has been demonstrated, however, the building and the garden are also inextricably linked, both in terms of their design and their symbolism. The focus of the garden is a series of trellises and obelisk referencing princely stewardship and the cycle of rebirth. If we return to Post's textual precedents, we find that Serlio illustrated and described an obelisk that stood in the Vatican. Of all the obelisks that Serlio illustrates, one stands out for having a globe at the top. According to Serlio, the apex of this particular monument held the ashes of Gaius Caesar.<sup>500</sup> It has also been claimed that the garden obelisks at Huis ten Bosch had mirrored balls at their apex. This is usually presented as a means to scare off birds,<sup>501</sup> but when viewed within the context of Post's architectural precedent, the allusion to imperial death and commemoration cannot be accidental. The obelisks become sites of princely commemoration like the body of Artemisia and the mausoleum. The garden, like the house, uses the language of the deceased classical hero, pairing the built realms of house and garden. Together with the narrative of the living widow, Post created a powerful statement on the Dowager Princess's symbolic role in the creation and maintenance of both her House and the nation as a whole.

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<sup>499</sup> Post, *De Sael van Oranje*. Post in fact wrote: "Dewijle dan Holland de eere ende hey geluck ontset is van v. churf. Doorl. te sien, heeft my redelijck gedacht de selve, ten minste in dese Schaduwe te doen sien wat in t schoonste van Holland het hooge dankbare gemoed van v churf. Doorl.ts onvergelykeliche Vrouw Moeder te wege gebracht, ende Hare Hooght. *als een andere Artemisia heeft uytgevoert*, ter eeuwiger gedachtenisse vanden noyt Volpresen Vorst haren hoogh-ghe-eerden Heer ende Man, wer op de heerlijks Sale van Orange met haren cierlijcken aenhangh ende ommeloop allenlijck gegrondt ende gesticht is." Italics mine.

<sup>500</sup> Serlio f77v, trans. Serlio, Hart, and Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on architecture*, 152-153.

<sup>501</sup> Dumas and van der Meer Mohr, *Haagse stadsgezichten*, 323. Dumas, in comparing Dutch trellises to French, finds them to be comparatively coarse.

Through a careful study of the plans together with the existing scholarship on the painted iconography and garden studies, a new, unified reading of Huis ten Bosch can emerge. The complex functions as an integrated statement on the identity of Amalia van Solms, the House of Orange, and the United Provinces more broadly. The gardens, divided by the house and garden wall, represent both the functional and the symbolic landscape, one the fruitful working land and the other the rigidly manicured realm. It is in the sequestered garden beyond the house that the stewardship of the landowner creates order and protects both the role of the prince and the wellbeing of the people. Framed by these gardens is a house where visual and physical access are structured by a series of architectural and painted elements rooted in the language of triumph. The building, an embodiment of the widow of the triumphant national hero, is the point of entry to and guardian of the symbolic realm of the Dutch Garden beyond.

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

Portraits viewed in a museum tell only half their story. They communicate details of physiognomy, depict current fashions (whether real garments or imagined), and may contain emblems that refer to the sitter's status or family name. In this regard, they are important historical documents whose meaning is derived from elements intrinsic to the image. When portraits can be viewed in the site they were first intended to occupy alongside the decorative and architectural elements to which they may have been designed to respond, they speak to issues extrinsic to the image: social practices, cultural ideals, and individual performed identities. The messages conveyed by portraits depend as much on with whom they were intended to communicate as on whom they portrayed.

If the portraits of Amalia van Solms are viewed in isolation from their intended sites of display, they illustrate certain aspects of her social role. Her political and cultural significance is evident through the large number of portraits produced and the range of media in which they were available. Iconography and style developed over fifty years, reflecting changing stylistic preferences and her evolving status as elite bride, mother and widow. The biographical details of her life such as the birth of her children are chronicled through prints as compositions were updated to document the expanding family. The portraits also reflect larger changes in patronage and stylistic evolution; early portraits depended on the conservative style of the workshop of

Michiel van Mierevelt while after 1629 painted portraits were dominated by Gerard van Honthorst. The frequency with which portraits were produced also relates to Amalia's public visibility and popularity; the largest number come from the period that marked the pinnacle of achievement for the House of Orange, while her later gradual withdrawal from public life is reflected in a relative decline in portrait production.

When her portraits are regarded with an eye to audience, however, they take on a new life. They helped to negotiate the perception of the role played by the House of Orange in the Dutch war for independence. As publicly circulated *sinneprenten* make clear, lineage was a central concept and her active role in the continuation of that lineage was something to be widely celebrated. The easy accessibility of prints, paired with their ease of movement, was a crucial strategy exploited by the House of Orange. As a study of inventories in Amsterdam suggests, these prints were collected and displayed in public parts of the house by a range of audiences. The propagandistic and nationalistic tone of these prints goes hand in hand with the kinds of formal state portraiture that was put on public display and propagated to other courts through a gift network. These particular cases removed any nod to explicit political role or specific individual traits or preferences, instead focusing on presenting a stately and elevating image to the foreign monarch. The more elite the audience, the more elaborate the fashion could be without risking alienating popular support in an age where the public image of the House of Orange was constantly in flux.

Bridging the divide between the public circulation of portraits and private display is the 1637 double "state" portrait by Gerard van Honthorst (Fig. 2.40). Though original provenance is hard to establish, it seems that this portrait was primarily displayed by close associates of the Prince and Princess such as their married daughters and their closest supporters like Constantijn

Huygens and Laurens Buysero. The portraits were displayed in spaces which were not the palaces of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia, but served to establish the sites of display as integrally connected to the court. Though it refers to other state portraits, the portrait was peculiar in representing both Prince and Princess on the same canvas and of an equal size without their children. The significance is even enhanced by the fact that it seems never to have been reproduced in print. It is the only prototype of portraits which was not circulated in printed form. The political implications of displaying this portrait at the court of the Elector Brandenburg or the city house of Huygens would have been significant. The Prince and Princess were made present through the life size canvas. Amalia's dynastic politics were carried out not only through the marriages she made for her children, but also through the display of this portrait.

Following the scholarship of scholars like Rebecca Tucker, this dissertation examined portraits as part of decorative ensembles at the palaces of Honselaarsdijk and Huis ten Bosch. It is clear that these buildings were intended to present coherent messages to the visitor, realized through the use of decorative and built elements. Portraits played a particular role in shaping these spaces, acting as signposts. The public spaces like galleries held formal portraits, but increasingly restricted and elite spaces show how the image of the resident changed in relation to audience. Honselaarsdijk used pastoral portraiture to tie the identity of the House of Orange to the fruitfulness of the land, but also to indicate the more private realms of the palace. Pastoral portraiture also appears primarily in the apartment of Amalia van Solms, indicating the gendered nature of the genre. Further research to investigate how pastoral portraits circulated between women in the court circle is clearly necessary; the *portrait historié* not only functioned differently at elite levels than it did more widely but also seems to be part of a network of exchange between women.

The case of Honselaarsdijk also shows how identity could be evoked without the display of a physiognomically accurate portrait. In Amalia's cabinet, the pastoral narrative of *Il Pastor Fido* is directly linked to the political life of the United Provinces and the role played by the House of Orange. Including a figure that seems to refer to Amalia without necessarily being a portrait implicates her in the narrative that unfolds. This sort of elision of portraiture and fictional character would only be possible within a restricted space used by a very specific audience. Further, the political specificity of the interpretation of this scene is plausible only when the paintings are regarded within the palace for which they were made. In isolation, the panels illustrate a seventeenth-century play that was particularly popular in court circles; in their architectural context, they form a powerful commentary on the House of Orange and suggest that Amalia herself was a well-informed and active agent in commissioning artistic ensembles.

In the last chapter, the concept of identity as embodied in the relationships between site and image was explored in depth in the case of Huis ten Bosch. The expansive idea of what can constitute a portrait introduced in the previous chapter is critical in reframing the ways that the site as a whole comments on Amalia's identity as a living embodiment of memory and caretaker of the Orange legacy. By bringing together architecture, painted decorations, and garden planning, the underlying logic of the complex becomes apparent. The historically rich iconographic literature on the Oranjezaal can be extended into the other rooms of the house and even into the garden beyond. Post and van Campen must have worked very closely together to tie land and built environment together into a potent statement on the garden as the *Hollandse tuin*, the cultivated landscape flourishing under the careful stewardship of the House of Orange amidst the untamed woods of the Haagse Bos. At every turn, the visitor was faced with a framed view which foregrounded ideas of rebirth and continuity. The architect used architectural

elements like doors, windows, and fireplaces to infuse the building with the built language of triumph while garden architecture referenced triumphal processions and the living nature of memory. Though the study of the Oranjezaal has generally focused on the deceased Frederik Hendrik, reconsidering the site as an integrated whole reframes Huis ten Bosch as a portrait of Amalia: a living, large scale embodiment of lineage, triumph, and memory.

The study of Amalia's portraits expands our sense of Amalia as a savvy patron of the arts, and portraits (and portrait exchange) offer a glimpse into how Amalia used networks of peers and relatives to promote the House of Orange. Given the lack of a current biography, portraits help to fill some of the gaps in our understanding of her as a historical agent. More importantly, the study of her portraits teaches us something about the portraits themselves and the idea of the portrait more broadly. The role of the audience takes center stage, and the ways that portraits could communicate with different audiences unlocks new social functions. The portraits commissioned by Charles I of England served a different function than those sent by the Prince and Princess as part of an active campaign of self-promotion. Details of fashion registered differently based on where the portrait was displayed, relating audience specificity to physical access and issues of architectural ensembles. Who was viewing portraits was of utmost importance – and the portraits suggest that informed patrons knew that. When the circulation of portraits to specific audiences is taken into account, new arenas of research open up; most significant among these in my mind are the relationships between Amalia and her daughters and sisters and issues of foreign exchange. Rather than being a collection of dry visual documents which functioned solely to represent the biographical stages of Amalia's life, her portraits become a commentary on broader issues concerning society, the self, and the interaction of space and image.

## APPENDIX A

### CATALOG OF THE KNOWN PORTRAITS OF AMALIA VAN SOLMS

The catalog collects the known surviving portraits of Amalia van Solms along with some known to exist which have since disappeared. It is sorted alphabetically by artist instead of chronology, in an attempt to group copies and derivatives with the prototype. It contains some of the major scholarship on the portraits but it is not an exhaustive catalog. Several sources were used in compiling this catalog:

Iconographisch Bureau, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorisch Documentatie, Den Haag  
Museum Catalogs

Auction Records of Sotheby's and Christie's

Archival records which mention paintings now believed lost

Monographs on Individual artists

*Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts*

1. Anonymous: *Amalia van Solms with loose hair*

1625, pre1625

RKD IB: 80442

77.00 cm x 60.50 cm, panel

Muzeum Warmii I Mazur , Poland: inv.MNO 100 ONO

most likely came from the collection of Frederik Hendrik: *Inventaris van het Stadhouderslijk Kwartier en het huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1632*. 179-237

“48. een schilderije van Haere Excie Mevrouw de prinsesse met den hangende hayre”

Literature:

Spliethoff 1997

2. att to Pourbus, Mierevelt and Moreelse: *Bust of Amalia van Solms*

RKD IB: 118070

63 cm x 54.5 cm, panel

Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm: inv B 126 1922;

gift to the Swedish state from the collection of Wilhelmina and Walter de Hallwyl, Stockholm; sale Carl Burenstam, Stockholm (Bukowski) 23-9-1908, nr.1 (as Maria Elonora by Mierevelt); coll. Carl Johan Reinhold Burenstam, Stockholm; sale Jean Henri Beissel (Aken), Brussel (Le Roy) 6/8-4-1875, nr.106 (as Maria Aleonora by Pourbus)

3. Anon: *Portrait Pipe on the occasion of the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*

1625-1635

clay pipe, 3.3 cm

Leiden Pijpenkabinet: 5407-5408

Literature:

Duco 1992, 12-14

4. Anon: Full length tile scene of Amalia van Solms

1625 -1650

11 tiles x 3 ceramic tiles

Brussel Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis

Literature:

Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994, 27-29

5. Anon: Full length tile scene of Amalia van Solms in a millstone ruff

1625-1650

11 tiles x 3 ceramic tiles

Den Haag Gemeentemuseum

Literature:

Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994, 27-29

6. Anon : portrait tile of Amalia van Solms

1700, circa

tile

7. Anon: portrait tile of Amalia van Solms

1700,circa

tile

in a set with Philleps Willem, Willem Frederick and Henriette Catherine

8. anon: Blue tile with portrait of Amalia van Solms in a circle  
1650-1670  
12.7 x 12.7 cm, tile  
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: BK-1955-312-A
9. Anon : portrait tile of Amalia van Solms w. acanthus  
tile  
In set with Henriette Catherine, Frederik Hendrik and Frederik Willem
10. anon: Blue tile with portrait of Amalia van Solms in a circle  
1650-1670  
12.7 x 12.7 cm, tile  
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: BK-1955-312-A
11. Anon, pub. Francois van der Hoeye.: Amalia van Solms in a lettered oval.  
nd.
12. Anon: *Geboorteklock van Willem van Nassau*  
1626  
14.8 x 11.5 cm, print  
published as the title page of Joost van den Vondel's poem celebrating the birth of  
Willem II  
Literature:  
Kolfin 2006
13. Anon.: *Willem I and Frederik Hendrik with families*  
1630-35  
RKD IB: 66675  
23.2 x 31.2 cm, copper  
Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg: inv G858  
Copy after a print with a different background published by Claes Jansz. Visscher  
dating ca. 1628 (IB 2008345).  
Literature:  
Coppens 1984 156-157  
Onder den Oranje Boom 1999, 27
14. anon: *Marriage of Willem II and Mary Stuart*

1641,  
engraving  
Haags Gemeentearchief  
Literature:  
Adams 2010

15. Anon: *Amalia van Solms in Mourning*  
after 1647  
miniature  
Gemaldegalerie Berlijn: Nr. M. 531

16. Akersloot, Willem Outgersz; A. van de Venne, inv.: *Amalia of Solms with William and Louise Henriette with the Binnenhof in the distance*  
a. First state: address of J. C. Visscher  
1628  
20.4 x 16 cm, print  
One copy Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag,  
Literature:  
Muller 1853  
Hollstein  
Later republished with the address of R and J Ottens.

17. Baen, Jan de, att, or by or after van Honthorst, Gerard van: *Amalia van Solms, seated, 3/4 length, with Huis ten Bosch in the distance*  
a. 1650-1675  
RKD IB: 49089  
canvas  
Coll. Prinsenhof, Delft.:  
gift from the Family Van der Borch in 1894.  
Bauer attributes this as a painting after Mijtens.  
Literature:  
Bauer 2006

18. Francois van Beusecom, Amsterdam: *Group portrait of Frederik Hendrik, Amalia, Willem II, and Henriette Catherine.*  
a. 1641  
37.5 x 50.3 cm, print  
Atlas van Stolk: inv. 7151

- b. Group portrait of Frederik Hendrik, Amalia, Willem II, Mary Stuart, Louise Henriette, Keurvorst Frederick Willem, Henriette Catherine, Count Enno Ludwig, and Albertina Agnes  
 1642  
 40.5 x 53.5 cm, print  
 Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam: AvS 1857, inv. 7152
19. Brouwer, Jan after the engravings by Corn. Visscher after Honthorst: *Portrait of Amalia van Solms* in a series of 15 princes of Orange  
 after 1646  
 print  
 The set includes Albertina Agnes, Ernst Casimir, Frederik Hendrik, Willem II, Henriette, Rene of Nassau Prince of Chalons, Maria, Louise, Amalia, Henriette Catherine, Willem Hendrik Casimir.  
 Literature:  
 Hollstein
20. Brouwer, Jan. *Bust of Amalia van Solms*  
 Print
- a. Bust of Amalia facing left in an oval of flowers and leaves in dark clothes and jewelry. 3 line Latin inscription.  
 Stichting Archief van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, inv. PR/0224
- b. Bust of Amalia facing left in an oval of Putti. 2 line inscription.  
 46.5 x 38.0 cm  
 Stichting Archief van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, inv. PR/0225
21. Brun, Frans, published by Francois van den Hoeye: *Family portrait after the siege of Groenlo*
- a. First state, includes portraits of Frederik Hendrik, Amalia van Solms, Willem II and Louis Henriette  
 1627  
 23.5 x 32.3 cm, print  
 Haags Gemeentearchief, Den Haag, inv.nr. gr.B 1261  
 Literature:  
 Muller 1863-1882  
 Hollstein  
 E. Kolfin, 2006  
 S. Groenveld, 1988

- b. Second state, includes family listed above with inclusion of a third child, likely Henriette Amalia  
n.d.  
23.5 x 32.3 cm, print
22. Brun, Frans after Daniel van der Bredem: *Group portrait of Frederik Hendrik, Ernst Casimir and Frederik van der Paltz with their families before the Buitenhof*  
1627  
RKD IB: 2012503  
46 x 79 cm, print (engraving)  
Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam  
Literature:  
Hollstein
23. Brun, Frans, exc. Franc. Hoesius (Francois de la Hoeye): *3/4 Length view of Amalia van Solms*  
nd.  
Engraving: 46.5 x 37 cm.  
(Goudswaard)
24. Cooper, Alexander: *Amalia van Solms* in miniature  
1660, circa  
RKD IB: 79837  
miniature  
Gemaldegalerie Berlin: Cat. Nr. M. 532
25. Coques, Gonzales: *Portrait of Amalia van Solms with her family*  
1646  
Current location unknown.  
Previously coll Leicester, sold 1866.  
Literature:  
Moes 1897
26. Coques, Gonzales: *Portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
1646

Current location unknown  
given by the artist to Frederik Hendrik  
Moes 1897

27. Coques, Gonzales, att.: *Allegorical Portrait of a Commander*, Probably Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms

Sketch

Private collection; sold at Sotheby's Amsterdam, Lot 35 as by Pieter Jansz. Sale AM0863; Session 1; Nov. 5, 2002.

28. Covens, J and Mortier, C: *Het Wyt Beroemd Geslacht van Nassau of Orangien*

1628

28.5 x 31.6 cm, print

Museum Wiesbaden, Sammlung Nassauischer Altertümer: inv. Friedrich Heinrich 220

Earlier variant of IB 2008345; this version includes 3 children

Literature:

Onder den Oranje Boom, 72

29. van Delen, Dirck: *Family Group in an architectural setting*

1630, circa

RKD IB: 61322

317.5 x 350 cm, canvas. One of seven wall paintings possibly from house of Floris II van Pallandt, Count of Culemborg

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: A3937

Literature:

Van Thiel/Rijksmuseum 1976, 190

Staring 1965

30. (copy after) Dieussart, Francois : *Sculpted Portrait Bust of Amalia van Solms*

Nd; Probably a later copy

SPSG: Schloss Oranienberg. Oranienberg, Germany

31. van Dyck, Anthony: *Amalia van Solms, seated* (pendant 30539)

a. 1631

RKD IB: 30540

105 x 91 cm, canvas

Prado, Madrid: PO 1483

Provenance: Colección Real (colección Isabel Farnesio, Palacio de La Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia, pieza de la chimenea, 1746, nº 1; La Granja, pieza de vestir, 1766, nº 1; Palacio de Aranjuez, Madrid, pieza de música, 1794, nº 1; Aranjuez, Consejo de Estado, 1818, nº 1); most probably once in the collection of Charles I of England.

Literature:

Madrid 1995 448-452

Washington 1990, 238

Walsh 1994

- b. van Dyck, Anthony, after: *Amalia van Solms*  
1629, circa  
122 x 102 cm, canvas  
Private Collection, Isle of Arran (Brodick Castle?) (Scotland)  
Literature:  
Spliethoff 1997, ill p 186
- c. van Dyck, Anthony, after: *Amalia van Solms*, seated  
1640, circa  
RKD IB: 109636  
125 x 98.5 cm, canvas  
Provenance:  
Sotheby's, London, 1996-02-05: lot 244  
Sotheby's, London, 1963-12-12, nr. 66  
Ca. 1950 in Martin Crabb Collection
- d. van Dyck, Anthony, after: *Amalia van Solms*  
RKD IB: 22080
- e. van Dyck, Anthony: 3/4 length portrait of *Amalia van Solms*  
RKD IB: 26117  
Gemaldegalerie Wien
- f. van Dyck, Anthony, copy after: *portrait of Amalia van Solms*, seated  
RKD IB: 59947  
101.50 x 80.50 cm, canvas  
Kasteel Middachten, NL (private): Inv. 202
- g. Van Dyck, Anthony. By or after. *Portrait of Amalia van Solms*, seated.

1630

RKD IB: 14176

Coll. Slot Woerlitz, Dessau; Duveen New York, 1959; Norton Simon Foundation, Fullerton CA, 1968

Current Location unknown; Bought in by Sotheby's 1987.

- h. van Dyck, Anthony: *Oval portrait of Amalia van Solms* in miniature, pendant to 70131

Though greatly reduced in size, clearly derived from van Dyck's composition.

RKD IB: 70132

11 cm x 9 cm, panel

Coll. von Dohna, Schloss Schlobitten: inv. 96; pendant to inv. 95.

- i. After van Dyck, Anthony.  $\frac{3}{4}$  length portrait of *Amalia van Solms*

After 1630

RKD IB: 117448

24.90 x 19.80 cm, panel

Sotheby's Amsterdam, 2001: Lot 187

Possibly a later copy.

32. Print after A. van Dyck.

- a. Waumans, Coenraet after A van Dyck: *portrait of Amalia van Solms*

RKD IB: 2011963

25.4 x 19.5 cm, print

First state: Adress of J Meyssens

Literature:

Muller

Hollstein vol. 51 (1998), p. 157, nr. 76

- b. Waumans, Coenraet after A van Dyck: *portrait of Amalia van Solms*

25.4 x 19.5 cm, print

Second State, name of Meyssens removed.

- c. published by Balthasar Moncornet after A. van Dyck: *Amalia Dei Gratia principissa*

1629-1668

15.1 x 11.1 cm, engraving

British Museum, London: AN521682001

- d. de Jode II, Pieter after A. van Dyck: *Portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
 1638  
 RKD IB: 2011961  
 Small quarto, print  
 From the series 'Theatrum pontificum, imperatorum, regum, ducum, principum,  
 ...Antverpiae, apvd Petrvm de Jode chalcographvm.  
 Literature:  
 Van Someren 275
33. Faithorne, William: *Portrait of Amalia, Princess of Orange*, bust in an oval, wearing wide-collared dress and pearls.  
 1640-50  
 9.7 x 7.2 cm, print  
 British Museum, London: 18430513.105
34. Faithorne, William, published by Robert Peake. *Amalia D. G. Princeps Arausion* (bust in oval)  
 10.3 x 14.4 cm.  
 (Goudswaard)
35. Flinck, Govert: *Allegory on the Memory of Frederik Hendrik*  
 a. 1654  
 307 x 189 cm, canvas  
 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, on loan to Gallerij Prins Willem V, Den Haag: inv. A. 869  
 Huis ten Bosch: Inventaris van Kostbaarheden, Meubelen, Schilderijen van Amalia van Solms, ten dele in Het Huis ten Bosch, Het Huis in Het Noordeinde en Het Kasteel te Turnhout, 1654-1664. 1182. Een schilderije van haer hoogheyt sittende bij 't graff van zijn hoogheid.'  
 Literature:  
 Van Dyk 1767, 56-57  
 Moes/van Biema 1909, 168  
 Martin 1935, vol II, 118  
 Von Moltke 1965, 39  
 Lunsingh Scheurleer 1969, 52-53  
 Van Thiel/Rijksmuseum 1976, 228  
 Gaehtgens 1999 267

- b. Print after composition by Flinck; artist unknown; referenced in Flinck scholarship, but no other trace of this has been found.
36. possibly Garnet, Cristoffel, after Honthorst: *Amalia van Solms (Allegory of Death?)*  
1648, circa  
RKD IB: 34125  
4.70 x 3.80 cm, miniature  
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: SK-A-4437
37. de Gheyn, Jacques. *Drie dames nemen het rouwbeklag in ontvangst na het overlijden van prins Maurits.*  
1625.  
Silverpoint on prepared cardboard, 10.7 x 8.2 cm.  
Rijksprentenkabinet Amsterdam,  
The woman on the right is believed to be Amalia van Solms.
38. Hollar, Wenzel: *portrait drawing of Amalia van Solms*  
1634,  
15.25 x 11.5 cm, drawing  
Provenance: Sale, Sotheby's, London, June 28-30, July 1-2, 1920, lot 439; Sale, Christie's, London, July 9, 1926, lot 43 (to Guerault).
39. Hollar, Wenceslaus. *Amalia with the three Graces.* In de la Serre.  
1639  
26 x 19.2 cm, Book Illustration
40. Hondius, Hendrick.: *Amalia, countess of Solms*  
1626  
42.5 x 30 cm, print  
one copy Stichting Archief van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag, inv. PR/0218  
Literature:  
Hollstein IX: 90  
Van Someren 271.
41. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms as Flora*  
1629-1630  
RKD IB: 43714  
204 x 154 cm, canvas  
Dessau, Kulturstiftung Dessau Worlitz, Gothisches Haus Worlitz: inv. I - 164

Probably listed in the inventory of Oranienstein, 1695, nr. 412: 'Ihr Hochheit frau mutter mit dero 2 kinder, uber welcher ein engel ein blumencrantz halt.'

Literature:

Tiethoff-Spliehoff 1997, 168, 187

Onder den Oranje Boom 1999, 119

42. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Portrait of Amalia van Solms with all of her children, including three deceased children as angels*

Presumed Lost.

KHA Inv. A17 Nr. 46 I, 10 f. Een capitaal vorstelrijk schilderij vertonende Amelia gravinne van Solms, gemalinne van Prins FH, verzelt van haer Hoogheids aght Princen en Princessen, als Willem de Tweeden....

43. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms in profile*

a. 1631

RKD IB: 14274

75.0 x 60.00 cm, panel

Historische Verzamelingen Huis Oranje-Nassau: inv.SC/0027

Literature:

Braun 1966, p. 237

Bruyn et al 1986, 253.

Spliehoff 1997

Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, 1997.

Ekkart & Judson, 1999

- b. Louise van der Palts after van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms in Profile*

RKD IB: 70134

70 x 57.5 cm, canvas

Sold, Sotheby's London, 1968. Previously Coll. Craven

44. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz, att: *Amalia van Solms*, full length

1631, circa

Private collection, possibly Count of Crawford and Balcarres

Literature:

Spliehoff 1978.

45. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia as Diana* (in a blue dress with spear and horn)

a. 1632

RKD IB: 43682  
74 x 57 cm, panel  
Kulturstiftung Dessau Worlitz: inv nr I-216  
presence in Worlitz suggests descent from one of the daughters.  
Literature:  
Judson and Ekkart, 1999

b. *Amalia van Solms with horn and spear (As Diana?)*

RKD IB: 70136  
58.7 x 71.9 cm, canvas  
sold by Sotheby's in 1968, no. 51. , again in 1984. probably now coll. J  
Guillerma (?). Col.. Craven, no. 281, probably originally in the possession of  
Elizabeth of Bohemia.  
Literature:  
Hoogsteder 1986

c. *Amalia van Solms with horn and spear (As Diana?)*

59 x 72 cm, canvas  
Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag,  
inv. SC/1414

46. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., after: *Amalia van Solms (as Minerva?)*

a. 1632

RKD IB: 82236  
panel  
Coll Jorge Guilliermo, Paleis Soestdijk

b. Van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz: *Amalia van Solms as Minerva*

75 x 59.5 cm, panel  
Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag:  
SC/1424  
Literature:  
Judson and Ekkart, 1999

47. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms in historical dress*

1632,  
75.5 x 62.5 cm, canvas  
Centraal Museum Utrecht.: inv. Nr. 21659

Probably originally in the Bohemian collection. Previously Coll. Craven no. 177. Sold Sotheby's, 1968, no. 50. then to Coll. Kunsth. Leonard Koetser, London, 1969. 1980: purchased by Centraal Museum Utrecht.

Literature:

Spliethoff 1997

J. de Meyere, 2006, cat. 58.

48. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms*

1633

RKD IB: 14310

75.0 x 60.00 cm, panel

Historische Verzamelingen Huis Oranje-Nassau , Stichting: inv.82 1923

Literature:

Not in Judson/Ekkart, 1999.

49. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms as Esther*

1633

RKD IB: 76628

72.50 x 56.20 cm, panel

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton (Massachusetts), (Gift from Stanley C. Wulk, 1966.); Christie's London, 1965-9-4; Previously A.D. Wing Collection, Rye, Kent.

Literature:

Judson and Ekkart 1999

Van der Klooster 1998

50. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Bust of Amalia*

Schloss Braunfels: B 134 R 138

51. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz, after: *oval bust portrait of Amalia van Solms with pendant*

72 x 57.5 cm, panel

Furst zu Solms Braunfels, Braunfels: Inv. 15

52. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Charlotte de la Tremoille and Amalia van Solms in allegorical garb*

1635,circa

RKD IB: 76161

123.50 x 166.70 cm, canvas

private collection, England; Previously Milton Coll.

Literature:

Spliethoff 1997, 170

53. Van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Portrait of Amalia van Solms as Diana with the Countess of Brederode as a hunting nymph*  
Presumed lost.  
Inventaris van de schilderijen op het huis Honselaarsdijk 1755. KHA Inv. A17 Nr. 46 I, 10 f. In de audientiekamer no 38 voor de schoorsteen. Eerstelijk vertoont de Gravinne Amelia van Solms...in de gedaente der Jaght godinne Diana benevens haar zuster
54. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Double Portrait of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia*
- a. ca. 1637  
Lost prototype of the double portrait owned by Frederik Hendrik and Amalia and hung in Huis ter Nieuburch.
  - b. 1637  
RKD IB: 43413  
213.00 x 201.40 cm, canvas  
Mauritshuis Den Haag: inv. 104 1828  
initially owned by Constantijn Huygens, copied from prototype a above and discussed in his letter to Honthorst.  
Literature:  
Judson/Ekkart 1999  
Buijsen 1998  
Buvelot 2004  
Griffey, 2008
  - c. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*  
canvas  
Hoogsteder Sale 1999, variant of above
  - d. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., atelier: *Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*  
1650-1660  
RKD IB: 60152  
199 x 160 cm, canvas  
Het Slot Zeist

commissioned by Laurens Buysero. In situ in Huis an het Boschkant until 1909 when it was moved to Villa Waldheim. Purchased in 1968 by the gemeente of Zeist during the restoration of Slot Zeist.

Literature:

Van Groningen 2009

Judson & Ekkart, 1999,

Ottenheym 1993

Van Kretschmar 1968

Hijmans 1922

- e. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., copy after: *Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*

1660-1670, approx. Date established by RKD staff on basis of hairstyle and lace collar of Amalia

RKD IB: 70139

canvas

Coll. v. Anhalt Dessau, Schloss Mosigkau: Cat 1914 no. 659

Spliethoff (1978) suggests that this was the same portrait that was in the collection of Amalia in 1654/68 (n. 1284) and then by descent.

- f. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., atelier: *Amalia van Solms* in an oval, half length  
ca. 1637

RKD IB: 43701

74.5 x 59.5 cm, panel

Haags Historisch Museum cat 1935 nr. 220

gift of H.W. Mesdag, 1884; attribution A. Bredius

Literature:

Judson and Ekkart, 1999

Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997

- g. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., By or after: *Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*, in two pieces

RKD IB: 53205

198 x 136 cm,

private collection, Germany:

- h. Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: Half length portrait of *Amalia van Solms*

1634

70 x 57 cm, panel

Private Collection, Prince of Hannover

- i. Anon: *Amalia van Solms*, half length  
1637, circa  
RKD IB: 36341  
74.5 x 58 cm, panel  
Coll. DvRvK (ex Beverweerd) 's Gravenhage: inv. Nr. C 266
55. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *3/4 length portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
1638  
RKD IB: 74331  
canvas  
Coll. Reinartshausen 1970
56. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz, designer: *Frederik Hendrik and Amalia on horseback*  
1639,  
Presumed destroyed, tapestry  
previously Kasteel te Breda, part of Nassause Genealogische tapestry series
57. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Bust of Amalia van Solms in courtly attire*  
pre 1648  
RKD IB: 66651  
Panel, painted directly into the cupola of Oranjezaal  
Huis ten Bosch, later covered over with panel.
58. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms as Mourning widow with skull*  
1650, circa  
RKD IB: 32603  
85 x 83 octagon, panel  
Huis ten Bosch
59. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms seated in a triumphal arch with her four daughters*  
1650  
RKD IB: 66659  
382 x 200 cm, canvas  
In situ Huis ten Bosch: owned by De Staat der Nederlanden  
Literature:  
D.F. Slothouwer, 1946

Brenninkmeyer de Rooij 1982  
Peter-Raupp, 1980  
Judson and Ekkart, 1999  
M. Franken, 2007

60. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Allegory on the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*

1650  
RKD IB: 66951  
321 x 756 cm, canvas  
In situ Huis ten Bosch: owned by De Staat der Nederlanden  
Literature:  
Brenninkmeyer de Rooij 1982  
Peter-Raupp, 1980  
Judson/Ekkart 1999  
Kolfin 2010

61. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz, after: *Amalia van Solms as a widow with a skull on a column*

1647, after 1647  
RKD IB: 36170  
112 x 90 cm, canvas  
Coll. Graf v. Rechteren Limpurg Almelo, Huize Almelo

62. Honthorst, Gerard or Willem: *Portrait of Amalia van Solms*

1650, circa  
73.7 x 57.1 cm, panel  
Anhaltische Gemaldegalerie Dessau: 66  
Collection of Henriette Catherine; by descent to her daughter Marie Eleonore Radzivil, by descent to Amalienstiftung.

63. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., atelier: *Amalia van Solms -Braunfels in Mourning with a portrait bust of Frederik Hendrik*

- a. 1648, circa  
RKD IB: 15888  
85 x 83 cm, panel  
Gemealdegalerie Staatliche Museen: inv.1017

probably by descent from Amalia. HC 1708, Los 2, Nr 15: Zwey potraits van Damen von Honthorst in achteckigen Rahmen, 50 Thlr.; 1830 an die Museen gegeben. Die rechts unten aufgeschriebene Galerienummer 329 stammt aus der Zeit um 1700 und bezieht sich verm

Literature:

Schacht 1999

Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997

E. de Jongh, 1986

- b. Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., by or after: *Amalia van Solms with miniature of Frederik* (als 15888)

RKD IB: 70137

83 x 83 cm, canvas

Coll. Furst zu Solms Braunfels, Braunfels.:

64. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia with Frederik Hendrik and three youngest children*

- a. 1647-1650

RKD IB: 34101

263.50 x 347.50 cm, canvas

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: inv. SK-A-874 1795

Huis ten Bosch: KHA Inv. A14 XIII, Nr. 16. 1191. Een schilderije sijnde de contrefeytsels van sijne hoogheyt prins FH hooglofl memore met haere hoogheyt ende de princessen Albertina Agneta, Henriette Catherine ende Maria, alle soo groot als 't leven

Literature:

Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1969,

Tiethoff-Spliethoff, 1997

Judson and Ekkart, 1999

cat. Rijksmuseum, vol. 1, 2007

- b. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., copy after: *Amalia van Solms* (pendant)

RKD IB: 70140

Coll. von Dohna, Schloss Schlobitten:

Probably copy made for one of the daughters. In collection at Dohna since 1701

- c. possibly Jan de Baen after Van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*, 1/2 length

Previously dated ca. 1645 by Judson and Ekkart. Later date of post 1650 proposed by current author based on the similarities to (a) above, specifically the off-the-shoulder dress of Amalia and the age, dress, and collar style of Frederik Hendrik

RKD IB: 53202

145 x 166 cm, canvas

Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten: GH I 1060

Literature:

Schacht, 117

- d. atelier van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Half Length Oval portrait of Amalia van Solms – Braunfels*

appears to be modeled from the (a) above

1647, circa

RKD IB: 34104

74.30 x 59.80 cm, panel

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: SK-A-573

- e. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., atelier: *¾ length portrait of Amalia van Solms – Braunfels with an Orange Branch*

1650

RKD IB: 39808

125.2 x 102.2 cm, canvas

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: SK-A-179

- f. Houbraken, J after GvHonthorst: *portrait of Amalia van Solms in an oval surrounded by allegories*

1753

RKD IB: 2005414

33.5 x 21.5 cm, print

Instituut Collectie Nederland: inv AB484

altered copy after prototype above

65. van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Amalia van Solms with a skull*

RKD IB: 65541

101 x 88 cm, canvas

private collection:

Literature:

Judson and Ekkart, 1999. Cat. 296.

66. Van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz.: *Miniature portrait of Amalia van Solms*.  
Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, inv. dubbel-  
TN/014[1]

67. Van Honthorst, Gerard Hermansz., school of: *Amalia van Solms in front of Turnhout*  
RKD IB: 69090  
233 x 190 cm,  
Turnhout Stadhuis:  
Literature:  
Kok, 2009

Prints after Honthorst:

68. G Hondhorst Pinxit, P Soutman Inven. Effigiauuit et Excud Cum Privil., I Suiderhoef Sculp.:  
*Amalia van Solms*  
print  
a. Before the number (acc to Wussin and Dutuit  
b. Numbered bottom and center, Amsterdam, etc.  
c. Reworked: parallel shading in parting of the hair and on shaded zone of Neck above  
necklace. Copenhagen, Vienna.  
Literature:  
Hollstein,  
Barrett 2009

69. after van Honthorst, Gerard. Visscher, C: *Amalia van Solms*  
1649  
42.2 x 30.9 cm, print  
Part of a print series by Visscher also including Albertine Agnes, Johan van  
Brederode, Louisa Christina van Brederode, Frederik Hendrik, Frederik Willem  
Brandenburg, Henriette Catherine, Johan Maurice, Charles II, Charles Louis  
Palatine, Louise of Nassau, Mary Stuart, Marry of Orange, Adraen Pauw and  
Willem

70. after van Honthorst, Gerard. Lieuwse, Hendrik. *Amelia de Solms* (bust in oval with text)  
1641  
Rijksprentenkabinet  
(Goudswaard)

71. De Hooghe, Romeyn, *Vorstelijk Tafereel*.

Top half of an almanac page for 1676. A portrait of the recently deceased Amalia van Solms is ensconced in the clouds at the top left.

1676

47.5 x 57.5 cm, print

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-79.311

72. Lutma, J: *Portrait Medallion of Amalia van Solms* (likely to celebrate her marriage)

a. RKD IB: 115062

11.5 cm in diameter, bronzed lead coin

Christie's Amsterdam 1999:

Literature:

Frederiks, 1943.

b. 1626

RKD IB: 62260

Commemorative coin

Coll. Gemeente Museum 's Gravenhage; Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (NG-VG-1-4361)

c. Anon : *Travelling desk in honor of Amalia van Solms*.

Case of desk incorporates Lutma's portrait medallion of Amalia; clearly made after her widowhood based on interior decoration, which illustrates the story of the classical widow Artemisia and includes a poem on the virtuous widow.

1660, circa

desk

sold, Christie's, June 2007.

73. van Mierevelt, Michiel: *Amalia van Solms (probably) before her wedding*. Half length portrait with wide, high lace collar. Dated by the wearing of beaded decoration rather than pearls. She wears a feathered pouf in her hair rather than the pearled poinçon to be found in later portraits.

a. 1624, circa

RKD IB: 70129

64 x 59 cm, canvas

Braunfels Castle, Hessen

Literature:

Spliethoff 1997

- b. n.d.  
 RKD IB: 53075  
 64 x 49 cm, canvas  
 Coll. Viscount Cobham:
- c. 1624-1625, circa  
*Portrait of a woman*, previously identified as Elizabeth Stuart.  
 64.5 x 48.5 cm  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris: M.I. 806  
 Donation Charles Sauvageot 1856.  
 Tentatively identified as Amalia van Solms by current author based on similarities to examples above, particularly the beads and hair accessories.

74. Mierevelt, Michiel van: *Amalia van Solms after her marriage*

- a. 1625,circa  
 RKD IB: 111387  
 panel  
 Paleis het Loo, Nationaal Museum
- b. After van Mierevelt, Michiel: *bust of Amalia van Solms*  
 1625,circa  
 RKD IB: 74165  
 Private Collection: Marquess of Lothian, Melbourne Hall
- c. Van Mierevelt, Michiel (copy after).  
 61.7 x 46.5 cm, Panel.  
 Slot Zuylen, inv. S 144, pendant.
- d. van Mierevelt, Michiel, after: *Amalia van Solms*  
 RKD IB: 70146  
 64 x 49 cm, panel  
 Musee Crozatier, Le Puy-en-Velay (FR):  
 Previously collection countess d'Agrain; given to the museum in 1834.  
 Literature:  
 Vibert,1872  
 Musée Crozatier 1982
- e. van Mierevelt, Michiel, after: *portrait of Amalia van Solms*, oval  
 RKD IB: 43074

Huis ten Bosch: Blue Salon No. 83

- f. van Mierevelt, Michiel, copy after: *portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
RKD IB: 53760  
62 x 46 cm, panel  
G.O. Peyron, Stockholm, 1915
- g. van Mierevelt, Michiel (hand written note): *3/4 length portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
RKD IB: 41759
- h. school of van Mierevelt, Michiel: *oval bust portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
1626  
RKD IB: 70127  
26 x 21 cm  
Delft, Sted. Mus. het Prinsenhof.  
Jansen, Ekkart and Verhave, 2011
- i. van Mierevelt, Michiel, after: *bust of Amalia van Solms*  
1625,circa  
RKD IB: 70128  
37.5 x 31.25 cm,  
Coll. Dowdeswell
- j. van Mierevelt, Michiel, after. *Bust of Amalia van Solms*  
ca. 1630  
Hermitage, St. Petersburg, inv. GE 2890
75. after van Mierevelt, Michiel: *Bust of Amalia van Solms*  
1625,circa  
RKD IB: 33559  
25 x 19 cm, panel  
Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje Nassau, Den Haag, on  
loan to Paleis het Loo, Nationaal Museum: inv.PL 232
76. van Mierevelt, Michiel, after: *Bust length portrait of Amalia van Solms* with pendant in  
circle of flowers. Variant of previous entry. Amalia wears the same distinctive brooch and a  
simplified version of the pearled poincon.  
RKD IB: 76664

29 x 22 cm, panel

Coll. Vgl. V. Marle & Bignell, Den Haag: 11-19-1979

77. van Mierevelt, Michiel. *Miniature portrait bust of Amalia van Solms* in an oval.

a. 1626

29 x 21 cm

Stichting Historische Verzameling van het Huis Oranje Nassau, Den Haag:  
SC/0015

b. van Mierevelt, Michiel, By or after: *Miniature portrait of Amalia van Solms* with pendant

RKD IB: 63642

10.5 x 18 cm,

Formerly Verz H Leroux, Versailles 1952. Sold Brouot, 1968, nr. 107

c. van Mierevelt, Michiel: *miniature portrait of Amalia van Solms* with pendant

RKD IB: 53559

10.5 x 8.5 cm,

Berlin.

d. Anon. *Miniature portrait bust of Amalia van Solms*

1625-1630

12 x 9 cm

Stichting Historische Verzameling van het Huis Oranje Nassau, Den Haag:  
MI/707

78. van Mierevelt, Michiel, attributed to: *full length portrait of Amalia van Solms*

a. RKD IB: 58731

218.4 x 113 cm, canvas

private collection, Scotland

Literature:

H. Braun, 1966, (incorrectly attributed to van Honthorst)

M. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, 1997

Spliethoff, 2007

b. Van Mierevelt, Michiel; studio. *Oval bust length portrait of Amalia van Solms*

Derived from same model as above.

1629, circa

RKD IB: 72168

37.25 x 26.875 cm

Coll. Holborne of Menstrie Mus. Bath, Somerset.

79. van Mierevelt, Michiel, or atelier: *3/4 length portrait of Amalia van Solms*

Shown standing in front of a green draped table and a column

a. 1631

RKD IB: 63397

115 x 90, panel

Provenance: Raadhuis, Den Haag, from 1634; Haags Gemeentemuseum, Den Haag, 1871; Haags Historisch Museum, Den Haag, 1991.

Literature:

Knuttel, 1935

Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997;

Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave. 2011.

b. 1632

Van Mierevelt, Atelier of.

(Probably) *3/4 length portrait of Amalia van Solms*. Ordered by and delivered to the burgomasters of Delft.

Jansen, Ekkart, and Verhave 2011

c. van Mierevelt, Michiel, copy after: *half length portrait of Amalia van Solms*

While derived from the same prototype as above and sharing details of dress, hair and jewelry, the background is here replaced with a flat monochrome.

RKD IB: 117449

67.10 x 57.90 cm, panel

Christie's Amsterdam 2001: lot 18

d. van Mierevelt, Michiel or de Geest, Wybrandt. copy after: *Half length portrait of Amalia van Solms*

As above, shares details of dress and jewelry but has monochrome background. Also seemingly by a notably different hand.

RKD IB: 53330

65 x 57 cm, panel

dr. A E C de Vries, Amsterdam:

e. by or after van Mierevelt, Michiel: *Half length portrait of Amalia van Solms*

from prototype above sharing jewelry, hair, and dress, but with flat background.

1632, circa

RKD IB: 74164

Auction Fievez, Brussel, 1935. Kunsth. Hoogsteder Den Haag 1990

- f. van Mierevelt, Michiel or de Geest, Wijbrand: Half length portrait of Amalia van Solms  
Compare to Mierevelt/de Geest above  
1655,  
RKD IB: 34097  
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: 960
- g. van de Venne, A. or M. Mierevelt: Half-length *portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
either in extremely bad condition or unfinished; it shares with the prototype a  
general composition, facial type and pearl swag.  
1626-1629  
RKD IB: 18613  
41.5 x 32 cm, grisaille  
Coll. J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam.
- h. atelier van Mierevelt, Michiel: *Half length portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
Seemingly derived from same prototype, though strikingly divergent in details.  
Though the lace collar is of the same shape, it is of radically different type of  
lace, with long, empty curved lobes in place of the small and intricate lace of the  
prototype. The dress similarly, though cut on the same lines, diverges in color  
and embellishment.  
1629, circa  
RKD IB: 65502  
Coll. Vorst zu Wied, Neuwied (1972)
80. van Mierevelt, Michiel.: *Bust of Amalia van Solms in a wreath of Flowers.*  
nd.  
21.5 x 17.5 cm  
Historische Collectie, Den Haag
81. van Mierevelt, Michiel, after: oval bust *portrait of Amalia van Solms*  
a. RKD IB: 53761  
35 x 30 cm, panel  
Vlg J J v. Alen, Fr. Muller, A'dam, 1910 nr 126 (as Ravesteyn)
82. after Michiel van Mierevelt: Delff, Willem Jacobsz. *Portrait Bust of Amalia* in an oval

a. 1626

RKD IB: 2005425

42.5 x 29.9 cm, engraving

Miereveld ad vivum depictam; Amalia DEI gratia Principi Arausionensium ; Comitissae Nassaviae, Meursae, Burae, Leerdami; etc. / Marchionissae Verae et Flissingae, etc. Bredae, Gravae, Diestae, etc. Dominae ac Baronissae. etc. hanc ipsius / Illustrissimae Pr: effigiem a Michaele Joh: Miereveldio ad vivum depicta, et Guilhelmo Jac: Delphio coelo hac forma / expressam, dedicant consecrantq[ue] ydem pictor ac sculptor. Cum privilegio Illustr: D.D. Ordinum General: ad annos octo An.o Dom. M.D.CXXVI.'

one copy Stichting Archief van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag, inv. PR/0219  
Literature:

Van Someren 268;

Hollstein vol. 5, p. 218, nr. 82

Tiethoff-Spliethoff, 1978, p. 91-120

Keblusek and Zijlmans 1997

b. n.d.

Delff, W. J. after M. v. Mierevelt: Amalia van Solms in 3/4 length  
print

Amalia de Solms D G Principi Arusionensium Comitissa Nassavia. Meursa. Bura. Leerdami etc. Marchionissa Vera et Flissinga, etc. Brea Gravea Diesta etc Domina ac Baronissa ec hanc. Ipsius illustrissima P effigiem a Michaele John Miereveldio ad vivum depicta

83. after M. van Mierevelt: Delff, W. J. Bust of Amalia van Solms in an oval

1629

42.1 x 29.8 cm, print

Amalia, etc.....Guilhelmo Jac Delphio coelo hac forma expressam dedicant consecrant ydem pictor c sculptor. Com privilargio Illustr. D D Ordinum General a annas octo An Dom CIC IC C xxix

Literature:

Hollstein. According to Hollstein, there were three different states: one with a round brooch, one square, one pointed.

84. After van Mierevelt, Michiel. Delff, Willem Jansz., Martinus Geraerdus Excudebat.

*Amalia van Solms in 3/4 length*

n.d.

RKD IB: rep 32143

Amalia de Solms D G Principi Arusionensium Comitissa Nassavia. Meursa. Bura. Leerdami etc. Marchionissa Vera et Flissinga, etc. Brea Gravea Diesta etc Domina ac Baronissa ec hanc. Ipsius illustrissima P effigem a michaele John Miereveldio ad vivum depictam. Martinus Geraerdus excudebat.

85. after van Mierevelt, Michiel: Visscher, C.J.: portrait of Amalia van Solms

RKD IB: 2011953

19.2 x 12.7 cm, print

86. after van Mierevelt, Michiel: Portrait Tile of Amalia van Solms

RKD IB: 121003

aardewerk

Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels:

87. Mijtens, Jan. Marriage of Louise Henriette van Oranje and the keurvorst of Brandenburg.

a. 1646

Canvas: 58 x 74 cm

Musee des Beaux Artes, Rennes

b. 1646

Canvas: 58 x 74 cm

Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag

c. Copy after Mijtens

n.d.

location unknown. Previously in the collection of Hauses Hohenzollern.

Hohenzollernmuseum, Schloss Monbijou until 1932.

88. Mijtens, Johannes: Amalia van Solms as a widow, seated and  $\frac{3}{4}$  length

a. 1650-1675

RKD IB: 33560

110.5 x 82.5 cm, canvas

Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag, on

loan to Paleis het Loo, Nationaal Museum: SC/0368

b. Location unknown.

Canvas, 121 x 95 cm

Probably destroyed, World War II

Previously of Königsberger Schloss

- c. Copy after Mijtens  
Canvas, 104 x 89 cm  
Schloss Oranienburg (Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Garten Berlin-Brandenburg, Inv. Nr. GK I 7365/GK I 30 368)
  - d. Copy after Mijtens  
Canvas, 109 x 87.5 cm  
Leeuwarden, Fries Museum. Inv. Nr. S 146  
Previously attributed to Jan de Baen
  - e. Copy after Mijtens  
Canvas, 109 x 87.5 cm  
Weimar, Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen Schlossmuseum  
Inv. Nr. G 1635  
Possibly from collection of Albertine Agnes of Nassau-Dietz
  - f. Copy after Mijtens  
Canvas, 140 x 113 cm  
Weimar, Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen Schlossmuseum  
Inv. Nr. G 225
89. Moninx, Johannes: Amalia van Solms bij de geneeskrachtige bronnen te Spa in 1630.  
Ca. 1630.  
Panel: 29.4 x 42.4 cm  
Anhaltische Gemaldegalerie, Georgium, Dessau
90. Moreelse, Paulus, style of: portrait fan of Amalia van Solms  
RKD IB: 64022  
Fan (pendant of fan with portrait of Frederik Hendrik)  
Coll. Felix Tal, Ztent. Waaiercoll. Gem. Mus. Utrecht, 1967.: Inv. No. r 8 afb 1
91. Netscher, Caspar, att: Amalia van Solms with a Skull
- a. 1671,  
RKD IB: 211086  
69.5 x 55 cm, canvas  
Staatliche Galerie Schloss Dessau, Dessau (Saksen-Anhalt); presumed destroyed  
in 20th c.: inv.nr. 1205  
Literature:

Wieseman 2002, p. 320-321, nr. B 15

- b. Netscher, Caspar, att: Portrait of Amalia van Solms with an hourglass  
1671  
RKB IB: 10666  
58 x 49 cm, canvas  
Presumed lost during 20th century:  
Previously Berlin.
  
- c. Netscher, Caspar, after: Amalia van Solms with a Skull  
1671,circa  
RKD IB: 211087  
63 x 43 cm, canvas  
Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, Den Haag  
Literature:  
Wieseman 2002, p. 321
  
- d. Netscher, Caspar, att: Portrait of Amalia van Solms with an hourglass  
1671,circa  
68 x 55 cm, canvas  
Private Collection A. Tarnowski (1930's), Sofia, Bulgaria:

92. Osborn, John after J. Lutma: Bust portrait of Amalia van Solms  
1626  
20.3 x 16.7 cm, carved baleen plaque  
Amsterdam Historical Museum: (inv KA 12614). Known examples also in  
British Museum, London  
Literature:  
Dreier, 1968.

93. van der Passe II, Crispijn: Amalia van Solms in Full Length with an Orange Tree and  
placards.  
nd.  
(Goudswaard)

94. van de Passe II, Crispijn: Veroveringen van den Bosch en Wezel  
1629-30  
RKD IB: 2008336  
26.4 x 20.2 cm, etching

Wiesbaden, Sammlung Nassauischer Altertümer: Inv. Friedrich Heinrich 221  
name of Johannes Meysens has been removed but still faintly visible

Literature:

Onder den Oranje Boom 1999, 124

Hollstein 16 (1974).

Splithoff, 2007.

95. van de Passe II, Crispijn: Zinneprent on the “verovering” of ‘s Hertogenbosch.

1629.

Engraving: 37 x 14.5 cm

(Goudswaard)

96. van de Passe II, Crispijn: Almanac for the year 1630, with an Allegory of the capture of Den Bosch

Almanac page which includes portrait medallions of Frederik and Eliabeth van der Palts, Frederik Hendrik of Orange- Nassau and Amalia van Solms, and Ernst Casimir and Sophia of Nassau below a scene of victory being handed to Frederik Hendrik

1630

54.6 x 37.5 cm,

Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam

Literature:

Kolfin 2007

97. van de Passe II, Crispijn: Orania P.O, in “Les Vrais Pourtraits de quelques unes des plus grandes Dames de la Christianite”

1640

Book illustration

98. de Passe de Oude, Crispijn: Amalia van Solms in lettered oval with allegorical framing before 1637

27.1 x 20.2 cm, print

based on a Mierevelt portrait, same frame is seen in prints of Frederik Hendrik and Maurice of Hessen.

Literature:

Hollstein nr. 676

99. Persijn, Reinier A. Fr. Beusecom publisher.: Marriage of Willem II and Maria Stuart

a. 1641

Engraving: 36.3 x 47.3 cm  
Includes 12 lines of Latin verse  
FM 1833A

b. 1641

Engraving: 36.3 x 47.3cm  
Variant of a. with turned heads

c. 1651

Engraving: 27.7 x 37.7 cm

d. 1652

Engraving, 27.7 x 37.7 cm

e. n.d.

engraving  
includes a poem by J. Soet.

100. van Poelenburch, Cornelis: Amaryllis Crowning Mirtillo, possibly watched by Amalia van Solms

Ca. 1635  
Painting (canvas)  
Gemaldegalerie Berlin  
Literature:  
Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren 1997

101. Post, Pieter. *Begraeffenisse van Syne Hoocht, Frederick Hendrick....*

Title page to one edition of the print series on the death of Frederik Hendrik.  
Includes oval portraits of both Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms, derived from 1626 W. J. Delff print.

1647-1651  
53.5 x 64 cm: Print  
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam inv. RP-P-OB-67.976

102. van Queborn, Crispijn: portrait of Amalia van Solms

RKD IB: 2011956  
print  
Literature:  
Hollstein 17, nr. 12

103. van Queborn, Crispin sculp, S Kloeting exc Delft: half length portrait of Amalia van Solms  
1643  
RKD IB: 2005422  
25.3 x 17.8 cm, engraving  
Possibly After Honthorst double portrait with changes in hair and face; contains motto in border: Wat Sal ic Den Heere. Vergelde. Ao MDCXLIII; 'AMELIA DE SOLMS BY DER GRATIE GODTS / PRINCESSE VAN ORAENGIEN, GRAVINNE VAN NASSAU MEURS, / BUEREN, LEERDAM, &c MARQUIZE VAN VERE EN VLISSINGEN, &c. / BARONESSE VAN BREDA, GRAVE, DIEST, &c GEMALINNE VAN / SYN HOOCHHEYDT DEN PRINCE VAN ORAENGIEN, &c.'  
Literature:  
Not in Sommeren or Muller  
Hollstein 17 (1976), p 254, nr. 11
104. van Ravesteyn, Jan Antonisz.: Bust of Amalia van Solms in an octagon  
25.0 x 19.0 cm  
Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau: SC/0365
105. van Ravesteyn, Jan Antonisz. , school: Amalia van Solms  
RKD IB: 117740  
33 x 30 cm, panel  
Previously coll. Lord Croft, Croft Castle; sold Sotheby's, 2002.  
Literature:  
Sale catalog, London (Sotheby's) 11-7-2002
106. van Ravesteyn, Jan Antonisz, after.: Amalia van Solms, half length (att).  
nd.  
RKD IB: 32859  
Coll. Van Limburg Stirum, Noordwijck
107. van Ravesteyn, Jan Antonisz., school of.: Bust of Amalia van Solms  
nd.  
41 x 36 cm  
Gal. Nostitz, Prague.
108. van Rijn, Rembrandt H.: Amalia van Solms in profile

1632  
RKD IB: 30430  
64 x 51 cm, canvas  
Musee Jacquemart-Andre, Paris: inv. 172  
Literature:  
Staring 1953, 21  
Gerson 1969, 244-248  
Gerson/Bredius 1969, 261 and 555  
Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren 1997, 134

109. Visscher, Corn Sculpsit P. Soutman dirigente.: FREDERICVS HENRICVS  
ILLVSTRISSIMVS ORANGIAE PRINCEPS ac Nassaviae Comes &c. cvm nobilissima  
uxore sva Amelia, nata Comitissa de Solms, nec non et omnes Proles eivs ex eadem  
progenerate, cvm dvadvs matrimonio conivncti. Omnes aeri incisi, avctore ac direct  
a. First state 1649  
print/book  
As Described, Amsterdam, Brussels, Cambridge, Coburg, Copenhagen, Frankfurt,  
London, Madrid, Paris, Rotterdam, Vienna.
- b. Second State: Date removed from Privilege, Soutman's address removed and  
Replaced by Iohannes de Rm excudit  
Literature:  
Hollstein
110. Thulden, Theodoor van: Sketch for Allegory of Amalia as founder of the Dynasty  
1660,circa  
RKD IB:  
17 x 22.5 cm, sketch  
Bergues, Musee Municipal: inv 265  
Literature:  
Gaehtgens 1999  
Le Roy 1991  
Vermet 1991
111. Thulden, Theodoor van: Willem III leaves his grandmother to serve the state  
1661,  
115 x98 cm, oil sketch  
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: inv A4654

112. Thulden, Theodoor van: Willem III Takes his leave of Amalia van Solms  
1661, circa  
RKD IB:  
16.5 x 20.7, sketch  
Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina: inv 8244
113. Van de Venne, Adriaen: The King and Queen of Bohemia  
(Prince Frederik Hendrik and Amalia ride behind)  
1626  
154.5 x 191 mm, grisaille  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
114. van de Venne, Adriaen: Album  
1625  
drawing  
British Museum, London
- a. The King and Queen of Bohemia riding with Prince and Princess of Orange and Retinue  
Folio 12
  - b. The Prince of Orange (Blonde figure in carriage possibly identified as Amalia van Solms)  
Folio 13
  - c. Four Women and a Dog (blonde on right identified as Amalia van Solms by Martin Royalton-Kitsch)  
Folio 19
  - d. Winter Queen, Amalia and Frederik Hendrik playing billiards  
Folio 29  
Literature:  
Royalton-Kitsch 1988
115. Visscher, Claes Jansz: Het Wyt Beroemd Geslacht van Nassau of Orangien  
1628, circa  
RKD IB: 2008345  
27.6 x 31.5 cm, print  
Atlas van Stolck, Rotterdam:  
Text below includes identification of sitters.  
Literature:  
van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, 1997

116. Vliet, Johannes van: Amalia van Solms, 3/4 length with a fan  
1634  
22.1 x 15.7 cm, print  
copies in Cambridge, Amsterdam, London, Paris, Rotterdam, Vienna:  
companion piece; Amsterdam version inscribed P. Mariette 1661 N. 6510 very  
rare I gave for the print 1.1.6 [pounds sterling].  
Literature:  
Holstein 57
117. Vorsterman, Lucas II after Jacques van Werden: Map of Turnhout with portraits of Amalia  
van Solms, Maria of Brabant and Maria of Hungary  
1665  
39.5 x 54.5 cm, map  
Taxandriamuseum  
Literature:  
Kok 2009
118. de Wide, Frederik: t Wyt Beroemd Geslacht, etc: 15 portraits in ovals  
1653,  
Atlas van Stolk, print  
produced in Amsterdam, portraits available also in larger sizes
119. uitgever Frederik de Wit, Amsterdam: Comitatus Hollandia  
RKD IB:  
50.3 x 58.7 cm, map  
Atlas van Stolk: inv 1000

## APPENDIX B

### OWNERSHIP OF PORTRAITS OF AMALIA VAN SOLMS IN AMSTERDAM

#### INVENTORIES

Name: Pulleus, Petrus

Profession or historical notes: preacher

Date, location, type of inventory: 1629/12/05: Amsterdam WK 5073/960. goods sold by guardians of children

Description: 1 prins Hendrick, zyn princes ende prins Maurits

Value: f 3.17

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): owned portraits of House of Orange and Bohemia

Name: Gerrits, Grietje

Profession or historical notes: baker/pastry cook

Date, location, type of inventory: 1630/12/05: Amsterdam NA 568. death inventory

Description: twee contrefeijsels van Prins Henrick met sijn vrou

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): op de bovenkamer

Name: Bort, Thomas

Profession or historical notes: merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1635/01/14: Amsterdam NA 714. insolvency

Description: d'jegenwordige Prinsse ende Princesse van Orange in vergulde lysten

Value: f 3

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): op de binnekamer

Name: Vries, Hendrick de

Profession or historical notes:

Date, location, type of inventory: 1635/08/21: NA 371, fol 100 and foll. transfer of goods to his mother

Description: Prins Frederick ende syn gemael

Name: Coninx, Aert, de Oude

Profession or historical notes: goldsmith

Date, location, type of inventory: 1639/04/21: Amsterdam NA 1266. death inventory and partial division of assets

Description: twe bordekens van Prins Hendrick ende sijn gemaelen

Name: Coenen, Cornelis

Date, location, type of inventory: 1643/07/01: 1267. death inventory

Description: een contereijtsel van de gravinne van Solms

Value: 5f

Name: Steur, Jan

Profession or historical notes: Insurer, Merchant, regent

Date, location, type of inventory: 1652/02/16: Amsterdam DBK 5072/357. insolvency

Description: 2 contrefeytsels van Prins Hendrick ende de prinsesse

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de camer achter de solder

Name: Heer, Maria de

Date, location, type of inventory: 1652/05/05: NAH 152 ff 328-333, N-3362.

Description: Prince Henrick mette Prinsesse in print

Name: Leijdecker, Willem Claesz.

Profession or historical notes: cloth merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1653/05/07: Amsterdam NA 2598. death inventory

Description: een print van princess Amelie

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): had paintings of princes but print of Amalia

Name: Houten, Hans van

Date, location, type of inventory: 1660/04/22: Amsterdam DBK 5072/365. insolvency

Description: twee contrefeytsels van Prins Hendrick ende sijn vrou

Date, location, type of inventory: 1660/04/22: Amsterdam DBK 5072/365. insolvency

Description: twee contrefeytsels van Prins Hendrick ende sijn vrou

Date, location, type of inventory: 1660/04/22: Amsterdam DBK 5072/365. insolvency

Description: twee schijderijen van Prins Hendrick ende sijn vrouw  
Notes (Location, provenance, etc): in de galderij. Also has portraits of kings of Sweden and Spain, also Cardinal Richelieu

Name: Dircks, Godefriedt

Date, location, type of inventory: 1663/10/29: Amsterdam BK 5072. insolvency at request of creditors

Description: twee schilderyties 't eene van Prins Hendrick ende de selfs princes

Value: f .5

Name: Beck, Ida. Widow of otto badius.

Profession or historical notes: preacher

Date, location, type of inventory: 1670/07/12: amsterdam, 2262 A. death inventory

Description: twee conterfeijtsels van Prins Hendrick ende sijn gemalin

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de achtercamer boven het saeltge

Name: Voort, Cornelis van der

Profession or historical notes: painter

Date, location, type of inventory: 1625/05/13: WK 5073/951. auction

Description: een conterfeytsel van de Princes van Orangien

Value: 4f

Name: Sijmenss, Sijmen

Profession or historical notes: goldsmith

Date, location, type of inventory: 1629/02/02: Amsterdam 482B. death inventory

Description: twee cleijne bordekens van de Prins van Orangien ende de Princesse

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de beneden-achterkamer

Name: Peenen, Lucas van

Date, location, type of inventory: 1630/04/29: Amsterdam NA 676. possible bankruptcy

Description: een ditto [schildery] van de prinsesse

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): int voorhuys

Name: Schein, Laurens

Profession or historical notes: retail merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1632/07/24: Amsterdam NA 563A. notarial

Description: twee schildereijen van de Prins ende Princesse van Orangien

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): op te voorcamer

Name: Vries, Michel de

Date, location, type of inventory: 1634/08/04: Amsteram NA 694B. court-ordered inventory (probably for insolvent owner)

Description: 2 Prins ende Princes

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): int voorhuijs

Name: Brugman, Arent Pietersz.

Profession or historical notes: cloth/silk merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1635/01/01: Amsteram 486B. inventory taken after death of Brugman's wife in order to divide her share of the common held property between Brugman and the couple's son Pieter Brugman

Description: een slecht bortje synde vande Prins ende Princes

Name: Eijnthoven, Abraham van

Date, location, type of inventory: 1635/12/12: Amsterdam WK 5073/961. auction

Description: 1 prins ende princes 1 kartije

Value: st 16 (.5 f)

Name: Claes, Annetgen.

Profession or historical notes: Widow of Jan Willemsz Swart

Date, location, type of inventory: 1638/03/10: Amsterdam, WK 5073/962. goods sold at the request of Claes.

Description: painting, prins en prinses

Value: f 3

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): ttl art value: 39 f 19 st., Orphan Chamber auction

Name: Raephorst, Matthijs Willemsz.

Profession or historical notes: doctor in law

Date, location, type of inventory: 1638/03/13: NA 1415. death inventory

Description: noch twee kleyne prentgens van de Prins ende de Princesse met ebben lystgens

Name: Santvliet, Cornelis van

Date, location, type of inventory: 1639/02/05: Amsterdam NA 1023. inventory of objects in a room rented

Description: twee schilderyen een van de prins ende 't ander van de princes

Name: Adriaens, Cornelia

Date, location, type of inventory: 1639/05/07: NA 921. drawn up at request of court-appointed curators over the estate

Description: twee conterfeysels van de prins ende princes

Name: Gaillard, Anthoni (de jonge)

Profession or historical notes: wealthy collector

Date, location, type of inventory: 1639/12/21: NA 1598, film 1691, fol. 57-134. death inventory

Description: teeckeningen en prins en princes, gedaen met de pen, van Zeeborn

Name: Raedt, Elis de (II)

Profession or historical notes: merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1644/05/25: Amsterdam DBK 5072/360. Insolvent inventory drawn up at request of creditors

Description: 2 conterfeysels van de Prins ende Princes van Orangien

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): int voorhuys

Name: Leurens, Watse

Profession or historical notes: cloth finisher

Date, location, type of inventory: 1645/03/24: Amsterdam NA 565A. death inventory

Description: een dito [conterfeijtsel] van de princess van Orangie

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): In de binnenheert

Name: Barentsz., Christoffel

Profession or historical notes: wine distributor

Date, location, type of inventory: 1645/05/17: DBK 5072/351. insolvency

Description: 2 schilderijen synde d'prins end princes

Name: Wittekoe, Jan Cornelisz

Profession or historical notes: porcelain merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1646/12/14: Amsterdam 565A. death inventory

Description: twee kleijne bortjes van de Prince ende de Princesse

Value: f .75

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de boven achtercamer

Name: Mauritsz, Jan

Profession or historical notes: carpenter

Date, location, type of inventory: 1656/07/26: Amsterdam NA 1117. goods brought to marriage

Description: twee dito [schilderijtjes] d'oude Prins ende Princesse in een [...]hout lijst

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de camer boven de kelder keucken

Name: Nason, Cornelis

Profession or historical notes: Dyer and Wax Bleacher

Date, location, type of inventory: 1648/11/04: Gem. Ams 1812. death inventory

Description: de Prins ende Princesse

Value: 3f

Name: Asperen, Hans van

Profession or historical notes:

Date, location, type of inventory: 1649/04/29: Amsterdam, NA 1003.

Description: painting, conterfeytsel van de Princes

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): op de voorcamer, with a portrait of maurits and the prince

Name: Claessen, Wijbrandt

Profession or historical notes: carpenter

Date, location, type of inventory: 1651/04/03: 565 B fol. 7r-16r, film 6546. inventory of goods owned in common after wife's death

Description: twee ovaalties van de Printz ende Princess

Value: 4f (2 each)

Name: Weerde, Joris van

Profession or historical notes:

Date, location, type of inventory: 1652/01/25: DBK 5072/358. insolvency

Description: conterfeytsel van de princes van Orangien

Name: Leijdecker, Willem Claesz.

Profession or historical notes: cloth merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1653/05/07: Amsterdam NA 2598. death inventory

Description: een prins en een prinses met vergulde lijsten

Name: Wtenbogaert, Augustijn

Profession or historical notes: tax collector

Date, location, type of inventory: 1657/02/15: NA 1914, fol. 590 and foll.. death inventory

Description: de Prins ende Prinses

Value: 1.1

Name: Renialme, Johannes de

Profession or historical notes: art dealer

Date, location, type of inventory: 1657/06/20: NA 1919, fols 663-679. death inventory

Description: de oude prinsesse van Poelenburch

Value: 5 gulden

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de voorcamer

Date, location, type of inventory: 1657/06/20: NA 1915, fols. 663-679. death inventory

Description: een contrefeijsel van de Prinsesse van Orangien, door Van Dijck

Value: 300 gulden

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de voorcamer

Date, location, type of inventory: 1657/06/20: NA 1915, fols. 663-679. death inventory

Description: een contrefeijsel van de Prinsesse

Value: 6 gulden

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op t steene camertje

Date, location, type of inventory: 1657/06/20: NA 1915, fols. 663-679. death inventory

Description: zijnde twe stux van de Prins ende Prinsesse

Value: 10 gulden

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de tweede achtercamer

Name: Emstra (Anspera), Adam Albertsz. van

Profession or historical notes: silk merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1657/10/27: 2605, film 2546, fol. 813. death inventory

Description: 1 dito [schildedry] van een prins en princes

Name: Bosch, Davidt

Profession or historical notes: retail merchant

Date, location, type of inventory: 1658/07/02: Amsterdam 1915. death inventory

Description: 3 [corrected from 2] princen met een princes

Value: f 3

Notes (Location, provenance, etc): Op de boven-achterkamer

Name: Ruwardus, Eva

Profession or historical notes: preacher

Date, location, type of inventory: 1659/03/12: 1915 fol. 957-972, film 2129. death inventory

Description: twee cleijne ronde schilderijtjes van de Prins ende Princes

Name: Brant, Gerrit

Profession or historical notes: clockmaker

Date, location, type of inventory: 1659/05/08: 1915, fol . 978-1023, film 2129. death inventory

Description: een conterfeijtsels van een princes

Value: 5f

Name: Hals, Matthijs

Profession or historical notes: art dealer

Date, location, type of inventory: 1662/03/30: 2617 , film 2651. death inventory

Description: een prins en een princes van een onbekent meester

Name: Jansz., Albert

Profession or historical notes: water transportation, skipper

Date, location, type of inventory: 1665/04/15: 2810, fil nr. 2873. death inventory

Description: twee konterfeijtselties van de Prins ende de Princes van Oranje in achtkante ovalen

Name: Andriesz., Reynier

Profession or historical notes: leather worker

Date, location, type of inventory: 1666/02/19: 3165 fol. 698 and foll. death inventory of his wife

Description: een do. [schildery] van de Prins ende Princess

Name: Menslage, Anna, Juffr.

Profession or historical notes:

Date, location, type of inventory: 1675/06/24: 2410, fol. 102-109, film No. 2551.

prenuptial for second marriage

Description: acht bortjes met ebbe lijstjes, sijnde Princen en Princessen van de huuse van Nassau

Name: Tongeren, Elisabeth van

Profession or historical notes:

Date, location, type of inventory: 1662/07/xx: HGA Not 308 fol 315-. weduwe van

Prosard Morris, Den Haag

Description: een Prinses van Oranje

Name: Noot, Geneveva Maria van (?)

Date, location, type of inventory: 1663/5/20: HGA Not 309 fol 140-. douariere van

Philip Jacob van den Boetselaer, vrijheer van Asperen

Description: xxxxx van de Prins en Prinses van Oranje

Name: Noot, Geneveva Maria van (?)

Date, location, type of inventory: 1663/5/20: HGA Not 309 fol 140-. douariere van

Philip Jacob van den Boetselaer, vrijheer van Asperen

Description: een cleijn schilderij van een prinsessen

## FIGURES

Some figures redacted for copyright purposes. Many thanks to the National Portrait Gallery in London, the British Museum, and the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam for their permission to include the images included below.



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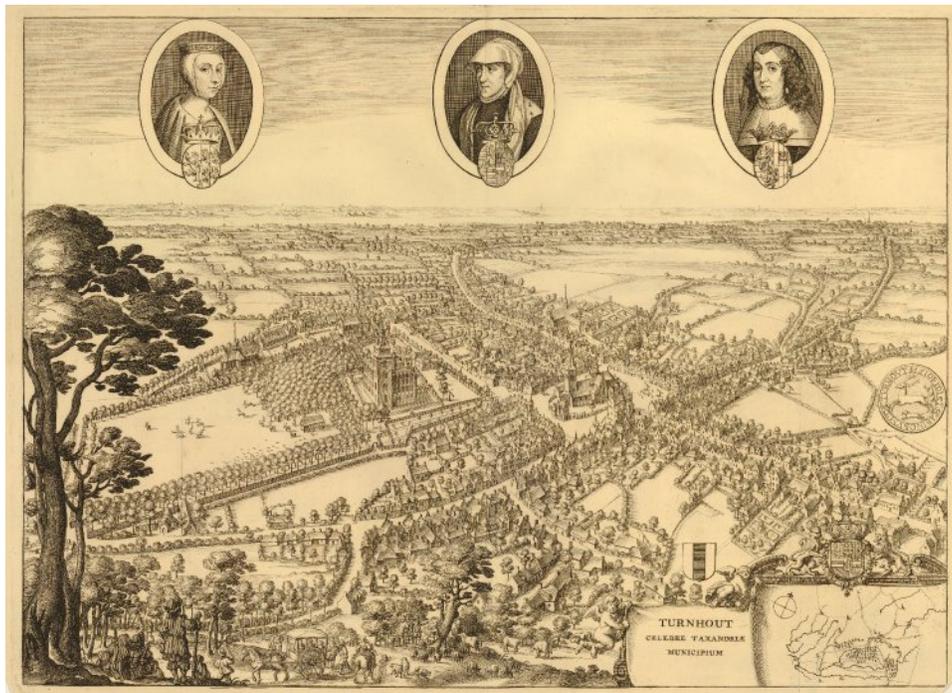
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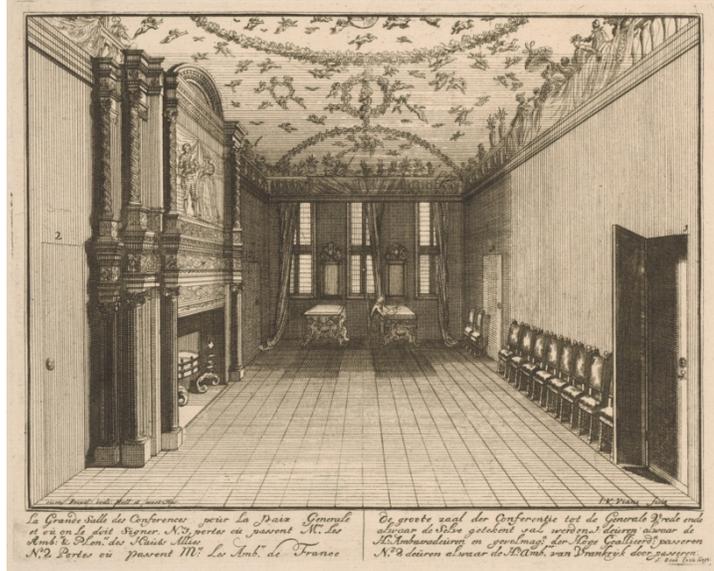
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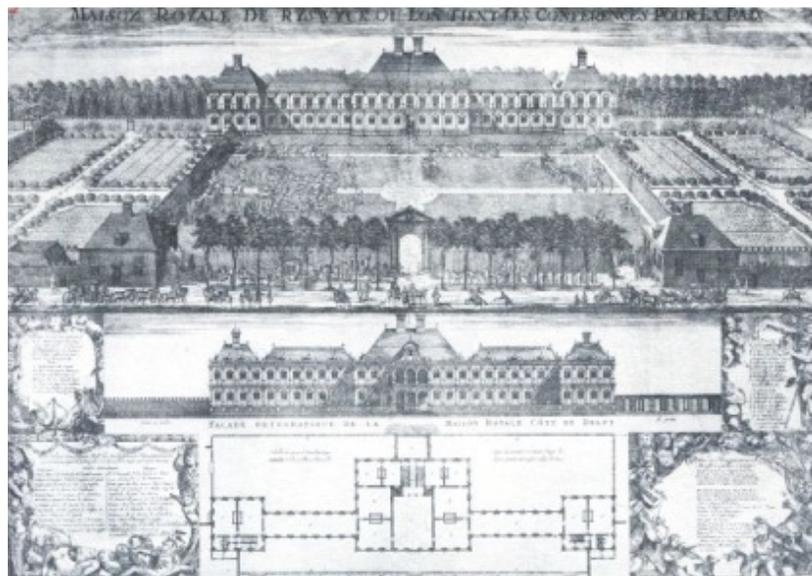
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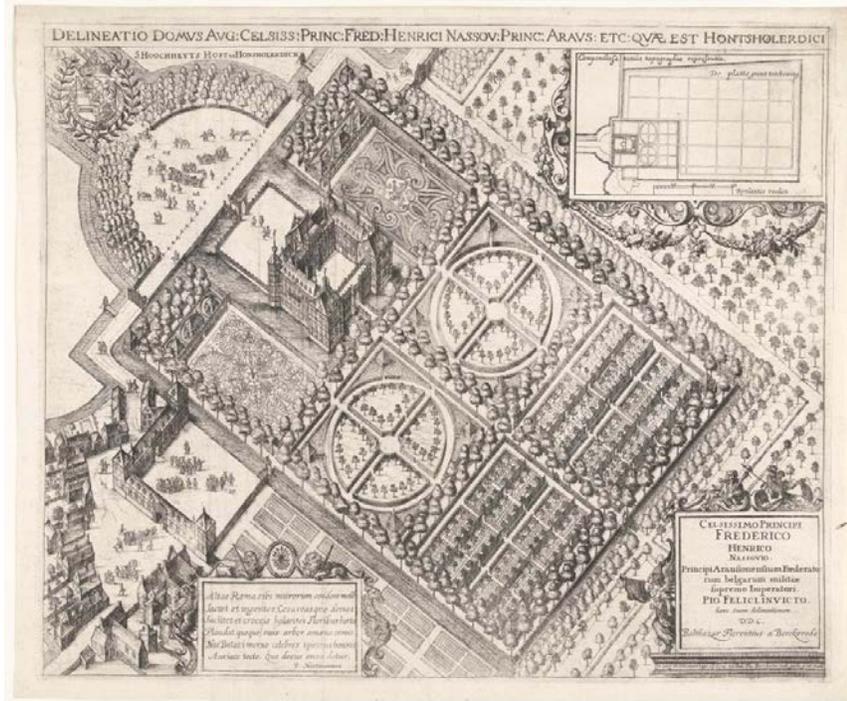
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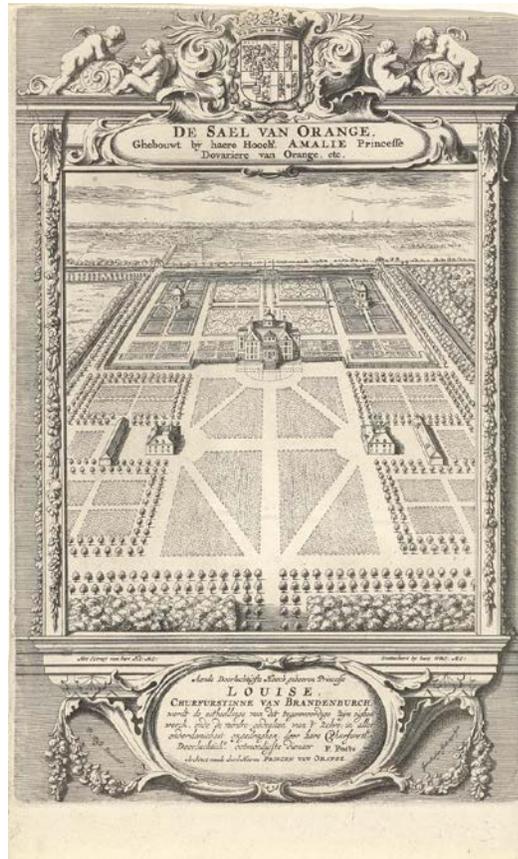
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5.6a detail of original painting of Amalia. School of Honthorst, central painting 85 x 83 cm.

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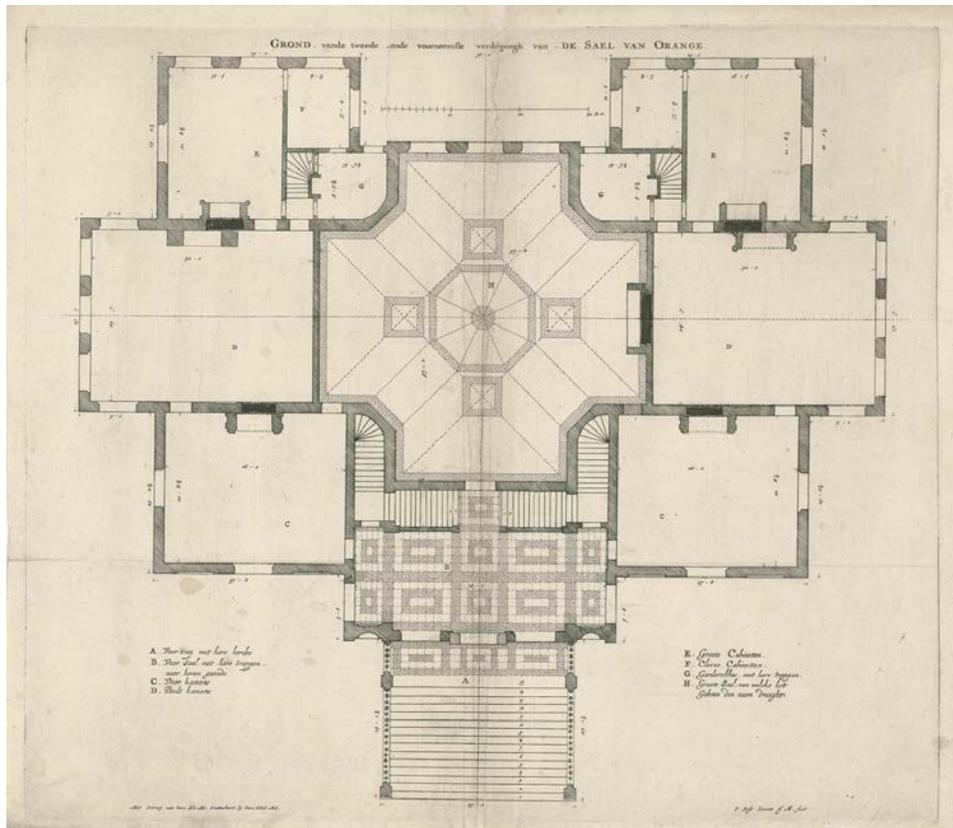
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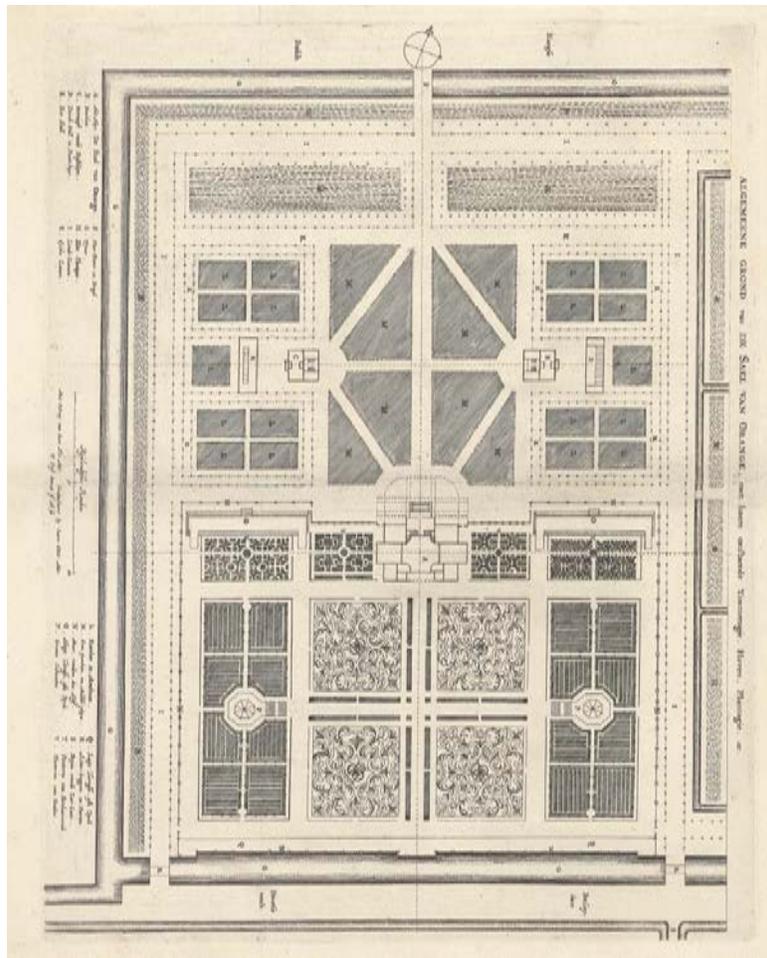
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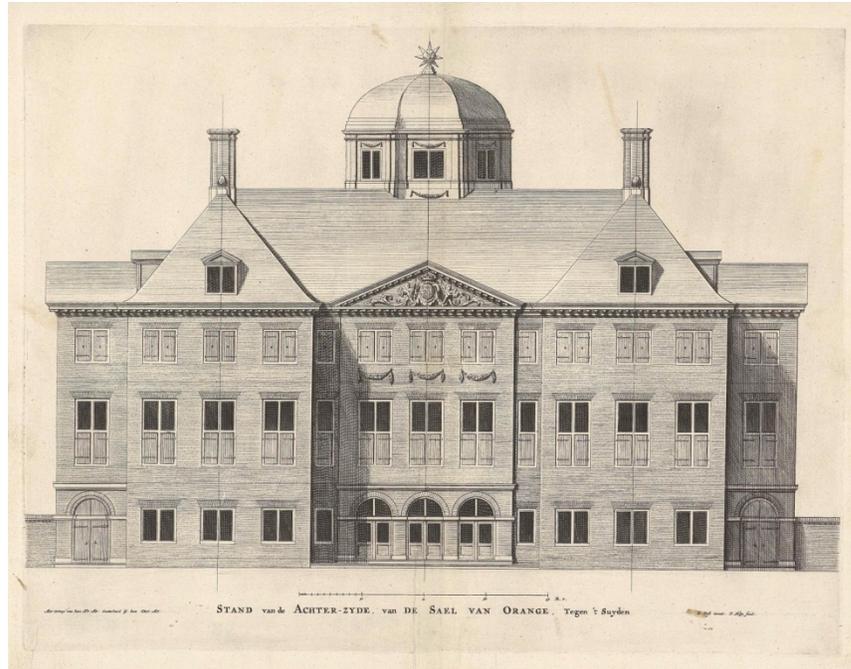
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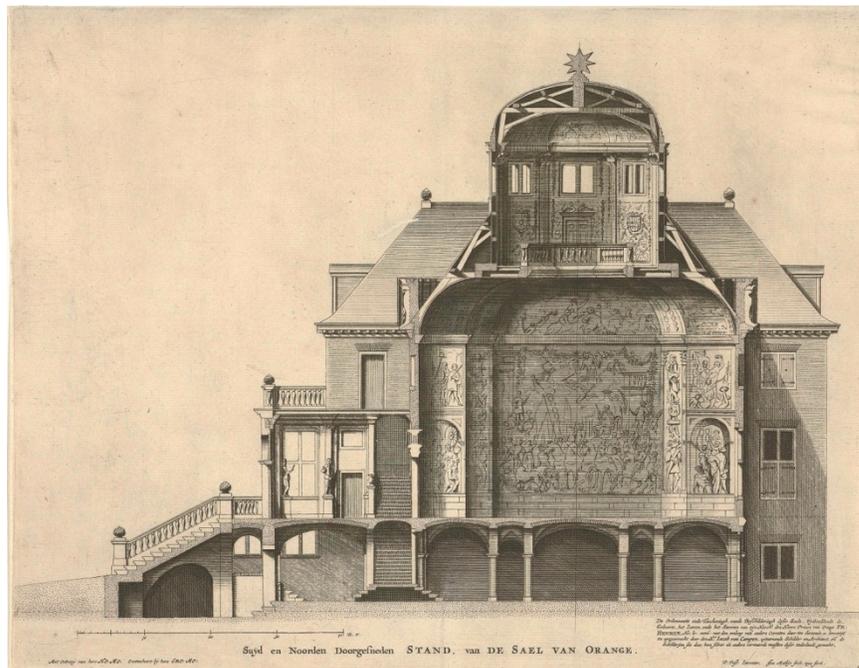
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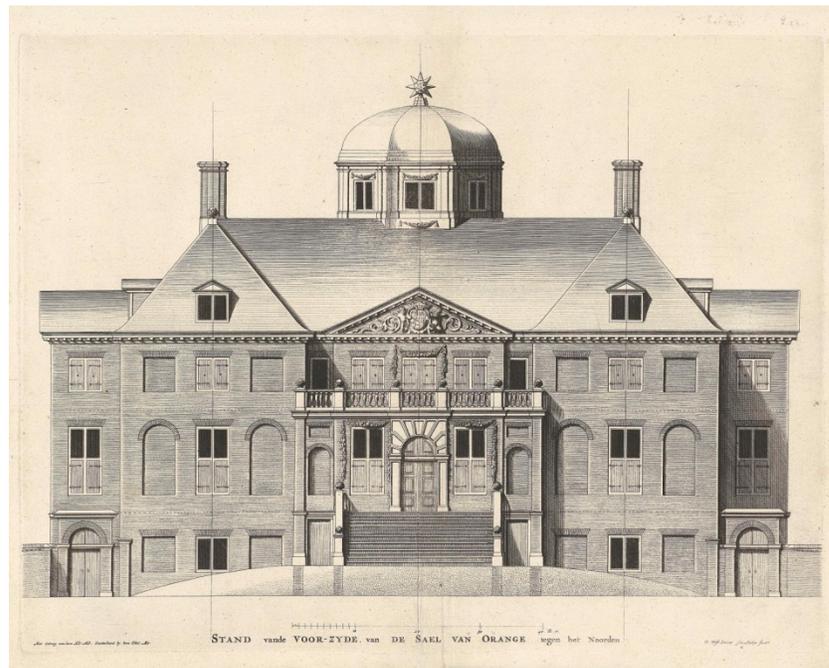
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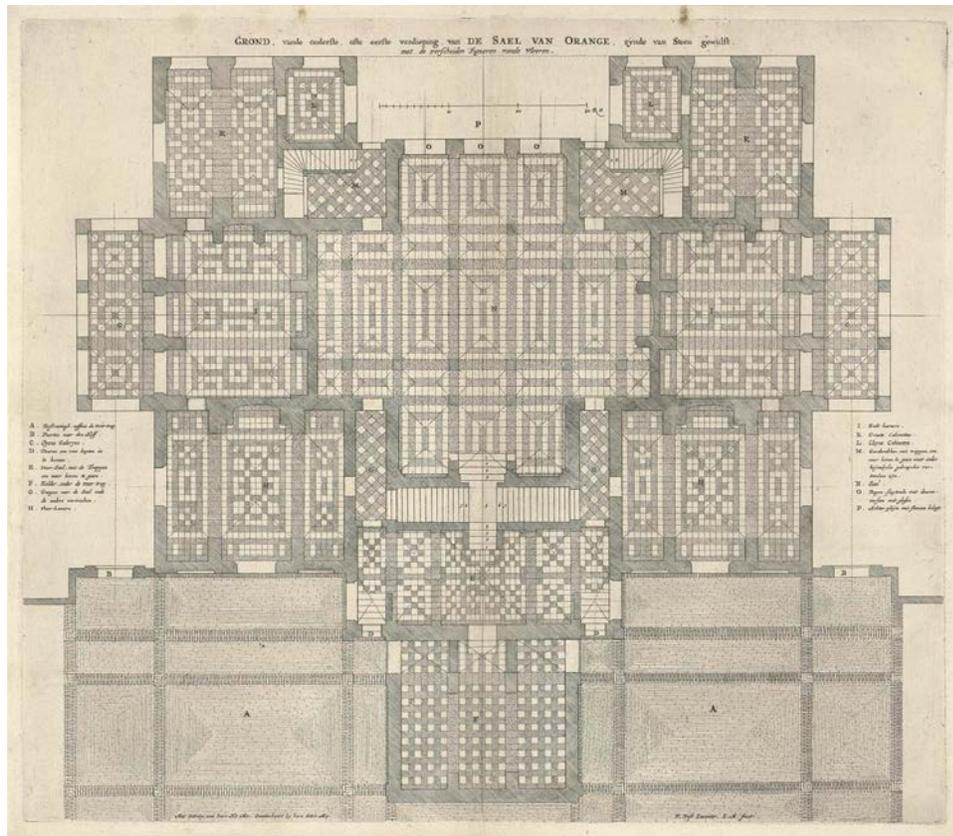
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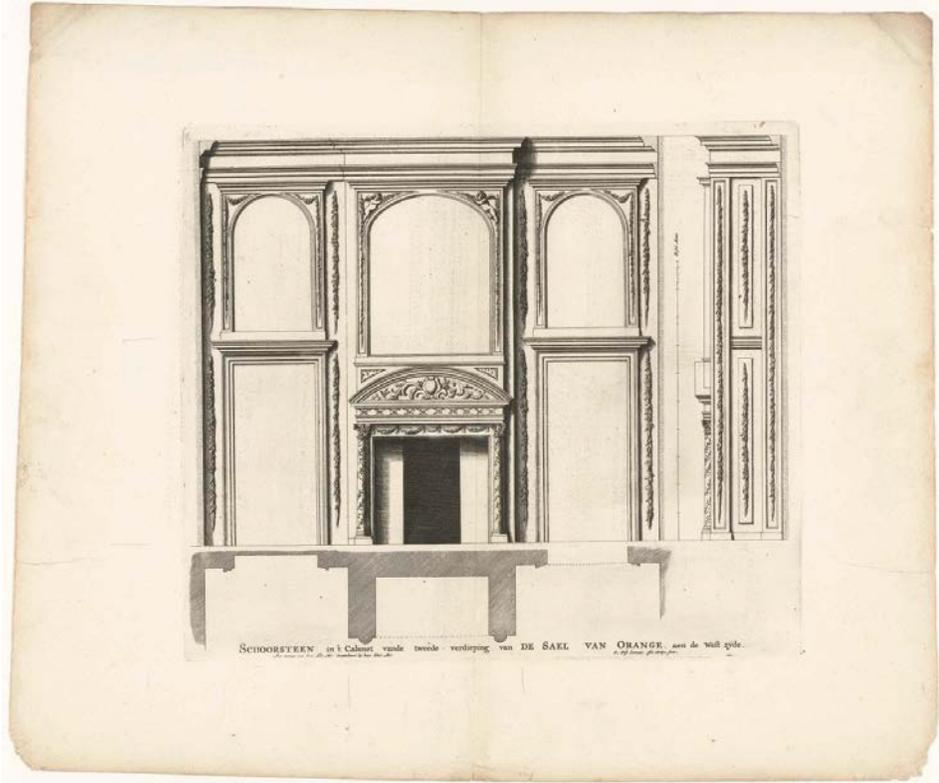
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5.25 Workshop of Peter Paul Rubens, *Annunciation.* Oil on Panel, 186 cm x 150.7 cm. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. nr. 60.



5.26 Jan Matthysz after Pieter Post. *Onderboezem in Paleis Huis ten Bosch: Schoorsteen in 't Cabinet, van de tweede verdieping van de Sael van Orange*, from *Schoorsteenwerken*. 1664. Engraving, 25 cm x 28.8 cm. Collection Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. RP-P-1913-3462

**[Image Unavailable]**

5.27 Reconstruction of the Stadhouders' Quarters at Het Binnenhof, K. Ottenheym.

**[Image Unavailable]**

5.28 Reconstructed Plan of Noordeinde after renovations, circa 1639-1647. J. J. Jehee.

**[Image Unavailable]**

5.29 Antony van Dyck, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Oil on Canvas, 215 cm x 285.5 cm. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage. Inv. nr. 539.

**[Image Unavailable]**

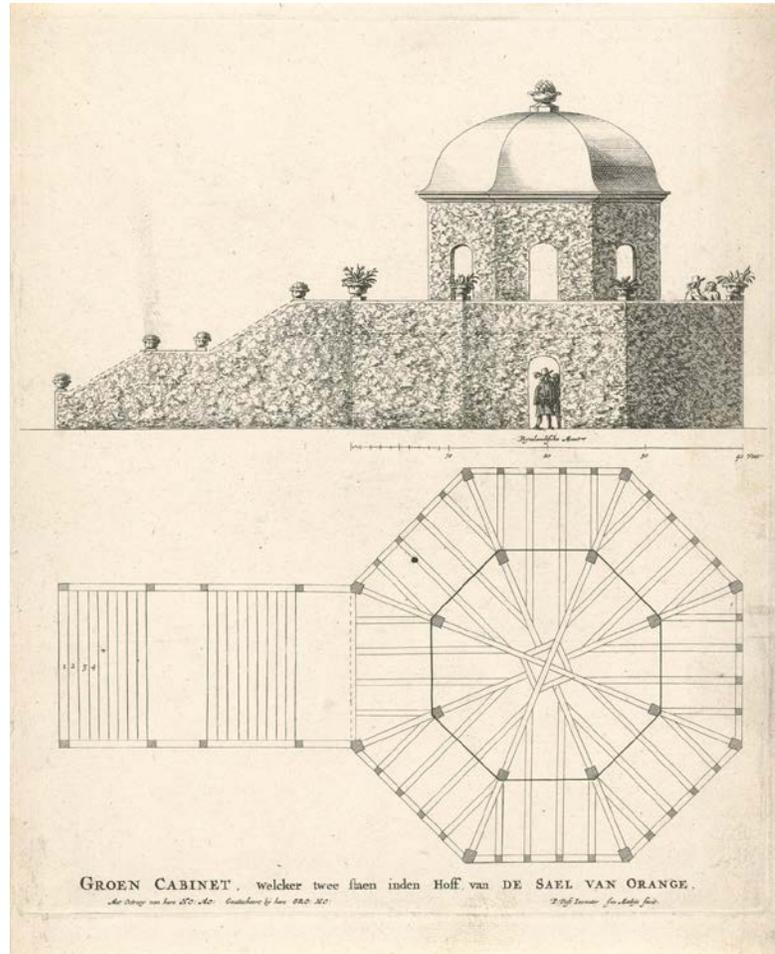
5.30 Gerard van Honthorst, *Allegory on the Marriage of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms*. Oil on Canvas, 321 cm x 756 cm, ca.1650. In situ Huis ten Bosch.

**[Image Unavailable]**

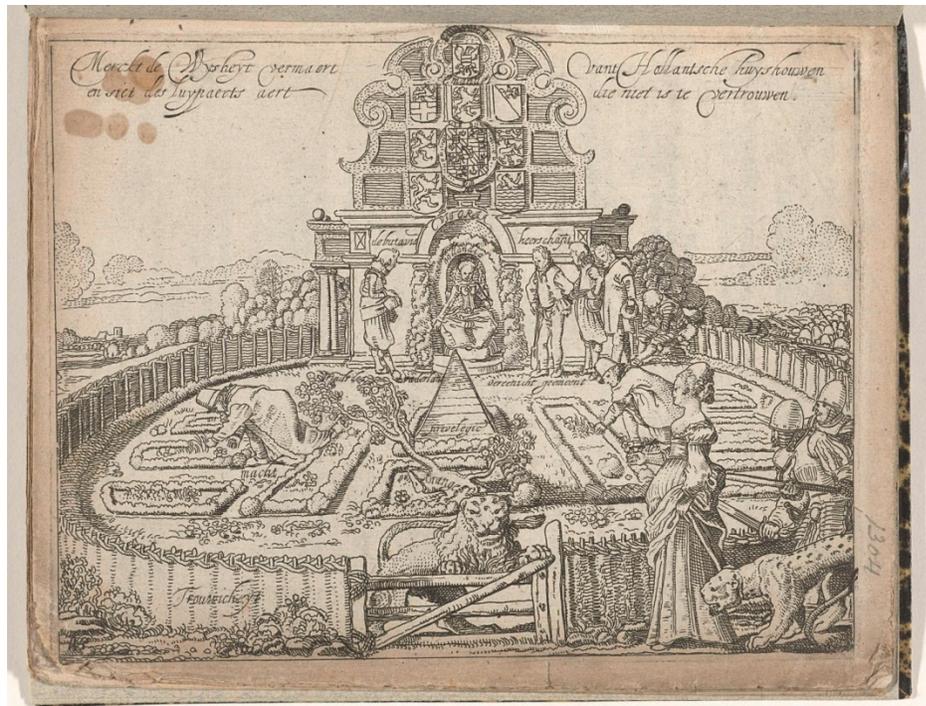
5.31 View of the windows in the Oranjezaal, Huis ten Bosch.

[Image Unavailable]

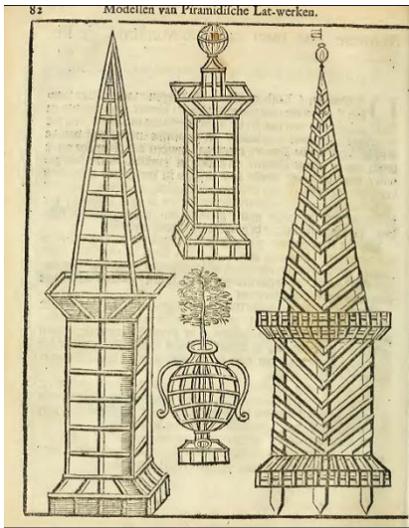
5.32 Gerard van Honthorst, *Amalia van Solms seated in a triumphal arch with her four daughters*. 1650. Oil on canvas, 382 cm x 200 cm. In situ Huis ten Bosch.



5.33 Jan Matthysz after Pieter Post. Side View and Plan of *Groen Cabinetten* at Huis ten Bosch. 1655. Etching and engraving, 268mm × 225mm. Collection Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-AO-12-96-12

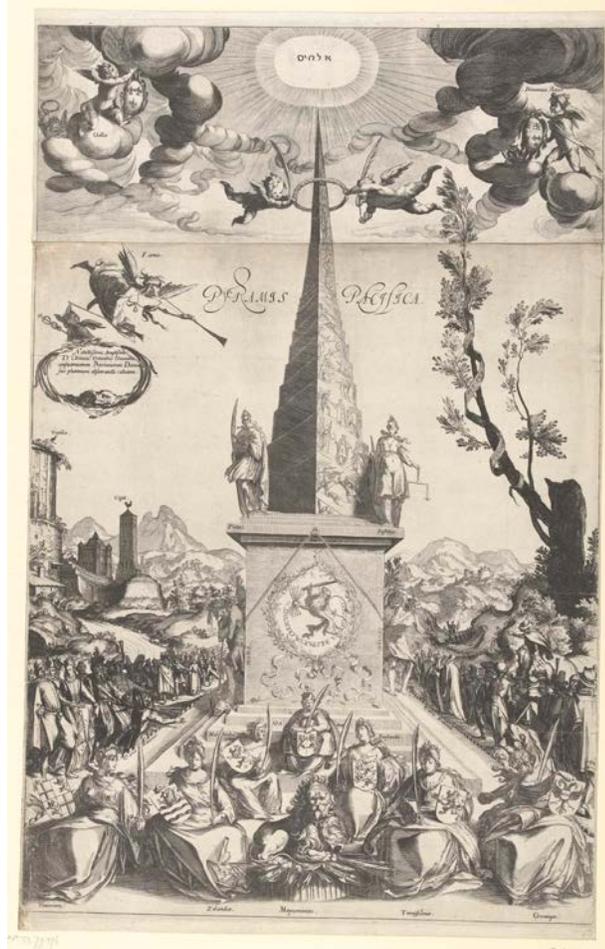


5.34 Willem Pietersz. Buytewech, Title page to *Merckt de Wysheit vermaert vant Hollantsche huyschouwen en siet des luypaerts aert die niet is te vertrouwen*. 1615. Etching with engraved text, 137mm × 176mm. Collection Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. BI-B-FM-053



5.35 Jan van der Groen, *Modellen van Piramidische Lat-Wercken*, from *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier*, 1699.

5.36 Cesare Ripa, *Gloria de prencipi*, from *Iconologia Di Cesare Ripa ...: Diuisa in Tre Libri Ne I Quali Si Esprimono Varie Imagini Di Virtù, Vitij, Passioni Humane, Affetti, Atti, Discipline, Humori, Elementi, Corpi Celesti*. Venice: appresso Nicolò Pezzana, 1669, p. 248



5.37 Simon Frisius, *Piramide van de Vrede*, 1609. Etching with engraved elements, 730mm × 463mm. Collection Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.476

**[Image Unavailable]**

5.38 Gerard van Honthorst, *Artemisia*. Oil on Canvas, 170 cm x 150 cm. New Jersey, Princeton Art Museum, Inv. nr. Y 1968-117

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#### Abbreviations:

ARA ND: Algemeen Rijksarchief, *Nassause Domeinraad*

HGA: Haagse Gemeentearchief

KHA: Koninklijke Huisarchief

#### Archival material:

*Ordonnantieboeken: Registers van ordonnanties voor de thesaurier en rentmeester generaal en rentmeesters van de prinsen van Oranje en de Domeinraad, 1637-1797.* ARA ND 992 (1637-1640) ; 993 (1641- 1 maart 1647) ; 994 (14 maart 1647 - 1650) ; 995 (1651-1657) ; 996 (1658 - 1666)

*Rekeningen van Thomas Brouiaert, thesaurier en rentmeester generaal, 1625-1633.* ARA ND 1034-1042

*Inventaris van het Stadhoudelijk Kwartier en het huis in het Noordeinde (Oude Hof) 1632.* Algemeen Rijksarchief, Nassause Domeinraad inv. no. 4680. Published in D/LS, 181-237.

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*Staet [ende inventaris van de goederen ...] van wijlen Wijbrandt Claessen. ebbenhoutwercker, gelijk hij denselven met sijn ooverleden huijsvrouwe Elsgie Hendricks staende echte in gemeenschap gepossideert heeft, ende soo vele den inboel belanght.* Gemeentearchief Amsterdam 565 B fol. 7r-16r, film 6546. Dated 1651/04/03. Montias Inventory #367

*Inventaris van de meublen ende huysraet bevonden in den boedel van Jan Steur.* Amsterdam Desolate Boedelskamer 5072/357, fol.76. Dated 1652/02/16. Montias Inventory #1116.

*Inventaris ende specificatie van alle de meuble goederen so en sulcx de selve by sal. Willem Claesz. Leijdecker, knecht van de huijsarmen van de oude sijde, metter dood dese werelt ontruijmt ende in de oude sijts huijs sittenturfhuijs gestaen bij de St. Anthonispoort binnen deser stede bevonden sijn.* Amsterdam NA 2498, film 2550. dated 1653/05/07. Montias Inventory #1171.

*Inventaris van alle de goederen ende effecten van wijlen Johannes de Renialme, in zijn leven coopman binnen de selfde stadt, soo ende sulcx die bij hem metter doot ontruijmt ende in zijn sterffhuys bevonden sijn.* Amsterdam NA 1915, fols. 663-679. dated 1657/06/20. Montias Inventory #180.

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*Inventaris van alle de ghoederen ..... van wijlen Adam Albertsz. van Emstra (Anspera) in sijn*

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