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DECORATION À L'ORANGE: JAN LIEVENS'S *MARS AND VENUS* IN CONTEXT

Jacqueline N. Coutré

This essay reconsiders Jan Lievens's *Mars and Venus* as a commission by the new Electress of Brandenburg, Louise Henriette of Orange-Nassau (1627–1667), and frames it within the collecting taste established by her parents at the court in The Hague. This contextualization reconciles the painting's identification as allegory, history and *portrait historié*, and illuminates Lievens's visual sources. [10.5092/jhna.2013.5.2.14](https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2013.5.2.14)



Fig. 1 Jan Lievens, *Mars and Venus*, 1653, oil on canvas, 146 x 136 cm. Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, inv. no. GK I 2573, photograph by Wolfgang Pfauder 2008 (artwork in the public domain)

- 1 In his catalogue raisonné of the work of Jan Lievens (1932), Hans Schneider reacted strongly to the suggestion that Lievens's *Mars and Venus* [Fig. 1] of 1653 contained portraits of the painting's first owners, the Brandenburg Elector Friedrich Wilhelm (1620-1688) and his consort Louise Henriette of Orange-Nassau (1627-1667). Not only did Schneider see no similarities between the physiognomies in the painting and known portraits of the royal couple, but he also objected to the proposal that the Electress would have had herself represented in such a “free” manner.¹
- 2 Indeed, the picture's sensual nature reveals itself upon first glance. The painting captures the gods outdoors in an intimate moment: the nude Venus looks dreamily at her armored paramour, who

leans in and reaches across her torso to fondle her breast. Mars is so enchanted by the charms of Venus that he disregards the confiscation of his military baton – which emerges from his lap in an overtly phallic reference – by Venus and the removal of his sword and plumed helmet by three putti. The putto at the lower right coaxes Mars’s weapon from its sheath in a movement that exposes his cherubic genitalia below his miniature version of Mars’s fringed cuirass. Mars’s gaze practically sears the surface of the canvas, and Venus’s reciprocation enhances the intensity of their interaction. Above all, luminous female flesh dominates the life-size scene.

- 3 The overt eroticism of the scene has confounded viewers’ abilities to agree upon a single interpretation. The painting has endured a surprising range of classifications – history, portrait, allegory of marriage – since it was first documented in the collections of the royal couple in 1699.² The desire to treat the picture as an historiated portrait, in particular, has emerged intermittently in the literature since 1816,³ yet Schneider’s protests loom larger over modern scholarship on the picture. A reconsideration of the painting’s function, patronage, and site of display could establish a viewing context in which a reading of the painting as a *portrait historié* would not only be tolerated but prized. The foundation for such an interpretation, I believe, lies with its multifaceted connection to the Orange court in The Hague.
- 4 Several portraits point to Mars and Venus as bearers of the features of Friedrich Wilhelm and Louise Henriette. While comparisons have been made with Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert’s depiction of the couple as Aeneas and Dido [Fig. 2] of 1646,⁴ other portraits further support this connection, such as Gerard van Honthorst’s *Allegory of the Marriage of Louise Henriette and the Great Elector of Brandenburg* [Fig. 3] of 1650, Willem van Honthorst’s *Allegory of the Founding of Oranienburg* [Fig. 4] of c. 1655, and Jan Mytens’s *Elector Friedrich Wilhelm and his Family* of c. 1666 [Fig. 5]. In spite of the personal stylistic interpretation of each artist, all of these paintings reveal Friedrich Wilhelm’s beaked nose, full chin, deep-set brown eyes, and flowing locks and mustache. Similarly, Louise Henriette’s brownish-gray eyes, delicately pointed yet long nose, full cheekbones, and button lips are consistent features of these portraits. The transformation of



Fig. 2 Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, *Dido and Aeneas in the Den*, 1646, oil on canvas, 297 x 255 cm. Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, inv. no. GK I 6291 (photograph by Roland Handrick 1998) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 3 Gerard van Honthorst, *Allegory of the Marriage of Louise Henriette and the Great Elector of Brandenburg*, 1650, oil on canvas, 200 x 300 cm. Oranjezaal, Koninklijk Paleis Huis ten Bosch, The Hague, inv. no. SC/1286 (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 4 Willem van Honthorst, *Allegory of the Founding of Oranienburg*, ca. 1655, oil on canvas, 350 x 400 cm. Kreismuseum Oberhavel (photograph by Stefan Binkowski 2012) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 5 Jan Mytens, *Electeur Friedrich Wilhelm and His Family*, ca. 1666, oil on canvas, 333 x 271 cm. Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, inv. no. GK I 1019 (photograph by Wolfgang Pfau 2003) (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 6 Detail of figure 3

Louise Henriette's dark hair into golden tresses likely reflects traditional depictions of Venus, as seen in Titian's *Pardo Venus* (c. 1540, Musée du Louvre, Paris) and Peter Paul Rubens's *Horrors of War* (1637-8, Galleria Pitti, Florence), for example – which Lievens would have seen during his time abroad – and as described in literary sources like Homer, who is cited in Karel van Mander's *Wtlegginge op den Metamorphosis*.⁵ The linchpin for recognition of the portraits in Lievens's painting, however, is the unconventional physiognomy of Mars, and specifically the highlight along the ridge of Mars's nose that defines the aquiline contour so visible in Van Honthorst's portrait [Fig. 6].

- 5 The couple's interest in role-playing surely stemmed from Louise Henriette's parents, stadholder Frederik Hendrik of Orange-Nassau (1584-1647) and Amalia van Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675), who commissioned Bosschaert's double portrait of 1646. As has been observed, *portrait historié* had come to be appreciated at their court in The Hague to an unprecedented degree.⁶ Diana seems to have been a popular choice for Amalia and her relations in the 1630s and 1640s,⁷ as Gerard van Honthorst painted the stadholder's wife, her sister Louise Christina, and her grand-nieces as the virgin goddess.⁸ Amalia also had herself painted as Flora around 1629 and Esther in 1633,⁹ and other female members of the extended Orange-Nassau family had themselves represented in these guises as well as that of Minerva.¹⁰ Interestingly, in the very same year that Louise Henriette was married in The Hague, her cousin Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia had herself portrayed as Venus by Honthorst.¹¹ There were even precedents for mythological double portraits, as evidenced by Honthorst's 1633 painting depicting Amalia and her niece, Charlotte de Trémouille, as Diana and a nymph.¹²
- 6 These examples and the observations of several scholars indicate that *portrait historié* at the court in The Hague was gendered distinctly feminine,¹³ which is supported by the reversal of traditional hierarchies in Lievens's double portrait. Notably, Lievens places the princess of Orange in the dexter position and relegates her husband to the sinister location, thereby inverting common practices of depicting the genders in Northern portraiture.¹⁴ As Suzanne Crawford-Parker has argued about Bosschaert's painting [Fig. 2],¹⁵ this upending of portrait conventions situates Louise Henriette in the privileged position and thereby calls attention to her. David R. Smith would contend that the Electress's prominence is a function of the narrative in which the couple participates.¹⁶ In the paintings by Lievens and Bosschaert, the female characters that Louise Henriette assumes make their male counterparts submit to them, thereby asserting their dominance and justifying her situation in the dexter spot. Interestingly, this inversion is also seen in

the non-narrative portraits by the Honthorst brothers [Figs. 3-4], the former commissioned by Louise Henriette's mother and the latter executed for Louise Henriette herself. The inversion of figures in these two paintings, which were displayed in spaces erected by female members of the house of Orange, may serve to emphasize Louise Henriette's position as the daughter of a prince, and therefore of higher noble status than her husband the duke.¹⁷

- 7 Given the arrangement of the couple and the painting's earliest documented location,¹⁸ Louise Henriette almost certainly commissioned this picture from Lievens. The 1699 inventory records the *Mars and Venus* as hanging in an unidentified room in Schloß Oranienburg. Friedrich Wilhelm described the palace as having been designed according to the Electress's tastes and means, which is evident in the "LC" monogram (for "Louise Churvorstin") visible throughout the building. On 27 September 1650, Friedrich Wilhelm presented the entire municipality of Bützow to his wife – perhaps because of the similarity in terrain to parts of Holland – and she quickly decided to renovate its dilapidated hunting lodge.¹⁹ By 1652, she had renamed her architectural project "Oranienburg". The palace was reconstructed by the Dutch-trained Johann Gregor Memhardt, and as suggested by its name, it directly reflected the built environments that the Electress knew from her youth in The Hague. The plan emulated that of Huis ter Nieuburg, the modest summer residence erected by Louise Henriette's father, Frederik Hendrik, in Rijswijk outside of The Hague in the 1630s.²⁰ With its large entry hall and grand staircase flanked by symmetrical chambers, Oranienburg's original plan extended from a *corps-de-logis* outward to two square pavilions via galleries. The exterior also reflected Jacob van Campen's classicizing style at Ter Nieuburg through the prominent pediment that rose in front of a hipped roof, the accentuated center bays, the pronounced window frames, and the formal symmetry. The interior arrangement further demonstrated an affinity for the layout of Orange palaces.²¹ The west wing contained the portrait gallery fundamental to many European royal residences, and it would also come to house a rare porcelain cabinet following the pioneering displays set up by Louise Henriette's mother, Amalia van Solms, at palaces in The Hague.²² Further echoes of Ter Nieuburg would have been visible in Oranienburg's main hall, which featured a ceiling painting of the four seasons accompanied by "Oriental" figures and musicians behind a golden *trompe-l'oeil* balustrade.²³ Such decoration would have recalled the illusionistic balustrade that Gerard van Honthorst executed in 1638 in the "groot sael" of Huis ter Nieuburg.²⁴ Even the artists who were brought to Oranienburg to decorate the palace or were patronized from afar – such as Willem van Honthorst, François Dieussart, Govaert Flinck, Jan Mytens, Peter Nason and Lievens himself – had strong connections to the court in The Hague.²⁵ As Tony Saring observed, the Electress clearly sought to establish "den Haag in het klein" at Oranienburg.²⁶
- 8 Given the sympathy in Louise Henriette's palace with Orange taste of the 1630s and 1640s, it would be logical to search for parallels with Lievens's painting in the collections of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia. It is an allegory of peace by Peter Paul Rubens [Fig. 7] that likely served as a precedent for Lievens's basic design.²⁷ This large-scale picture, which hung above the mantel in the private apartments of Amalia van Solms at Paleis Noordeinde, possessed many of the compositional elements visible in Lievens' painting: the proximity of the two gods' faces and their interlocked gazes, the action of one god reaching across the torso of the other, the removal of Mars's phallic weapon by Venus and his helmet by putti, and the coy manner in which Venus's drapery conceals yet reveals her legs. The arched top of Lievens's painting, a signal of its original

function as a mantelpiece, strengthens this association. Lievens, who was patronized sporadically by the Orange family between c. 1629 and 1650, would have known the earlier painting through firsthand observation, Louise Henriette's description of it, or perhaps through a pen sketch by an artist in Rubens's circle.²⁸ Even the selection of Lievens – an artist who had returned from an eight-year stay in Antwerp strongly affected by Rubens's robust fleshiness, grand gestures, vibrant palette, and broad brushwork – must have been a conscious nod to the painting in the collection of the late stadholder and his wife.



Fig. 7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Mars and Venus*, ca. 1617, oil on canvas, 170 x 193 cm. Formerly Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (lost), inv. no. GK I 2284 (photograph by an anonymous artist before 1945) (artwork in the public domain)

- 9 The selection of Rubens's painting as a model and of Mars and Venus as a subject relates to the gods' roles as lovers whose union engenders peace. Louise Henriette and Friedrich Wilhelm had been married in The Hague in 1646, and these mythological roles not only present the most esteemed attributes of their genders, physical prowess and beauty, but also proclaim their romantic relationship as an allegory of marriage. A likely placement in the palace's private chambers would have allowed them to mirror this intimate engagement behind closed doors.²⁹ The narrative moment selected, the disarming of the war god in preparation for lovemaking, further shapes their identities. Ancient authors like Lucretius, Plutarch, and Hesiod described the bodily union of Venus and Mars as begetting harmony and bringing peace to the wider world,³⁰ and the explicitly sexual references within the painting allude to the fundamental act that yields the reward of peace.
- 10 As rulers, Louise Henriette and her husband were particularly concerned with the quality of life in Brandenburg. Bützow had suffered a destructive fire in 1632, which had left only one quarter of the village's residences standing,³¹ and the area had been so ravaged by the Thirty Years' War that the Electress sought as early as 1651 to rejuvenate it through colonization by Dutch citizens and economic stimulation through Dutch enterprises. The village of Bützow demonstrated its gratitude by adopting the name "Oranienburg" in 1653. Louise Henriette went on to sponsor other public projects in the town, such as a new church tower and an orphanage.³² Similarly, Friedrich Wilhelm had repopulated parts of Brandenburg with Frisian citizens shortly after the Treaty of Westphalia, contributing to Brandenburg's reputation as a land of opportunity.³³ Lievens's characterization of the royal couple as sowers of concord is thus historically grounded in their actions as rulers, and it means that the picture functions not only as a *portrait historié* and allegory of marriage but also as a potent allegory of peace.

- 11 Rubens's painting not only provides a ready source for Lievens's composition, but it is also indicative of the presence of paintings of the large-scale female nude at the court of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia. Palace inventories list a number of pictures presumed to contain female nudes based on conventional treatments of the subjects. Among paintings recorded are themes like the toilet of Venus and the flight of Cloelia by artists who typically worked on a large scale, such as Maarten van Heemskerck, Frans Badens, Cornelis van Haarlem, Pieter and Frans de Grebber, Paulus Bor, Willeboirts Bosschaert, and Rubens.³⁴ The Oranjezaal was also peppered with large-format nudes, and even the Electress's older brother had commissioned an "entirely naked" Venus from Dirck Bleker, who received a stunning 1700 guilders for his likely life-size painting in 1650.³⁵ This rise in the popularity of the female nude at the Orange court seems to correspond to a larger trend that also affected the Netherlands in the 1640s.³⁶
- 12 In her work on Honselaarsdijk, Rebecca Tucker has stressed the necessity of viewing the palace as an unified whole in terms of its architecture and decorative programs, and the application of this approach to Schloß Oranienburg offers a new understanding of Lievens's painting. By framing the picture within the context of Louise Henriette's adoption of the taste established by her parents in The Hague, the tension surrounding the nude representation of the Electress is eased. Furthermore, from Praxiteles's *Aphrodite of Knidos* (Roman copy c. 350-340 BCE, Musei Vaticani, Rome) to Titian's *Venus with an Organist and Cupid* (c. 1555, Museo del Prado, Madrid), nudity has long functioned as an identifying attribute of Venus – comparable to Minerva's armor or Jupiter's thunderbolt – and should not be seen as an extension of Louise Henriette's person but as an element of the role that she has donned, almost as a costume.³⁷ It is fundamental to the inherently multiple functions of this painting as *portrait historié* and allegory of marriage and peace, for only through physical beauty can Venus seduce Mars and facilitate prosperity for mankind. The alteration of her hair color also tempers the portrait identification and provides some emotional distance between the viewer and the subject.³⁸ The import of her nudity can be seen in the comparison between this painting and an allegory of peace by Lievens from one year earlier [Fig. 8], where the female figure displays the dark hair, pronounced cheekbones, button lips and elegant nose of Louise Henriette.³⁹ While the Rijksmuseum painting conveys the bounty associated with peace, it contains no hint of the conjugal tenor of the 1653 painting, which is perhaps why the newly settled Electress may have refused it from Lievens as decoration for her palace.⁴⁰



Fig. 8 Jan Lievens, *Allegory of Peace*, 1652, oil on canvas, 220 x 204 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-612 (photograph by Rik Klein Gotink 2010) (artwork in the public domain)

Louise Henriette's intention to perpetuate the Orange taste for *portrait historié* just as the widow Amalia was promoting herself as the stabilizer of the Orange dynasty at the dawn of the First Stadholderless Period (1650-1672) makes Lievens's *Mars and Venus* even more powerful.⁴¹ The true freedom that Louise Henriette displays in Lievens's painting is the control that she harnesses of her own self-image, fashioning herself as a female ruler possessing great agency in her new identity as Electress of Brandenburg, princess of Orange, and mistress of Oranienburg.

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I offer this essay with appreciation to an outstanding mentor, Professor Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann. He helped to focus my interests in circle of Rembrandt to the figure of Jan Lievens, and I have been fascinated by the artist ever since. I will be forever grateful for Egbert's support and friendship.

Jacquelyn N. Coutré completed her dissertation on Jan Lievens under the supervision of Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann at the Institute of Fine Arts, receiving her Ph.D. in 2011. She is the Allen Whitehill Clowes Curatorial Fellow at the Indianapolis Museum of Art and is preparing a manuscript on Lievens's Amsterdam period.

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¹ Hans Schneider, *Jan Lievens. Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Haarlem: De eerven F. Bohn n.v., 1932), no. 87.

² For a full account of the literature on this painting, see Jacquelyn N. Coutré, “Jan Lievens: Painting, Politics, and Decoration in Dutch Art, 1653-1669” (PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2011), 136. On the 1699 inventory, see Gerd Bartoschek, *Gemälde aus dem Schloß Oranienburg* (Oranienburg: Kreismuseum Oranienburg, 1978), 18.

³ The 1816 inventory of the Berliner Schloss describes the painting solely as a portrait while attributing it to Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. See Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die Gemälde im Jagdschloß Grunewald* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1964), 90. Most recently, the painting has been classified as a *portrait historié* in *Jan Lievens. A Dutch Master Rediscovered*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (exh. cat. National Gallery of Art, Washington; Milwaukee Art Museum; Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam; 2008-9), no. 50.

⁴ Schneider, *Jan Lievens*, no. 87; Lloyd DeWitt, “Evolution and Ambition in the Career of Jan Lievens (1607-1674)” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2006), 213-4; and *Jan Lievens. A Dutch Master Rediscovered*, no. 50.

⁵ “...And her beautiful blond hair covered with golden ribbons...” (En haer schoon blonde hayr met gulden spansels decken). As quoted in Karel van Mander, *Wtlegginge op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovid. Nasonis...* (Haarlem: Paschier van Westbusch, 1604) [reprint Utrecht: Davaco, 1969], fol. 29r.

⁶ Marieke Tiethoff-Splithoff, “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*, ed. Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), 171. Important studies on *portrait historié* in the United Provinces include Rose Wishnevsky, “Studien zum ‘portrait historié’ in den Niederlanden” (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1967); Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia. Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, NJ: Boydell Press, 1983), chapter 5; Sarah M. Crawford-Parker, “Refashioning Female Identity: Women’s Roles in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Historiated Portraits” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2006); and Ann Jensen Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland. Portraiture and the Production of Community* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 4.

⁷ On the appreciation of portraits, including *portraits historiés*, by Amalia, see Crawford-Parker, “Refashioning Female Identity”, chapter 1; Virginia Clare Treanor, “Amalia van Solms and the Formation of the Stadhouders’ Art Collection, 1625-1675” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2012), chapter 3; and Saskia Beranek, “Power of the Portrait: Production, Consumption and Display of Portraits of Amalia van Solms in the Dutch Republic” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2013). I have not read Beranek’s dissertation, but she has been generous enough to share her ideas with me.

⁸ *Amalia van Solms-Braunfels as Diana* (1632, Gothisches Haus, Wörlitz); *Louise Christina van*

Solms-Braunfels as Diana (c. 1636, present location unknown); *Louise Hollandine as Diana* (1643, Centraal Museum, Utrecht); and *Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, as Diana* (c. 1632, Bayerisches Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich). See J. Richard Judson and Rudolf E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst, 1592-1656*, Aetas Aurea, vol. XIV (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1999), nos. 310, 456, 365, and 350; see also no. 327. The studio of Jan Mytens produced several portraits of Albertine Agnes and Maria, Amalia's second eldest and youngest daughters, as Diana in the early 1660s. See Alexandra Nina Bauer, *Jan Mijtens (1613/14-1670). Leben und Werk*. Studien der internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte, 21 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2006), nos. A49, A53, A54, and A78.

⁹ *Amalia van Solms-Braunfels as Flora* (c. 1629, Gothisches Haus, Wörlitz) and *Amalia van Solms-Braunfels as Esther* (1633, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, MA). See Judson/Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, nos. 298 and 311.

¹⁰ *Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, as Flora and Friedrich V, King of Bohemia, as a Shepherd with their Children* (undated, present location unknown); *Elisabeth van Solms as Minerva* (1632, present location unknown); and *Charlotte de la Trémouille as Minerva* (1632, Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau, The Hague). See Judson/Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, nos. 326, 454, and 461.

¹¹ *Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, as Venus* (1646, present location unknown). See Judson/Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, no. 341. On a painting by Ferdinand Bol in which a woman of high social standing is depicted as Venus, see Rudolf E.O. Ekkart, "A *portrait historié* with Venus, Paris, and Cupid: Ferdinand Bol and the patronage of the Spiegel family", *Simiolus* 29, nos. 1/2 (2002), 14-41.

¹² *Amalia van Solms and Charlotte de la Trémouille as Diana and a Nymph* (1633, Collection Duke and Duchess Fitzwilliam, Castle Milton). See Judson/Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, no. 111; see also no. 297.

¹³ Tiethoff-Spliethoff notes that only one historiated portrait of Frederik Hendrik is documented; see Tiethoff-Spliethoff, "Role-Play and Representation", 171. Beranek also touches upon the gendered nature of *portrait historié* at Amalia's court in her dissertation (email correspondence, 22 February 2013).

¹⁴ Seymour Slive, *Frans Hals*, vol. 1 (London: Phaidon, 1970), 51.

¹⁵ Crawford-Parker, "Refashioning Female Identity", 81-110.

¹⁶ David R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 48.

¹⁷ On Amalia's concerns about rank for the marriage of her daughters, see Simon Groenveld, "Frederick Henry and his Entourage: A Brief Political Biography", in *Princely Patrons. The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia van Solms in The Hague*, ed. Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren (exh. cat. Royal Portrait Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1997-8), 30. Amalia made successful alliances for her daughters after her husband's death: Albertine Agnes married stadholder Willem Frederik van Nassau-Dietz in 1652, Henriette Catharine married Prince Johann Georg II von Anhalt-Dessau in 1659, and Maria married Count Palatine Ludwig Heinrich Moritz von Simmeren in 1666.

¹⁸ Though the 1699 inventory postdates Louise Henriette's death by twenty-two years, her will of 1662 states that nothing in the palace should be removed or altered until one of her children should be in a position to inhabit it. Her surviving family seems to have visited it infrequently through the late 1680s. See Wilhelm Böck, *Oranienburg. Geschichte eines Preussischen Königsschlösses*, Forschungen zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Band 30 (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für

Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), 33-4.

¹⁹ Having remained in The Hague through the death of her father, and then giving birth to her first son at Schloß Zwanenburg in Cleves in May 1648, the Electress did not see her new home until 1650. See Ulrike Hammer, *Kurfürstin Luise Henriette. Eine Oranierin als Mittlerin zwischen den Niederlanden und Brandenburg-Preußen*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur Norwesteuropas, Band 4. (Münster/New York: Waxmann, 2001), 81. On the similarities between Bützow and Holland, see Böck, *Oranienburg*, 14. On the rejuvenation of Bützow, see Böck, *Oranienburg*, 14-28; Tony Saring, *Louise Henriette, Prinses van Oranje* (Amsterdam: A. J. G. Strenght, 1942), 78-86; Konrad A. Ottenheim, "Fürsten, Architekten, und Lehrbücher. Wege der holländischen Baukunst nach Brandenburg im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Onder den Oranjeboom. Nederländische Kunst und Kultur im. 17 und 18. Jahrhundert an deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, ed. Markus Schacht, Jörg Meinder, and Horst Lademacher (exh. cat. Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, Krefeld; Schloß Oranienburg; Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn, 1999-2000), 291-3; and Hammer, *Kurfürstin Luise Henriette*, 82-92.

²⁰ Konrad Ottenheim also came to this conclusion. See Ottenheim, "Fürsten, Architekten, und Lehrbücher", 293; see also Hammer, *Kurfürstin Luise Henriette*, 94.

²¹ On Ter Nieuburg, see D. F. Slothouwer, *De Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1945), 89-133 and 289-303; and *Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideal in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Jacobine Huisken, Koen Ottenheim, and Gary Schwartz (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Pers, 1995), 174. On Honselaarsdijk, see Slothouwer, *Paleizen*, 57-82; and Rebecca Joslyn Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly: The Patronage of Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) at the palace of Honselaarsdijk during the Dutch Republic" (PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2002).

²² On the unusually early beginnings of Amalia's porcelain collection, see C. Willemijn Fock, "The Apartments of Frederick Hendrik and Amalia van Solms: Princely Splendour and the Triumph of Porcelain", in *Princely Patrons*, 80-1. See also Treanor, "Amalia van Solms", chapter 4.

²³ Böck, *Oranienburg*, 26.

²⁴ Judson/Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst*, 21-2. A similar balustrade, given to Pieter de Grebber and Paulus Bor, adorned the ceiling of the main hall at Honselaarsdijk. See Tucker, "The Art of Living Nobly", 179-81.

²⁵ On the numerous paintings by Dutch artists that hung at Oranienburg, see Bartoschek, *Gemälde aus dem Schloß Oranienburg*, 11-4; and Gerd Bartoschek, "Ein Kurfürstliches Gemäldekabinett", in *FWC (1620-1688). Der Große Kurfürst. Sammler, Bauherr, Mäzen* (exh. cat. Neues Paleis, Potsdam, 1988), 134-48.

²⁶ Saring, *Louise Henriette*, 66.

²⁷ *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmee gelijk te stellen stukken 1567-1795*, ed. S. W. A. Drossaers and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 207. On Rubens's depictions of Mars and Venus, see Reinhold Baumstark, "Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, ed. Peter Ludwig, vol. 45 (Cologne: M. Dumont Schauberg, 1974).

²⁸ The engraving published by Abraham van Hoorn (no date, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam) likely postdates Lievens's painting.

²⁹ Louise Henriette must have followed the advice recorded by Guido Mancini in his *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (1621), that salacious images should be hung in private chambers. See Dena Marie Woodall, "Sharing Space: Double Portraiture in Renaissance Italy" (PhD diss., Case West-

ern Reserve University, 2008), 207.

³⁰ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, rev. Martin Ferguson Smith (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) 5-7; Plutarch, *Moralia*, vol. 5, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 117; and Van Mander, *Wtlegginge*, fol. 30v. See also Erwin Panofsky, “The Neoplatonic Movement in Florence and North Italy”, in *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 163-4.

³¹ Hammer, *Kurfürstin Luise Henriette*, 90.

³² *Ibid.*, 83-97.

³³ A letter of 3 December 1652 from the Brandenburg representative in Amsterdam to the Elector states, “Täglich kommen mich bei dieser kümmerlichen Zeit alhier, Maurer- und Zimmerleute anlauffen, und fragen, ob sie nicht bei Ew. Churfl. Durchl. konten Werck finden...” As quoted in Hammer, *Kurfürstin Luise Henriette*, 90.

³⁴ *Inventarissen*, 179-237.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 542; and *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth-Century Painting* (exh. cat. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; and Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main; 1999-2000), no. 46.

³⁶ On the rise in the depiction of the female nude at this time, see Elizabeth Ann Schott, “Representing the Body in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands: Rembrandt’s Nudes Reconsidered” (PhD diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2000). On contemporary responses to the female nude, see Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2006), chapter 5.

³⁷ On the development of nudity as an attribute of Venus’s physical beauty, see Kenneth Clark, *The Nude. A Study in Ideal Art* (London: John Murray, 1957), chapter 3.

³⁸ Perry Chapman has observed that Rembrandt used hairstyle as an “aspect of the costumes and guises that he puts on and takes off at will”; I believe that the same could be said of hair color. See H. Perry Chapman, *Rembrandt’s Self-Portraits. A Study in Seventeenth-Century Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 22.

³⁹ This was also observed in *Jan Lievens. Ein Maler im Schatten Rembrandts* (exh. cat. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 1979), no. 37.

⁴⁰ Because of the size of the Rijksmuseum painting, it is often associated with the allegory of peace assessed at 100 guilders in Lievens’s estate inventory. It has been proposed that the painting was a failed commission that remained in the artist’s possession until his death. The connection between this painting and the inventory, and my relation of it to Louise Henriette’s palace, is speculative. See Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare. Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1915), 187; and *Jan Lievens. A Dutch Master Rediscovered*, no. 49.

⁴¹ Barbara Gaeghtens, “Amalia von Solms und die oranische Kunstpolitik”, in *Onder den Oranjerboom*, 265-85; and Treanor, “Amalia van Solms”, 107-229.

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