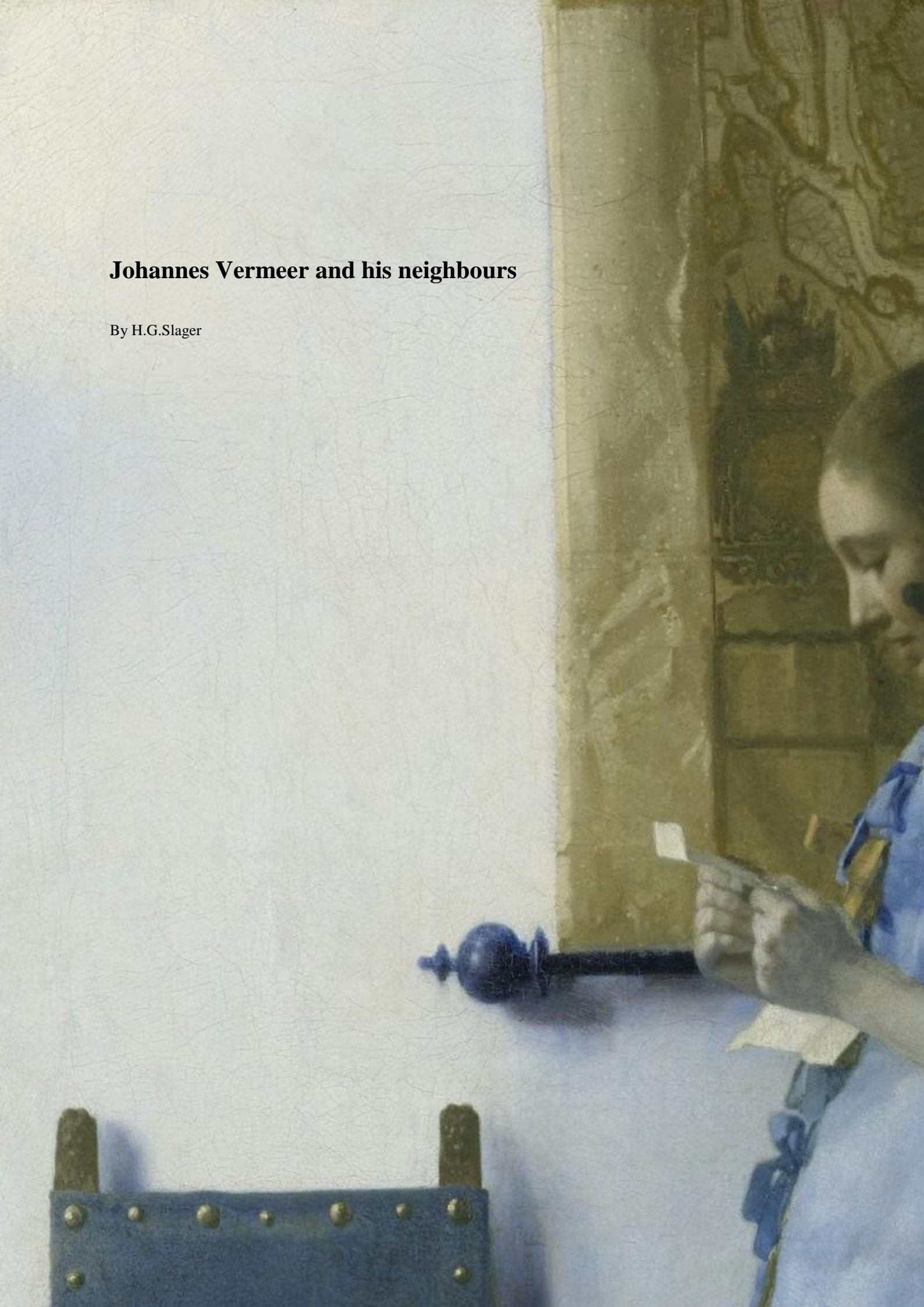


Johannes Vermeer and his neighbours

By H.G.Slager



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Cover image: detail of Vermeer's *Woman in blue reading a letter*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

General summary

A reconstruction of Johannes Vermeer's predominantly catholic neighbourhood was possible by aligning several 17th century house registers and verification via individual archival records like sales deeds. Information in the (Delft) archives on catholics is hampered by the illegality and secrecy of the religion at the time; events may have taken place without a lawyer, notary, Orphan chamber or other official. Such information is prone to loss or at best has survived but dispersed. New information on Vermeer and/or his neighbours may have to come from other places like church archives, private archives or public archives outside Delft as has been the (limited) experience in this study.

The reconstruction provides a detailed picture of the house- and owner situation in the 17th century in the so-called Papist corner where Vermeer had lived and died. Reanalyzing old and new data it is concluded Vermeer's residence from 1663 (or earlier) until 1675 could be different than concluded in the past. The corner house on the other side of the Molenpoort alley has an equal chance to have been Vermeer's residence.

Many houses in the Papist corner harbouring the Jesuit statie (station or mission) were bought by rich catholics as the Jesuits were unable to legally buy property for themselves. Several of these sponsors resided elsewhere and likely only stayed in Delft on occasion. No documentary evidence was found -or had been known earlier- these outside sponsors had direct contact with Vermeer or his mother-in-law Maria Thins. It appears Vermeer's (non-biblical) work was not popular in catholic circles in his time as persons known to have owned a painting in the 17th century were all protestant or remonstrant: Van Buijten, Van Ruijven/Knuijt, Van Assendelft, De Helt, Van Berckel, Paets in Leiden, Van Swoll- and Renialme in Amsterdam. Duarte in Antwerp had Portuguese-jewish roots and may only have been a 'pretend' catholic. Given the secrecy surrounding the catholic community and the imaginable loss of records this may be a filtered view though.

Principal Delft-based sponsors of the Jesuits owning houses in the Papist corner (and providing shelter elsewhere) were the families Van der Velde, Van der Dussen/Post, Camerling, Van Swieten, Sandeling, Van der Wiel and Beest/van Nerven. Maria Thins was related to the Camerling family and had connections with/through Machtelt van Beest/van Nerven who was found to have family connections with the painters Mierevelt and Delff.

Other persons known in Vermeer's life who are addressed (to a degree) are: Pieter Claesz van Ruijven for whom it will be suggested it may have been his wife Maria de Knuijt who was the primary friend to Vermeer; Hendrik van der Eem, guardian over Vermeers children, married to a catholic Van der Dussen but a protestant himself and lastly Anthony van Leeuwenhoek, hard-line curator of Vermeer's estate.

By combining published genealogical data with names in the Papist corner some family inter-relationships have been reconstructed and various additions and corrections to Montias's monumental '*Vermeer and his milieu*' are given throughout the text and in addenda.

Lastly, the name Nederveen/Vogel is known in conjunction with windows featuring in a few of Vermeer's paintings but since 1942 nothing more was published. The analysis of the names led to some initial observations on windows in 17th century paintings that suggest Vermeer had a relationship with painters in Leiden. The focus of the article is not Vermeer's paintings but the author thought it a waste to exclude the findings.

The article provides much data and is probably best qualified as an additional factsheet to Montias' work on Vermeer and it is hoped it is of value to art historians, Delft historians and Vermeer enthusiasts in general.

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Abbreviations and conventions

V1620	Verponding register 1620
V1632	Verponding register 1632
HP1648	Huizenprotocol 1648
K1667	Kadegeld register 1667
OLD	Oude Langendijk
BW	Burgwal
DTB	Doop, Trouw, Begraaf (baptism, marriage, burial record)
Dates	day-month-year
Names	Spelling in the 17 th century had no standard and can vary greatly. The spelling in the text is kept the same as much as possible. Names in footnotes or quotes for the most part follow the exact spelling in the source document.
Marital status	17 th century abbreviations j:d (jongedochter) and j:m (jongeman) denote unmarried persons. b:d (bejaarde dochter) is a never-married women. Wed. (weduw, weduwnaar) is a widow or widower.
Molenpoort	Today the alley is named 'Jozefstraat van het Molenpoort' but in the text the old name is used.

Notes

Care was taken to give proper reference to other authors. Some sources of commonly available information are not referenced. Any transcription of newly found 17th century documents is by the author; hard to read handwriting is indicated with '?' and/or 'x'. URL's are avoided as they can change over time, instead the domain name is given. Unless specified otherwise, archival records are from the Delft (online) archives. DTB (baptism, marriage, burial) data are given when thought informative, but not for every single event. Special thanks to the Delft archives for the online databases and providing the occasional scan directly and to P.Begheyn S.J. and D. van den Akker S.J. for their comments.

The research in this paper is for academic purposes only. Citation is appreciated.

Introduction

As a juvenile Johannes Vermeer lived with his parents in Delft on the Voldersgracht just north of the protestant Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) followed by the Mechelen inn on the Market square when he was about nine years old. He married the catholic Catharina Bolnes in 1653 and relocated to the Oude Langendijk where the couple is first recorded in 1660 when a child was buried. It is uncertain where they lived between 1653 and 1660 but it is certain Vermeer died in 1675 living on the Oude Langendijk at the corner of the Molenpoort alley.

In the many books on Vermeer persons living- or owning houses at the Oude Langendijk are mentioned, but rather fragmentary and mostly taken from John Michael Montias' *Johannes Vermeer and his milieu* (1989) that as demonstrated in this article contains errors and omissions, in part caused by prior publications he himself used. By researching a wide circle beyond Vermeer's direct family Montias reconstructed Vermeer's life & times in great detail and similarly in this study by looking at Vermeer's neighbourhood in detail, the hope was to find extra information on his- or his family's life. After all, a part of one's life is defined by the immediate surrounding and even when no new information is found today, a detailed reconstruction of his neighbourhood can be helpful in future investigations.

More concretely, this study charts Vermeer's neighbours on the Oude Langendijk and the parallel lying Burgwal, an area known as the 'Papenhoek' (Papist corner) situated south of the New Church. The area in the 17th century was a catholic enclave centered around the Jesuit schuilkerk (hidden church) and buildings such as living quarters for priests and 'klopjes' (lay women) and a school for catholic girls. Several 17th century registers listing houses and owners are available in the Delft (online) archives but they had never been 'stitched' together to construct a timeline/map of houses and the story of their owners. Some 50 houses were mapped in the timeframe c1600-c1730 and a selection of names then led to genealogical- and archival research. Much genealogical information today is readily available (digitized journals, family trees) but additional investigation was done when names were found- or suspected to have a connection. The timeline data were also used to reconstruct a physical map of the Papist corner in the 17th century.

The format chosen for the article is a house-by-house presentation whereby information on the owners is coupled to published information on Vermeer when possible. Because of the format and the many names the reader will be directed sometimes from one chapter to another; this could not be avoided. The primary data, some schemes with family relationships and a few special items are placed in addenda.

For a visual impression of the Papist corner the reader is encouraged to see the drawings in addendum 2 and 3 first. The reader is also advised to become familiar with the house coding system explained in the next chapter as the codes are used throughout the text.

Method

The primary sources used in this research:

1. **Haardsteden register 1600 and 1638** Number of fireplaces/chimneys and house owners (collectie-delft.nl).
2. **Verpondingregister 1620** House owners and property tax (collectie-delft.nl).
3. **Verpondingregister 1632** (runs to 1656) House owners and property tax (collectie-delft.nl).
4. **Huizenprotocol 1648** (runs to 1812) House owners, mortgages and referrals to waarbrieven (sales registrations/deeds). The ledger is connected to the notary archives via waarbrief codes (sales deeds). Waarbrief codes starting with number 4 and lower have been lost. The earliest surviving code is 5C which starts in 1682. Dates of sales prior to 1682 therefore have to be reconstructed from other records.
5. **Kadegeld 1667** (full title ‘Legger van ’t diepen der wateren binnen de stad Delft’) Quay tax for dredging, per house situated along a canal. The tax is based on house width (in roe, voet¹). Houses, gates, bridges and waste sites are listed in actual order of appearance in a street. In principle it mentions the legal owner, but occasionally an heir or tenant. The width measurements were done/finished on 29-12-1666 and the entries sometimes have added/corrected names from a few years later than 1677.
6. **Memorie 1686** (full title ‘*Memorie van de huizen der statie van Delft*’). A document written in 1686 by the Jesuits listing the houses around the Jesuit station naming the owners, the inhabitants, the rents collected and the property tax imposed by the city².
7. **DTB, notary- and city administration records** Delft archives online. Baptism/burial/marriage (DTB) and Orphan Chamber records: collectie-delft.nl. Municipal charters, judicial, notary records: digitalearenadelft.nl (Nb. work in progress). Baptism records of catholics prior to 1671 (Old Catholic) and 1677 (Jesuit, Roman Catholic, Minderbroeders/Franciscan) have been lost.
8. **HistorischGis** (historical geographic information) A database that plots house owners in primary sources in streetmap/kadaster (land registry): delft.maps.arcgis.com (Nb. work in progress). Used in combination with two old maps: Kaart Figuratief 1675 and Kadastrale minuut 1832.

Explanation The entries in the two Verpondingregisters and the Huizenprotocol are largely in order of appearance in a street but include houses situated behind quay side houses. Therefore their sequence is not fully one-on-one with the Kadegeld sequence that omits such houses. Since there is some overlap in time it is still possible to stitch the registers together via owner’s names and tax height. Over time houses can be enlarged, split up or demolished/rebuilt; such events can be suspected because of an increase in house tax or from some statement in the records.

The first step in the study was to make a timeline of the houses with owners (or inhabitants/tenants) left and right of the Molenpoort alley for the Oude Langendijk south-side and the Burgwal north-side. The data are shown in addendum 1,2 and 3.

Next, some 25 houses/owners of interest are discussed with genealogical- and archival data and published data concerning Vermeer or Vermeer’s circle. The coding per house is as follows:

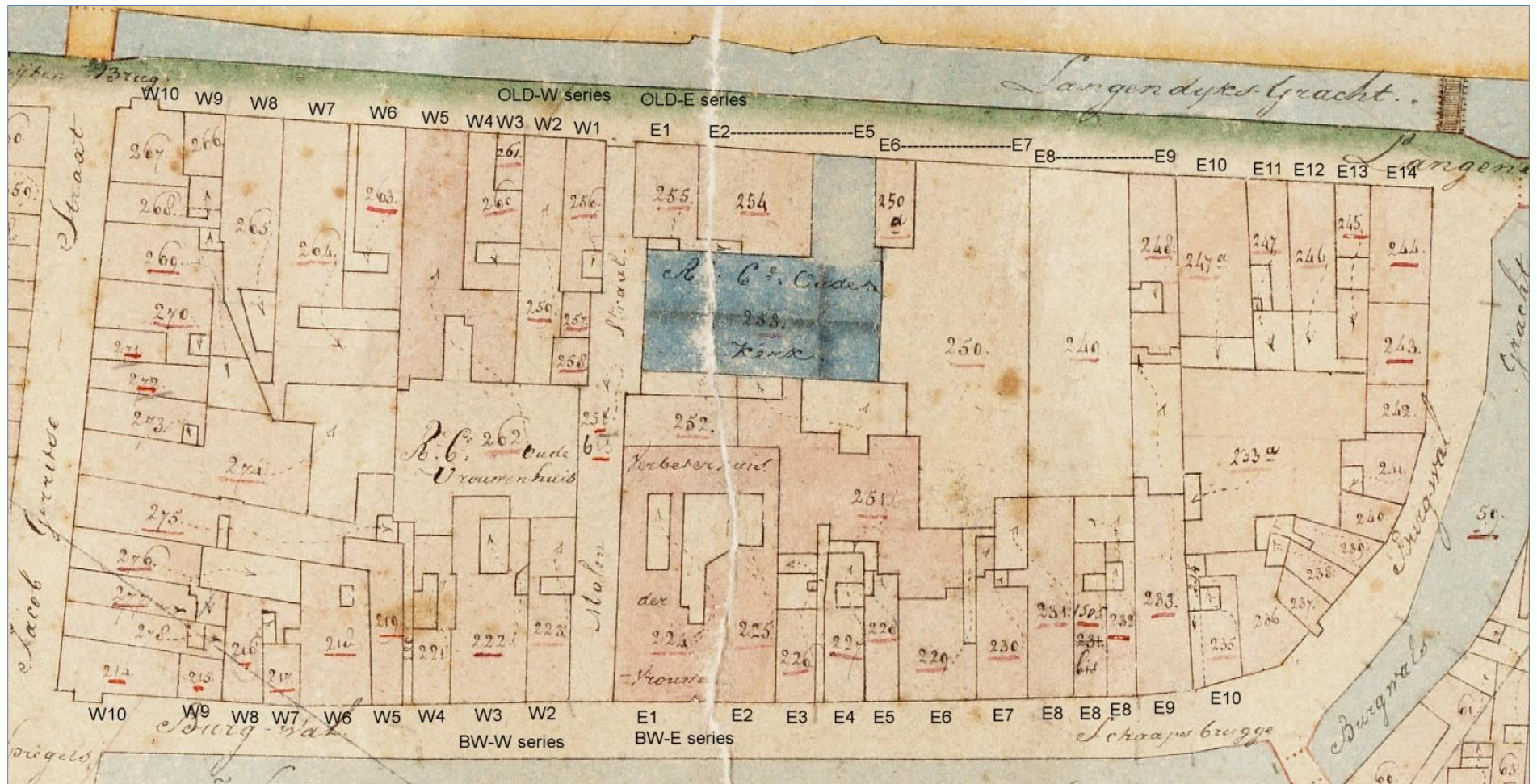
OLD-E<n>	Oude Langendijk east of the Molenpoort	going from W to E
OLD-W<n>	Oude Langendijk west of the Molenpoort	going from E to W
BW-E<n>	Burgwal east of the Molenpoort	going from W to E
BW-W<n>	Burgwal west of the Molenpoort	going from E to W

<n> is the order of appearance in K1667. All numbers ‘1’ are corner houses of the Molenpoort alley. See image on the next page for clarification.

¹ 1 roe is 12 voet (3.77m). 1 voet is 31.4cm. Widths in K1667 are rounded off to 0.5 voet.

² Transcription kindly provided by P.Begheyn S.J.

House codes in the Kadastrale minuut map (1832) featuring the Papist corner.



Nb. In the 17th century some parts were different. In blue the Catholic Church next to the Molenpoort. The widths (i.e. the vertical boundary lines) of plots OLD-E1 through OLD-E9 in this map are somewhat different from the widths in K1667. House BW-W1 is left out intentionally as it was demolished.

Errors in the Huizenprotocol 1648

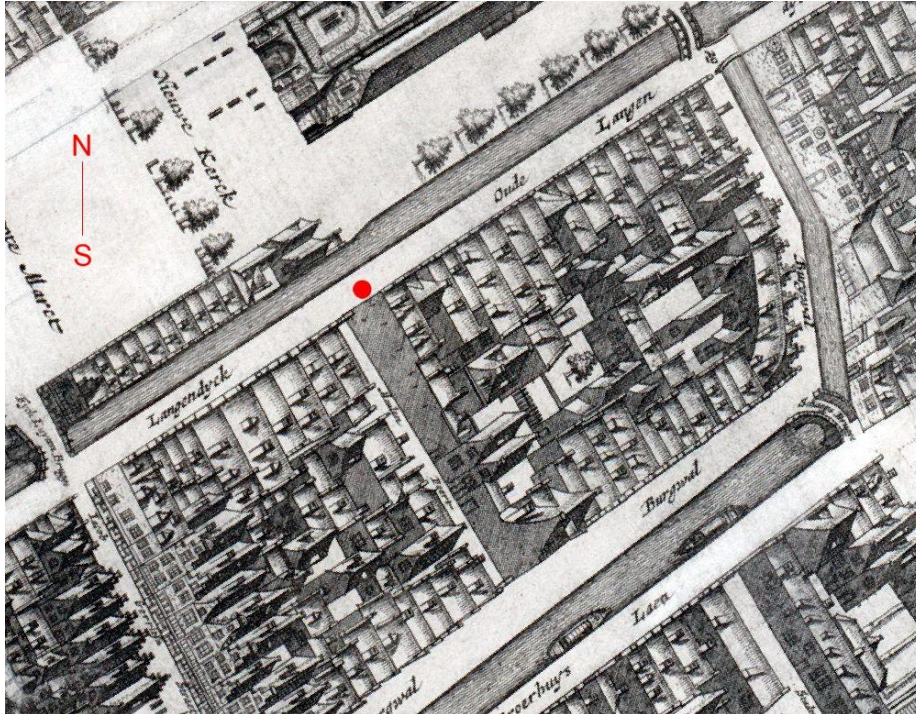
As this article focusses on houses and owners it is necessary already at this stage to shortly address a few errors in HP1648. Although archival records should primarily be taken 'as is', errors do occur at times. An error can be suspected from the bigger picture or when documents are in conflict.

In the case at hand, HP1648 contains a subchapter 'Molenpoort WZ' (west-side) that is completely at odds with many other facts. This subchapter was inserted later in time and is wrong and causes a domino effect in the plotting of houses. The second error, and cause of the first one, is the records of eight properties near the Molenpoort bought by Pieter Tjerk in 1732; several were placed incorrectly in HP1648.

In addendum 10 this is explained in detail.

House OLD-E1: Serpent

The house on the Oude Langendijk on the eastern corner of the Molenpoort alley is generally assumed to have been Vermeer's post-wedding living quarters.



Dirck van Bleysweyck's Kaart Figuratief of Delft 1678. The area was known as the Papist corner lying next to the central Market square and the New Church. The red dot Vermeer's assumed house. North-south direction is approximate.



Joan Blaeu's city map of Delft 1649. The Molenpoort alley in the middle. The central bridge to the Market square is not portrayed in Kaart Figuratief of 1678 (demolished?). The building with the numerous windows at the top is the brewery 'Rode Leeuw'.

The house on the eastern corner of the Molenpoort was 7.07m wide in K1667 and counted no less than seven fireplaces in 1638, so it was a large house (complex). Between 1620 and 1632 the property tax increased from 8 to 13 guilders indicating it was enlarged; taxes on many other houses remained the same so it was not inflation. The house had more than one function previously: in 1620 it was owned by Lambrecht Maertensz (Schaep/Schaepenberg; c1561-1641) recorded both as inn keeper and grootwerkmaker (silversmith) and the house was named 'Groot/Gulden Serpent' (Large/Golden Snake). In 1595 it is mentioned as mouterij (malt house). Lambrecht was an uncle of the famous admiral Maerten Harpersz Tromp (1598-1653) (Morien, 2012). Lambrecht's wife dies in 1637 'int Zerpent' and Lambrecht himself was buried 11-05-1641, not from the Oude Langendijk but from the Oude Delft³.

It was then (after 1637) owned by the lawyer (S)(T)ymen Slingelant and after him by Mr. Pieter van der Dussen, who bought it prior to 1656⁴ and

³ No house name given. No record could be found of him owning a house on Oude Delft. He did own a house on the Oosteinde east-side: the term 'int Serpent' is written right next to his name in V1632, fol.175v. Perhaps that house was also named Serpent but it may also just be a clarification who the owner was (he had a name-sake with surname Cuyck).

paid quay tax in 1667. In 1686 the ladies Roozendael were renting 'Groot Serpent' for 130 guilders yearly from the Jesuits (Begheyn, 2008)⁵ (see addendum 11 and 12) and the property tax was ca. 13.5 guilders, about the same as in 1632 indicating the house had remained unchanged. The ladies Roozendael were distant cousins of Maria Thins, Vermeer's mother-in-law (Montias, 1989, family tree no.2) and played a significant role in her life.

It is generally assumed- or implied Vermeer, his wife Catharina Bolnes, his children and his mother-in-law Maria Thins all lived in OLD-E1 starting at some point between 1653-1660 until 1675, the year Vermeer died. Maria Thins and Catharina would remain here respectively until 1680 (Maria dies) and 1684 (Catharina relocates to Breda). The ladies Roozendael lived here, at least in 1686 as the 'Memorie 1686' states '*bewoond door*' (inhabited by). Six years earlier, on 24-01-1680 Maria Thins had revised her testament at the Delft notary Jan Bogert '*.. wonende ten huijse van de juffrouwen Alida en Cornelia van Rosendaal, alhier, kloeck en gesont van lichame....*' (living at the house of the ladies Rozendael, here (in Delft), fit and healthy)⁶. That could mean the ladies Rozendael were renting OLD-E1 already in 1680.

That Vermeer and his mother-in-law lived together in OLD-E1 is argued from three primary records: (1) After Vermeer died in 1675, the house inventory of 29-02-1676 mentions '*op den hoeck van* (corner of) *de Molenpoort*' (2) Catharina's brother Willem Bolnes' burial record of 23-03-1676 mentions '*Aen de Oude Langendijk op den hoek van de Molepoort*' and (3) Maria Thins' burial record of 27-12-1680 mentions '*Oude Langendijk op den hoek van den Molenpoort*'. It triggered others to construct 2D/3D models of the house based on the image in Kaart Figuratief 1678 and the 1676 inventory that lists the rooms in the house (Swillens, 1950; Warffemius, 2001 and 2005; Zantkuijl at website Kaldenbach). The models have been addressed in (online) discussions on architectural elements in Vermeer's paintings and his reconstructed painting studio (Steadman, 2001). An additional indirect clue is the deposition in 1666 from Tanneken Everpoel, Willem de Koorde (OLD-W7) and Gerrit Cornelisz, stone carver (an apprentice of Adriaen Samuels, OLD-W2) testifying on Willem Bolnes's aggression in 1663 at the residence of Maria Thins and Vermeer. Although no address was mentioned in the deed it likely was the Oude Langendijk as the witnesses were living/working there (Montias, 1989, p160-161, doc 305). A Anneken Evenenpoel married in 1675 as jongedogter from the Burgwal⁷ she probably is the witness Tanneken Everpoel.

In the present study some new facts may shed a different light though on the rather static notion of a shared household of Vermeer in OLD-E1:

- In the literature OLD-E1 is thought to be Maria Thins' and/or her cousin Jan Geensz Thins' house, but this is incorrect. Neither did they pay quay tax in 1667, which was addressed to the owner Mr. Pieter van der Dussen. Jan Geensz Thins (c1580-1647) bought the third house east of the Molenpoort in 1641 (see OLD-E3). The fourth and fifth house to the east housed the Jesuit church (see OLD-E4/5);
- The neighbouring house OLD-E2 was owned by a Maria Camerling in V1632 and in K1667. This house/owner is never mentioned in the literature; the reason probably being the name Camerling is not recorded in HP1648 which seems to be the only register looked at by previous researchers. In chapter OLD-E2 it will be argued she was a niece of Maria Thins via her stepfather Gerrit Gerritsz Camerling (see addendum 5 for the Camerling family tree);
- Newly addressed in this study, Maria Thins bought at some point between 1656 and 1670 (and more likely earlier than later in this timeframe) a house named 'Fonteyjn' at the St. Annabogert, situated some

⁴ The exact year of purchase cannot be traced due to loss of waarbrieven. For the catholic branch of the Van der Dussen family, wealthy supporters of the Catholics: see Nagtegaal, 2006 and Smit ,1987. The owner was either Pieter Cornelisz van der Dussen (1591-1661) or his son Pieter Pietersz van der Dussen (1624-1694).

⁵ Transcription by Paul Begheyn S.J. of the original document '*Memorie van de huizen, met de huiren, en de verpondingen van de statie van Delft a° 1686*'.

⁶ Montias, 1989, doc 401. This exact text is not in the english edition but in the 1993 edition in the dutch language.

⁷ Evenenpoel is a unique record in the database, Everpoel does not occur. Married 20-10-1675 Schipluijden: Anneken Evenenpoel j:d Burgwal x Jan Jansz Vijffweken j:m brewery worker, Koornmarkt. Her husband owned a house on the Pieterstraat (HP1648, fol.147v, Johannes van Vijffwecken) and was buried 08-11-1683 (Johannes Vijfwijken, Pieterstraat, 12 carriers, no children). Annetge Jans, widow of Jan Jansz Vijfeicken marries 12-08-1684 to Cornelis Ijsacksz van Vijfeicken, Pieterstraat, brewery worker. In a notary deed of 11-05-1686 she is named Annitgen van der Poelster, wife of Cornelis Isaacsz van Vijfeicken (Orphan chamber, Arch. 72, Inv. 6616, Charter 3892). In a deed of 1693 she is named Annetie van der Poel.

700 meters northwest from the Oude Langendijk⁸ (for details see addendum 4). It was sold before 1682. It appears to have been rebuilt after the gunpowder explosion in 1654 as the owner prior to Thins, Pieter Lievensz de Bock was awarded compensation of 600 guilders for damages. There is a connection between Maria Thins and De Bock through the owner of several houses west of the Molenpoort, Machtelt van Beest (see OLD-W1-5, BW-W4 and addendum 4). 'Fonteyjn' is not mentioned in the many testaments of Maria Thins, perhaps because of incomplete transcription or there may be (private) documents not yet found (as in OLD-E4/5; see there). In any case it warrants an explanation why she bought it.

These points raise the question why Maria Thins or Vermeer would –or could- not have lived in houses owned by family in some period, but instead had always been renting a house from a third party. Either from Van der Dussen directly or from the Jesuits (see addendum 11). And why did Maria Thins buy the house 'Fonteyjn' ?

Maria Thin's residences Earlier records on Maria Thins' addresses in Delft are: in 1646/1647 she lived in a rented house in the Vlamingstraat north-side with her brother Johan Thins (c1596-1651) and on the Brabantse Turfmarkt in/around 1651 with her sister Cornelia (and their brother Jan who just had deceased) (Montias, 1989, doc 193 and 238). Perhaps the latter was BW-E7 (see there). A house in the nearby village Schipluiden owned by Tryntge Jans widow of Adriaen Jansz Bacx, was forcedly sold in 1656 to settle a debt of 700 guilders owed to Maria Thins but she did not own it or live there (Montias, 1989, p158, n12 and doc 263, 264). The address Oude Langendijk is first mentioned in a deed of 27-09-1667 (Montias, 1989, doc 313) and is the only occasion prior to 1676 that literally mentions Oude Langendijk (other deeds just mention 'living in Delft'). As said, the 1666 deposition (on the 1663 situation) does not mention the street name but it is reasonable to assume it was the Oude Langendijk. And it also seems likely that in 1680 she was living in OLD-E1 with her cousins Rozendael as they were renting the house in 1686. When (if ever) she lived in 'Fonteyjn' in the St. Annebogert remains speculation.

Localization of Vermeer's house The three records mentioning 'corner Molenpoort' are all after 1675 so taken by themselves they are not proof Vermeer had lived in OLD-E1 for 15+ years. The 1666 deposition on the shared household in 1663 does not prove it was this house either⁹. Actually only one record is truly specific on Vermeer's residence: the 1676 inventory with a 50/50 chance of 'his' house lying east- or west of the Molenpoort alley. A second specific record is the ladies Rozendael living in 'Serpent' (Memorie 1686) but it has no direct bearing on the inventory record. All other records are non-specific (mention Oude Langendijk or 'in Delft') or constitute indirect leads that can be thought to fit one scenario or another. The historic choice for OLD-E1 had two pillars only: (1) it was thought to be Jan Geensz Thins' house (so Maria Thins/Vermeer must have lived there) and (2) OLD-W1 was owned by Machtelt van Beest (so it couldn't be Maria Thins/Vermeer's house). The first is incorrect as this study now shows and the second is a moot point: Machtelt owned several houses and will have rented them out (personally or via the Jesuits) just like OLD-E1 was rented out. Maria Thins in 1680 was '*living at the house of the ladies Rozendael*' and if that was indeed OLD-E1, the statement is a contradiction in itself if it had been Maria Thin's rented place all along. One might also wonder why she would rent an expensive house with seven fireplaces for an initial party of just three, perhaps four, persons (herself, sister Cornelia, daughter Catharina and perhaps son Willem). Therefore, unless new clues surface, the choice where Vermeer had lived must be based on interpretation of the non-specific records and scenario thinking. Considering the scarcity of specific clues, Vermeer's post-wedding address may have been less static- and/or different from the idea his family and Maria Thins had always resided in OLD-E1.

OLD-W1 as a candidate for Vermeer's house It cannot be excluded the corner house mentioned in Vermeer's inventory (and perhaps Willem Bolnes's burial a few weeks later too) was on the west-side of the Molenpoort, the house named 'Trapmolen' (see OLD-W1-5)¹⁰. It was narrower than OLD-E1 (4.0-4.5m versus 7.07m) but

⁸ Montias, 1989, p158, n12 mentioned this house situated 'in the Haaghpoort' (an unlikely place) but did not elaborate on it any further.

⁹ Montias, 1989, p160-161, doc 305. Montias does not mention Oude Langendijk in his english translation of the original act (first published in Oud-Holland, 1980, vol.94). We can assume if an address had been written down Montias would have mentioned it as a relevant detail in his attempt to pinpoint Vermeer's house.

¹⁰ In the 'Memorie 1686' it becomes clear the term Molenpoort did not just indicate an empty alley; besides the quay side house OLD-W1 it encompassed several (smaller) buildings on the west-side. Around 1600 it housed a rosmolen (horse driven mill) and there would have been storage facilities for grain, stables and perhaps lodging for workers. Horses and carts would require a fairly wide passage; on the Burgwal

the property tax both in 1632 and in 1686 (addendum 12) was higher: 15 versus 13.5 guilders¹¹. It was owned by Machtelt van Beest but it is not said she actually lived there as she owned several other houses nearby (see OLD-W1-5 and BW-W4) and likely two more houses at the Bastiaensvest and she may have kept a share (via her husband van Nerven) of the brewery Truweel on the Koornmarkt no.64¹². Being upper class she likely used a more stately home, perhaps ‘Swanenburg’ (OLD-W5). Willem de Koorde living 25 meters away and the stone carver apprentice Gerrit Cornelisz working right next door (OLD-W2) bearing witness to the various occasions of domestic violence by Willem Bolnes makes perfect sense in this scenario. ‘Various’ also being a keyword here: not just once but several times. Objections would be the dispute Machtelt van Beest had with Samuels (OLD-W2) prior to 1670 about access to the Molenpoort alley ‘*via a path that crossed a courtyard in the back of her house*’ (Montias, 1989, p178, n28) and the ladies Roozendael paying rent for OLD-E1 in 1686. But the first objection can be countered if there was a lack of access to the alley via the backyard of OLD-W1. Samuels may have needed to walk via the backyard of OLD-W3/4 to get to the Molenpoort: Kaart Figuratief 1675 shows the west side of the Molenpoort is almost completely built over¹³ and in the Kadastrale minuut 1832 there are small annexes directly behind- and connected to OLD-W1, in effect boxing in OLD-W2. Also, in 1677 Machtelt records in her testament her ‘*two (not three) houses on the Oude Langendijk extending to the Burgwal*’ (Montias, 1989, p178, n28). These must have been OLD-W3/4 (integrated under one roof) and OLD-W5. These indeed extend to the house on the Burgwal (BW-W4) also owned by Machtelt in contrast to OLD-W1 that did not reach the Burgwal. Apparently by 1677 she had donated OLD-W1 to the Jesuits (rent was collected in 1686; see addendum 11 and 12) and she did not regard it as her house anymore (although formally still the owner). And lastly, in later sale deeds (1707, 1712, 1732) of house ‘Swanenburg’ the exit/access from this house to the Molenpoort is consistently mentioned. All in all it appears Samuels also needed to use this particular exit to get to his house. And the second objection that the Roozendael ladies were renting/living in OLD-E1 (perhaps in 1680 but for sure in 1686) is already several years after Vermeer died. Many things could have happened in between.

A hypothetical scenario could be as follows: Maria Thins rents OLD-W1 and takes in Vermeer after he married Catharina (be it already in 1653 or any year up to 1660). With the growing number of children she moves out after ca.1663 to her house ‘Fonteyjn’. Her landlord¹⁴ Machtelt van Beest may have suggested her this house belonging to her brother-in-law and business partner Pieter Lievensz de Bock. After Vermeer’s demise and the debt situation of Catharina the ladies Rozendael step in around 1680: they rent OLD-E1 and take in Maria Thins and perhaps Catharina with the children too. Maria Thins in any one period may have lived in her niece Maria Camerling’s house OLD-E2 as well. She dies in 1680 out of OLD-E1 and Catharina moves to Breda in 1684.

Below the physical details of OLD-W1 compared to the details in the 1676 inventory. It is given here rather than in its own chapter which is focussed on the owners.

Physical details of OLD-W1 The modern day house is 4.44m x 13.81m with an irregular backside. In the Kadastrale minuut map of 1832 (see page 3 or chapter OLD-W1-5 for this map) the estimated dimensions of the OLD-W1 plot are ca. 4m x 17m (excluding the annexes) confirmed by the surface of 81m² in the OAT ledgers

side the entrance was only 1.73m but on the Oude Langendijk side it probably was around 3m. In the OAT registers of 1811-1832 and in the Kadastrale minuut 1832 the alley code is ‘256bis’ whilst OLD-W1 has code 256 indicating they previously belonged to each other. Corner houses on the Burgwal side of the alley are never addressed in combination with the alley name, the gate there was just named ‘a common gate’. Montias (1989, p161, n20) mentions the stonemason apprentice Gerrit Cornelisz worked for another sculptor named Heijndrick Jansz van der Schrick whose workshop was on the corner of the ‘Trampolenpoort’, indicating the alley was integral with the house ‘Trampolen’. He did not provide a reference and despite searches a record confirming this was not (yet) found. Schri(j)ck owned a house in the Jacob Gerritstraat east-side and is listed as stonemason. He never owned a property near the Molenpoort so a workshop would have been a rented space.

¹¹ For comparison: the Mechelen inn, 6.91m wide, also had a property tax of 15 guilders in 1632.

¹² See achterdegevelsvandelft.nl Koornmarkt 64, one of the most historical buildings in Delft.

¹³ The congestion is not evident in the list of owners in V1632 or HP1648 though. There must have been building going on after 1656 and before 1675, the date Kaart Figuratief was first published. It is also possible Bleijswijck used too much imagination.

¹⁴ Machtelt was the formal owner but she may already have donated it to the Jesuits for renting out.

1811-1832¹⁵. The house itself (i.e. in the 17th century) may have been shorter than the plot length so that there was a little courtyard to the annexes behind. It is not clear if the annexes once belonged to the house but they might have been considering the earlier history of the Trampolen/Molenpoort. Although small, they are registered as actual houses in the OAT and were 16m² and 22m² at the time; they were owned (i.e. early 19th century) by the catholic church whereas OLD-W1 was owned by a private individual. A house of 13-14m length could contain the rooms/layout given in the 1676 inventory with relative ease. The house standing on the plot today has the same overall layout: a cellar, a hallway, two floors, an attic and a courtyard and it may still contain 17th century constructive elements¹⁶. The ceiling on the ground floor (i.e. in recent times) used to be ca. 3.5m high from floorboard to floorboard (now 3.2m because of a new raised ground floor) high enough for a ‘hangcamertje’ (little hanging room)¹⁷ mentioned in the inventory. A cellar (unknown size) is present but was filled up more than ten years ago because of water seepage; it had a domed ceiling with possibly original 17th century brickwork. A dozen Delft blue&white wall tiles were rescued from it and have now been remounted in the kitchen backsplash; they are easily recognizable as 17th century products. In the 1676 inventory the first floor had two rooms only, the front room likely was Vermeer’s studio as it contained painter’s attributes. Today the side wall has later brickwork and a few windows¹⁸. From 1753 (and some years prior to that) until 1805 the house functioned as a hostel for impoverished old women; the capacity was 15 beds¹⁹.

House OLD-E2: Klein Serpent

The width of this house was 6.28 meter and it had three fireplaces in 1638. It was called ‘Klein Serpent’ (Little Snake) in ‘Memorie 1686’ (see addendum 11) which seems a name given by the Jesuits as ‘Klein’ does not occur as such in the databases. The property tax in 1632 and 1686 was 12 guilders indicating it was comparable in size to OLD-E1 (13 guilders tax).

Register	Type	Names (newest name first)
V1620	Owner	Dirck Jorisz van Vliet
Haardsteden 1638	Owner/inhabitant	The widow of Hendrick Claesz (3 fireplaces)
V1632	Owner	Maria Camerling // the widow of Hendrick Claesz
HP1648	Owner	(Tjerk)// Maria Willems widow of Hendrick Claesz // Mr. Thymen **
K1667	Owner/inhabitant	Maria Camerling

*Mr. Thymen was struck through; likely the clerk meant to write Thymen Slingelandt but changed his mind. Tjerk is a faulty entry.

The earliest (i.e. in this study; V1620) owner Dirck Jorisz van Vliet (nn-1634)²⁰ married Claesgen Jansdr van Bueren in 1597, widow of Jacob Jacobsz Duijst (nn-1596) who was an innkeeper in the ‘Kolff’²¹. The marriage record states Claesgen lived in the ‘Koopmans Kolff’²² on the Oude Langendijk. It appears Van Vliet moved in with her and took over the function of innkeeper since he is mentioned in the Naaldwijk archives as innkeeper in the ‘Kolff’ in 1598 and in the Delft notary archives as innkeeper in the ‘Comans Kolff’ also in 1598. In the Delft

¹⁵ beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl Kadastrale kaart 1811-1832: Oorspronkelijke Aanwijzende Tafel (OAT) Delft, Zuid Holland, sectie D, blad 008 (OAT08034D008). Plot 256. The surface is given under ‘square el’ an old measure, in square meters only 0.47m². From 1816 the Netherlands metric system was introduced and ‘el’ became synonymous with meter.

¹⁶ Monumenten.nl nr. 12148 Oude Langendijk 25, house possibly 17th century, gable 18th century.

¹⁷ A wooden structure, raised from the floor connecting to the ceiling (entresol/mezzano like) for storage or a bed.

¹⁸ Details provided by the present owner. The cellar details by repute of the previous owner.

¹⁹ Delfia Batavorum, 1998, p71-99. P. Van der Krogt *Anderhalve eeuw Broeders van Dongen in Delft*.

²⁰ Buried 25-02-1634 Dirck Jorisz van Vliet, Oude Langendijk.

²¹ Buried 31-12-1596 Jacob Jacobsz Duijst, waard (inn keeper) in the Kolff.

²² K1667 (fol. 133r) ‘Komans Kolff’ on the Oude Langendijk 12th house west of the Jacob Gerritstraatt (present day no.7). It is known as the headquarters of the St.Nicolaas guild (merchant guild).

Vergunningen book (permits) he is recorded to build a glintigh at Serpent in 1624²³ so Van Vliet must have moved into OLD-E2 prior to 1620 and lived there until his death in 1634.

Claesgen Jansdr van Bueren's first husband Jacob Jacobsz Duijst was a brother of the Jesuit father Cornelis Jacobsz Duijst (1554-1612); the Duijsts also carried the surname Storm van Wena²⁴. Jacob and Claesgen had two daughters: Maritgen (nn-before 1623) and Lysbeth (nn-before 1623). Maritgen (Maria Jacobsdr Storm van Wena) in 1618 married the painter Willem Willemsz van Vliet (1584-1642) and Willem re-married in 1636 to Jannitgen Heijndricks van Buijren but no children are known from either marriage. Willem van Vliet was uncle- and teacher of Hendrick Cornelisz van Vliet (c1612-1675) a contemporary of Vermeer in Delft, painter of church interiors and portraits. A well-known painting by him is the family portrait of Michiel van der Dussen in 1640 in the Prinsenhof museum. He also trained under Mierevelt who will be addressed in OLD-W1-5. Whether the innkeeper Dirck Jorisz van Vliet was related to these two painters could not be determined.

Who the next owner (c1634-before 1656) Maria Willems- widow of Hendrick Claesz was could not be determined with 100% certainty but most likely they were the parents of Claes- and Adriaen Hendricksz Post who were related to a Maria Camerling. As HP1648 starts with Maria Willems, Maria Camerling must have bought- or inherited the house after 1648. However, she is missing in HP1648 while she is recorded in V1632 and in K1667 which seems to be a controversy at first sight. Theoretically there are three candidates with a first name Maria and two more with a close variation (see addendum 5 for the Camerling family tree).

Candidates for the owner Maria Camerling (three generations):

	Gen	Candidate (D;died)	Born -Died	Married
1	I	Maria (Marijtgen) Gerrits Camerling, aunt of Maria Thins	1575-1635	1596 x D'Assegny / 1626 x Camersvelt
2	II	Maria Gerrits Camerling, father is Gerrit Gerritsz Camerling (D:1627), half sister of Maria Thins ²⁵	c1609-1657	1637 x Van der Wiel
3	II	Maria Michiels Camerlingh, father is Michiel Gerritsz Camerling (D: 1638)	nn-1655	1639 x Stepsius
4	III	Maria Gerrits Camerling, father is Gerard Michielsz Camerling (D:1625). Cousin to the Post family.	c1624-1666	not married
5	II	Maria Camerling, father is Frans Fransz Camerling (D:1629). Protestant.	nn-1643	1635 x Appelman
6	I	Margaretha(Grietje) Gerrits Camerling, aunt of Maria Thins	1559-1644	not married

One of the candidates 1,2,3 could have owned it in the period 1632-1656 but not in 1667 because of the year they died: 1635, 1657, 1655. But they were married and V1632 normally (also) mentions the husband's name. No.5 is unlikely as she is from the protestant branch of the family (Kotte, 1964).

Candidate no.6 Margrita Gerrits Kamerlinx²⁶ is a witness in a 1637 deposition, testifying that a certain Anna Jansdr came to live with Heijndrick Jacobsz van de Velde (owner of OLD-E3-5) to start a catholic school for girls (Montias 1989, p178, n30, see also OLD-E7). She could have been the person listed in V1632 but not the

²³ A glintigh is a wooden structure, presumably it was a porch. The permit does not say where exactly he was building; it could have been at the backside and on the boundary with OLD-E1 as the permit mentions 'Serpent'. Possibly OLD-E1 and OLD-E2 once were united.

²⁴ H.Nagtegaal; Genealogie Storm van Wena; nagtegaal.org. Another surname for Duijst was Storm van Wena; for both men records exist mentioning their sister Cornelia (Neeltge). In 1621 Neeltgen Jacob Storm van Wena 'oude maecht (spinster) on the baghijnhoff' writes her will. Cornelia/Neeltje lived in the catholic beguinage Bagijnhof (Akker, 2016, p12).

²⁵ After Maria Thins' father (Willem Jansz Thin) had died in 1601 her mother Catharina van Hensbeeck (nn-1633) re-married Gerrit Gerritsz Camerling in 1605. They had one child Maria Gerritsdr Camerling (c1609-1657), thus a half-sister of Maria Thins. Shortly after her father Gerrit went to India for the VOC (1613), Maria Gerritsdr was thought to had lived in Delft with her namesake aunt Maria and her husband D'Assegny for a while (Kotte, 1964, p161; Montias, 1989, p113; based on Kotte) but the present research indicates this is incorrect and that it concerned another Maria Gerritsdr Camerling (namely no.4). Kotte, the primary investigator, states that this Maria after first living with D'Assegny she, after he died, then lived with her *guardian* uncle Spijkenhoorn (married to her aunt Geertruijt). This 'Maria with guardians' was not the half-sister of Maria Thins but no.4 Maria Gerritsdr/Gerardsdr Camerling (c1624-1666) that in 1625 was placed under guardianship of Spijkenhoorn and her grandfather Michiel Gerritsz Camerling. Source: Orphan chamber, family nr. 23071.

²⁶ Montias names her Margrita instead of Margaretha.

one in 1667 as she died in 1644. She could have been witness in 1637 for the simple fact she was the neighbour but this is not proven.

The best- and remaining candidate is no.4, the orphaned daughter of Gerard Michielsz Camerling; she was cousin to the brothers Claes- and Adriaan Heinricksz Post owning a house west of the Jacob Gerritstraat; Maria Camerling was co-owner (see second Camerling house below). Absent in the city records, the 'Memorie 1686' luckily does record the owners of OLD-E2, namely Nicolaes Post and the 'klynen' (junior) Cornelis van der Dussen, the same names that would inherit the house west of the Jacob Gerritstraat. Hendrick Claesz/Maria Willems therefore must have been the parents of the two brothers Post who adopted the surname later on. The Jesuits in 1686 knew Post/Dussen were the owners of OLD-E2 by inheritance but for the city nothing in the ownership had changed since 1648. Several other houses in the Papist corner have the same phenomenon that no record exists in HP1648 a house had passed on to heirs, while in reality it had. It is illustrative of the covert conditions of the catholics.

In conclusion, OLD-E2 was inherited/inhabited from some date between 1648 and 1656 until 1666 by Maria Gerritsdr Camerling (c1624-1666), Maria Thin's niece. A small discrepancy of her death in June 1666 and the K1667 entry drawn up in December 1666 remains; an explanation could be the administrator prepared the K1667 book several months in advance or just copied it from an earlier book (of which none have survived). She was buried 21-06-1666 from the Oude Langendijk as an unmarried woman at ca.43 years of age.

The second Camerling house In HP1648 (fol. 234v) Maria Camerling is co-owner of a house on the Oude Langendijk west of the Jacob Gerritstraat (the 8th house west according to HisGis). She is mentioned as being a cousin of Claes- and Adriaan Hendricksz Post²⁷ and this connection to the Posts likely stems from Maria's mother Maria van Zegwaert²⁸. Maria Camerling and her cousin Adriaan Hendricksz Post were very close as their gravestone in the New Church demonstrates (Bloys, 1922, p82)²⁹.

After them the house was owned (inherited) by several Van der Dussens, the youngest heirs/owners were the children of Cornelis van der Dussen and the three children of Hendrick van der Eem and Anna van der Dussen. Cornelis and Anna were brother and sister. See addendum 8.

Hendrick Van der Eem (c1633-1687) is a known figure in Vermeer's life: he was guardian over his children after 1675. The first record of his guardianship is from 06-01-1677 (Montias, 1989, doc 376; Plomp, 1998, p34). He had married in 1657 to Anna van der Dussen³⁰; her father was Michiel van der Dussen so Anna can be seen portrayed as a child in the aforementioned family portrait by Hendrick Cornelisz van Vliet.

We can find Hendrik Van der Eem(t) as signer of a protest/request letter of 19-08-1672 addressed to prince William of Orange III³¹ against the Louvenstein faction³² in Delft. The letter was signed by some 20 persons, mostly members of the schutterij (civic guard). Another signer was (a) hooftman (head) of the schutterij A. de Bock(Bocq) who most likely was Abraham de Bock³³, son of Pieter Lievensz de Bock (see OLD-W1-5 and BW-E7). The signers request the prince to instate their demands on a new organization of the Delft 'regeering' (administration): for instance city officials would not be allowed to have a position in the VOC or WIC³⁴ and no politicians would be allowed in church boards. Interestingly another demand was that city officials should solely be of the reformed religion which clearly makes Van der Eem a protestant whereas his wife Anna came from a

²⁷ Huizenprotocol 1648 fol. 234v (owners separated by // , in reverse order): *'De twee kinderen van Hr Mr. Cornelis van der Dusse en de drie kinderen van Juffr Anna van der Dussen gewonnen bij Mr Hendrick van der Eem //De twee kinderen van Hr Mr. Cornelis van der Dusse <...>Hr.Michiel van der Dussen en Juffr Wilhelmina van Setten als erfgenamen van Adriaen Post, en welke Post erfgenaam is geweest van zijn broeder Claes Hendricks Post en zijn nichte Maria Camerling volgens verclaringe onder de hant in dato de 17 feb 1687 door de Notaris Corn Ouwendijck alhier getoont //Adriaen & Claes Hendricks Post mitsgaders Maria Camerling//Pieter Zieren van Middelhouck'*

²⁸ Bloys, 1922, p93 records a shared grave of Segwaert and Post.

²⁹ *"Here lies buried Maria Gerritsdr Camerling died 17th June ao. 1666 and Adriaan Hendricksz Post died 30th July ao. 1666. Pray for the soul. [Coat of arms: two ducks, below them a heart upside down]"*

³⁰ Married 11-08-1657(banns Voorburg) Hendrick van der Eem lawyer, Oude Delft x Anna van der Dussen, Voorstraat

³¹ From 'Binnenlandse burgerlyke beroerten in den jare 1672 in Holland and Zeeland voorgevallen'. Printed 1672. P155

³² Louvensteine factie is the alias for 'staatsgezinden' the opponents of 'prinsgezinden' i.e. Orangists.

³³ Nagtegaal.org/familiewapens. Abram de Bock, member as of 1669 of the 'Confrerie van de handbusch' (society of rifles).

³⁴ East Indies company and West Indies company.

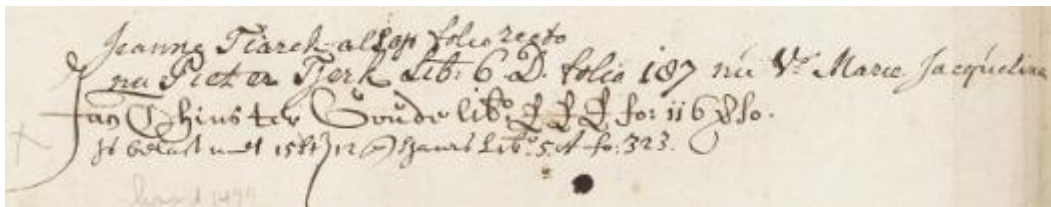
catholic family. Thus identical to Vermeer's mixed religion marriage and perhaps a reason Vermeer asked him to be guardian over his children. Vermeer himself had become a member of the schutterij in 1664³⁵ and also his brother-in-law Anthony van der Wiel (1620-1693) was a member. The choice of a guardian by his mother-in-law or his wife would likely never have been a protestant. No record was found of Van der Eem's installment as guardian which normally can be found in the Orphan Chamber records; in fact no record at all of Vermeer or his wife exists in the Orphan Chamber. See addendum 8 for the various relationships (Nb. includes names yet to be discussed).

The third Camerling house OLD-W6 In V1620 Michiel Camerling (1570-1638) is owner of a house on the Oude Langendijk, the 6th house west of the Molenpoort but no Maria Camerling is recorded here (see OLD-W6).

House OLD-E3: Jan Geensz Thins' house

The width of this house was 5.34m, had four fireplaces in 1638, and was owned in 1620 by Abraham Harmansz (Hoenderman), followed by Heijndrick Jacobsz van de Velde who inherited it from his father Jacob Ewoutsz van de Velde (died 1622, Oude Langendijk). It probably was enlarged between 1620 and 1656 as the property tax increased from 7 to 12 guilders. If the Kaart Figuratief is accurate, the enlargement might have been the structure situated at 90 degrees behind it.

The house was bought for 2,400 guilders in 1641 by Jan Geensz Thins, Maria Thins' cousin from Gouda (Montias, 1989, doc160). Besides a faulty entry of Pieter Tjerk in HP1648 (entry of 1732; see Addendum 10) there were no more formal owners recorded after Jan Geensz Thins (died 1647).



Huizenprotocol 1648, fol.326v. Entry starts with 'Jan Thins ter Goude'. The addition of Pieter Tjerk and his daughter Marie Jacqueline Jeanne Tiarck (in 1732) is incorrectly placed here. The scribble at the bottom line 'Is belast met 15st 12p sjaars' stems from an imposed tax in 1687.

In the past Montias made an effort to localize Jan Geensz Thin's house (Montias, 1989, p176) but finally arrived at the wrong conclusion (i.e. OLD-E1) because of oversight of a name/entry (i.e. a separate house) in HP1648 (fol.326r; see addendum 10) and not consulting the other house registers. Also the switch of east and west by the notary Bleiswijck added to the confusion (Montias, 1989, doc160 and 166) but it may have been a misunderstanding of the old dutch notary language by Montias.

Whether Jan Geensz Thins himself or family ever lived here is not known. The house may have been bought for the Jesuits like the house 'de Trapjes' in Gouda where Maria Thins grew up that was used for covert catholic services³⁶, but there is no objection to the thought family may have lived there in some period of time.

³⁵ Montias 1989, dutch version 1993, doc 296bis (not present in the english version). Doc 296bis says 1674 but in the text (p194) the year 1664 is given. It is unclear which year is the correct one.

³⁶ Criminele vonnisboeken Gouda. Inv.177, p143, 06-04-1598: A fine of 48 guilders and threat of banishment for priest Jan Fransz for holding forbidden catholic mass in the house 'Trapjes' of Willem Thin (Maria Thin's father) or (sic) Diewer Hendricx (Maria Thin's aunt). Montias, 1989, p111, erroneously mentions 1619. Willem Thin died 1601, Diewertje Hendricks died 1604.

In K1667 a Juffr. (lady) Van Swieten pays the quay tax but she is not recorded in HP1648 as owner. Below a few candidates who she might be:

1. A Maria van Swieten was buried in the Old Church on 10-02-1687 as bejaerde dogter (unmarried spinster), Oude Langendijk, with 12 carriers. Being unmarried she probably was a 'klopje' a catholic lay woman.
2. Sophia van der Wiel married in 1618 to Andries van Swieten and they owned a house on the Burgwal (see BW-E7). In 1635 they inherited the household goods of Maria Gerrits Camerling (1575-1635) (Kotte, 1964; Addendum 5). However Sophia died in 1648 and so an impossible candidate.
3. Maria Theresia van Swieten (nn-before 1687) is the daughter of the aforementioned Andries van Swieten³⁷; she married Reynier Carlier from Antwerp in 1640 and they inherited her father's house BW-E7.
4. The widow (first name unknown) of Cornelis Jansz van Swieten previously living (not later than 1656) in OLD-W3 (Montias, 1989, p178, n26).

The answer comes from a charter of 15-01-1687 concerning the demolition of some sheds and an 'as-krebbe' (waste place) on the 'Nieuwe Kerckhof' (see addendum 7). From this we learn the first name of 'Juffr. Van Swieten' is Maria. Twelve house owners on the Oude Langendijk in a row, all corresponding to names in this article, receive a special tax. This tax can also be found written underneath the entries in HP1648 (see image above). In a period spanning some months prior to the final charter the owners appear individually for the magistrates. One of them is Adriaan Wittert, son and heir of Johan Wittert (the owner of the Jesuit church; see OLD-E4/5) who appears on 15-11-1686 for himself and as representative for 'the children and heirs of the late Maria van Swieten'. Thus the tax payer in K1667 could not have been candidate no.1 as she was a spinster without children. K1667 mentions the title 'Juffr' used for high status persons which makes candidate no.4 unlikely and candidate no.2 was already ruled out. The tax payer of OLD-E3 in K1667 therefore most likely was no.3 Maria Theresia van Swieten.

The 'Memorie 1686' (see addendum 11) has a notable omission in houses around the Molenpoort that were rented out by the Jesuits (ca.16 houses yielded rent) namely Jan Geensz Thins' house OLD-E3. The Juffr. Van Swieten (i.e Maria Theresia) who was taxed in K1667 also is not mentioned.

Because OLD-E3 is not mentioned separately in the 'Memorie 1686' it could have been (long) physically incorporated into the Jesuit station *or* it was never in the hands of the Jesuits. For the first option there are two arguments: (i) The churchhouse (i.e. OLD-E4/5) in the 'Memorie' has *two* values for verponding that could mean OLD-E3 was incorporated with OLD-E4/5 taking these last two as one house/one tax. (ii) The churchhouse has several other names besides Wittert coupled to it: namely Carlier, the heirs of Van der Horst (Cabau and Bom/Bam), the widow of Diert and Nicolas Spruitwater. The fact Carlier the husband of Maria Theresia van Swieten is mentioned, could mean OLD-E3 had been incorporated into the church. However, speaking against incorporation of OLD-E3 is that Carlier owned BW-E7 directly underneath the church/school and so did his neighbour Spruitwater (BW-E6). The two taxes imposed on the church might simply reflect OLD-E4 and OLD-E5 separately, the tax increased because of addition/restructuring at the backside. Such tax increase seems to have been the case for the school OLD-E7 as well. See addendum 12 for details.

In conclusion, from the above there is no conclusive evidence OLD-E3 was incorporated into the churchhouse (or in general the Jesuit station). In the next chapter other arguments indicate that it might have been.

³⁷ Hogenda.nl; rechterlijk Archief Noordwijk no. 178. (08-03-1662) "*De heer Mr Gerardus van Hoogeveen, secretaris van Leiden als procuratie hebbende van juffr. Maria Theresia van Swieten weduwe van Reynier Carlier, dochter van Andries van Swieten, haar sterk makende voor Nicolaes van Swieten haar innocente oom <...>*" The essence: Maria Theresia's father was named Andries and she had an 'innocent' (mentally challenged) uncle named Nicolaes.

House OLD-E4/5: the Jesuit church

These two houses are combined in one entry in K1667 and were 9.11m wide³⁸ and owned by Heijndrick Jacobsz van de Velde prior to 1641. The number of fireplaces in 1638 was large: eight for E4 and five for E5. Montias (1989; doc 166) describes the sale in 23-11-1641 where Heijndrick's cousins Georgius van de Velde from Haarlem and Aefgen van de Velde buy the houses lying next to each other. The neighbours are also described in the deed (Jan Geensz Thins OLD-E3 and Lambrecht van der Horst OLD-E6/7) but east-west was switched³⁹ by the notary Bleijswijck just as in the 20-4-1641 sale deed of Jan Geensz Thins's house OLD-E3 (Montias 1989, doc 160). The southern neighbours in the sale document (Montias , 1989, doc 166) are Swijs (BW-E2) and Sandeling (BW-E3/4); these names are correct.

A newly surfaced attestation dated 27-02-1642 (addendum 6) confirms the reason why these houses were bought: 'op versoek van de paters Societeijt Jesu tot Delff en t'(ot) haere profijtte' (by request of the Jesuits for them to use). Georgius- and Aefge van de Velde declare they would sell them again whenever the Jesuits, or those who replaced them, deemed fit. The document carries no notary name so likely it was a private statement, not surprising considering the illegal character of the church. It was unexpectedly found in the archives of the Diert family from Melissant (a village in the province Zuid-Holland). Dirck Diert owned the houses OLD-E8/9, see there.

The houses were then sold to Johan Wittert, perhaps c1652 when Georgius died (Montias ,1989, doc 241) and /or 1658 when Aefge died⁴⁰. Aeffge left a farm and 14,000 guilders to the Jesuits (Akker, 2016, p9). The waarbrief (HP1648, code 4Mfo:96) is lost so we do not know the exact date Wittert bought them. Likely Wittert never lived there himself, but allowed the Jesuits to continue their church and only acted as a front for the Delft administration. Wittert (and others) is mentioned as owner of the 'kerkhuis' (church house) in the 'Memorie 1686' (addendum 11). His son Adriaan, his heir and residing in Leiden, is mentioned in a 1687 deed taxing the owners on the Oude Langendijk east of the Molenpoort (see addendum 7). Likely they were the wealthy catholic Wittert van der Aa family from Leiden⁴¹.

Huizenprotocol 1648, fol.327r. Top excerpt is OLD-E4, bottom one is OLD-E5. Owners start with Georgius and Aefgen/IJfen van de Velde, followed by Johan Wittert. The names Pieter Tjerk/Jeanne Tiarck are faulty entries (see Addendum 10). The small scribble at the bottom refers to a yearly tax (28 st(uivers) and 2 p(enning) for both houses combined) imposed in 1687 on Adriaan Wittert, Johan's son.

³⁸ The Kadegeld 1667 entries for house OLD-E3 and OLD-E4 (fol 130r) have quay tax additions stemming from a wooden bridge lying in front of the houses. The bridge is shown in Blaeu's map of 1652, but not in Kaart figuratief 1678. The tax for the bridge was split 50/50 and added to the two houses. Rather than adding the tax as a separate sum, the width (roe/voet) of the bridge was added to the width of the houses by striking through the original width (in roe) and writing a new, higher value above it. The ratio width/tax, the same for every house, confirms that the original written width is the real one. Why the houses were taxed for the (demolished?) bridge remains unclear.

³⁹ Provided the east-west switch was not a transcription error by Montias.

⁴⁰ Buried 12-05-1658 Aeffgen van der Velden, Oude Delft

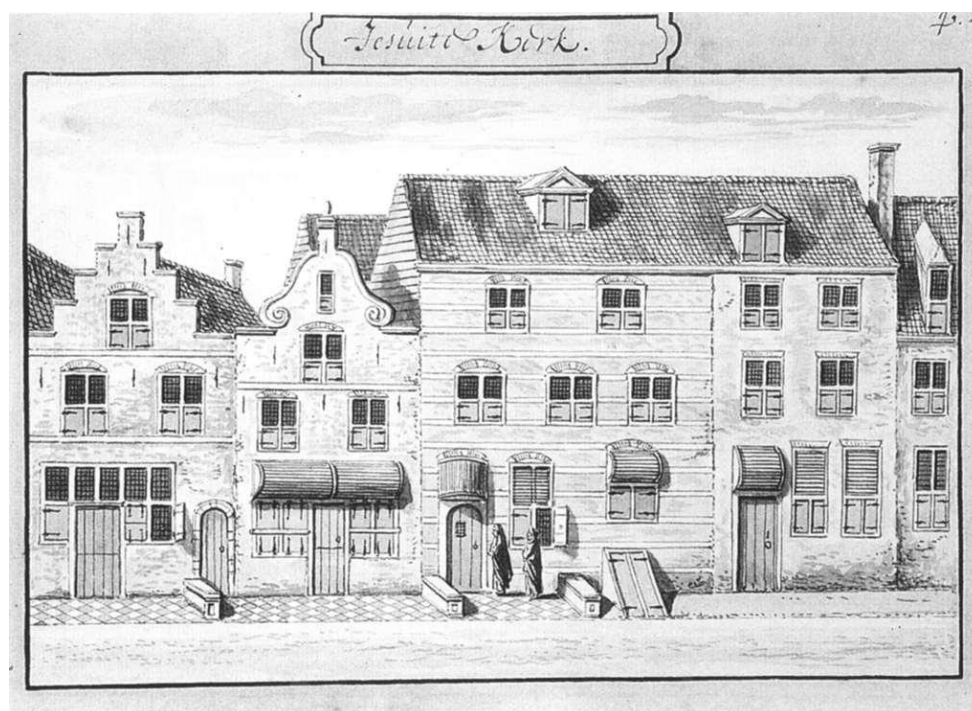
⁴¹ Johan Wittert van der Aa (1604-1670) married in 1628 Ida Popta (1604-1664). Their son Adriaan (1641-1698) married in 1669 to Maria Knotter (1651-1701). Adriaan in 1675 was the richest man in Leiden with a capital of 380,000 guilders. Source: Dirk Jaap Noordam, Oudleiden Jaarboek 2000, p31-62 and Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Inv. 192, de Familie Moens en aanverwante Families.

In the same attestation of 27-02-1642, there is an additional text that a Joffr. van Nerven ‘*after the death of Joris van Velde had given a renversael (deposition) that she nor her children will lay claim on half of the house, presently a church, nor on the adjacent house where Sr. Potter lives*’. She probably was Machtelt van Beest/ van Nerven (see OLD-W1-5) or alternatively one of her sisters-in-law (Susanna- and Judith van Nerven), but why she apparently had a claim on the property is unknown, perhaps it originated from an earlier financing. As Georgius van de Velde after his death in Haarlem in 1652 leaves Machtelt van Beest many paintings and goods valued at 1,256 guilders (Montias, 1989, p178, doc 241) it might have been compensation for this abjuration of the houses, but this remains speculation.

On the Burgwal, house BW-E4 directly below the Jesuit church was also owned by Heijndrick Jacobsz van Velde and subsequently by a Cornelis van de Velde from Leiden in V1620 and V1632. Who Joris- and Cornelis van de Velde were is not yet known, but most probably they were related to the other van de Veldes.

The Sr. (signeur) Potter living next to the church mentioned by Juffr. van Nerven with little doubt is the Jesuit father Roeland de Pottere (1584-1675). See OLD-E6/7 for a discussion.

The Jesuit church Of the church there survives one single drawing by Abraham Rademaker (1676-1735).



The Jesuit church with its saddle roof parallel to the street. Pen drawing with washes by Abraham Rademaeker, ca. 1730, Delft archives, no. 5691. Part of a 50-sheet album with annotation in the cover ‘Afbeeldinge van de Voornaamste plublique Gebouwen der Stad DELFT waar van de beschrijvinge, in de beschrijving dier Stad van Blijswijk, is te vinden op de paginaas, als op ider Teikinging is genoteert. door Abraham Rademaker geteekent’. This drawing is number 463 (top right; partly visible) that refers to the same page number in Dirck van Bleijswijck’s book ‘Beschrijvinge der stad Delft’ from 1667. The peculiar half round structures above doors and windows are unexplained.

The houses OLD-E4/5 were the living quarters of the Jesuits and also incorporated the church on the first floor or in the attic. At first the church was 25 foot wide (7.85m) but by december 1678 it was enlarged by 2/5 (40%) in surface and by 20 foot (6.28m) in its width. These values are recorded in the minutes of the ‘Heeren van de Wet’ meeting 12/19-12-1678 (Berckel, 1900, p259/259; Warffemius, 2005, p15; Akker, 2016, p29)⁴². The exact year the 20 foot enlargement took place was not mentioned, but since the 1678 minutes were based on complaints, it may have been fairly recent.

⁴² Montias (p177) says 18 feet. The true value is 20 feet (Berckel, 1900)

The first thought of the 20 foot enlargement is that it concerned OLD-E3, Jan Geensz Thins' house that was 5.34m wide. Added to the 9.11m of OLD-E4/5 the 14.45m total is almost exactly 45 foot (14.13m). It would mean though the statement of '25 original+20 extra' foot for the two respective houses (i.e. E4/5 and E3) was fairly rough guesswork as they were 29 and 17 foot in reality (i.e. in K1667).

We cannot rule out however the enlargement was at the backside and did not involve OLD-E3. The capacity of the church in 1650-1653 was already large, 700 persons could fit in there⁴³. With four standing persons per m² plus some place for an altar and isles, the surface area (assuming it was one level only: first floor or attic) would have been some 200m². With a width of 9.11m (OLD-E4/5) the depth would have been 22m, roughly a third of the north-south distance between the Oude Langendijk and Burgwal. A straightforward 20 foot addition to a rectangle with one side of 25 foot (or in fact 9.11m) obviously yields a 80% enlargement and not 40% as stated. So in this scenario the final shape cannot have been a square (eg. L-form, T-form, cross form).

As in the 'Memorie 1686' OLD-E3 is absent (see addendum 12) the scenario it was incorporated in the churchhouse has the most chance but it is not definitive.

In 1733 the city granted permission to re-build the entire church; 13m high, 12.5m wide and 25m long (in east-west direction) and the floor now was on street level. It had galleries one floor up as can be seen in a 1744 drawing of the interior (Warffemius, 2005, p19-21).

The Rademaker drawing There are a few problems with the Rademaker drawing with respect to the '1678 widths' and the K1667 widths:

- Assuming the depicted figures are of average height, say 1.6-1.8m, the width of the central house (with the two benches and a shoot to the basement) which is supposed to be OLD-E4/5 in the drawing, calculates to 6.2-6.9m (omitting a small correction for the view angle). The house to the right calculates to 3.7-4.1m and with a small correction for the view angle perhaps 4.0-4.4m. The min-max for the two combined is 10.2-11.3m. These values –either combined or singular- do not correspond with 25+20 foot (7.85m+6.28m=14.13m) nor with the K1667 widths (9.11m + 5.34m=14.45m).
- The extra 20 feet unlikely was the bell-roofed house on the left, since the floors are at different heights.

Apart from the widths there are other problems:

- The shadows are impossible. The sun rises in the east (which is behind the houses to the left hand side) and cannot cast shadows like this on the Oude Langendijk southside. The shadow is either 'artist freedom' or the whole scene was (re)drawn in mirror fashion (Nb. it is not a print, but an original drawing). Checking a few other Rademaker drawings with known buildings in the 50-sheet album they are correct with respect to the shadow fall.
- The vertical viewpoint of the artist seems to be several meters higher than street level. It might have been a window of a house directly opposing the bell roof house (approximately the central point). But this house -which would be OLD-E6- faced the open space to the New Church, so how did the artist obtain such an elevated point ?
- There is an extra door/gate in the house on the far left that should lead to a backyard or another property. In K1667 such a gate would have been listed separately (with quay tax for the owner/tenant using the gate) or at least it would be mentioned in combination with a house, but for the whole of the Oude Langendijk east of the Molenpoort, except for the Molenpoort itself, not a single gate is recorded. In contrast, there is one listed west of the Molenpoort (OLD-W6; today a gap is still present) and on the Burgwal several are listed (see drawings in addendum 2 and 3).

⁴³ Personal comment Dries van den Akker S.J. Taken from the menologium of father Isaac van der Mije (1602-1656) who started restructuring the church around 1650.

In ca. 1730, when Rademaker made his drawing, the Jesuits were long gone from the Oude Langendijk location (a banishment decree for catholics was issued 31-12-1708) and their church had become a Franciscan church per 1709⁴⁴. The Franciscans had been sent as replacements by the Jesuit leaders but they had a troubled relationship with the legal owners⁴⁵. As noted the drawing refers to page 463 of Bleyswijck's *Beschrijvinge der stad Delft* of 1667 but the page (or following) does not actually mention a street name or even specifically the presence of Jesuit- or catholic church, rather it is a general description of how catholic assemblies in Delft were tolerated with a blind eye. In contrast, churches of other religions (Lutheran, Mennonite, Remonstrant/Armenian) are listed with exact street name and location (Bleijswijck pages 461, 462).

So was Rademaker possibly looking at some other building instead ? Perhaps another site where the Jesuits held clandestine meetings ? Like the 'Passer' brewery⁴⁶ on the Noordeinde west side; the shadows are possible here. The 'Passer' was owned by Jacob Fransz van der Wiel (nn-1622)⁴⁷ and his wife Catharina and lay next to another brewery 'de Hant'⁴⁸. Later Andries van Swieten and his wife Sophia van der Wiel owned the 'Passer' (Kotte, 1964, p169) (see also OLD-E3, BW-E7). The present day houses at the site (Noordeinde no. 15/17/19) do overall resemble the houses in the Rademaker drawing, but naturally these (at least the façades) are 100-150 years younger than Rademaker's drawing.

In conclusion, if the drawing indeed shows the Jesuit church, Rademaker used a fair bit of artistic freedom in dimensions and shadow. Else it is another site altogether and/or the title is incorrect.

House OLD-E 6/7: the school for catholic girls

These houses combined measured 13.19m in K1667. Although a single entry in K1667 we know they were two separate houses because of the earlier entries in HP1648 , V1632 and V1620 and the listing in 'Memorie 1686'. In 1638 OLD-E6 had three fireplaces and OLD-E7 had no less then ten fireplaces so it was a large building reflected in the property tax of 11 and 38 guilders respectively in 'Memorie 1686'. They used to be owned by Dirck Pietersz Gorter (died 1619) and after him Dirck Pieters Gijzenburgh, both brewer/owner in the brewery 't Heck' (OLD-E8/9).

In 1627 the noble Lambrecht van der Horst (nn- before 1656) from Rijswijk bought the two houses and a 'grutmolen' (grit mill) from Pieter Pietersz Gijzenburgh junior⁴⁹. The adjacent houses were the brewery 't Heck and also belonged to Gijzenburgh (see OLD-E8/9) as did BW-E8 lying directly underneath. OLD-E6,7,8,9 and BW-E8 presumably were once all part of the brewery complex.

OLD-E6 was a normal residence and OLD-E7 became the catholic school as can be deduced from the 'Memorie 1686' (see addendum 11). A school existed as early as 1625 but the exact location is unknown⁵⁰; it is not necessarily OLD-E7 as Van der Horst only bought it two years later.

Van der Horst was married to Catharina de Pottere (nn-nn), sister⁵¹ of the Jesuit father Roeland de Pottere (1584-1675). Little doubt Van der Horst bought the houses for the Jesuits right from the start in 1627. Roeland likely

⁴⁴ Warffemius, 2005, p21. A print of 1744 shows the interior of the newly built Franciscan church on the same site (building permission in 1733); a long gallery with pillars on both sides, an altar at one end and a domed ceiling. Rademaker will not have seen this version.

⁴⁵ Personal comment D. Van den Akker S.J. The Nuntius was involved as demonstrated by a letter to the legal owners in 1711.

⁴⁶ Boitet in 'Beschrijving der stad Delft' 1729, p647/648 states the Passer brewery stopped operating between 1600 and 1640.

⁴⁷ Jacob Fransz van der Wijel is listed in V1620, fol. 533r, Noordeinde east side. His neighbour is Michiel Gerritsz Camerling, grain merchant. Also in V1632-1656, fol.542v: the heirs of Jacob Fransz van der Wijel 'mettet huijsken aen vest' (with a(nother) house at the city wall). Next owner Andries van Swieten, 31 guilders tax. Neighbour is Michiel Camerling, 14 guilders tax.

⁴⁸ Delft archives, Inv 151, charter 6248, 21-08-1637. Sale of the house 'de Hant' opposite the 'St.Joris gasthuijs', the houses are from south to north: house 'de Rooster', former brewery 'De Hant' and 'de Passer mette croon' belonging to the heirs of the late Jacob Fransz van der Wiel.

⁴⁹ Zwolle Archive, family Sonsbeeck archive, no.1458.1, doc 257.

⁵⁰ Personal comment D. Van den Akker: mentioned by Van Peer mid 20th century, primary source was not given by van Peer.

lived in OLD-E6 as recorded in a 1642 private act (see OLD-E4/5 and addendum 6). He worked in Delft from 1621 to 1662, first to assist the elderly father Makeblijde (died 1630) and then to become the head of the Jesuit station (Begheyn, 1993). He may have performed the wedding between Johannes Vermeer and Catharina Bolnes in 1653 in Schipluiden but he wasn't the only father at the time: two others were Isaac van der Mije (who was also a painter) and Johannes Vermeij.

Van der Horst had one daughter named Wenefrida (nn-before 1693) and she had a daughter named Jacoba Agnes Theresia van Bam⁵² with the alias 'lady of Cabau', who in 1709 sold OLD-E6/7 to a descendant of Dirck Diert owning OLD-8/9 (see next chapter). Florentius Bom (Floris Bam) and the lady Cabau are recorded in 'Memorie 1686' as heirs of Van der Horst (addendum 11). Who Florentius was could not be determined with certainty, perhaps Jacoba's brother.

Van der Horst had a sister Elisabeth married 26-5-1619 in the Hague to Mr. Cornelis van der Hooch. Lambrechts' grandfather (also named Lambrecht) was married to a Brunt, another sponsor family of catholics in Utrecht.

Of Catharina de Pottere there exists a portrait attributed to Jan Anthonisz van Ravesteijn (Koninklijke musea België) and also a portrait of Roeland de Pottere painted by Adriaan Hanneman has survived. In a church in Rijswijk there is a mourning plaque of Van der Horst with eight coat of arms from the families Horst, Brunt, Bam, Pottere, Borssele, Montfoort, Alkemade and Boot⁵³. Van der Horst's mother was a Bam, the mother of Roeland- and Catharina de Pottere was a Boot.

An anonymous biography of sorts on De Pottere survives, written by a man who accompanied him on travels out of town and in daily work in Delft (Akker, 2016)⁵⁴. From this we learn De Pottere was often hiding at Pieter van der Dussen's house, at the Passer brewery on the Noordeinde owned by Jacob Fransz van der Wiel and his wife Catharina, at members of the Sandeling family (see BW-E3/4) and a few others.

The school OLD-E7 formed the school for catholic girls, some of which also took residence there and had to pay for board and lodging. It is unknown how many girls went to school or how many rented a room, but 50 students and 10 residents would seem a reasonable (maximum) number for two teachers. Van den Akker and Remery-Voskuil describe some ins-and outs of the school⁵⁵: in the 'consent book' that records permissions to run a school, Maria Bartholomeusdr was granted permission on 13-08-1635 to run 'a french school, to house young ladies to learn sewing/knitting, learn french language and to read and write'. She was the real owner of the school (read: inventory) but was later forcedly living with some of the students in a lesser part of the school because of a conflict with the second teacher Anna (Jansdr or Dircksdr)⁵⁶. That lesser part had an exit to the Burgwal, probably one of the gates between BW-E9 and BW-E10 (see there). Literally the exit is described as 'opposite the Varkensmarkt' (pig market) which either meant the Beestenmarkt square (animal market) opposite the bend of the Burgwal or the Burgwal itself as at least in the early 20th century it had been the site for the pig market.

Maria Bartholomeusdr was friends to father de Pottere contrary to the second teacher Anna who apparently was a dominant- and unpleasant type. She claimed the best part and rooms on the Oude Langendijk section of the

⁵¹ Roeland de Pottere had brothers and sisters: Catharina, Helena, Isabella and Dominicus. Geneology in: Juten, Taxandria, 1897, p296-297 and Begheyn, Nederlandsche Leeuw, 1993, vol 110, nr5-6, p240-249. Other (earlier) sources do not mention Catharina. Roeland's brother Dominicus was Raad en thesaurier (treasurer) of prince Philips Willem van Oranje (1554-1618).

⁵² Married 29-10-1684 (Rijswijk) Jacoba Agnes Theresia van Bam widow of Cornelis Nobelaer (III), lord of Cabau x Nicolaes van der Duijn, lord of Rijswijk, de Mije. Nobelaer had died in 1681. Van der Duin died in 1698. Regt. W.M.C. Leidsch Jaarboekje, 1920, p130 Alphensche buitenplaatsen: in 1693 Jacoba Agnes Theresia van Bam, daughter of the late Wenefrida van der Horst, daughter of Lambrecht van der Horst and Catharina de Pottere, sells an estate 'Hooche burch'. The estate was bought earlier by Catharina de Pottere in 1656. In 1686 the estate was owned by Jonkheer Cornelis van Bam (likely Wenefrida's husband). Wenefrida, Cornelis and Jacoba are recorded elsewhere as lord/lady of Vrijenhove/Vrijenhoef.

⁵³ Heraldische databank, cbgfamiliewapens.nl

⁵⁴ Paul Begheyn SJ, LIAS Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources 35 (2008) p187-208. Popularized transcription available at Heiligen.net (in dutch only). It is thought the biography was written around 1667.

⁵⁵ (i) Heiligen.net, Dries van den Akker S.J.; transcription biography Roeland de Pottere. (ii) Remery-Voskuil, Lessen, no.1, 2013 'Een meisjes kostschool in de 17e eeuw in de Delftse Papenhoek'

⁵⁶ Remery-Voskuil, Lessen, no.1, 2013 shows a name Annetge Dircksdr in the consent book directly underneath the entry of Maria Bartholomeusdr. The biographer of De Pottere however states her name was Anna Jansdr. Also Montias mentions Anna Jansdr.

school and occupied the best places at mass. She probably was the same Anna Jansdr mentioned in a deposition in 1637 with Margaretha Camerling acting as a witness (Montias, 1989, p178, n30) who stayed with Heijndrick Jacobsz van de Velde to set up a school for girls. Not proof but a clue as to who she was is found in the biography on de Pottere that says ‘she was buried in Schiedam’. A Anna de Haas was buried in Schiedam on 13-07-1668, sister of the catholic priest Johannes de Haas also buried in Schiedam on 6-10-1679⁵⁷. A Jannetje Jans de Haes (HP1648 and K1667) was living next to the corner house/bakery OLD-E14 but whether she is the same person remains to be seen.

In 1650 and 1654 the Delft protestant ministers pleaded with the city to close the catholic school (and church as well) but Dirck van Bleijswijck, one of the four burgomasters, defended its existence since ‘*catholic girls would not go elsewhere and needed to go to school and secondly they would return home unscathed*’. With the latter he was referring to the recent scandal of a protestant minister who had impregnated the virgin daughter of another burgomaster.

House OLD-E 8/9 and BW-E8: the former brewery ‘t Heck

OLD-E8 was the (former) brewery ‘t Heck owned by Pieter Pietersz Gijzenburg. He sold it to Dirck Diert (1606-1650) in 1648⁵⁸. It had three fireplaces in 1638. The house next to it (OLD-E9) also had three fireplaces and was purchased by his widow Anna Jorisdr van Waesdorp (1621-1679) separately. She bought it from Michiel Breethouck in 1661⁵⁹.

OLD-E8 combined with OLD-E9 measured 16.49m in K1667 and Anna Waesdorp was taxed for two houses in one entry. They probably connected to BW-E8 as that house was also owned by Gijzenburg; he sold it to the baker Cornelis Haagman/Haexman just after 1667 (his name is recorded in K1667). Parts of OLD-E8 or E9 may have been physically incorporated with the school (OLD-E7) since the school’s exit to the Burgwal must have been further east, the two gates next to BW-E9.

Dirck Diert (born in Gouda) was a catholic merchant from Rotterdam; he married Annetje Jorisdr van Waesdorp in Delft in 1640. Their son Mr. Joris Diert (1647-1709) lawyer at the Hof van Holland features in a deed of 1687 as heir of OLD-E8/9 (see addendum 7). Dirck also had a daughter Catharina; she is mentioned in a renversaal (deposition) of 1685 (Diert archive doc.251) regarding two houses in Rotterdam her father had bought for the Jesuits in 1646, thus a similar situation to the Van de Veldes and Wittert van der Aa buying OLD-E4/5.

Dirck Diert’s grandson Theodorus Diert (1675-1727) buys in 1709 two houses on the Oude Langendijk from Jacoba Anna van Bam, widow of the lord of Rijswijk⁶⁰; she was the granddaughter of Lambrecht van der Horst. They must have been OLD-E6/7 and the year 1709 can hardly be coincidence considering the Jesuit ban of 31-12-1708 in Delft and the Franciscans taking over the church a week later.

A portrait of Dirck Diert (anonymous painter) and one of his wife Anna van Waesdorp (by Abraham de Vries) are in the collection of the Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht. There are several other portraits of the Diert family in the museum including Dirck’s grandparents: Jan Jansz Diert (1528-1582) married to Catharina Govertsdr van Slingelandt (1538-1604). Dirck Diert’s parents were Dirck Diert (1568-1606) and Catharina Kievit (1572-1625).

⁵⁷ Gerechten van Schiedam, register van overledenen. ‘Joannes de Haes Delphensis’ mentioned in Historia episcopatum foederati Belgii, Vol. 1, 1719. Apparently he originated from Delft.

⁵⁸ Zwolle Archive, family Sonsbeeck archive, no.1458.1, doc. 258. Diert provided Gijzenburg a mortgage of 4.800 guilder at 5% interest on the house and apparently became owner later on. See also next note.

⁵⁹ Noord Hollands archief/Haarlem, no.281 Diert van Melissant archive, doc. 247: A memorie from 1765 states Dirck Diert bought brewery ‘t Heck in 1648 and his wife Anna van Waesdorp bought the adjacent house in 1661.

⁶⁰ Sonsbeeck archive doc.259

House OLD-E10/11 and 13: the Bank of Loans

OLD-E10 was 7.85m wide, OLD-E11 was 5.18 m wide and OLD-E13 was 4.08m wide. These houses, or rather a complex, were first owned by Anthonie van der Heijde, ‘tafelhouder’ (bank manager) of the Bank van Lening (Bank of Loans) a Lombard bank type nowadays called pawn shop. It must have been an L-shaped complex with three fronts on the Oude Langendijk and one on the Burgwal. Since goods were pawned there must have been storage facilities. De Heyde (or his widow) is listed for four houses in V1632, for two houses in K1667 on the Oude Langendijk (OLD-E11+13) and a third (OLD-E10) with Rochatis as the next owner (see further). For the Burgwal he is listed three times in V1620/V1632 and listed once in K1667 (BW-E14) and again with Rochatis as successor.

Susanna Rochatis (var. Rechatus, Rochatus, Rocatus, Rocadus) (nn-1676) received permission from the city to run the bank on 14-07-1653⁶¹. She married in 1618 (in Gorcum) to Abraham van den Broeck (nn-before 1656) originally from Antwerp but now living in Gorcum. She had three children with him⁶². Her second husband Jacob van der Mast (no details found) is mentioned in a charter of 1677⁶³, Susanna Rochatis had died and the city buys the premises. She appears to have gone bankrupt as the pensionary- and former burgomaster Jacob van der Tocht in Gouda acted as guarantor for the curator of Rochatis’s estate that owed 30,500 guilders to creditors in Gouda. As compensation the city of Delft had issued obligations to these creditors⁶⁴.

In Dirck van Bleijswijck’s ‘*Beschrijvinge der stad Delft*’ from 1667 (p609) the bank premises are described in some detail:

met de waer maer niet inoer oet vercijelende van onse Huysen van
Leeninge. Een Huys tot desen handel bequaem en tegenwoordig daer
toe noch dienende is gelegen achter de Marct op den Langen-dijk /
van achteren met twee dooz-gangen ofte poozten aen de Burgwal
uytkomende / een ten Oosten en een ten Suyden. Hier werden beleent
niet alleen allerhande klederen Lp-waet en Huys-raet / maer Gout/
Silber / Juwelen en allerley kleynodien / soo wel van buyten als van
binnen de Stadt / zijnde dooz die gene / die 't haer schamen / en haer

ken noe in
andere Lan-
den genaeme
Descriptie
van 't Huys
van Leninge
alhier,

<...> Een huys tot desen handel bequaem en tegenwoordig daartoe noch dienende is gelegen achter de Marct op den Langendijk / van achteren met twee doorgangen ofte poorten aen de Burchwal uitkomende / een ten oosten een ten suyden <...> A house suited for this trade (i.e. pawning) and presently operating as such is situated behind the Market on the Langendijk / behind two exits or gates to the Burgwal / one to the east and one to the south.

Willem de Freijn schoolteacher (nn-after 1705, married as widower in 1672 to Maria van Ameijde) became the next owner of OLD-E10 and renamed the house in 1677 ‘Capitale A:B:C’ and it was no longer a bank⁶⁵. He did not buy the Burgwal quay-side part of the bank.

A Johan Rochatis managed loan banks in the first part of the 17th century in Gorcum, Gouda and Breda. In the latter only a short period (1621-1625) because of the Spanish occupation in that year. He occurs in the Gouda archives regarding permission to run a bank of loans. Abraham van den Brouck is mentioned as his son-in-law telling us Susanna Rochatis was his daughter. Other names found are Sara and Helena Rochatus (possibly sisters

⁶¹ Maassen, H.A.J. 1994. Tussen commercieel en sociaal krediet. De ontwikkeling van de bank van lening in Nederland van lombard tot gemeentelijke kredietbank 1260-1940.

⁶² De Nederlandse Leeuw, jaargang 18, p238 (1900). Susanna and Abraham had three children baptized in Gouda: Johannes in 1622, Cornelia in 1627, Anthonetta in 1629.

⁶³ Charter 20-05-1677. Oud Archief stadsbestuur Delft, Arch. 1.1, Inv. 536, Charter 5110. ‘House on the Burgwal extending to the house of Willem de Freyn, opposite the Roode Leeuw, Josia de Brevoort to the south, Annetgen Jans de Haas to the north. It mentions de Freyn has three houses.

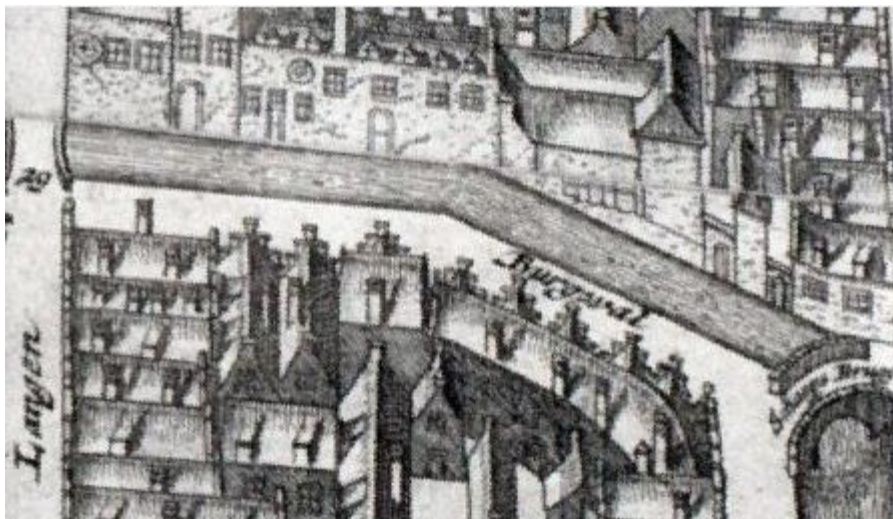
⁶⁴ Van Roon, G. 2014. Macht en gewoonte in het Delftse stadsbestuur 1672-1702.

⁶⁵ 19-07-1677 Notaris Johannes Ranck, Inv. 2125H, fol. 362.

of Susanna) who together with Susanna were baptism witnesses in Gouda⁶⁶. The Rochatis' family may have been protestant.

House OLD-E14: the bakery

This corner house measured 6.91m on the Oude Langendijk and 18.85m on the Burgwal side. In 1638 it had four fireplaces. The long side on the Burgwal is not obvious in Kaart Figuratief 1675 unless the two houses with stepped gable tops next to it belonged to it. It was owned by the baker Maerten van der Zeel/Zele from around 1662, before that by the notary Harmanus van der Ceel. There is not much to report other than the house is a good physical reference point and that there is an 18th century watercolor by Johannes Huibert Prins of this spot.



Kaart Figuratief 1678. OLD-E14 is the corner house of the Oude Langendijk and Burgwal (near bridge no. 29). Owner Maerten van der Zeel, baker. The brewery Roo(de) Leeuw owned by Kittesteijn is across the water and had 12 fireplaces in 1638. It is painted in the watercolor by Prins (see next image).

⁶⁶ Baptism 05-05-1649: child Abram, father Johannes van de Brouck (Susanna Rochatis' son) , mother Johanna Daesdonck, witnesses Abram Daesdonck, Susanna Rocatus, Sara Rochatus, Helena Rochatus. Source: Toegang op de doopboeken van de St.Jans Kerk Gouda 1625-1712, Nederduits Gereformeerd.



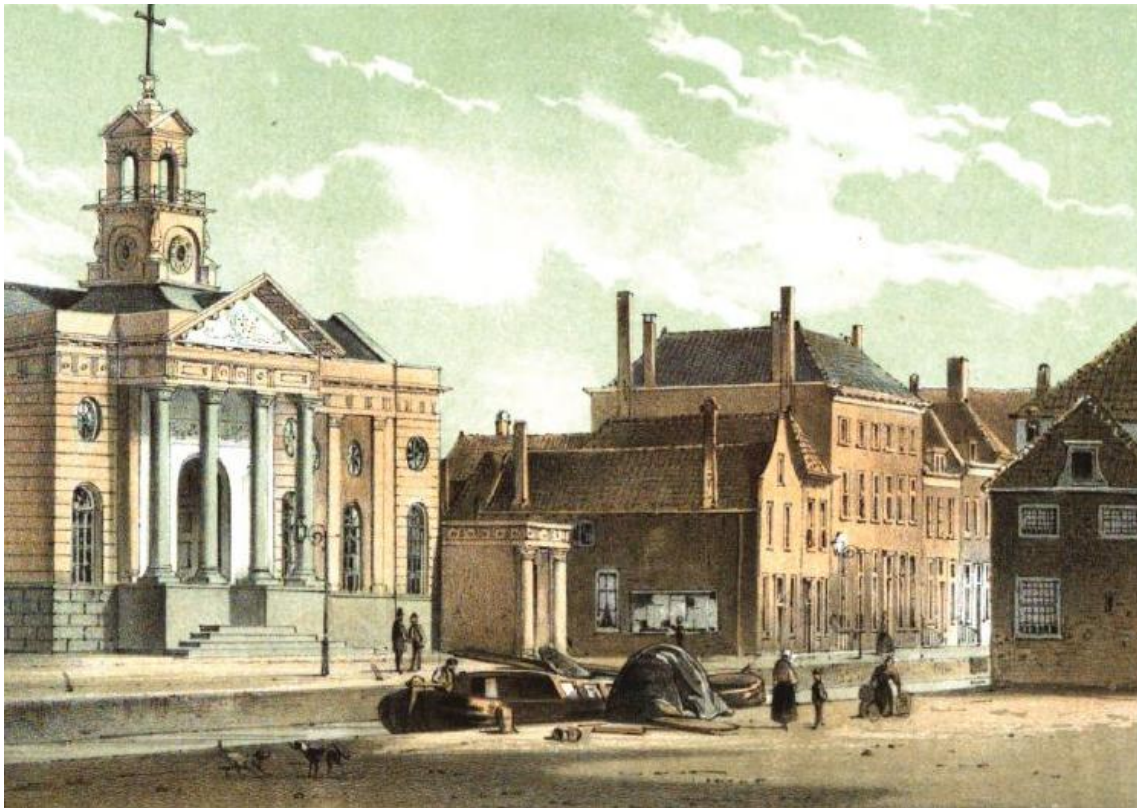
Watercolor by Johannes Huibert Prins (1757-1806 (not dated). No location is recorded on the painting but it is close to certain the scene is in Delft: the Rode Leeuw brewery on the right, the New Church in the middle, the Vrouwenregt in the background and the (former) bakery OLD-E14 on the left. The sign board says B(or H)van Lee Mr. CHIRUGYN. Whether this is factual or phantasy is not yet clear. Prins used some freedom in the relative position of the buildings . The livestock was probably headed for the Beestenmarkt.

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House OLD-W1-5: the Trampmolen and Swanenburg

OLD-W1 named the 'Trampmolen' shown in the centre of the 19th century painting below was 7.54m wide in K1667 but this included the width of the Molenpoort alley itself. The register mentions '*Juffr. van Nerven met de Molenpoort ende een huijsge*' (with the Molenpoort and a house).

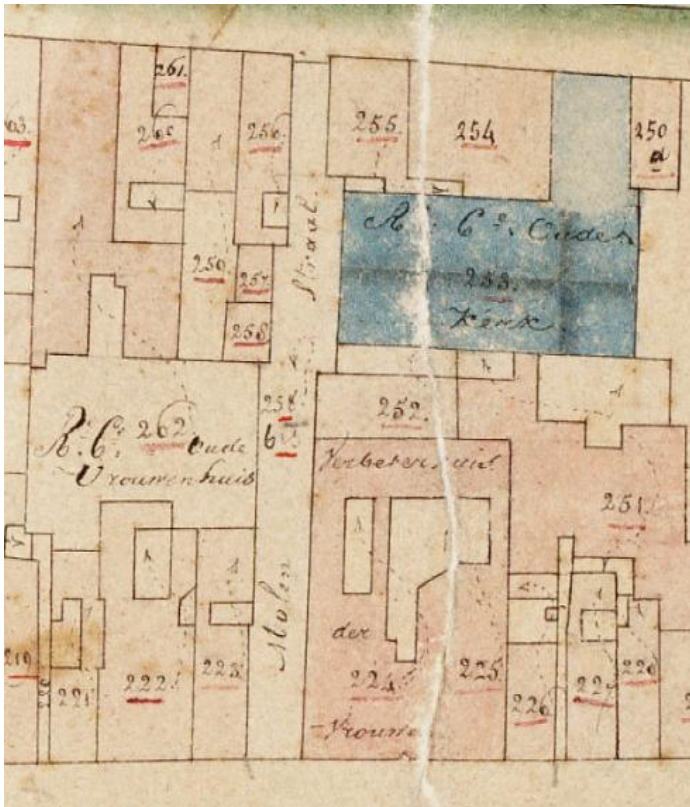
In the painting the house has two chimneys, the same number as in the Haardstedenregister 1638 but of course we cannot be certain the house looked like this in the 17th century. Perhaps there is a third chimney at the far back which could be an extension of the house. On the Burgwal side the alley was 1.73m wide but it may have been different at the Oude Langendijk side. Calculating in the Kadastrale minuut 1832 the alley then was ca. 3-3.5m so the house would have been about 4-4.5m wide assuming plot boundaries did not change since the 17th century. The house today (no.25) still is remarkably similar to the painting. In chapter OLD-E1 it is argued this house –or at least the plot- may have been Vermeer's residence with a 50/50 chance.



Oude Langendijk c1858 .On the left the St. Joseph Church (nowadays the Maria van Jesse Church, differently looking). The Molenpoort alley is just behind the square structure with two pillars. From 'Delft in eenige afbeeldingen der schoonste monumenten, hoofdgebouwen en gezigten in en nabij der Stad'. Publisher J.J. Van Gessel, Delft, 1858.



Modern views of OLD-W1-5. The Maria van Jesse church on the left and the Molenpoort alley in between, but narrower than it was in the 17th century.



Kadastrale minuut map of 1832. Plot no. 256 is OLD-W1, no.255 is OLD-E1. In blue the catholic church .

OLD-W1 In 1620 OLD-W1 was owned by the heirs of Jacob Jacobsz van Haestert/ Haestrecht (nn-1616)⁶⁷ molenaar (a miller; mentioned in Haardsteden 1600 and a 1611 deed). Earlier deeds and V1620 and V1632 record the house was named ‘Trapmolen’ (tread mill) and had a rosmolen (horse driven mill) that likely lay behind it. In a 1605 burial record⁶⁸ the ‘Trapmolen’ is mentioned as lying next to ‘Serpent’ (OLD-E1). In 1631 it came into the possession of the lawyer Thymen Slingelant for whom unfortunately no solid genealogical information could be found⁶⁹. In the Kadastrale minuut map of 1832 below plot 256 two other small houses can be observed (plot 257/258). In Haardsteden 1600 it had four fireplaces but in 1638 only two, possibly reflecting a split-up of the house. For other physical details see OLD-E1.

In 1648 -and perhaps already a few years earlier- the house was owned by Machtelt Cornelisdr van Beest van Heemskerck (c1611-1687)⁷⁰ widow of Willem Abrahamsz van Nerven (married 1632; Willem buried 1643).

⁶⁷ Buried 16-03-1616 Jacob Jacobsz, ‘Oude Langendijk in de Trapmolen’.

⁶⁸ Buried 09-11-1605 Tonis Hendrickcxz, ‘in de Trapmolen naast ‘t Serpent’.

⁶⁹ Kamer van Charitate (house transfer tax), fol. 037r, 1631, purchase price 1,800 guilders, Mr.Thijman van Slingerlandt, Trapmolen Oude Langendijk. A candidate is Mr. Tijmon Slingelant residing in The Hague (born in Dordrecht, died 1659 Antwerp) married to Anna Boeije from Zierikzee. Mentioned in: Joannes Naeranus, Rotterdam, 1660 ‘Consultatien, advysen en advertissementen, gegeven ende geschreven by verscheide treffelijke rechtsgeleerden in Holland en elders’ 4th vol, p475. Another source mentions Dana Boeije died 1662 in Breda. His father was Johan van Slingelant, his mother Petronella van Beaumont.

⁷⁰ Buried 13-10-1687 Magtelt van Beest, widow Willem van Nerven, Oude Langendijk, 16 carriers, op’t choir (the chancel zone).

She is often referred to as 'Juffr. Van Nerven'. Machtelt's father was Cornelis (Jansz) van Beest (1565-1632), member of the Veertig-raad (city council structure) and a Schepen (magistrate). He married in 1608 to Anna van Huijssen (nn-1645) and after he died Anna re-married in 1633 to the painter Michiel van Mierevelt (1566-1641) and so Mierevelt became Machtelt's stepfather when she was 22 years old and just married. Maria, a daughter of Mierevelt from his first marriage, marries the notary Johan van Beest, a cousin of Machtelt. Mierevelt's other daughter Geertruijt marries Willem Jacobsz Delff-I⁷¹. The Mierevelts, the Delffs and the Van Beests thus had close family ties (see addendum 9 for a scheme). Anna (1648-1723), a daughter of Jacob Willemsz Delff (1619-1661) married in 1668 to Gerard Johansz van Berckel (c1620-1686) who owned a now lost painting by Vermeer titled '*Jupiter, Venus and Mercury*' (Broos, 1995, p48; Montias, 1989, p140), probably an early work.

In Mierevelt's testament drawn up by his son-in-law Johan van Beest, Anna Huijssen could choose between 2,200 guilders at once or a lifelong allowance of 400 guilders and she chose the latter⁷². A rather meagre sum considering the estate. Noteworthy is house BW-W2 (plot 222 in the Kadastrale minuut) that was owned in V1620 (but no longer in V1632) by the heirs of Jacob Willemsz, painter and Willem Jacobsz, also painter. No surname is given but they probably were the Delffs. This is supported by the testament of Jacob Haestrecht's widow Fytgen Jochimsdr in 1623⁷³ who apparently had good relationships with the Delffs. Since Machtelt started to own houses OLD-W1/3/4/5, some houses behind them and BW-W4 only much later (ca.1648) a clear relationship with the former house of the painters Delff does not exist at present. There is one other connection though: Cornelis Jacobsz Delff (c1571-1643), son of Jacob Willemsz Delff-I, also a painter, owned a house (Koormarkt no.66) next to the brewery Truweel in part owned by Machtelt (see below).

Willem van Nerven with Machtelt van Beest had two daughters Maria and Anna(Christina), who were to marry men of status. Likely there was a third daughter Catharina who never married. Maria (nn-1688 Alkmaar) married in 1655 to Roemer van Wesel (1625-1701), a Jesuit schooled lawyer and poet residing in The Hague⁷⁴. Anna (c1630-nn) married in 1663 to Herman Oem (nn-1705), a lawyer at the Hof van Holland (high court, The Hague)⁷⁵. Oem and Wesel and their children inherited several houses from Machtelt van Beest. Oem also owned the house BW-E5 directly below the Jesuit church; he was buried in the Old Church in 1705⁷⁶.

Willem van Nerven had a sister Susanna Abrahamsdr van Nerven (nn-1671) who had married Pieter Lievensz de Bock (nn-1670), co-owner of the Truweel brewery on the Koormarkt (present day no.64) with Willem van Nerven. Machtelt was co-owner of the brewery with De Bock at least until 1649⁷⁷. It was from this Pieter de Bock, Maria Thins bought the house 'Fonteyjn' at the St. Annabogert (see OLD-E1 and addendum 4). Willem van Nerven, De Bock and Machtelt van Beest owned another house in the Wijnstraat opposite the Waagsteeg leading to the market (V1632, fol 497r) that was sold/owned prior to 1656 to Jan Pietersz Storm. In 1620 the owner had been the glassmerchant Joost Hesemans (see OLD-W8).

Pieter de Bock was not catholic but an anabaptist/mennonist, a minority religion in Delft. Together with Van Nerven's brother-in-law Isaac Jacobsz Vermande⁷⁸ and the abovementioned Jan Pietersz Storm they were the Delft delegates in a national meeting of the 'doopsgezinden' (anabaptists) in Leiden in 1664⁷⁹.

⁷¹ Mierevelt's daughter Geertruijt (1594-1639) marries in 1618 Willem Jacobsz Delff-I (1580-1638). Mierevelt's daughter Maria (1595-1636) marries in 1629 to Johan Dircksz van Beest (1602-1648). Their son Dirck Johansz (1634-1685) marries in 1664 to Geertruijt Jacobsdr Delff (1645-1696) a daughter of Jacob Willemsz Delff (1619-1661) who was married in 1642 to the noble Anna Hoozenhouck (1622-1678).

⁷² Bredius, A. Oud Holland vol.26, 1908, p1-17.

⁷³ 20-02-1623 Not. Vranck van Uytendroock, Inv.1532, fol.255v. Testament between Dirck Jochims and Fytgen Jochimsdr widow of Jacob Jacobsz van Haestrecht. Anneken, the daughter of Cornelis Jacobsz Delff and Jacob Willemsz, son of Willem Jacobs Delff inherit some money. The witnesses are other neighbours: Lambrecht Maertensz grootwerckmaker (OLD-E1) and Claes Claesz van Swieten glaasmaker (OLD-W3)

⁷⁴ Married 21-01-1655 Mr. Romanus van Wesel 'sGravenhage x Maria van Nerven, Oude Langendijk. Romanus/Roemer was the son of Dominicus Boot van Wesel (1585-1651) and Anna Roemers Visscher (1584-1652). Mother and son were poets and friends to Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687).

⁷⁵ Married (banns) 19-05-1663 Harman Oem, j:m, advocaat Hof van Holland x Anna van Nerven, j:d, Oude Langendijk

⁷⁶ Buried 23-12-1705 Dhr. Mr. Harman Oom, Oude Langendijk bij de Papekerck, eigen graff, 16 dragers, <.>, 6 meerderj. kinderen' (near the Papist church, own grave, 16 carriers, 6 adult children).

⁷⁷ Rotterdam archives, Not. Van Vliet, Inv. 3842, 07-11-1649, deed 103, p350-354. A Cornelis Kerkhoff owned 71 guilders to the brewery Truweel. The owners are Pieter Lievingsz de Bock and Machtelt van Beest, widow of Willem van Nerven.

⁷⁸ Married 23-02-1642 Isaac Jacobsz Vermande j:m Rotterdam x Judith Abrahams van Nerven j:d Koormarkt. Judith was Willem van Nerven's second sister. The Vermande family came from Flanders where they were prosecuted for their faith. Delft had two Mennonist

OLD-W2 was a house of 4.55m wide with three fireplaces in 1638. It was owned in 1620 by the widow of Franck Cornelisz Pols and in 1632 by Cornelis Pietersz Prins corenkoper (grain merchant), then succeeded by his son Pieter. The next owner is the stone sculptor Adriaan Symonsz Samuel⁸⁰ (var. Sammels, Sammens, Sammeling; died 1665 on the Oude Langendijk) and his wife Cornelia Dircks (nn-1678) (van Ruijven/Ruijverlee/Ruijgele/Ruijvelde/Ruijvelde)⁸¹. On 01-01-1670 Cornelia settled a long standing dispute with Machtelt van Beest about access to the Molenpoort through her backyard (Montias 1989, p178, n28) which could have been the backyard of OLD-W1 or the backyard of OLD-E3/4 if direct access behind OLD-W1 was blocked (see Kadastrale minuut plot 259, the house is boxed in). See OLD-E1 for a previous discussion and addendum 10 for a reconstruction.

The second (and last) recorded owner in K1667 is the widow Maria Hagemans (nn-1695)⁸² who probably bought the house in 1678 when Cornelia Dircks had died followed shortly after by her son Simon⁸³ leaving the bankrupt estate to her daughter Catharina. Hagemans also bought prior to 1682 the ‘Flying fox’ on the Voldersgracht⁸⁴ where Vermeer was born, but since Vermeer’s parents had moved out in 1641 there had been several different owners so it is likely just a coincidence.

OLD-W3,4,5 In the Haardsteden register of 1600 Jacob Jacobsz van Haestrecht (the owner of OLD-W1) rents W4 to a Pieter Pietersz Beaumont. W3 and W4 combined had four fireplaces in 1638 and owned by Claes Claesz van Swieten, glassmaker and hooftman of the St.Luke guild in 1635. W5 on the name of the widow of Dominicus Bosboom also had four fireplaces. It is likely W3/W4 were integrated (see Kadastrale minuut map) as they were purchased by Machtelt van Beest around 1653 as ‘two houses under one roof’ from Cornelis Jansz van Swieten (Montias, 1989, p178, n26). W5 was named ‘Swanenburg’ and also came in Machtelt’s possession. In HP1648 the successive owners of W5 are Jan Gerritsz Heijnsbergen, Machtelt van Beest, Catharina van Nerven b:d⁸⁵, Herman Oem, Elizabeth Schoonhoven (1707), Johannes Schoonheit, Boudewijn van Leeuwen and Pieter Coel (1731). The three houses combined had a width of 13.98m in K1667 when Machtelt van Beest was taxed for ‘three living places’ all in one entry.

A 1707 sales deed⁸⁶ concerning ‘Swanenburg’ describes the house, courtyard/garden, structures (sheds) behind it and an exit to the Molenpoort. As it had access to the Molenpoort it indicates the area behind OLD-W3,4,5 had an accessible character with pathways. The sellers were the two unmarried daughters of Herman Oem and Anna van Nerven and the buyer was Elizabeth Schoonhoven. The sale price was 2,300 guilders. Schoonhoven died soon after and the house was again sold in 1712⁸⁷: the exit to the Molenpoort is mentioned and an exit to the Burgwal ‘through the house Vette Hen’ which is BW-W4 (see there).

In 1732⁸⁸ Pieter Coel buys ‘Swanenburg’, his eastern neighbours are the heirs of Mr. Herman Oem (OLD-W4). The house is described having a garden and an entry to the Molenpoort and to the Burgwal, the gate next to BW-

churches, the smallest was called de Vlamingen (the Flemish) and lay in between the Voldersgracht and the Vlouw (Dirck van Bleijswijk; 1667; *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, p462). Buried 11-01-1648 housewife Isaacq Vermande, zijdelaackenkoopster (silk merchant), Koornmarkt.

⁷⁹ ‘*Het oprecht verbondt van eenigheydt*’, 1664. Printed 1665 in Amsterdam by Pieter Arentsz, boeckverkoopster.

⁸⁰ Registered St.Luke guild 14-10-1658, Adriaan Samuels master stonemason

⁸¹ Married 30-05-1649 Adriaan Sammens j:m, stone mason, Molslaan x Cornelia Dirks j:d, Gasthuislaan. Cornelia was daughter of Dirck Pietersz van Ruijven (or variation), cuijper (barrel maker), Gasthuislaan and Maritgen Pietersdr. Cornelia was found drowned on 14-02-1678, 64 years old, widow of Adriaan Sam, stone mason on the Oude Langendijk (the record erroneously states Cornelia ‘Pieters’). Buried 15-02-1678 Cornelia Dirx Oude Langendijk, widow of Adriaan Sijmonsz Sammens; one adult child, one minor. The adult child is Simon (see note below) the minor is Catharina who died 01-01-1699. In an Orphan chamber record of 03-05-1678 the estate proves bankrupt, one of the guardians of Catharina is the backdoor neighbour Aart de Swart, carpenter (BW-W3).

⁸² Hagemans probably remained there until her death as a notary deed of 1694 mentions her as plaintiff living ‘terzijde het marctvelt’ (next to the market square) a term sometimes used for the Papist corner.

⁸³ Buried 05-04-1678 Simon Adriaense Sammens j:m Oude Langendijk.

⁸⁴ K1667 fol. 140 and HP1648 fol. 673v, waarbrief 4x318v so she bought it before 1682.

⁸⁵ In HP1648 ‘*Catharina van Nerven b:d volgens verclaringe van Mr. Roemer van Wesel and Harmen Oem, haar zwager*’. She must be a third daughter of Machtelt. b:d is the abbreviation of ‘bejaerde dochter’, an unmarried spinster.

⁸⁶ 16-11-1707, Not. Adriaan van Leeuwenhoek, Inv 2447D, fol 186. Southern neighbour Aart de Swart, western neighbour Margaretha van de Werven (and W. van Vliet), eastern neighbour Wouter de Meester.

⁸⁷ 06-02-1712, Not. Willem Vlaardingewoud, Inv. 2581B, fol.67. The buyer is Pieter van de Burg.

⁸⁸ 06-05-1732 Rooms-Katholiek parochiaal armbestuur, Arch. 193, Inv. 118, Charter 6538. Waarbrief 6d176v; kindly provided by Archief Delft.

W4. Before 1620 we can find the house ‘Swanenburg’ in the Orphan chamber records (prior to 1618) mentioning a Jan Cornelisz van Beest and a Machtelt Cornelisdr van Beest⁸⁹ so it seems the house was in the Van Beest family before, supported by the marriage record of Machtelt’s parents: Cornelis Jansz van Beest on the Oude Langendijk marries in 1608 to Anna Huijssens in the Bastiaansteeg.

In Memorie 1686 (see addendum 11 and 12) it becomes clear that OLD-W1,3,4 and some houses and a warehouse situated to the south were rented out by the Jesuits proving Machtelt van Beest was another big sponsor of the Jesuits. In 1732 Pieter Tjerk bought these houses from the heirs of Herman Oem and Roemer van Wesel, the grandchildren of Machtelt: six houses and a warehouse situated west of the Molenpoort and a 7th house on the Burgwal (BW-E5). ‘Swanenburg’ did not belong to the purchase as it had already been sold in 1707. Addendum 10 describes the sale in detail.

Other houses owned by Machtelt van Beest She appears to have owned two houses at the Bastiaansvest in V1632 but she had namesakes⁹⁰ making it difficult to be completely certain. The subchapter title is ‘*Aen Bastiaansvest bij de rosmolen soo voor aen straet als den houck om aen de vest*’ (Bastiaansvest near the horse mill, both at the street and around the corner at the city wall) so it appears it was a corner house with two separate sections. The listed owners are (1) the widow of Cornelis van Beest (this would be Anna Huijssens) (2) the heirs of Jan Willemsz, mason (3) the minister Lotius (4) Annetgen Huygen, widow (5) Machtelt van Beest. It seems that Machtelt bought back her father’s house similar to OLD-W5. Eleazar Lotius/Loots (1595-1668) was a protestant minister in The Hague.

A Juffr. van Beest is recorded in K1667 on the Koornmarkt east-side (present day no.40) and the next owner (after 1671) is the baker Heijndrick Adriaensz van Buijten (1632-1701) who owned three paintings by Vermeer (Montias, 1989, p259). This Juffr. van Beest proves not to be Machtelt but Meijnske van Driebergen (nn-1671) (HP1648, fol.219r) the second wife of the notary Johan van Beest (nn-1648) previously married to Maria van Mierevelt and Machtelt’s cousin.

Van Buijten is thought⁹¹ to have shown Balthasar de Monconys a painting by Vermeer in 1663 and was a creditor of Vermeer’s estate for 617 guilders for bread and another 109 guilders in some way associated with the first (Bredius, 1885) for which he received two paintings as collateral from Catharina Bolnes with a payment arrangement of 50 guilders yearly. A lenient deal as a Vermeer’s painting at the time would not bring around 350 guilders⁹² and van Buijten would have to wait many years for the full amount to be re-paid. Others have calculated the debt equalled two- or three years consumption of bread.

Van Buijten from 1659 to 1671 likely lived on the Voldersgracht⁹³ in the house of his brother-in-law Jan Assuaris van Asson, also baker (present day no.23) right next door to the present ‘Vermeer centrum Delft’ previously the St.Luke guild premises. Two or three houses east was the ‘Flying fox’ inn run by Vermeer’s father.

⁸⁹ These records are not digitized because of the poor condition.

⁹⁰ Two other Machtelt van Beest existed: (1) 1615-1634 and (2) 1625-1651. Their parents were Dirck Jansz van Beest van Heemskerk (1572-1644) and Margaretha Jansdr van Ruijven (1582-1650). A son of Dirck, Johan/Jan (1602-1648), married one of the daughters of Mierevelt, see addendum 9.

⁹¹ Monconys did not actually record a name, just that the person was a baker. In theory it cannot be excluded the baker was in fact Van Asson and van Buijten inherited the painting after he died (1671). See note below.

⁹² In the Dissius sale in 1696 twenty-one paintings by Vermeer brought 1,503 guilders, ca. 71 guilders on average.

⁹³ Van Buijten is recorded living on the Voldersgracht seven times: in 1659 (marriage to Machteld van Asson), in 1661, 1662, 1666, 1667 (child burials), in 1666 (wife’s burial) and in 1667 (Orphan Chamber). In K1667 the only quay tax record mentioning him is a house on the Koornmarkt (named ‘Witte Paard’ as recorded in a deed of 24-12-1695 Not. Adriaen Leeuwenhoeck, Inv. 2429, fol.1347) and this was soon after his first wife had died. His burial record of 02-06-1701 records Oude Delft ‘over de Haverbrug’ and ‘no children’. His second wife’s (Adriana Waalpot) burial record of 1714 again is the Voldersgracht. No record of Van Buijten owning a house on the Voldersgracht was found but his brother-in-law Jan Asswerisse van Asson, also a baker owned a house there, so he probably lived in Van Asson’s house until ca.1671, the year Van Asson died. In HP1648 there are six records of He(ij)ndrik van Bui(j)ten(e) as house owner: (i)Vooromme aan de Koornmarkt, (ii)Choorstraat, (iii)Voorstraat, (iv)Susterlaan ‘in de Kabelpoort’, (v)Heuijtersteeg and (vi)Oude Delft ‘over St. Barbara ofte weeshuijs’. Going by the waarbrief code numbers only the first (Koornmarkt) fits his age/time and possibly no. vi but the latter is a different location from his burial record. The DTB- and Orphan chamber records concerning the baker invariably have the name Bui(j)te(n) and not the longer name Bui(j)tene(n).

The Orphan Chamber record of 13-09-1701 concerning the late Van Buijten lists many personal obligations (long term bonds) issued by de Staten van Holland and West Friesland in his estate. One bond of 800 guilders from 16-01-1643 on the name of Willem van Erven is mentioned; little doubt this was Machtelt van Beest's husband as the name (N)erven is quite unique in the databases. This bond (and a second unrelated one) was bought 15-10-1701 by the appointed executors Paulus- and Adriaan de Bergh with cash from the estate (Van Buijten was their uncle). The precise circumstance of how&why they bought the bond remains unknown but somehow there appears to have been a connection between Machtelt van Beest and Van Buijten (via the heirs). Another indication for such a connection is Van Buijten's purchase of the house from the widow of Johan van Beest, Machtelt's cousin. It possibly was the only house he bought (see note 93).

House OLD-W6

This house was 6.6m wide in K1667 and had a gate, still present in the Kadastrale minuut of 1832 and even today visible as a gap on the first floor level. In V1620 the first owner recorded is Michiel Camerling; he probably is Michiel Gerritsz Camerling, grain merchant (1570-1630), brother of Maria Thin's stepfather Gerrit (1577-1627), see addendum 5. According to Kotte (Kotte, 1964) it came to Michiel via his second wife Catharina Maertens van der Swan (died 1628) but none of the registers records that name. In V1632 it was owned by the carpenter Cornelis Boom, followed by his widow who sold it prior to 1656 to Simon Vincenten de Knuijt, cloth merchant, then owned by Grietgen- and Aechten Dircx b:d, then Johannes van de Bergh (Berch). Lastly by Jannetge Stevens who's surname proves Swethouck, creditor of Vermeer's estate.

Simon Vincenten (Senten) de Knuijt (nn-1656) Simon married in 1615 to Magdaleentje Willemsdr van der Mersch(e) (nn-after 1653) and bought & sold OLD-W6 prior to 1656 so they did not own it/live there very long⁹⁴.

Simon owned another two houses on the Markt north-side, just west of the Mechelen inn. The house right next door to the Mechelen inn was bought (probably shortly after 1658)⁹⁵ by his son Vincent (1620-1664) who married Machtelt Jans Leutering (nn-1683) in 1653 (both were widowed). His widow Leutering is recorded for all three houses on the Markt in K1667⁹⁶. Vincent owned another house on the Voorstraat and some lands outside Delft and was a shopkeeper. He had one sister Maria Simonsdr de Knuijt (1623-1681)⁹⁷ who in 1653 married out of OLD-W6 to Pieter Claesz (Nicolaesz) van Ruijven (1624-1674) assumed to have been Vermeer's patron and buyer of his works, though others have expressed concerns on this idea of patronage (Broos, Wheelock). The Mechelen inn was bought by Reynier Vos in 1641 so Vermeer will have known Maria- and Vincent de Knuijt from childhood onwards. Maria was about nine years older than Vermeer and about the same age as his sister Geertruy so they may have been playmates. The close proximity puts Van Ruijven's assumed patronage in another light: rather than him, could Maria de Knuijt not have been Vermeer's primary buyer (or patron) ? After all, she alone –not Van Ruijven- bequeathed 500 guilders to Vermeer in her own private testament of 1665 (Montias 1989, p250, doc 301)⁹⁸. Besides the 200 guilder loan with strict terms in 1657⁹⁹ by

⁹⁴ Buried 17-12-1656 Sijmon de Knuijt, Oude Langendijk.

⁹⁵ The house was first owned by Jacob Robbrechts Schilperoort. His widow Maertge Joosten (van't Wout) was buried 06-09-1658. Vincent de Knuijt probably bought it soon after, he is not recorded in V1632 that runs until 1656.

⁹⁶ She is also mentioned as neighbour in January 1669 when Vermeer's mother offered Mechelen inn for sale. Montias, 1989 doc 324

⁹⁷ Baptism 21-12-1623 Marija Senten, father Sijmon Senten, mother Magdalena Willems. Baptism of her brother Vincent (17-03-1620; buried 22-02-1664), brother Willem (05-07-1622; buried 06-07-1622), another brother Willem (04-08-1627; buried 10-08-1627). Vincent married twice and had several children. The widow of Vincent (2nd wife Machtelt Leutering; married 16-04-1653, buried 30-01-1688) is recorded for the house next door to the Mechelen inn and for the 4th and 5th house west of the inn in K1667 (fol.151r). In V1632 (fol.170r/170v) the 4th and 5th house were owned by Vincent's father Simon de Knuijt.

⁹⁸ Maria passed a testament of her own in 1665 (one of a set of three; the other ones their joint testament and a document with appointed guardians; Montias, 1989, p248+, doc 301) in Leiden at the notary Nicolaes Paets which would be effective only when her husband Pieter van Ruijven would die before her (which he did). She excluded any heir of Vermeer for the 500 guilders should he die earlier than her (which he did, so he never received the money). The exclusion likely had to do with the fact Catharina Bolnes was catholic. The 'Schilderconst' (i.e. the general word, not Vermeer's painting by that name) and also 'the best paintings' in the estate are explicitly mentioned. In the couple's house there was a book titled 'Dispositions of my Schilderconst and other matters' (Montias, 1989, p249) that the

Van Ruijven there is only one other instance connecting him to Vermeer, namely as witness to the testament of Vermeer's sister Geertruy in 1670 (Montias, 1989, doc 329).

Pieter- and Maria's only daughter Magdalena (1655-1682) married Jacobus Dissius (1653-1695). The Dissius family lived on the Markt a few houses further west from Knuijt and owned the printing shop 'Gulden ABC'. Magdalena in 1683 owned 20 or 21 paintings¹⁰⁰ by Vermeer that were later auctioned in the 'Dissius sale' in 1696. They are assumed to have been inherited by Magdalena from her mother in 1681 (her father had died earlier in 1674). Some may have come from the planned march 1677 auction of Vermeer's estate (see below) or in case that auction never took place, bought directly from the curator Van Leeuwenhoek (but no such record has been found).

Jannetje Stevens Swethoeck (nn-1702) There are several persons by the name Jannetje Stevens (or variations) in the databases but we can be reasonably sure her surname was Swethoeck because of her family Werve/Werf mentioned in a deed regarding Vermeer's estate, -in other personal deeds and in house registers.

Jannetje had a claim of 442 guilders for delivered goods on Vermeer's estate (Montias, 1989, p219, doc 377; Blankert, 1992, p214, dutch transcription). The Haarlem art dealer Coelenbier, by request of Jannetje Stevens, filed a statement on 30-11-1676 that on 10-02-1676 he had bought 26 paintings for 500 guilders from Catharina Bolnes '*for the account and in the name of Jannetje Stevens*' a difficult to comprehend statement leading to different interpretations. Coelenbier declared that the money paid was for Catharina so she could pay Jannetje. Broos (1995, p29, n38) thinks Catharina sold him the paintings only to buy them back in a later stage, thus hiding valuables from a bankrupt estate. And that 'sold' was not to be taken literally (i.e. a fake sell with no money involved). Montias (p219) argues Jannetje herself owed money to Coelenbier and he held the paintings as a security for the money owed to him¹⁰¹.

Two months later on 02-02-1677 Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek, appointed curator of Vermeer's estate (per 30-09-1676) settled Jannetje's claim by paying her 342 guilders (not specified when) and Jannetje would organize the return of the 26 paintings to Leeuwenhoek to be auctioned¹⁰².

On 15-03-1677 the paintings were (planned to be) auctioned at the St. Luke guild but no record of it has survived so it is unknown if it ever took place. It does not seem to be noted elsewhere but the deed (i.e. the dutch transcription) regarding the return of the 26 paintings and public sale actually says '*metten anderen*' (together with the others, i.e. other paintings)¹⁰³ so the intended auction was larger than the 26 paintings held by

appointed guardians would need to consult if ever they needed to dispose of the paintings in the estate (i.e. when both had died). It does not become clear what is meant by the word '*my*': Pieter's or Maria's? It doesn't say '*our*'. Nor is it clear if it means 'my own paintings' or 'my collection of paintings'. She gave Pieter van Ruijven's two sisters permission to use her properties and any goods they liked they could keep, except the best '*schilderconst*'. It sounds like Maria was the collector and had a plan for the paintings (the 'dispositions' book). The reason Maria bequeathed 500 guilders is unknown, maybe just a kind gesture reflecting her long friendship/acquaintance with Vermeer. Perhaps a not so wild thought might be Vermeer had given her painting lessons.

⁹⁹ In november 1657 Van Ruijven lent Vermeer 200 guilders (Montias, 1989, doc 271); it had to be paid back with interest within a year. The loan contained strict safeguards: binding of assets to the debt and condemnation by the *vierschaar* (a court structure) if the sum was not repaid in a year. Such terms are harsh for a loan between friends. Rather than an advanced payment from a patron it may have been to pay off a debt of 250 guilders Vermeer had taken over from his father in december 1655 (Montias, 1989, doc 262). So a loan to pay off another loan.

¹⁰⁰ Montias, 1989, doc 417 and p253+. April 1683: inventory of goods Jacobus Dissius inherited as a result of the death of Magdalena van Ruijven. Twenty paintings by Vermeer were listed amongst other paintings.

¹⁰¹ Blankert, 1992, p214/215. The 30-11 deed (dutch transcription) reads '*.. omdat hij deposant (i.e. Coelenbier) tot laste van de requirante (i.e. Jannetje) enige praetensie had en 't resterende aen haar regte oft met gelt oft met waren soude voldoen...*' The first part of the sentence can be read as Jannetje owing money to Coelenbier (praetensie comes from the verb *pretenderen* meaning: having a claim on). The second part however says '*..her rights/entitlements that could be fulfilled with money or goods*' which implies Coelenbier owed Jannetje and thus the opposite.

¹⁰² Ibid. If we follow the transcription to the letter, a (minimal?) amount of 500 guilders from the auction would go to Vermeer's '*boedel*' (estate: see also note below) and Jannetje's cousin Steven van de Werf was guarantor for this 500 guilders. Broos (1995, p29, n38) however thinks the first 500 guilders was earmarked for Coelenbier and that the auction surplus was to go to Vermeer's estate. His interpretation would seem logical (Coelenbier once paid 500 and by handing over the paintings he would get his money back) but Jannetje could only have had the power to get the paintings back if she in fact was entitled to them. Why else would Coelenbier hand them over? He was not even a party in the agreement of 02-02-1677. This scenario (i.e. Coelenbier owing Jannetje) fits Coelenbier's statement '*for the account and in the name of*' better than the others.

¹⁰³ Ibid. '*..ter naester gelegentheyte te overhandigen sodanige 26 stucken schilderije den voorz. boedel aenbehoorende als tegenwoordig berustende syn onder Johannes Columbier, woonachtig tot Haerlem, onder speciale overgifte ende belofte van desselve ged.^{esse} (i.e. Jannetje) dewelke hy (i.e. Van Leeuwenhoek) mede doet by desen dat de voorz. stucken schilderije by publike vercopinge metten anderen 't allen tijde ten behouwe van de voorz. boedel suyver sullen comen te renderen de somme van vijf hondert gulden...*'

Coelenbier. Meaning Van Leeuwenhoek had already secured (confiscated ?) other paintings from the household prior to the agreement with Jannetje Stevens. Maria Thins tried to exclude Vermeer's *'The art of painting'* from the auction but Van Leeuwenhoek basically refused.

In the agreement of 02-02-1677 the schepenen Adriaen van der Hoef and Nicolaes van Assendelft acted as official intermediaries to settle the claim between the parties. Van Leeuwenhoek was assisted by the attorney/procurer Floris van der Werff and Jannetje Stevens was assisted by her cousin Steven van der Werf, master mason (also written 'Werven' in the deed) and notary/procurer Philips de Bries. Jannetje bought OLD-W6 prior to 1682 (waarbrief 4x224) from a Johannes van de Bergh who proves to be an uncle of Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek¹⁰⁴.

In 1667 Jannetje had first lived on the Oude Langendijk, the 2nd house west of the Jacob Gerritstraat owned by Claes Pietersz van der Werve¹⁰⁵ who had been married to Elizabeth Steevens¹⁰⁶, probably Jannetje's sister. Jannetje sold (or left) OLD-W6 to her cousin Margareta van der Werve b:d and her daughter Maria van der Werve b:d (HP1648, fol 325r)¹⁰⁷. In 1713 Jacob van der Werff, son of Floris van der Werff and also a notary, proves owner of the Mechelen inn; it had been sold on 07-09-1679 by order of Van Leeuwenhoek (see addendum 13.2). It has not become evident if Jannetje's in-laws Van der Werve were related or not to the notaries Van der Werff due to scarcity of records in the DTB databases; the notary 'branch' appears to have come from outside Delft.

From all other events involving Van Leeuwenhoek and Maria Thins, it appears he performed his task as curator solely on the side of the creditors whilst Maria Thins and Catharina Bolnes tried to shield possessions with several signs pointing towards fraud. The whole process makes it very doubtful Van Leeuwenhoek had been friends with Vermeer. The fact Mechelen inn ended up in the hands of the son of Floris van der Werf is unlikely to be just coincidence; it certainly looks like favouritism of the curator. The aforementioned schepen Nicolaes van Assendelft owned a painting by Vermeer, perhaps he acquired it in the march 1677 auction (if effectuated) but a direct purchase from Van Leeuwenhoek cannot be ruled out. His task was to raise money for the creditors and the way it is done is irrelevant to them, the baker Van Buijten being the exception.

Jannetje also became to own OLD-W8 (see there). Jannitie Stevens Swetshoek b:d died in 1702 on the Oude Langendijk in a house named 'Engel' (which was either OLD-W6 or OLD-W8), most likely the same house where her sister had died from in 1696.

House OLD-W7: the Paternoster inn

This house was 7.22 m wide and had eight fireplaces in 1638 so it was a large house confirmed by 18 guilders tax in V1632. It was an inn named 'Paternoster' run by Jean/Jan de Coorde¹⁰⁸, he died in 1655 from the Oude Langendijk. He had married in 1609 to Elisabeth Jans and the record states he was an adelborst (naval rank) and re-married in 1638 to the widow Grietgen Jans (nn-1654)¹⁰⁹. He was not catholic as several baptisms of his children can be found between 1618 and 1623 (catholic baptism records in this period have been lost).

His son Willem Jansz Koorde (1622-1681) was a builder/contractor. He married Grijetgen Dirck van Zuijdbrouck in 1642 living as j:m on the Oude Langendijk. He continued living in the house after his father died as on 30-08-1676 Grietge Jans housewife of Willem Cordij, no children, on the Oude Langendijk was buried.

¹⁰⁴ Lensonleeuwenhoek.net. Johan Jacobs van den Berch is uncle of Van Leeuwenhoek.

¹⁰⁵ Oude Langendijk 2nd house west of the Jacob Gerritstraat; Jannetje Stevens is recorded in K1667; above her name is scribbled 'wid. van vande Werve'. Jannetje was not the owner: in HP1648 fol.236 the owners are <..>, Claes Pietersz van der Werve, Maria van der Werve, <..>

¹⁰⁶ Buried 19-11-1696 Lijsbeth Steevens, in the 'Witte Engel' on the Oude Langendijk, widow of Claes Pietersz van de Werve.

¹⁰⁷ She and her cousins are also recorded in a few deeds in digitalearenadelft.nl.

¹⁰⁸ The name Coorde has several variations in the records eg. Lekoorde, Cordij.

¹⁰⁹ Buried 20-04-1654 Grietge Jans, Oude langendijk, housewife Jan Lekoorde.

Perhaps she was his second wife (but no marriage record could be found) but more likely the clerk was mistaken as her patronym should have been Dirckx. He married again on 15-11-1676 to the widow Emmerentia van Noorden. His burial record of 07-01-1681 mentions Nieuwe Langendijk, so apparently he relocated. In an Orphan chamber record of 1667 regarding the late Steeven van Kessel and his widow Emerentia van Noorden, there is an addition of 25-05-1681 mentioning a 2.5 year old child of Emerentia and the late Willem Cordij¹¹⁰. Emmerentia re-marries in 1688.

The role Willem de Koorde played in Vermeer's life is described in OLD-E1.

House OLD-W8

The house was 6.6m wide and was owned prior to 1653 by the catholic Jacob Jansz van Velsen, painter (c1597-1656) (Montias, 1989, p147, Bredius 1917, vol.3). He owned several other houses in Delft through marriage in 1626 to Geertgen Jansdr Crol, wealthy widow of Joost Hesemanz glassmerchant, but OLD-W8 appears to have been their primary residence: a deed from 1653 recorded in Bredius, Jacob's burial record¹¹¹ and the burial record of Geertgen (1666) all mention the Oude Langendijk¹¹².

When the inventory (1656) was drawn up after Van Velsen's death several houses including OLD-W8 are listed (Bredius, vol.3, 1917). The list of rooms and goods in the inventory (Bredius unfortunately does not mention which house exactly) ends with '*op Pieter Verhoochs camerken; een bed met een peuluwe*' (on Pieter Verhooch's room a bed and pillow). Bredius thought this was not the painter Pieter de Hooch (1629-c1684) but a namesake 'innocent' (mentally challenged) family member; Van Velsen's mother was also named (ver)Hooch. One landscape painting in the inventory was earmarked to go to this Pieter Verhooch. The inventory was huge: 108 pages long with some 150 paintings; the total funeral costs were 737 guilders indicative of their great wealth. Pieter de Hooch first learned landscape painting from Nicolaes Berchem and is first recorded in Delft in august 1652 but he may have arrived earlier than that. To earmark a landscape painting does seem to make more sense for a (trainee) landscape painter than for an 'innocent' relative. Then again, De Hooch married in 1654 and would have moved out and it sounds a bit weird Van Velsen's widow (or the clerk taking the inventory) would still name his room like that two years later.

The heirs of Jacob Jansz van Velsen are recorded in K1667 (fol.39v) on the Oude Delft east-side (present day no. 218); the house was named 'Witte Deeldruif' and lay next to the house of Jan Heijndricks van der Wiel husband of Maria Camerling, Maria Thins' half-sister (they also owned Oude Delft no.192).

Jacob Jansz van Velsen possibly was connected through family relations with Anthonie Palamedes; see BW-E9/10.

The next owner of OLD-W8 (after 1666; Geertgen Crol's death) was Susannetge Davids van Lee, shopkeeper (nn-nn) and after her Jannetge Stevens van Swethoeck, also owner of OLD-W6 (see there).

¹¹⁰ Baptized 10-11-1678 Jan, father Willem Cordij, mother Emmerentia van Noorden

¹¹¹ Buried 21-09-1656 Jacob Jansz van Velsen, Oude Langendijk. Died 16-09-1656 in Amsterdam.

¹¹² Buried 12-01-1666 Geertruijt Jans Kol, Oude Langendijk, wid. Jacob Jansz van Velsz.

House BW-E1: the Rode Meebael

This house of 13.19m width and with five fireplaces in 1638 was directly below OLD-E1/2 and owned by the Beresteijn family of whom there exists an extensive family archive¹¹³. It was named 'Rode Meebael' in reference to the meekrap plant (*Rubia tinctorum*) used for making red dye, the primary business of Paulus van Beresteijn, burgomaster in Delft (1548-1625)¹¹⁴.

Paulus' son Gijsbrecht van Beresteijn (1576-1641) was the next owner and was bewindhebber (director) of the VOC in Delft. He and/or his father had business connections with Moses Nederveen (see addendum 13.4) and family connections to Teding van Berkhout and the admiral Tromp (see addendum 13.3). No other relationships with any of the names in this study -including Vermeer- have been found apart from Mierevelt and Delff who painted several portraits of the Beresteijn family members.

Subsequent owners are Gijsbrecht's widow Maria Prins who came from Rotterdam (1587-1667)¹¹⁵ followed by their heirs. The heirs mentioned in HP1648 are: Jacob Hogenhouck (1640-1669, captain, Burgwal) only son of Johan Hogenhouck (1609-1647) and Anna van Beresteijn (1618-1657), Cornelis van Beresteijn (1621-1671), Elizabeth van Beresteijn (1608-1672) and lastly the son of Elizabeth, Gijsbrecht Wielig (1647-1731)¹¹⁶. In HP1648 there is mentioning of 'scheiding' (separation) in three different deeds (years 1667/1670/1673) so possibly the house was split up after Maria Prins had died in 1667, but more probable it just meant legal portions. Likely it was Maria Prins with her daughter Elizabeth and her three children (with surname Wielich) Anna-Maria (married 1665), Margareta (married 1676) and Gijsbrecht who were the principle occupants of BW-E1 in Vermeer's adult lifetime. Also the never-married Cornelis van Beresteijn may have lived there as he was buried in 1671 out of the Burgwal. Jacob Hoogenhouck as captain in the army likely often stationed elsewhere most of the time. If Vermeer's residence was OLD-E1 these persons would have been his backdoor neighbours.

Gijsbrecht's daughter Anna van Beresteijn was in a long-lasting divorce procedure with her husband Johan Hogenhouck; after his death she re-married in 1655 living on the Turfmarkt to Dirck van der Dussen who was from the protestant Van der Dussen branch in Delft. She died in 1657 living on the Oude Delft.

The Beresteijns and Wielichs were protestant as evidenced by baptism records of their children/grandchildren. They surely must have known of the covert catholic activities behind their house but no record exists of any sort of protest or complaints.

The house in c1703 became a verbeterhuis (correctional facility) named Duinkerken¹¹⁷.

House BW-E2

The house was 5.34m wide and owned by Jan Claesz Swijs (nn-1641), mason, his son Claes Janz (nn-1672) and the widow of Jan Claesz Swijs (nn-nn) between 1620 and 1648+ (an unknown number of years later). Swijs is mentioned as the southern neighbour in the sales deeds of OLD-E3 and 4/5 (see there).

¹¹³ National archive The Hague, Inv. 2.21.018. Inventaris van het archief van het geslacht Van Beresteijn en aanverwante geslachten.

¹¹⁴ Paulus van Beresteijn had another house on the Oude Delft west-side (present day no.137) that was named 'Gulden Meebael'. Subsequent owners/inhabitants were his son Cornelis (1586-1638), his son's wife Cornelia Hofdijck (died 1667) and grandson Zacharias van Beresteijn van Hofdijck (1623-1679), lord of Middelharnis, burgomaster in Delft 1677-1679 (source: achterdegevelsvandelft.nl). Cornelis and Zacharias also were burgomasters.

¹¹⁵ Buried 20-09-1667 Maria Prins, Turfmarkt, widow Gijsbartus van Beresteijn.

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth married 09-06-1640 to Mr. Willem Willich, stadhouder/schepen of 's Hertogenbosch (var.Wielich, Wielik, Wijlig a.o.)(1608-1653). Gijsbrecht Wielig is their son. After Willem died, Elizabeth moved back from 'sHertogenbosch to Delft with three children. Buried 24-11-1672 Elizabeth van Beresteijn, Burgwal, widow Willem Wijllig, two children of age, one underaged. A Beresteijn family grave in St.Jans church in 's-Hertogenbosch includes Willem Willich and a Tromp descendant (sources: vanosnabrugge.org, nl.rodoivd.org, grafzerkensintjan.nl).

¹¹⁷ Delfia Batavorum 2003, p155-176.

The next owner is the wine merchant Bartholomeus Ritmeijer (nn-1677) who owned the house at least until 1671 (the address is mentioned in his second marriage record). He married in 1667 to Catharina Gillis Cramers (nn-1668) j:d from Leiden¹¹⁸. Catharina and a child were buried from the Broerhuislaan indicating they moved house after their marriage. On 08-04-1671 an inventory of BW-E2 was made¹¹⁹ likely because of his second marriage and it included a pakhuis (warehouse). The sum Ritmeijer had paid for the house was 2,700 guilders.

Vermeer's oldest daughter Maria married Johan Gillisz Cramer, silk merchant in 1674¹²⁰; it is close to certain he was the brother of Catharina Gillis. Another brother was Dominicus who married in 1680 to Christina Pinot/Pijrot¹²¹; this couple was witness to baptisms of children from Maria Vermeer and Johannes Cramer in 1685/1687. As Ritmeijer was the first to marry a Cramer, Maria Vermeer may have met her husband via him.

Johannes Cramer was buried 02-07-1714 from the house 'Blauwe Hant'¹²² on the Verwersdijk, the same house where Catharina Bolnes died on 02-01-1688. Earlier in 1681, Gillis Gillisz Kramer was buried from the house as was his wife Anna van Tilburg in 1680¹²³. Gillis was Johannes/Dominicus/Catharina's father, a lakendrapier (cloth maker) in Leiden and witness to the marriage of Catharina Gillis Cramer and Bartholomeus Ritmeijer¹²⁴. 'Blauwe Hant' was owned by Gillis (HP1648 waarbrief 4t083; Kadegeld fol.174v) and is the third house north (ca. present day no. 54) from the former Maria Magdalena convent that was converted after the 1654 explosion into the Stadsdoelen and Chirurgijnskamer (surgeons room). The next owner of 'Blauwe Hant' is Hugo van de Velden, Maria Vermeer's son-in-law; see below. Before Gillis Kramer bought it, the owners were Cornelis- and Catharina Swaenevelt; they rented it out from 1668 to april 1670¹²⁵ so Gillis must have bought it in- or just after 1670.

Maria Vermeer's demise has not been found but she still was alive in 1719 with two children named Egidius- and Catharina Cramer¹²⁶. The latter married Hugo van Velde in 1715 and a child was baptized 01-03-1721; the witnesses were Aegidius Cramer and Maria Cramer, who likely is Maria Vermeer.

After 1677 when Ritmeijer had died, BW-E2 was owned by three persons simultaneously: Borger van de Block (nn-1679, Oude Langendijk), Davit Heerschap (nn-1679, Cellebroersteeg) and Arent Co(u)sijn (nn-1680, Oude Delft). The latter was master plateelbakker (faïencier) in the factory 'de Roos' and catholic (given the Heilig Oliesel (Holy oil) on 30-10-1680) but what relationship existed between these three men could not be retrieved. A first thought is they bought the house for the Jesuits like so many others did, but analysis of the Memorie 1686 shows this was not the case (no rent was collected).

After the trio, the house was bought before 1682 by Maertge Joris widow of Cornelis van der Meer. In the Jesuit archives (Begheyn, 2008, addendum III) there is a (undated) testament/note of a Anna van der Meer leaving 2,700 guilders: one-third to the church, one-third to the household (i.e. of the Jesuits) and one-third to the poor. She is the daughter of Maertje Joris and Cornelis Aelbrechtsz van de Meer; she sold the house in 1716 to Boudewijn Van Leeuwen¹²⁷.

¹¹⁸ Married 15-01-1667 (Leiden) Bartholomeus Ritmeijer j:m wine merchant, Geerweg x Catharina Gillis Cramers j:d, Leiden. Buried 12-06-1668 Catharina Gillis, Broerhuijslaan, housewife of Bartholomeus Retmeijer. Buried 21-03-1669 a child of Bartholomeus Rietmeijer, Broerhuislaan. Married 11-04-1671 (banns) Bartholomeus Ritmeijer, wid., wine merchant, Burgwal x Alette van Sprinckhuijsen j:d, Oude Langendijk. Buried 29-12-1677 Bartholomeus Ritmeier, Goude A in Voorstraat, three underaged children. Orphan Chamber 07-07-1668 The notary Cornelis Georgin registers the testament -passed 07-05-1668 at the same notary- of Bertholomeus Ritmeijer wine merchant and Catharina Gillisdr Craemer.

¹¹⁹ 08-04-1671 Not. Johannes Ranck, Inv. 2122D, fol. 178. Inventory of the house on the Burgwal, Bartholomeus Ritmeijer and the late Catharina Cramers. Some paintings -including landscapes made by Ritmeijer himself- were listed but without any name; none can be related to Vermeer's work.

¹²⁰ Married 26-05-1674 Johan Gillisz Cramer j:m Verwersdijk x Maria Vermeer j:d Oude Langendijk.

¹²¹ Married 27-01-1680 (banns) Dominicus Cramer j:m Verwersdijk x Christina Pinot j:d Rotterdam.

¹²² Blauwe hant (blue hand) refers to the profession of dying cloth with indigo, a common activity on the Verwersdijk (painters dyke)

¹²³ Buried 06-02-1681 Gillis Gillisz Kramer, widower, Blaeuwe Hant in Verwersdijk. 14 carriers, two children of age (which would be Johannes and Dominicus; Catharina had died in 1668). Buried 23-08-1680 Anna van Tilburg, Verwersdijk housewife of Gillis Gillisz Cramer. 14 carriers, two children of age.

¹²⁴ Leiden archives DTB records.

¹²⁵ 14-08-1668 Not. Johannes Ranck, Inv. 2121B, fol. 70. House Blauwe Hant was rented out to Captain Theodorus Brand until april 1670.

¹²⁶ 13-10-1719, Not. Pieter Coel, Inv. 2485D, fol. 218. 'Maria Vermeer widow Joh.Cramer, living in Maasland'.

¹²⁷ Zwolle archives, family Sonsbeeck archive, no.1458.1, doc 260. The sale was in 1716 and there is a retro-actum of 1681 mentioned.

House BW-E3/4

These houses were respectively 4.55m and 4.40m wide and in between them a three-foot gate that provided access to the Jesuit church (called the 'old exit' in *Memorie* 1686). In V1620 E3 was owned by the procurer Virulij and E4 by Hendrick Jacobsz van de Velde, the same owner of OLD-E3,4,5. He sold it to a Cornelis van de Velde from Leiden, likely family.

In V1632 the owner of both houses was Jonkheer Arent(Arnout) Sandeling (nn-1648) who was married in 1633 to Liduina Catharina Sasbout (nn-before 1676). After him there are no further owners recorded in HP1648 (which runs until 1812). In 1648 Liduina re-married count Leonard van der Nath¹²⁸.

Arent's father was Gerard Sandeling and his mother Digna Numan¹²⁹ and Gerard had a (or more) house(s) on the Oude Langedijk that Arent would inherit. These lay east of the brewery Rode Leeuw (in between was the house of doctor Dedel, see addendum 13.3). In ca. 1676 they came into the hands of Theodora Maria van der Nath, daughter of Liduina and Leonard van der Nath¹³⁰. The plots extended all the way south to the Beestenmarkt and on that side another two or three houses were also owned by Arent Sandeling/Theodora van der Nath (HisGis database). Later the houses were owned by captain Ingelbij who is mentioned in the taxation deed of 1686 (see addendum 7) .

Arent Sandeling had a son (unnamed) who in his testament of 1646 would receive a yearly allowance of 600 guilders and after his mother's death 30,000 guilders at once. His son's appointed guardians were Arent's father-in-law Jacob Sasbout and his cousin Cornelis de Nobelaer lord of Cabau, probably the father (II) of the namesake (III)¹³¹ who married Lambrecht van der Horst's granddaughter (see OLD-E6/7). Thus the Horst, Sandeling, Nobelaer and Van der Nath families were all interconnected.

As noted before, Lambrecht van der Horst was married to the sister of the Jesuit father Roeland de Pottere. The Sandeling family had close ties to the Jesuits as well: De Pottere often hid at Anna- and Agatha Sandeling¹³². Agatha had a house on the Nieuwe Langendijk north-side (ca. the middle of the street) first owned by Arnoud Sandeling (V1632, HP1648 and K1667). Arnoud is synonymous with Arent so he might be the same person as in BW-E3/4 and Agatha may have been his sister or a cousin. The Jesuit father Isaac van der Mije once dedicated a poem to a Emerentia Sandeling, wife of Sebastianus Ipelaer (Akker, 2016, p27); the couple occurs several times in DTB records in the Breda archives. In 1605 a Petrus Sandelin entered the Jesuit order (Akker, 2016, p27) and also in the (very rich) Nobelaer family there were several Jesuits¹³³. The wife of Cornelis Nobelaer-I was Anna Stalpart van der Wiele who probably was related to the well-known Johannes Stalpart van der Wiel (1579-1630) a catholic priest in the Bagijnhof in Delft, another catholic 'enclave' (but of the secular type) with a hidden church.

¹²⁸ Married 25-07-1648 (banns) Rijswijk. Leonard van der Nath lord of Petthem Nolmer van Tenesse x Liduina Catharina Sasbout, widow of Jonkr. Arent Sandelijn.

¹²⁹ Genealogy of the Sandeling family; incomplete. *Nederlandsche Leeuw* vol. 22, 1904, p50-53 and p151-152 (p151 includes a summary transcription of the testament of Arent Sandeling in 1646).

¹³⁰ HP1648, fol.330v

¹³¹ Inevanmeer.nl. There were three generations Cornelis de Nobelaer: I: (1580-1655), II: (1605-1698), III: (nn-1681). I: was married to Anna Stalpart van der Wiele (nn-nn), II: was married to Bartha Teus (nn-1667), III :was married to Jacoba van Bam van Vrijenhove (nn-after 1709); she re-married in 1684 to Nicolaes van der Duijn.

¹³² Akker, 2016 and the biography of Roeland De Pottere at heiligen.net.

¹³³ Daniel Nobelaer (1605-1675) and Henricus Nobelaer (1602-1654). From Audenaert, W. (2000, vol.II) 'Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua (PIBA) A Biographical Dictionary of the Jesuits in the Low Countries'. Information received from D.Van den Akker S.J.

House BW-E5

This house was 3.77m wide and owned by Ariaentgen (Adriana) Reijers j:d who is the first entry in HP1648. In a mentioned testament of 1653 from Ariaentgen- and Sophia Reijers Deijms, Jonkheer Willem van Duijn/Verduijn was their appointed heir. He is listed in K1667 and in 1659 acted as executor of the estate of the sisters who both had died¹³⁴. They probably were ‘klopjes’ as no children were recorded. The house was not very large as the inventory mentions five or six rooms and a kitchen; the tax in 1632-1656 was only 6 guilders.

The next owner was Herman Oem, the same person as in BW-W1-5 (see there). His waarbrief code is 4sfol.14 so he bought it before 1682. Only in 1732 it changed hands again when Pieter Tjerk bought it from the children of Oem and Wesel.

House BW-E6

This was a large house of 9.42m wide and owned by Claes Lenertsz Lantman¹³⁵ from the town of Voorschoten (in V1632, single listed owner), then by Claes Leendertsz Spruijt (in HP1648; single listed owner) and lastly by Claes Leendertsz, bouman (in K1667). In Haardsteden 1638 the house was under the name of Claes Leendertsz, bouman (builder). It is unclear if they all were one and the same person.

The house may have been part of the school as it lies directly below OLD-E7.

A Nicolaes (=Claes) Spruijtwater is recorded in Memorie 1686 (see addendum 11 and 12) on whose house the Jesuits collected rent. A Nicolas Leendertsz Spruitwater was buried on 20-05-1660 in the Reformed church in Rijnsaterwoude¹³⁶, a hamlet a few kilometers from Leiden and Alphen aan den Rijn.

House BW-E7

This house was 5,81m wide and with a tax of just 7 guilders it must have been a small house. The last owner in V1632 is Andries van Swieten (nn-1652) who in 1618¹³⁷ married Sophia van der Wiel (nn-1648) probably the daughter of Jacob Franz van der Wiel, owner of the brewery ‘de Passer’ on the Noordeinde east side¹³⁸. Andries and Sophia were prominent catholics and inherited the brewery. The Jesuit father Makeblijde (died 1630) lived- and held church services in the brewery as did father Roeland de Pottere (active in Delft until 1662) after him (Akker, 2016). Andries and Sophia themselves probably lived in the brewery rather than on the Burgwal as a child was buried from there, Sophia’s burial record mentions ‘de Passer’ and Andries’s record mentions ‘near the Haaghpoort’ which is close by the brewery¹³⁹.

Dirck van Bleijswijck in his ‘*Beschryvinge der Stad Delft*’ from 1667 (p541/542) mentions Sophia van der Wiel involved with a foundation that realized a ‘hofje’ with rent-free houses for the poor ; only childless couples were

¹³⁴ 14-05-1659 Not. Johan van Ruiven, Inv. 1966F, fol. 57. Inventory of the late Adriana Reijers Deim and sister Sophia, the house is mentioned as on the Turfmarkt north-side (old name for Burgwal).

¹³⁵ It is uncertain if Lantman is a name, a profession or someone who owns lands.

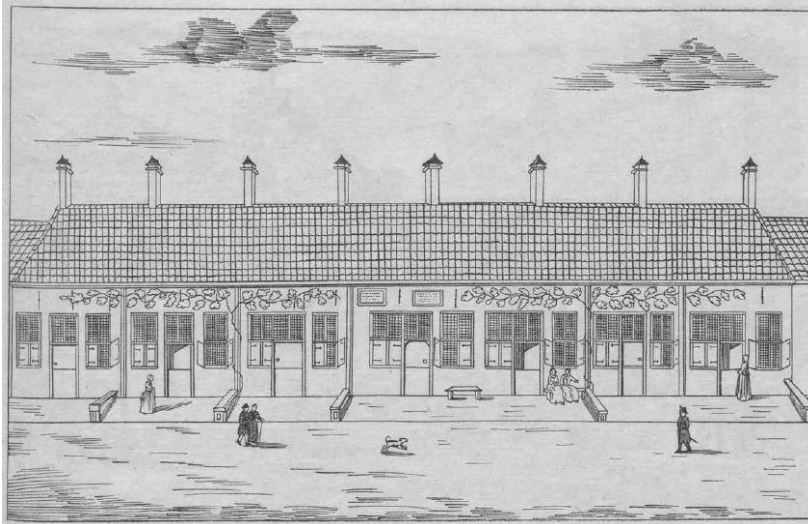
¹³⁶ Unfortunately the source could not be found again.

¹³⁷ Married 05-08-1618 Andries van Swijeten j:m Leiden x Sophia van der Wijel j:d Delft.

¹³⁸ V1620 fol. 533r, Noordeinde east side, Jacob Franz van der Wijel. His neighbour is Michiel Gerritsz Camerling, grain merchant (1570-1638).

¹³⁹ Buried 25-08-1628 a child of Andries van Swieten in the Passer. Buried 21-01-1648 Juffr. Van Swieten in the Passer, Noordeinde. Buried 03-05-1652 Andries van Swieten, near the Haaghpoort.

allowed. In 1573 Pieter Pietersz Sasbout, Raad and burgomaster had started the foundation and originally six houses were built in 1575 named 't hofje van gratie' (courtyard of grace) located at the Geer. They were sold because the Oorlogsmagazijn (war depot) was built at the site but were then rebuilt in 1660, now seven houses, each with a section of a central garden at the northside of the Vander Mastenstraat (near the Paardemarkt). In the façade there were two commemorative plaques: the first mentions Pieter Sasbout and the second mentions Sophia van der Wiel, eldest descendant and manager of the foundation. Also on the second plaque was carved Maria Jacobs van der Dussen wife of Cornelis Abrahamsz Graswinckel, brewer in the 'Drie Aakeren'. She was from the protestant branch of the Van der Dussens. A third plaque inside the central hallway mentions Egidius Armandus Carlier for having laid the first stone (i.e. in 1660).



'Hofje van gratie' Anonymous drawing. Above the central door the two plaques are visible. The houses and plaques still exist today. From: 'Delft Kunststad, restauratieplan voor de zeven eeuwen oude Prinsenstad'. Prof. Herman Rosse, 1946.

In HP1648 the owner of BW-E7 is Reynier Carlier (nn-before 1662) and there were no other owners after him. He came from Antwerp (and Kortrijk) and married in 1640 to Andries van Swieten's daughter Maria Theresia (nn-1687). After her father had died in 1652 the couple will have inherited the house but whether they ever lived there is unknown. Maria van Swieten widow of Renerus Karlier also owned a house in the catholic Bagijnhof north side (HP1648, fol. 853r1) followed by the abovementioned Egedius Armandus Carlier from Antwerp. Probably he was their son. Maria Theresia died before 1687 as can be deduced from a 1687 charter (addendum 7). In 1667 she most likely was the Juffrouw van Swieten paying quay tax for Jan Geensz Thins' house (see OLD-E3) acting as a front for the Jesuits unable to pay taxes for themselves.

In 1635 Andries van Swieten and Sophia van de Wiel had inherited most -if not all- of the household goods of Maria Gerrits Camerling (1575-1635) (Kotte, 1964; Addendum 5). Michiel Gerritsz Camerling (1570-1638) had lived next door to 'de Passer'. Given this close relationship between the Van der Wiel- and the Camerling families perhaps the address where Maria Thins and her sister Cornelia were living in 1651 was BW-E7; the address mentioned in the deed was Brabantse Turfmarkt¹⁴⁰ and Turfmarkt was the old name for the Burgwal.

Maria Thins' half-sister Maria Gerritsz Camerling (c1609-1657) had moved to Delft years earlier and was married in 1637 to the attorney Jan Hendricksz van der Wiel (nn-1671). He could have been related to the brewer family but no records proving this were found. Jan's burial record was on the Oude Delft east-side opposite the Bagijnsteeg (present day no. 192) but in his lifetime he probably lived a little north (no. 218) with direct neighbours Pieter van der Dussen and the heirs of Jacob Jansz van Velsen¹⁴¹. An Orphan chamber record of 1657 (addition 1663) shows they had three daughters : Adriana 21 years, Catharina 16 years and Machtelt 14 years, also confirmed by Jan's burial record (two adult children, one minor).

¹⁴⁰ Montias, 1989, doc 238

¹⁴¹ Buried 18-01-1657 Marij Camerlijnx, Oude Delft, housewife Jan Heijndrixen van der Wiel. Buried 28-10-1671 Jan Hendrickz van der Wiel, wid., Oude Delft opposite Bagijnsteeg, two adult children, one underage (this house is no.192)

Adriana van der Wiel (c1642-1684) married in 1672 to the widower Boudewijn van Leeuwen¹⁴² (nn-1702) from Leiden. Cornelis Michielsz van der Dussen appears in their wedding registration, either as witness or the formalization of the marriage was at his house (the handwriting is difficult to read). They lived in the abovementioned house no.192 (HisGis, HP1648 fol.781v) probably inherited from Adriana's father. Boudewijn owned the brewery 'Drie hoefijzers' on the Koornmarkt (present day no.41) and also Abraham de Bock (nn-1672)¹⁴³ is recorded more or less simultaneously at the brewery (HisGis) so either they ran the business together or Van Leeuwen took over the business. This Abraham¹⁴⁴ was the son of Pieter Lievensz de Bock and Susanna van Nerven (see OLD-E1 and addendum 4) and so the Bock family, besides the connection with Maria Thins was also connected to her niece Adriana.

Maria Theresia van Swieten and Reynier Carlier had relationships with Herman Oem (see OLD-1-5 and addendum 9): the heirs of Oem shared an estate (lands and likely a house) in Weijnighem near Antwerp with the children and heirs of Maria van Swieten and Reynier Carlier¹⁴⁵. It is possible Maria and Reynier lived and died there as no burial records were found in the Delft archives.

House BW-E8

This house was owned by Gijzenburg of the brewery 't Heck and had a large width of 12.25m. See OLD-E6/7 and OLD-E8/9 for details.

House BW-E9/10

Joost Leendertsz Horendijck (nn-1638), waert (inn keeper) was taxed for three houses in V1620 but is absent in V1632 so he or his son Leendert must have sold the houses prior to 1632¹⁴⁶. It is difficult to reconstruct the situation for the three houses but the most fitting would be: house BW-E9 of 5.18m wide on the quay side, one house in a gate (the double gate listed in K1667, see addendum 2) and the third house E10 on the quay side again with a width of 3.45m. The double gate marks the transition of the houses from a straight line into the bend. In the Kadastrale kaart 1832 a dotted line indicating a passage way is present and even today there are two doors at this precise location.



Burgwal no.24-28. The two green doors in the middle are at the spot where the double gate listed in K1667 would have been. BW-E9 is the left house, BW-E10 the right house (excluding the double doors). Obviously the current houses are not 17th century originals. Source: Google Earth.

Horendijck's daughter Anna (c1605-1651) married in 1630 to the painter Anthonie Palamedes (c1601-1673). They were protestant as baptisms of their children exist. Baptism- and burial records of their children up to 1646 have the address Turfmarkt (which probably was not BW-E9/10 since it was sold before 1632). Anna was buried from the Broerhuislaan, today an extension to the east of the Burgwal but in the 17th century it was the name of the Burgwal

¹⁴² He was not the person with the same name who owned OLD-W5 (between 1707 and 1731) and BW-W2 (per 1716).

¹⁴³ Buried 16-11-1672 Abraham de Bocq, 3 hoefijzers aan Koornmarkt.

¹⁴⁴ Nagtegaal.org/familiewapens. De Bock, Abram (Bocq, Book). Married(1) 1651 x Dina Schrevelldr. Married (2) Susanne Oijens, died 1669. Married(3) Geertruy Verloo.

¹⁴⁵ 17-02-1706 Not. Adriaen Leeuwenhoeck, Inv. 2445B, fol. 76. "Herman Oem <.> heeft nagelaten den eigendom van drierde parten in eenen heerlijcken ghijs met sijn meijer ende laten in de heerlijkheid van Weijnighem gelegen bij Antwerpen waarvan het resterende vierde part is toe en aanbehorende de kinderen en erfgenamen van Juffr Maria van Swieten zal. Wed. van wijlen de heer Reynier Cartiers zal. tot Antwerpen <.>

¹⁴⁶ 31-10-1625 Orphan Chamber: Joost Lenertsz appears to register his three children, his wife Marijngen Willemsdr had died. Children Leendert 24 years, Annetge 20 years, Willemtgen 16 years. Two houses on the Burgwal adjacent to brewery 't Heck. In 1630 Leendert Joostensz and Anthonie Palamedes appear and in 1635 Maerten van Velsen appears all declaring their father-in-law had paid out the estate of his late wife to his children. One of the appointed guardians in 1625 is Dominicus Hendricksz Bosboom, owner of OLD-W5, house Swanenburg.

south-side. An Orphan chamber record of 1653 records again Broerhuislaan. When Anthonie re-marries in 1658 to Aechgen Woodewart he lives on the Burgwal; his house (in fact two-) proves to be on the Burgwal south-side almost exactly opposite the Molenpoort¹⁴⁷. At the time the north- and south-side of the Burgwal were separated by a canal.

In 1636 Palamedes and his wife Anna were witness to the baptism of a son of Maerten van Velsen and Willemijntgen Joosten van Horendijck (Anna's sister). Maerten had married Willemijntgen in 1634 and his patronym in the wedding record is 'Jansz'. In 1642 a twin of Anthonie and Anna was baptized, one of the witnesses was Agata van Velsen. This Agata- and Maerten Jansz van Velsen could have been related to the painter Jacob Jansz van Velsen from OLD-W8 but no conclusive evidence was found. The patronym 'Jansz' suggests Maerten could have been a brother of the painter. Willemijntgen died before 1641 (probably in Rotterdam) as Maerten re-marries in 1641 as a resident of Rotterdam.

The works of Anthonie Palamedes and Jacob Jansz van Velsen show similarities and it is thought one tutored the other. They were about the same age and the possible family relationship would support the idea.

House BW-W1

This narrow house (3.61m wide) was owned by Arien Pietersz Vreem in V1632, HP1648 and K1667. He bought it prior to 1656 and is mentioned in the Memorie 1686: the rent for his house (50 guilders/year) collected by the Jesuits was earmarked for the poor. It very likely was demolished in later times, probably to widen the alley for the church (see overall measurements in addendum 1 and BW-W4 below) so the present day corner house is actually the site where BW-W2 once stood.

House BW-W2: the painters Delff

In V1620 the house is owned respectively by the heirs of Mr.Jacob Willemsz, painters and Willem Jacobsz, painter. Probably they were the well-known painters Delff, father and son, respectively 1550-1601 and 1580-1638. Willem worked with Mierevelt and was married to his daughter Geertruijt. See further discussion under OLD-W1-5 and addendum 9.

The next owner Thomas Claesz van der Zijde was buried from the Burgwal in 1650, his widow Engeltje Michiels was buried in 1657, also from the Burgwal. The last owner Jan Claesz van Bae(r)senburgh is recorded living here in 1655 (a child was buried from the Burgwal) and lived here at least until 1682 when he re-married as widow still living on the Burgwal. He was a protestant as a few baptism were found (1644,1647). For neither Van der Zijde or Baersenburg any relevant information was found.

In a deed from 1711¹⁴⁸ the neighbours of this house are confirmed: to the east Arien Pieters Vreem (BW-W1), to the west Aart Swart (BW-W3) and at the back the houses of the heirs of Machtelt van Beest, widow of Willem van Nerven. The latter will have been houses lying centrally between the Burgwal and the Oude Langendijk.

¹⁴⁷ HisGis;V1632 fol. 255r, HP1648; fol.298v; K1667 fol.111r.

¹⁴⁸ 17-12-1711 Not. Cornelis van der Sleyden, Inv. 2523G, fol. 398. Testator Cornelia Leenderts van der Lugt. Names on fol.402.

House BW-W4: the Vette Henne

BW-W4 in a sales deed of 1708 was called the ‘Vette Hen(ne)’ (Fat Rooster)¹⁴⁹.

This quay side house of 4.24m wide was connected to another house behind it that could be reached via a gate on the Burgwal; the gate is described in a deed of 1712 as going ‘through the house’. Both were owned by Machtelt van Beest and later in time by her heirs just as OLD-E1,3,4,5. According to K1667 there was a gate between BW-W4 and BW-W5 but the Kadastrale minuut 1832 shows an alley between the third and fourth plot instead. This shift is caused by the demolition of BW-W1 in the 18th or at the latest in the early 19th century. Today there still is an alley between the houses. See also addendum 3 and 10.

In V1632 and HP1648 (three entries) the former owners were the Heinsbergen family and there is mention of scheiding (separation) in 1656 and 1665 in the ledger. Apart from legal separation there may have been reconstructions. It is not possible to say exactly when Machtelt van Beest acquired the two houses, but it must have been before 1667.

House BW-W10

This large house of 9.42m wide on the Burgwal lay on the corner with the Jacob Gerritstraat; the front façade was on the Jacob Gerritstraat. In V1632 and HP1648 the first owner is Dirck Claesz van der Minne (1582-1657)¹⁵⁰, cramer (merchant) followed by Gerrit Both van der Eem(bt) (1629-1679) an apothecary whose father was Samuel Both van der Eem¹⁵¹. Van der Minne sold the house after 1652 (a child was buried from the Jacob Gerritsstreet) but before 1654 as he received compensation for the gunpowder explosion for his house, now on the Kromstraatsteeg.

Vermeer’s father had a half-sister Adriaentge Claesz van der Minne (c1599-1672). Dirck Claesz van der Minne was her half-brother¹⁵² but not a blood-relative of Vermeer. Adriaentge was married to Jan Thonisz Back (nn-1632) and lived on the Vlamingstraat and her house is thought to feature in Vermeer’s ‘*The little street*’¹⁵³ but other views on the location exist.

No events involving Dirck Claesz van der Minne and Vermeer are reported by Montias.

¹⁴⁹ 18-02-1708 Not. Adriaen Leeuwenhoek, Inv. 2448C, fol. 121. The house ‘Vette Henne’ on the Burgwal north-side was sold for 770 guilders by Simon Arent Boerman/Grietie Theunis Overveen. Eastern neighbour Aerd de Swart, northern neighbour the heirs of Herman Oem with the house Swanenburg. To the west a gate/exit being a passage from the Burgwal to the central area.

¹⁵⁰ Buried 26-07-1657 Dirck Claesz van der Minne, widower, Kromstraatsteeg.

¹⁵¹ Baptism 10-04-1629 Child Gerrit, father Samuel Both van der Eem, mother Maria van der Meer. Witnesses: Magrieta van der Meer and Pieter Gijsbrechts Dastel. Buried 10-06-1679 Gerard Both van der Eem, Jacob Gerritstraat, apothecary. 14 carriers, no children.

¹⁵² Baptism 20-05-1619 Child Grietje, father Jan Theunisz Back, mother Ariaentje Claes. Witnesses: Dirck Claesz van der Minne, Dingenum Balthasars (Vermeer’s mother), Aeltje Athonis. Baptism 05-04-1622 Child Neeltgen, father Dirrick Claesz van der Minne, mother Trijntgen Cornelis. Witnesses: Cornelis Dionijs, Neeltje Jacobs and Neeltge Gooris (Vermeer’s grandmother).

¹⁵³ Grijzenhout, F. 2015. *Het straatje van Vermeer*.

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Addendum 1: House owners/inhabitants around the Molenpoort

Timeline houses Oude Langedijk south-side Four different registers are lined up. The house codes used in this article are in the left colum. Houses/owners are matched through (i) their names and (ii) tax height. The sequence in the original register can be the reverse of this table. Each row is a separate post in the source. A post can be more houses than one. Per cell consecutive owners are separated by a ‘//’ the youngest is on top. ‘<.>’ means more owners in HP1648 but omitted here. Tax is in guilders; additional stuivers and penningen are omitted unless it was the only tax level given. Tax in K1667 is not given (see addendum 12 for a partial record). A roe is 377cm, a voet is 31.4cm (12 voet per roe). In **red**: clarification in English for orientation purpose or other. Difficult to read handwriting is indicated by an ‘x’ and/or ‘?’ ~~Struck through~~ words are ‘as is’ in the books. **Bold** words denote (sub)chapter titles. ‘Deselve’ means ‘the same’(person); because of order reversal it can denote the post below- or above it. ‘Nd’ means not determined/transcribed. Rows in solid blue are the Molenpoort alley.

OLD code	V1620	Tax guld	V1632-1656	Tax guld	HP 1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
	Jonkr Gerrit Sandeling	16	De erfgen. Van Jonkr Gerard Sandeling	33	Theodora Maria van der Nath	Capt. Ingelbeij // de heer van der Nath	3 roe 9.5 voet	14.29
	Deselve Sandeling De Wed van Michiel Jansz	16?						
	Mr. Nielis ? van Lintschoten advoca. Sijsqual? // Arent Leendertsz van der Beest	19	Docter Dedel //Jo.r Arnout Cornelis? //Jonkr. Sw-x-uhm ?	19	<.> // Dirck van Schie //den notaris Corn. Ouwendijk als getrouth hebbende Juffr. Maria Margarita Dedel.. dogter doctor Dedel... verclaringe 30 sept 1691.. //Doct Johan Dedel //Joncr Arnout Gijlsels?	Do(kter) Jan Dedel	2 roe	7.54
	Anthonis Jansz Pick, brouwer	6	Willem Kittesteijn Br.//Thonis Jansz Pick	6	<.> // Maximiliaan de Rave als hier nevens //Dirck van Schie //Willem van Kittesteijn voornt	Juff Maria Kittesteijn, brouster in de Rode Leeuw Red Lion brewery	2 roe 11.5? voet	11.15
	Deselve (=Pick)	26	Willem Kittesteijn, brouwer	32	<.> //Maximiliaan De Raven //Dirck van Schie //Willem van Kittesteijn, brouwer			
						De vleugen van de steenen brugge leggende besijden de huijsinge van de Roo Leeuw Stone bridge next to Red Lion brewery	3 roe 3 voet	
						De houtte brug aldaer aan wederzijden Wooden bridge to the New Church field	2 roe	
E14	Harman vander Ceel // Wed. Jacob Fransz van der Lee, corencooper	16	Harman van Ceel, notaris	16	<.> //Aelbrecht van der Muur ? //Cornelis Bisschop coperslager //Maerten van der Ceel volgens de akte van schijdinge tusschen hem en Hester Willems de Rijck in qualite als legetarisse van Harmannus van	Maerten van de Zele, backer Cornerhouse Burgwal/Oude Langendijk	1 roe 10 voet	6.91

OLD code	V1620	Tax guld	V1632-1656	Tax guld	HP 1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
					der Ceel gepasseert 15 sept 1662 voor de notaris Joris van der Houve //Harman van der Ceel notaris			
E13	Jan Janssen cum? so-x? // Geertgen Ariens Wed.van Dirck Jacobs, backer	6	Sijn weduw // Anthonie de Heijde	6	<..>//Hendrick van der Brouck// Willem de Freijn // Maerten Joosten Zuidgeest //Pieter Waelpot //Willem de Freijn //Anthonis Jansz de Heijde	Anthonij de Heijde	1 roe 1 voet	4.08
E12	Aehgen Willems Wed. van Willem Fransz	6	Arent Jansz Stopper	6	<..>// Geertruid Hendrix Wittel //Maerten Joostensz Suijgeest //Arent Jansz Stopper	Maarten van Zuidgeest // Lijntge Willems	1 roe 5 voet	5.34
E11	Anthonij de Heijde, taefelhouder // Erfgen. Van Andries Sijmonsz cruijckvercoper	7 or 8	Sijn Weduwe // Anthonie de Heijde	8	<..>//Maria Kortebrant en Maria V?lock //Willem de Frein //Anthonie de Heijde Voornt	Anthonij de Heijde	1 roe 4.5 voet	5.18
E10	Anthonis de Heijde Taefelhouder // Maritgen Cornelis Wed. van Pr. Reijersz van der Burch Taefelhouder= banker	20	Susanna Rochatis wed.Abram v/d Brouck // nu zijn weduwe // deselve (deselve=A. de Heijde)	30	<..>//Abraham Nieuwland ? //Willem de Frein //Juffr.Susanna Rochatis gewesene Wed Abraham van der Brouck //Anthonie de Heijde taefelhouder	Willem de Freijn // Juff Susanna Rochatis Wed.Abraham vanden Brouck Bank of Loans (pawn shop)	2 roe 1 voet	7.85
E9	Mr. Jan Hendricksz, voorlezer (reader, in Church, protestant)	7or 8	Michael Dircks Breethouck // Aryen Jans Groen // Anthony de Heijde // Mr. Jan Hend. Voorlezer	6	Anna van Waesdorp Wed. // Micgiel Dircks Breethouck, pompma(ker) //Arijen Jansz Groen, bouman	Juff. Anna van Waesdorp voor twee woonplaatsen For two houses. Waesdorp was married to Diert.	4 roe 4.5 voet	16.49
E8	Dirck Pietersz Gorters, erfgen. Brewery 't Heck	20	Dirk Diert Coopman // X Gijsenburch	20	Dirck Diert // Dirck Pietersz Gijsenburch gecomen van Dirck Pietersz Gorter			
E7	Dirck Pietersz Gorter	11	Jo. Lamberts van Horst tott Rijswijk	12	Jonkr Lambrecht van der Horst voornt	Jonkr van der Horst The Jesuit school	3 roe 6 voet	13.19
E6	Deselve = Dirck P. Gorter	11	Deselve = Lambert van Horst	11	Jonkr Lambrecht van der Horst			
E5	Hendrik van de Velde // de weduwe van Dirk Hendriks Trompen	6	Hendrik van Velde	7	De Hr. Johan Wittert //Deselve Georgius van der Velde en Aeffgen van der Velde	Dhr. Johan Wijters voor haer huis The Jesuit church house	2 roe 5voet	9.11
E4	Hendrik van de Velde	13	Deselve (=Hendrik van Velde)	15	Pieter Tjerk // de heer Johan Wittert // Mr. Georgius van der Velde ende IJesen van der Velde			
						De houtte brugge bij het kruiershuisge Wooden bridge at the house of the carriers (eg. beer, turf). OLD-E4 and OLD-E3 each were taxed one roe extra because of this bridge leading to the New Church field. The house	2 roe aan wederzijde the wings of the bridge	

OLD code	V1620	Tax guld	V1632-1656	Tax guld	HP 1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
						widths were 'corrected' by the clerk instead of a separate tax addition. In this table the original/true widths are given for OLD-E3 and 4.		
E3	Jacob vanden Velde // Abraham Harmansz Hoenderman	7	Jacob van Velde + 'Hend' House probably enlarged	12	Pieter Tjerk // Jan Thins ter Goude Jan Geensz Thins from Gouda	Juffr. Van Swieten	1 roe 5 voet	5.34
E2	Dirck Jorisz van Vliet	12	Maria Camerling // De Weduwe van Hend. Claesz.	12	Pieter Tjerk // Mr. Thijmen // Maria Willems Wed. van Hendrik Claesz	Maria Camerlingh	1 roe 8 voet	6.28
E1	Lambrecht Maertenszn, grootwerkmaecker Groot Serpent	8	Mr.Pr. van der Dusse //den advocaat Slingelant House probably enlarged	13	Molepoort WZ Title runs upward from here Tiarck// Pieter Tjerk// Pieter van der Dusse // Mr. Symen van Slingelant	Pieter van der Dusse	1 roe 10.5 voet	7.07
W1	De erfgen. van Jacob Jacobszn, in de Trampolen	15	Machtelt Cornelis van Best wed., t huis de Trampolen // deselve// den adv. Slingelant	15	Vrouwe Marie Jacqueline Jeanne Tiarck //Pieter Tjerk// Harman Oem, Roemer van Wesel, dogter, zwager // Machtelt Cornelis van Beest, Wed. van Willem) van Nerven	Juffr. van Nerven "met de Molepoort ende een huijsge". <i>'The Molenpoort and a house'</i>	2 roe	7.54
W2	De Wed. van Vranck Corn. Pols	10	Cornelis Pietersz Prins, corencop(er)	11	<..>Jacobus Oprust, not. Ruijven 1768// Jacobus Oprust //Wouter de Meester //Maria Hagemans wed// Adriaen Symons Samu(el) // Pieter Cornelis van der Prins // Cornelis Pieter van der Prins, coorecoper	Maria Hagemans // Cornelia Dircks Wed.	1 roe 2.5 voet	4.55
W3	Claes Claeszn van Swijeten, glasma(ker)	3	Machtelt van Best Wed. van W.van Nerven // sijn weduwe // Cornelis Jansz van Swijeten // Claes Claesz van Swijeten	5	Pieter Tjerk lib: 6.D. fol 187 //Dhr Harman Oem //Machtelt van Beest Wed. W.van Nerven//Cornelis Jansz van Swieten	Juffr. Van Nerven voor drie woonplaatsen For three houses	3 roe 8.5 voet	13.98
W4	Deselve=CC van Swijeten	6	Deselve =CC van Swijeten	6	This small house is not mentioned separately in HP1648. Was integrated with OLD-W3. See Kadastrale minuut 1832			
W5	Dominicus Hendrick Bosboom House Swanenburg	16	Jan Gerrits van Hensbergen // Dominicus Bosboom Wedne/r	16	<..>// Pieter Coel* lib: 6.D. fol 176 // Boudewijn van Leeuwen//Johannes Schoonheit//Elizabeth Schoonhoven// Mr. Harman Oem //Catharina van Nerven b:d //Machtelt van Beest Wed. W.van Nerven//Jan Gerritsz van Heijnsbergen , vleijshouwer	* The word 'Coel' is torn off but traceable via waarbrief code 6d176v, fol 176. Pieter Coel buys 03-09-1731 house 'Swanenburgh' from children of Boudewijn van Leeuwen. 'To the east (=OLD-W4) the heirs of Herman Oem'. 'Access to Molenpoort and to Burgwal'		
W6	Corn. Cornz. Boom, timmerman //Michiel Camerling	8	Grietgen + Aechten Dirx, bejaarde dogters // Sijmon Vincenten de Knuijt,	10	<..>//Jannetge Stevens van Swethouck//Johannes van den Berch //Aechje Dirx bejaerde dr.// Simon	Jannetge Stevensdr. // Johannes van den Bergh voor huis en poort for a house and a gate	1 roe 9 voet	6.60

OLD code	V1620	Tax guld	V1632-1656	Tax guld	HP 1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
			laeckencoper // sijn weduwe // Cornelis Boom, timmerman		Vincenten de Knuijt lakencooper // Sijn weduwe//Cornelis Cornelisz Boom, timmerman			
W7	Jan Coorde // Jacob Jans Helm, Int Paternoster the Inn	15	Willem le Coorde // De erf. Van Jean le Coorde	18	Willem Jansz Coord jr //Sijn erfgenamen // Jan de Coorde, herbergier inn keeper	Willem de Koorde	1 roe 11? voet	7.22
W8	Pr. Jansz , knoopmaecker	11	Sijn weduwe // Jacob Jans van Velsen // Pr? Jans, knoopmaecker- erf.	14	Jannetje Stevens van Swethoeck //Susannetje Davids van Lee //Jacob Jansz van Velsen	Susannitge Davids, winckelier shopkeeper	1 roe 9 voet	6.60
W9	Arent Jansz, cleermaecker	7	Nu sijn weduwe // Arent Jans Stopper	7	Casar van Leeuwen, apothe(ke)r// Arent Jansz, cleermaecker	Sesar van Leeuwen // Lijntge Willims	1 roe 2.5 voet	4.55
W10	Jacob Gillens van Haf?se?elt // de-x-gen // Wed. van Jacob Alewijnsz, speldemaecker	15	nd	nd	Cesar van Leeuwen apothecaris //Andries Stangerus voorn t met het huijs Anckertge Cornerhouse OLD-W with Jacob Gerritstraat	Cesar Van Leeuwen, apothecaris	1 roe 4 voet	4.04
	Corn. Hendricksz Ingeloo Nots. // Jan Agase?	7	nd	nd		De brugge over de Jacob Gerritstraat The bridge from Jacob Gerritstraat to the Markt square	3 roe 2 voet wederzijde	

Timeline houses Burgwal northside The table below runs from east to west starting at the cornerhouse Burgwal and Oude Langendijk (OLD-E14/BW-W18). The first ten rows from V1620/V1632/HP1648 are difficult to line up: clerks used a sequence of their own, some houses lay behind, some were partitioned, the area is curved and the writing is often messy. From the Schapenbrug (sheep bridge) onwards it is more clear. The primary lead is K1667 which is orderly.

BW code	V1620	Tax guld	V1632-1656	Tax guld	HP1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
E18/ (OLD-E14)						Corn. K?isse-x //Maarten van de Zele, backer Corner house Burgwal and Oude Langendijk	5 roe long facade	18.85
	Dirck Claes van Clink?enburgh, cuijper	3	Pieter Aelbrechtsz, Schoonhoven, drucker //Jan Ariens Verboon, thuijnder// Ariens Claesz Vrijenburgh, bouckvercop(er)	3	<..>Leeutge Juge Wed van W(afk) Eugelen//Pieter Aelbrechtsz van Schoonhoven bij decreet //Jan Ariens Verboon, herbergier			
E17	sijn wed? //Corn. Wouters, tuijnman	3	Christiaen Jacobsz, tabackverkoper //Jan Ariensz Verboon, herbergier //Pemm ? ivosten? Lepelaer //Dirckjen Pietersz Wed.	3	<..>Frans Engelsz Clos //Christiaen Jaspersz delpgoe? Bij decreet // Jan Ariens Verboom voorn t	Pr. Gillis van Claveren / //Frans Engelsz Plas?	2 roe 4 voet	8.80
E16					Turfdragers Huijsken	De turfdragers paar huijsgen	4.5 voet	1.43

BW code	V1620	Tax gul	V1632-1656	Tax gul	HP1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
						Peat carrier houses		
E15	Pr. Pietersz, cuijper	3	X Joosten Lepelaer //Pr. Pietersz, cuijper	3	Pieter van C?laveren // Jannetge Jans de Haes// Z?emeers? Joosten Lepelaer, straetmaecker	Jannitge Jans de Haas	1 roe 3 voet	4.71
			Jan Gerritsz van der Gracht //Sijn erfgen//Pr. Aryensz inde goecoop	7				
E14	Anthonis de Heijde //Corstiaan Pietersz, brouwersknecht	3	Joff Susanna Rochatis Wed. Abraham vd Brouck // De Weduwe//Anthonie de Heijde	3	Nu de Stad Delff //Joffr Susanna Rochatis wed. Abraham van der Brouck //Anthonie van der Heijde, tafelhouter Tafelhouter=banker	Lambrecht Jacobs, nu de Stad // Joffr. Susanne Rochatis, Wed Abraham van de Brouck The city bought the property, i.e. the Bank of loans. L-shaped with façade on OLD-E10/11/13	1 roe 7.5 voet	6.13
E13	Jan Claesz Colck , schoemaker //Heijndrick Jansz, zilversmit	3	Deselve =Huijbr. Jacobs	4	<..> Pieter Gillisz van Claveren //Josias Michielsz van Brevoort met het noordelijkste bij decreet. //Huibrecht Jacobsz schoenmaker met 2 huizen	Josias Michielsz Budevoort ? // Huybrecht Jacobsz, schoemaker	2 roe 6 voet	7.56
			Huibrecht Jacobs, schoenmaker	2	Hr. Abraham Hoogerhouck, oud burgemeester tot Vlaard. Met het westelijke van de voorn(oemde) 2 huijskens			
E12			Jan Gerritsz van der Gracht//Sijn erfgen//Hr Aryens inde goecoop	35 st	Abram -vrxx-Huimens xx //Arij van Buiten //Jan Gerritsz van der Gracht, hoedemaker	Huybrecht Arie van Buijten	1 roe 2.5 voet	3.78
	Title: Voor aen straet Jan Claesz Colck, schoenma(kr) en Pr. Ariensz, cagenaer //Wed van Jan Willemsz// Gijsbrecht van Berensteijn, pakhuijs warehouse	7	Title: Aen Straet Willem van Kittesteijn, brouwer //Willem de Block/Blois ? //Jan Claesz Colck, schoemacker	7	<..>// Egbert van der Hulck ? //Willem Willemsz Kittesteijn //Willem Woutersz P?loos, herbergier			
						De vleugen van deselve brugge The wings of the bridge	2 roe 7.5 voet	
	Maerten Jorisz, cuijper	26st				Schapebrugge aan wederzijde Bridge leading to Beestenmarkt	1 roe 7 voet	
E11	Deselve // deselve =Leenderts Joosten // Joost Leenderts)	2	Jasper Claesz // Deselve =A de Heijde	2		Arent Barentsz A<xx> //Goosen Hendrick Coning...//Jan Vranckenhorst	11 voet	3.45
E10	Title: In een poortgen deselve Leendert Joosten // deselve	26 st	Title: in de poort Jasper Claesz //Anthonie de Heijde	26 st		Twee poorten Two gates	10.5 voet	3.30
E9	Lenert Joosten van Horendijck, kouckebacker // Joost Leenderts, waert	7	Jasper Claesz, tijckwercker //Michiel Crijns, passamentwercker	7	<>//Hendrik Teeker/n ? //Jan Claesz van H/Goudesteijn //Jasper Claesz Hiermanus ? , tijckwercker//Michiel Crijnsz Kerckhoven, passamentwerker	Jan Claes van Goudensteijn	1 roe 4.5 voet	5.18
E8	Nu sijn erfgen. // Dirck Pietersz,	10	Pieter Gijzenburgh .	15/10	<..> //Cornelis Haegman/	Corn. Haagman // Gijzenburgh	3 roe	12.25

BW code	V1620	Tax gul	V1632-1656	Tax gul	HP1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
	gorter				Haexman, backer //Pieter Pietersz Gijzenburch, brouwer		3 voet	
E7	Joost Leenderts, borstelman?	7	Andries van Swieten // Marijtte Maertens // Joost Lenertsz, turfman	7	Reijnier Carlier //Maertge Maertens jongedogter	Andries Van Swieten	1 roe 6.5 voet	5.81
E6	Michiel Fransz. moutmaecker	10	Claes Lenertsz Lantman tott Voorschoten	12	Claes Leendertsz Spruijt	Claes Leendertsz Bouman	2 roe 6 voet	9.42
E5	X Reyersz gr. // Wouter x G?otterloo // Crij ? Stevensz? Werf ? // Jan Jacobsz, timmerman	5	Ariaentgen Reyers	6	Pieter Tjerk //Harman Oem advocaat // Willem van Duijn hem? tot xx legaet gemaek?t volgens het testament van wijlen Adriana en Sophia Reijer Deyms/dehuis? gepasseert voor de not. De Langue en 2 getuijgen alhier op den 30 dec 1653 ter secretaris? Vertoont op 14 dec 1667 //Ariaentgen Z?eijers jongedogter bij decreet x	Harman Oems // Jonkhr. Willem Verduijn	1 roe	3.77
E4	Corn. vande Velde tott Leijden // Hendrik Jacobs van Velde // Pieter Stevensz , timmerman	5	Jo. Arent Sandeling // Corn. van Velden tott Leijden	6?	De Wed. van Arent Dirck van Bleijswijck House in the gate or part of the house	Jonkr. Arent Sandeling	1 roe 2 voet	4.40
						Een poort A gate	3 voet	0.94
E3	Pauwels Virulij, procureur	6	M.Sandeling // Den copen van Pauwels Virulus huijs	7	De Wed. van Joncr Sandelingh	Jonkr. Arent Sandeling	1 roe 2.5 voet	4.55
E2	Jan Claesz, metselaer // De Erfgen. van Gijsbrecht Cornz	7	Claes Jansz Swijs, metselaer // zijn erggen. // Jan Claesz Swijs, metselaer	8	Boudewijn van Leeuwen // Maertge Joris Wed Corn. van de Mier/ Meer//Borger van de Block Davit Heerschap en Arent Cousijn //Bartholomeus Ritmeijer bij decreet // De Weduwe van Jan Claes Swijs, metselaer	Maertge Joris Wed. van Corn. Meer // Borger Blok xx? xx? //Claes Jansz Swijs, metselaer	1 roe 5 voet	5.34
E1	Gijsbrecht van Beresteijn	18	Sijn weduwe //Gijsbert van Beresteijn	18	<.>//Dirck van Leeuwen en Maria Brage? egtel.//Johanna Keijten(is?) en Maria van der Lee egtel. //Gijsbrecht Wielig haer zoon en mede erfgen. Bij scheiding gepasseert voor not. Van der Velde 27 dec 1673//Jofr. Elijsabet Beresteijn volgens scheiding voor den not. Van der Velde //Cornelis van Beresteijn deselve mede erfgen, bij scheiding gepaseerd bij not. Van de Velde 24 maart 1670 //Mr. Jacob Hogenhouck bij scheiding	Wed. van heer Gijsbrecht van Beresteijn	3 roe 6 voet	13.19

BW code	V1620	Tax gul	V1632-1656	Tax gul	HP1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
					gepasseerd 10 dec 1667 voor de Not. Van de Velde// Weduwe Gijsbrecht van Beresteijn			
						Een gemeene poort, vijf roeden voeten ende een halve Common gate (i.e. the Molenpoort). Roeden is struck through: a clerk error	5.5 voet	1.73
W1	Haer erfgen. // sijn wed.//Gijsbrecht Sweers, decker	7	Arien Pietersz, bree/Vree cramer? // Frans Meer, wijnverlater // Jannetje Amen	7	Adriaan Pieters Vreem //Frans Marcusz , wijnverlater	Arij Pietersz Vreem	11.5 voet	3.61
W2	Willem Jacobsz schilder // Mr. Jacob Willems schilders erfgenamen Probably the painters Delff	7	Thomas Claesz van Eijnde? 'Z/Sijde' in Haardsteden 1638	8	Code letter a <.> // Jan Claesz Baesenburch //Thomas Claesz van der Sijde	Jan Claesz Basenburgh	1 roe 4 voet	5.03
W3					Code letter b or v <...> // Leendert Pontianus //Servaas Bressen // Aert Aelbrechtsz de Swart //Gerrit Jans Heijnsbergen	Aart Swart, timmerman, twee woonplaatsen Two houses	2 roe 2.5 voet	8.32
-	Gerrit Jansz van Heijnsberg	16	Gerrit Jansz Heijnsberg Weijx?	16	Title: In den Poort Pieter Tjerk //Dhr Mr. Herman Oem volgens verclaringe als xx fol 319 //Machtelt van Beest //Phillips Jans van Hensbergen //Gerrits Jansz Hensbergen sijn zoon <..tekst gepasseerd> 1656 //Jan Gerritsz Hensbergen	In the gate: the gate between W4 and W5 This house was not on the quay side		
-			Deselve	2	2 guilders tax indicates something else than a house	This structure was not on the quay side		
W4	Jacob Cornz xmeecool	6	Gerrit Jans van Hensberg //Thomas van Esch deurwaerder	7	Title: Aen Straet <.> //Grietje Theunis Oosterveen b:d //Herman Oem volgens verclaringe fo: 325 etc//Catharina van Nerven volgens verclaringe als fo:325//Magtelt van Beest //Phillips Heijnsbergen bij scheiding ..<.> 3 mei 1665//Gerrit Jansz van Heijnsbergen	Jufr Magtelt van Best	1 roe 1.5 voet	4.24
						Den poort The gate	3 voet	0.94
W5	Sijn weduwe // Gerrits Dircksz, turfxx	6	Neeltgen Gerrits wed. //De Wed? van Gerrit Dircks turfman	6	<..> //Maerten Cornelis Couineuburg? //Aem Jansz, bouman //Gerrit Dircksz, turfman	Deselve//De Weduwe van Aem Jans	11 voet	3.45
W6	Steven Jacobs, timmerman // Sijn kinderen // Jan Ariensz,droogscheerder	5	Steven Jacobsz timmerman	6	<..> //Maarten Coninienburgh //De kinderen van Catharina Stevens als sijnde kinderen van Steven Jacobs voor hem en sijn huisvrouw <etc...1655 deed>	Maerten Koninienburgh	2 roe 2.5 voet	8.32

BW code	V1620	Tax gul	V1632-1656	Tax gul	HP1648-1812	K1667	Width	Width meter
					//Steven Jacobs timmerman gecomen van Jan Ariensz lakenbereider			
-	Sijn weduwe // Jan Jansz, cleermaecker	6	Maertgen Louwend desselften huisvrouw als in goederen gescheiden sijn //Jan Vrancken turfcooper//De wed van Jan Jansz cleerma(ker)	7	<..>//Cornelia Jans voorn. //Cornelis Jacobsz timmerman//Maertgen Louwen sijn huisvrouw//Jan Vrancken de Lange, veerman	- This house was not on the quay side		
W7	Jeadx Lenartz , cleerma(ker) //Hendrik van Opmeer te Amsterdam	6	Frerik Frericksz out?schoema(ker) //Hend. Lenertsz cleerma(ker)	6	<..>//Schrevel Kerckdorp met 1/6 part//Fredrick Fredrixsz, houtschoemaker //Henrick Leenders, cleermaker	Frerick Frericksz Kerkendorp	7 voet	2.20
						Den krebbe aldaer Krebbe= waste place	Not given	
W8	Sijn weduwe // Jan Jansz Groen, spinnewijelma(ker)	6	nd		<..>Arich Theunisz van Ende //Gerrit Jansz van Hensbergen, sijn soon bij scheidjinge gepassert op de 25 febr 1656 hier vertoont//Jan Gerritsz van Hensbergen, vleijschhouwer	Arijen Theunis van der Ende	1 roe 1.5 voet	4.24
W9	Claertgen Gerrits Wed Jan Joosten, cuijper // Lysbeth Corn. Wed Jan Claesz // Lenart Tonis ? cleermak(er) // Deselve (=Dirck Claess, cramer)	3?	nd		<..>//Nicolaes van den Ende //Cornelis Voorstadt//Arijen Dircx Vos, brandewijnbrander	Arij Vos//Pieter Voorstadt	1 roe 3 voet	4.71
W10	nd		Gerrit Both van der Eem//Dirck Claesz van der Minne	6	<..>//Gerrit Both van der Eembt bij willigh decreet NNfol212 //Dirck Claesz van der Minne, cramer	Gerrit Both// Samuel Both van der Eem Corner house with Jacob Gerritstraat	2 roe 6 voet	9.42
	Title: Noortzijde van de Burchwal Northside of the Burgwal. Concerns all the houses above.							

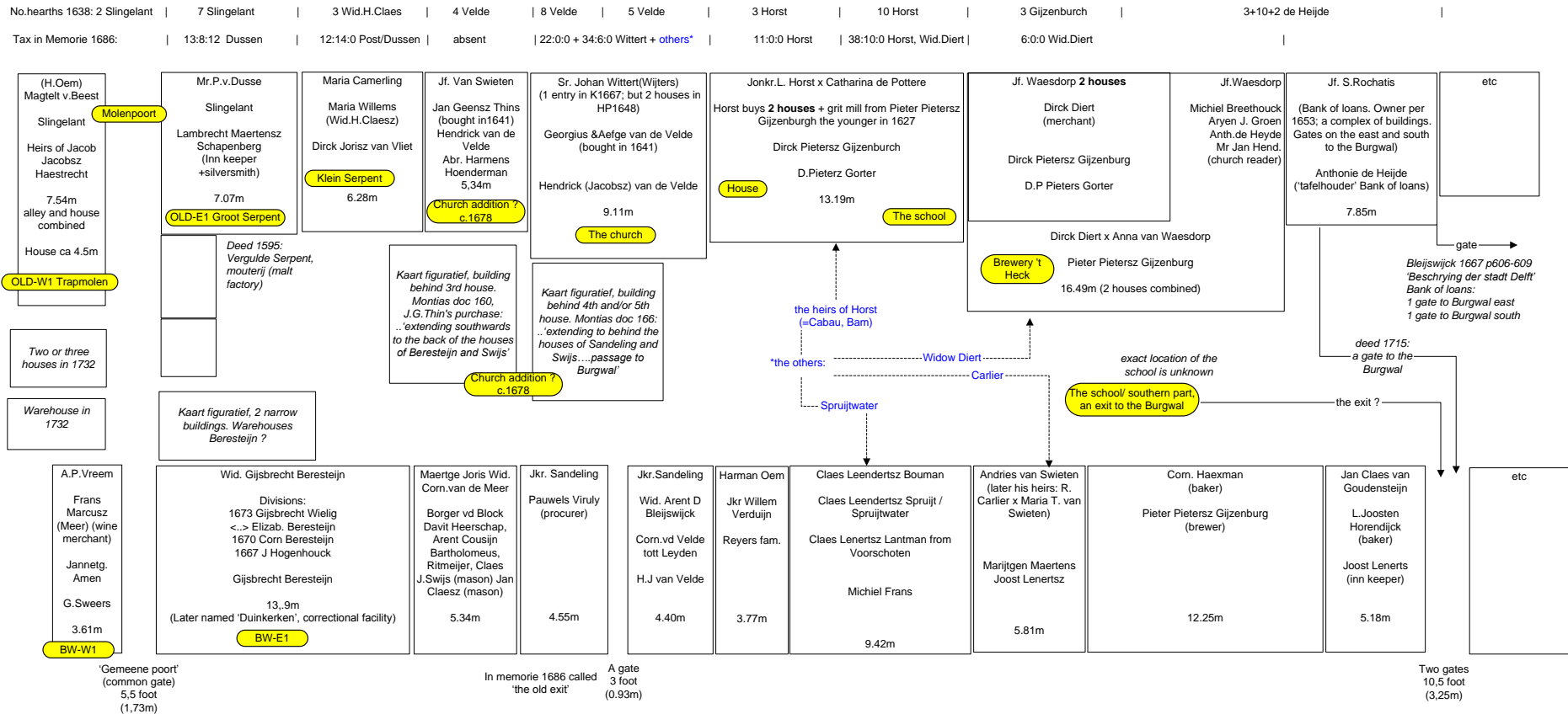
Verification of house widths

The total meters in K1667 are compared to the Google-Earth ruler and the kadastrale minuut map of 1832 (by extrapolation of given scale on the PC screen). Also the number of houses/roofs in old maps are compared. The BW-E series is excluded as it is curved. No technique is exact. Feet in Kadegeld were rounded off to 0.5.

	#roofs map J. Blaeu 1649	# roofs Kaart Figuratief 1678	# posts in K1667	Plots in Kadastrale minuut 1832	Total meters in K1667	Approx.meters Google-Earth	Approx.meters Kadast.minuut 1832	Explanation of bigger difference
OLD-E1 to OLD-E14	12	ca.18	11 (14 houses)	- (area changed)	86.84	92	89.3	Church built into the Molenpoort alley
OLD-W1 to OLD-W10 Including Molenpoort alley (ca. 3m wide)	12	10	8 (10 houses)	10	55.08	57	55.4	
BW-W1 to BW-W11 Excluding Molenpoort alley (1.73m)	10	9	10 (11 houses)	9	54.48	60	58.2	BW-W1 demolished (was 3.61m)

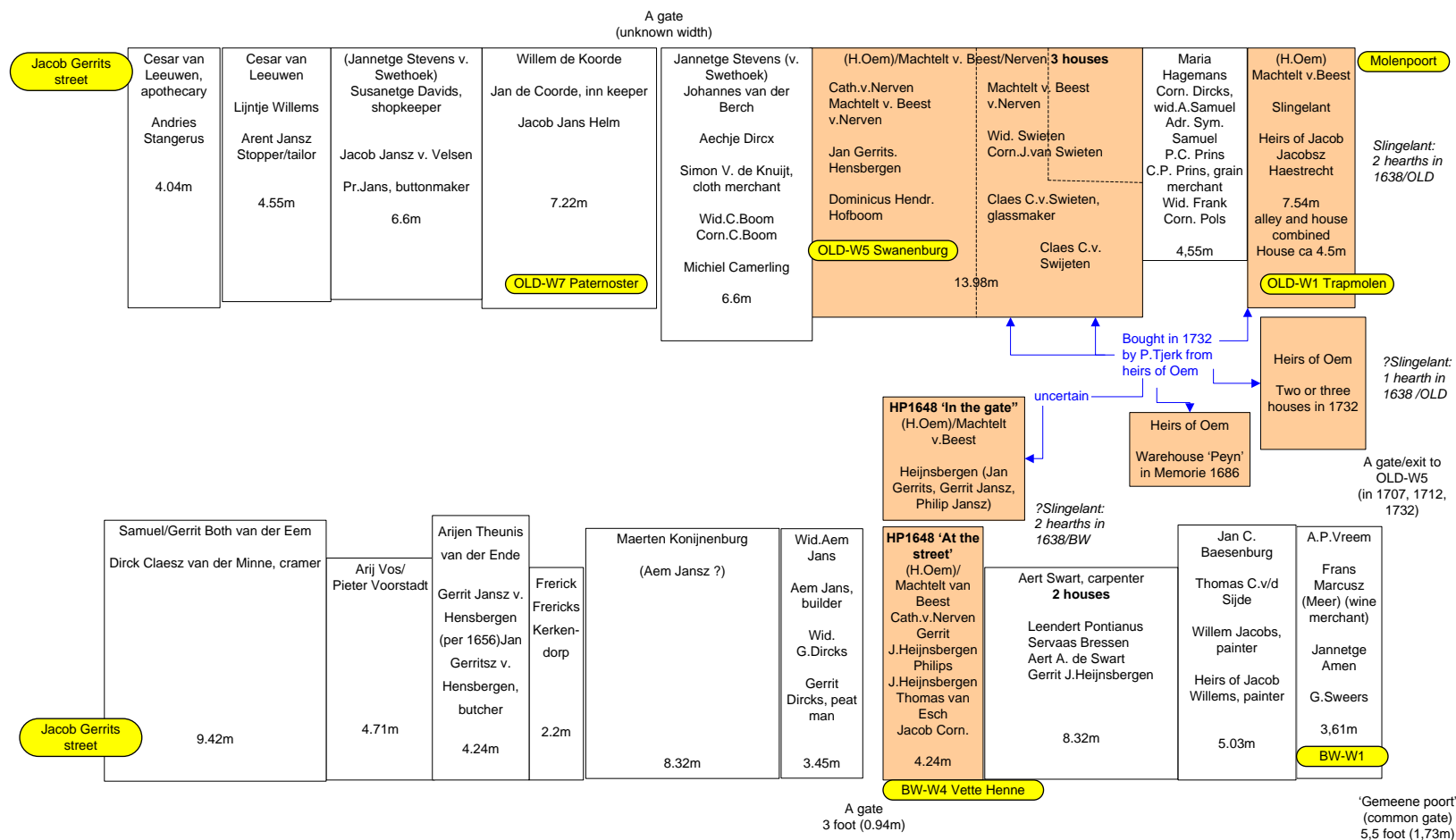
Addendum 2: Schematic plot of houses east of the Molenpoort

Houses east of the Molenpoort. Widths from kadegeld 1667 on scale (depths arbitrary)



Addendum 3: Schematic plot of houses west of the Molenpoort

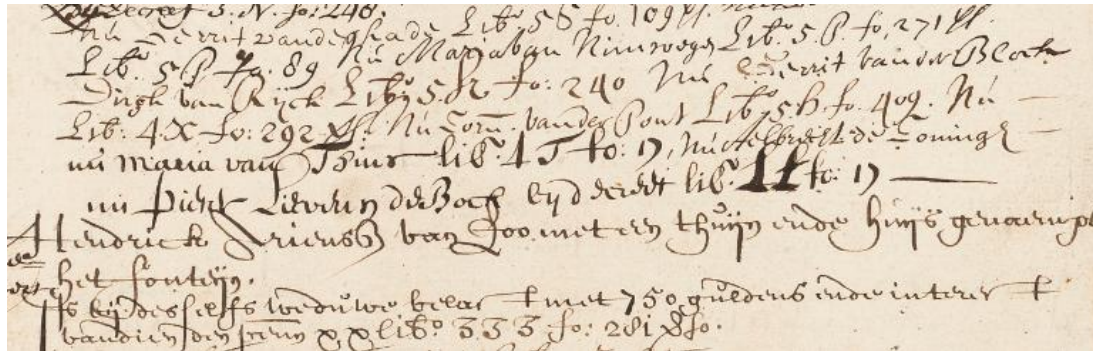
Houses west of the Molenpoort. Widths from kadegeld 1667 on scale (depths arbitrary)



Nb. Slingelant is taxed four times in Haardsteden 1638: OLD-E1, OLD-W1 and two others, one of which on the Burgwal (order: Amen, Sijde, Slingelant, Heijnsbergen, Esch). But in V1632 he is recorded only twice as owner (OLD-E1, OLD-W1). The remaining two Haardsteden records were houses somehow coupled; they are drawn but the exact position is unclear. Other central buildings stem from the Pieter Tjerk sales deed of 1732; they also have approximate positions and sizes. Salmon colored plots: owned by Machtelt van Beest. See addendum 10 for a more detailed interpretation of the 1732 Tjerk deed.

Addendum 4: The house 'Fontejjn' in the Annabogert bought by Maria Thins

Montias (p158, n12) mentions a house in HP1648 fol. 9740 (actually 974) owned by Maria Thins 'in the Haaghpoort' (city gate in the north). In reality it was not in- but near the Haagpoort.



Excerpt from Huizenprotocol 1648 fol. 974v. The entry starts with 'Hendrick Ariensz van Roo met een thuyn ende huijs genaempt het fontejjn' (with a garden and house named fontejjn). Nb. Consecutive owners were written upwards from the first entry, mortgages and debts were written downwards.

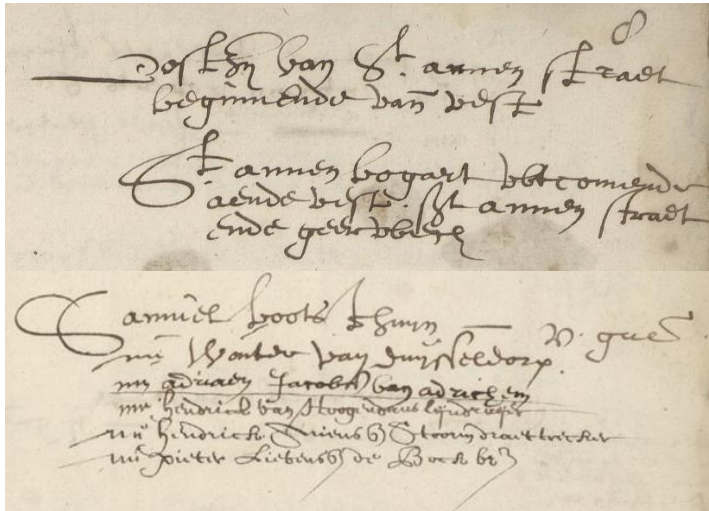
HP1648 starts each entry in the situation in 1648. Owners in consecutive order are Hendrick Ariensz van Roo, Pieter Lieveren de Bock, Maria van Thins, Aelbrecht de Coningh¹⁵⁴, Corn(elis) van der Pont, Dirck van Rijck, Gerrit van der Block, Marja van Nimwegen, Gerrit van der Kade. We can be reasonably sure 'Maria van Thins' is indeed Vermeer's mother-in-law as the name including its variations (Tin, Thin, Thins, Thijn, Thijns) is very rare in the Delft databases. There is one alternative candidate although very unlikely that should be mentioned. Vermeers' daughter Maria (born c1654) who married Johannes Cramer in 1674 sometimes used different surnames at baptisms: van Meeren in 1680 and 1682, Tins in 1683 and van der Meer in 1690 (Blankert, 1992, p66). It may however have been the clerk writing down what he thought was the surname. Because of her young age the likelihood she bought this house –and under her own name- is negligible.

Pieter de Bock (nn-1670) was the 6th and last owner in V1632-1656 (see scan below) and bought the house before 1654: he received financial compensation for damages caused by the 1654 gunpowder explosion: (i) an unknown amount for a garden; 2nd entry in chapter 'east of the St. Annastreet starting at the vest ' (city wall) and (ii) 600 guilders for a house on the Geerweg north-side. Both entries likely concerned 'Fontejjn' as no other record exists of him owning anything else in the area.

The waarbrief belonging to the purchase by Maria Thins is 4Tfo:17 and the next is 4Xfo:292. Both are lost (only series from 5C upward have survived; they start in 1682) so exact sale date and price cannot be retrieved. Maria (or heirs; she died 1680) therefore must have sold the house before 1682. If the handwriting is anything to go by, the entries for De Bock and Thins appear to be by one clerk and the following entries by another, meaning chances are higher Maria Thins bought it earlier rather than later in the timeframe c1654-c1670 (De Bock's purchase – De Bock's death).

Where was the house ? We can follow the route the clerk walked to construct the V1632 register: it starts at the Haaghpoort going south on the Noordeinde (fol.1), then going east on the north side of the Culck (Kolk), then north again along the St. Annenstraat west-side, then arriving at the city wall, then going south along the east of the St. Annenstraat (fol.8) and arriving at Geerweg north side (fol.9a). However, at fol.10b the title is again 'St. Annenstraat east-side' and the first entry is 'stadshuijsken aan vest' (little city house at the wall). Fol.13 has the chapter 'Corner of Geerweg north-side and St. Annenstraat going to the east'. It means that everything that was in fol.8, 9 and 10a was in the orchard/garden area north of the Geerweg. Bogert/boogaert is old dutch for boomgaard (orchard). Historically the orchards belonged to the St. Annen cloister. Owner De Bock is listed in the second entry on fol.8:

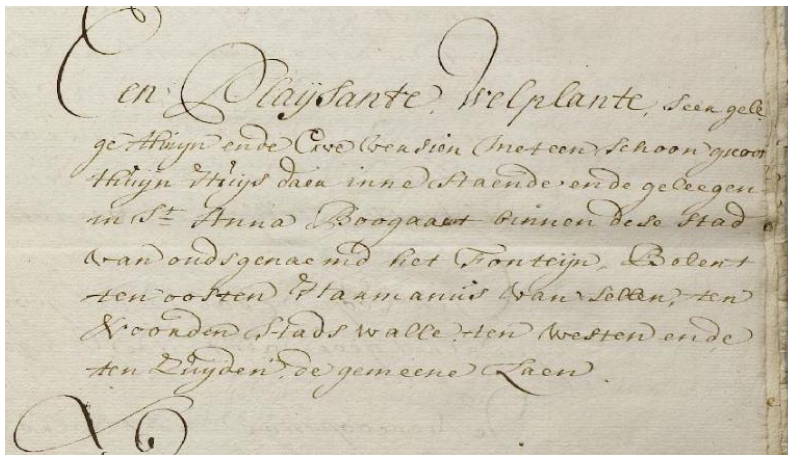
¹⁵⁴ Aelbrecht de Coningh, a wine merchant, owned a house very close to Gillis Gillisz Cramer right next to the Stadsdoelen/Surgeon's room on the Verwersdijk (see BW-E2). Gillis's son Johannes Cramer married Maria Thins' granddaughter Maria Vermeer.



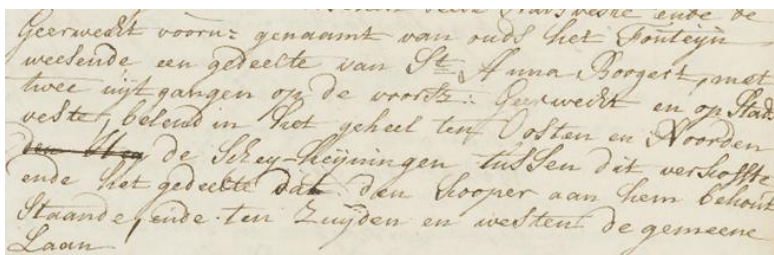
V1632, fol.8r. Chapter titles(2x): 'Oosten van St. Annestraat beginnende van vest. St. Annenbogart Wt?comende aende vest. St. Annestraet ende Geerwech.

The second entry after the chapter title. The house in first instance was listed as 'thuyn' (garden). Owners in consecutive order written downward. Penultimate: Hendrick Ariensz Stoorm(?) draettrecker. Last: Pieter Lievensz de Bock br.(ouwer). Tax V (5) guilders.

Other deeds¹⁵⁵ mentioning the house 'Fonteyn' are from: 17-05-1706, 24-05-1713, 21-06-1724 and 30-05-1789. In 1713 the garden and the 'garden house' is sold by the heirs of the late Maria van Nimwegen widow of Elisaus van Rensen to Gerrit Verkade (Van der Kade) for 600 guilders¹⁵⁶. The description in the deed says ...*from the old days named Fonteyn, to the east Harmanus van Sellen, to the north the city wall, to the south and west the common lane*'.



In the deed of 1724¹⁵⁷ the description says 'a part of the St. Anna boogert, an exit to the city wall and to the Geerweg' and 'Scheijheijningen' (separation fences, which could be wood or bushes)

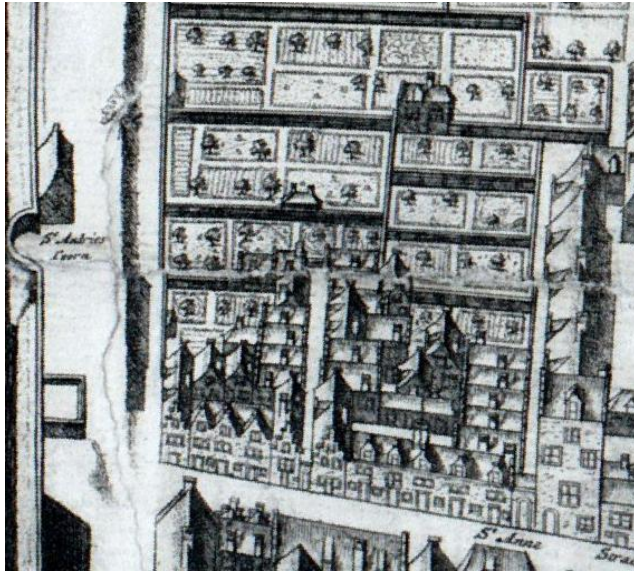


¹⁵⁵ Digitaalarenadelft.nl

¹⁵⁶ 24-05-1713 Not. Adriaen Hoppesteijn van Leeuwen, Inv.2556B, fol.107

¹⁵⁷ 21-06-1724 Not. Cornelis Pijnakker, Inv. 2709, fol. 654

In summary, 'Fontejn' was east of the St. Annenstraat, near the city wall, connected to a common lane to the west and south and a lane/exit to the Geerweg. The modern HisGis database unfortunately does not (cannot) pinpoint the house as it is based on the Kadastrale minuut map of 1832 and plots/houses have changed over time.



Kaart Figuratief 1675. St. Annenstraat with the orchards to the east. On the far left the city wall (=north). Fontejn probably was one the singular houses with a garden as later sales deeds mention exit/lane to the Geerweg (which is beyond another block of houses to the right, not seen in the picture) and a common lane to the west and south.

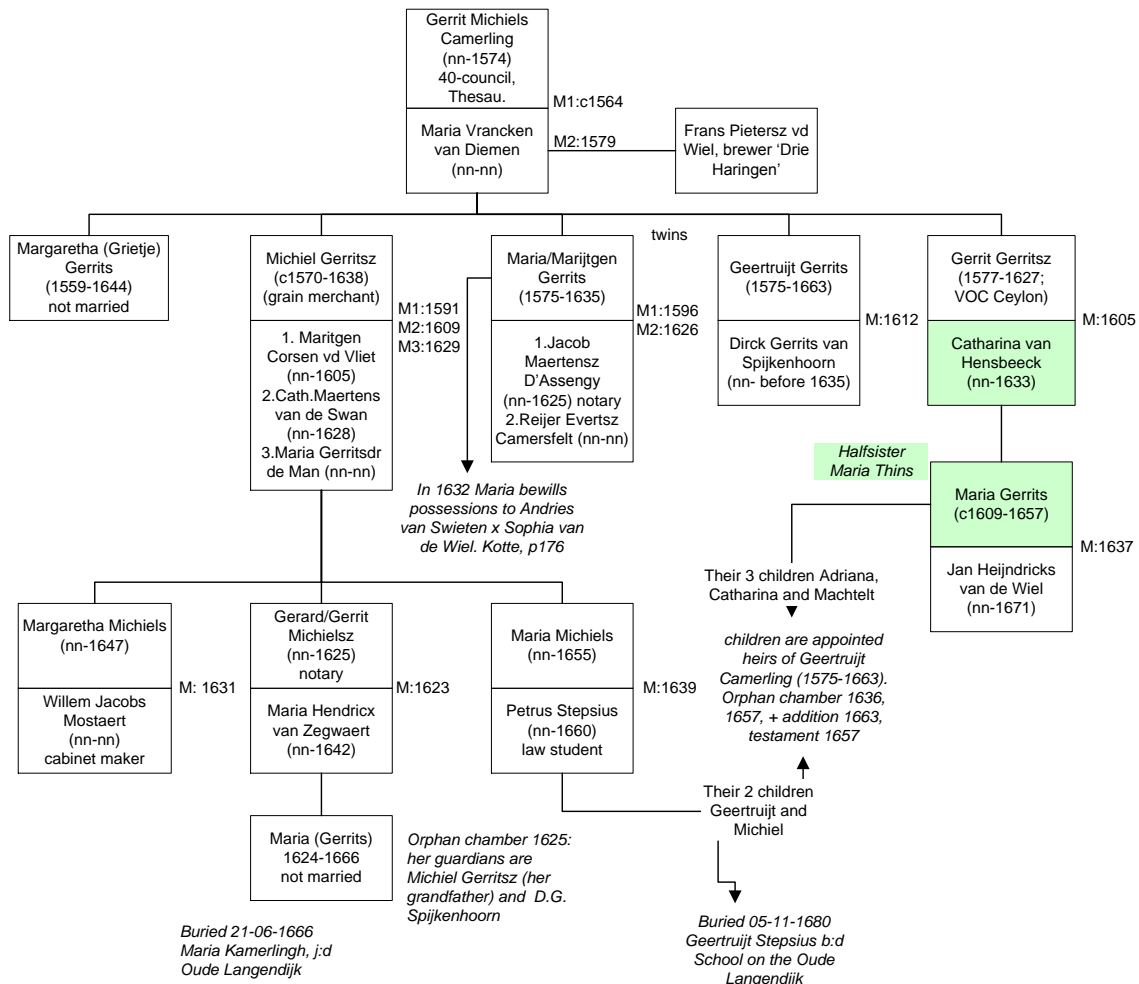
After the gunpowder explosion in 1654 likely more houses were built than were listed in V1632.

This area proves popular in Machtelt van Beest/Pieter de Bock's circle as Machtelt's cousin, the notary Johan van Beest also owned a garden and a 'thuijnhuis' lying east of the St. Annenstraat. In 1672¹⁵⁸ the three children (Jan, Margrieta, Jannetgen) of Johan and his second wife Meijnske van Driebergen (both deceased) sell the house to Jannetge Soeteman van Haemstede, wife of the late Jan Pietersz Storm (For Storm and Driebergen see chapter OLD-W1).

¹⁵⁸ 29-04-1672 Sint Joris Gasthuis, Arch. 261, Inv. 820, Charter 7820. Transfer sum 650 guilders. Neighbours north: Nomma van der Holst; east: Daem Claesz van Schie; south: Adolff Vlaerdingerwout; west: d'Acquet. HP1648, fol 798r: Meijnsken Driebergen, widow, in de poort van St. Annen clooster.

Addendum 5: The Camerling family in Delft

The family tree is mainly based on Kotte (Kotte, 1964 /no tree supplied) supplemented with own data. Nb. The birth year of Gerrit Gerritsz Camerling (1577) is inconsistent with his father's death (september 1574); one of the dates must be wrong. Note there are three different Maria Gerrits Camerling in three generations. In green Maria Thins' relatives; Catharina van Hensbeeck was her mother.



M-nnnn is year of marriage

Maria Gerrits Camerling's (1575-1635) first husband, the notary Jacob D'Assengy (nn-1625) was a known supporter of the Jesuits in Delft, evidenced by (support) letters on/for the Jesuits (Akker, 2016, p14-15). His grave in the New Church in Delft starts with two Van Diemens (Bloys, 1922, p78/79) and includes Gerrit(Gerard) Michielsz Camerling (nn-1625). Also Maria Thin's half sister Maria Gerrits Camerling (c1609-1657) and her husband Jan Hendricks van der Wiel (c1602-1671) were buried in the same grave. Bloys's notes:

33. Hier jeyt begraven schout Vranck van Diemen en Henderyck Vrankens van Diemen ende Jacob d'Assengy starf den 3e September ao. 1625 ende Gerrit Michielse Kamerlynck starf den 22e September ao. 1625 ende Maria Gerritsdr. Kamerling oud 48 jaer huysvrouw van Jan Heynderickx van Wiel starf den 14 January ao. 1657 ende Jan Heynderickx van der Wiel oud 69 jaer en starf den 25 October int jaer ons Heeren ao. 1671.
(Dit opschrift is evenals de twee wapens en vier kwartieren vrijwel verdwenen.)

Here lies buried sheriff Vranck van Diemen and Henderyck Vrankens van Diemen and Jacob d'Assengy died 3rd of September anno 1625 and Gerrit Michielse Kamerlynck died the 22nd September anno 1625 and Maria Gerritsdr Camerling old 48 years housewife of Jan Heynderickx van Wiel died 14th January 1657 and Jan Heynderickx van der Wiel old 69 years and died 25th October in the year of our Lord anno 1671. (This writing and the two Coat of Arms and four quarters are almost vanished)

The reason why D'Assengy's wife Maria Camerling was not included in the grave may have to do with the fact she re-married in 1626 to Reijer Camersfelt.

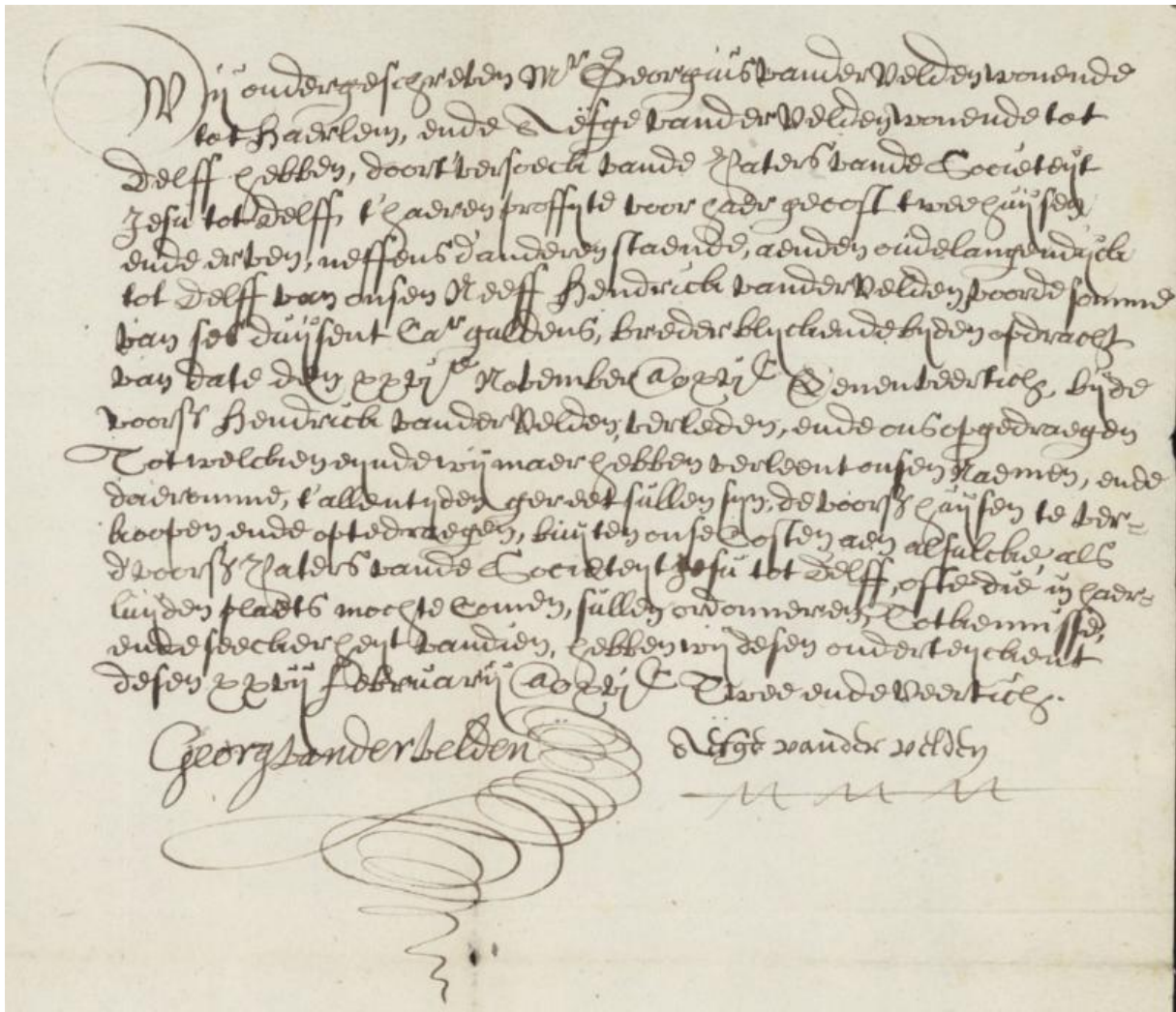
In a will of 1632 Maria Gerrits Camerling (1575-1635) leaves all her goods to Andries van Swieten and his wife Sophia van der Wiel (Kotte, 1964).

Geertruijt Stepsius was buried out of the Jesuit school (OLD-E7) in 1680 as b:d (unmarried spinster). Kotte (1964, p175) mentions she was a painter; her great-aunt Geertruijt Gerrits Camerling had paintings by her hanging in the house.

The catholic Camerling name died out; after 1627 there were no more male descendants born.

Addendum 6: House purchase by Georgius & Aefge van de Velde for the Jesuits

Haarlem Archives, Diert van Melissant archive, band 281, Inv.no. 243, document 27-02-1642. There is no notary name on the document, likely a private statement between parties.



De ondergetekenden **Mr. Georgius van de Velde** wonende tot Haarlem en **Aefge vander Velde** wonende tot Delft hebben doort versoeck van de paters van de Societeijt Jesu tot Delft t' (ot) haeren proffijte voor haer gecoft twee hujsen ende erven neffens d' anderen staende aenden oude langendijck tot Delft van onser neeff **Hendrick van der Velde** voor de somme van zes duizend car. gulden wederblijckende bij den opdracht van dato den 26 november @ (anno) 16eenentveertig bij de voorn. **Hendrick van der Velde**; verleden, ende ons opgedraegen tot welcken eijnde wij maer hebben verleent onsen naemen, ende daeromme?, t' allentijde gereet sullen zijn; de voorn hujsen te vercoopen ende op te draegen, buijten onse costen aen alsulcke als d'voorn paters van de Societeijt Jesu tot Delft, often die in haere luijden plaets mochte comen, sullen ordonneren c/t?otbenmisse? ende seeckerheijt vandien hebben wij deses onderteijckend desen 27 februarij @ (anno) 16tweeendeveertig

<signatures Georg vander Velden and Aefge van der Velden>

In summary it says Georgius and Aefge van de Velden bought at the request of the fathers Jesuit two houses lying next to eachother on the Oude Langendijk for 6,000 guilders from their cousin Hendrick van de Velde. They declare they would sell the houses again if the fathers or their successors would request them to do so.

The handwriting in the signature of Aefge looks identical to the text, so she may have wrote the document herself.

At the bottom of the document there is an additional scribble:

27 Febr. 1642
Joffrou van Nerven heeft ^{gegeven} na de doot van Joris van Velde
de renversael dat sy noch haer kinderen niet te pretendieren op
op de helft van het huys, daer men tegenwoordigh kerck(t):
is oock in begrepen het naeste huys daer Sr Potter in woont.

(27 febr 1642 is modern writing)

Joffrou van Nerven heeft ^{gegeven} na de doot van Joris (Jacob?) van Velde een renversael dat sij, noch haer kinderen niet te pretendieren op de helft van het huys, daer(men?) tegenwoordigh kerck(t): is oock inbegrepen het naeste huys daer Sr/hr. Potter in woont.

(Lady van Nerven has given a statement after the death of Joris van Velde, that she nor her children would claim half of the house, presently church. Includes the house next to it where Sr.Potter lives).

Addendum 7: Demolition of sheds on the Nieuwe Kerkhof, taxation Papist corner

Delft notary archives, Hervormde Gemeente Delft, Arch. 445, Inv. 1963, charter 7248, 15-01-1687.

The charter describes the demolition of two sheds and an ‘as-crebbe’ (waste place) on the Nieuwe Kerkhof (a land strip, graveyard, south of the New Church) and flattening by order of the burgomaster and regents, and subsequent taxation of house owners (to the protestant church), in total 18 guilders and 12 penning yearly. The taxes in the charter can also be found in HP1648. Folionumbers on bottom left on the charter (324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331) correspond with folios in HP1648.

The magistrates Franco van Bleijswijck and Willem van der Graeff drew up the final charter; in the months prior the persons had appeared before them individually (order in the document):

- Mr. Joris Diert of Rotterdam, son and heir of the late Dirck Dierts, coopman and Anna van Waesdorp (OLD-E8/9)
- Adriaen Wittert of Leyden, son and heir of the late Johan Wittert (OLD-E 4/5), also representing (‘*mode de rato caverende*’) the children and heirs of the late Maria van Swieten (OLD-E3)
- Jan Stevensz van Selden, also representing the army captain Willem Ingelbij (OLD-east of the Roode Leeuw brewery)
- Notary Cornelis Ouwendijck married to Maria Dedel, daughter and heir of the late Do:(cter) Johan Dedel (OLD-east of the Roode Leeuw brewery)
- Dirck Claesz van Schie, brewer, having bought the brewery de Rode Leeuw (OLD-east of the Roode Leeuw brewery)
- Cornelis Bisschop, master coppersmith (OLD-E14, the bakery/corner house)
- Mr. Herman Oem living here, representing the heirs of the late Jonkr. Lambregt van der Horst (OLD-E6/7)
- Willem de Frein, schoolmaster (OLD-E10/11)
- Maarten Joosten Zuidgeest, shoemaker (OLD-E12)
- Dirck Jansz van Schie, master potter in the ‘Schenkan’ (OLD-east of the Roode Leeuw)

OLD-E1 and OLD-E2 were not taxed. This probably had to do with the east-west boundary of the Nieuwe Kerkhof area. The yearly tax in total was 18gul:12p (gulder:stuiver:penning, ratio 1:20:16) divided als follows:

Jan Stevens van Selden wegens zijn drie huijsen ... 27st :10p
 Dirck Jans van Schie 25st:10p
 Capt Ingelbij 2gul: 3st: 4p
 Ouwendijk uitte hoofde alvorens (referring to: Johan Dedel/his heir Maria Dedel) 24st: 6p
 Dirck Claes van Schie brouwer 2gul: 8st: 8p
 Cornelis Bisschop 20st:8p
 Maarten Joosten Suitgeest voort huijs bij hem gecocht van Pieter Waelpot 8st:10p nog voor sijn voorn huijsinge 7st:10p
 Willem de Freijn voor sijn eerne(?) huis 10st:4p, nog voor sijn woonhuijs 30st:12p
 Mr.Joris Diert voort huis gecomen van Anna van Waesdorp 7st:10p, voort huis gecomen van Dirck Dierts 32st
 De erfgenamen van Lambert van der Horst 30st:2p
 Adriaen Wittert voor sig selven 28st:2p
 Maria van Swieten 15st:12p

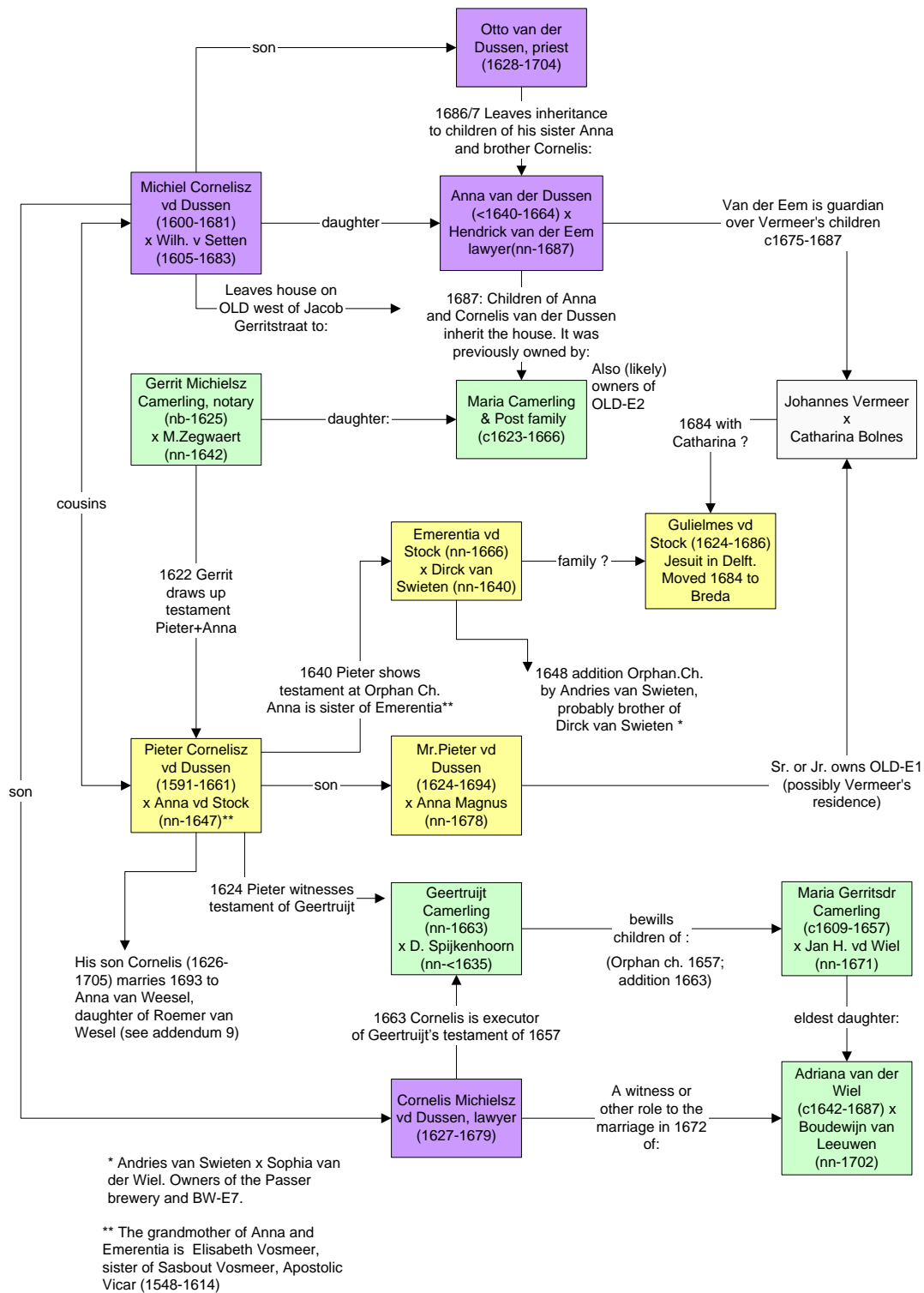
What was the underlying basis for the tax? From the table below it appears it was not based on the house width as the ratio penning/meter varies greatly. Possibly it was related to the value or the surface area.

OLD	Name charter 1687 (Name Kadegeld 1667)	1687 tax	Total in penning	K1667 width	meter	Pen/Mtr ratio
-	Dirck Jansz van Schie, faiencier Schenkan (kadegeld not analyzed)	25st 10p				
-	Jan Stevens van Selden -3 houses (kadegeld not analyzed)	27st 10p				
-	Captain Ingelbeij (Heer van der Nath)	2gul 3st 4p	692	3 roe 9.5 voet	14.30	48.4
-	Notary Ouwendijk x Maria van Dedel (Docter Jan Dedel)	24st 6p	390	2 roe	7.54	51.7
-	Dirck Claesz van Schie , brewer (Kittesteijn, Rode Leeuw)	2gul 8st 8p	776	2 roe 11.5 voet	11.15	69.6
E-14	Cornelis Bisschop , coppersmith (Maerten van de Zele, baker)	20st 8p	328	1 roe 10 voet	6.91	47.5
E-13	Maarten van Zuidgeest 1	8st	138	1 roe	5.34	25.8

OLD	Name charter 1687 (Name Kadegeld 1667)	1687 tax	Total in penning	K1667 width	meter	Pen/Mtr ratio
	(Lijntge Willems)	10p		5 voet		
E-12	Maarten van Zuidgeest 2 (no post in kadegeld; house lies behind)	7st 10p	122			
E-11	Willem de Freijn-1 (Anthonij de Heijde)	10st 4p	164	1 roe 4.5 voet	5.18	31.6
E10	Willem de Freijn-2 (Juffr. Susanna Rochatis)	30st 12p	492	2 roe 1 voet	7.85	62.6
E9	Joris Diert-1 (Juffr. Anna van Waesdorp)	7st 10p	122	4 roe 4.5 voet	16.49	38.4
E8	Joris Diert-2 (Juffr. Anna van Waesdorp for two houses)	32st	512 ----- + 634 total	2 houses combined		
E6/7	Heirs of Lamert van der Horst (Jesuit school) (Jonkr. van der Horst)	30st 2p	482	3 roe 6 voet	13.19	36.5
E4/5	Adriaen Wittert for himself (Jesuit church) (Mr. Johan Wijters/Wittert)	28st 2p	450	3 roe 5 voet	9.11	49.3
E-3	Maria van Swieten (Juffr. Van Swieten)	15st 12p	252	1 roe 5 voet	5.34	47.2
		Total 18 g 12p				

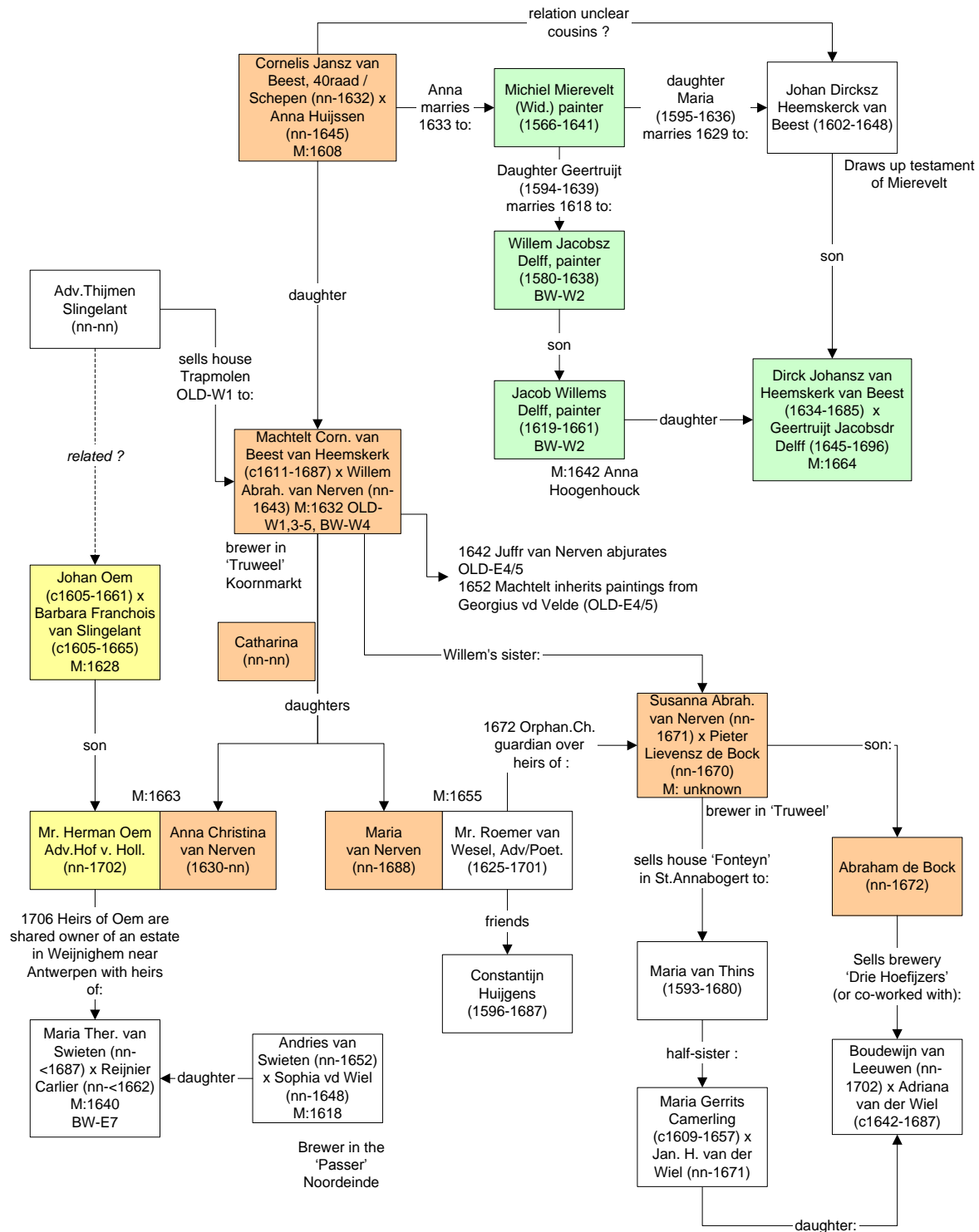
Nb. Names in K1667 differ in part from names in the charter; all have been checked with HP1648 records as being successive owners.

Addendum 8: Relationships Vermeer, Dussen, Camerling, Eem, Stock, Swieten



Nb. For Catharina Bolnes see addendum 13.1

Addendum 9: Relationships Machtelt van Beest, Mierevelt, Delff, Oem, Maria Thins, Bock



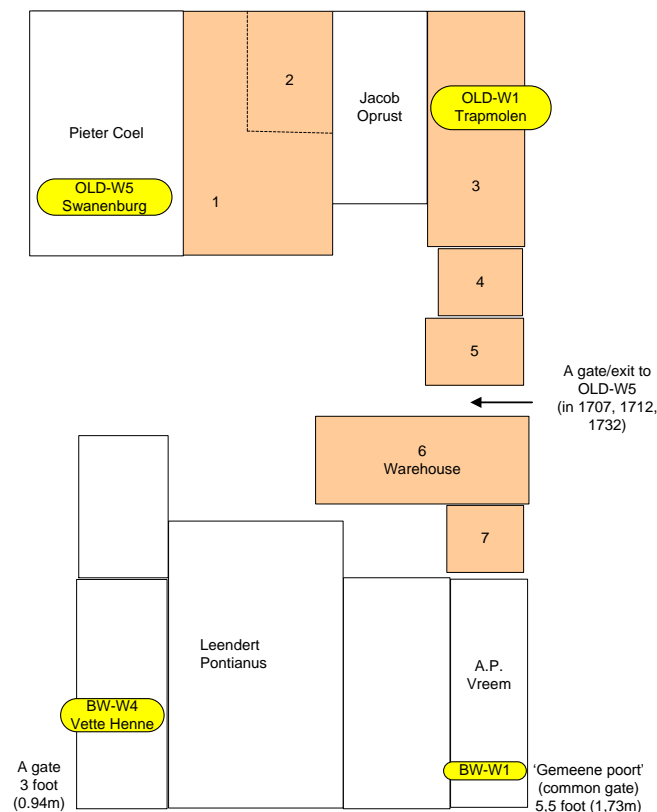
Addendum 10: Clerical errors in the Huizenprotocol 1648

The clerical errors in Huizenprotocol 1648 concern a partly faulty administration of the owner Pieter Tjerk and a subsequent faulty chapter-title inserted later, leading to erroneous owners and localization of houses around the Molenpoort.

In a deed of 18-06-1732 (Delft archives, Arch. 598, Inv. 231, charter 3579) several houses on the Oude Langendijk that belonged to the grandchildren of Machtelt van Beest are sold. The buyer is Pieter Tjerk (Tjerik, Tiarck), the seller is Wilhelmina van Wesel the sole heir of her late sister Maria van Wesel and the late Barbara Oems. Barbara is a daughter of Herman Oem and Wilhelmina/Maria were daughters of Roemer van Wesel. Both men were son-in-law of Machtelt van Beest. The purchase sum is 2,750 gulden for seven houses and a warehouse including some tax arrangements. The deed clearly describes the houses (except no. 8, see below) are situated west of the Molenpoort. The neighbours mentioned in the deed are all known from the present study and serve as further orientation. The houses in the deed are listed as follows:

- 1: a house and courtyard on the Oude langendijk (OLD-W4), to the west the house of Mr. Pieter Coel (OLD-W5, Swanenburg), to the east the next house (=no. 2)
- 2: a house and courtyard (OLD-W3), the previous house to the west (=no.1), to the east Jacob Oprust (OLD-W2; Oprust is next owner after Hagemans)
- 3: a house and courtyard (OLD-W1, Trapmolen), to the west Jacob Oprust (OLD-W2), to the east the Molepoort
- 4: a house and courtyard at the westside of the Molepoort, to the north the previous (= no.3), to the south the next (=no.5)
- 5: a house and courtyard, to the north the previous (= no.4), to the south a gate
- 6: a warehouse, to the north and east the Molenpoort, to the west Leendert Pontianus (BW-W3) and to the south the next house (=no.7)
- 7: a house and courtyard, to the north the warehouse, to the south Arij Pieters Vreem (BW-W1)
- 8: a house and courtyard on the Burgwal north-side (BW-E5, owned by Oem), to the west Jonkr Arent Sandeling (BW-E4), to the east Claas Landman (BW-E6)

It becomes clear that houses no. 4-7 are situated in between the Oude Langendijk and the Burgwal, consistent with 'Kaart figuratief' 1675. The gate mentioned in no.5 probably was the one that gave access to OLD-W5 mentioned in three sales deeds (see OLD-W1-5). Following the description the situation roughly looked like the drawing below (Nb. the exact surface area of the houses and their courtyards are unknown):

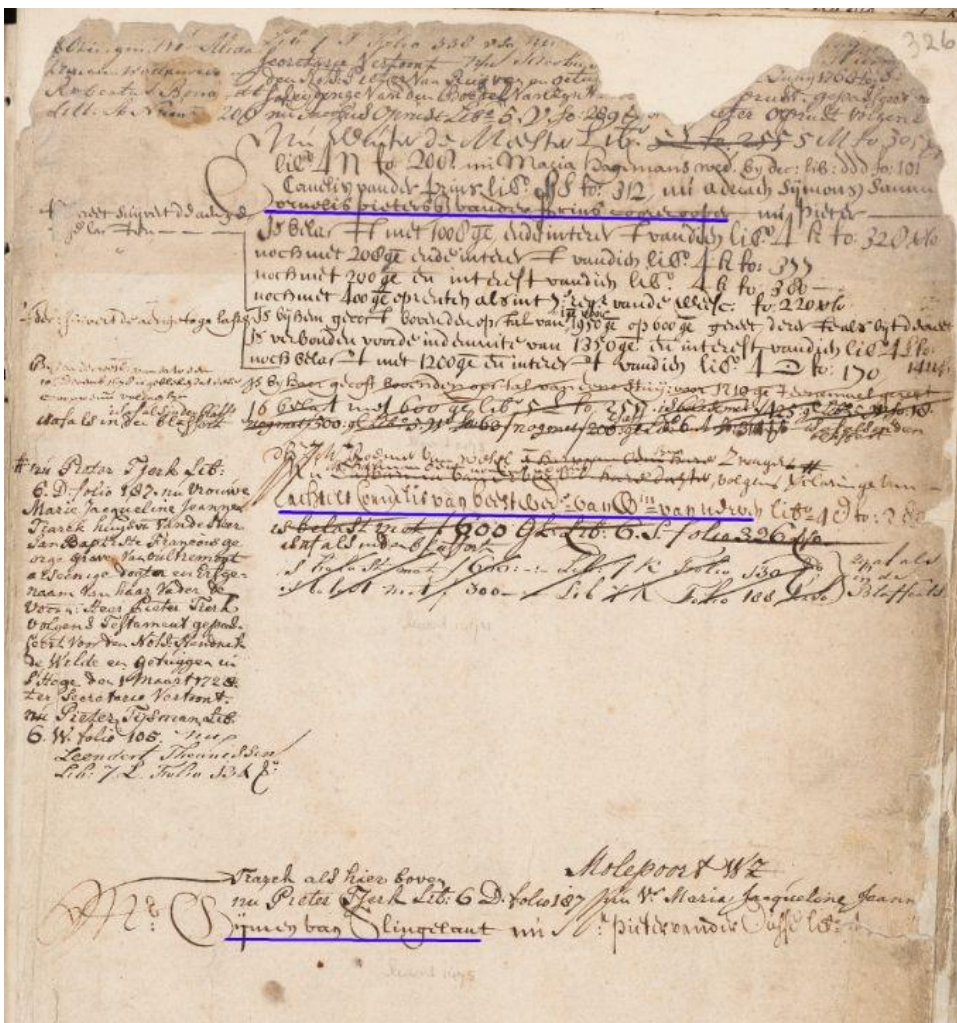


The clerk's problem in 1732 The city clerk –with the deed or waarbrief in hand- correctly added Pieter Tjerk in HP1648 to the posts where Beest/Oem was written but then got stuck with four remaining houses. His solution was to just follow the next four posts in the ledger and write down Tjerk at houses that actually are east of the Molenpoort but having nothing to do with the sale. As the deed explicitly states west, another ‘solution’ -likely later on- was to insert a subchapter ‘Molenpoort WZ’ (WZ = west-side; fol.326r). For a modern reader (and the HisGis database) the subchapter leads to the conclusion the houses/owners of OLD-E1,2,3,4 lay west in the Molenpoort, and this is incorrect. It has for instance led in the past to the erroneous idea Tjerk had bought the Jesuit church. The modern HisGis database presently follows the chapter title resulting in partial erroneous plotting of houses around the Molenpoort.



Comparison of handwriting in titles in Huizenprotocol 1648.

Further arguments the title ‘Molenpoort WZ’ is of a later date are that (i) The handwriting is very different from the default titles in the book (written from the start in 1648) that are all the same handwriting. A comparison can be made with the namesake street Molepoort at the Molslaan (fol:260). Also the index in the front of the ledger is different from the default handwriting, and was no doubt added later. (ii) An original title always has several cm distance vertically to a first owner’s name; the reason was to leave space for future names (new owners were written upwards). This is not the case with the title ‘Molenpoort WZ’ that is close to the first name. (iii) Original titles are always placed centrally; the suspect title is placed far to the right.



Additionally, the same folio (326r) in HP1648 shows a post that was missed by previous authors; there are three posts, not two. Underlined in blue: Cornelis Pieters van der Prins, corencoper (OLD-W2), Machtelt Cornelis van Beest Wid. W(illem) van Nerven (OLD-W1) and Symen van Slingelant/Pieter van der Dusse (OLD-E1).

Addendum 11: Memorie 1686

Paul Begheyn S.J. kindly provided the transcription. Submitted but eventually unpublished in his article ‘Johannes Vermeer en de Jezuiten in Delft’ in Oud Holland (2008). The original document carries the title ‘*Memorie van de huizen, met de huiren, en de verpondingen van de statie van Delft a° 1686*’ (notation of the houses with rents and taxes of the (Jesuit) station at Delft). Source: Antwerpen, Rijksarchief, Provincia Flandro-Belgica, inv.nr. 3214; Nijmegen, Archief Nederlandse Jezuiten, C.4.c. (copy by A. van Lommel SJ, 1872). Published (incomplete and with many errors) in: F. van Hoeck, ‘De Jezuiten-statie te Delft, 1592-1709-1771’, Haarlemsche Bijdragen 60 (1948), 443-444.

The table is based on Begheyn’s transcription that follows the entries in the original document. The entries have been re-ordered to the house coding in this paper (OLD-E1 etc). The first column (Ori) is the entry number in the original document. In the latin notes there is one ‘*ni fallor*’ (if I am not mistaken) which indicates that at least some was written down by memory. Rent/tax denomination ‘x-y-z’ is guilder-stuivers-penning. ‘Nerven’ is Machtelt van Beest van Heemskerck, the widow of Willem van Nerven.

The matching of the Memorie and house codes in this article is also based on addendum 12. The boxed area is the Molenpoort west-side

Ori	house code and owners	entry remark	entry text	rent	tax (verponding)
12	OLD-E1 Dussen The Roozendaels were family of Maria Thins in Gouda		Het huis ‘ Groot serpent ’ bewoont van meiuwffrouwen Roozendael , staet op den naem van mijn Heer Pieter van der Dussen	130-0-0	13-8-12
13	OLD-E2 See discussion in OLD-E2	successio lateralis Lat:lying next to	Het ‘ Klein serpent ’ bewoont van Aeltie Leenderts etc. op den naem van Nicolaas Post , nu klynen Cornelis van der Dussen	60-0-0	12-14-0
1	OLD-E4/5 Witter Carlier, Horst, Diert , Spruitwater owned surrounding houses east and southeast. Cabau and Bom (Bam) are heirs of Horst.	D. de Witter et D. Carlier non redempt. Renversaele. Lat: no formal contract (?)	Het kerkhuis The churchhouse. Twice taxed. Verpondinge staende op de naem van mijn Heer Witter tot Leiden, de erfgenamen van mevrouw Carlier tot Antwerpen, mijn Heer van der Horst nu zijne erfgenamen (heirs), mevrouw Cabauw ende Florentius Bom , nog de weduwe Diert ende Nicolaes Spruitwater	nihil	22-0-0 34-6-0
14	OLD-E6 Horst House between the church and the school		Het huis tusschen het kerkhuis en de school daer Jobpie in woont op den naem van mijn Heer van der Horst , nu mevrouwe Cabauw ende Florentius Bam	60-0-0	11-0-0
2	OLD-E7 Horst The school OLD8/9 Diert		Het huis van het school staende op de naem van mijn Heer vander Horst , nu zijne erfgenamen Mevrouw van Cabauw, ende Florentius Bom nog de weduwe van Diert	0-0-0	38-10-0
3	OLD-E8/9 Diert		Het huis van de scrijwerker staet op de naem van de weduwe Diert	72-0-0	6-0-0
6	OLD-W1 Nerven Tax is for all the houses in the Molenpoort alley: Ori 6-10		Het huis van Maritie Kley op de naem van Jouffrou van Nerven . Huire Verpondinge word gerekent t’zamen met de geheele Molepoort	30-0-0	-
7	Central house/Nerven		Het huis van Catrijntje de naeister op Jouffrou van Nerven verpondinge ut supra Lat: as above	19-0-0	-
8	Central house?/unclear		Het huis daer neffens (next to Ori. no.7)	0-0-0	-
9	Warehouse /Nerven. Central house. ‘Peyn’ is an unknown term		Het Peyn packhuys op meiuwffrou van Nerven . Verpondinge van alles in de poort Tax for the whole Molenpoort	70-0-0	15-0-0
10	Central house/Nerven. Probably above BW-W1		Het huis neffens het Pakhuys op mejuffrou van Nerven . Verpondinge begrepen in het boven	25-0-0	
5	OLD-W3 Nerven		Het huis van Lysbet Cornelis, ook op Meiuwffrou van Nerven	25-4-0	5-0-0
4	OLD-W4 Nerven Next to OLD-W5 Swanenburg	Neffens (next to) Elisabeth Cornelis et M. Oem	Het huis van Maria ende Cornelia van Swieten , staet op meiuwffrou van Nerven	60-0-0	6-14-8

Ori	house code and owners	entry remark	entry text	rent	tax (verponding)
11	BW-W1 Vreem A.P. Vreem. ‘Turfmarkt’ is old name of Burgwal	debetur pauperibus Lat: to be given to the poor	Het huis op het hoekie van de poort corner of the gate op de Turfmarkt op den naem van Arien Pietersse	50-0-0	7-0-0
15	BW-E4 Sandeling Next to the old exit, right side	successio lateralis	Het huis naest den ouden uitgank , staende aen de regter hand op den naem van mijn Heer Sandelingh	65-0-0	7-0-0
16	BW-E3 Sandeling Next to the old exit, left side	successio lateralis	Het huis naest den voorschreven uitgank staende aen de linkerhand , op den naem van mijn Heer Sandelingh , ni fallor Lat: if not mistaken	52-0-0	10-0-0
17	BW-E5 Oem		Het huis van Maritie Michiels staende op den naem van mijn Heer Oems	50-0-0	6-0-0
18	BW-E6 Lenerts Spruijt = Spruijtwater ? HP1648: owner is Claes Lenertsz Spruijt K1667: Claes Lenertsz, bouman	Ignoratur successio Lat: unknown successor	Het huis van Maria Thomas neffens Maria Michiels op den naem van Claes Leendertse landman onder Voorschoten oft Nicolai Spruijtwater (‘oft’ = ‘or’, author appears unsure)	50-0-0	12-0-0
19	BW-E7 Carlier	non dedit renversale Lat: not given debetur pauperibus	Het huis van Clara Pietersse ende Henderikie staende op de naem van de erfgenamen van mevrouw Carlier tot Antwerpen	42-0-0	7-10-0
20		Ignoratur quae sit domus Lat: unknown where the house is	Non scitur ubi sita sit domus sub nomine Nicolai Spruijtwater , elocari solita 54 florens. ignoratur vir et successio Lat : unknown where the house is, normally rent 54fl., unknown succession	(54)	
21	Oppel = Hodenpijl , a village near Schipluiden.		Villa Oppel sub nomine Dni Cornelii van der Dussen , dedit renversale, elocatur, verpondinge Lat : partially rented	100-0-0	
Proventus purus ex elocatione domuum et villae detractis oneribus ./ de verpondingen Lat: nett profit after costs				607-0-0	

Addendum 12: Tax comparison V1620, V1632-1656 and Memorie 1686

Tax (verponding) comparison of houses around the Molenpoort. The purpose is only to match houses /owners via the tax height. Only the guilder amount is given for ease of comparison (stuivers/penningen omitted). Colours are for ease of comparison. ‘Nerven’ indicates Machtelt van Beest van Heemskerck widow of Willem van Nerven.

Name in K1667	Width (m) in K1667	Tax 1620	Tax 1632	Tax 1686	inhabitant/owner	
OLD-E9 Diert/Waesdorp	16.49 1 entry; 'two (sic) houses'	7(8?)	6	6	the cabinet maker/Diert	
OLD-E8 Diert/Waesdorp		20	20			
OLD-E7 Horst	13.19 1 entry	11	12	38	the school/Horst+Diert	
OLD-E6 Horst		11	11	11	house in between church and school/Horst	
OLD-E5 Wittert	9.11 1 entry	6	7	22	the churchhouse/Wittert + others *	34 church house*
OLD-E4 Wittert		13	15			
OLD-E3 Thins	5.34	7	12	-	absent	
OLD-E2 Camerling	6.28	12	12	12	nn/Post/Dussen**	
OLD-E1 Dussen	7.07	8	13	13	nn/Dussen	
BW-E3 Sandeling	4.55	6	7	10	nn/Sandeling	
BW-E4 Sandeling	4.40	5	6 (9?)	7	nn/Sandeling	
BW-E5 Oem	3.77	5	6	6	Maritie Michiels/Oems	
BW-E6 Spruijt	9.42	10	12	12	Maria Thomas/Spruitwater	
BW-E7 Swieten	5.81	7	7	7	Clara Pieterse+Henrikie/heirs Carlier	
BW-W1 Vreem	3.61	7	7	7	nn/Arien Pieterse (=Vreem)	
OLD-W1 Nerven	4.0-4.5	15	15	15	for the whole Molenpoort	
					- Maritie Kley/Nerven	Likely OLD-W1
					- Catrijntie/Nerven	
					- the house next to Catrijntie***	
					- the warehouse/Nerven	
					- the house next to the warehouse/Nerven #	
OLD-W3 Nerven	13.98	3	5	5	Lysbeth Cornelis/Nerven	
OLD-W4 Nerven^	(1 entry; 3 houses)	6	6	6	Maria+Cornelia v. Swieten/Nerven 'next to Lysbeth Corn. and Mr.Oem'	
OLD-W5 Nerven/Oem		16	16	-	Absent, was not donated to the Jesuits	
BW-W4 Nerven/Oem	4.24	unclear	7	-	Absent, was not donated to the Jesuits	

*The churchhouse is one listing in Memorie 1686 but has two separate tax values (22 and 34 guilders). The difference (12) is exactly the tax for OLD-E3, Jan Geensz Thins' house.

** The names Post or Dussen are not recorded in HP1648. See OLD-E2 for discussion.

*** No rent was collected for this house.

^ OLD-W3+4 were owned by van Claes van Swieten and son in V1620/V1632-1656. Maria and Cornelia possibly are descendants allowed to remain there by Machtelt van Nerven but not necessarily. The Memorie states it was 'next to Lysbeth Cornelis (OLD-W3) and Mr.Oem (OLD-W5)' so it must be OLD-W4.

By and large taxes in 1686 are about the same as decades before (no inflation); any significant increase likely stems from enlargement.

The churchhouse is taxed twice: 22 and 34 guilders. Multiple owners are mentioned: Wittert, Carlier, heirs of Horst, widow Diert, Spruitwater. They owned houses to the east and south-east of the church. Jan Geensz Thins' house OLD-E3 is not mentioned in Memorie 1686. Either it was incorporated into the church much earlier and Thin's name got lost in time, or the house never became part of the Jesuit station (akin to OLD-E5 Nerven/Oem, OLD-W2 Samuels, BW-E1 Beresteijn and BW-E2 Swijs). The former seems the most likely though.

Addendum 13: Varia

These addenda contain information that did not easily fit in a specific house chapter. They might be of interest to the reader nevertheless.

13.1 Catharina Bolnes

Catharina moved to Breda with her children in 1684 and lived there until 1687 (Montias, 1989, doc 419 and 425). The reason for this sudden move was not explained but possibly she joined the Jesuit father Guilelmes van der Stock (1624-1686). Guilelmes had worked in Breda, was sent to work in Delft (1677-1684) where he is recorded living 'in the house of Adriaen Wittert' (Berckel, 1900, p247) which is the churchhouse OLD-E4/5. On 07-08-1684 he was sent back to Breda, the very same year Catharina surfaces there (21-10-1684). Another fact in support of this idea is that the Jesuit station in Breda was sponsored by Aleidis Roosendael, Maria Thins's distant cousin, as evidenced by certain letters and her role as financial guarantor for the Breda station (Akker, 2016, p48; no specific references provided). Guilelmes died in Breda on 27-12-1686.

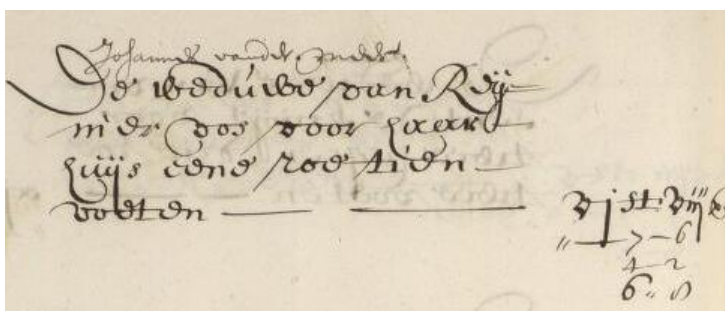
Guilelmes may have been related to the sisters Emmerentia- and Anna van der Stock who were married to the Delft catholics Van Swieten and Van der Dussen. See addendum 8 for a scheme.

Catharina made her last testament on 27-12-1687 and instated the lawyer Hendrik Terbeck van Coesfelt in The Hague as new guardian over her five underaged children. The release of Hendrik van der Eem as former guardian was sofar unexplained, but the explanation is simple: he was buried 21-07-1687.

Catharina was buried 02-01-1688 out of the house 'Blauwe hant', her daughter Maria's house.

13.2 Fate of Mechelen inn

In 1667 the 'widow of Reijnier Vos' (i.e. Digna Baltens) pays quay tax for the Mechelen inn. Above the entry is written Johannes van der Meer, probably added shortly after 1670 when Digna had died.



K1667, fol.151v. The widow of Reijnier Vos for her house, one roe ten voet (6.91m). Tax: six stuiver: eight penning.

Vermeer had become owner of the inn 'Mechelen' in 1672 through inheritance (Montias, 1989, doc 332) but the fate of the inn after Vermeer had died seems unpublished. From 1669 onwards it had already been leased out by his mother

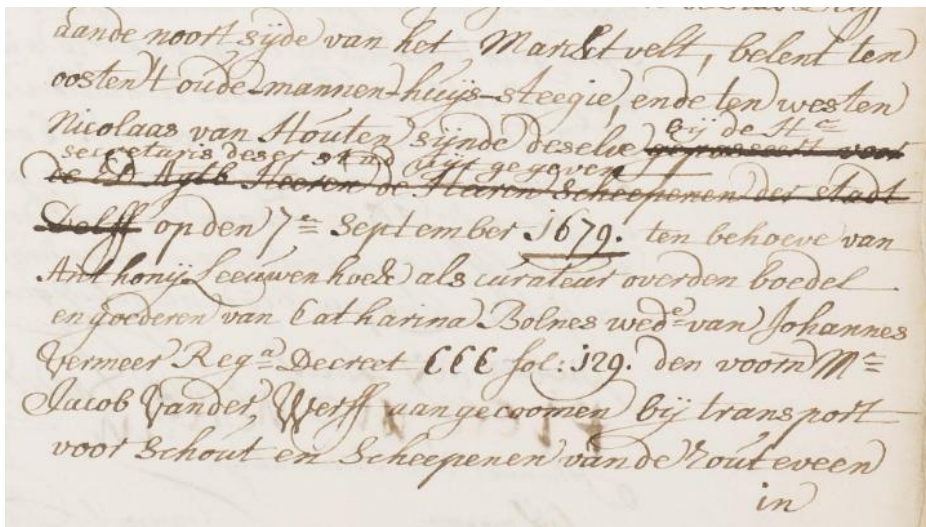
Digna Baltens (c1595-1670) who still was paying rent on the mortgage on it (in 1641 Reynier Vos loaned 2.500 guilders in two separate parts to pay for the house). Vermeer leased 'Mechelen' on 14-01-1672 for a period of six years at 180 guilders per year to a namesake Johannes van der Meer.

In 1703 Pieter van Daalen is 'posseur' of the house on the Marktvelt, southwest corner of the oudemanhuijs steeg, 'previously owned by Jan van der Meer' (i.e. the lessee from 1672) and is summoned to pay 975 guilders to the heirs of the late Simon Florisz van der Werff, to Pieter van der Werff and to two ladies Knoll¹⁵⁹. In a deed

¹⁵⁹ 28-09-1703. Notary Cornelis 's-Gravesande, Inv. 2539C, fol. 162.

of 1715¹⁶⁰ concerning the transfer of 'Mechelen'¹⁶¹ the notary Jacob van der Werff¹⁶² proves to have become owner in 1713 (the deed does not say how he became owner). Johannes van der Meer (i.e. the lessee) is mentioned in the deed as prior owner and Pieter van Daalen (1670-~~nn~~; married 1702 to Clara Heugebaert/Huijgebaert (1660-1710)) is guarantor for (and possessor of) debts and mortgage (700 guilders) still resting upon it. Van Daalen is an unfamiliar name but the link is simple: Clara's stepfather was Johannes van de Meer (nn-1701), schoolteacher, living on the Markt¹⁶³. Montias addressed the lessee as the 'apothecary' in a transcription of the lease deed of 16-01-1672, first published by Bredius in 1910 (Montias, 1989, doc 340). His profession however is placed in between brackets [x] meaning it was Montias's own addition to Bredius' transcription. Blankert for the same deed does not mention 'apothecary' (Blankert, 1992, p212). This apothecary does exist in the DTB registers (married to Cornelia Voorburch) but it is certain Montias chose the wrong Johannes van der Meer.

The 1715 deed states the house was sold on 07-09-1679 through a decree issued by the city secretary for Anthonij Leeuwenhoek, curator of the estate of Catharina Bolnes, widow of Johannes Vermeer. The decree has not been localized by the author but may still exist.



The deed of 1715 mentioning Van Leeuwenhoek as curator over Vermeer's estate and the sale of Mechelen in 1679; the decree CCC fol.129 was issued by the secretary of the city.

¹⁶⁰ 05-08-1715. Notary François Boogert, Inv. 2622, Fol. 90.

¹⁶¹ 'Mechelen' is not literally written but the description leaves no doubt: northside Marktvelde, to the east the Oude-mannenhuissteeg, to the west Nicolaas van Houten.

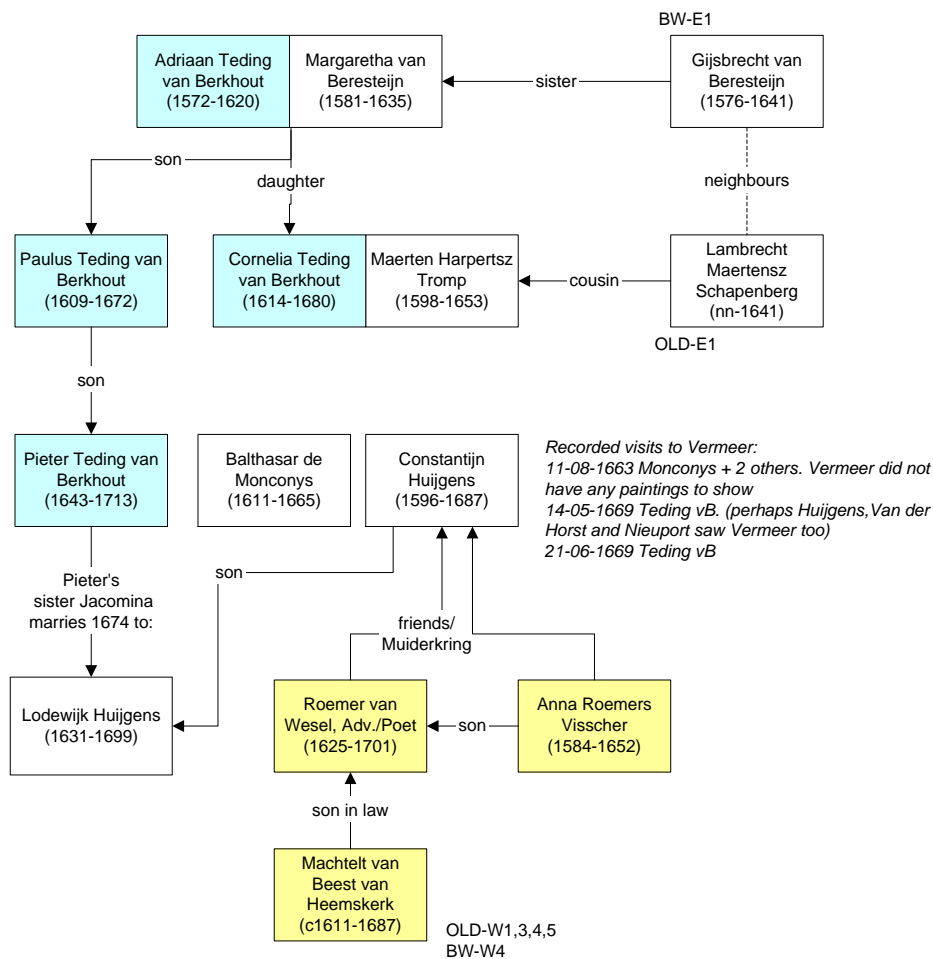
¹⁶² Baptized 4-10-1682 Jacob van der Werff. Father Floris van der Werff, mother Maria Schoonhave, see also OLD-W6.

¹⁶³ Married 29-05-1672 Annitge van Hurck, Wid. of Carel Huijgebaet, Markt x Johannis van der Meer, j:m, Markt, school teacher. Buried 11-04-1701 Johan van der Meer, Wid., Marktvelde corner Oudemanhuissteeg. Buried 01-06-1710 Clara Huijgebaert, housewife of Pieter van Dalen, Marktvelde corner Oudemanhuissteeg, no children. Buried 21-08-1721 baarkind (young infant/stillborn) Pieter van Daelen, Marktvelde, at the Oude manhuissteeg.

13.3 Pieter Teding van Berkhout and Constantijn Huijgens

Pieter Teding van Berkhout (1643-1713) visited Vermeer in Delft on two occasions in 1669. On his second visit Constantijn Huijgens (1596-1687) may have joined him but this is uncertain. Both men had family connections to house owners around the Molenpoort, be it indirectly. Lambrecht Maertensz (OLD-E1) and Gijsbrecht van Beresteijn (BW-E1) were distantly connected to Pieter Teding van Berkhout. Vermeer was of a next generation but descendants of Beresteijn remained owner of BW-E1 during Vermeer's lifetime.

An earlier visit to Vermeer was by Balthasar de Monconys, friends to the Huijgens family in The Hague. He visited Delft (possibly including the Jesuit church¹⁶⁴) on 03-08-1663 and again eight days later but Vermeer had no paintings to show him apart from one at a baker's house (Montias, 1989, p180; Broos, 1995, p48). Two days after his visit to Vermeer, Monconys visited Gerard Dou, Pieter Cornelisz Slingelant and Frans van Mieris (I) in Leiden.



Pieter Teding van Berkhout was married to a daughter of Maria Paets. The family Paets probably owned Vermeer's 'Astronomer' in the 17th century. He moved to Delft in 1670 and became a magistrate.

Roemer van Wesel (lawyer, poet), his mother Anna Roemers Visscher and his aunt Maria Tesselschade Visscher (both poet, glass engraver, singer) were friends with Huijgens and part of the literati 'Muiderkring' (Muiden castle circle) although nowadays the idea of a structural circle of poets/singers in the Muiden castle is defunct.

¹⁶⁴ Blankert 1992, p49. Monconys on 11-08-1663 travelled with the French catholic preacher Leon who may have had as sole purpose to visit the Jesuit father Balthasar van der Beke, admitted by the city the previous day (10-08-1663). Leon had performed mass- and visited a Jesuit schuilkerk (hidden church) in Rotterdam earlier.

The Antwerp based Diego Duarte owned Vermeer's *'Lady seated at a Virginal'* in 1682 and Constantijn Huygens-II (junior) is thought to possibly have played a role in the purchase. The Duarte's and the Huygens were close and so were the ladies Visscher.

Constantijn Huijgens as a young boy was educated by several 'gouverneurs' (tutors), one of them Johan Dedel born in Delft (1589-1665); lawyer, Raad Hof van Holland Zeeland and Friesland per 1621, president per 1653. A certain doctor Johan Dedel owned a house on the Oude Langendijk (V1632, HP 1648) two doors from the brewery Rode Leeuw (his neighbour was Arent Sandeling; see BW-E3/4). He was buried 08-09-1670 from the Oude Langendijk, likely from the same house. Likely this doctor Dedel was related to Huygens' tutor, maybe a cousin or even a brother (Huijgens' tutor- had nine brothers and sisters) and perhaps Huygens went to visit him in 1669. Dedel's daughter Maria Margaretha married in 1678 the Delft notary Cornelis (Persijn) Ouwendijk¹⁶⁵ (1647-1704).

Machtelt van Beest's stepfather Mierevelt painted Constantijn Huijgens in 1625 (painting lost, an engraving by Willem jacobsz Delff has survived) and in 1641(Huygens Museum, Hofwijck, Voorburg).

¹⁶⁵ A miniature portrait dated 1678 of Ouwendijk painted by Pieter Cornelisz van Slingelandt is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

13.4 Windows in Vermeer's paintings



Vermeer twice painted a stained glass window with a Coat of Arms¹⁶⁶ that has been identified by Neurdenburg in 1942 as belonging to Jannetje Jacobsdr Vogel¹⁶⁷ who was married to Moses Jansz Nederveen (1566-1624), gunpowder maker. Nederveen's coat of arms is 10 bars in a 5-4 and 3-2-1 pattern, in between a red horizontal band (see image on the left ; detail from 'Girl with wine glass and two men').

Fantasy or real ? It is certainly possible the COA is just a fantasy. Beresteyn¹⁶⁸ describes Jannetje Vogel's arms on her- and Nederveen's tombstone as 'a (sic) bird with its wings outstretched' thus quite different from three walking birds in Vermeer's paintings. The birds peculiarly are walking away from the centre and not towards it, almost always the case in other COA's depicting birds. The 10-bar pattern is not unique to Nederveen, close variations are Oem (lineages Dordrecht, Wijngaarden, Pijndrecht, Barendrecht) and Wildenesse. Oem has a lion in the red band though. Lastly, the male/female lineage might be the reverse.



If we assume though Neurdenburg was correct and the COA is indeed painted after life, there may be clues in one or more of the following details encountered in the present study. Nothing conclusive can be said but perhaps at a later stage it is of interest.

1. Moses Nederveen around 1600 lived in a house on the southwest corner of the Peperstraat and the Oude Delft, opposite the 'Haverbrug'¹⁶⁹ (Blauw map 1649 on the right; the corner house above the bridge). The house was named 'Gulde Laken/Laecken' (Golden cloth)¹⁷⁰. Nederveen either bought it either from Machelt Maertensdr, a sister of Lambrecht Maertensz of OLD-E1 as she married out of this house to a Huijch Geenen Schapenham (Morien, 2012) or more likely from Pieter Harmansz, cloth merchant mentioned as owner in a deed of 1595 and who possibly named the house after his profession. Nederveen appears to have had other connections with Lambrecht's family (i.e. the surname Van der Wel)¹⁷¹. Jannetje Vogel dies in 1604 and Nederveen with four children re-marries in 1605 to Barbara Keye¹⁷². Nederveen himself dies in 1624 'at the Haverbrug', the bridge opposite the house. Barbara Keye re-marries in 1628 living on the Oude Delft (likely still in the same house) to Pieter Claesz Schilperoort (nn-1636) and she dies in 1631. Nederveen's children are recorded as owner in V1632 but sold the house between 1653 and 1656 to the ladies Cornelia- and Sara Croeser¹⁷³. Given the connections

¹⁶⁶ 'The glass of wine' (Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) and 'Girl with a wineglass and two men' (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick).

¹⁶⁷ E. Neurdenburg. Oud Holland vol.59, 1942, p65-73. 'Johannes Vermeer. Eenige opmerkingen naar aanleiding van de nieuwste studies over den Delftschen Schilder'. Neurdenburg received the information on the COA from the Rijksburo voor Kunsthistorische en Iconografische documentatie, nowadays the RkD.

¹⁶⁸ E.A. Beresteyn, 1938 'Grafmonumenten en grafzerken in de Oude Kerk te Delft' no.355

¹⁶⁹ Mentioned in Orphan chamber records prior to 1618 and his burial record 1624.

¹⁷⁰ House name mentioned in Leprooshuis, Arch. 446, Inv. 23, Charter 5562: 07-10-1595 owner/seller is Pieter Harmansz, lakenkoper (cloth merchant), his borg (guarantor) is Lambrecht Lambrechtsz van der Wel, brewer. Mentioned in Haardstedengeld 1600, fol.386v, Moijses Nederveen is tennant. Mentioned in Kamer van Charitate (house transfer tax), archive 0447, Inv. 365-371, fol.005v4.

¹⁷¹ Delft notary archives, digitalearenadelft.nl. Lambrecht Maertensz 'inn keeper at Serpent' acts in several notary documents as witness, one in 1608 involving Moses Nederveen. Nederveen in a deed of 1597 acts as guarantor; the plaintiff/creditor is Lambrecht Lambrechtsz van der Wel, an uncle of Lambrecht Maertensz. Van der Wel was a well-known brewer family in Delft.

¹⁷² She is named 'Vercajeus' in Nederlandse Leeuw, 1889, p93, Nederveen genealogy. Likely a phonetic writing of (ver)Keye/(ver)Kaije.

¹⁷³ The youngest record for a Nederveen in the house is 1653: Moses' son Johan Nederveen was buried from the address. Prior to 1656 it was sold to Cornelia- and Sara Croeser. The Croeser ladies are recorded in 'Vergunningen' (permits) 01-04-1656 to build a doorway in the

between Lambrecht Maertensz' family, Nederveen and the house itself, an idea would be the stained glass window came into Lambrecht Maertensz' possession and ended up in the Molenpoort area to be painted years later by Vermeer.

2. From august 1650 to may 1652 'Gulden Laken' was rented out by Abraham van der Heul (nn-1666) to a Jacob van Velsen from Noordwijk and a certain Johan Blijeck¹⁷⁴. Coming from Noordwijk this Van Velsen could have been the painter by that name with the patronymic Gerritsz. Bredius (vol.3, 1917) states he lived in Leiden which is only a couple of miles from Noordwijk. No paintings by his hand have survived (or they remain unrecognized) except one skilfully painted 'blazoen' with a biblical scene dated 1645 in the St.Joris Doelen (shooting range) in Noordwijk, published by Schelvis (2004)¹⁷⁵. Schelvis analyzed Van Velsen in more detail and does not mention Leiden, only Schoonhoven, Rotterdam (c1633-c1643) and Noordwijk (c1643-1655) and some ten lands in the estate. Van Velsen married in 1626 to Jannetje Claesdr van der Sprongh. Just as the Delft painter Jacob Jansz van Velsen he died in Amsterdam (15-09-1655) and was buried in Noordwijk. The inventory drawn up (03-10-1655) after his death lists two houses in Noordwijk, a small part of a house in Schoonhoven and several lands. He owned 60 paintings (ao. Berchem, Bloemaerts, Porcelis) and drawings. In 1639 he had been the sole heir of the estate of Sophia Symonsdr van der Sprongh, second wife and widow of Jan van Heusden and aunt of his wife Jannetje (Van Heusden was previously married to Elizabeth Gerritszdr van Velsen, likely Jacob's sister). In Jacob's own testament his wife Jannetje was completely left out and any heir joining a catholic cloister would be disinherited. The appointed executor was a fellow remonstrant church elder with full authority to handle his estate. His religion may have connected him to the Van Ruijvens in Delft who also were remonstrant, a minority religion which excluded them from higher office positions, except for the Orphan chamber.

We do not know why Van Velsen rented the house, his (primary) job was tax collector in Rotterdam but according to Schelvis in many deeds he signs as being 'schilder'. Did he rent the house as a painting studio? If so an idea would be that Vermeer might have painted there too (rather than at home). But around 1660 when Vermeer made his two paintings with the COA the house was owned and inhabited by Sara Croeser and her family; she married in 1657 and remained there at least until 1667. As the ladies Croeser did some restructuring in 1656 (see notes) perhaps this was the time windows with an alien COA were removed and were somehow seen by Vermeer.

Abraham van der Heul, the son-in-law of Moses Nederveen (both protestant) was also a gunpowder maker. The Linschoten family (Willem Willemsz-) was also in the gunpowder business and worked together with Nederveen. Recorded by Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) a Van der Heul gunpowdermaker (who must have been Abraham's son Salomon 1636-1722) owned an expensive painting of an alchemist by Adriaen Cornelisz van Linschoten (c1590-1677). Van Linschoten worked in Delft, Italy, Delft again and The Hague but it appears no public collection today holds any paintings by him. In contrast Bredius in 1884¹⁷⁶ lists close to thirty paintings by Van Linschoten he located in old inventories, nine of them were in the collection of Harman Pietersz van Ruijven (probably 1587-1645)¹⁷⁷ including the alchemist painting later owned by Salomon van der Heul. The Delft painter Pieter Jansz van Ruijven (1651-1719) knew Linschoten in his last year as recorded by Arnold Houbraken.

Peperstraat; Cornelia is widow of the late Johannes Cortenius and Sara is widow of the late Mr. Adriaan Raes. In an orphan chamber record 10-11-1657 Cornelia's late husband Johannes Cortenius, in his life preacher in Scheveningen, is mentioned. On 06-06-1657 Sara re-marries to Johannes Verkerck, they have 6 children baptized between 1658-1666. They lived in the Gulden Laken: a child buried in 1663 at the Peperstraat and quay tax for Verkerck, shopkeeper in K1667 (fol.15v, east side Oude Delft) next to the entry 'east-wings of the bridge in front of the Pepersteek'. In a deed 28-08-1650, Notary Govert Rota, Inv. 1981A, fol. 287 a child of Sara Croesers, widow of Arijen Raes, has as guardians Adolf Croeser and her father Pieter Adriaensz Croeser; Pieter owned brewery 'Gekroonde P' and was Schepen and burgomaster of Delft. Jan Steen lived/worked 1654-1657 in the brewery/inn Roscam two houses south from the Gulden Laken. It is thought (F.Grijzenhout/N.van Sas, 2005) Steen painted Adolf Croeser and his daughter (the work historically named 'The Burgomaster of Delft') but other views to his identity exist.

¹⁷⁴ 05-08-1650 Notary Govert Rota, Inv. 1981A, fol. 256. Abraham van der Heul rents house Gulden Laken for 1 year and 8.5 months (from 17-08-1650 to 01-05-1652) to Sr. Johan Blijeck and Jacob van Velsen from Noordwijk.

¹⁷⁵ Schelvis, Herman. 'Een onbekende schilder uit Noordwijk'. Kernpunten no.61, 2004, Vereniging de oude Dorpskerk Noordwijk. Dito Kernpunten no. 61, 2006 'Schout Jan'.

¹⁷⁶ Bredius, A. 'De schilder Adriaen Cornelisz van Linschoten' Oud-Holland, no.2, 1884, p135-140.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. Bredius says this Harman Pietersz van Ruijven (no dates given) was Mierevelt's son-in-law but no daughter of Mierevelt ever married a Van Ruijven. Mierevelt's granddaughter Christina Willemsdr Delff (1619-1698) married Jan Harmensz van Ruijven (1618-nn), son of Harman Pietersz van Ru(ij)ven (1587-1645) wood merchant and Catharina Pietersdr (c1591-1642). The painter Pieter Jansz van Ruijven (1651-1719) was the son of Christina Delff and Jan Harmensz van Ruijven.

A Maritgen Cornelisdr van Linschoten, likely the sister of Adriaen van Linschoten, lived next door to the Cramer family on the Verwersdijk¹⁷⁸ the house of Vermeer's daughter Maria and son-in-law Johannes Cramer (see BW-E2).

Also the Beresteys of BW-E1 had connections with Nederveen and Abraham van der Heul: the archive of the Beresteyn family¹⁷⁹ has many 17th century deeds involving Nederveen and Van der Heul.

3. Regardless whether the COA is truthful or fantasy it is remarkable that the particular leading pattern features in no less than eight of Vermeer's painting. Besides the two with the COA one other ('*Lady writing a letter with maid*') has a colored scene in the quatrelobed panel, the other five have plain glass.



Eight paintings by Vermeer with identical leading pattern. No.1-8 from left to right:

	signed	date	window sill	wall section to backwall (pier)	floor tiles
1.Girl with wineglass and two men*	IVMeer	1659-1660	wood	yes	Black/yellow, small, classic checker
2.The glass of wine	-	1658-1661	wood	yes	Black yellow, small, classic checker
3.Woman with a water jug	-	1662-1665	brick?	no	-
4.Girl with pearl necklace*	IVMeer	1662-1665	-	no	-
5.The music lesson/virginal*	IVMeer	1662-1664	brick?	no	Black/white, big, marbled, pattern 1
6.Lady writing letter with maid	IVMeer	1670-1671	wood ?	no	Black/white, big, marbled, pattern 2
7.Girl interrupted at music lesson*	-	1658-1661	wood	yes	-
8.Woman with a lute	-(perhaps)	1662-1665	wood ?	no	Black/white, big, marbled, classic checker

* In the Dissius sale 1696

Dating and signatures from essentialvermeer.com

The odd one as far as dating concerns is '*Lady writing a letter with maid*', the rest falls in the time frame 1658-1665.

Vermeer may have inserted, fantasized or omitted elements in a room but for these windows this seems less likely; the impression is they were painted after life judging by the various view angles. In some of them even the (five) horizontal metal support rods (not part of the leading) are clearly indicated by an unsharpness in the brushwork, a thinner line and/or by light reflection, suggesting they were painted via observation.

Assuming all windows were in the same house and painted after life, the variation in window sills, wall section and floor tiles could –if not fantasy- have been different rooms, a room in a corner house or a free standing house. Different tile patterns in separate rooms are sometimes visible in eg. Peter de Hooch's paintings.

¹⁷⁸ HP1648, fol. 555v; K1667, fol.175r

¹⁷⁹ Nationaal archief 2.21.018 Inventaris van het archief van het geslacht Van Beresteyn en aanverwante geslachten. It is yet unclear to the cataloguers why deeds concerning Nederveen are included. The deeds concern purchases of land, gunpowder mills etc.

Many 17th century paintings show leaded glass in a range of patterns but so far only three others were found with the same geometric pattern including the central quatrelobe. One by Gerard Dou (1613-1675) (*Girl at window with a bunch of grapes*, with date 1660, Royal Collection Trust, UK) and a close duplicate again by Dou (with date 1662, private collection Prinz Eugen von Savoyen, Vienna/Turin) and one by Pieter Cornelisz Slingelandt (1640-1691) (*Lacemaker buying a cock through the window*, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, 1672). Perhaps there is a fourth by Dominicus van Tol¹⁸⁰.



Dou, 1660, Royal collection UK



Dou, 1662, Vienna/Turin



Slingelandt, c1672, Dresden



A much later painting by Matthijs Naiveu, pupil of Dou (1667-1669), dated 1692¹⁸¹ has a close- but not identical pattern (image left).

Solely by chance reasoning the occurrence of this specific leading pattern connects Vermeer to these Leiden painters. Did one copy the other as so often was the case? Or could they have been painting in the same –and actual room? Or did they perhaps use some glass pattern book for inspiration?

Presently there is no solid information from primary sources to tell if- and how the artists connected. The details below may fit this ‘Vermeer-Dou-stained glass’ connection but it is just ‘raw data’.

¹⁸⁰ A (near) identical painting to Slingelandt’s but mirrored was sold in Paris 2006 at Artcurial/Briest-Poulain-F.Tajan. The painting was listed as by Dominicus van Tol (c1635-1676), cousin- and pupil of Gerard Dou. The photo is not good enough to see if the glass has the same geometric pattern but since everything else is near identical to Slingelandt’s painting the window probably is too.

¹⁸¹ Christie’s New York 2014, sale 2855.

- Dou as a young boy worked in Leiden with his father Douw Jansz ‘de Vries’ van Arensveld (c1580-1656) as a glass painter/engraver. In some of Dou’s work stained glass is a prominent feature (eg. *The young mother*, Mauritshuis).
- Slingelant was a pupil of Dou (1661) and worked in Leiden.
- In 1663 Balthasar de Monconys visited Dou and Slingelandt in Leiden, two days after he had visited Vermeer in Delft.
- A distant cousin of Pieter Claesz van Ruijven was Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon (c1595-1652) patron of Dou in the 1630-ies.
- Dou painted Johan Wittert van der Aa (1604-1670) and his wife Ida Popta (1604-1664) around 1635 and Johan Wittert alone in 1646¹⁸². Wittert was the buyer of OLD-E4/5 (the Jesuit church) in the 1650s.

That stained glass windows could also be found just lying around is demonstrated by the inventory of Jacob Jansz van Velsen (OLD-W8). Bredius, vol.3, p883: on the attic: ‘*Verscheyde geschilderde ruyten van glas*’ (various painted glass windows). They possibly came from his wife’s first husband Joost Hesemansz who was a glassmerchant.

¹⁸² Both in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

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