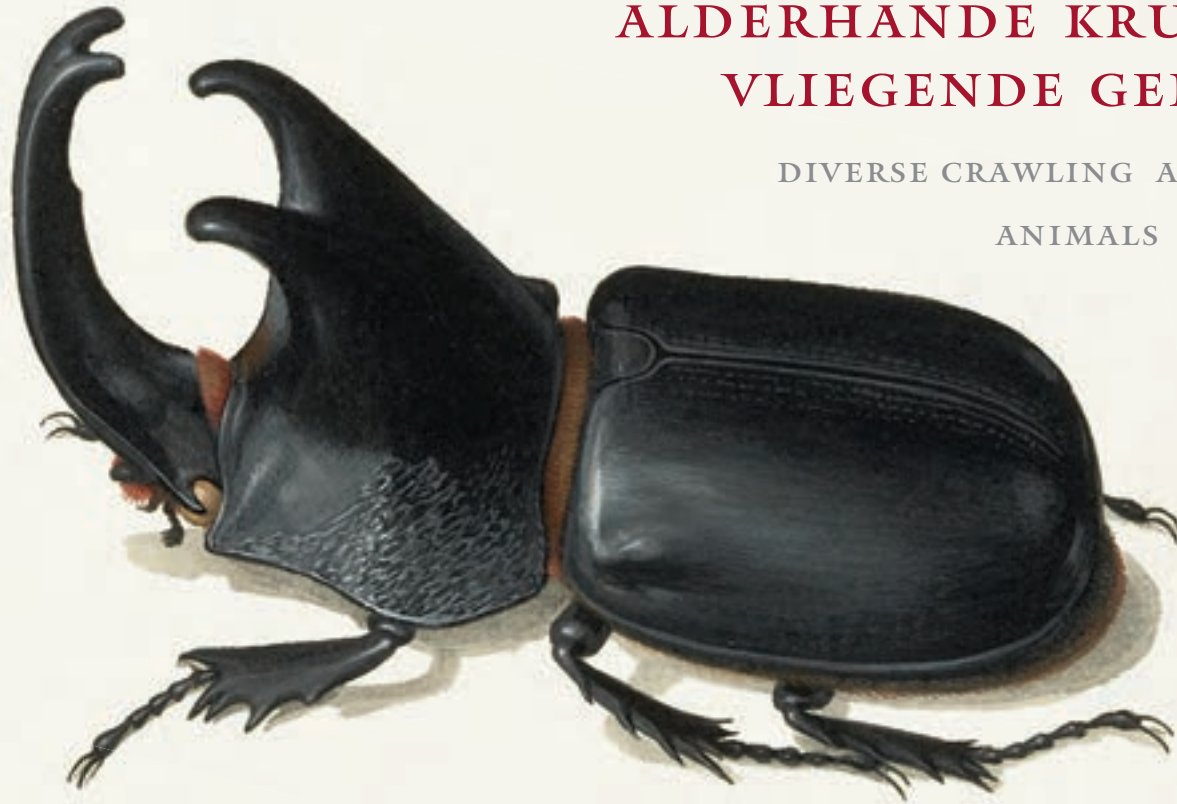


PIETER HOLSTEIJN

THE YOUNGER 1614-1673

ALDERHANDE KRUYPENDE EN
VLIEGENDE GEDIERTEN

DIVERSE CRAWLING AND FLYING
ANIMALS



DAXER & MARSCHALL



PIETER HOLSTEIJN THE YOUNGER

HAARLEM 1614–1673 AMSTERDAM

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DIVERSE CRAWLING AND FLYING ANIMALS

Thea Vignau-Wilberg

DAXER&MARSCHALL MUNICH 2013

PREFACE

THIS COLLECTION of ten insect miniatures from a Swiss private collection significantly enlarges the known corpus of such images by Pieter Holsteijn the Younger. Artistically, the five works featuring beetles, largely exotic and non-indigenous, take their place in a tradition initiated by Albrecht Dürer in his *Stag beetle*, continued in masterly fashion by Joris Hoefnagel and brought to a close by the naturalist and artist Maria Sibylla Merian in the late seventeenth century.

Until the late nineteenth century descriptions in auction and sale catalogues name only one Pieter Holsteijn in connection with animal images. By 1900 study of written sources had led scholars to identify two artists bearing this name, father and son. Differentiating precisely between their respective lives and oeuvres proved difficult, with confusion aggravated by the fact that both were accepted into the painters' guild in Haarlem in the same year, 1634. Contemporary biographical accounts mention only the father as a painter of animals in watercolour. It thus seemed logical to attribute such works to the elder Holsteijn. However, as the number of animal and plant depictions associated with the Holsteijns grew, and more and more collections of watercolour birds by them became known, greater importance began to be attached to a statement in a biography of the father that he had taught his son the art of watercolour. Scholars now agree that most of the images of flora and fauna were produced by the younger Holsteijn. His father is documented as executing a large number of commissions for stained-glass windows and tapestries. Apart from anything else, the sheer amount of time these involved would scarcely have permitted him to create botanical and zoological works as well.

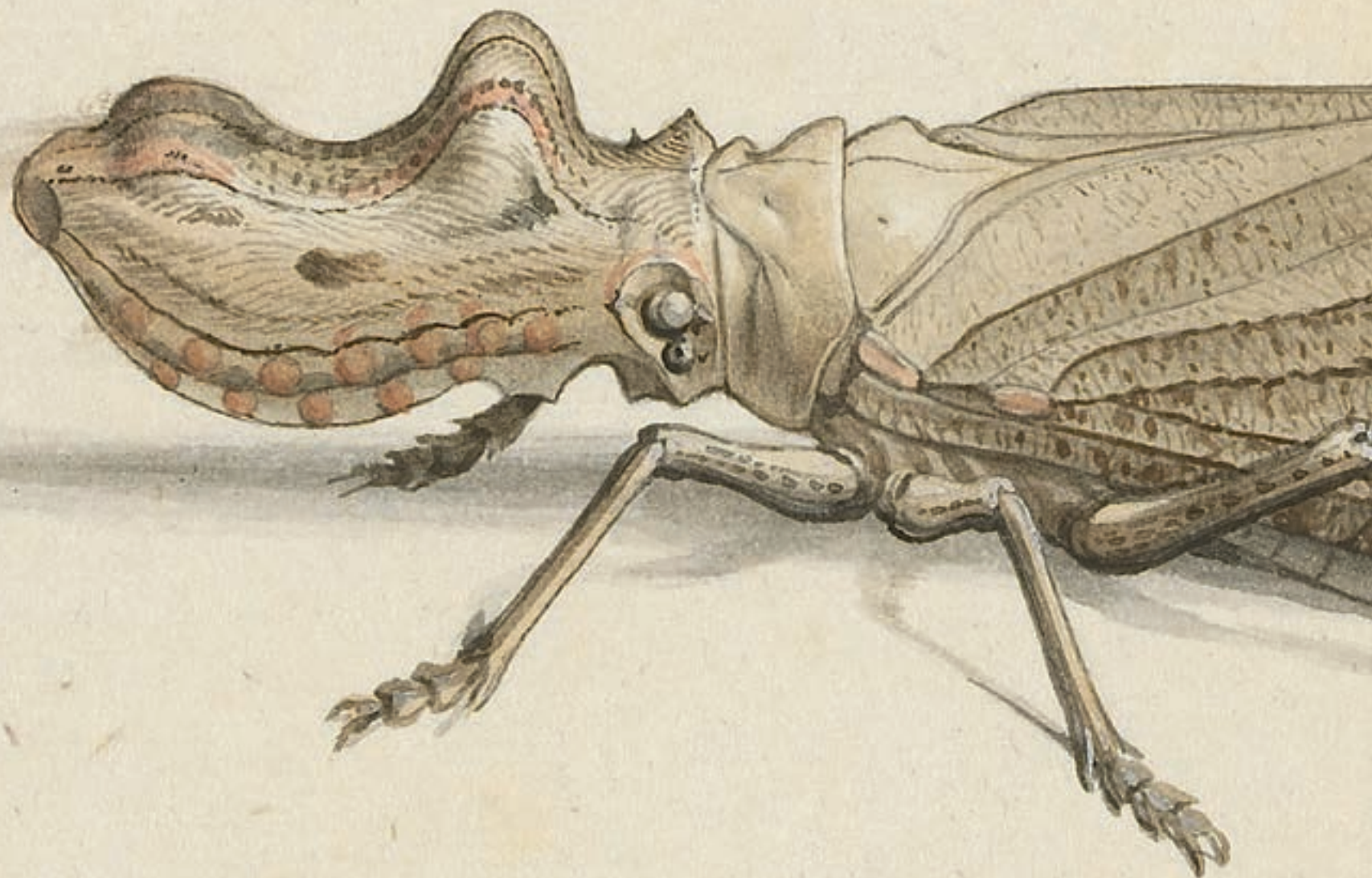
Research conducted by Sam Segal of Amsterdam over a period of decades played a crucial role in establishing this as the accepted view of the Holsteijns' work. Segal placed his extensive archive, including his notes, at the disposal of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague, where it was catalogued by Sander Erkens and made available to the public. Segal was the first to undertake a critical examination of the artists' signatures as a means of distinguishing their oeuvres. Before this, Alexander de Bruin of Noord-Hollands Archief in Haarlem had digitised the Archief's large collection of animal images (chiefly birds) and made them available to scholars in a database (beeldbank) on the Archief's website. Michael Bischoff, based in Lemgo and Berlin, subsequently expanded our knowledge of Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, and in 2011 produced an attractive publication devoted to both painters.

The current state of research requires revision of some attributions of works that have appeared on the art market. One example is a sheet of insect images sold at Sotheby's, London, in 2008. Though listed as by Pieter Holsteijn the Elder, it unquestionably bears the signature of the younger Holsteijn (fig. 15, p. 52) and includes several motifs that occur in works owned by the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, all of which were produced by Pieter the Younger and some of which bear his characteristic monogram. In the meantime, attribution of most Holsteijn animal depictions has passed from father to son. This has brought notable additions to the corpus of known insect images by the younger Holsteijn, which form an exquisite group within his oeuvre as a whole.



Munich, February 2013

PLATES



enlarged and reversed



Baron de Sassenage
et Souverain



H.



N.





enlarged





R.





enlarged and reversed

14



Limulus



enlarged





Ph







enlarged and reversed





enlarged





enlarged and reversed



cca 1000-1001

I.

LANTERN FLY

Pen and ink, watercolour with body colour and gum arabic; 166 x 211 mm
Paper, two smooth edges, traces of cutting at the right edge, lower edge ragged,
watermark (upper edge, centre): cropped letters 'LD [?]' (watermark: B).
Inscribed: *PH* (monogrammed, between the insect's feet)
and *Baron de Wassenauer // et Warmond* (in brown, lower right).



The lantern fly (*Fulgora laternaria*) belongs to the Hemiptera order, which includes cicadas. The insect depicted here is found in South America. Viewed from above, its extended forehead resembles a peanut, while from the side the head looks like the mouth of an alligator. The name 'lantern fly' derives from a belief that the two-humped protuberance on the head emits light.

The lantern fly is light brown. Fine blackish brown penstrokes outline the insect's forms and describe the delicate structure of its wings. Watercolour, including pale wash, renders the head and legs more vivid. Maria Sibylla Merian, who saw the insect on her expedition to Surinam, included it in her *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* (Amsterdam, 1705), which made it better known. Holsteijn's image predates that illustration by about fifty years. Yet it was not the first: the earliest realistic depiction was painted by Jacques de Gheyn II in watercolour on vellum (fig. 1).¹ Dated 1620, this continued the series of small natural history studies by de Gheyn in an album that must date from c. 1600–04.² Holsteijn did not base his depiction of this striking insect on de Gheyn's version, but created his own image. Like de Gheyn, however, he took a mounted specimen as his model.

- 1 115 x 170 mm; inscribed: *IDGheyn fe. An. 1620* (lower left, in gold) and *Phosphoricus of Lamptaren drager // uit Westindien* (left, top to bottom); Amsterdam, Stichting P. en N. de Boer.
- 2 Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia.



1. Jacques de Gheyn II, Lantern fly, 1620; Amsterdam, Stichting P. en N. de Boer.

2.

TWO BRIMSTONES

Pen and ink and watercolour with body colour; 164 x 212 mm

Paper, all edges trimmed smoothly, no watermark

Inscribed: *PH.* (monogrammed, between the butterflies)

The leaf shows two male brimstones, one with its wings open, one with them folded. Belonging to the Pieridae, a family of butterflies widespread in Europe, the common brimstone (*Gonepteryx rhamni*) takes its name from the sulphurous yellow of the male's opened wings.

Characteristic reddish orange dots appear against the yellow in the centre of both fore- and hindwings. The continuous reddish brown edging of the wings in Holsteijn's depiction represents a free interpretation of the partly



reddish brown colouring of the actual insect. Delicate strokes of the pen and brush combine with wash to convey the furry texture of the 'flying' brimstone's body. The undersides of the male's wings, most clearly visible in the folded position, are pale green, the same colour as the female's wings. Brimstones protect themselves through camouflage: when stationary, they are scarcely distinguishable from leaves. Holsteijn's subtle and sensitive depiction of the brimstone on the right suggests this.

3.

BLUE MORPHO WITH WINGS FOLDED

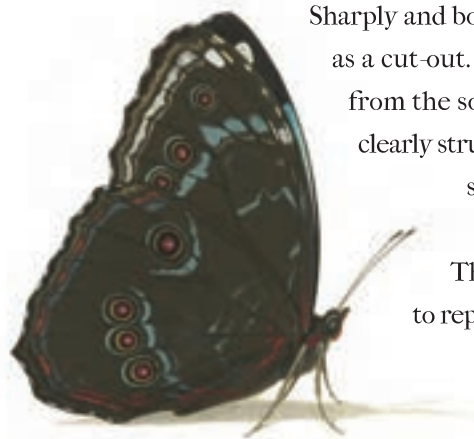
Pen and ink and watercolour with body colour; 161 x 210 mm

Paper, all edges trimmed smoothly, watermark (at lower edge, cropped):

coat of arms of Lorraine (watermark E).

Inscribed: *PH* (monogrammed, between the insect's feet)

The blue morpho (*Morpho peleides*) was imported to Europe from the tropical rain forests of Central and South America in the seventeenth century (see also no. 9). Among the most spectacular butterflies in flight, it appears rather plain and inconspicuous when stationary, with its wings folded. The wings shine brightly only when reflecting the light. Their brown undersides have eyespots and other, less striking markings. The present image shows the blue morpho with its wings folded, whereas no. 9 depicts it in the flying position.



Sharply and boldly defined, the butterfly appears almost as a cut-out. The outlines will have been transferred from the source image. Within them, the forms are clearly structured and articulated, complete with eyespots and other typical features.

The painter evidently found it more difficult to represent the silky texture of wing tissue than the metallic character of a beetle's shield (cf. nos. 4 and 7). A cast



2. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, Blue morpho with wings folded; Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.

shadow adds to the butterfly's physical presence in space, and the legs, too, are depicted three-dimensionally and with each section clearly articulated. A further depiction of a stationary blue morpho by Pieter Holsteijn the Younger has survived (Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Prints and Drawings, *Tu Nederl. Mag.* II, 31) (fig. 2). It is less elaborate than the present image: the painter obviously took his cue from a different model. By contrast, the same model served as the basis of a work by Holsteijn that appeared on the art market a few years ago, erroneously described as a 'brown forest bird'.

4.

MEGACERAS JASON AND SIX OTHER INSECTS

Pen and ink, watercolour with body colour, gold and gum arabic;

162 x 216 mm

Paper, upper and left edges trimmed smoothly,

left and lower edges ragged, no watermark

Inscribed: *PH.* (monogrammed, below the *Megaceras Jason*)

The most striking image of an insect in the ten works featured here is that of the *Megaceras jason* that dominates the present leaf. Holsteijn pulled out all the stops here. With consummate skill, he suggests the different materials of the shield, the head and the snout-like extension of the head. The light, coming from the top left, is reflected in the black areas of the body. All the beetles are illuminated equally, creating a unified insect still life in which each animal has its own cast shadow. Holsteijn used gum arabic to intensify the reflections in all the beetles' 'amour'.

The *Megaceras jason* is a relatively large tropical insect, reaching a length of up to seven centimetres. Holsteijn's image, though it resembles the *Megaceras jason* very closely, may well have been intended as a depiction of the elephant beetle (*Megasoma elephas*), which, with a length of up to twelve centimetres, was the largest known beetle in his day. The elephant beetle had been imported into the Netherlands from its natural habitat in southern Central America and South America in the sixteenth century. As an exotic animal, it was a treasured item in cabinets of curiosities



and had already been depicted by Joris Hoefnagel, a version included by his son Jacob at the beginning of *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* (Frankfurt, 1592, Pars I, 1), a collection of engravings after works by his father. Holsteijn did not copy Hoefnagel's image. Both men permitted themselves a certain artistic license, but Holsteijn's representation of the *Megaceras jason* comes close to reality.

Six further insects are grouped skilfully around the beetle in the centre. From left to right, and from top to bottom, they are: a Brazilian diamond beetle (*Entimus imperialis*), a true bug (*Heteroptera*), a true weevil, or snout beetle (*Curculionidae*), a scarab beetle (*Scarabaeidae*), a darkling beetle (*Tenebrionidae*) and a giant metallic ceiba borer (*Euchroma gigantea*).

Some of them occur in other works by Holsteijn the Younger. They were painted from items in the Holsteijns' collection of artistic models but, as with Hoefnagel and others, this did not diminish the vividness and beauty of the





3. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, *Megaceras jason*; Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.

images. The main motif here, the *Megaceras jason*, appears in a work by the younger Holsteijn in Copenhagen (Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Prints and Drawings, Tu Nederl. Mag. II, 44) in which the 'snout' is clearly identifiable but the front leg difficult to specify (fig. 3). The giant metallic ceiba borer at lower right forms the central motif of a leaf (information kindly provided by Prof. Dr. Gerhard Haszprunar, Zoologische Staatssammlungen, Munich) in Amsterdam (fig. 13, p. 50), in comparison with which it is smaller.

5.

HORSESHOE CRAB

Pen and ink, watercolour with body colour, gold and gum arabic; 163 x 214 mm

Paper, left and upper edges trimmed smoothly, right and lower edges ragged;

watermark (upper edge, cropped): bells from a fool's cap and the number '4'

with three balls attached (watermark C)

Inscribed: *PH* (monogrammed, below the head) and with two illegible inscriptions (lower right, one written over the other).

Despite its English name 'horseshoe crab' (*Limulus polyphemus*) the animal is not a crab but a relative of the arachnid (spider) class of insects. It lives in and around shallow seawater, on the east coast of North America and on the coasts of South, South-east and East Asia. The *Limulus polyphemus* ranks as a 'living fossil' because it has existed for over four hundred million years. It can reach a length of sixty centimetres (information kindly provided by Dr. Damir Kovac, Forschungsinstitut Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main). The animal was highly prized among collectors of natural objects and was regarded as a major acquisition for any cabinet of curiosities. Holsteijn's image reflects this precious quality.

The body of the *Limulus polyphemus* is roughly horseshoe-shaped – hence its common name. It comprises two flexibly linked segments, that at the rear issuing in a long, rigid, pointed tail. The hard shield of the front segment rises in two places to accommodate primary compound eyes, which are rendered here in a glowing light brown. Six pairs of plate-shaped appendages in the rear segment function as rudder-like feet.



Holsteijn uses watercolour and body colour, including highlighting, in masterly fashion to represent the metallic texture of the shield. Accurate depiction of such features as the eyes and legs requires familiarity with the animal: a painter can reproduce correctly only what he knows. The high artistic quality of the execution enhances the exotic nature of the insect and conveys a sense of value.

The leaf may be identical with one sold at auction in Amsterdam in 1887 (Amsterdam, Fred. Muller, 24 January 1887, lot 95).

Dried specimen of a horseshoe crab



6.

VIENNESE EMPEROR MOTH

Pen and ink and watercolour with body colour; 162 x 211 mm
 Paper, three edges trimmed smoothly, right edge ragged, watermark
 (lower edge, cropped): coat of arms (shield per bend sinister; watermark D).
 Inscribed: *PH* (monogrammed, on the right below the moth)
 The verso bears two sketches in black chalk of a peacock butterfly,
 one with outspread wings, the other with folded wings (fig.).

With a wingspan of up to seventeen centimetres, the Viennese emperor – or giant peacock – moth (*Saturnia pyri*) is considered the largest moth in Europe. Native to southern Europe and the Middle East, it is found no further north than the area around Vienna. It had already been depicted by Joris Hoefnagel, whose son Jacob included it in *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* (Frankfurt, 1592, Pars III, 1; fig. 4). Joris's image was perpetuated beyond this in the form of a copy in *Diversae Insectarum Icones* (Amsterdam, 1630, no. 13). Holsteijn's version is almost identical to Hoefnagel's. Some features, however, including the insect's body, differ to such



Sketches in black chalk, verso No. 6

a large extent that Holsteijn may be said to have modelled himself on his predecessor's work without slavishly copying it. Holsteijn depicts the insect with great refinement, but makes no attempt to increase its three-dimensionality by



4. Jacob Hoefnagel, after Joris Hoefnagel, *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*, Pars III, 1: Viennese emperor moth.

subtle variations in the way he applies the colour. Neither does he include a cast shadow. The image thus appears decorative and rather flat. This may indicate that it was painted from a source image and not from a mounted specimen. Further evidence in favour of this assumption comes from the fact that the insect is not reproduced precisely, either in its proportions or its details (information kindly provided by Dr. Wolfgang Nässig, Forschungsinstitut Senckenberg, Frankfurt am Main).



7.

RHINOCEROS BEETLE AND SIX OTHER INSECTS

Pen and ink, watercolour with body colour, gold and gum arabic; 161 x 208 mm

Paper, all edges trimmed smoothly, no watermark

Inscribed: *PH* (monogrammed, centre, between the three lower insects)

The beetles (Coleoptera) are arranged on the paper like small jewels, glowing in their characteristic colours. Each is depicted from an angle offering the best view of its head and abdomen, antennae (or feelers) and legs. Even the smallest insect is accompanied by a grey watercolour shadow that maximises its life-like quality and spatial definition. The light, coming from the upper left, binds the beetles together in a unified composition, as in a still life.

The insects depicted are (from left to right, and from top to bottom): a firebug (*Pyrrhocoris apterus*), a scarab (Scarabaeidae) or bee beetle (*Trichius zonatus*), a rhinoceros beetle (*Oryctes nasicornis*), a ground beetle (Carabus Intricatus), a green tiger beetle (*Cicindela campestris*), a musk beetle (*Aromia moschata*) and a pine chafer (*Polyphylla fullo*).

In the rhinoceros beetle and elsewhere Holsteijn used gum arabic and gold to indicate the metallic sheen of the

shields. He was clearly fascinated both by the extraordinary wealth of forms encountered in the insects, which he explored in a scientific manner in his works, and by the sheer beauty of their shapes, markings and colours.

Jacob Hoefnagel included a rhinoceros beetle – an insect also found in Europe – among the engravings in *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* (Frankfurt, 1592, Pars III, 1), reproduced from a depiction by his father, Joris. A copy of that engraving subsequently appeared in *Diversae Insectorum Icones* (Amsterdam, 1630, no. 13).



8.

TWO WHITES

Pen and ink and watercolour with body colour; 162 x 212 mm

Paper, all edges trimmed smoothly, watermark (upper edge, centre, cropped):

coat of arms of Lorraine (watermark E)

Inscribed: *PH.* (monogrammed, centre, between the butterflies)



The whites (Pieridae) are sun-loving butterflies named after the colour of their wings. This can range, in fact, from white to beige and yellow, as seen on the underside of the hindwing of the specimen shown here on the right. The delicately structured wings are edged in black with white dots. Grey veins show through the watery white of the wing tissue. Hair is indicated on the body, while faint shading on the wings near the head generates a sense of three-dimensionality. This is enhanced by the shadows cast by the delicately drawn legs, suggestive of calligraphy, and the wings of the butterfly on the right.

Some twenty years ago a leaf by Pieter Holsteijn the Younger showing the same composition and reflecting the same source image was sold at auction in Amsterdam (Christie's, 25 November 1991, lot 168, 135 x 198 mm, reproduced in black and white; fig. 5). It bears Pieter the Younger's customary signature, 'PH.fè.', with a horizontal stroke at the foot of the monogrammed initials. Heavier shading grants the animals in that work greater three-dimensionality. The signature indicates that the artist considered it finished.



5. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, Two whites; art market, 1991.

9.

BLUE MORPHO BUTTERFLY

Pen and ink and watercolour with body colour; 161 x 209 mm

Paper, all edges trimmed smoothly, no watermark

Inscribed: *PH* (monogrammed, between the wings)

The blue morpho (*Morpho peleides*) is the most magnificent member of the *Morpho* genus of butterfly (Lepidoptera Nymphalidae). Various colours, they are native to the tropical rain forests of Central and South America. The insect depicted here was a mounted specimen imported as a collector's item for cabinets of curiosities. Blue morphos have a wingspan of up to twelve centimetres. The blue of the male is particularly bright, that of the female less brilliant. It has caused the insects to be called *Himmelfalter* (sky butterflies) in the German-speaking world. Its luminescence derives not from pigmentation, but from light striking the miniscule scales on the upper side of the wings. This blue contrasts with black strips at the front edge of the forewings and along the outer edges of both pairs of wings. The wings' undersides are brown and feature eyespots (see no. 3).

The forms of Holsteijn's butterfly, which he depicted with its wings fully outspread, are notably self-contained. This may suggest that he was repro-



ducing a source image. Networks of lines are visible within the closed contours of the blue areas, the colour of which approximates more closely to turquoise than sky blue. Hatching suggests the scales that engender the blue by diffracting light. Yet the butterfly appears utterly flat, the total absence of shading precluding any sense of three-dimensionality. Perhaps the work is not finished, although execution had progressed far enough to include the white eyespots and brown dots in the black edging of the wings.

The depiction of a blue morpho by Holsteijn in Copenhagen (Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Prints and Drawings, Tu Nederl. Mag. II, 30)



6. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, Blue morpho; Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.

exhibits comparable characteristics and must have been painted from the same model (fig. 6). Slight variations exist in the outline; the execution of the white eyespots, though similar, is not identical; and the arrangement of the antennae differs. The Copenhagen image is likewise unsigned.

IO.

MOLE CRICKET

Pen and ink, watercolour with body colour and gum arabic; 157 x 202 mm
Paper, all edges trimmed smoothly, watermark (upper edge, above the insect):
upper section of a coat of arms (watermark A)
Inscribed: *PH* (monogrammed, centre, between the insect's feet)
and *een wee-mol* (lower right, in brown in another hand)

The mole cricket (*Gryllotalpa gryllotalpa*) is named after its ability to dig a passage through earth by shovelling away the soil with its forelegs. Holsteijn's depiction is naturalistic and accurate. It shows the variously articulated rear segment of the body, the close-fitting wings with their black veins, the head shield, the head with one of its eyes, the two 'shovelling' feet and the four other legs. The hard head shield serves to compress the earth when the mole cricket is tunnelling. Holsteijn renders the insect's inconspicuous colouring as a symphony in shades of brown and black. He enhances the feeling of three-dimensionality and the almost tangible sense of texture by applying gum arabic to the digging feet and the eye, which increases the luminosity of the colour. Coming from above, the light produces cast shadows that emphasise the spatial dimension of the body, antennae and legs. The artist clearly thought about the function of the limbs down to the last detail and represented them accordingly.

A mole cricket by Holsteijn in Copenhagen was based on the same source image (Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Prints and



7. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger. Mole cricket; Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.

Drawings, *Tu Nederl. Mag.* II, 26; fig. 7). Its interior drawing is slightly less subtle, and the spatial impact of the insect as a whole less striking.

The mole cricket, called *veenmol* (moor mole) in Dutch, is native to Europe and had already been depicted by Joris Hoefnagel. His son Jacob included it in *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* (Frankfurt, 1592, Pars III, 6; fig. 8). In that composition, which uses natural objects to symbolise the four ele-





8. Jacob Hoefnagel, after Joris Hoefnagel, *Archetypha Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*, Pars III, 6: Mole cricket

ments, the mole cricket stands for earth. A copy of the *Archetypha* mole cricket appears in *Diversae Insectorum Icones* (Amsterdam, 1630, no. 4). Hoefnagel was obviously intrigued by the bizarre appearance of the insect, but his version is less naturalistic than Holsteijn's.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BOTH PIETER HOLSTEIJN the Elder and his son Pieter Holsteijn the Younger produced a large number of animal images in watercolour with body colour. They sometimes did so in the same periods and, since the father instructed the son, they practised more or less the same style. It can therefore be difficult to determine which of them was responsible for which works. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that comparison of their motifs reveals that they both drew on the same collection of source material. Not even the artists' monograms constitute a reliable clue, as some of them were added at later dates in other hands.

Before the early twentieth century Pieter the Elder and Pieter the Younger were rarely referred to individually in connection with images of animals. The sale catalogue of the library belonging to Laurens van der Hem, for example, published in Amsterdam eleven years after the death of Holsteijn, *ffs*, lists under nos. 22 to 28 several compendia and albums as by 'Petrus Holsteynius', without further specification.¹ Or again, when some twenty single items from the Van Klinkenberg Collection were sold in 1841 their creator was named simply 'P. Holsteijn'.² The same applies to lots 90 to 102 in a sale at Fred. Muller, Amsterdam, on 24 January 1887.³ Seventeenth-century inventories did distinguish, however, between members of other artist families: Joris and Jacob Hoefnagel, for instance, are referred to correctly as 'alt Hufnagl' (old Hoefnagel) and 'jung Hufnagl' (young Hoefnagel).

PIETER HOLSTEIJN THE ELDER was the son of the stained-glass painter Cornelis Pietersz., who hailed from the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein and is documented in Haarlem in 1580.⁴ Holsteijn is thought to have been born c. 1580–90. He was accepted into the painters' guild, the St Luke guild, relatively late, in 1634, when already a well-established artist. In 1640 and 1642 he headed the guild.

The elder Holsteijn made a reputation as a creator of monumental stained glass (the antiquarian Cornelis de Bie called him a 'schryver op het glas', a 'writer on glass').⁵ He produced a large number of cartoons for church windows and executed them in his workshop, often to commissions from the municipality of Haarlem, which donated the windows to various small towns north of Haarlem, including Egmond aan de Hoef, Schermerhoorn and Bloemendaal. In the 1630s and 1640s he made windows for churches in Zuid-Schermer (1641), Purmerend (1642), Zoeterwoude (1643) and Vlaardingén (1644).⁶ Others followed in the 1650s, for example at De Rijp, when the artist was at least sixty years old. His principal achievement –

for which eight designs survive – was the creation of all the windows in Jacob van Campen's Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem. Before turning to stained glass, he had made a name for himself as a designer of large-scale tapestries for the Stadhuis and other public buildings in Haarlem.

Pieter Holsteijn the Elder's use of watercolour was praised at an early date. In 1628 Samuel Ampzing noted in his cultural history of Haarlem: 'Holsteijn, death may cause your hand to rot, but your art and name will never die. [You are a] great writer on glass, but what your bold spirit does in works in watercolour is foremost.'⁷

The artist's first known image of an animal, a wagtail, is dated 1621.⁸ He was buried in Haarlem on 23 July 1662.

PIETER HOLSTEIJN THE YOUNGER was born in Haarlem around 1614 and trained as a stained-glass painter and draughtsman in his father's workshop. Initially he seems to have been his father's closest associate: certainly, no independent works of stained glass by the younger Holsteijn are documented. He subsequently focused on engraving, producing portraits and works on religious, historical and mythological subjects. In 1661 de Bie wrote in his *Het Gulden Cabinet*: 'His skill will be praised honourably as long as impressions are taken from his printing plates'.⁹

Pieter Holsteijn the Younger became a member of the Haarlem St Luke guild in the same year as his father, 1634. He was subsequently based in Münster, Amsterdam and Zwolle, before returning to Haarlem in 1662 – the year of his father's death – and once more entering its painters' guild. In 1671 he settled in Amsterdam, where he died in November 1673.

The younger Holsteijn frequently based his portrait engravings on paintings by well-known artists, such as Gerard ter Borch and Gerard Honthorst, or by his brother Cornelis, but also produced them from his own drawings. He created emblematic images as illustrations to Schering Rosenhane's *Hortus regius* (1645–47, not published until 1978). Yet it was with images of flowers, especially tulips, that he made his reputation. Executed skilfully in watercolour and body colour, these appeared as single items or in albums, to commission or, as with *Flores a Petro Holsteyn ad vivum depicti* (London, Royal Horticultural Society, Lindley Library), for sale on the market. In addition, he painted single leaves and albums featuring animals, occasionally mammals, but principally birds. Even more exquisite – and rarer – are his striking images of insects: beetles, butterflies and moths.

The floral watercolours can generally be ascribed with certainty to the younger Holsteijn, but attribution of the zoological images to either father or son is more problematic. Their different areas of activity must be taken into account. From the 1630s onwards Pieter the Elder, who in 1634 was

already aged between about forty-five and fifty-five, was kept busy with major commissions for stained glass, whereas Pieter the Younger, though he had trained in that field, would appear to have concentrated on delicate, small-scale work as a miniaturist and engraver. He evidently took over the depiction of animals from his father, whose skill in this area, as noted above, had been lauded by Ampzing in 1628. After 1634 Pieter the Elder may well have created some occasional images of birds, but growing numbers of commissions from the Haarlem municipality for monumental works will scarcely have left him time to produce all the single items and albums of animal images recorded under the name 'Pieter Holsteijn' – most of which originated in the latter half of the century, when he would have been between about sixty and seventy years old.



9. Albrecht Dürer, Stag beetle, 1505;
Watercolor and gouache, 14.1 x 11.4 cm
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

WORKS

THE HOLSTEIJNS AND ZOOLOGICAL ALBUMS

THE HOLSTEIJNS' ANIMAL IMAGES continued a tradition dating back to the early sixteenth century. This involved the naturalistic depiction of individual specimens from a single type of animal – quadrupeds, birds, fish and so forth. Several sheets bearing motifs of this kind would then be bound together to form an album. The motifs were executed on paper or vellum using watercolour and body colour, occasionally with the addition of gum arabic and gold or other precious materials.

Conceived as collector's items, such zoological albums were probably produced for the most part to commission. The small de luxe volumes fitted in well with the encyclopaedic world of the cabinet of curiosities, or *Kunstammer*, into which animals might be incorporated in the form of stuffed or mounted specimens, body parts – or images. Intended to satisfy exacting aesthetic demands, the works were of high artistic quality. It therefore comes as no surprise to find that around 1600 the cabinet of curiosities maintained by Emperor Rudolf II in Prague housed the finest albums created by Dutch and Flemish painters of flora and fauna. These outstanding works of art included the three volumes of animal images created by Hans Bol (1534–1594),¹⁰ the four produced by Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1600)¹¹ and an album by Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629) featuring flora and small animals.¹² The 1607–II inventory of Rudolf's collection lists many further albums. Bols's three volumes were devoted to quadrupeds, birds and fish respectively. Hoefnagel based many images in his albums on Bols's work,¹³ yet the organisation of the volumes testifies to an unprecedentedly systematic approach to the animal kingdom. The animals are divided among the four albums in accordance with the four elements, the quadrupeds belonging to the earth (*terra*), the birds to air (*aier*), the fish to water (*aqua*) and what Hoefnagel calls 'animalia rationalia et insecta' (rational animals and insects) to fire (*ignis*).

Hoefnagel's volume titled *Animalia rationalia et insecta* brought depictions of insects into the limelight for the first time. Individual images of high artistic quality, including Albrecht Dürer's *Stag beetle* of 1505 (fig. 9),¹⁴ had already existed, and detailed lifesize renderings of dragonflies, butterflies and other insects had embellished the borders of early sixteenth-century illuminated manuscripts from the southern Netherlands. Yet these were



10. Joris Hoefnagel, Elephant beetle;
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.

isolated cases. Hoefnagel's *ignis* album was the first systematic collection of insect depictions. All but two of its eighty leaves bear images of insects. However, insects did not appear here in a book for the first time, as has hitherto been assumed: Bols's volumes contain a not inconsiderable number of insect paintings, but they are divided between the albums devoted to quadrupeds and birds and cannot be found without leafing through all the contents. Most of the *ignis* images are the first known depiction of the insect in question and it may be assumed that many of them were portrayed from nature – in other words, from mounted specimens (see fig. 10). The motifs were executed on the finest vellum and could not be altered once painted. Hoefnagel must have worked from a collection of images – a pattern book – since the same version of a motif sometimes appears in various places in his work over a period of several years.

Hoefnagel's intellectual interest in the world of insects coincided with the beginnings of entomology, the science of insects. Both a researcher and an artist, he was in touch with humanist scientists throughout Europe.¹⁵ He provided them with visual material that they could draw on for their publications. In *De hemerobio sive ephemero insecto* (Amsterdam, 1634), for instance, Augerius Clutius (Outgert Cluyt) cites Hoefnagel as a source



of knowledge about the mayfly.¹⁶ The insect depictions in Hoefnagel's Four Elements albums had no international repercussions in artistic terms, however: their dissemination was effected by a collection of engravings produced by his son Jacob (1573–1632/33) after motifs in his father's pattern book. This collection, put together by Jacob and published in Frankfurt am Main in 1592 as *Arche-typa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* (see figs. 4 and 8), contains depictions of insects and other small animals, along with flora, some of which recur in Hoefnagel's codex *Mira Calligraphiae Monumenta*, now in Los Angeles (fig. 11).¹⁷ The engravings are furnished with Latin adages and epigrams. By the eighteenth century the *Arche-typa* had appeared in many editions. Motifs from it are found in artists' work until the late seventeenth century.

Hoefnagel exchanged information with two natural scientists with whom he was friends: Joachim II Camerarius (1534–1598) in Nuremberg and Thomas Mo(u)ffet (1553–1604) in London. The first-ever book on insects, *De animalibus insectis libri septem*, written by Ulisse Aldovrandi (1522–1605), had been published in Bologna in 1602, but its illustrations were inaccurate and unappealing. Mouffet's chief work, *Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum*, appeared posthumously in London in 1634. Shortly before, in 1630, the Amsterdam engraver and publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher issued a small volume of engravings of insects titled *Diversae Insectorum Volatili-um Icones* (fig. 12). The full title includes the name 'Hoefnagel'¹⁸

11. Joris Hoefnagel, *Mira Calligraphiae Monumenta*, fol. 7; Watercolors, gold and silver paint, and ink on parchment, 16.6 x 12.4 cm The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. 20, fol. 7.



12. Claes Jansz. Visscher, after Joris and Jacob Hoefnagel, *Diversae Insectorum Volatilium Icones*, title page, 1630.

and to this day the engravings continue to be seen as independent works by Jacob Hoefnagel, whereas in fact they all reproduce motifs from the *Archetypa*. As copies, they naturally appear reversed. Visscher benefited from the growing interest in entomology in the 1630s. The fact that a motif supposedly derived from the *Diversae Insectorum Volatilium Icones* appears reversed in a Holsteijn watercolour – as is the case in an example in Copenhagen attributed to Holsteijn – proves that the artist used the *Archetypa*, not the *Diversae Insectorum Volatilium Icones*, as his source.¹⁹

Popularity of insect images in the seventeenth century, despite the subjects' often minuscule size and inconspicuous colour, went hand in hand with a growth in the scientific significance attached to the animals. This interest had a philosophical and theological basis. It was discovered that insect species vastly outnumbered those of other classes of animal, and this fact, together with insects' enormous reproductive capacity and their physical metamorphoses, exerted a profound fascination. In insects, the greatest appeared implicit in the smallest: they were thus investigated and collected, in the form of mounted specimens or images, as evidence of the Supreme Artist's creative plan.²⁰ Overseas trading, notably with regions visited by the Dutch East India and Dutch West India companies (the Indonesian archipelago and Brazil, Surinam and Guiana respectively), led to a constant increase in the number of known species. Hitherto unknown tropical and subtropical insects, including the lantern fly (no. 1), were discovered and documented. A generation later than Holsteijn the Younger, Maria Sibylla Merian continued the study and documentation

of tropical plants and insects on her expedition to Surinam in 1699, funded by the Amsterdam town council.²¹ Holsteijn himself had favoured insects from Surinam and Java, as expressly noted in entries in sale catalogues from the late nineteenth century.²²

Volumes by Pieter Holsteijn *père* and *fils* listed in estate documents and other records sometimes contained a mixture of different classes of animal, but those devoted to birds are the most frequently mentioned – and probably the most sought-after at the time. Here, too, the artists drew on a stock of images, occasionally repeating a bird on more than one leaf. Since the Holsteijns' insect albums were less popular and less widely disseminated than their collections focusing on birds and mammals, they possess greater rarity value. The images are also more elaborate and precious in comparison with the other animal depictions. In this, they followed the example of Hoefnagel, who, for instance, attached real wings to his life-size rendering of a dragonfly (*Ignis*, LIV).

Animal albums by the Holsteijns were already being dismembered by the eighteenth century. The leaves began to appear in inventories and sale catalogues in groups or as single items, as in the estate inventory of Cornelis Blauw en Neeltje Henstenburg, dated 11 October 1751.²³ In 1684 the sale catalogue of Laurens van der Hem's library still featured seven extensive volumes of animal depictions: an album 'met alderhande Vogels / uytvoerig met Watervverf konstigh geschildert' (with diverse birds painted skilfully in watercolour) comprising 102 leaves (no. 22), a book of aquatic birds consisting of 78 leaves (no. 23), a volume of insects described as a 'Boeck met alderhande kruypende en vliegende Gedierten' (Book with diverse crawling and flying animals) comprising 91 leaves (no. 24), a further album of birds, consisting of 100 watercolours (no. 25), a book featuring 51 exotic animals (no. 26), a third volume of birds, containing 80 leaves (no. 27), and other items.²⁴ Single leaves bearing images of birds in Noord-Hollands Archief in Haarlem originally came from an album that on 10 March 1667 comprised 160 leaves.

The sale of G. J. van Klinkenberg's collection in Utrecht on 8 November 1841 included paper 'art books' into which twenty-one Holsteijn watercolours, mostly of birds, but also some of butterflies, had been inserted as loose leaves.²⁵ Thanks to another collector (a certain 'Dr. P.'), the catalogue of an extensive natural history collection that went on sale at Fred. Muller, Amsterdam, on 24 January 1887 contains descriptions of the insect depictions precise enough to facilitate reconstruction of the provenance of some surviving leaves.²⁶ Lot 90, for example, consisted of a leaf bearing six insects whose names in the catalogue²⁷ agree with those of the animals on a Holsteijn leaf in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (fig. 13). Lot 93, described as 'Rhodocera rhamni', may be identical with the brimstones included in the present publication (*Gonepteryx rhamni*, no. 2), and lot 95 ('*Limulus Moluccensis*') with the horseshoe crab (*Limulus polyphemus*, no. 5). The depictions of birds (lots 96–101) were sold in groups of two to eight leaves.



13. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, Insects;
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

MOTIFS

The Holsteijns produced few insect images in comparison with their depictions of birds, even taking into consideration the undoubted loss of many works over time. Both Holsteijns painted on vellum and on paper. The works on vellum were valuable collector's items fit to stand on their own, like Joris Hoefnagel's cabinet miniatures; but the same images were sometimes executed in the same meticulous fashion on paper. In addition to the Amsterdam example cited above (fig. 13), two instances of this procedure exist among the present leaves: *Megaceras jason* and six other insects (no. 4) and *Rhinoceros beetle and six other insects* (no. 7). The works on paper include immaculately executed individual images of often exotic animals, such as the lantern fly, horseshoe crab and mole cricket (see our nos. 1, 5 and 10). Images of butterflies and moths – tropical, subtropical and rare European specimens – differ in style and technique from the other depictions. Five works featured here, without doubt painted by the same artist as the beetles, testify to this change in execution in response to different subject matter (nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9).

The Department of Prints and Drawings at the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Copenhagen holds by far the largest collection of insect watercolours by Holsteijn, mainly showing butterflies.²⁸ They came from the collection of Lorentz Spengler.²⁹ Spengler, born at Schaffhausen, Switzerland, in 1720, was an ivory-carver who collected art and natural objects. In 1745 he became ivory-carver to the royal court of Denmark, and from 1771 until his death, in 1807, he acted as curator of the Danish king's cabinet of curiosities. His entire collection of works on paper, comprising 847 items, was sold in 1810 to King Frederick VI by his son, Johan Conrad Spengler.³⁰ Among the extensive holdings of works by the Holsteijns, some of which are severely foxed, are leaves from dismembered albums that show the same motifs as works in the present publication and other single items by the Holsteijns.

A frequent feature of the Copenhagen holdings, less prominent in our leaves, is the depiction of a single butterfly species in two views: from above, with completely outspread wings, and from the side, with the wings folded so as to expose the undersides. Some of the Copenhagen works bear the same watermarks as the present leaves (watermarks C and F; see p. 58), along with a later watermark showing the De Haes paper mill. Both



14. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger,
Insects, 1636; art market, 1999.
Courtesy of Christie's



15. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, *Insects*; art market, 2008. Courtesy of Sotheby's

sets of images probably date from the same period, beginning c. 1650. Like all their predecessors and contemporaries, the Holsteijns drew on a stock of images. One leaf dated '1636' and bearing the signature of Pieter the Younger shows many motifs that appear in the Copenhagen works (fig. 14):³¹ a blue beetle (Copenhagen, no. 43), a stag beetle (no. 52), a harlequin beetle (no. 40) and a longhorn beetle (no. 64). The same applies to another leaf, which appeared on the art market in 2008 (fig. 15).³² In addition to the blue and longhorn beetles, this features a grasshopper (Copenhagen, no. 42), a dragonfly (no. 45), a brimstone (no. 48), a black and brown butterfly (no. 47) and a further butterfly (no. 63, upper left). Both these magnificent works are painted on vellum.

Hardly any resemblances exist between the motifs on these two leaves and those in the present works. On the other hand, the blue morpho butterfly (our no. 3), a variant of which exists in Copenhagen (no. 31; fig. 2), recurs in the same form in a leaf formerly on the art market. Our mole cricket (no. 10) has a double in Copenhagen (no. 26; fig. 7), though the latter is less exquisitely painted. And the same Dutch collector who wrote 'een weemol' on no. 10 inscribed 'zee-kat' (rabbit fish [*Chimaera monstrosa*]) on the image of a fantastical sea creature in Copenhagen (no. 54).

The two brimstones included here are of special interest. They exist in the same form and arrangement on a leaf that appeared on the art market in 1991, but the execution in that version is more detailed, including shading and cast shadows and conveying a stronger sense of texture (fig. 5).³³ Furthermore, this second version bears the customary signature of Pieter Holsteijn the Younger. It is tempting to suppose that the present leaf is unfinished, yet such conclusions must remain speculative in view of the complexity of these issues. The Copenhagen blue morpho butterfly (no. 30; fig. 6), for instance, closely resembles our no. 9 and both works clearly reproduce the same model, but neither bears an autograph signature to indicate that the artist regarded it as complete. Motifs could also be transferred from one format to another. The green longhorn beetle at the centre of the Amsterdam leaf, for example (fig. 13), appears on a smaller scale in our no. 4.



TECHNICAL ASPECTS

WORKING PROCEDURES

OUR TEN DEPICTIONS of insects are finished to differing degrees. Most of the beetles are complete in every detail. Occasional highlighting with gold emphasises certain lines and areas and causes the insects to gleam like jewels. Highlighting with white, of varying intensity and either mixed with the local colour, as in the horseshoe crab (no. 5), or applied in lines, helps to differentiate textures and to enhance the three-dimensional quality of the beetles. Cast shadows grant a sense of space to the images as a whole, as with the mole cricket (no. 10). Black drawing delineates wing structures. The articulation of individual body parts, and their coupling with others, are depicted meticulously. These *mirabilia naturae* (miracles of nature) are shown either on their own (nos. 1, 5, 10) or, in two cases featuring smaller insects, in groups of seven, arranged harmoniously on the surface (nos. 4, 7).

Nos. 2, 3, 6, 8 and 9 depict butterflies or moths. Again, the larger insects appear alone, whereas smaller species are depicted twice on a single sheet, once with outspread wings, once with the wings folded – an arrangement that permits both sides of the wings to be shown (nos. 2, 8). Forms and colours are accurately and precisely rendered. Yet sometimes the colours seem rather uniform and the forms slightly deficient in three-dimensionality. These images lack the vibrant textures of the beetles in the five other works. It could be assumed that the artist did not complete them down to the last detail, were it not for the fact that all Holsteijn's depictions of butterflies and moths are like this.

As noted above, some insects featured in the present images appear in other works by Holsteijn, in various sizes (though mostly about the same) and usually in the same – natural – colours. Clearly, the artist painted from existing images. These models were traced onto the support by pricking holes along the outlines with a small needle and then pushing chalk or charcoal dust through the holes. This could be done either with a sheet of tracing paper or directly, through the source image.³⁴ The dots would then be joined to form lines, which might vary slightly from version to version (cf. no. 3 and fig. 2). Some of the insect depictions in Copenhagen, and a few images of birds in Haarlem, indicate that sometimes a preliminary drawing was made in chalk. Two such drawings, of a peacock butterfly, appear on the verso of no. 6.

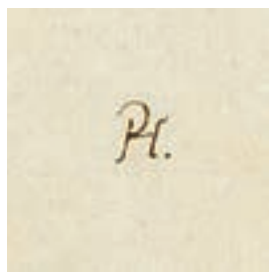
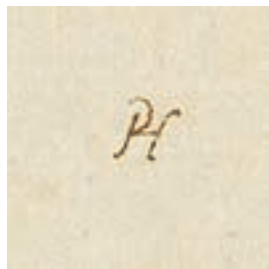
Colour was applied in layers. Thereafter veins and other such details were sketched in on the wings. The wing tissue, which in reality consists of countless tiny scales, was only then developed in three-dimensional terms. This is indicated by images of butterflies or moths in which this stage was not reached (see especially no. 9). In contrast to the beetle depictions, elements such as bodies, legs and antennae (feelers) are rendered in summary fashion, even when they cast shadows. This is a general characteristic of Holsteijn the Younger's butterflies and moths, including those in Copenhagen.

The giant metallic ceiba borer at the centre of the leaf in Amsterdam mentioned above recurs on a smaller scale in one of the present works (cf. fig. 13 and no. 4). This shows that the Holsteijns also made use of the squaring-up technique, which enables motifs to be transferred from one support to another on a larger or smaller scale. If the attribution of the Amsterdam leaf to Pieter the Elder is correct, the relationship between the two works would indicate that father and son drew on the same stock of workshop material, at least for depictions of insects and birds, a field in which they were both active. Given that both artists initially worked together in Haarlem and that both became members of the town's St Luke guild in the same year, this would come as no surprise. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Pieter the Younger soon left Haarlem and did not return until his old age.

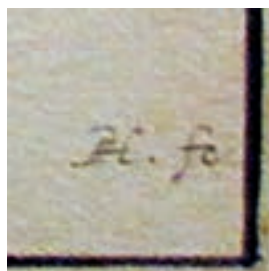
Comparison of the work mentioned above that appeared on the art market in 1991 with the present depiction of two white butterflies is especially revealing (cf. fig. 5 and no. 8). As they agree in composition and formal specifics, they must have been based on the same source. Yet the art market leaf exhibits greater detail, particularly in the finely rendered texture of the wing tissue, and shows Pieter the Younger's signature in the usual place, at lower left. Since the wings in no. 8 are not comparably detailed, and the leaf does not bear an autograph signature, the suggestion is that it must be unfinished.

SIGNATURES

All the present works bear the monogrammed initials 'PH' immediately below the main motif, written in slightly faded brown ink and sometimes followed by a dot (see fig. 16). This monogram appears on other works undoubtedly by the elder or younger Holsteijn, for example on a leaf in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (with dot), on a *Megaceras jason* (without dot, TU 44), a grasshopper with eight other insects (TU 36), two dragonflies (TU 45), a stag beetle (TU 52) (both with dot) and other items in Copenhagen. Occasionally interpreted as an autograph signature, the monogram in both forms is more likely to have functioned as a kind of trademark and need not always have been written by the artists.



16a,b. Signatures
'PH' and 'PH.'



17. Signature of Pieter
Holsteijn the Younger;
detail of fig. 7.

When followed by 'fe[cit]', however, the monogram, with or without the dot, is considered by all scholars who have sought to differentiate the oeuvres of father and son in recent years to be the autograph signature of Pieter Holsteijn the Younger. It occurs in this form on the Copenhagen mole cricket, which is based on the same source as the present example (cf. fig. 11 and no. 10), on a moth in Copenhagen (no. 41) and on many leaves from albums of birds, which rank as a speciality of Pieter the Younger.³⁵

Another distinguishing feature of the younger Pieter's signature is a short, bold horizontal line at the foot of the vertical in the monogram. This can be seen in conjunction with the signature 'PH. fe' in the finished image of two butterflies based on the same model as our no. 8 (see fig. 5).

Discussion of the Holsteins' other signatures cannot be undertaken in the limited space available here. It is generally assumed that when a date follows a monogram without the additional 'fe' the work in question is by Pieter the Elder,³⁶ but the whole issue requires further study.

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS

Many animal images by Pieter Holsteijn the Younger bear inscriptions other than signatures. Almost without exception they name the animal depicted, and they frequently originated with the collector rather than the artist. The Dutch inscriptions on virtually every leaf in the extensive holdings of bird depictions in Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem, for example, represent an attempt on the part of the collector to identify all the species featured. He used the everyday Dutch names – 'Poep-uijl' (owl), for instance (53-002929K) – rather than the Latin terms.

Two of the present leaves bear inscriptions of this kind. No. 10 carries the words 'een wee-mol', doubtless to be interpreted as 'een veenmol', the Dutch for 'a mole cricket'. On the leaf with a horseshoe crab one inscription has been written over another (no. 5). Both are illegible, but the beginning of the second inscription would seem to read 'zee' (sea). A third image also bears an inscription (no. 1). In ornamental lettering this quotes the name 'Baron de Wassenauer // et Warmond'. For a fee, benefactors often lent their name to a new variety of flower, and perhaps this practice was



18. Pieter Holsteijn the Younger,
'Roomsche Rups';
Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.

adopted here for an unknown insect. A more likely explanation, however, is that the specimen formed part of the baron's collection. This would suggest that the name was written by the artist, since the hand resembles that of the inscription 'Roomsche Rups' on a leaf in Copenhagen (no. 27; fig. 18) and the words 'Oost Indische Raven' on a depiction of a red macaw in Haarlem (53-002935).

WATERMARKS

Animal depictions were generally executed on paper and only rarely on vellum. Unlike books of flowers, notably those featuring tulips, albums containing images of animals were usually horizontal in format. As a rule, volumes of insects and birds were small in comparison to books of flowers, which measured 310 x 202 mm or thereabouts. The standard size was about 160 x 200 mm, as with examples in Haarlem and Copenhagen; but both smaller and larger items exist, for instance in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (72 x 115 mm), and Copenhagen (253 x 347 mm).

With dimensions around 160 x 210 mm, the present leaves approximate to the standard size.

Watermarks appearing on our works are all cropped. Some of them recur elsewhere in the oeuvre of Pieter Holsteijn the Younger, on images of birds in Haarlem and on depictions of insects in Copenhagen. There are five different watermarks:

A: Upper section of a coat of arms, shield per bend sinister and two lions rampant (?) [no. 10].

B: Two cropped letters ('LD [?]'); cf. Laurentius 2008, no. 98B (1665) [no. 1].

C: Bells from a fool's cap and the number '4' with three balls attached (lower section of the watermark); identical with Laurentius 2007, no. 496 (1647), and also occurring in works in Haarlem (see fig. 20) [no. 5].

D: Lower section of a coat of arms, shield per bend sinister, not identical with watermark A [no. 6].

E: Lower section of the coat of arms of Lorraine, shield with pale wavy; identical with Laurentius 2008, no. 292 (1651). [nos. 8 and 9; fig. 19].

The watermarks permit the leaves to be dated to c. 1650 or later.

Several leaves in Haarlem (nos. 3021, 3025, 3043, 3048, 3060) and Copenhagen bear a watermark consisting of a scroll bearing the inscription 'DE HAES' (Churchill 1935, 497 [1662]). This belongs to the De Haes paper mill. Around 1650 Cornelis de Haes passed on his mill in the Veluwe region, near Arnheim, to his son Anthoni, who was particularly productive in the period 1650 to 1660. Like the Copenhagen works, the Haarlem leaves must therefore also form part of Pieter Holsteijn the Younger's late work, dating from 1650 or later. Some items in Haarlem are watermarked with the Amsterdam municipal coat of arms, featuring two lions rampant (nos. 3037, 3038, 3068, 3082, 3089, 3097).



19. Watermark E: Coat of arms of Lorraine (cropped) (no. 8).



20. Watermark C: fool's cap (cropped) (no. 5).

NOTES

- 1 Amsterdam 1684, p. 66.
- 2 Lugt 1953, no. 16343.
- 3 Amsterdam 1887.
- 4 Biographical information on the Holsteijns comes from Bischoff 2012.
- 5 De Bie 1971.
- 6 Bredius 1919, p. 1933.
- 7 'En Holsteyn dijn hand mag door den dood verderben. // Maer dijn konst en naem en konnen nimmer sterben. Groot Schrijver op het glas: doch dat dijn kloeke geest // Met water-verwen maect iß ver het aldermeest.' Ampzing 1628, p. 373.
- 8 Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, 53-002926 K; Bischoff 2011, p. 31, fig. 38.
- 9 'Daer Fama noyt en sal zijn lot en eer verlaten / soo langh noch eenich print ghedruckt wort op sijn platen'. De Bie 1971, p. 533.
- 10 Copenhagen, The Royal Library, Ms. 3471, nos. 1-3; Bauer and Haupt 1976, p. 135, no. 2706.
- 11 Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1987.20.5.45 (Gift of Mrs. Lessing J. Rosenwald).
- 12 Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia, 5655.
- 13 Hendrix 1985, pp. 46-47.
- 14 Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 84 GC.214.
- 15 Vignau-Wilberg 1994.
- 16 'Accessit et altera occasio perscrutandi, quod Caesaris Rudolphi II pictor eximius Houfnagel bestiolae ad vivum depictae imaginem mihi donavit, cum brevi historia natalis eius' (Another item of research has also been added, given to me by Hoefnagel, the excellent court painter of Emperor Rudolf II: an image depicted from life with a brief description of its development). Clutius 1634, pp. 66-67.
- 17 Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 20.
- 18 *Diversae Insectarum Volatilium Icones* 1630.
- 19 Copenhagen, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Prints and Drawings, Tu Nederl. Mag. II, 25; reproduced in Bischoff 2011, pp. 19, fig. 22, and 26 (as Pieter Holsteijn the Younger). As none of Holsteijn's insect watercolours is derived from the *Archetypa*, the correctness of the attribution must be doubted.
- 20 Vignau-Wilberg 2007.
- 21 Her naturalistic images were published along with her research in 1705: Merian 1705.
- 22 Amsterdam 1887, no. 90: 'Coléoptères. Six espèces sur une feuille. Aquarelle, signée. Colobogaster viridicollis (Surinam) – Euchroma gigantea (Surinam) – Euchlora jurinei (Java)'.
- 23 Full details in Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (Netherlands Institute for Art History), The Hague.
- 24 Amsterdam 1684, p. 66, nos. 22-28.
- 25 Lugt 1953 no. 16343.
- 26 Amsterdam 1887.
- 27 Amsterdam 1887, lot 90: 'Colobogaster viridicollis, Hammaticherus velutinus, Euchroma gigantea, Necrophorus vespillo, Euchlora jurinei' etc.
- 28 Tu Nederl. Mag. II, 23-68.
- 29 Hanne Kolind Poulsen, Senior Curator, was most generous with her help. Her photographs, and those of Jesper Svenningsen, M.A., enabled motifs in Copenhagen to be compared with others elsewhere. My sincere thanks to both of them.
- 30 For Spengler's collection, see Copenhagen 1993.
- 31 Christie's, London, 6 July 1999, lot 225.
- 32 Sotheby's, London, 9 July 2008, lot 15.
- 33 Christie's, Amsterdam, 25 November 1991, lot 168.
- 34 One possibility that Holsteijn did not explore was to cover the verso of the model in red or black chalk and retrace the lines from the front, so that they appeared in red or black on the new support.
- 35 Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, 1918:438 (black-headed Grosbeak), A 396 (guineau fowl), A 399 (duck) and A 398 (lapwing).
- 36 However, this involves an anomaly in connection with the roughly 160 bird depictions in Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem. Only one of the leaves is dated, an image of an owl ('Poep-ujil') inscribed '1655' (53-002929K). Can it really be that this single work is by Pieter the Elder, who in 1655 would have been between about sixty-five and seventy-five years old, and all the rest by his son?

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Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haarlem* (Haarlem, 1628).
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- Bauer and Haupt 1976
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