ALFRED BADER

Art Related Correspondence

1956

**art** magazine
Gruner + Jahr AG & Co
Druck- und Verlagshaus
Hamburg

4.1.96

Lilo Florin
685 Third Avenue,
23rd Floor
New York, N.Y. 10017
Telephone ~~(212) 380-39~~86
Telefax (~~212) 983-57~~67
Telephone (516) 261-37 39

Redaktion Hamburg
Am Baumwall 11
D-2000 Hamburg 11

Dear Mr. Bader:

As we discussed briefly, ART magazine would like to obtain from you the transparency of a work by Rembrandt:

"Old Man with Hat and Beard"

This is for an article we intend to bring in our June issue on the Rembrandt Research Project in Holland. I would be grateful if you could let us have a transparency/slide as soon as possible. Please let me know by fax or phone:

Fax: (516) 261 8317
Tel: (516) 261 3739

Thank you for your assistance in the matter,

Sincerely,

Lilo Florin

1 IV 96.

Thank you.
I will mail to you to-morrow. Please return at your convenience.
Please see Julius Held, Rembrandt Studies, Princeton 1991, p 188, fig. 50, who argues (I believe convincingly) that this is Rembrandt's father.
Best wishes Arnold Bader

TRANSACTION REPORT

FOR: ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS 4142770709

SEND

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Best wishes Gerald Bader

BAK Appraisal

# ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

January 11, 1993

Professor Julius Held
81 Monument Avenue
Bennington, Vermont 05201

Dear Professor Held:

As you will see from the enclosed, Harvard University has asked me to speak there on May 17th, and I am wondering if Isabel and I might visit with you on the 15th or 16th of May, to discuss a good many paintings.

I know of your great love for Rubens, and I am happy to be able to tell you that I purchased that magnificent Entombment, Lot 61, in Christie's London December 11th sale. Of course, paintings like that and the Rembrandt portrait I purchased in July, I do not plan to keep.

Today, I would like to ask you about a portrait which the Milwaukee Art Museum has been offered as a gift. Let me state, first of all, that I have no proprietary interest in this painting nor have I ever owned it, but I would like to help our art museum to get the correct attribution.

The painting is inscribed and dated * AET SU 28 Anno 1626 and bears the traditional attribution of Cornelis de Vos. I am enclosing a black and white photograph and a color transparency. If a de Vos, it is one of the finest de Vos portraits I have ever seen, but I remember a very similar portrait in the National Gallery in Washington by the early Jordeans, and so I am wondering if you can tell me whether you think that this portrait is by de Vos or by Jordeans.

All good wishes, and I already look forward to seeing you in May.

Sincerely,

Alfred Bader

Enclosures
c: Mr. R. Bowman, Director, Milwaukee Art Museum

* oil / panel
48 1/4 x 35 3/8"
fine condition.

*By Appointment Only*
ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622
924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE
MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202
TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709

# ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

February 6, 1996

Mr. and Mrs. Mayer Alpert
3739 Koehler Driver
Sheboygan, WI 53083

Dear Bernice and Mayer:

Thank you so much for your letter of February 1st and the beautiful enclosure, which I so enjoyed reading and which I return.

Everyone who loves Dutch paintings admires Vermeer, but I find it very difficult to believe that the copy after an Italian painting discussed on the other enclosure is really by him.

Surely you have the exhibition catalog. A painting illustrated in that, of a woman writing a letter by Ter Borchs, has just been acquired by my gallery. But sadly, there is no point in bringing such a painting to Milwaukee because no one here would be interested.

Of course, we very much look forward to your visit.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AB/cw

Enclosure

*By Appointment Only*
ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622
924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE
MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202
*TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709*

Mayer and Bernice Alpert
3739 Koehler Drive
Sheboygan, Wisconsin 53083

2/1/96

Dear Alfred -

Bernice and I were in Washington last week for the Vermeer show, which included the four paintings we had not seen previously. It was a masterpiece of the curators art and mentioned your name to Art Wheelock. They are drawing over 5,000 per day and kidded "Wheelock" about how he could stand the "prosperity" and what he would do for an "encore". Upon our return home we found the enclosed.

I have just about finished reading your book and am trying to save the balance for vacation reading. When our schedule permits, we will be calling you to take advantage of your invitation to see your collection at the Astor. Our very best to you and Isabel.

Sincerely

Mayo H. Bennett

# MESSAGE

FOR AB

DATE _____ TIME _____ A.M. P.M.

M Alex Ashlock

OF WILL

PHONE 217/333-0850
AREA CODE NUMBER EXTENSION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| TELEPHONED | X | PLEASE CALL | X |
| CAME TO SEE YOU | | WILL CALL AGAIN | |
| WANTS TO SEE YOU | | RUSH | |
| RETURNED YOUR CALL | | SPECIAL ATTENTION | |

MESSAGE see: interview - topics for discussion

SIGNED lte

**FAX FROM**

*DR. ALFRED BADER*
Suite 622
924 East Juneau Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
Telephone: 414/277-0730
**Fax: 414/277-0709**

February 14, 1996

To: MR. ALEX ASHLOCK
Radio WILL 580
Fax: 217/333-7151

Dear Mr. Ashlock:

I much look forward to your interviewing me this coming Monday, February 19th, at 1:00 pm.

I understand that you will be telephoning me. In order to be totally undisturbed, I will be at home at 1:00 pm; my phone number there is 414/962-5169.

I presume that you have read my book, *Adventures of a Chemist Collector*. You might like to inform your listeners that this is available from the American distributor, Trafalgar Square Publishing at Howe Hill Road, North Pomfret, VT 05053 and also from the American Chemical Society in Washington, DC. The retail price is $25.00, and the ISBN is 0-297-83461-4.

May I count on your sending me a tape recording of the interview?

I much look forward to meeting you by telephone and remain,

Yours sincerely,

AB/cw

20th February 1996

Dear Alfred,

Thanks you for both of your letters and enclosures, and I apologise for the delay in replying.

The Portrait of Descartes by Nason I bought from Vals and sold it privately to a Mr Wilson from whom I repurchased it before selling it to you. I think it was originally sold in the sale rooms.

I did at first think the candlestick Aperture was by Wright of Derby but later believed it to be by J. Borchardt.

I am sorry I cannot be of more help.

My daughter, I think wrote to you regarding the Einstein house. xx If you can help her with any information it would be of assistance to me personally.

With regards and best wishes,

Yours

Neville.

ORGEL

xx What about Sotheby's N.Y.?

# ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

April 2, 1996

Ms. Daphne Alazraki
Old Master Paintings
4 East 65th Street
New York, NY 10021

Dear Ms. Alazraki:

Thank you for your most helpful letter of March 23rd.

I don't know Michael Rohe in Munich, and by all means, forward to him the information about my painting. Alternatively, I plan to be in Munich in the middle of June and could chat with him then, but have neither his address nor his telephone number.

You will have smiled when you saw that I wrote in 1976 that my painting reminded me of Knüpfer.

I feel that $38,000 for the work of an almost unknown Flemish painter is a very high price, and I really do hope that you will find a customer. If not, do consider visiting me and I will offer you several 17th century paintings of good quality that you might consider exchanging.

May I ask you for one more favor? I enclose a color slide of my painting and would very much appreciate it if you could send me a similar size color slide of yours. I give talks entitled *"The Adventures of a Chemist Collector"* and would like to show slides of your and my paintings.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AB/cw

Enclosures

*By Appointment Only*
ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622
924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE
MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202
*TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709*

# Daphne Alazraki

Old Master Paintings

4 East 65th Street New York, NY 10021 Telephone and Fax (212) 734-8658 By Appointment


23 March 1996

Dr. Alfred Bader
Bader Fine Arts
Astor Hotel, suite 622
924 East Juneau Avenue
Milwaukee, WI 53202

Dear Dr. Bader,

Thank you for your letter of 7 March inquiring of our Philip Gyeselaer painting. I find the history of your picture quite interesting and I agree that both works are by the same hand; as our painting is fully signed (see detail photo) and relates to the other known signed works by the artist, I think it can be safely assumed that your painting is also by Philip Gyselaer.

Per your request, please find the enclosed black and white and color photos of our Gyselaer. The further enclosed facts sheet lists the other known signed works by the artist of which I keep color photocopies. Michael Rohe of Munich who is working on Nicolaes Knupfer has also researched Philip Gyselaer and would be pleased to know that the master's known œuvre now totals twenty. I am happy to forward this information to him or if you prefer, I can provide you with his address.

The price of our painting is $38,000-- and is in excellent condition. Is your painting presently on offer and if so, what is the price? I hope this information is of help to you and I look forward to your response. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Daphne Alazraki

# ALFRED BADER FINE ARTS

DR. ALFRED BADER

ESTABLISHED 1961

April 9, 1996

Ms. Patricia S. Algiers, ASID
Director of Interior Design
BHS Architects, Inc.
6789 North Green Bay Avenue
Milwaukee, WI 53209-3422

Dear Ms. Algiers:

Thank you so much for your visit yesterday.

I must tell you that we never had a visitor quite like you, with an obviously unselfish desire to help your clients.

I very much hope that we will be able to work together.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

AB/cw

bc: Daniel Bader

*By Appointment Only*
ASTOR HOTEL SUITE 622
924 EAST JUNEAU AVENUE
MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN USA 53202
TEL 414 277-0730 FAX 414 277-0709

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ARTIST

AUCTION
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ITEM NO. 9041

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ITEM(S) TO BE PICKED UP BY:
☐ CHANNEL 10 AUCTION Date ___

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11 SALES TAX? ☐ YES *1* ☐ NO *2*
INSTALLATION INCL? ☐ YES ☐ NO
COLOR ___ MATERIAL ___
HIGH ___ WIDE ___ DEEP ___
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PERSON TO CONTACT AT FIRM (PRINT): Dr. Alfred Bader — PHONE 277-0730

DONOR SIGNATURE: Alfred Bader — DATE 1/30/96

COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS:

DONOR: Alfred Bader Fine Arts

ADDRESS: 924 E. Juneau Ave. Suite 622

CITY: Milwaukee STATE: WI ZIP: 53202

ACQUISITION VOL.: Jan Johnson

PHONE ( ) 297-8031

**THANK YOU FOR SUPPORTING CHANNELS 10 & 36**

1996

OTTO NAUMANN, LTD.
*Old Master Paintings and Drawings*
22 EAST 80TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

TEL (212) 734-4443 FAX (212) 535-0617

**SETTLEMENT STATEMENT:** 3 June 1996

Dr. Alfred Bader
Alfred Bader Fine Arts
Astor Hotel, Suite 222
925 East Juneau Avenue
Milwaukee, WI 53201

As agreed in fax dated 17 May 1996.

For the following paintings:

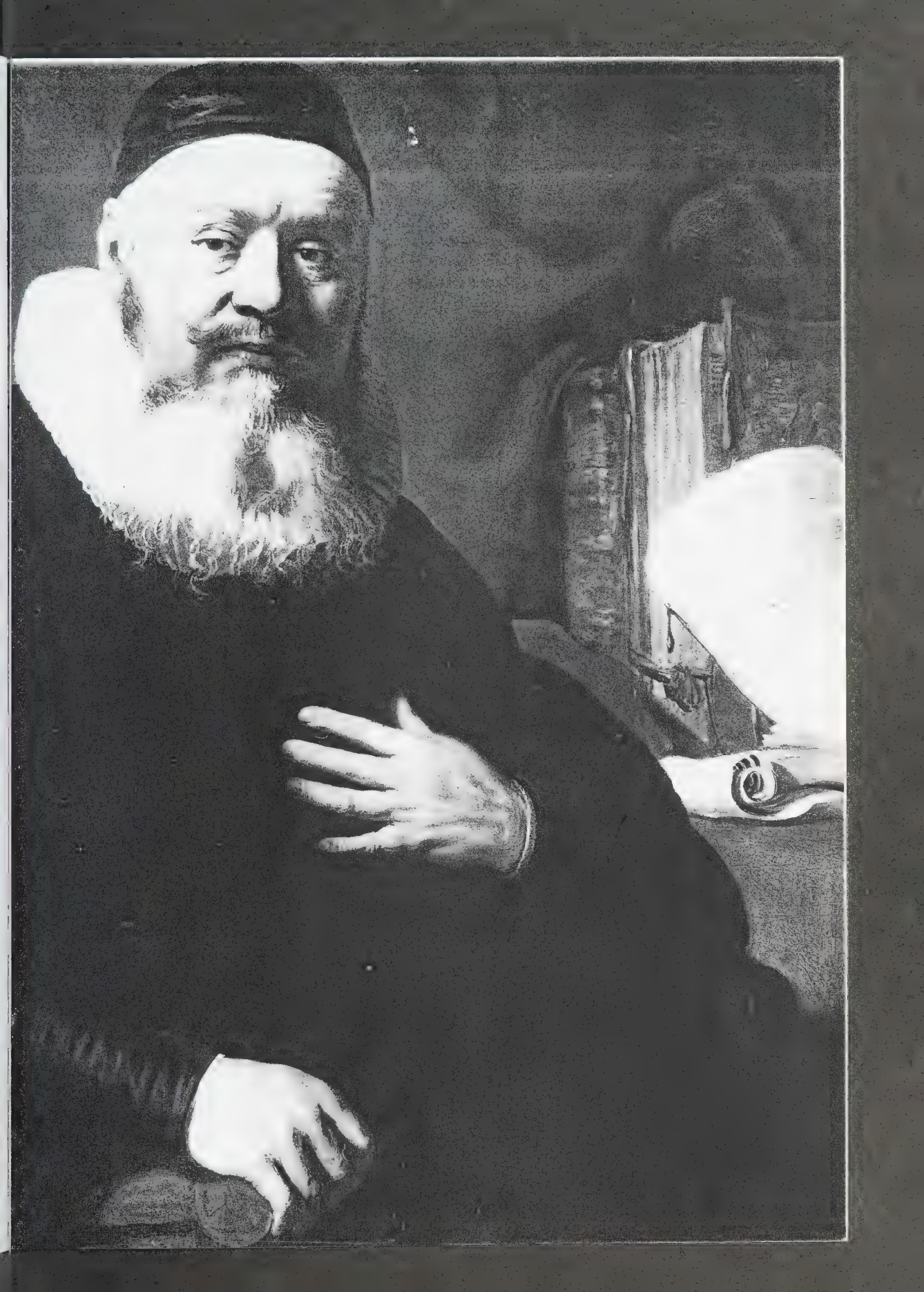
| | |
|---|---|
| **ALEXIS SIMON BELLE**<br>**PORTRAIT OF TWO GIRLS** | **$19,450.00** |
| **C. J. EVERDINGEN**<br>**PORTRAIT OF A BOY** | **$ 8,273.00** |
| **PAID, #6971, TOTAL:** | **$27,723.00** |
| **CORNELIS SAFTLEVEN**<br>**KITCHEN INTERIOR** | **$ 6,204.00** |
| **PAID, #6972, TOTAL:** | **$ 6,204.00** |

Sincerely yours,

Otto Naumann

Encs

From: Nederlandsche Kunstnijverheid
Jaarboek no. 4 1895.



# 'Eene der deftigsten dragten'

## The Iconography of the *Tabbaard* and the Sense of Tradition in Dutch Seventeenth-century Portraiture*

Marieke de Winkel

In 1631, the fifty-eight year old Nicolaes Ruts had himself portrayed by Rembrandt wearing a fur hat and a fur lined gown (fig. 1). The ankle-length gown had a broad, turned down shawl-collar and long, rather wide sleeves with a slit at the elbow for the hand and lower arm, the rest of the sleeve hanging down. The Dutch contemporary terms used for this garment were *tabbaard* or *rock*.[1]

In the first half of the seventeenth century many elderly men, like Nicolaes Ruts, had themselves portrayed in this by then quite outmoded garment. Simultaneously with this appearance as a motif in portraiture, there seems to have been a transition in the perception of the garment itself. During this period, the rather old-fashioned house garment acquired associations with learning, tradition and even antiquity, so that by the end of the century it had evolved into standardized conventional wear for certain professions. The formalized use of this gown persisted and survives today in Dutch legal, academic and ecclesiastical dress, having 'fossilized' in these strata of society in the early seventeenth century. In this article I would like to examine the possible reasons why this specific garment came to be depicted in portraiture and what its different associations were during this crucial period.

### 1.

The origins of the *tabbaard* lay in the fifteenth century. The term *tabbaard* is first encountered in Dutch inventories from the mid-fifteenth century onwards and appears for the first time in works of art in the last quarter of the century.[2] By 1500 the *tabbaard* had become the main fashionable outer garment for men and it continued to dominate men's fashions until 1550. During this early period the sleeves and length of the garment varied, according to fashion or the personal taste of the wearer. Another feature of the early *tabbaard* was the use of quite sumptuous materials like cloth of gold, brocades and expensive furs, as is illustrated by the inventory of Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht, from 1524, which lists eleven very lavish tabbaards, like a long *tabbaard* of cloth of gold lined with ermine and a black satin *tabbaard* lined with fine sables.[3] In 1531, however, the wearing of such *tabbaards*, made out of cloth of gold or brocade, was prohibited by the

Emperor Charles V in a sumptuary law, which did not even exempt members of the highest nobility.[4] The wearing of furs was not regulated, and especially spotted fur seems to have been particularly popular during the first three decades, as is shown in the portrait of Pompejus Occo of 1531 (fig. 2). Pompejus Occo (1483-1537), a very wealthy Amsterdam merchant who acted as an agent for the Baltic trade, is wearing a black *tabbaard* lined with lynx fur which is probably that described in his will of 1537.[5] High quality furs like sable and lynx were one of the most important products imported from Scandinavia and Russia.[6]

From the 1550s onwards, the *tabbaard* was replaced as fashionable wear by the much stiffer and shorter Spanish mantle which had a more cape-like structure and a small standing collar. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the form of the now unfashionable *tabbaard* became more or less standardized with long hanging sleeves, sometimes to an exaggerated degree.

1
**Rembrandt (1606-1669), Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts, 1631,**
panel 116,8 x 87,3 cm,
Frick Collection, New York
(photo: courtesy to the Frick Collection, New York).

2
**Dirck Jacobsz. (1496-1567), Portrait of Pompejus Occo, 1531,**
panel 66 x 54 cm,
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting).

2.

While the *tabbaard* became obsolete as everyday fashionable dress, it was retained as a quite informal and comfortable house garment worn both for warmth and comfort by elderly men. In many probate inventories of wealthy men *tabbaards* are listed and its use as comfortable house wear is often indicated by the use of the term *nacht tabbaard*, or nightgown.[7] For instance in the inventory of the quite affluent Amsterdam alderman Captain Matthijs Willemsz. van Raephorst of 1638, three different *nacht tabbaards* are listed: a fox fur *nacht tabbaard*, a coloured *nacht tabbaard* lined with marten and a dark camlet *nacht tabbaard* lined with bays.[8] Sometimes inventories list unlined *tabbaards* – probably for use during the summer – as well as lined ones for winter. The inventory of Matthijs van Gherwen, a 35 year-old bachelor, lists an unlined camlet *nacht tabbaard* valued at 15 guilders and a fur *tabbaard* at 45 guilders.[9] From inventories it can be deduced that *fluwijn*, beech-marten (Martes foïna); *marter*, marten (Mustela martes); *vissen*, fitchew or pole-cat (Putorius foetidus) and *vossen*, fox were the most popular furs for *tabbaard* linings. Although these animals were native, most high quality furs were imported from the Baltic and Russia, or as the poet Jacob Cats puts it:

> 'No beast of native growth, with a fine coat is found.
> Yet, who can number here, all the furs that are around?'[10]

The sale of animal skins and furs, according to Amsterdam regulations of 1613, was monopolized by the *bontwerkers* or furriers guild.[11] Remarkably, according to the decree, the lining of *tabbaards* and other garments with fur was also restricted to members of the furriers guild.[12]

Like Pompejus Occo, a hundred years earlier, Nicolaes Ruts had been a merchant involved in the Russia trade, and the fact that he is depicted in his fur *tabbaard* in combination with a fur hat might refer to his occupation with the fur trade.[13] This does not imply, however, that Ruts is actually wearing Russian dress. Fur hats, although not encountered frequently in portraiture, are regularly listed together with *tabbaards* in contemporary Amsterdam probate inventories.[14] Because fur was specifically used for winter wear, another possibility would be that Ruts had been portrayed during the winter months of 1631.

The fur lined *tabbaard* was often associated with old age and winter in the seventeenth century. Frequently, winter is personified as an old man beside a fire, warming himself, in a fur hat and a *tabbaard*. This can be seen, for example, in the *Allegory of winter* by Hendrick Bloemaert of around 1630, now sadly lost (fig. 3).[15] The poet Jeremias de Decker in 1657 nicely illustrates this association of the *tabbaard* with winter saying that: 'Winter would sometimes rather miss his table, than his warm hearth or fur "rok"'.[16]

It appears from inventories that *tabbaards*, especially the fur-lined ones, were quite valuable items of dress and are generally only to be found in the inventories of more wealthy men. Sometimes these gowns could be quite lavish, such as the *tabbaard* described in the inventory of Admiral Piet Hein of 1624 which was made of purple shot silk, edged with two gold and silk cords and lined with purple bays.[17]

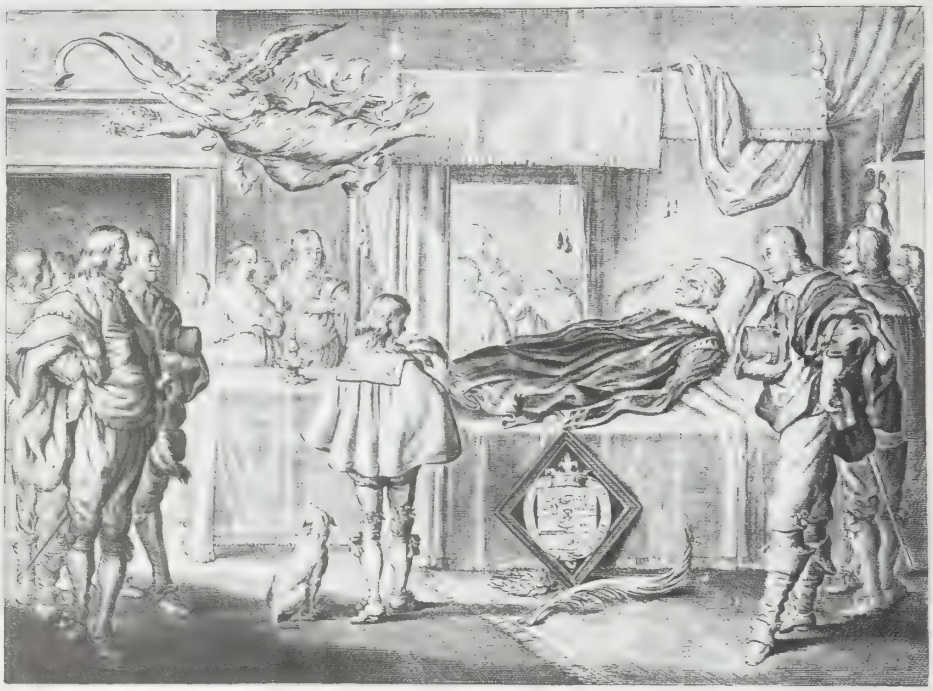
3
**Hendrick Bloemaert (1601/02-1672), Allegory of winter, c. 1630,**
canvas 81 x 98 cm, destroyed in 1940, formerly Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting).

When comparing *tabbaards* in probate inventories with depictions in contemporary portraiture, two features diverge. Firstly: the brightly coloured and sumptuously decorated gowns regularly encountered in the inventories are not to be found in portraiture at all. The gowns encountered in portraits are invariably of a brown or a black colour with little or no decoration. Secondly: although many men owned gowns, only a comparatively small group of sitters were depicted in them. I shall elaborate on the reasons for these discrepancies in the course of this article.

## 3.

As the sumptuousness of some of the pieces indicates, the *tabbaard*, apart from being merely a comfortable house garment worn for warmth and ease, could have had a more formal function as well. It seemed to be a garment that was worn in the privacy of the home but was also one that was perfectly suitable for receiving guests. The fact that men had themselves portrayed in their gowns proves that this garment was quite presentable, since portraits function formally as a means of presenting the sitter to the outer world.

Significant for our understanding of the formal function of the *tabbaard* is the fact that Prince William the Silent, on his tomb monument in Delft, is depicted on his deathbed wearing an embroidered nightcap and a fur lined *tabbaard* over his doublet and breeches.[18] Engravings of the subsequent stadholders, the Princes Maurits and Frederik Hendrik of Nassau, show them lying in state arrayed in a similar fashion (fig. 4). This custom of being laid out or buried in a nightgown does not seem to have been restrict-



Af-beeldinge van het Naſſauſche Ruſt-Bedde,

Waer op wert verthoont het doode Lichaem van Sijn Hoogheyt FREDERICK HENRICK, Prince van Oranjen, Grave van Naſſau, &c. Over-leden in 'sGraven-Hage, den 14. Maert, 1647.

4
**Adriaan Matham (c. 1600-1660), after Adriaan van de Venne, Prince Frederik Hendrik lying in state, 1647,**
engraving 26 x 33.5 cm.
Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam
photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting).

ed to the Netherlands. It appears also to have been prevalent among members of both the Scandinavian and the German nobility which has been confirmed in these countries by archaeological finds.

The public function of the *tabbaard* is further demonstrated by the rather peculiar habit of some high ranking persons to appear at their execution wearing a gown. Count Egmont, for example, in 1568 appeared on the scaffold at the Grote Markt in Brussels wearing a red damask *nacht tabbaard* over his doublet and breeches.[20] Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, who was beheaded at the Hague on the 13th of May 1619, is also described by various eye-witnesses dressed in a black satin *tabbaard* or *nacht tabbaard* on the scaffold.[2]

## 4.

For Oldenbarneveldt the wearing of a *tabbaard* was not only a sign of his advanced age but was also his prerogative as Advocate of Holland. Increasingly the figure of Oldenbarneveldt seems to have been identified with the wearing of the *tabbaard*. Already in a letter of 1600, Oldenbarneveldt

and his faction are mockingly called 'lankrocke', long-gowns, by Everhard van Reyd.[22] Just as significant is the print attributed to Salomon Savery of about 1618, representing a giant pair of scales to which Prince Maurits, on the far left, has just added the weight of his sword to the side of the Counter-Remonstrants. On the other side of the scales, in support of the Remonstrant cause, the ceremonial cushions of the Council and the fur-lined 'rock' of the Advocate are placed (fig. 5). Here Oldenbarneveldt's *tabbaard* is used as a symbol of his authority as Advocate of Holland. He used this authority to support the Remonstrant cause, which eventually led to his downfall.[23]

The use of the *tabbaard* by magistrates can be traced as early as the second half of the sixteenth century, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century had become something of a convention and a sign of their authority. The reason for magistrates to retain the old fashioned *tabbaard* rather than follow the new fashions was probably because the new tight and very short Spanish fashions were seen as inappropriate for older men, lacking the dignity of the long and wide *tabbaard*. Such became the association of power with the *tabbaard*, that judges, councillors and lawyers eventually became defined as 'lieden van de *tabbaard*', gowns-men.[24] Every year they received a certain amount of cloth: *tabbert-laken*, or its equivalent in money, to have a *tabbaard* made.[25] Catharina Hooft (1618-1691), widow of the influential Amsterdam burgomaster Cornelis de Graeff (1599-1664), lists in her inventory of 1691 a 'Justitie rock', magistrates gown, worth 10 guilders of her late husband.[26]

For some professions, the *tabbaard* seems even to have become obligatory, as can be deduced from the remark J. Stalpart van der Wiele makes in 1622 that special fines existed for lawyers who were arguing before the high court without their *tabbaard*.[27] The extent to which *tabbaards* were associated with the legal profession is also indicated by Constantijn Huygens in his well known satirical poem *'t Costelijck mall*, or costly folly, of the same year:[28]

> 'Wie sal een Pleyter-vos sijn hooch-geleerde Mouwen,
> Wie sal een Rechter-heer sijn Tabbaert-eer onthouwen,...'
> (Who shall deny a lawyer his highly learned sleeves, or a judge his *tabbaard* honour.)

What is meant by the somewhat puzzling 'highly learned sleeves' of the lawyer is probably illustrated in the album by Adriaen van der Venne of c. 1626 (fig. 6). From left to right a lawyer, a minister and a physician are depicted. The lawyer is wearing a long black gown with hanging sleeves with big puffs at the shoulders. These puffs were a typical feature of mid sixteenth-century fashion and for some reason became 'fossilized' as a feature of the lawyer's *tabbaard*. Because of its characteristic puffed sleeves the lawyer's *tabbaard* seems to have had a quite distinctive appearance. This is also indicated by the list of confiscated property of Hugo Grotius taken from his house in Rotterdam in 1619 in which a special lawyer's *tabbaard* with velvet facings for 48 guilders is listed.[29]

By 1600 the *tabbaard* had attained certain connotations of authority and tradition, as is indicated by the stage directions given by the playwright Jacob Duym in his play *Spieghel der Ghetrouwigheyt*:


# Op de WAAG-SCHAAL.

*GOMMAR en ARMIJN te Hoof*
*Dongen om het recht geloof,*
*Teders ingebracht beschreyt*
*In de Waegschael wort geleyt,*
*Doctor GOMMAR arme knecht*
*Hadd' het metten eersten slecht,*
*Midts den schranderen ARMIJN*
*Tegen BESAM en CALVIJN,*
*Leyd' den rock van d' Advocaet,*
*En de kussens van den Raedt,*
*End' het brein dat geensins scheen*
*Ydel van gesonde re'en,*
*Brieven die vermelden plat,*
*'t Heylich recht van elcke Stadt:*
*GOMMAR sagh vast hier en gins,*
*Tot soo lang mijn Heer de Prins,*
*GOMMARS seyd' die boven hingh,*
*Troofte met sijn stale kling,*
*Die soo swaar was van gewicht*
*Dat al 't vander viel te licht,*
*Doen aanbadt elk GOMMARS pop,*
*End' ARMIJN die kreeg de schop.*

5
**Attributed to S. Savery (1594-1678), The Scales, c. 1618,**
engraving 43 x 32 cm,
Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam
(photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting).

6
**Adriaen van der Venne (1589-1662), A lawyer, a minister and a physician, c. 1626,**
gouache 9,7 x 15,3 cm, fol. 36 of the album,
Printroom British Museum, London
(photo: British Museum).

> 'the burgomasters of the town Wijnsberch, have to be *degelijck* dressed in the manner of old, *degelijcke* civilians, wearing *tabbaards*'.[30]

The directions for the role of Militiades in the play *Spieghel der Liefden*, of the same year prescribe that:

> 'Militiades, should be a very old man, who goes with a stick in his hand, dressed in a very *deghelijcke nacht tabbaard*, as one who was accustomed to having great authority'.[31]

Interesting is the repeated use of the adjective *degelijk*, which in modern Dutch means solid or steadfast but according to the lexicographer Henry Hexham in 1647 meant: virtuous, grave or honest.[32] This implies that by 1600, thus fifty years after it went out of fashion, the perception of the *tabbaard* had fundamentally changed. Instead of old-fashioned, the *tabbaard* was now seen as old, and because of that it had acquired a time-honoured respectability. So ancient, in fact, was the *tabbaard* perceived to be, that it became identical with the toga of Roman antiquity. In 1654 Caspar van den Ende in his French-Dutch dictionary translates the term 'Togue, c'est une longue robe dont usoient les Romains', as a long *tabbaard*.[33] Stalpart van der Wiele also compares the toga of antiquity with the contemporary *tabbaard* when talking about dress in ancient Rome:

> '...which [men's garment] was being used by the ancient Romans, under the name of toga, being a long garment reaching to the heels, almost like our *tabbaards*'.[34]

Vondel too, in his *Q. Horatius Flakkus toezangen* of 1655, speaks about a certain Menas, going to the Capitol wearing a trailing *tabbaard*.[35]

Other than the similar length of the garments, the *tabbaard* and the toga of Ancient Rome shared few characteristics. Nevertheless, for seventeenth-century magistrates the *tabbaard* denoted the same qualities of *gravitas* and *dignitas* as did the ancient Roman raiment.

## 5.

Another related aspect of the *tabbaard* was that it had also become associated with learning (*studio*). This could be due to the fact that the *tabbaard* was used as a house garment and quite practical in the study. In genre painting scholars as a rule are depicted wearing a *tabbaard*, sometimes in combination with a bonnet. This combination is also worn occasionally in portraits of famous scholars, as in the series of engraved portraits published by Meursius in 1609.[36] In this series of 34 portraits of professors from Leiden University the majority wear a *tabbaard* including three shown also with a bonnet, as for instance Pieter van Foreest (fig. 7). Like the *tabbaard*, the bonnet was essentially an early sixteenth-century fashion, and with the exception of its use as academic dress it was no longer worn in the seventeenth century. Johannes le Francq van Berkhey, an important eighteenth-century source concerning dress of the preceding two centuries, confirms that the bonnet went out of fashion by the end of the sixteenth century and the fact that it had been retained by academics:

> 'This headdress [the bonnet] after it fell into disuse with the nobility and civilians, has been retained, deep into the seventeenth century, by scholars of law and other academic Doctors, who added it as a respectable sign to the *tabbaard*'.[3]


7
**W. van Swanenburgh (1581/82-1612), after Goltzius, Portrait of Pieter van Foreest, 1609,**
engraving 15,8 x 10,7 cm, illustration in J. Meursius, *Icones ad vivum delineatæ et expressæ* (photo: British Library London).

The consistent depiction of Erasmus of Rotterdam in gown and bonnet might have influenced scholars to have themselves similarly portrayed in a *tabbaard* and bonnet. During Erasmus' lifetime, however, the gown was still part of fashionable dress and in his inventory made up after his death in Basel in 1536, five gowns and several bonnets are listed.[38] Like the gown, the bonnet has survived in modern academic dress, although in the seventeenth century there seems to have been no set regulations for the wearing of the bonnet. While the foundation statutes of the University of Franeker (1586) contain no rules for official dress, professors as well as students were encouraged to wear some dress befitting their dignity: the gown (toga) being considered the most appropriate. The wearing of military dress, however, was specifically discouraged.[39] That this was in fact necessary is confirmed by Sir William Brereton, who visited Leiden in 1634, and reports on the 5th of June of that year:

> 'The scholars apparelled some as gallants, some like soldiers, some like citizens, some like serving-men; all in colours for most part'.[40]

This obvious lack of decorum might have irritated the government as well because in a resolution of 29 January 1641 the States General specifically obliged the professors in Leiden always to wear their *tabbaards* at university,

not only at public promotions but during their lectures as well.[41] In an inventory of 1657, made up after the death of the Leiden professor Arnoldus Vinnius, both a *nachttabbaert* and a *professoors tabbaert* are listed.[42]

The extent to which the bonnet and gown had become a sign of learning, even when it was not deserved, is evidenced by Simon de Beaumont in one of his satiric poems:

> 'The cap and the long gown, beard and hair, long and grey,
> That you wear, oh Grollert, do not make you wise in any way.
> It is in the inner mind, where wisdom should be found,
> To which clothes and state of body are of no account'.[43]

## 6.

Apart from scholars and magistrates, ecclesiastics form a third group, which became increasingly identified with wearing the *tabbaard*. In fact, ministers had themselves portrayed so often wearing the *tabbaard*, that it became a kind of convention.

In the seventeenth century no official dress existed for ministers, and contrary to, for instance, magistrates and professors, ministers never seem to have worn the *tabbaard* in public. During the sermon they usually wore a dark doublet and breeches with a mantle as is illustrated by the middle figure in the Van der Venne watercolour (fig. 6). Before preaching, ministers of the Dutch Reformed church used to take off their hats, except ministers of the Walloon church, who retained their hats.[44]

Since the leaders of the Reformation had abolished Roman-Catholic vestments and adopted lay dress in the early sixteenth century, no official ecclesiastic dress existed.[45] For the ministers of the Dutch Reformed church, however, this posed some kind of a problem. On 11 November 1643, the dress of ministers was the subject of discussion in a disputation by the influential theologian Gisbertus Voetius.[46] The question was raised whether it was required of a minister to distinguish himself in appearance from other people in daily life, or at least during services. Voetius declared that although he saw it as preferable, this was not mandatory because God, according to the New Testament letters to Timothy and Titus, is more concerned with the nature of the evangelical service, rather than with its accoutrements and does not give any rules concerning clothing. The ministers were required only to excel in the language of orthodoxy and to shine by virtue of their chaste conduct.[47]

In practice, notwithstanding the fact that they were wearing lay dress, ministers still seem to have been distinguishable from others. This is shown by the example of the Remonstrant minister Bernardus Vezekius who in 1618, while passing a gathering in Rotterdam, was asked to preach instead of their own missing minister because people could deduce from his bearing and dress that he was a minister.[48] Although for modern eyes these nuances in dress are extremely difficult to determine after almost four hundred years, it can be concluded that ministers seem to have distinguished themselves by dressing in a conservative and subdued way. Ministers were conservative not only in their manner of dress, but also in their hairstyles. When fashionable


Rembrandt f. 16-1-

men let their hair grow, during the 1630s and 1640s and sported very small pointed beards, ministers like the Reformed Johannes Elison, painted by Rembrandt in 1634 distinguished themselves by their closely cropped hair and full beards (fig. 8).[49] During the 1640s the debate about long hair even culminated into a nationwide dispute which was fought mainly from the pulpit.[50] Ecclesiastics were also recognizable by their black skull-caps, which became increasingly distinctive of the proffesion during the seventeenth century.[51] As Le Francq van Berkhey in the eighteenth century recalls:

> '...these skull-caps were, until the beginning of this century, very generally worn, they lasted for a long time, especially among ministers ... At present, as is known, it is for them as well as for the whole nation, one of the most dignified items of dress'.[52]

During the whole of the seventeenth century the ministers called upon their congregations for moderation and simplicity, in both their way of living and in their dress. Novelty in dress was viewed with suspicion, whereas the modesty of the fashions of past generations was always praised and set as an example. In, for instance, the sermon of the Reformed minister Jacobus Trigland of 1614, the idea prevails that the people of past times were both modest and simple.

> '...previously people were not so adorned and ostentatiously attired, previously people did not wear such costly clothes'.[53]

Twenty years later another Reformed minister Willem Teellinck alludes to the reasons why in his view new modes should not be taken up immediately:

> 'Novelty; When a fashion is merely novel and unusual, it is offending, ...the new fashions go amongst the people like a pest, and infect many'.[54]

According to Teellinck excesses in dress went against the very establishment of the Christian confession. In his opinion true Christians were not allowed to have anything to do with the fashions of the wicked world. The deliberate old-fashionedness and simplicity of dress of the true believer was a way to show that he or she denounced the world and that their true interests lay in the hereafter. Teellinck even goes so far as to claim that this denouncement of the world by the way of dress should be the principal task of the faithful.[55] Modesty in dress, according to him, also meant that only subdued colours should be worn. Bright colours were seen as enticements by Satan, and not tolerable in righteous people. The colour of their dress should be *stemmig* and *sedig*, both grave and modest.[56]

It was expected of a minister that he should set an example of such modesty and it sometimes occurred that a congregation criticized the dress of their minister. Like the *classis* (an office within the organisation of the Reformed church) of Amsterdam who in 1640 asked the provincial synod, if not more attention should be paid to ministers who go with long hair and new fashions in dress. The synod answered that every *classis*, when encountering something of this kind, should remedy this themselves, because a

8
**Rembrandt (1606-1669), Portrait of the Reformed minister Johannes Elison, 1634,**
canvas 173 x 124 cm,
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
(photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts Boston).

minister should be an exemplar of temperance and virtue.[57] This was also the opinion of the minister Godefridus Udemans who stated that churchmen especially should not follow these foolish fashions because they above all others should be exemplars of godliness, temperance and modesty.[58]

One of the victims of anonymous criticism from some members of his congregation was the Remonstrant minister Johannes Wtenbogaert, portrayed by Rembrandt in 1633 and 1635 (fig. 9). In 1602 he was criticized because of his supposedly luxurious lifestyle. The extent to which this accusation roused his indignation is shown by his letter of the 26th of February of that year:

> 'Have I done wrong? Is there anything more?... I am dressed according to the latest fashion. A lie. I dress myself honestly in cloth, the best I have is borato, made according to my quality and convenience'.[59]

Apart from being an example to their own congregation, another reason for the soberness in dress seems to have been the possible censure by the adherents of rival persuasions. This is attested by the *classis* of Hoorn, who in 1604 brought to the attention of the provincial synod that:

> '...many grave offenses occurred, causing injuries to many weaker consciences, and slander by the various sects, inciting noticeable harm to God's church by the manner of dress... practised by some of the clergymen'.[60]

The term 'various sects', refers to the Mennonites in particular, who were known to have repeatedly attacked the Calvinists because of their supposedly luxurious lifestyle and fashionable clothing.[61]

Mennonites distinguished themselves by their extremely sober way of dressing. Their clothes were of a subdued colour without any form of ornamentation, albeit made from high quality fabrics.[62] The *tabbaard*, because of its old-fashioned respectability, seems to have been regarded as appropriate because one of the most prominent members of the Amsterdam Waterland Mennonites, Claes Cornelisz. Anslo, in 1641 had himself portrayed by Rembrandt wearing one (fig. 10). Anslo, here depicted together with his wife Aeltje Gerritsdr. Schouten, had amassed a substantial fortune in shipping and the cloth-trade, primarily dealing with the Baltic and with Sweden. Additionally, Anslo served as a preacher for the Waterland congregation and seemed to have gained quite a reputation as an orator.

In the portrait Anslo wears a black, wide brimmed hat, and a black, fur-lined *tabbaard* over a black suit. Because of the prominent presence of furs in this portrait, S.A.C. Dudok van Heel has proposed that the portrait was executed during the winter of 1640-1641.[63] Christian Tümpel, in his Rembrandt monograph, however, dismisses this idea. In 1642, at the occassion of the bankruptcy of his son, Anslo had paid off his son's debts worth *f* 60,000 (a substantial fortune in those days), although he was not legally obliged to. This episode, according to Tümpel, not only showed Anslo's moral integrity but also his great wealth. This would explain why Anslo is depicted in his furs: not because it was winter but this expensive garment

9
**Rembrandt (1606-1669), Portrait of the Remonstrant minister Johannes Wtenbogaert, 1635,**
engraving 20 x 18,5 cm, first state out of six, Rijksprentenkabinet Amsterdam (photo: Rijksmuseum stichting).

demonstrated how rich he was.[64] Although one could say that in the seventeenth century fur-lined garments represented a certain value, it should be kept in mind that these were also much more of a necessity in badly heated houses and were by no means just a luxury. Furthermore, compared to the fur-lined *tabbaards* encountered in the portraits of other ministers, like that of Johannes Wttenbogaert, Anslo's *tabbaard* does not seem to differ in any way.

Claes Cornelisz. Anslo died in 1646. The inventory of 1658, made up after the death of his widow Aeltje Schouten, gives a good impression of the possessions of the couple.[65] The total estate was valued at 80,000 guilders. But in spite of this wealth, the furnishing of the house was quite sober and no luxury goods were to be found. The value of the clothing was correspondingly low. In fact the inventory lists a lot of fur-lined garments but sig-

10
**Rembrandt (1606-1669), Portrait of the Mennonite preacher Cornelis Claesz. Anslo and Aeltje Gerritsdr. Schouten, 1641,**
canvas, 176 x 210 cm,
Berlin, Gemäldegalerie
(photo: Jörg P. Anders).

nificantly the majority of these were meant for informal use or undergarments, like jackets, waistcoats, breast-cloths and even two yellow fur-lined women's drawers.[66] Some of these garments were not supposed to be seen at all but purely intended as a device against the cold. One of Aeltje's jackets is listed with its old fur and in some inventories also the fur lining of the *tabbaard* seems to have been detachable, so that it is possible that the garment could be worn in winter as well as in summer.[67] As we have already seen, fur was often associated with winter in seventeenth-century imagery, and purely from a dress point of view there seems to be no objection to the proposition that Anslo and his wife sat for Rembrandt during the winter months of 1641.

Finally, not only was bankruptcy a large social stigma in the seventeenth century, but as Sprunger has shown, it could have resulted in being banned from participation in the Lord's Supper.[68] Anslo's conduct at his

son's bankruptcy therefore does not merely illustrate his high morals, but also demonstrates clearly that he was obviously concerned with the public opinion. It should be concluded that it would have been unlikely for Anslo – against his Mennonite principles – to choose to be dressed in a fur-lined *tabbaard* in order to show off how rich he was. The fact that he preferred to be portrayed in his *tabbaard* refers to his role as preacher and scholar of the Bible rather than to a display of wealth.

That ministers had themselves immortalized in portraits wearing a *tabbaard* instead of their usual dress was both a meaningful and a circumstantially plausible choice. The disadvantage of the abolishment of special ecclesiastical dress was that ordinary dress lacked both the tradition and dignity of the long Catholic vestments. For ministers, the *tabbaard* both provided a time honoured respectability and lent the wearer an imposing stateliness. The inconspicuousness and modesty that ministers were expected to propagate through their dress was the reason for the subdued colours of the *tabbaards* we encounter in their portraits. Furthermore, the wearing of a house garment implied that rather than having themselves portrayed in their public roles, ministers chose to have themselves depicted in their private capacity as scholars, engaged in studying the Bible.

## 7.

Thus, in addition to being a comfortable house garment, during the first half of the seventeenth century the *tabbaard* became increasingly associated with notions of *gravitas, dignitas* and *studio*. Consequently the *tabbaard* was a garment in which elderly men and scholars might suitably have themselves portrayed. Indeed, for ecclesiastics it became the conventional way to have themselves depicted.

Because of its old ancestry, the essentially medieval *tabbaard* not only stood for tradition and a time-honoured respectability but was even thought to have a continuity which went back directly to antiquity. This classic, almost timeless quality of the *tabbaard* is shown in the portrait of the 86 year-old Jacob Trip, portrayed by Rembrandt in 1661. Trip is wearing a fur-lined *tabbaard* with a simple white scarf and a night cap (fig. 11). That Rembrandt had been fully aware of this particular association of the *tabbaard*, is indicated by the fact that he has depicted the sitter with only his left arm put through the fur-lined sleeve. The other sleeve hangs behind and Trip's right arm is covered by the *tabbaard* in a mantle like-manner giving the sitter a classic grandeur and timeless air.

By 1661 the archaism of the *tabbaard* must have been particularly apparent because from the mid-century onwards the *tabbaard* was replaced as a house garment by the exotic *Japonse Rock* or Japanese gown, a garment of an altogether different character based on the Japanese kimono, made of brightly coloured silk or cotton. This much lighter garment lent itself even better to loosely draped effects, and became the stock garment in which men of all ranks from then on had themselves portrayed, in order to achieve the much desired timeless effect.[69]

As a result the *tabbaard* from now on became exclusively used as official dress. Since official dress transforms individuals into representatives of

society it is always linked to the idea of dignity and splendour. Heavy long gowns signify both stateliness and gravity; they appear classic and thus are timeless. By the seventeenth century the outmoded *tabbaard*, together with its connotations with old age, learning and tradition, was destined to become the official dress of the Dutch academic, legal and ecclesiastic professions, for centuries to come. The *tabbaard* was retained in its black unlined form, sometimes with black velvet facings. Furs are abolished altogether, except from the gowns of the members of the Dutch Supreme Court, which have maintained their ermine edgings.

It is significant that this essentially late medieval garment is known from the eighteenth century on under the name of toga, claiming a continuity with classical drapery. This use of the word toga, however, resulted in the disappearance of the term *tabbaard*, together with the obliteration of its origin. That the true origin of official dress was not yet entirely forgotten in the eighteenth century, is evidenced by Le Francq van Berkhey, who summarizes the ancient habit of the wearing of the *tabbaard*:

> 'In our Holland the stately gowns of the burgomasters, magistrates and corporations are true remnants of this ancient habit. Also the togas of the Professors and the cloaks and gowns of the lawyers maintain the old respectability, that also has a place amongst the majority of our ministers and other denominations... Thus it had been an universal habit of dignified people, to appear in public in a cloak or *tabbaard*'.[70]

11
**Rembrandt (1606-1669), Portrait of Jacob Trip, c. 1661,**
canvas, 130,5 x 97 cm,
National Gallery, London
(photo: National Gallery).

## Notes

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1 In German *Schaube* or *Rock*. Like its equivalent English term gown, or French *robe*, the word *tabbaard* or *tabbert*, could denote both a man's coat or a woman's dress. See for the etymology and different meanings of this term: Marieke de Winkel, *Terminology of Dress, The Netherlands, 1610-1710*. MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Arts, London 1995. esp. 16 & 53. All too often in modern texts *tabbaard* is erroneously translated with the English term tabard. A tabard, however, is a thigh-length garment, open at the sides which is embroidered with heraldic devices and until this day worn by heralds only. See: W. Sewel, *A large dictionary English and Dutch*, Amsterdam 1691: s.v. Tabard: 'de Wapenrók, Herautsrók'.

2 See for the occurrence of the word *tabbaard* in Leiden inventories of 1450: Mireille Madou, 'Betrachtungen und Probleme bezüglich der Mittelniederländischen Kostüm-terminologie', *Terminologie und Typologie Mittelalterlicher Sachgüter: das Beispiel der Kleidung, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs*, nr. 10, Vienna 1988, 77-91. For the origin of the gown and its first illustrations: Paul Post, 'Herkunft und Wesen der Schaube', *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen und Kostümkunde*, 1 [10] (1923-25), 42-47.

3 'Een langen tabbert van fynen gouden laken mit armynen gevoedert; Een swart satynen tabbart heel mit fynen sabelen gevoedert...' In: C.H. de Jonghe, 'Bijdrage tot de kennis van de kleederdracht in de Nederlanden in de XVIde eeuw, het mannencostuum', *Oud Holland* 36 (1918), 137-169, Appendix K, 162-163.

4 They were allowed to wear crimson tabbaards of velvet or satin. See: *Ibid.*, Appendix L, 163-164. 'Verbieden by desen allen onsen vasallen, weder si syn hertogen, princen, ...so wel vrouwen als mans personen sonder eenige exeptie, het dragen en slyten van gouden en silveren lakenen, van gouden oft silveren doeck, van gout oft silver brocat, so in tabbaerde.... voortaen en sal moghen dragen tabbaerden ...van fluweel oft satin cramosy, dan allenlick princen, mercgrayen, graven oft ridders...'

5 'Item Doctor Hayo Hompen zynen zwager zyn zwarte tabbaert mit luperen gevoert'. Ensuing the will also lists a grey *tabbaard* lined with marten and a black *tabbaard* lined with fox fur: 'Item Joost Buyck Sibrantsz. zyn zwager zyn grauwe tabbert mit maertelen ende achter mit maerter keelen gevoert. Item Sibrant Buck Jacobszn, zyn zwager zyn zwaerte tabbart mit vossen gevoert'. In: J.F.M. Sterck, 'Aantekeningen over 16e eeuwsche Amsterdamse portretten', *Oud Holland* 43 (1926), 263-265. 'Luperen', according to the Dutch dictionary could mean both leopard as lynx. The spotted fur in the portrait, however, indicate the spotted belly of the lynx rather than leopard fur which had to be imported from Africa. See: M. de Vries and L.A. te Winkel, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, The Hague 1926, s.v. Luperen.

6 Otto Nübel, *Pompejus Occo, 1483 bis 1537, Fugger faktor in Amsterdam*, Tübingen 1972. With thanks to S.A.C. Dudok van Heel for this last reference. For the role of Scandinavia and Russia in the late medieval fur trade see: Robert Delort, *Le Commerce des Fourrures en Occident à la fin du Moyen Age*. 2 vols. Rome 1978.

7 Whether or in what way the *tabbaard* and the *nacht tabbaard* might have differed from each other is very difficult to determine. In my opinion the term *nacht tabbaard* was used in the sixteenth century to distinguish this house garment from the fashionable garment also worn out of doors. In the seventeenth century, however, the two terms seem to have been used almost interchangeably. See: Caspar van den Ende, *Le Gazophilace de la Langue Francoise et Flamande, Schat-kamer der Nederduitsche en Francoische Tale*, Rotterdam 1654: s.v. Robbe: 'üne longue Robbe, Een tabbaard. Robbe de chambre, Nacht-tabbaard'. Chamber-gown is perhaps a less confusing term than nightgown, because it was not exclusively worn at night and never in bed! Their use was not restricted to men only because in Amsterdam inventories *nacht tabbaards* are also listed for women and children. Other denominations seem also to have been current. See: E. Mellema, *Le Grand dictionaire Francois Flamen*, Rotterdam 1610: s.v. Tabbaert: 'Winter tabbaert, Robbe ou Mantevelue, robe de chambre, Robbe de nuict'. and C. Kilianus, *Etymologicum Tevtonicae lingvae, sive Dictionarium Tevtonico-Latinvm*, Amsterdam 1605, 4th edition, s.v. Tabbaerd: 'Nacht-tabbaerd/ tafel-tabbaerd. Vestis coenatoria'.

8 'Noch een vosse bonte nacht Tabbert, Noch een Coleurde nacht Tabbert met materen bont gevoert, Een donkere Cammelote nacht Tabbert met baeij gevoert', Inventory of Matthijs Willemsz van Raephorst (1599-1638) and the late Aeffgen Witsen (1596-1637). Municipal Archives Amsterdam, Notary Frans Bruijningh, Notarial Archives nr. 1415, d.d. 23 Feb. 1638. (not numbered). Camlet is a plain or twilled fabric made of a mixture of goat or camel hair and wool. Bays is a kind of open woollen fabric, sometimes frised on one side, resembling flannel.

9 'Een turcx kamelotte nacht-tabbart ongevoert, 15:-:-, Een bonte tabbart, 45:-:-' (fol. 12). Inventory of the late Matthias van Gherwen, Municipal Archives Amsterdam. Notary Jacob de Winter, Notarial Archives nr. 2408, January 1653, fol. 2-30. Note that the valuations represent the value on the secondhand market. Turcx or 'toers' was a quality of grosgrain made with goat or camel hair manufactured in Leiden.

10 'Geen dier van ons gewas en draeght'er schoone vellen, Wie kan noch evenwel hier al de bonten tellen?' In his *Houwelick* of 1625, in: J. Cats, *Alle wercken*, Amsterdam 1726, vol. 1, 354.

11 *Keuren en ordonnantien van het pelters en bontwerkers gildt der Stadt Amsteldam*, Amsterdam 1808. 29 Augustus 1613, '7. Item/ dat niemant eenige velwerken/ 't Ambagt van Peltiers ende Pelsers aengaende/ sal mogen touwen/ ofte getout uytsnyden/ verwerken/ nog by de stuk verkoopen... als alleen de Gildebroeders.'

12 *Ibid.*, '8. Item/ dat ook niemant sal mogen voederen tabberden/ kleederen/ ofte andere dingen/ 't zy kleyn ofte groot/ 't Ambagt van de Peltiers ofte Pelssers aengaende/ of hy sal eerst 't Gild gewonnnen hebben;...'

13 In the inventory of his daughter Susanna Ruts, who also owned her father's portrait, two caffa jackets lined with sable bellies are mentioned. Sable was one of the most expensive furs in the seventeenth century, found exclusively in Russia. Women's jackets were usually lined with squirrel fur and jackets lined with sable are in fact very rarely encountered in Amsterdam probate inventories. Municipal Archives Amsterdam, Notary Joost van der Ven, Notarial Archives nr. 1088, d.d. 15 April 1649, fol. 95-405. On fol. 402: 'Twee caffa Manteltjens met sabel buycken gevoert'. Caffa is kind a figured velvet, often on a satin ground.

14 Municipal Archives Amsterdam, Inventories Weeskamer 5073/968, 30 May 1628, Inventory Sara Lodewijcx, widow of the late Francoijs de Penijn, Apothecary (not numbered): 'Een bonte Pels, Een kaffa mansmuts met bont gevoert, Een weerschijne bontte Nachtabbert, Een groene nachttabbert met vissen [= bunzing] gevoert'. Municipal Archives Amsterdam, Inventories Weeskamer 5073/969, d.d. 25 November 1634. Inventory of Willem Cornelis van Muijden and Gerbrich Gerbrants. fol. 3v-9v. On fol. 8v-9: '1 graeuwe nacht Rock, 1 bonte tabbaert, 1 swarte bonte muts'.

15 In graphic art this kind of personification appears from the sixteenth century onwards. See for examples: *Bilder vom alten Menschen in der niederländischen und deutschen Kunst 1550-1750*, cat. exh. Braunschweig (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) 1993-94, 67, 124 and 127.

16 'De Winter zou somtyds zoo lief zyn' tafel missen, Als zynen wermen haerd, of zynen bonten rok'. Jeremias de Decker, *Alle de Rymoeffeningen*, Amsterdam 1726, vol. 2, 189.

17 'Een paers weerschijne sijde tabbert geboort met twee koorden van gout ende sijde, ende gevoert met paerse bay'. In: M.H. van Visvliet, 'De kleerkast van Piet Hein', *Oud Holland* 23 (1905), 189-196 esp. 193.

18 In the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, designed by Hendrick de Keyser and constructed between 1614-1622. For other (rare) examples of Dutch seventeenth-century tomb sculpture where the deceased is wearing a nightgown, slippers and a nightcap, see: Frits T. Scholten, *Rombout Verhulst in Groningen, zeventiende eeuwse praalgraven in Midwolde en Stedum*, Utrecht 1983.

19 Count Anton Günter von Oldenburg in 1667, was buried wearing a linen nightcap, doublet and breeches and a coffee-coloured gown, see: Elfriede Heinemaver, 'Die Gewänder des Gräfen Anton Günther von Oldenburg', *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen und Kostümkunde* 26 (1967) band 9, Heft 2, 91-104. Not only men, but also women and children appear to have been buried in night-gowns, See: Ilse Fingerlin, *Die Grafen von Sulz und ihr Begräbnis in Tiengen am Hochrhein*, Stuttgart 1992, and Anette Kuse, Birgitta Bøggild Johansen, etc., *Fru Kirstens Børn, To kongebørns begravelser i Roskilder Domkirke*. Copenhagen 1988. Also illustrated in this book is the remarkable portrait of 1648, attributed to Berent Hilwaertz, of King Christian IV of Denmark lying in state. Here the King is wearing a gown over his linen shroud, which is tied under the feet. This could also have been the case with Frederik Hendrik, regarding the empty sleeves of his gown. See also: Martin Olsson (ed.), *I Vasagraven i Uppsala Domkyrka*, Stockholm 1956, and for a mid 17th-century example from Grad near Slovenj Gradec (Slovenia): A. Vrisier, *Contribution to the Development of Clothing in Slovenia in the 17th Century*, Kronika 1979, 94. With thanks to Dr Jutta Zander-Seidel of the Germanisches National Museum for these references.

20 Emanuel van Meteren, *Historie der Neder-landscher ende haerder Na-buren Oorlogen ende Geschiedenissen*, The Hague 1614, fol. 58: '...den Grave van Egmont op het Schavot gebracht... Egmont was ghecleedt in Hosen ende Wambays hebbende selve den crage smorghens van het Wambays ende hemde af gesneden, ende hadde daer over eenen rooden Damasten Nacht-tabbaert'. High born women seem also to have been executed in their night-gowns like lady Jane Grey at her execution in the Tower in 1554. See: Marie C. Linthicum, *Costume in the drama of Shakespeare and his contempories*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1636/ New York 1972, 185.

21 Willem de Groot says in his diary: 'Heeft sijn nachttabaert uytgetrocken, voor ontnastelt, daerna voort bij Jan Vrancken het wambas opgetrocken'. In: P. Scheltema, 'Dagboekje van Willem de Groot', *Nieuw Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van Nederland*, vol. I (1852), 331-359, esp. 347. And the comment of an anonymous eyewitness: 'gingh tusschen syn Dienaer, Joannes La Motius ende andere met het stocxken in syn handen... naer t'Schavot, daer hy op quam ontrent neghen uren, hadde aen een swarten satijnen tabbaert, ende was voort al int swart ghecleet... Dit gedaen zijnde, trock selver sijn Tabbert uyt, maeckte de knoopen van sijn wambays haestelijck los, dat hy terstont van sijn knecht liet uyt hale: Sette selver een Mutsken op sijn hooft, dat hy over sijn oogen trock, hier sach ick dat sijn handen beefden'. Pamphlet, *Verhael vanden doodt des Advocaets van Hollandt, Johan van Olden-Barnevelt, hoe hy op den 13. Mey 1619. inden Hagh onthooft is, alsoo ick't selve ghesien hebbe*. Amsterdam 1619.

22 G. Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, 2nd series (II), Utrecht 1858, 15. In a letter sent from Leeuwarden 26th of June 1600, from Everhard van Reyd, secretary of Willem Lodewijk of Nassau, to Erasmus Stöver: 'Barnefeld und [die] lankrocke haben uns precipitiert; Gott gleichwol hat uns nit willen lassen verderben'.

23 How much Oldenbarneveldt was associated with the *tabbaard* shows the title of the work written by the orthodox minister G. Voetius, who 42 years later speaks about Oldenbarneveldt *betabbert*, 'gowned' with his maxims. G. Voetius, *De Ver-resen Barnevelt betabbert met alle sijne politycke Maximen*, Zierikzee 1663.

24 François Halma, *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche taalen*, Amsterdam 1710: s.v. Tabbaard: 'Lieden van de Tabbaart. Rechters, Raadsheeren, Voorspraaken. Gens de la Robe, Juges, Conseillers, Avocats'.

25 See Dutch dictionary, *WNT*, *op.cit.* (n. 5), vol. XVI, s.v. Tabbaard.

26 Municipal Archives Amsterdam, Particuliere Archieven, nr. 76 (de Graeff) nr. 605/32, Notary Dirck van der Groe, 24 December 1691- 18 August 1692, fol. 133.

27 J. Stalpart van der Wiele, *Vrouwelick Cieraet van Sint Agnes Versmaedt, Hier beneffens gaet bi maniere van Voor-reden een Kleed-bericht, innehoudende de Middelmaettigheid, nae de welcke ider mensch zijn kleed behoordt te fetçonneren*. 'S Hertogenbosch 1622. 7: 'Jae dat oock

zelfs inde hoge hoven de Advocaten op zeeckere peinen, ..., verboden is te pleiten zonder Tabbaerd'.

28 Constantijn Huygens, *'t Costelijck mall*, Middelburg 1622, 17.

29 G. Moll, 'De confiscatie der goederen van Hugo de Groot', *Oud Holland* 20 (1902), 83-112. esp. 102: 'Een Advocaets tabbert met fluele oplagen, 48:00:00'.

30 Jacob Duym, *Spieghel der Getrouwigheyt*, Leiden 1600. In directions in the preface: 'De Borgemeesters van Wijnsberch moeten degelijck gecleet zijn na de wijse van oude degelijcke borgers, met tabbaerden aen'.

31 Jacob Duym, *Spieghel der Liefden*, Leiden 1600. In the directions in the preface: 'Militiades, moet zijn een stock out man, gaende met eenen stock inde hant, ghecleet met een seer deghelijcke nachttabbaert, als eenen die voortijden veel bevels heeft ghehadt'.

32 Henry Hexham, *Het Groot woordenboek gestelt in 't Engelsch ende Nederduytsch*, Rotterdam 1647: s.v. Degelick: 'Vertuous, Grave, or Honest.'

33 Caspar van den Ende, *op. cit.* (n. 7), s.v. Togue: 'c'êt une longue rôbe dont usoiêt les Romains, Een langen tabbaard, of rok'.

34 J. Stalpart van der Wiele, *op. cit.* (n. 27), 24. 'Zal hier De Curieuse Leser believen te ghedencken datter bide Ouden ondere andere gheweest siin zeeckere twee de Aldervermaerdste fatcoenen van Mannelickke Bovenkleden. Waer van 'teene gebruickt werde bide Romeinen metten naem van Toga, wezende een lang kleed totte hielen toe, bi nae op de manier van onze Tabbaerden...'

35 J. van Lennep, *De Werken van Joost van den Vondel*, vol. 6, Amsterdam 1861, 572. 'Tegens Menas, Den vrygelaten slaef den grooten Pompejus.... Zietghe niet hoe de hoe de voorbygaende luiden u de guigh nasteecken en nakijcken, wanneerghe met eenen sleependen tabbaert naer het Kapitool treet'.

36 Johannes Meursius, *Icones ad vivum delineatæ et expressæ, virorum clariorum qui præcipue scriptis Academiam, Lvgdvno Batavam illustrarunt*. Leiden 1609.

37 J. le Francq van Berkhey, *Natuurlyke historie van Holland*, Amsterdam 1772. 3rd vol., 1st part, 500. 'Zelfs heeft dit Hoofdsieraad [de bonnet], na dat het by de Edelen en den Burgerstand in onbruik geraakte, nog tot diep inde Zeventiende Eeuw stand gehouden, by de Rechtsgeleerden en de gepromoveerde Doctoren; die het zelve als een eerwaardig teken by den Tabbaard voegden'.

38 J. Mähly, 'Inventarium über die Hinterlassenschaft des Erasmus vom 22. Juli 1536', *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, 4 (1897), 435: 'ein schwartzen rock mit mardern gefüttert, ein brunen rock, ein brunen rock mit fuchsem fütder, ein grouwen rock on füter, ein schwartzen rock on füter, XI huet wullen vnd sydne schlapphuben, fünff pirretlin'. 'Pirretlin' in my opinion could be the Basel dialect for baret.

39 *Statuta & Leges fundamentales Academiæ Frisorum, Quæ est Franequeræ*, Franeker 1647, 12-3, § XXXV. 'Vestitus Professorum fit honestus & gravis, ad laudem nominis publici: Studiosorum item honestus studioso dignus, dissimilis militari: quasque Natura voluit, partes, tectae sunto: Utrique Togati potius, vitam togatam pro decore ornanto'.

40 William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England Scotland and Ireland, 1634-1635*. London 1944, 39.

41 *Groot Placaet-Boeck, vervattende de Placaten, ordennantien ende edicten van de Doorluchtige, Hoogh Mog. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, The Hague 1658, 284. Resolutie 29 Januari 1641. 'Dat alle de voorsz. Professooren sullen gehouden zijn inde Universiteyt, niet alleenlijck op de publijcke Promotien ende Inaugurale disputatien, maer oock in het doen van hare lessen te verschijnen met hare Tabbaerden'.

42 Th.H. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, and C. Willemijn Fock, *Het Rapenburg, Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht, Leiden 1986-1990*, vol. VIb, 685. Arnoldus Vinnius (1588-1657) was appointed as a professor in law in 1633.

43 Simon van Beaumont, *Tyt-Snipperingen. Vande Ionckheyt, tot inden Ouderdom*, Rotterdam 1640, nr. 26: 'De muts en langen rock, baert en hayr, langh en grijs/ Die ghy draeght, maken u, ô Grollert, geensins wijs./ Wijsheyt moet sijn gesocht in 't innerlijck gemoedt,/ Waer toe, kleed en gelaet des lichaems niet en doet'.

44 G.D.J. Schotel, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kerkelijke en wereldlijke kleeding*, The Hague 1856, 150.

45 Luther appeared at the pulpit wearing a black gown for the first time in the afternoon of the 9th of October 1524. In the morning of the same day he had still been preaching in his monk's habit. See: Martha Bringemeier, 'Priester und Gelehrten Kleidung', *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, Beiheft 1, Münster 1974, 44.

46 A.C. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, vol. II, Leiden 1910, 259.

47 *Ibid.*, '...dat zij zouden uitblinken door de taal der rechtzinnigheid en schitteren door een kuise levenswandel (Matth.5:14)'.

48 'Alsoo zij uuyt zijn wesen ende gewaet oordeelden dat hij een predicant was'. See: A.Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen: kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldebarnevelt*, Assen 1974, 71.

49 The Enkhuizen minister H. Vogellius in his *Godts volks oude ende huydige klagende beeden tot God* of 1644 defends the long beard: 'Is u niet de baert gegheven, tot ontzagh en tot cieraet, voor die sonder baerden leven? Doet ghij dan gheen schandelijck quaet, dat ghij laet u baert afscheeren, of beknippen spits en kleen?' In: F. van Thienen, *Das Kostüm der blütezeit Hollands, 1600-1660*, Berlin 1930, 105.

50 See for an overview of the different arguments: M.A. Perk, *Schetsen en Beelden*, Haarlem 1900, 203-254.

51 It also became a habit for Roman-Catholic priests and Sephardic rabbis to have themselves depicted in a gown and a skull-cap, see: Paul Dirkse, 'Cornelis de Visscher en de iconografie van het Noordnederlands pastoorsportret', *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 7 (1989), 259, and M.H. Gans, *Memorboek, platenatlas van het leven der Joden in Nederland van de Middeleeuwen tot 1940*, Amsterdam 1972, 100. In the seventeenth century, however, the skull-cap was not yet used as a special Jewish requirement. This sign of Jewish orthodoxy is only in use in the west from the beginning of the 20th century onwards. See: A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, (2nd ed.) London 1973, esp. 11.

52 J. Le Francq van Berkhey, *op. cit.* (n. 37) 3rd vol., 1st part, 596. '... deeze kalotjes zyn zedert, tot in 't begin deezer Eeuwe, zeer algemeen in gebruik geweest, men vond ze nog lang, inzonderheid by de Predikanten.... Dan heden, gelyk men weet, is het zoo onder hen, als by de geheel Natie, eene der deftigste dragten'.

53 '...Doen en waren sij so en niet opgeciert ende op-geproncktt, doen en droegen sij en sulke costelijke kleederen niet' H.C. Rogge, 'Een preek van Jacobus Trigland, Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de evangelieprediking in de Nederlandsche Hervormde kerk',

in: *Godgeleerde Bijdragen* 39 (1865), 775-796, esp. 783.

54 'Nieuwigheyt; Als een fatsoen slecht nieu en ongewoonlijck is, soo is het onstichtelijck,... de nieuwe fatsoenen loopen als een peste onder de lieden, ende besmetten vele'. Willem Teellinck, *Den Spieghel der Zedigheyt*, Amsterdam 1626, 40. This wonderful source for dress has until now not received the attention of the dress-historians it deserves, and I would like to thank Volker Manuth for bringing it to my attention.

55 *Ibid.*, 79: 'Den overdaed in de kleederen gaet tege de bysondere gelegentheydt onser Christelijcken Beleydenisse en Professie. Siet daer alle diegene die voor ware christenen willen ghekeurt zijn die doen belijdenissse van nederigheydt, ende dat wij die ghene zijn die ons selven verloochenen en de wereld verlaten hebben, onse burgerschap in den Hemel hebben en hier als vreemdelinghe ende uyt-landers zijn. welcke met de fatsoenen van dese tegenwoordige boose Wereld, gheen ghemeynschap en willen, noch en moghen hebben, ja onsse beleydenisse brenght mede dat wij dat tot ons principaelste werck hebben'.

56 *Ibid.*, 37. Only at Court bright colours were permitted: 'De Couleur onser cleederen moet zedigh ende stemmig wesen, niet blickerigh, uytwendigh, noch weer-schijnig. Hier teghen vergrijpen zich die ghene welcke sich op-toyen in blauw, groen, geel, incarnaet, ect. ... Dese Coleure zijn enckele aenritselen des Satans om de gemoederen te doen ontbranden in onkuysche begeerte. Als de selve onder den gemeyne man werde: en derhalve of schoon de Princen der Aerden en hare gesinne, sich so toemake, om den glantz hares opperste Heers te vertonen,... so en betaemt dat geensins de gemeyne luyde. Wij sien oock dat selve stemmige Regierders onses lands, sich in sedige couleuren versieren, en die uytwendigheden vermijden, t'welk dan elck sedigh herte behoorde na te volgen'.

57 G.D.J. Schotel, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 11-12.

58 *Ibid.*, 24.

59 'Heb ick misdaen? wat isser meer? ...Ick clede mij naer de nyeuwen snoff. Logen. Ick clede mij eerlick in laecken, T'beste is Borat, gemaect nae mijn qualiteyt ende gemack'. (Letter XXXII to T. Cornelissen and W. Helmichius.) in: H.C. Rogge (ed.), *Brieven en onuitgegeven stukken van Johannes Wtenbogaert*, 1st vol., Utrecht 1868, 54. Borato is a fabric with a silk warp and a coarse woollen weft.

60 '...Vele sware ergenissen werden gecauseert tot verwondinge vele swacken conscientiën, lasteringen der verscheidene secten ende also tot merckelijcken naedeel der kercken Gods door de maniere so in cleedinge, [..] bij verscheyden dienaren gepleegt ende gevolgt' – Van Deursen, *op. cit.* (n. 48), 71.

61 For this critique for instance the sermon by Trigland in Rogge, *op. cit.* (n. 53), 793: 'De Weder-dooperen en gebruiken bijna anders geen argument om de lieden van ons af te trecken, als dit. Siet, zeggen zij, hoe schoon zijn zij op-gepronkt! Hoe zijn sij met gouwt ende zilver behangen! Hoe zijn zij verciert! Soude dat de Gemeinte Godts wesen?'

62 *Ibid.*, Trigland calls this way of dressing a 'Fariseische hijpocrisie': in plain and simple clothes with only a small band, but in the mean time the fabrics are quite costly, although they do not look like it.

63 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Doopsgezinden en schilderkunst in de 17de eeuw, Leerlingen, opdrachtgevers en verzamelaars van Rembrandt' *Doopsgezinde bijdragen* 6 (1980), 105-123, esp. 113: 'Anslo en zijn vrouw dragen beiden hun bontmantels op het portret, zodat ik aanneem dat Rembrandt omstreeks de winter van 1640/1 voor hen heeft gewerkt'.

64 Christian Tümpel, *Rembrandt*, Amsterdam 1986, 122: 'Deze episode zegt niet alleen iets over Anslo's moraal, maar ook over zijn rijkdom...ze maakt ook duidelijk waarom Anslo zich in zijn bontmantel liet portretteren: zeker niet omdat het winter was, zoals een archivaris heeft beweerd, maar omdat dit dure kledingstuk aangaf hoe rijk hij was'.

65 Amsterdam Municipal Archives, Inventory of Aeltje Gerritdr. Schouten, Notary J. van Loosdrecht, Notarial Archives nr. 2864, dd. 25/31 December 1658, fol. 766-797.

66 In this inventory only Aeltje's clothing is listed, because Cornelis Anslo's clothes were already given away or sold after his death in 1646, as was the custom. Aeltje's clothes were valued and divided between her daughters. For instance: '2 gele broecken met bont gevoert (*f* 3:10:- each); 1 roo greynen borsterock met bont daar in; 2 roo borstlappen met bont daar in; 1 grofgreyn bontjack *f* 12:-:-; 1 out bontmanteltje met wat out bont 8:-:-; 1 swart bont jack 10:-:-; and 1 bont jack, 10:-:-'. Significantly, these were not the most expensive items in the inventory, in comparison one red petticoat is valued for *f* 18:-:-. The high quantity of fur-lined garments could have been connected with Anslo's trade with the Baltic.

67 Municipal Archives Amsterdam, Inventories Weeskamer 5073/968, Inventory Goossen Symens and Hendrick Janssen, dd. 10 Dec. 1611/21 Feb. 1612 (not numbered) 'Mans clederen: bonte voeder van een tabbart 10:-:-; 1 tabbart 12:-:-'. In this instance the fur lining is almost as expensive as the *tabbaard* itself.

68 Mary Sprunger, 'Faillissementen, een aspect van geestelijke tucht bij de Waterlands-doopsgezinde gemeente te Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 17 (1991), 101-130. Between 1612 and 1668 24 members of the Waterland congregation, because of bankrupty, were temporarily excluded from fellowship of the Lord's Supper (called the small ban). Anslo's son was not excluded due to his father's prompt payment. See also: Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: de kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700*, Hilversum 1990, 377-381.

69 These T-shaped gowns were bought ready-made and imported from Japan by the Dutch East India Company from the 1640s on. For the origin and examples of the Japonse Rock in late seventeenth and eighteenth century portraiture see: A.M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, 'Japonsche Rocken', *Oud Holland* 62 (1947), 137-151.

70 Le Francq van Berkhey, *op. cit.* (n. 37), 513: 'In ons Holland zyn de staatlyke Rechtrokken van der Steden Burgemeesteren, Schepenen en Vroedschappen, nog de echte overblyffels van dat aloude gebruik; en de Togâs der Professoren, mitsgaders de Mantels en Pleitrokken onzer Advokaaten bewaaren mede de oude deftigheid; dat insgelyks nog plaats heeft bv de meeste onzer Predikanten en anderer Gezindheden... Dus was het een algemeene gewoonte van deftige Lieden, gemanteld of getabberd in 't openbaar te verschynen'.

STICHTING FOUNDATION REMBRANDT RESEARCH PROJECT

Amsterdam, 6 September 1996

Dear Mrs Bader,

At the advice of Volker Manuth I am sending you an offprint of an article I have written some time ago. The article is on the dress of elderly men (scholars and ministers) in the work of Rembrandt. Volker told me about your interest in costume and of your close involvement in setting up the Bexhill Costume museum. Although I have not visited the museum, two years ago (when still participating in the History of Dress course at the Courtauld institute), I examined a very beautiful bridal gown (at the conservation department in Hampton Court) from the Bexhill collection.

In 1993, after finishing my MA in History of Art, I started my PhD research called *The Iconography of Dress in Rembrandt paintings*. Since, I did an MA in the History of Dress at the Courtauld and currently have a full-time job at the RRP. It is my responsibility to write the comments on the late history paintings for the 5th Volume of the Corpus. Working on Rembrandt's late history pieces is of course very exiting and quite a honour, but demands all my attention at the moment so you may understand I have very little time for my PdD-research. Still I hope to finish it before my contract here ends (which is in three years time) and write some more articles on dress in seventeenth-century painting.

*c/o Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Herengracht 286, NL-1016 BX Amsterdam, telefoon 020 - 5253026, fax ~~5253023~~ 52547*

STICHTING FOUNDATION REMBRANDT RESEARCH PROJECT

At the moment I am researching the possessions (especially the clothing) of Sephardic Jews in 17th-century Amsterdam probate inventories. These are very different from clothes usually found in Amsterdam inventories and I hope I will have enough material to write something about that as well. This might add to our knowledge of how Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam looked like because there is so little in the way of portraits. If possible I would very much like to discuss my findings with you because of your affinity with both subjects: costume and Jewish history.

I hope the article I am sending is of some interest to you.

With kind regards, to both you and your husband:

Marieke de Winkel

Marieke de Winkel.

*c/o Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Herengracht 286, NL-1016 BX Amsterdam, telefoon 020 - 5253026, fax 5253023*

4736

October 7, 1996

Dr. Otto Naumann
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# BILL OF SALE

One-half interest in each of the following paintings:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1) | Filippo Neopolitano (oil on copper) - To be hand-delivered to you on November 4th | |
| | ABFA #1834 | $ 5,000.00 |
| 2) | Landscape by Venvitelli | |
| | ABFA #1835 | 1,000.00 |
| 3) | St. John by Schidone | |
| | ABFA #1836 | 2,500.00 |
| 4) | St. Blaise attributed to Ribera | |
| | ABFA #1837 | 15,000.00 |
| **TOTAL:** | | **$ 23,500.00** |

Numbers 2-4 (on canvas) will be shipped soft-packed via Fine Arts Express (details transmitted by fax).

**Thank you!**