Thomas de Keyser's *Equestrian Portrait of Pieter Schout*, 1660

Ann Jensen Adams

ajadams@arthistory.ucsb.edu

THOMAS DE KEYSER'S EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF PIETER SCHOUT, 1660

Ann Jensen Adams

After a hiatus of nearly twenty-five years, Thomas de Keyser painted several additional portraits, apparently a by-product of family and professional connections. Among these was his masterful small-scale equestrian portrait of twenty-year-old Pieter Schout (1660), a young lawyer with high cultural and political ambitions. With new archival documentation, this essay recreates the biographical, familial, and social networks that must have brought artist and patron together, with a consideration of the social import of the painting for its sitter and subsequent owners.
DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2017.9.1.9

Fig. 1. Thomas de Keyser, *Equestrian Portrait of Pieter Schout (1640–1669)*, 1660, oil on copper, 86 x 69.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-697 (artwork in the public domain)

1　Walter Liedtke first came to the Department of Paintings of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1979 on a Mellon Fellowship to write what became his award-winning book, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture and Horsemanship 1500–1800,* published in 1989.[1] When I arrived in the department two years later as a Chester Dale Research Fellow to work on my PhD dissertation on the paintings of Thomas de Keyser, Walter—who had the previous year been appointed the museum's first curator of Dutch and Flemish Paintings—was deeply immersed in his research for the book. I recall with pleasure our discussions over photographs of equestrian portraits piled

on the large round table in his office, among which was one of the masterpieces of the genre, de Keyser's small-scale equestrian portrait of nineteen-year-old Pieter Schout (November 14, 1640–May 29, 1669) now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 1).[2] Painted on a large sheet of copper in fine yet visible strokes, the surface has a gemlike quality.[3] With a few exceptions de Keyser had, some twenty years earlier, traded his portrait brush for a chisel to make a living as a stonemason and contractor. This painting, along with two other small-scale equestrian portraits painted in his sixty-fourth and sixty-fifth years, however, did not constitute a return to portraiture as a profession *per se* but seem to have been a by-product of family and professional connections in other spheres.[4] This essay assembles the disparate information about de Keyser's portrait of Pieter Schout and the equestrian practices and the visual tradition of which it partakes. Then, with new archival research, it fills out the provenance and identifies Schout's family and the social networks that must have brought patron and artist together, concluding with a consideration of the afterlife of the painting.

2   The inscription on the third state of a print after the painting by Abraham Blooteling identifies the subject of de Keyser's portrait as Pieter Schout (see fig. 7). Schout's father, Bartolomeus Jans Schout[en] (1612–1676), was *Pagadoor van 't krijgsvolk* (paymaster of soldiers) of Amsterdam.[5] Pieter's mother, Jannetje van Oirschot [Joanna van Oorschot] (1615–1680), was the daughter of a French schoolmaster in Alkmaar north of Amsterdam.[6] The couple published the banns of their marriage in Amsterdam on May 22, 1637, and were married on June 9.[7] Pieter Schout was their second son and, according to the inscription on the print was born on September 14, 1640. He was baptized in the Nieuwe Kerk on September 23.[8] Schout died unmarried at the age of twenty-eight on May 29, 1669, and was buried in the same church on June 1, 1669.[9]

3   Until 1880 when a descendant donated the painting to the Rijksmuseum and Victor de Stuers recognized de Keyser's monogram, the portrait had been attributed to artists on whose styles de Keyser had had a significant impact. When Blooteling's print was recorded in an Amsterdam sale in 1767, the sitter was named as Pieter's father, Bartholomeus Schout, and the artists as Gabriel Metsu and Philips Wouwermans.[10] In his multivolume catalogue raisonné published in 1829 John Smith listed it among the works of Caspar Netscher, attributing the horse to Philips Wouwermans and listing the sitter as unknown; in his supplement of 1842 Smith changed the attribution of the figure to Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681).[11] Even after de Keyser's monogram was discovered, because he is primarily known for his portraits authors seemed to have been unwilling to credit him with either the horse or the landscape. In 1927 Hans Schneider gave the landscape to Adriaen van de Velde, an attribution repeated in subsequent literature.[12] The handling of the paint is consistent throughout the work, however, and there seems to be no reason to attribute the landscape to another artist.[13]

4   Schout is comfortably seated astride a small-headed black Andalusian, which is painted with such care and specificity that it, too, must be a portrait.[14] Both Schout and his mount are lavishly outfitted. Small colored tassels hang from his horse's bridle. Schout himself wears a satin jacket with slit sleeves, high boots and spurs, and a hat with a thin metallic braid at the edge of the brim. A sword with a lion's head handle hangs from the baldric over his shoulder, which is elaborately embroidered in gold and silver thread. Schout's pistol is tucked into a blue holster trimmed in silver satin, while a broad blue bowed band is tied around his left wrist. Beyond him stretches a

vista over a rolling dunescape.

Seventeenth-century Equitation

5   While measuring less than eighty-six centimeters (thirty-four inches) high, Pieter Schout's portrait has the dignity and authority of life-sized equestrian images of nobility, whose prestige it invokes. It locates him in a long tradition of magnificent equestrian figures ranging from the antique statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome (175 CE) to Titian's *Charles V at Mühlburg* (1578) and Anthony van Dyck's *Equestrian Portrait of Charles I* (ca. 1637–38).[15] Although work horses hauling carts to market and coaches between cities were a familiar aspect of daily life, following international court fashion the ownership of an elegant riding mount and skill in dressage was becoming an important social skill for the Dutch urban elite. In the late 1640s, Dutch painter Gerard ter Borch had painted at least two small-scale equestrian portraits for non-Dutch royal patrons: one of Henri d'Orléans, duc de Longueville (1646/47; fig. 2), and another of Elector Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz (1649).[16] At mid-century artists began painting larger and even life-sized portraits of non-royal Dutch sitters, including Rembrandt's portrait of Frederick Rihel (ca. 1663).[17] In Dordrecht, where regents had begun adopting country lifestyles, Aelbert Cuyp had been painting more narrative multifigured equestrian portraits from the 1650s.

Fig. 2. Gerard ter Borch, *Henri d'Orléans, duc de Longueville*, ca. 1646/47, oil on canvas, 47.5 x 39.5 cm. Münster, Stadtmuseum (artwork in the public domain)

6   Customarily reserved for monarchs and aristocrats, the genre had been associated with leadership in battle and the privileges of the hunt. During the seventeenth century equestrian training in classical dressage (*haute école*) had become popular among Europe's elite, as attested to by a number of books illustrating its techniques, including Antoine de Pluvinel's *L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval* of 1625 written for the French king (fig. 3).[18] An appreciation for dressage quickly spread to The Netherlands. Living in exile from 1648 to 1660, Englishman William Cavendish wrote and published his influential *Methode et invention nouvelle de dresser les chevaux* in Antwerp in 1658.[19] Although little documentation survives, around this time private riding schools had begun to be established in Amsterdam.[20] The majority of formal equestrian portraits depict the figure in one of the established riding poses, most frequently either the more

difficult *levade*, or the *piasse* as executed by Pieter Schout and his horse, a highly collected trot in place in which the horse stands on one fore- and one hind leg as it raises the two opposing legs off the ground.[21]
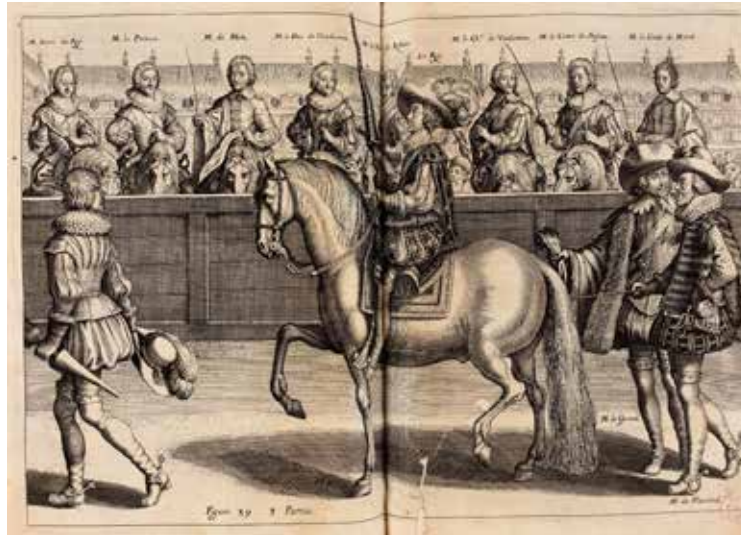

Fig. 3. Antoine de Pluvinel, *L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval* (Paris: Michel Nivelle, 1625), fig. 44 (pl. 39), engraving (artwork in the public domain)

Schout and the 1660 Entry of Maria Henrietta Stuart and Prince Willem III

7   Although de Keyser's portrait makes no reference to other riders, as first observed by D. J. Meijer in 1888, the idea of celebrating Schout and his equestrian skills may have been prompted in part by his participation in a cavalcade hastily assembled in June of 1660, the year inscribed on the painting, as part of a celebration to honor Maria Henrietta Stuart (November 4, 1631–December 24, 1660) and her nine-year-old son Willem III, Prince of Orange (November 14, 1650–May 8, 1702).[22] Remmet van Luttervelt noted that Jan Vos's poem written about the painting (text below) mentions Schout's helping to greet the "Oranjen," members of the House of Orange, while Jonathan Bikker observed that Schout's participation in the cavalcade was recorded in the inscription on a print published to memorialize the event (figs. 4, 5).[23] With a few modifications, the plate for the print had been reused by an anonymous printmaker after that created by Pieter Nolpe for the 1638 entry of Marie de' Medici into Amsterdam. While Schout is not specifically portrayed in the print, his name is listed among the 108 members of the cavalcade that were added to the earlier plate.[24]

8   This was a highly visible position in a notable event. While the reigning Amsterdam burgomasters and town council continued to be opposed to the return of the Stadhouderate, which would go to young Willem III, they swallowed their opposition in the hope of currying favor with his uncle, Charles II, newly restored to the English throne. On June 15, 1660, the coaches of Maria Henrietta Stuart and her nine-year-old son Willem III, and their retinue, approached the city of Amsterdam. "About an hour outside of the city gates" they were met and escorted to the Sint Anthonispoort by an honor guard consisting of over one hundred cavalrymen. The riders were divided into three cavalcades comprising not only members of regent families but also affluent

Fig. 4. Salomon Saverij, *Cavalcade Greeting the Entry into Amsterdam of Maria Henrietta Stuart and Prince Willem III*, pl. 4, 1660, etching, 31.6 x 46.7 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-OB-24.016 (artwork in the public domain)

citizens from many different circles.[25] Schout was among the fourth group of riders in the first and most prestigious group of riders, under the direction of Jan [Joan] van Waveren (see fig. 5). If the painting refers to the cavalcade, the blue ribbon around his wrist may refer to the group of horsemen of which he was a part.[26] Companies of the civic guards welcomed their visitors the following day and escorted them through the city past twenty hastily assembled and decorated *staatsiewagens* (floats) on the Dam whose programs were written by city glazier, poet, and head of the Amsterdam theater Jan Vos (1610–1667).[27]
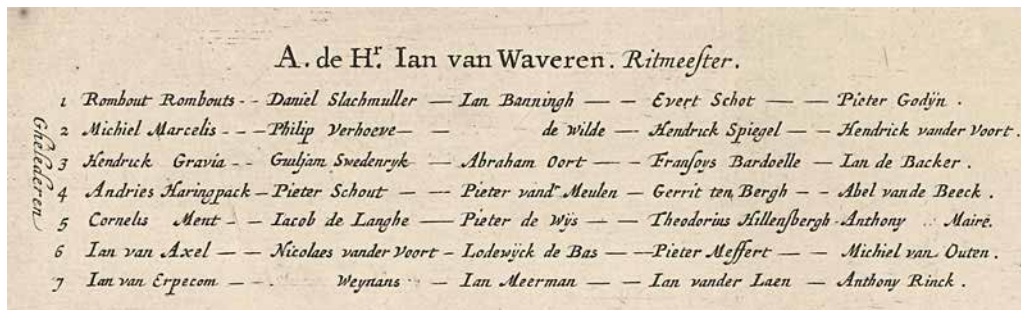

Fig. 5. Detail of fig. 4.

9   The honor guard in which Schout rode was meant to impress the royal guests. It also was the kind of public ritual that helped to cement participants within the city's social and political foundations and, by extension, the province of Holland, the Republic, and abroad to England. Pieter Schout must have appreciated this as an exceptional opportunity to further his own rapidly rising social and political stature.

10   While de Keyser's three equestrian portraits of 1660 and 1661 have traditionally been cited as the earliest non-royal equestrian portraits on a small scale, Frederik Duparc has recently demonstrated that Adriaen van de Velde had already created an exquisite small-scale non-royal equestrian

portrait in 1658 (fig. 7).[28] Accompanied by a dog, Adriaen van de Velde's figure evokes the prestige associated with the hunt. For the moment, its sitter remains unknown, but de Keyser's portrait of Schout is so close in concept and pose that he must have known the earlier work.

Fig. 6. Adriaen van de Velde, *Equestrian Portrait of an Unknown Man*, 33 x 25.5 cm, signed and dated: A.v.velde. f. 1658. Private Collection, Great Britain (artwork in the public domain)

11 Because de Keyser's portrait makes no reference to other riders, a city gate, or even a suburban setting, it is possible that this painting was linked to the event only after the fact. Given his subsequent official appointments in Utrecht and Hagestein, Schout must have owned land in this region.[29] If an occasion prompted the commission, it is thus possible that it might depict another still unknown event in Pieter Schout's life, such as his receipt of an inheritance or the purchase of a country home.

Drost and Dijkgraaf of Hagestein

12 As Jonathan Bikker noted, two years after Schout's participation in the cavalcade he graduated from Leiden University with a degree in law; two years after his graduation, on September 3, 1664, Schout was appointed by the chapters of the cathedral and Oud Munster of Utrecht to the position of Drost and Dijkgraaf (high bailiff and overseer of the local water authority) of the domain of Hagestein, a community south of Utrecht on the Lek River.[30] Bikker points out that because the appointment was made by the chapters of the church, it was the reason he was also called canon or warden of the cathedral and Oud Munster.[31] By this time Schout was establishing himself in Amsterdam as a young man of culture, for in 1664 Jan Neuye dedicated his play *Eneas of Vader des Vaderlants* to "Den Heer en Meester Pieter Schout, Rechts-geleerde, Dom-Heer van Oudt-Munster, & etc."[32]

Pieter Schout and Thomas de Keyser

13 If Schout or a member of his family did not already have a relationship with de Keyser, the commission—coming after nearly two decades in which the artist does not seem to have created any portraits—must have been brought about through an individual with whom de Keyser had

established ties. In 1635 Pieter's father, Bartolomeus Schouten, purchased a "d'hemelvaert van Muller f –:14:" at the Barent van Someren sale, at which de Keyser also made a purchase.[33] On May 17, 1644, Bartholomeus Schout purchased from Dirck van Wisselt a house and property on the west side of the Keizersgracht.[34] De Keyser had portrayed Dirck van Wisselt and his son in 1631.[35] Moreover, de Keyser had recently portrayed Cornelis de Graeff (1599–1664) and would at about the same time portray his sons Pieter de Graeff (1638–1707), and Jacob de Graeff, the latter of whom led one of the three cavalcades of the 1660 event.[36] Artist and sitter also both knew Jan Vos, who had written the program for the Stuart-Orange entry. Thomas [Hendricksz] de Keyser's first cousin Thomas Gerritsz de Keyser (ca. 1597–1651) was an actor in the Amsterdam theater. Vos was also well known to Pieter Schout's family. Over the years the poet had written a considerable number of occasional verses on family members, family events, portraits, and a history painting owned by his parents.[37] Vos also wrote poems celebrating every stage of Pieter Schout's own career: on this equestrian portrait and presumably his participation in the cavalcade of 1660; on his graduation from Leiden in law; on the dinner in celebration of his appointment as Duikgraff of Hagestein (in a poem that calls him "Domheer van Out-Munster, &c" [Canon of Old Munster]); on (possibly another?) portrait in which his appointment as Drost and Duikgraaf of Hagestein is also mentioned; and finally, in the voice of an actor addressing Schout, published two years before the dedication of *Eneas*.[38] Schout's social position is displayed by the title "Den E[del] Heer" (The Noble Lord) by which he was designated in all of these texts.

Afterlife of the Portrait

14 De Keyser's portrait of Schout almost immediately became the subject not only of Vos's poem but also of a reproductive print by Abraham Blooteling and a second poem by Jacobus Heiblocq. It thus provides an instructive example of the means by which a portrait was subsequently used to assert social identity and claim cultural status by surviving family members. First appearing in a collection of verse published in 1662, Jan Vos's poem was thus penned shortly after the painting was completed.[39] It reads in translation:

> *The Noble Lord Pieter Schout Painted on His Horse.*
>
> Thus people saw Schout, when he helped to welcome the House of Orange.
> He does not have to yield to Castor in the way he handles a horse.
> He who wishes to meet the court, ought to be splendid in everything.
> He shows himself ready, to use the glittering sword,
> And thundering pistol, when it is necessary.
> Bravery provides the cities with a shield.
> Whoever loves Freedom justly protects her from downfall.
> His desire for knowledge, which never wastes time,
> And judgment about art, provides material for poetry.
> He who is rich in gifts knows how to oblige everyone.[40]

15 The painting itself makes no obvious reference to Schout's participation in the 1660 cavalcade; it is thus possible that the association of the painting with the event for which Vos had written the program may have been subsequently been made by the poem only after de Keyser finished the

painting. During Schout's lifetime, then, painting and poem celebrate his social position. After Schout's death in 1669, the painting continued to play a role in the social identity of its subject, as well as that of its subsequent owner.

16   The engraver Abraham Blooteling reproduced the painting in an imposing print, the copper plate for which in 1880 was still in the collection of the last descendant of the family.[41] Roughly two-thirds the size of the original, the print is inscribed in the upper right corner "A. Blooteling sculp." Although born and trained in Amsterdam, Blooteling worked in Paris from 1660 to 1665. Mary Curd has observed that the spelling of the engraver's name with a double "o" appears only on prints dating from December 1670 and later.[42] These facts suggest that the engraving was commissioned posthumously, probably by his parents, shortly after Schout's death in 1669.

17   Blooteling's print was first engraved and printed with no room for a caption. In its third state a caption was squeezed into the margin of the plate, giving Schout's name along with his birth and death dates, degree as a lawyer, and "Canonicus Ultraject. Satrapes Hagesteinae"(Canon of Utrecht and Lord [High Bailiff] of Hagestein), to which he was appointed in 1664. This state is also accompanied by a Latin eulogy by Jacques Heiblocq (Amsterdam 1623–1690) in letterpress from a different plate (see fig. 7).[43] Well known to us now for the album amicorum that he kept between 1645 and 1678, Heiblocq's verse on the plate is signed "Gymn: Amst: in nova urbis regione Rector." Like the print, then, this verse must date to after 1670 when Heiblocq was appointed rector of the Latin school on the Gravenstraat, and it moved to the Singel.[44]

Fig. 7. Abraham Blooteling, after Thomas de Keyser, *Equestrian Portrait of Pieter Schout*, engraving, 59.5 x 42.8 cm, 3rd state with verse by Jacobus Heiblocq. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-OB-67.481 (artwork in the public domain)

18   It is rare that we can trace the provenance of a painting back to its original owner, but a complete provenance for de Keyser's portrait is now possible. It would have nearly certainly been commissioned by either Pieter Schout himself or his parents, and upon his death in 1669 it reverted to his parents, if it was not at the time in their possession. In 1672 Bartolomeus Schout became the godfather of Pieter Schout Muilman (1672–1757), the son of Hendrick Muijlman (1644–1709) and Regista Lakeman (1643–1716).[45] This distant cousin and namesake was the father of Daniël Roelof, in whose inventory the painting first appears in 1801.[46] Upon the death of Pieter's parents, or possibly upon the baptism of Pieter Schout Muilman in 1672, the painting must have been

given to this cousin.[47] It can then be traced through the Muilman family to the last remaining collateral member of the family, the stepson of Anna Maria Mogge Muilman (1811–1878), Jonkheer Jacobus Salomon Hendrik van de Poll (1837–1880), who, upon his death, bequeathed it to the Rijksmuseum.[48]

19   De Keyser's portrait of Pieter Schout—very possibly intended for Schout's own cabinet of paintings—originally displayed his equestrian skills as well as his taste for finely crafted works of art and then served a variety of cultural purposes for himself and then other family members before, and after, his death.

Acknowledgements

Ann Jensen Adams is Professor in the Department of the History of Art and Architecture, University of California at Santa Barbara. With a PhD from Harvard University, she is a specialist in seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture. She has held fellowships from the Ministry of Education and Science in The Netherlands, the Getty Research Institute, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Her publications include *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (2009); she is currently finishing a monograph on Thomas de Keyser and a historiography of the seventeenth-century Dutch portrait.

ajadams@arthistory.ucsb.edu

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1. Thomas de Keyser, *Equestrian Portrait of Pieter Schout (1640–1669)*, 1660, oil on copper, 86 x 69.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-697 (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 2. Gerard ter Borch, *Henri d'Orléans, duc de Longueville*, ca. 1646/47, oil on canvas, 47.5 x 39.5 cm. Münster, Stadtmuseum (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 3. Antoine de Pluvinel, *L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval* (Paris: Michel Nivelle, 1625), fig. 44 (pl. 39), engraving (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 4. Salomon Saverij, *Cavalcade Greeting the Entry into Amsterdam of Maria Henrietta Stuart and Prince Willem III*, pl. 4, 1660, etching, 31.6 x 46.7 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-OB-24.016 (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 5. Detail of fig. 4.

Fig. 6. Adriaen van de Velde, *Equestrian Portrait of an Unknown Man*, oil on canvas (oval), 33

x 25.5 cm, signed and dated: *A.v.velde. f. 1658*. Great Britain, private collection (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 7. Abraham Blooteling, after Thomas de Keyser, *Equestrian Portrait of Pieter Schout*, engraving, 59.5 x 42.8 cm, 3ʳᵈ state with verse by Jacobus Heiblocq. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-OB-67.481 (artwork in the public domain)

---

[1] Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture and Horsemanship 1500–1800* (New York: Abaris Books, 1989); recipient of the 1989 award from the Confédération Internationale des Négociants en Oeuvres d'Art.

[2] Signed to the right of Schout's leg, at the lower edge of the saddlecloth, in brown paint: *TdK* (in monogram) *1660*. Ann Jensen Adams, "The Paintings of Thomas de Keyser (1596/7–1667): A Study of Portraiture in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985), vol. 3/4, cat. 91; Jonathan Bikker, Yvette Bruijnen, and Gerdina Eleonora Wuestman, *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2007), 1:236–37, cat. 162; illus. 2:162.

[3] For paintings on copper, see *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575–1775,* exh. cat. (Phoenix Art Museum,; Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, ; and The Hague: Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis/New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[4] The two other equestrian portraits are pairs of riders; see Adams, "Thomas de Keyser," vol. 3/4, cats. 92 (Worms) and 94 (Dresden); with a version of cat. 92 in Buckingham Palace (cat. 93)

[5] Johan E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795* (Haarlem: V. Loosjes, 1903–5), 2:869.

[6] Her parents were Dirk van Oorschot and Carharina Jorisdr; see J. Vis, "Alkmaarse stadsdoctoren in de zestiende eeuw," *Oud Alkmaar* 23, no. 1 (1999): 12–23, esp. 14, citing W. A. Fasel, ed., *Alkmaar en zijne geschiedenissen: Kroniek van 1600–1831* (Alkmaar: Vereniging Oud Alkmaar, 1973), 32.

[7] Banns: Stadsarchief Amsterdam (hereafter: SAA), DTB 446, p. 217; position and marriage: Elias, *Vroedschap*, 2:869. Bartholomeus Schout was born in 1612 and buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on February 4,1676: SAA, DTB 1056, pp. 116–17; his wife Joanna van Oirschot was born in Alkmaar in 1615 and buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on May 9, 1680: SAA, DTB 1056, pp. 191–92. In 1652 Joanna's brother Joris (1625–1681) married Maria Coymans; see Elias, *Vroedschap*, 2:760. In 1643 sister Maria (1622–1695) married Alberto Muylman (1622–1678); see Elias, *Vroedschap*, 2:866.

[8] SAA, DTB 42, p. 218; I am grateful to Marten Jan Bok for locating Pieter Schout's baptismal record and identifying Schout's parents. Other children baptized by his parents included Jan on March 23, 1638, Stijntje on August 2, 1639, Christijna on July 17, 1642, Dirck on December 3, 1645, Jan on June 21, 1650, and Cristina on July 2, 1652. They buried children on October 5, 1639, and October 20, 1650; a Jan Schout buried on October 8, 1652 may also have been one of their children. Apparently none of these children outlived their parents.

[9] SAA, DTB 1056, pp. 6–7.

[10] Sale, Amsterdam (de Bosch and Yver), October 5, 1767, p. 50, no. 204.

[11] John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French*

Painters (London: Smith and Son, 1829–42), 1:317, no. 399; 9 (supplement):206, no. 198, and 532, no. 12. Apparently Smith knew the work only through Blootelingh's print in 1829, but had located the painting itself by 1842.

[12] Adams, "Thomas de Keyser," vol. 1/2, 482.

[13] In *Copper as Canvas* Luuk Pijl and Michael Komaneckynote that the horse was painted before the landscape, which is drawn up against it; see also technical notes in Bikker, *Dutch Paintings*, 1:236–37, cat. 162. For a discussion of van de Velde's landscapes, see W. W. Robinson, "Preparatory Drawings by Adriaen van de Velde," *Master Drawings* 17 (1979): 3–23, esp. 5–14.

[14] The breed of the horse was first identified by S. G. A. van Leeuwen, "Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Paarden fokkerij in Nederland" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 1922), 71.

[15] For the royal tradition, see Liedtke, *Royal Horse and Rider*.

[16] Portrait of Karl Ludwig: oil on panel, 39 x 29 cm, Mannheim, Städtisches Reiss-Museum; see S. J. Gudlaugsson, *Gerard ter Borch* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1959–60), 1:58–59, 72, illus. 50, 65; 2:78–79 (cat. 50), 87 (cat. 65); Klaus Bussmann et al., *1648, War and Peace in Europe*, exh. cat. (Munster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998), 1: 200, no. 567.

[17] For Rihel, see I. H. van Eeghen, "Frederick Rihel een 17de Eeuwse Zakenman en Paardenliefhebber," *Amstelodamum Maandblad* 45 (April 1958): 73–81; Marjorie Wieseman, "Rembrandt's Portrait(s?) of Frederik Rihel," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 31 (2010): 96–111. Paulus Potter painted a life-sized equestrian portrait sometime before 1653. On Potter and his move to Amsterdam, see Amy Walsh, Edwin Buijsen, and B. P. J. Broos, *Paulus Potter: Paintings, Drawings and Etchings*, exh. cat. (The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1994), 14. Walsh has suggested (verbally) that it may have been originally painted for a court patron in The Hague—possibly Prince Maurits—but for some reason remained undelivered. The painting was signed and dated 1653, and then at some point the head was repainted with that of Dirck Tulp (1624–1682), the son of Nicolaes Tulp, who had invited Potter to move to Amsterdam from The Hague in 1652.

[18] Antoine de Pluvinel, *L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval, par messire Antoine de Pluvinel . . . Enrichy de grandes figures en taille-douce . . . desseignées et gravées par Crispian de Pas le jeune* (Paris: Michel Nivelle, 1625).

[19] William Cavendish, *Methode et invention nouvelle de dresser les chevaux* (Antwerp: Jacques van Meurs, 1657 [1658]). See Karen Raber, "'Reasonable Creatures' William Cavendish and the Art of Dressage," in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, eds. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 42–66.

[20] Van Eeghen, "Frederick Rihel," 75n2.

[21] A horse performing a *levade* bends his haunches deeply, raises his body at about a forty-five degree angle, and tucks both forelegs beneath him.

[22] D. C. Meijer, Jr., "De Amsterdamsche Schutters-stukken in en buiten het Nieuwe Rijksmuseum. IV. Thomas de Keyser, Joachim Sandrart," *Oud Holland* 6 (1888): 225–40, esp. 234, first linked the painting and the event, followed by J. O. Kronig, "Thomas Hendricks de Keyser," *Onze Kunst* 16 (1909): 77-85, 109–126, esp. 122; R. van Luttervelt, "De Grote Ruiter van Rembrandt," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1957): 185–219, esp. 201. On the triumphal entry itself, see Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoolen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe* (Amsterdam: Yntema en Tieboel, 1760–88), 1:601; and Derk Persant Snoep, *Praal en propaganda: Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1975), 86. https://doi.org/10.1163/187501788X00249

[23] Van Luttervelt, "De Grote Ruiter," 201. Bikker, Bruijnen, and Wuestman, *Dutch Paintings*, 1:236–37, cat. 162; Frederik Muller, *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen* (Amsterdam: Muller, 1863–82),1:313–14, no. 2170/4; F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, Ca. 1450–1700,* vol. 14, *Meer–Ossenbeeck* (1956), 172, 176, cats. 91, 211.

[24] The names of the participants are listed by van Eeghen, "Frederick Rihel," 75n2, as noted by Bikker, *Dutch Paintings*, 1:236–37, cat. 162. For the Entry, see Snoep, *Praal en propaganda,* 86–87.

[25] Van Eeghen, "Frederick Rihel," 75 n2 (transcribed from the print after Pieter Nolpe).

[26] Van Luttervelt, "De Grote Ruiter," 200, suggests that the cavalcades may have been designated by colors: orange, white, and blue.

[27] On Jan Vos, see S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Jan Vos (1610–1667)," *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 72 (1980): 23–43; Nina Geerdink, *De sociale verankering van het dichterschap van Jan Vos (1610–1667)* (Hilversum, Verloren, 2012).

[28] F. J. Duparc, "Een onbekend ruiterportret door Adriaen van de Velde," in *Face Book: Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th–18th Centuries; Liber Amicorum Presented to Rudolf E. O. Ekkart on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. E. Buijsen, Ch. Dumas, and V. Manuth (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2012), 331–34.

[29] Martin Jan Bok, email of August 20, 2012.

[30] Bikker, *Dutch Paintings*, 1:236–37, cat. 162, citing for his graduation from Leiden University, P. C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913–24), 4:295, and for his appointment as bailiff, Rechterlijke Archieven (South Holland), Hagestein, 1515–1811, no. 3.03.08.049, inv. 19, Rechtsdagen 1664–87, unpag.

[31] Bikker, *Dutch Paintings*, 1:236–37, cat. 162. Schout is described as "Canonicus Ultraject" on the text accompanying the print by Abraham Blooteling, and in the dedication to Jan Neuye, *Eneas of Vader des Vaderlants* (Amsterdam: Johannes van den Bergh, 1664).

[32] Neuye, *Eneas of Vader des Vaderlants*, dedication.

[33] SAA (Weeskamer 5073), inv. 951, February 22, 1635; "The Montias Database of 17th Century Dutch Art Inventories," Frick Art Reference Library, inv. 634, lot 102. http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php. An image of the Ascension, possibly by the printmaker Jan Muller, sold for fourteen guilders, although this would have been a high price to pay for a print.

[34] SAA, Kwijtscheldingsregisters: scan 21618287.

[35] Adams, "Thomas de Keyser," vol. 3/4, cat. 35.

[36] Adams, "Thomas de Keyser," vol. 3/4, cats. D-2 (now accepted as original) and U-14; see also cat. R-87. Jacob de Graeff is listed on the print after Pieter Nolpe as being at the head of one of the cavalcades.

[37] In addition to the poems about Pieter Schout mentioned above, individual poems by Vos honor Pieter's father, Bartholomeus Schout (Jan Vos, *Alle de gedichten van den Poëet Jan Vos* [Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje, 1662–71],1:479, no. 702), his mother Joanna van Oorschot (1:841), and Joanna van Oorschot upon her son Pieter's earning the right to practice law (1:788–91). In addition, individual poems celebrate (a double?) portrait of Bartholomeus Schout and his wife (1:175), a portrait of his wife Joanna van Oorschot (2:176), and a portrait of her father, Dirk van Oorschot, which identifies for us Dirk van Oorschot as Bartholomeus Schout's father-in-law (1:798). Since Dirk lived in Alkmaar, it is most likely that the portrait was commissioned by Bartholomeus, who lived in Amsterdam, and may have even hung in his home). Vos also celebrated a painting owned by Bartholomeus Schout, *Manoah's Sacrifice* by "M. T." (1: 561). If "M" stands for "Meneer" the artist might possibly be the history painter Jan Tengnagel (1584–1635), or Rombout van Troyen

(active 1605–1650).

[38] Vos, *Alle de gedichten*, 1:788 (on graduation from Leiden); 1:843 (on dinner celebrating appointment as Duikgraff [Canon of Oud Munster]); 1: 483 (from an actor to Schout); 2:173 (on [what may well be another] portrait of Schout).

[39] Vos, *Alle de gedichten,* 1:176.

[40] Translation mine; I am grateful to Suzanne van de Meerendonk for several excellent suggestions.

> Den E. Heer Pieter Schout Op zyn Paardt geschildert, &c.
>
> Dus zag men Schout, toen hij Oranjen in hulp haalen.
> Hy wykt geen Kastor in het mennen van een paardt.
> Wie 't hof ontmoeten wil, behoort in all's te praalen.
> Hy toont zich afgerecht, om 't schitterende zwaardt,
> En balderendt pistool, als 't noodt doet, te gebruiken.
> De dapperheidt verstrekt de steeden tot een schildt.
> Wie dat de Vryheidt mint behoedt haar recht voor duiken.
> Zyn zucht tot weetenschap, die nimmer tydt verspilt,
> En oordeel over kunst, bestellen stof tot dichten.
> Wie ryk van gaaven is weet yder te verplichten.

[41] *Beschrijving der Schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam* ('s-Gravenhage: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1880), 483; copper plate still owned by family van de Poll in 1880.

[42] Blooteling left for London in 1673, but in 1678 he is documented again in Amsterdam, where he died in 1690. On Blooteling, see J. E. Wessely, *Abraham Blooteling* (Leipzig: Verlag von Rudolf Weigel, 1867); A. D. de Vries, "Biografische Aanteekeningen," *Oud Holland* 3 (1885): 64–67 and 137–39; Alfred von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon* (Vienna: Halm und Goldmann, 1906–11), 1:118; Mary Bryan Curd, "Making a Fine Impression: Abraham Blooteling and His Fellow Engravers, 1673–1684," inCurd, *Flemish and Dutch Artists in Early Modern England: Collaboration and Competition, 1460–1680* (Farnham, England, and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2010), 127–62, and esp. "Dated Engravings by Abraham Blooteling," 175–82 (Appendix, table 5.1), and "Approximately Dated Engravings by Abraham Blooteling, 1665–1690," 183–93.

[43] Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts*, vol. 2, *Berckheyde–Bodding* (1950), 179, cat. 30; Adams, "Thomas de Keyser," vol. 3/4, cat. P-8.

[44] For the album amicorum (now in the collection of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague), see *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq: Introduction, Transciptions, Paraphrases and Notes to the Facsimile,* ed. Kees Thomassen and J. A. Gruys (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1998). I am grateful to the reviewer of this essay for pointing this out.

The poem reads:

> Gloria candoris patrii, genitricis imago!
> Quam propriâ Charites effifiare manu.
> Hagest eina tibi Satrape quo, cive placebas
> Amstela, Rhene pater nomina clara dabas.

Florentem trux Parca scidit, materque cadentem
Hactenus heu! lachrymis est comitata suis;
Cui Pater: incassum gemimus, mea funera conjux!
Non malè nesciimus nonpotuisse mori.
Ille per Empyreas graditur generosior aulas
Quàm fuit in terris hîc tibi celsus eques.
Quámque parùm fragili liceat confidere vitae,
Exemplo discas, o mea sponsa, meo!

SOLIDÉ
Jacobus Heiblocq
Gymn: Amst: in nova urbis regione Rector

On Heiblocq see J. H. W. Unger, "Vondelania II. Vondel's handschriften," *Oud Holland* 2 (1884): 26–32; *Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq,* 2:11–20, 36, 38. In 1648 Heiblocq was appointed an instructor at the Latin school on the Gravenstraat, Nieuwe zijd, and its rector in June 1670.

[45] Pieter Schout Muilman was baptized in the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, on November 21, 1672 (SAA, DTB 10, p. 166). His father's elder brother Albert Muilman (1622–1678) was married to Pieter Schout's aunt, Maria van Oorschot (1622–1695), the sister of his mother Jannetje van Oirschot (Oorschot; 1615–1680). See also Elias, *Vroedschap*, 2:869n; and Chr. J. Polvliet, "Het Geslacht Muilman," *De Wapenheraut* 2 (1898): 209–12; *Notes and Queries*, London, April 27, 1861, 324–25.

[46] Cornelis van der Bas, "The Muilman Collection: The Progressive Taste of an Eighteenth-Century Banking Family," *Simiolus* 32, nos. 2–3 (2006): 156–81.

[47] Since there is further no trace of Pieter Schout's siblings in the archives, they must have also died before their parent's deaths.

[48] Possibly collection Pieter Schout (1640–1669); probably to his father Bartholomeus Jansz Schout (1612–1676); probably to his godson, Pieter's namesake and a distant cousin Pieter Schout Muilman (1672–1757), Amsterdam; to his younger son Daniël Roelof Muilman (1717–1801), Amsterdam; to Hendrik Muilman (1743–1812) in 1801; to Willem Ferdinand Mogge Muilman (1778–1849), Amsterdam, in 1812 (sources for Daniël Roelof, Hendrik, and Willem Ferdinand Mogge Muilman: van der Bas, "The Muilman Collection"; listed by Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné,* 9 [supplement]:206, no. 198, and 532, no. 12, as in Coll. Mogge Muilman, Amsterdam, andas by Terburg with horse and landscape by Philip Wouwermans); to his wife Magdalena Antonia Muilman (1788–1853), Amsterdam, in 1849; to their daughter Anna Maria Mogge Muilman (1811–1878), Amsterdam; to her stepson Jonkheer Jacobus Salomon Hendrik van de Poll (1837–1880); bequeathed by him to Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam in 1880.

Bibliography

Adams, Ann Jensen. "The Paintings of Thomas de Keyser (1596/7-1667): A Study of Portraiture in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam." 4 vols. PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985.

Bas, Cornelis van der. "The Muilman Collection: The Progressive Taste of an Eighteenth-Century Banking Family." *Simiolus* 32, nos. 2–3 (2006): 156–81.

Beschrijving der Schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam. 's-Gravenhage: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1880.

Bikker, Jonathan, Yvette Bruijnen, and Gerdina Eleonora Wuestman. *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2007.

Bussmann, Klaus, et al. *1648, War and Peace in Europe*. 3 vols. Exh. cat. Munster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998.

Cavendish, William. *Methode et invention nouvelle de dresser les chevaux*. Antwerp: Jacques van Meurs, 1657 [1658].

Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575–1775. Exh. cat.Phoenix Art Museum; Kansas City: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; and The Hague: Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis/New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Curd, Mary Bryan. *Flemish and Dutch Artists in Early Modern England: Collaboration and Competition, 1460–1680*. Farnham, and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2010.

Dudok van Heel, S. A. C. "Jan Vos (1610-1667)." *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 72 (1980): 23–43.

Duparc, F. J. "Een onbekend ruiterportret door Adriaen van de Velde." In *Face Book: Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries; Liber Amicorum presented to Rudolf E. O. Ekkart on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday,* edited by E. Buijsen, Ch. Dumas, and V. Manuth, 331–34. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2012.

Eeghen, I. H. van. "Frederick Rihel een 17de Eeuwse Zakenman en Paardenliefhebber." *Amstelodamum Maandblad* 45 (April 1958): 73–81.

Elias, Johan E. *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795*. 2 vols. Haarlem: V. Loosjes, 1903–5.

Fasel, W. A., ed. *Alkmaar en zijne geschiedenissen: Kroniek van 1600–1831*. Alkmaar: Vereniging Oud Alkmaar, 1973.

Geerdink, Nina. *De sociale verankering van het dichterschap van Jan Vos (1610–1667)*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2012.

Gudlaugsson, S. J. *Gerard ter Borch*. 2 vols. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1959–60.

Hollstein, F. W. H. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, Ca. 1450–1700*. Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1949–.

Kronig, J. O. "Thomas Hendricks de Keyser." *Onze Kunst* 16 (1909): 77–85, 109–26.

Leeuwen, S. G. A. van. "Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Paarden fokkerij in Nederland." PhD diss., Utrecht University, 1922.

Liedtke, Walter. *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture and Horsemanship 1500–1800.* New York: Abaris Books, 1989.

Luttervelt, R. van. "De Grote Ruiter van Rembrandt." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*8 (1957): 185–219.

Meijer, D. C., Jr. "De Amsterdamsche Schutters-stukken in en buiten het Nieuwe Rijksmuseum. IV. Thomas de Keyser, Joachim Sandrart." *Oud Holland* 6 (1888): 225–40. https://doi.org/10.1163/187501788X00249

Molhuysen, P. C. *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*. 7 vols. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913–24.

Montias, J. M. "The Montias Database of 17th Century Dutch Art Inventories." Frick Art Reference Library. http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php

Muller, Frederik. *De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen.* 4 vols. Amsterdam: Muller, 1863–82. Neuye, Jan. *Eneas of Vader des Vaderlants.* Amsterdam: Johannes van den Bergh, 1664.

Pluvinel, Antoine de. *L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval, par messire Antoine de Pluvinel . . . Enrichy de grandes figures en taille-douce . . . desseignées et gravées par Crispian de Pas le jeune.* Paris: Michel Nivelle, 1625.

Polvliet, Chr. J. "Het Geslacht Muilman." *De Wapenheraut* 2 (1898): 209–12.

Raber, Karen L. "'Reasonable Creatures' William Cavendish and the Art of Dressage." In *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, edited by Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt, 42–66. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Robinson, W. W. "Preparatory Drawings by Adriaen van de Velde." *Master Drawings* 17 (1979): 3–23.

Smith, John. *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters.* 9 vols. London: Smith and Son, 1829–42.

Snoep, Derk Persant. *Praal en propaganda: Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw.* Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1975.

Thomassen, Kees, and J. A. Gruys, eds. *The Album Amicorum of Jacob Heyblocq: Introduction, Transciptions, Paraphrases and Notes to the Facsimile.* Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1998.

Unger, J. H. W. "Vondelania II. Vondel's handschriften." *Oud Holland* 2 (1884): 26–32.

Vis, J. "Alkmaarse stadsdoctoren in de zestiende eeuw." *Oud Alkmaar* 23, no. 1 (1999): 12–23.

Vos, Jan. *Alle de gedichten van den Poëet Jan Vos*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje, 1662–71

Vries, A. D. de. "Biografische Aanteekeningen." *Oud Holland* 3 (1885): 64–67 and 137–39.

Wagenaar, Jan. *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoolen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe*. 4 vols. Amsterdam: Yntema en Tieboel, 1760–88.

Walsh, Amy, Edwin Buijsen, and B. P. J. Broos. *Paulus Potter: Paintings, Drawings and Etchings*. Exh. cat. The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1994.

Wieseman, Marjorie. "Rembrandt's Portrait(s?) of Frederik Rihel." *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 31 (2010): 96–111.

Wessely, J. E. *Abraham Blooteling.* Leipzig: Verlag von Rudolf Weigel, 1867.

Wurzbach, Alfred von. *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon.* Vienna: Halm und Goldmann, 1906–11.