

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

Job Berckheyde

1630 – Haarlem – 1693

View of the Old Stock Exchange at Amsterdam

Signed lower right: HBerck heyde f (HB in ligature)

Oil on panel

23.3 x 17.9 cm.

Provenance:

Possibly sale Amsterdam, 13 April 1695 (Lugt no. 156), lot 13, for fl. 13,- ¹

Possibly Amsterdam, collection Jan van der Heijden (1637-1712) and Sara Hiel (d. 1712)²

Paris, collection Louis François I, Prince of Conti (1727-1776)³

Paris, collection Jean-Baptiste Antoine Poullain (d. 1780)

His estate sale, Paris Langlier, Le Brun, Julliot, 15-21 March 1780 (Lugt no. 3106) (this lot: 16 March), lot 87 (as Gerrit Berckheyde)⁴, for 58 francs to

Paris, collection Jacques Langlier (1732-1814)

Paris, collection Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802), Count of Hannonville, a.k.a. Calonne Angelot

His sale, Paris, Lebrun, Bruslez, Huissier, 11 May 1789 (Lugt no. 4445), lot 60, where bought by Plantier

Frankfurt am Main, collection Johann Friedrich Städel (1728–1816)⁵, bequeathed in 1816 to Frankfurt am Main, Städelches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, until 1830, when sold, Amsterdam, art market, 1830⁶

Richmond, Doughty House, collection Sir Francis Cook, 1st Baronet, 1st Viscount of Monserrate (1817-1901)⁷

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

Richmond, Doughty House, collection Sir Frederick Lucas Cook, 2nd Baronet (1844-1920),
by inheritance to

Richmond, Doughty House, collection Sir Herbert Frederick Cook, 3rd Baronet (1868-1939),
until at least 1932

Paris, collection André and Françoise Kostolany (1906-1999), thence by inheritance, until
2026

Literature:

G.A. Temple, *Catalogue of the Loan Collection of Paintings*, exh. cat. London, Guildhall, Art
Gallery of the Corporation of London 1895, p. 74, cat. no. 105

O. Kronig, in: H. Cook (ed.), *A catalogue of the paintings at Doughty House, Richmond, &
elsewhere in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook, bt., Visconde de Monserrate*, 3 vols.,
London 1913-1915, 2 (*Dutch and Flemish Schools*, 1914), p. 7, cat. no. 209, ill.

M.W. Brockwell, *Abridged catalogue of the pictures at Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey in
the collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Bart.*, London 1932, p. 38, cat. no. 209 (88)

G. Jansen, J. Giltaij, *Perspectives : Saenredam and the architectural painters of the 17th
century*, exh. cat. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen 1991, p. 279, note 4 (not in
Dutch ed.)

J. Sander et al., *Städels Sammlung im Städel : Gemälde*, exh. cat. Frankfurt am Main,
Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie 1991-1992, pp. 89, 107, cat. no. 201

L. Krempel, *Holländische Gemälde im Städel 1550-1800 : Band 2: Künstler geboren 1615 bis
1630 (Kataloge der Gemälde im Städelchen Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main IX)*, Petersberg
/ Frankfurt am Main 2005, p. 32, note 7

N.E. Middelkoop, in: N.E. Middelkoop, E. Schmitz (eds.), *Amsterdam A Work of Art : The
City Depicted in the Seventeenth Century*, Amsterdam, exh. cat. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief,
Amsterdam Museum 2026-27, pp. 166, 214, note 14

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

Exhibited:

London, Guildhall, 1895, no. 105

Baptised on 27 January 1630 in the Reformed Church in Haarlem, Job (or Hiob) Berckheyde was the oldest son of the butcher Adriaen Joppen Bergheyde from Katwijk aan de Rijn and his wife Cornelia Gerritsdr Pancier.⁸ Initially studying with a bookbinder, the 14-year-old boy was apprenticed to the Haarlem history painter Jacob de Wet (c. 1610-1691) in 1644. How long Berckheyde stayed with De Wet remains unclear, but after an Amsterdam sojourn, possibly to complete his training, Job established himself at the Grote Markt in Haarlem in 1652. A year later he enrolled into the local Guild of St Luke. In the second half of the 1650's he and his younger brother Gerrit (1638-1698), likewise a painter and possibly taught by Job, embarked on a journey along the Rhine River. During their trip the brothers worked in several cities, among them Heidelberg, where the Elector Palatine rewarded them with golden medals. In 1666 Job became a member of the Haarlem rhetorician's chamber *De Wijngaardranken*, and subsequently held several official positions in the chamber, including that of *factor* (chief poet) between 1673 and 1682. In that year Job seems to have moved to Amsterdam again, where he is mentioned in 1685 and 1688. While it remains unclear where he died, he was buried in the St Jan's church in Haarlem in 1693. Berckheyde was a versatile painter. Several histories in the vein of his master De Wet are known, among them his first dated work, the 1661 dated *Christ Talking to the Children* in Schwerin. In addition, he painted genre interiors and portraits. However, Job is best known for his church interiors and his architectural cityscapes.

Berckheyde's impressive qualities in the field of architectural painting were recognised by his

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

contemporaries. The Haarlem poet Frans Snellinx (1627-1669) wrote praising verses to accompany Job's *Self Portrait*, now in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem: 'This is Job Berckheyde, whose equal in the painting of buildings and churches will neither be found nor encountered'.⁹ Many of Job's architecture pieces depict buildings in either Haarlem or Amsterdam. In Amsterdam, Job almost exclusively chose views around Dam square, depicting the Townhall (now Royal Palace), Waag, Nieuwe Kerk, the Fish Market and the Stock Exchange. The latter is the subject of the present work, in which Berckheyde permits us a candid view of the Stock Exchange's inner courtyard, a hive of activity where in the left foreground three gentlemen, dressed in fine, long black coats and broad brimmed hats, engage in conversation. Behind them a diverse crowd of traders and the like fill the courtyard. Under the colonnade to the left a bearded man with a paper in his hand is seen raising a stick. He is the 'beursknecht', the concierge of the Exchange who was among others responsible for the orderly adherence to the house rules and public announcements.¹⁰ In the centre of the court, behind the three men in black, four Orientals distinguish themselves by means of their exotic clothing. The red, turquoise, orange, purple and white accents provided by their cloaks, pants, hats and sandals contrast beautifully with the more sober palette of the environment. Moreover, their presence underlines Amsterdam's position as the international centre of commerce, where people of different national and cultural backgrounds engaged in the early modern world trade. Looking ahead beyond the crowd, a view to the outside shows the raised sails of the boats at Rokin, and the silhouettes of the houses behind them.

At least six depictions of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange by Job Berckheyde are known: one on vertical format in the Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main (fig. 1); two comparable views, kept in the Amsterdam Museum and the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (figs. 2, 3); a fourth recorded in a sale in Zurich in 1976 (fig. 4); a fifth – known only from a nineteenth century lithograph –formerly in the Arenberg collection, Brussels (fig. 5); and lastly the painting discussed here, the smallest of the group and the only work painted not on

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

canvas but on panel.¹¹ In contrast, moreover, emphasis in the present painting is redirected to the traders, whereas the other works provide more general overviews of the architecture and scenery. Of the six paintings, only the former Arenberg work is dated 1678 (fig. 5). In fact, the whole group must have been painted after 1668, as all depict the architectural situation following the renovation of the building finalised that year.

Bolstered by the fall of Antwerp in 1585, the expansion of Amsterdam as a trade hub took form rapidly during the 1590s, a process epitomised by the founding of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) in 1602, which issued the first ever public shares in August of that year, in Amsterdam. While trade until this point took place around Nieuwe Brug (New Bridge) crossing Damrak and in the surrounding establishments, the new situation demanded a larger, more substantial and permanent location, a building exclusively dedicated to the trade: an exchange, modelled on those of other European trade cities. Constructed between 1608 and 1611, when the building opened its doors for business, its architect, the city mason Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621), followed the template of the London Exchange (itself modelled on the Antwerp bourse), which he had studied during a visit to London in 1607. De Keyser's building existed of a large open courtyard surrounded by a columnated gallery of twelve by six arches, above which stores and offices were located. A 1612 dated print by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652) provides a detailed depiction of the Exchange, seen from the south (fig. 6).

As the centre of national and international commerce, the Exchange was of crucial importance to Amsterdam, as follows from its very location, immediately adjacent to the city's central Dam Square and the Townhall (fig. 7). Since 1609 the Townhall housed the Wisselbank (Exchange Bank of Amsterdam), which provided (international) monetary transfers and issued so-called wissels, promissory notes (notes payable) to those who had opened an account, in exchange for the numerous circulating valutas, gold and silver. Guaranteed by the

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

city government, Amsterdam ‘wissels’ were deemed extremely trustworthy, and soon became a standard means of international payment, adding to the appeal of the city as Europe’s – and the world’s – dominant staple market, where goods from all over the world were stored in large warehouses, and could safely be traded and re-distributed, over sea or – transhipped to smaller vessels – to the European hinterland.

As the market grew, so did – despite its small size and population – Dutch hegemony over the seas, its supremacy in world trade and its monetary dominance. Following the construction of a spectacular, costly new Townhall during the 1650s, the Amsterdam burgomasters decided that the Exchange needed renovation as well. With construction ready in 1668, the west- and east colonnades were enlarged from twelve to seventeen arches, and a gallery with a new central bell tower, designed by city architect Daniël Stalpaert (1615-1676) who had also supervised the construction of the new Townhall, was added to the building’s south side (figs. 8, 9). Open on the inside, the south gallery contained two large arched central windows, equipped with balustrades and closeable with wooden shutters, overlooking Rokin. On the outside, a statue of Mercury, the god of commerce was positioned in between these windows, underneath a tympanum with the Amsterdam coat of arms and lions as supporters (fig. 10).

It is this south gallery, completed in 1668, that is the focus of five of Berckheyde’s six renditions of the Exchange, the work in Frankfurt instead focusing on the Exchange’s northern forecourt (fig. 1). Whereas the 1678 Arenberg painting takes its viewpoint from the north gallery to the south, the newly built central bell tower rising above the south gallery (fig. 5), the Rotterdam and Amsterdam works depict the view from the east gallery to the west, the statue of Mercury and the houses at Rokin clearly visible through the south gallery’s window (figs. 2, 3). While the painting sold in Zurich in May 1976 takes the opposite view towards the east gallery (fig. 4), the present painting looks towards the southeast corner of the

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

Exchange (fig. 11) and is the only work of the group that through the two windows shows the sails of boats, thus subtly referencing the transport of goods to and from the Amsterdam harbour, so essential to the trade (fig. 12).¹²

Other painters – Philips Vingboons (c. 1607-1678) and Emanuel de Witte (1617-1692) – occasionally chose the Exchange as their subject as well.¹³ But just as his younger brother Gerrit's various depictions of Haarlem's St Bavo Church tied him specifically to that building, Job Berckheyde, by rendering the Amsterdam Exchange more often than any other artist, explicitly associated himself with it. Indeed, the fact that it is Job's *Old Stock Exchange of Amsterdam* that graces the cover of the quintessential study on the phenomenal Dutch economic expansion during the seventeenth century, Jonathan Israel's *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740*, speaks volumes in this respect (fig. 13). At any rate, the decision to do so was arguably a strategic one on Job's part. After all, the subject must have spoken to a public of art buyers – national and international – that had positive associations with the building and the trade conducted there, affluent merchants thus that Job might have even met while making preparatory sketches *in situ*. Word of mouth among the community of traders might, moreover, well have played a role in attracting further commissions.

Testifying of this lasting association with the Amsterdam Exchange, the phenomenal Dutch economic expansion during the seventeenth century, and the early modern world trade, is the fact that his *Old Stock Exchange of Amsterdam* graces the cover of Jonathan Israel's still quintessential study on the subject, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740* (fig. 13).

Overseeing the present painting's provenance, it is noteworthy that several of its owners through the centuries likewise had an above average interest in, or relation to, international trade and finances. In the 1780s the painting was owned by Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802), Minister of Finance to the French king Louis XVI. Nicknamed 'Monsieur

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

Déficit' (Mr. Debt, parallel to the nickname of Louis XVI's wife Marie Antoinette, whose spendthrift got her the nickname Madame Déficit), because of his supposed role in France's enormous debts, and his wish to raise ever more taxes, Calonne was sent to exile in 1787, forcing him to sell his collection. During the early nineteenth century, the painting was with the wealthy Frankfurt spice trader Johann Friedrich Städel (1728–1816), who switched to banking and collecting art, in both of which he proved rather successful. Remaining childless, Städel stipulated in his will that both a public art collection (the Städel Kunstinstitut) as well as an art school (the Städelschule) be created in his name. Our painting remained in the Kunstinstitut's collection until 1830, when it was deaccessed through the Amsterdam art market, following the Institute's acquisition, in 1819, of Job's much larger *View of the Old Amsterdam Stock Exchange*, still in the collection today (fig. 1). Subsequently, our small panel was acquired by Sir Francis Cook, 1st Baronet, 1st Viscount Monserrate (1817-1901). Cook, a trader in wool, cotton, linen and silk, travelled extensively through Europe and the Near East, and rose to be one of Britain's three richest men.¹⁴ His superb art collections were inherited by his son and grandson. The latest collector to acquire the present *View of the Old Stock Exchange at Amsterdam* was the well-known stock market expert André Kostolany (1906-1999). Kostolany studied Philosophy and History of Art in Budapest until 1924, when his father forced him to abandon his studies and sent him to Paris to work as a stockbroker. Fleeing the war, he spent the 1940s in New York, where he acted as director of a financing company. Returning to Europe in 1950, he made his fortune in the booming German stock market. The author of well-read books such as *Si la bourse m'était contée* (*The Story of the Stock Market*, 1960), *Weisheit eines Spekulanten* (*Wisdom of a Speculator*, 1996), *Kostolany's Börsenpsychologie* (*Kostolany's Stock Market Psychology*, 1999) and *Die Kunst über Geld nachzudenken* (*The Art of Thinking About Money*, 2000), the atmospheric impression of Amsterdam's Old Stock Exchange – after all the birthplace of modern world trade – as depicted by Berckheyde, fit his profile like a glove, just as it did its previous owners.

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

JH

¹ 'De Beurs van Job Berkheyde'. The price of 13 florins indicates that this was a smaller painting, therefore quite possibly the present work (five other paintings of the Amsterdam stock exchange by Job Berckheyde are known, all larger scale. See the text below). For the same reason the painting mentioned in the Amsterdam inventory of Anthonio Daems, his sale, Amsterdam, Zomer, 28 April 1706 (Lugt no. 198), lot 14 for fl. 360,- ('De Beurs van Amsterdam (vol Koopliden) van Job Berkheyden'; see G. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen*, 2 vols., The Hague 1752, 1, pp. 91-92), will likely not have been the present work.

² According to their estate inventory, Amsterdam, 18 May 1712 ('18 De Beurs van Amsterdam van binnen vol beelden door Bercheijde 32:--:--'; see Getty Provenance Index Database (<https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web>, assessed 16 July 2026), arch. inv. N-711, Page 2, Item 0057).

³ According to the entry in the catalogue of the Paris 11 May 1789 sale (Lugt no. 4445, see Provenance): 'ce Tableau rendu avec beaucoup de verité, vient de la collection de feu M. le Prince de Conti.'

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

⁴ ‘L’Intérieur de la Bourse d’Amsterdam, où l’on voit des personnages de toutes les Nations. Les beaux Tableaux de ce Maître sont peu connus en France’, with support and measurements: ‘sur bois, H. 8 pouces 9 lignes. L. 6 pouces 9 lignes’; when the painting is sold again in May 1789, the supports and measurements are given as ‘sur bois, Hauteur 9 pouces, largeur 7 pouces’, c. 24 x 18.6 cm., almost exactly the measurements of the present panel (23.3 x 17.9 cm.).

⁵ J. Sander, in Frankfurt am Main 1991-1992, p. 89, no. 201; Krempel 2005, p. 32, note 7, with transcriptions of the descriptions of the painting in the Städelsches inventories of 1816, 1819 and 1823. It is not known where and from whom Städel bought the painting.

⁶ J. Sander, in Frankfurt am Main 1991-1992, p. 107, under 1830 (sold in Amsterdam). The reason for the museum in 1830 to sell the present painting, which had been part of Johann Friedrich Städel’s personal collection, was no doubt the acquisition of the larger *View of the Old Amsterdam Stock Exchange* by Job Berckheyde (our fig. 1) in 1819. For the latter work and its provenance, see Krempel 2005, pp. 30-36.

⁷ See London 1895.

⁸ For biographical references, see: C. Lawrence, in J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., New York 1996, 760-761; I. Van Thiel-Stroman, in N. Köhler et al., *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850 : the collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Ghent/ Haarlem 2006, pp. 106-109.

⁹ ‘Dit 's Job Berckheiden, wiens gelyk men in gebouwen / En Tempelschild'ren niet zal vinden nog aanschouwen.’, Snellinx poem is quoted by Arnold Houbraken in his biography of Job and Gerrit. See: A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols., The Hague 1718-1721, 3, p. 196. For Job’s *Self Portrait*, see Köhler et al. 2006, cat. no. 26.

¹⁰ A ‘beursknecht’ with a stick was likewise depicted in Philips Vingboons’ *The Exchange of Hendrick de Keyser*, 1634, oil on copper, 26 x 35 cm., Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. MG 056. See N. Middelkoop, *De Oude Meesters van de Stad Amsterdam : Schilderijen tot 1800*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 142-143, esp. note 4, with reference to a similar stick in the collection of the Amsterdam Museum (inv. no. KA 8634).

¹¹ For the Städel Museum’s painting, see Krempel 2005, pp. 30-36, where the other works are mentioned as well; the Amsterdam Museum’s work is discussed in Middelkoop 2008, pp. 142-143; for the Rotterdam work, see Rotterdam 1991-1992, pp. 278-279, cat. no. 59.

¹² The map of c. 1676 shows the new Townhall and the renewed Exchange with the new south gallery with central belltower (instead of the former belltower, which was positioned off-centre to the southeast side), but erroneously depicts a bridge south of the south gallery.

¹³ Emanuel de Witte, *The Courtyard of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange*, 1653, oil on panel, 49 x 47.5 cm., Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. VdV 91 (on loan Stichting Van der Vorm), see Rotterdam 1991, cat. no. 35; A. Van Suchtelen, in: G. Wuestman (ed.), *Emanuel de Witte : 1616/17-1691/92 : meester van het licht*, exh. cat. Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar 2017-2018, pp. 70-74, cat. no. 6, fig. 4.1. For Vingboons, see note 9.

SALOMON LILIAN

DUTCH OLD MASTER PAINTINGS

¹⁴ On Francis Cook and his splendid art collection, see: E. Danziger, 'The Cook collection, its founder and its inheritors', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 146 (2004), pp. 444-458.