

Knowledge and practice pictured in the artist's studio

The 'art lover' in the seventeenth-century Netherlands

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Abstract

This article examines the long overlooked representation of the 'art lover', or *liefhebber*, in the artist's studio in the seventeenth-century Netherlands and the ways in which the *liefhebber's* image coalesced with a larger cultural discourse of connoisseurship, amateurship, and artistic practice. It situates these images in the iconographic tradition of the Flemish collector's cabinet, and demonstrates how the values inherent to the *konstkamer* became part of the visual language and meaning of the studio visit. Drawing academies, manuals, and art theoretical treatises reshaped the role of the art lover in and outside of the studio, ennobling artist and art lover alike. In this way, Dutch and Flemish artists, such as Pieter Codde, Frans van Mieris and Michael Sweerts, 'pictured' a new form of artistic knowledge and modernized an iconographic tradition.

Keywords: art lovers, *konstkamer* paintings, artists' studios, connoisseurship, amateur, Flemish, Dutch

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The 'lover of art', or *liefhebber*, was a well-recognized figure in the artistic culture of the seventeenth-century Netherlands, functioning as a patron, collector, connoisseur, and an amateur practitioner of the arts. The *liefhebber's* representation in the artist's studio developed from the Flemish pictorial tradition of the art lover in the *konstkamer*, or collector's cabinet, where his elite social status, intellectual values, and knowledge of art were put on display.¹ In the privileged space of the studio, however, artists shifted the focus and meaning of the *liefhebber's* interests to the making of art.² In these works, knowledge passed between the artist and the art lover, gained through the direct familiarity with the artist's working methods and practice, and through the contents of the studio itself. The subject reflected the value placed in artistic practice, but as this article argues, it also intersected with developments in the *liefhebber's* own practice of art, which became increasingly relevant and attainable in the middle decades of the

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1 For the subject of the *liefhebber* in the collector's cabinet, see S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels 1957; Z. Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*, Princeton 1987; A. Scarpa Sonino, *Cabinet d'amateur. Le grandi collezioni d'arte nei dipinti dal XVII al XIX secolo*, Milan 1992; E. Honig, 'The beholder as a work of art. A study in the location of value in seventeenth-century Flemish painting', in: R. Falkenburg, J. de Jong and H. Roodenburg (eds.), *Image and self-image in Netherlandish art, 1550-1750, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 46*, Zwolle 1995, p. 253-295; A. van Suchtelen and B. van Beneden (eds.), *Room for art in seventeenth-century Antwerp*, transl. D. Webb, exh. cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis, The Hague, the Mauritshuis, Zwolle 2009; A. Marr (ed.), *Picturing collections in early modern Europe. Intellectual History Review 20.1* (2010), special issue.

2 In comparison to the role of the *liefhebber* in the collector's cabinet, the image of the *liefhebber* and his relationship to the artist and artistic practice has received relatively little attention from scholars. See E. van de Wetering, 'De kunstliefhebber in de zeventiende eeuw en de vraag naar de functie van de kunst', in: *Simulacrum 5.2* (1996), p. 5-8; E. van de Wetering and M. Franken, 'Op bezoek in het atelier', in: *Kunstschrift/Openbaar Kunstbezit 27.1* (1983), p. 3-12; A. De Koomen, 'Pictieve bezoekers', in: M. Haveman (ed.), *Ateliergeheimen. Over de werkplaats van de Nederlandse kunstenaar vanaf 1200 tot heden*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 216-233.

seventeenth century. The rise of drawing academies, pedagogical drawing manuals, and art theoretical treatises allowed *liefhebbers* to acquire firsthand knowledge of artistic practice that expanded their role in and outside of the artist's space. This article examines how painters 'pictured' the relationship between artists and art lovers, and in doing so confronted a larger cultural discourse of connoisseurship, amateurship, and artistic practice in the early modern Netherlands.

The nature of this relationship derived meaning from images of the collector's cabinet. Flemish paintings of the *konstkamer* amassed knowledge of the world through the display of objects, including *naturalia* and *artificilia*, and above all, paintings and sculpture. The emergence of the genre in Antwerp at the turn of the seventeenth century reflected the city's economic and cultural wealth, embodied in its burgeoning mercantile classes and collecting habits.³ Works such as Hieronymus Francken II and Jan Brueghel the Elder's *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella Visiting the Collection of Pierre Roose* show the artistic and scientific variety of objects germane to these scenes and the expansion of that tradition into Brussels (fig. 1). The artists depict the Archdukes Albert and Isabella seated prominently in the foreground of an expansive room surrounded by a near encyclopedic array of objects, natural and manmade, as well as elegantly dressed art lovers who converse and admire the luxuries before them. The figures' interaction with the objects depicted – and each other – elevated the social status and virtue of the art collector himself, in turn creating an environment of intellectualism and inspiring conversation among *virtuosi*.⁴

The *liefhebber* in the studio reshaped this iconographic tradition by situating the art lover in the artist's place of creation.⁵ The focus of value thus shifted from object to practice, or from knowledge embodied to knowledge performed. Dutch representations of this subject by Pieter Codde (1599–1678) and Frans van Mieris the Elder

3 As Lisa Rosenthal has recently explained, however, such a wealth of things necessitated a patron's ability to negotiate between desire and virtue. Rosenthal argues that *konstkamer* images articulated a discourse of masculine virtue in the face of sensory and sexual dangers coded as feminine. See L. Rosenthal, 'Art lovers, pictura and masculine virtue in the *konstkamer*', in: *Midwestern Arcadia. Essays in honor of Alison Kettering*, 2014, <https://apps.carleton.edu/kettering/rosenthal/>. For a recent broader discussion of value in Antwerp, see C. Göttler, B. Ramakers and J. Woodall (eds.), *Trading values in early modern Antwerp, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64, Leiden 2014.

4 For ideas of virtue and value in the *konstkamer*, see the important discussions in Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 71–72, 116–117; Honig, 'The beholder as a work of art'; Rosenthal, 'Art lovers, pictura and masculine virtue in the *konstkamer*'. Danielle Maufort has recently identified the collector in this painting as Pierre Roose (1585 or 1568–1673), an important figure at the Brussels court. Her article on Roose is in press for the *Journal of The Walters Art Museum*. For a discussion of the painting and its larger context, see J. Spicer, 'The archdukes Albert and Isabella visiting the collection of Pierre Roose', in: www.thewalters.org/chamberofwonders/ (2016).

5 Excluded from my discussion here are images of artists painting portraits from life in the studio. Rather than representing the art lover's interest in artistic practice as such, these works illustrate a relationship between artist and sitter centered on a definable finished product: the portrait. For examples of this category of studio paintings, see K. Kleinert, *Ateliërdarstellungen in der Niederländischen Genremalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts. Realistisches Abbild oder glaubwürdiger Schein?*, Petersberg 2006, cat. nos. 23, 25, p. 226–227, 230–231.



Fig. 1 Hieronymus Francken II and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella visiting the collection of Pierre Roose*, 1621–1623, panel, 94×123.3 cm, Baltimore, *The Walters Art Museum*, museum purchase, 1948.

(1635–1681), in which art lovers examine painters' works on their easels, demonstrate these changing ideas. The artist's presence in the studio informs the art lover's engagement with the object of his attention – the artist's painting – but the artist's passive role is often secondary to the work and contents of the studio. The Flemish artist Michael Sweerts (1618–1664), who executed a number of paintings of artist's studios and academies in Rome and Brussels in the late 1640s and 1650s, further transformed the representation of the *liefhebber* from a learned observer to a participant. Sweerts' *liefhebbers*, still informed by the intellectual virtues of the *konstkamer*, demonstrate their knowledge of the practice and learning of art by assuming a more active presence in artist's space.

Although certain differences arise between Dutch and Flemish depictions of this subject from their respective iconographic traditions – images of the collector's cabinet, for instance, simply did not thrive outside of Antwerp – this article investigates the representation of the *liefhebber* from the *konstkamer* to the studio, and ultimately, the academy, as part of a larger and inclusive Netherlandish context.⁶ It seeks to demonstrate the

⁶ In tracing the evolution of Flemish paintings of collector's cabinets, Alexander Marr notes the shift from the representation of the cabinet to the artist's studio, which occurred increasingly in the second

ways in which contemporary attitudes towards the art lover informed these images, and how his knowledge of art and connoisseurship could be enhanced by becoming an active practitioner of art.⁷ By relocating the values associated with the collector's cabinet to these new pictorial spaces, artists modernized an iconographic tradition. The *liefhebber's* image coalesced with these changes, giving him a more significant role alongside the artist, and in turn elevating the status of artist and art lover alike.

The liefhebber in Antwerp: real and ideal

In the late sixteenth century, the *liefhebber* was defined alternatively as a 'lover, favorer, maintainer, patron, or amateur' of art.⁸ He was not usually involved in the trade of pictures – though he could be – so much as one who displayed a keen interest in art and its collecting.⁹ By the early decades of the seventeenth century, contemporaries used the term in a more specialized way, designating themselves as '*liefhebbers der schilderijen*' (lovers of painting). The phrase signified the ability to make judgments about pictures as a connoisseur, to discern among artists' hands, and to engage in intellectual exchange

half of the seventeenth century. The depiction of artists in the collector's cabinet, however, represents another aspect of this genre. See, for example, an artist painting the allegorical figure of Fortuna in Frans Francken II's *The Painter's Cabinet* (c. 1623, oil on panel, 54×69 cm, private collection, Getxo, Spain). For a discussion of what Filipczak terms these 'hybrid' images, see Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 152–156; A. Marr, 'The Flemish 'pictures of collections' genre. An overview', in: *Intellectual History Review* 20.1 (2010), p. 6–7, n. 10; Rosenthal, 'Art lovers, pictura and masculine virtue in the *konstkamer*', p. 6, fig. 7.

⁷ For the role and meaning of connoisseurship in the seventeenth century, see A. Tummars, *The eye of the connoisseur. Authenticating paintings by Rembrandt and his contemporaries*, Amsterdam 2011. Tummars provides an excellent discussion of the relationship between the painter and the connoisseur and the latter's practice of art, but only insofar as to assess its significance for judging the quality of pictures. See especially, *ibidem*, 163–180.

⁸ See the definitions gathered from Dutch and Flemish dictionaries in this period in Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 51, 215, n. 16. Jaap van der Veen has discussed the broader meanings of the term, citing, for example, a letter received by the well-known sixteenth-century botanist Carolus Clusius in 1597 that used the phrase '*liefhebber van bloemen*'. J. van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger. Schilderijencollecties in de Nederlanden', in: E. Bergvelt (ed.), *Kabinetten, galerijen en musea. Het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden*, Heerlen 1993, p. 141.

⁹ As Filipczak discusses, the term *liefhebber* occasionally overlapped with that of dealer (*coopman*) in the guild's records in Antwerp, which has led to some confusion over its use and meaning. In 1607, for example, the dealer Jan Coymans joined the guild as *liefhebber* and *coopman*, but this was not always the case. Filipczak identifies a clear distinction in meaning between the two, and does not ascribe the activities of a dealer in paintings to the art lover. See Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 51. Nevertheless, the relationship between the art lover and dealer was an important one, not least of which because the growth of the art market coincided with an informed audience of collectors. See the discussion in A. Tummars and K. Jonckheere (eds.), *Art market and connoisseurship. A closer look at paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their contemporaries*, Amsterdam 2008.



Fig. 2 Anonymous, Flemish, *Cognoscenti in a room hung with pictures*, c. 1620, panel, 95.9×123.5 cm, London, National Gallery, © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY.

among peers.¹⁰ The ‘lover of painting’, as Zirka Filipczak has pointed out, could be considered a worshipper of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and the arts.¹¹

Such ‘*liefhebbers der schilderijen*’ converse in the foreground of *Cognoscenti in a Room hung with Pictures* executed in Antwerp around 1620 (fig. 2). Iconographically consistent with the work by Hieronymus Francken II and Jan Brueghel the Elder, the artist of this painting depicted a palatial room decorated from floor to ceiling with paintings, and tables covered with sculpture, prints, scientific instruments, and a globe. As the men discuss an *Allegory of the Elements* perched on the chair before them, they show their connoisseurial skills and high social rank through gesture, gaze, and elegant dress.¹²

¹⁰ Among the most significant concerns for seventeenth-century connoisseurs were questions of attribution, originality, and authenticity. See Honig, ‘The beholder as a work of art’ (n. 1), p. 270–284; Tummers, *The eye of the connoisseur*.

¹¹ This definition first appeared in the late sixteenth-century dictionary of C. Plantin, *Thesaurus theutonice lingue*, Antwerp 1573. See Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 69–70.

¹² The men discuss a painting that resembles *Abundance with the Elements* by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen (c. 1615, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado). See Honig, ‘The beholder as a work of art,’ p. 281.

The image evokes idealized forms of universal knowledge as well as Antwerp's local artistic culture, elements that would have been recognizable to contemporary viewers. As Elizabeth Honig has expressed, the relationship between viewer and viewed is mutual: 'the eye not only judges value [in these works], but it brings valuable status to the one who has the "eye"'.¹³

A new category of membership in Antwerp's Guild of St. Luke reflected the importance of the *liefhebber* in the seventeenth century. By the end of 1610, five people had registered in the guild as *liefhebbers der schilderijen*, a term which, until that point, had never before existed in the official guild registers.¹⁴ The number of registrants continued into the middle decades of the century.¹⁵ Among those who joined were the well-known Antwerp art collectors Philips van Valckenisse and Cornelis van der Geest. Anthony van Dyck portrayed the latter figure as a *kunstliefhebber* in the *Iconography*, the print series of famous men he produced in the mid-1630s.¹⁶ Van der Geest's portrait, along with those of two other 'art lovers' portrayed in the first edition of the series, Antoon Cornelissen and Jacomo de Cachopin, gave further definition to their esteemed role in the mid-seventeenth century by placing them on the same level as rulers, diplomats, humanists – and artists.¹⁷

The inscription of *liefhebbers* in the Dutch guilds came several decades later in Haarlem and The Hague, making their official status a phenomenon across the Netherlands.¹⁸ The reasons for *liefhebbers'* registration in the guild were likely varied; it may have allowed them to purchase and sell paintings more easily, or to make contacts in the art world. The use of the term in the guild demonstrated that collectors

¹³ Ibidem, p. 258.

¹⁴ The first person to register as a '*liefhebber der schilderijen*' was the Antwerp innkeeper Peter Peetersen, in 1602. Individuals also registered as '*kunstliefhebbers*'. See P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs (eds.), *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols., Antwerp 1872, passim; Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 51–53; C. Van Keulen, 'Liefhebbers van de schilderkunst in het Lucasgilde', in: *Simulacrum* 5.2 (1996), p. 21–23.

¹⁵ The numbers slowly decreased in the mid- and second half of the century. The reasons for this decline are not clear, but may have resulted from the changing status of the *liefhebber* and less of a need for official recognition. The appearance of the term in the Antwerp *liggeren* is complex because the guild was connected to the chamber of rhetoric, the *Violieren*, and its members were also referred to as *liefhebbers*; distinctions between the two were not consistently made. *Kunstliefhebbers*, however, had to pay more to enter the guild, usually around twenty-six *guilders*, and they were expected to make a contribution to the wine banquets.

¹⁶ Cornelis van der Geest joined the guild in 1621–1622 when he was already sixty-six years old. Rombouts and Lerijs, *De liggeren*, vol. 1, p. 440, 578.

¹⁷ See Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 52–53; Van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger' (n. 8), p. 141–143. For the *Iconography*, see M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck*, Brussels 1991.

¹⁸ *Liefhebbers* appear in the guilds of Haarlem and The Hague in 1642 and 1656, respectively. In the latter, *liefhebbers* paid the guild six *stuivers* per year in membership fees, which was the same amount paid by master painters. See Van Keulen, 'Liefhebbers van de schilderkunst in het Lucasgilde'; Van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger', p. 141–143; Tummers, *The eye of the connoisseur* (n. 7), p. 179–180.

and lovers of paintings sought formal recognition within the artistic community.¹⁹ The situation, however, was not widespread: the guilds in Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels did not denote this separate category. This evidence does not rule out the presence of a *liefhebber* culture in these cities (as discussed below in Brussels), but it indicates the inconsistencies and difficulties in assigning meaning to a so-called official status.

The liefhebber in the studio

The visit to the artist's studio by an art lover or patron was a well-established topos in the seventeenth century. It had a venerable antique precedent in Alexander the Great's visit to the studio of his court painter, Apelles, and studio visits occurred with regularity in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁰ Notable examples include Otto Speerling's visit to Peter Paul Rubens' studio in 1621 and Constantijn Huygens' visit to Rembrandt van Rijn and Jan Lievens' studio in Leiden in 1628. In his *Essay des merveilles de nature, et des plus nobles artifices* written in 1621, the French author Etienne Binet explained the importance of visiting the studio for the gentleman:²¹

When you speak of painting [...], one of the most noble arts of the world [...] [to do so] you must have visited the studio and disputed with the masters, have seen the magic marks of the pencil, and the unerring judgment with which the details are worked out.²²

While the studio visit thus had a real-life counterpart, its representation reflected the ideal values associated with paintings of collector's cabinets by displaying the knowledge, interests, and taste of the *liefhebber*.²³ And while indicative of the art lover's intellectual and discerning character, these images partook in a different kind of performance: the artist at work. The *liefhebber* became privy to the process of making, and

19 Ariane van Suchtelen suggests that *liefhebbers* joined the guild because they were required to do so to deal in art, but not all members were dealers (see n. 9), and the registration instead may have offered an official status sought after by contemporaries. See Van Suchtelen and Beneden, *Room for art in seventeenth-century Antwerp* (n. 1), p. 19, 48, n. 4; Honig, 'The beholder as a work of art' (n. 1), p. 275-276; Van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger', p. 141-143.

20 The Flemish artist Willem van Haecht represented the encounter between Alexander and Apelles in an imaginary Flemish *konstkamer*, where Apelles paints Campaspe, Alexander's love interest. Willem van Haecht, *Apelles Paints Campaspe* (c. 1630, The Hague, the Mauritshuis).

21 Binet's book is often confused with a handwritten manuscript copy executed by Pierre le Brun in Brussels in 1635. Anna Tummers first identified this manuscript as the handwritten copy of Binet's book. See A. Tummers, 'The painter versus the connoisseur? The best judge of pictures in seventeenth-century theory and practice', in: Tummers and Jonckheere, *Art market and connoisseurship* (n. 9), p. 144; E. Binet, *Essay des merveilles de nature, et des plus noble artifices*, 12th ed., Paris 1657.

22 Binet, *Essay des merveilles de nature*, p. 308-309. Binet dedicated Chapter Thirty-Nine of his treatise to 'Painting'.

23 Van der Wetering and Franken, 'Op bezoek in het atelier' (n. 2); De Koomen, 'Pictieve bezoekers' (n. 2).



Fig. 3 Anonymous, Flemish, Artist and visitor in the studio, c. 1600, pencil on blue paper, 19.4×29.2 cm, private collection.

ultimately, the artist's finished product. Moreover, once inside the painter's studio, the *liefhebber* affirmed the esteemed status of the artist himself.²⁴

The representation of the art lover in the artist's studio has been typically associated with the Northern Netherlands, yet a previously unpublished anonymous Flemish drawing from a private collection, dated to around 1600, suggests that this theme also originated in Antwerp (fig. 3).²⁵ The finely executed drawing depicts a working studio: the artist paints at his easel, while an assistant grinds pigments at a table in the background. Plaster fragments of heads, arms, and feet hang on the wall near an open window. A monkey behind the painter examines his reflection in a mirror, an action paralleled by the woman and child across the room who gaze into a mirror held by a young man. He

²⁴ De Koomen argues that this genre of painting extended the reality of the patron's visit to the artist's studio, and may have been purchased upon such occasions. These works then function as pictorial performances of the studio visit. De Koomen, 'Pictieve bezoekers', p. 249–252.

²⁵ I am grateful to Katlijne Van der Stighelen for bringing this drawing to my attention and to the private collector for providing the image. Paintings of the *liefhebber* in a contemporary artist's studio first appeared, to my knowledge, around the second quarter of the century. Ernst van de Wetering cites an example by an unknown Flemish (Antwerp) artist from c. 1620, which may be one of the earliest examples outside of the drawing discussed above. The work depicts a group of art lovers, distinguished by their costume, being led into a working artist's studio by the allegorical figure of Fame. See Van der Wetering, 'De kunstliefhebber in de zeventiende eeuw en de vraag naar de functie van de kunst' (n. 2), p. 5.

peers over the woman's shoulder, his leg placed atop a chest and his hand confidently on his thigh. His belted robe bears some similarities to the painter's dress, but his fanciful hat, ornamented and topped by a long feather, suggests that he is instead a visitor to the studio. His presence and participation in the activities here give added value to the artist's practice – the studio is worthy of his visit – but they also demonstrate the visitor's interest in the act of art's making and the value of looking (sight).

Pieter Codde's *Art Lovers in a Painter's Studio* reflects another stage in an art lover's engagement with the artist and his studio (fig. 4). Inside Codde's modest space, three *liefhebbers* carefully examine the painter's finished works, including one still stretched on the easel. The men are absorbed in the act of looking and judging the painter's works, and through gaze and gesture they exhibit different degrees of discernment. The painter stands in the middle of the room holding his palette and brushes with an expression of concern. Although the art lovers have come to the studio to see the artist 'at work', their presence produces the opposite effect: the artist has stopped painting in order to accommodate his visitors. The studio has become a site of connoisseurship, but one mediated by the materiality of painting(s) and the role of the artist himself in that process.



Fig. 4 Pieter Codde, *Art lovers in a painter's studio*, c. 1635, panel, 38.3×49.3 cm, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, © Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

Similarly to Codde, Frans van Mieris represented a studio scene defined by the silent exchange between artist and visitor (fig. 5). In a cavernous interior, illuminated only by light from arched windows, a painter leans against the easel with his palette, brushes, and mahlstick in hand. His practice, too, has been interrupted. A visitor, whose identity as an art lover is signaled by his fine dress and hat perched atop his knee, sits before a nearly finished painting of a *Resting Traveler*. Yet rather than looking at the canvas, he gazes toward a table arranged with various objects. The large musical instrument, sculpture of *Hercules Wrestling with a Serpent*, as well as the globe tucked into the lower left corner of the room, inform the *liefhebber* of the nobility of the artist and his art.²⁶ In a work attributed to Job Adriaensz. Berckheyde (1630–1693) from 1659, the artist closely followed this iconographic model (fig. 6).²⁷ Two visitors are present in this studio, with one man seated before the easel examining the painting as his companion and the artist look out at the viewer. Their direct engagement with us, as well as the illusionistic curtain pulled to the side, emphasizes the immediacy of the moment, but this carefully constructed scene is a fictive reality. Like Van Mieris' painting, the display of objects on the table to the right reinforces the painter's learned status, visually joining the iconographic traditions of the *konstkamer* and the studio to create a site of intellectual and manual practice.

As these paintings demonstrate, the visit to the studio allowed the artist to exhibit his work in more than one way (through the painting in the painting), and it served as a display of his artistic values. In portraying the exchange between artists and art lovers, however, Codde, Van Mieris, and Berckheyde also emphasized the important role of the studio for the making of art and for the judgment of the art lover. While related to earlier modes of connoisseurship, the dynamic pictured between artist and *liefhebber* conveyed the value of the finished object *and* the artist's process. In the mid-seventeenth century, this judgment gained added meaning as the art lover became increasingly interested and involved in artistic practice himself.

The amateur, the academy, and Michael Sweerts

The value bestowed upon a gentleman's knowledge of drawing had been addressed by authors and theorists since the Renaissance. Codified in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* in the sixteenth century, seventeenth-century authors continued to rehearse

²⁶ The painting closely resembles Van Mieris's *Resting Traveler* (c. 1655–1657, oil on copper, New York, Private Collection). See Q. Buvelot (ed.), *Frans van Mieris 1635–1681*, exh cat., The Hague, Mauritshuis, Zwolle 2005, p. 88–91.

²⁷ This work is now more generally accepted as Quiringh van Brekelenkam. See R.E. Fleischer, 'Quirijn van Brekelenkam and *The Artist's Workshop* in the Hermitage Museum', in: R.E. Fleischer and S.S. Munshower (ed.), *The age of Rembrandt. Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch painting*, University Park 1988, p. 70–93.



Fig. 5 Frans van Mieris, *The painter's studio*, c. 1655-1657, panel, 63.9×46.8 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, photo by Hans Peter Klut/Art Resource NY.



Fig. 6 Job Adriaensz. Berckheyde (attr.), Visit to a studio, 1659, panel, 49×36.5 cm, inv. no. GE-965, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum, photo by Vladimir Terebenin.

the benefits of drawing for the elite, as well as its usefulness for judging pictures.²⁸ In his *Het Schilder-boeck* of 1604, which was dedicated to artists and art lovers alike, Karel van Mander expressed the usefulness of drawing for all, especially when speaking about art.²⁹ The English author Henry Peacham devoted a chapter of his popular treatise from 1622, *The Compleat Gentleman*, to drawing, describing it as ‘a quality most commendable, so many ways useful to a Gentleman.’³⁰ And Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the Prince of Orange, recounted in his diaries from around 1630 that he had learned how to draw as a boy because his father viewed it as an essential part of his education.³¹

By the middle decades of the seventeenth century, pedagogical drawing manuals and informal academies for drawing *naer het leven* in the Northern and Southern Netherlands shifted the landscape of artistic practice and learning by making options for drawing available in different and readily accessible forms. While many of these efforts were naturally devoted to artists, both young and experienced, they similarly allowed the art lover to learn and develop the skill of draftsmanship alongside the artist himself.³² One of the earliest examples of this phenomenon in the Netherlands

28 Learning how to draw was considered a highly important skill for the prince, and one that he ‘should certainly not neglect’. Writing about art, Castiglione described how: ‘For I recall having read that in the ancient world, and in Greece especially, children of gentle birth were required to learn painting at school, as a worthy and necessary accomplishment, and it was ranked among the foremost of the liberal arts; subsequently, a public law was passed forbidding it to be taught to slaves. It was also held in great honour among the Romans, and from it the very noble family of the Fabii took its name, for the first Fabius was called *Pictor*.’ B. Castiglione, *The book of the courtier*, transl. G. Bull, Harmondsworth 1967, p. 96–97.

29 K. Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, ed. H. Miedema, Utrecht 1973, p. 106. Contemporary authors and theorists debated whether or not the *liefhebber* should be familiar with artistic practice. The French printmaker Abraham Bosse, who wrote the first treatise for connoisseurs in 1649, expressed how ‘in this art [of judging pictures] as in other Arts, there are natural inclinations for these things, for sometimes even people who have barely any practical experience, have or can have some knowledge in this respect. But to say that they come close to the opinion that Excellent Practitioners who are experienced herein may have, that is impossible in my opinion.’ Bosse provided readers with topics as varied as discerning originals from copies and developing a vocabulary for describing attributions and works of art, but he also expressed the need for art lovers – amateur non-practitioners – to acquire knowledge about art in order to build their collections. A. Bosse, *Sentimens sur la distinction des diverses manieres de peinture, dessin & gravure, & des originaux d’avec leurs copies*, Paris 1649, p. 5. For a discussion of differing viewpoints on the topic in the seventeenth century, see Tummers, *The eye of the connoisseur* (n. 7), p. 163–180.

30 Peacham also used the term ‘*leefhebber*’ in his treatise to indicate one who was learned in antiquities. H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning Him Absolute in the Most Necessary and Commendable Qualities, Concerning Mind, or Body, That May Be Required in a Person of Honor: To Which Is Added, The Gentlemans Exercise, Or, An Exquisite Practise, as Well for Drawing All Manner of Beasts, as for Making Colours, to Be Used in Painting Limming, &c.*, London 1622, p. 105, 124, 128–129.

31 C. Huygens, *Constantijn Huygens. Mijn Jeugd*, ed. C.L. Heesakkers, Amsterdam 1987, p. 70–73.

32 For the use of drawing books for amateurs in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, especially prints, see J. Bolten, *Method and practice. Dutch and Flemish drawing books, 1600–1750*, Landau 1985; V. Sancho Lobis, ‘Printed drawing books and the dissemination of ideal male anatomy in Northern Europe’, in: K. de Clippel, K. Van Cauteren and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *The nude and the norm*

appeared in Amsterdam in 1636. The little-known Cornelis Pietersz. Biens published a small treatise intended for beginners and *liefhebbers* as a practical guide to drawing, *De Teecken-Const: ofte Een korte ende klaere aen-leydinghe tot die lofelijke Const van Teecken-enen tot Dienst ende behulp van de eerstbeghinnde Jeucht ende liefhebbers, in Elf Capittelen vervat*. Much of the treatise described well-known advice based on Biens' familiarity with Karel van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck*, but Biens' modest manual suggested a broader audience interested in the learning and making of art.³³

Less than a decade later, Crispijn van de Passe published his substantial drawing book, *'t Light der teken en schilder konst*, in Amsterdam in 1643 (fig. 7). The manual included studies of anatomy, proportion and perspective, academic studies of male and female nudes, and the works of established masters.³⁴ Artists were expected to copy these models in a gradual process and learn from the ideal example. Van de Passe did not specify his intended audience, but the comprehensive and accessible nature of the manual indicates that it was intended for young artists and amateurs alike.³⁵ With this progressive and detailed course of study, the *liefhebber* intersected with the world of the artist. The drawing book codified artistic knowledge for the amateur, while allowing him to join that knowledge with the practice and refinement of connoisseurship.

Michael Sweerts' images of the studio engaged this changing discourse in a way unlike his contemporaries.³⁶ In *A Painter's Studio*, executed while the artist was in Rome, students draw after plaster casts of antique sculpture and an artist paints from a nude model posed beside his easel (fig. 8). Two gentlemen tucked into the shadows at the left respond to the activities taking place around them. Their contemporary dress, which includes black hats and doublets with fashionably slashed sleeves, distinguishes

in the early modern Low Countries, Turnhout 2011, p. 51–64. Northern drawing books were preceded by those published in Italy earlier in the century, including Odoardo Fialetti's *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnar tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano* (Venice 1608), which was intended for students, amateurs, and art lovers. See C. Whistler, 'Learning to draw in Venice. The role of drawing manuals', in: U. Roman D'Elia (ed.), *Rethinking Renaissance drawings. Essays in honor of David McTavish*, Montreal 2015, p. 121–136.

³³ Johannes Jansonius published the small, unillustrated treatise in Amsterdam. It does not survive but is known only through a transcription by C. Müller-Hofstede. The treatise is published in E.A. de Klerk, 'De Teecken-Const, een 17de eeuws Nederlands Traktaatje', in: *Oud Holland* 96 (1982), p. 48–56.

³⁴ De Passe's text assimilated pedagogical models from Germany, France, and Italy. Bolten, *Method and practice*, p. 26–47.

³⁵ In Part One of De Passe's book, he includes a short notice to his readers, which he addresses as 'aen de Teekenkunstlievende, en gunstige / Lezers. / Waarde Vrienden, / Dat de Teekenkunst [...] Almogende, blijvende ondertusschen.' De Passe had participated in an informal drawing school in Utrecht, organized by Abraham Bloemaert and Paulus Moreelse in the early 1610s. Cécile Tainturier calls De Passe's book 'a perfect handbook for amateurs'. See Bolten, *Method and practice*, p. 30; C. Tainturier, 'A crossroad of pedagogical endeavors. The drawing method of Crispijn van de Passe', in: T. Broos, M. Lacy Bruyn and T.F. Shanon (eds.), *The Low Countries. Crossroads of cultures*, Münster 2006, p. 33–45.

³⁶ For Sweerts' studio paintings as a response to seventeenth-century academic culture in Italy and the Netherlands, see L. Yeager-Crasselt, *Michael Sweerts (1618–1664). Shaping the artist and the academy in Rome and Brussels*, Pictura Nova: Studies in 16th- and 17th-Century Flemish Painting and Drawing, Turnhout 2015.



Fig. 7 Crispyn van de Passe the Younger, Frontispiece for *Van 't Licht der teken en schilder konst*, 1643, engraving, 30.7×20.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 8 Michael Sweerts, *A painter's studio*, c. 1648–1650, canvas, 71×74 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

them from the rest of the studio. One man points towards the painter and the nude model, directing the viewer's gaze from the early stages of artistic practice, embodied in the fragmented forms of antique sculpture in the foreground, to its more mature execution by the master painter. The other visitor looks either towards the boy in the foreground drawing an *écorché* model, which was used to teach students how to render human anatomy, or perhaps more tellingly, directly at the viewer. The ambiguity of his gaze draws attention to the relationship between viewer and viewed, recalling Honig's point that the exchange of value in such works was mutual.³⁷

Sweerts' visitors have no clear reason to be in this working studio, yet their presence fundamentally changes its dynamic. Unlike the art lovers in Codde or Van Mieris' images, the men in *A Painter's Studio* do not readily observe finished works

³⁷ See n. 13.

or contemplate a potential purchase of a work of art. Even if they have come to see Sweerts' *Roman Wrestlers*, which hangs on the back wall of the studio, their interest lays in the artistic practice taking place around them. Sweerts' figures look intensely and gesture directly, following the patterns of informed and sophisticated discourse depicted in the collector's cabinet. The focus of their attention, however, has shifted from object to practice. They demonstrate that they are capable of discussing art and its production in the immediate and tangible space of the studio, and in the presence of the artist. Sweerts' representation gives value to this new relationship, and at the same time reflects – in its emphasis on the progressive training in the artist's studio – an awareness of the drawing method presented in De Passe's manual.

Sweerts' *Artist's Studio with a Woman Sewing* heightens the prominence of the *liefhebber* in this context (fig. 9). Gathered near the artist at his easel are a group of well-dressed men, each absorbed in the activities of the studio or those of their music-making companions. Another painter and visitor are visible through a doorway in the background, where a *liefhebber* closely watches the artist at work. Paintings line the back wall and plaster casts of antique sculpture lie in a carefully constructed pile between the artist and model, recalling the display of objects in works by Sweerts' Dutch and Flemish predecessors. Most interestingly in our context, however, is the man in the yellow



Fig. 9 Michael Sweerts, *Artist's studio with a woman sewing*, c. 1648, canvas, 82.5×106.7 cm, Cologne, Rau collection for UNICEF/GRUPPE Köln, Hans G. Scheib.



Fig. 10 Michael Sweerts, *The drawing school*, c. 1655, canvas, 76.5×109.5 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum | De Hallen Haarlem, photo by Margaretha Svensson.

jacket in the foreground. He conspicuously lacks the painter's cap that identifies a working artist, yet he holds a pen in his left hand and leans over to pick up a piece of paper resting near his feet. No longer just a 'lover of painting', he is about to draw, and in this way becomes a participant in the artist's studio. He gains – and shows – his knowledge through eye and hand.

These ideas coalesce in Sweerts' painting of *The Drawing School*, which he produced following his return to Brussels in the mid-1650s (fig. 10). During this decade, Sweerts established an academy for life drawing, which was the first of its kind in the Southern Netherlands and intended to serve young artists, tapestry designers, and likely amateurs.³⁸ *The Drawing School* is related to Sweerts' academic endeavors in Brussels, as well as one informed by his close associations with the academy in Rome. More broadly, the painting demonstrates the value that Sweerts placed in the fundamental practice of life drawing. Here, the young men have gathered to draw from a nude male model, so deep in concentration that they are unaware of the arrival of a visitor. Only the young boy in the foreground, who conspicuously points toward him, has noticed his

³⁸ See L. Yeager-Crasselt, 'Pride and ambition in seventeenth-century Brussels. The drawing academy of Michael Sweerts', in: H. Magnus and K. Van der Stighelen (eds.), *Facts and feelings. Retracing emotions of artists, 1600–1800*, Turnhout 2015, p. 151–67.

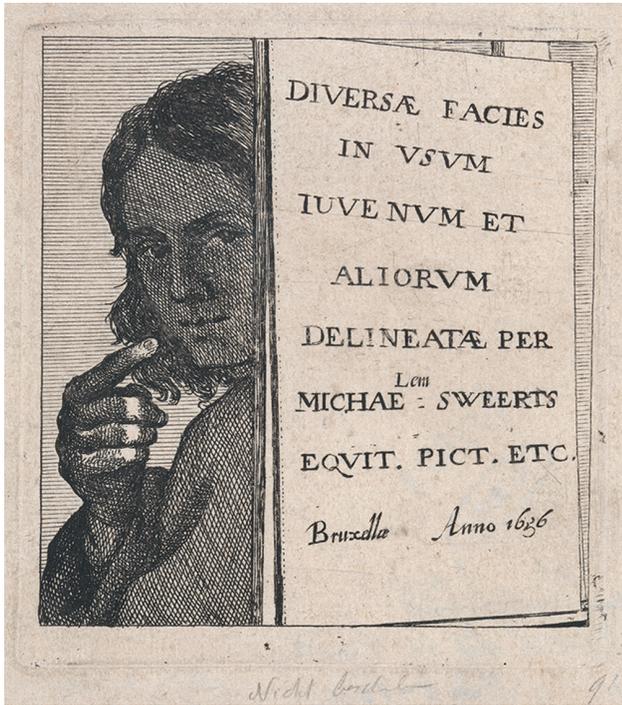


Fig. 11 Michael Sweerts, Title Page from *Diversae facies in vsvm iuuenvm et aliorvm delineatae*, 1656, etching, 9×8.2 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

presence – and is keen to point him out to his fellow artists. The master of the academy turns to welcome the gentleman and echoes the gesture of the boy by pointing to the model. The man, dressed in a white blouse and a black doublet and cloak, has entered the academy through the doorway in the back corner. As he removes his glove, he pauses to observe the model. The directness of gazes and gestures in this scene creates a dynamic performance around life drawing. The academy has replaced the studio, and by depicting the art lover in this space, Sweerts indicates the significance of drawing, learning, and working from life, which deserve equal admiration alongside the artist and his finished work.

But has this art lover come to join the drawing session instead? Such a possibility would reflect the art lover's increasing interest in drawing in this period, and in turn, the artist's interest in its representation. The scope and nature of Sweerts' academic activities may make this scenario even more likely.³⁹ In 1656 Sweerts published a series of didactic prints entitled *Diversae facies in vsvm iuuenvm et aliorvm delineatae* (*Diverse faces for the use of the young and others*), which consists of twelve etchings of half-length figures

³⁹ Sweerts had already been involved with a drawing academy in the palace of his patron, Prince Camillo Pamphili, in Rome in 1650–1651. This academy was likely for artists and amateurs, including the prince himself. See Yeager-Crasselt, *Michael Sweerts (1618–1664)*, p. 87–90.

in various forms of dress and expression (fig. 11).⁴⁰ While Sweerts must have intended the etchings to be used by the students who attended his academy, especially as they offered young artists exercises in the handling of light and shadow, the prints possess an accessibility in format, subject, and style that made them equally suitable for a broader audience. Knowledgeable art lovers could benefit from the practice of copying the prints as well as enjoy collecting them.⁴¹

The men depicted in *The Drawing School* reflect these varied intentions. A number of them are dressed in simple, working costume, but others are more elegantly clothed to distinguish them from the group. This distinction is evident in the youth depicted in the left foreground who wears a yellow vest and sits atop a gold-trimmed, red cloak. Sweerts executed several portraits of fashionably dressed men in Brussels during this same period, which indicate his familiarity with figures of elevated status in Brussels' cultural milieu.⁴² In *The Drawing School*, the man entering the room bears a strong resemblance to *Portrait of a Man*, particularly in the facial features, hair, and costume, suggesting that this art lover may have served as the model for this work (fig. 12). Even if this possibility remains speculative, Sweerts clearly sought to 'picture' the art lover in the space of the academy, reflecting his own awareness of, and response to, a cultural discourse around the art lover.

Changing tastes: the liefhebber in Brussels and Antwerp

Unfortunately, we know relatively little – in comparison to Antwerp – about the standing of the *liefhebber* in Brussels during this period, but as the work of scholars like Veerle De Laet have shown, art played an important role in the life of the city's residents, both within and outside of the court.⁴³ In the seventeenth century, nearly every household in Brussels owned at least one painting, if not more, and the interest in art collecting

⁴⁰ G. Luijten, 'For the young and others. The prints of Michael Sweerts', in: G. Jansen and P.C. Sutton (eds.), *Michael Sweerts, 1618-1664*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Zwolle 2002, p. 167-68.

⁴¹ Jan Lievens' publication of a series of *tronie* etchings in Antwerp in the early 1630s, entitled *Diverse Tronikens*, provides an important precedent for this latter function. Lievens' series was intended as a collector's item, and Sweerts' endeavor two decades later demonstrates the continuation of this tradition. See A.K. Wheelock, Jr. (ed.), *Jan Lievens. A Dutch master rediscovered*, exh. cat., Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Milwaukee, Milwaukee Art Museum, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis, New Haven 2008, p. 195-199.

⁴² The confidence of the postures, gazes, and the delicate gestures of the hands in Sweerts' portraits from Brussels recall Anthony van Dyck's portrait types from the *Iconography*. This comparison gains both stylistic and iconographic significance in light of the individuals' possible identity as a kind of 'Brussels *liefhebber*'.

⁴³ See V. De Laet, *Brussel binnenskamers. Kunst-en luxebezit in het spanningsveld tussen hof en stad, 1600-1735*, Amsterdam 2011.



Fig. 12 Michael Sweerts, Portrait of a man, c. 1655, etching, 21.1×16.4 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

for the urban class continued to grow after mid-century.⁴⁴ Group portraits in private interiors by Sweerts' younger Brussels contemporary Gillis van Tilborgh (1625–1678) demonstrate a class of patrons concerned with exhibiting their status as collectors – as a sign of their *nobilité* and *civilité* as described by De Laet – but also their knowledge of art reconfigured in the domestic space.⁴⁵

In Tilborgh's painting of *A Picture Gallery*, the room serves as *konstkamer* and studio, a site of display, practice, and the exchange of knowledge between the artist and his

⁴⁴ V. De Laet, 'At home in seventeenth-century Brussels. Patterns of art and luxury consumption in private households', in: K. Van der Stighelen, L. Kelchtermans and K. Brosens (eds.), *Embracing Brussels. Art and culture in the court city, 1600–1800*, Turnhout 2013, p. 11–20.

⁴⁵ See Gillis van Tilborgh, *Family Portrait*, c. 1660–1665, The Hague, Mauritshuis. For Tilborgh's work, see Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au xvii^e siècle* (n. 1), p. 160–164; Honig, 'The beholder as a work of art' (n. 1), p. 276; De Laet, *Brussel binnenskamers*, p. 64–70. For late seventeenth-century developments of these ideals in Antwerp, see Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp* (n. 1), p. 157–158; H. Magnus, 'Schilders, connoisseurs en hun (Salomons) oordeel. Het Schilderijenkabinet (1659) van Jacob de Formentrou en Erasmus II Quellinus', in: *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 28.1 (2012), p. 40–65.



Fig. 13 Gillis van Tilborgh, *A picture gallery*, c. 1660–1665, canvas, 97.2×129.5 cm, Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, museum purchase, 1954.0157.

visitors (fig. 13).⁴⁶ The artist, paused from painting, holds his palette and brushes as he turns away from the easel. The other figures, as elegantly dressed as the artist himself, gesture and gaze around the room. The man on the left looks out at the viewer directly. As a group, they engage painting(s) and practice, knowledge embodied and performed through the objects displayed in the room and the activity taking place around them. This informed judgment takes on another meaning in Tilborgh's interior: the painting serves as a representation of local artistic culture, comparable to the Antwerp *konstkamers* that preceded it. The paintings in this room closely resemble the work of Brussels painters, including the landscape artists Lodewijck de Vadder (1605–1655) and

⁴⁶ Tilborgh also engaged the subject of the artist painting a portrait from life in the *konstkamer*. In *The Studio of an Artist* (c. 1660, oil on canvas, 98×137 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst), Tilborgh included two art lovers observing the artist at work. Comparable to the painting by Frans Francken cited in n. 6, as well as David Teniers' *The Gallery of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm* (1639, oil on canvas, 96×128 cm, Schleissheim, Staatsgalerie), which portrays an artist painting a seated peasant from life in a gallery interior (and observed by a small group of art lovers), Tilborgh merged the studio and the collector's cabinet into one space. See Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 152–156.

Jacques d'Arthois (1613–1686), and the battle painter, Pieter Snayers (1592–1666).⁴⁷ The representation of these works shows a sophisticated knowledge of artistic tradition in a Brussels context, one that met an interest in the practice of art.⁴⁸

Less than a decade later, the *liefhebber's* role in the academy was institutionalized in the Southern Netherlands. In 1663 *liefhebbers* were admitted as members of the recently founded Antwerp Academy of Art, the first state-sponsored academy to exist in the Netherlands.⁴⁹ Their inclusion may be seen as a further formalization of the process that had begun in the guild earlier in the century.⁵⁰ In place of the relative informality of Sweerts' Brussels school, the institutionalized nature of the Antwerp academy (though slow to implement its comprehensive aims of instruction)⁵¹ marked a significant shift in how the *liefhebber's* pastime of drawing found new expression in a defined pedagogical context.⁵² Life drawing was the only course offered in the academy's first thirty years of existence, which must have been desirable for the city's art lovers. Records in the Guild of St. Luke, conceived as an extension of the academy, indicate that *liefhebbers* did register for drawing lessons. In the last few decades of the century, a Jacobus Engels Vercouter registered to 'leert teekenen' in 1674, as did a Jacobus Martens in 1695 (under the guidance of Abraham Genoels II), and Fransus-Xaverius Cras, Jan-Carel van Bugem, and Jan-Frans Herreberti in 1697.⁵³

47 I am thankful for the fruitful discussions about this painting that emerged during a session organized at the Historians of Netherlandish Art/American Association for Netherlandic Studies conference in Boston in 2014, 'Beyond Antwerp. Reconsidering the Artistic Landscape of the Southern Netherlands, 1500–1700'.

48 For the collecting of Tilborgh's works in Brussels, see De Laet, *Brussel binnenskamers*, p. 68–70. The tradition of the collector's cabinet had another trajectory in Brussels with the work of then court artist David Teniers the Elder. Teniers depicted Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's collection of Italian paintings in a series of gallery paintings in the 1650s, and recorded the collection in the *Theatrum Pictorum*, published in 1660. See, for example, M. Klinge, 'David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting', in: *David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting*, London 2006.

49 The inclusion of the amateur in the academy had precedents in Italy in informal and formal academies. The Italian physician, connoisseur, and art dealer Giulio Mancini discussed this topic in an unpublished treatise from about 1620, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*. In it, Mancini recognized the value of drawing for connoisseurs, especially when it took place in the space of the academy. For Mancini and the amateur's role in Rome's Accademia di San Luca, see F. Gage, 'Giulio Mancini and artist-amateur relations in seventeenth-century Roman academies', in: P. Lukehart (ed.), *The Accademia seminars. The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590–1635*, Washington, DC 2009, p. 246–287.

50 Art dealers, on the other hand, were not admitted, distinguishing their inclusion in the guild from that of the academy. See F.J.P. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Academie van Antwerpen*, Antwerp 1867, p. 19–20, 107; Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 51–52, 167–169.

51 The Antwerp Academy was conceived along the same lines as the academies in Rome and Paris, which meant that it planned to offer a full program of instruction, including geometry, perspective, anatomy, etc. These initiatives were only introduced in the 1690s.

52 For a recent discussion of the *liefhebber* and the academy in the context of Cornelis de Bie's *Het Gulden Cabinet*, see S.J. Moran, 'The right hand of Pictura's perfection. Cornelis de Bie's *Het Gulden Cabinet* and Antwerp art in the 1660s', in: Göttler, Ramakers and Woodall, *Trading values in early modern Antwerp* (n. 3), p. 370–399.

53 These records are not complete, but they give an impression that there was a desire among art lovers to learn drawing in an academic setting. For the records, see Rombouts and Leries, *De liggeren* (n. 14),

By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the amateur art lover increasingly attended drawing schools to showcase his cultivation and refined education and manners, including in those recently established academies in The Hague and Amsterdam.⁵⁴ Treatises published in this period, such as Willem Goeree's drawing book of 1678, *Inleydinge tot de Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst*, as well as Gerard de Laïresse's *Grondlegginge ter Teekenkonst* (1701), paralleled these developments, as they, too, were directed toward an audience of artists and *liefhebbers* within a classically oriented artistic culture. As Goeree explained in the second printing of his manual, his rules were not only for beginners, but also for 'alle die lust hebben' to be proficient in drawing and painting.⁵⁵

Joining the Dutch and Flemish liefhebber

Paintings of the *liefhebber* in the studio and academy reveal certain patterns: dress, gesture, and gaze serve as markers of sophistication, informed judgment, and virtuosity. To maintain these iconographic elements, artists depicted the ideal: the art lover who expresses a 'love' for art, an interest in the object, and a desired exchange with the artist. These images were tied to the genre of the collector's cabinet, but they also offered a profound response to the cultural moment that produced them. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the connoisseur merged with the amateur practitioner of art. The publication of drawing manuals and the discourse that arose around drawing, artistic practice, and the academy established a framework under which the art lover could adapt and grow his role and relationship to the artist and his art. The representation of the *liefhebber* was part of a larger tradition that codified his artistic knowledge. The value placed in the art lover's ability to practice art resulted in a modern image of connoisseurship and the mutual affirmation of the art lover and artist's significance.

This discourse resonated in a Dutch and Flemish context. It reveals the continuity, adaptability, and circulation of these cultural ideals and practices, and the ways in which artists and art lovers responded to them in meaningful ways. The display of one of Sweerts' artist's studios in Amsterdam in the last quarter of the seventeenth century

p. 439, 582, 600, 601, 606. Further discussion in Filipczak, *Picturing art in Antwerp*, p. 166–173.

⁵⁴ The academy in The Hague was established in 1682, whereas drawing academies in Amsterdam appeared regularly in the 1690s. The Amsterdam academy was founded in 1718, but only institutionalized in 1765. See P. Knolle, 'Tekenenacademies in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De 17de en 18de eeuw', in: M. Van der Kamp and P.G.J. Leijdekkers (eds.), *De Lucaskrater. Historie en analyse van en meningen over het beeldende-kunstonderwijs aan de kunstacademies in Nederland*, Assen 1984, p. 19–34; P. Knolle, 'Dilettanten en hun rol in 18de-eeuwse Noordnederlandse tekenacademies', in: A. Boschloo (ed.), *Academies of art. Between Renaissance and Romanticism*, *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5–6, The Hague 1989, p. 289–301.

⁵⁵ See M.W. Kwakkelstein (ed.), *Willem Goeree: Inleydinge tot de al-ghemeene teycken-konst; een kritische geannoteerde editie*, Leiden 1998, esp. p. 33–34; G. de Laïresse, *Grondlegginge ter Teekenkonst, zynde een korte en zeekeere weg om door middel van de Geometrie of Meetkunde, de Teekenkonst volkomen te leeren*, Amsterdam 1701; L. de Vries, *How to create beauty. De Laïresse on the theory and practice of making art*, Leiden 2011.

demonstrates, in closing, how these ideas could take shape in an actual collector's cabinet. In a large, classically designed home on the Herengracht canal, Joseph Deutz, a member of a prominent merchant family and one of the Flemish artist's most important patrons, displayed Sweerts' *Schilders-academetje* in his grand purple salon.⁵⁶ The now unidentified work hung in the showroom of Joseph's collection alongside paintings by Rembrandt and Jacob Jordaens, among others, and pieces of antique sculpture.⁵⁷ Knowledgeable about art and antiquities in a way consistent with the values of a Flemish tradition, and possibly practiced in the art of drawing himself, a figure like Joseph Deutz may be seen as a new kind of seventeenth-century *liefhebber*. His ownership of Sweerts' academy painting demonstrates an interest in art that developed along the lines of its making and learning in a classicizing context, rather than just its display as a form of knowledge. Within this grand purple salon – Deutz's own 'Dutch *konstkamer*' – we can imagine the informed discourse that would have taken place before Sweerts' painting, where Deutz embraced his role as a modern art lover.

⁵⁶ Stadsarchief Amsterdam, toegang 234, inv. no. 309, *Inventarissen van de nalatenschap van Joseph Deutz en stukken betreffende de scheiding van de meubelen en inboedel tussen Agneta Deutz en de familie van Lucretia Ortt. 1685–1688* (27/4/1688), p. 11.

⁵⁷ See J. Bikker, 'The Deutz brothers, Italian paintings and Michiel Sweerts. New information from Elisabeth Coymans's "Journael"', in: *Simiolus* 26.4 (1998), p. 277–311.